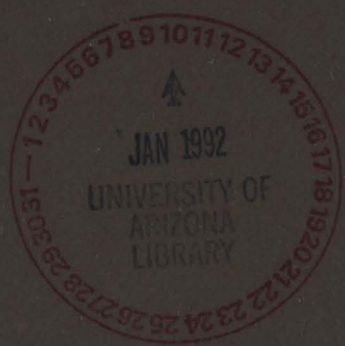




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PACIFIC STUDIES

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MAKING LAW IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA: THE INFLUENCE OF CUSTOMARY LAW ON THE COMMON LAW

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This is the story of a court case in Papua New Guinea. The case, *png Ready Mixed v. The State*,¹ involved the Papua New Guinea government, a concrete manufacturer (which called itself “png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Limited”), and the residents of a squatter settlement near the town of Lae in a dispute over possession of the land on which the settlement stood. This is also the story of the ways in which customary law is infiltrating and changing the introduced common law of Papua New Guinea.² The case demonstrates that common law judges in Papua New Guinea are deeply influenced by the principles and processes of customary law, even when they do not know or do not admit that they are. It also suggests the limits of that influence, however, and the ways in which customary law changes when it becomes a part of a formalistic common law system.

The judge in the *Ready Mixed* case never doubted that common and statutory law, not customary law, applied to a conflict involving industrial expansion and land owned by the government, and he decided the case by referring to common law rules and principles. But customary law crept into his opinion as well. There is a metaphorical nicety to the mixture of the common law (which was introduced into Papua New Guinea from Australia during colonial times) and customary law (which, though changed over time, still represents the indigenous, pre-colonial social order) in a case called *Ready Mixed*, a case in which the parties are also a mixture—expatriates versus Papua New Guineans, a

company versus villagers, the interests of industry versus the need for shelter. The residents of the squatter settlement, migrants from Papua New Guinea's rural villages, are themselves mixed, partaking simultaneously of the old order and the new, recreating a traditional village in an urban setting, engaging both in subsistence gardening and in wage employment, subject both to custom and the common law.

Ready Mixed: The Company, the Government, and the Villagers

The residents of the squatter settlement in the *Ready Mixed* case are part of the ever-growing stream of people moving from Papua New Guinea's traditional rural villages into its towns. Papua New Guinea is like other Third World countries in the intensity of its urban migration pattern. And Papua New Guinea resembles other Third World countries, as well, in that its towns are not particularly welcoming to rural immigrants. Jobs are scarce, wages for unskilled work low, and inexpensive housing virtually nonexistent. Many of the migrants must begin urban life on patches of unused land in or near the towns, building makeshift shelters from whatever materials they can find. Newcomers tend to settle near people they know, people from home or those with whom their village has had traditional trading relationships, in *ad hoc* communities that Papua New Guineans now routinely call squatter settlements, although some of the settlers rent from traditional landowners and are not, technically, squatters.³ Within the settlements, order tends to be maintained and disputes managed in customary fashion, although customary rules and procedures change to meet the new conditions of urban life.⁴ In recent years, as crime in Papua New Guinea's towns has grown, it has become fashionable to view the squatter settlements as sources of crime, disease, and disorder.

In the mid-1960s, a sizeable group of migrants, primarily from the Sepik, took up residence in a village on the east bank of the Bumbu River near the town of Lae.⁵ The village was the home of the members of the Ahi Association whose ancestors, the original bearers of the name Lae, had settled the area in precolonial times. Relations between the migrants and the Ahi Association people were cordial at first, but as village land became scarce, tensions developed; and in 1968, about twenty Sepik people decided they would have to move to the uninhabited marshlands on the west bank of the river. Over the years, the population of the new settlement grew, until by 1981 there were over five hundred residents (mostly from the Sepik but some from the Highlands and other areas as well) occupying about seventy houses. The settlement's

semiofficial name is SPT2, but it is often referred to as Biwat, after the home village of many of the settlers. By 1981, many of the original makeshift shelters had given way to substantial, permanent dwellings. Gardens and trees had been planted and much of the swamp drained. Children had been born, grew, attended Lae schools. Many of the residents went to work each day in Lae.

At first, the residents were uncertain whether the land on which Biwat stood was customary land, still owned by the Ahi Association, or government land. Some residents had seen government maps and documents that included the land in the approximately 12,000-acre parcel that makes up the Town of Lae, title to which had been registered as belonging to the colonial administration in 1942. The Ahi Association still claimed the land, however, and some of the residents paid rent to the association until 1979, when the association gave up its claim to the land in exchange for compensation from the government.⁶ The government did little to help the migrants develop their village; however, officials were aware of the village's existence at least as early as 1976 and did nothing to hinder its growth either. Up to 1981, no evictions were attempted, nor did government officials suggest to the villagers that anyone might someday object to their continuing presence on the land. Like most squatter settlements, the village was not provided with electricity, water or garbage collection, but government health inspectors, welfare officers and census takers made routine visits, and the inhabitants voted in town and national elections.

But, in 1979, at about the time that negotiations between the Ahi Association and the government were concluding, a company that styled itself "png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd." applied to the Papua New Guinea Department of Lands to lease all of the land on which the village stood.⁷ The company was owned by expatriates but incorporated under the Papua New Guinea Companies Act (PNG Revised Laws, ch. 146). Its offices and concrete-mixing facilities were located near the village, and it wished additional land for the bulk storage of cement and to expand operations. The government might at that point have conferred with village representatives, but it did not. Instead, it advertised the land for tender in the government gazette, in radio announcements, and on the notice board of the Lae Town Council offices. As prescribed by statute, the Land Board held a public meeting in February 1980 to consider the tenders it had received. In February 1981, the board announced that a ninety-nine-year lease of the village land had been granted to the company. Shortly before this announcement, the company had contacted the Department of Lands about

ejecting the villagers. The government agreed that it might have some responsibility for carrying out evictions but suggested that the company contact its own solicitors about mounting a private ejectment action. After the award of the lease, the company brought suit against the government in the Papua New Guinea National Court, asking for immediate vacant possession of the leased land.⁸

The villagers did not go quietly. They learned in 1980, some time after the meeting of the Land Board, that their land was up for tender. Between November 1980 and May 1981, they held a number of meetings to protest the possibility of eviction. One speaker at their meetings was Utula Samana, the premier of Morobe Province, who argued that the villagers should be allowed to remain on their land until the national government provided an alternative village site. The government refused either to do this or to permit the village to remain permanently at its present location. The company reacted to the villagers' distress by including Samana as a respondent in its lawsuit, asking for a declaration that he had acted unlawfully in advising the residents not to leave the land.⁹ The only interested parties not initially included in the lawsuit were the villagers themselves. They had to beg the court's permission to be included.

The National Court resolved the dispute in a way that gave something to the company and something to the villagers. The court found that the company did indeed have legal title (or, at any rate, would have it once the Department of Lands, an agency notorious for administrative slowness, got around to issuing the promised lease) and that the company was therefore entitled to possession of the land. But the court also found that the villagers had established a possessory interest that, in the court's judgment, entitled them to remain on the land for another six months to a year.

The Courts, the Common Law, and Custom

Although the National Court presumed, as Papua New Guinea courts tend to do, that the common law imported from England, rather than the customary law of Papua New Guinea, should apply to the case, the court's decision in *Ready Mixed* was novel in a number of ways. The court based its decision upon a rule that was new even to the English common law and then applied this rule in a new way, unlike the way it had been applied in England. The court's decision was also influenced by customary law principles and concepts. But none of the novelty is acknowledged in the court's opinion, nor does the court mention its use

of custom. Instead, for the most part, the judge writes as if he is merely finding and applying settled common law doctrines. The reason for the judge's reticence on these subjects lies in the tensions inherent in the judicial process in a pluralistic society.

Like most of the new nations of the Pacific, Papua New Guinea chose at independence to retain the common law, which had been imported during the colonial period, as part of its legal system. And, like courts in other nations that have continued to recognize the common law, the Papua New Guinea courts find themselves in a continual conflict between the common law's impetus towards certainty and continuity in the law (an impetus that finds its expression in the presumption, deeply engrained in common law jurisprudence, that every case can and should be decided by applying the rules found in prior cases) and the country's need for changes to that law, changes that will make the imported law better suited to the circumstances of Papua New Guinea and its people. To some extent, the tension between the impetus towards certainty and the need for change so the law will better reflect changing social and economic conditions exists in every common law jurisdiction.¹⁰ But it is particularly marked in countries such as Papua New Guinea where the common law is a foreign implant (in Papua New Guinea's case, out of England by way of Australia), characterized by a set of substantive rules as well as by a dispute-resolution ethos and procedure that bear little relation to the norms, values, and processes of the customary legal systems indigenous to the country.

The Papua New Guinea Constitution attempts to resolve the tension by providing that the substantive rules of Papua New Guinea's underlying law (a phrase chosen to distinguish Papua New Guinean law from the English common law) should be an amalgam drawn both from custom and from the common law of England. In fact, the Constitution suggests that, in choosing which principle of law to apply to a case, the courts should look first to custom and fall back upon an English rule only when no customary norm is applicable.¹¹ However, the Papua New Guinea courts seem to have had a great deal of difficulty in weaning themselves from English law. They continue to cite almost exclusively to English precedents or Papua New Guinea cases that applied Australian or English rules and seldom discuss whether the common law rule is appropriate to the circumstances of Papua New Guinea. Custom is seldom mentioned in cases decided by Papua New Guinea's National and Supreme courts. When it is mentioned, it is usually dismissed as irrelevant.

As a result, many people have gotten the impression that the common

law of Papua New Guinea remains resolutely English, that the courts are not adapting the law to the special circumstances of Papua New Guinea (circumstances, needless to say, very different from those that have ever prevailed in England), and that custom is not influencing the development of Papua New Guinea's law.¹² But this impression is not entirely correct. The law of Papua New Guinea is diverging from that of England, is becoming more Papua New Guinean with every case that the judges of the National Court or Supreme Court decide, and customary law has been influential in shaping the course of change. However, the changes that courts are making to the common law go unremarked (even, I suspect, by the judges themselves) because, in their opinions (the documents that judges write to explain and justify their decisions), the judges seldom mention that they have changed the law or that they have used principles of customary law in doing so.

The reasons for the unwillingness or inability of Papua New Guinea's judges to admit the reality of legal change or the influence of custom lie in the narrowly formalistic brand of common law jurisprudence that was bequeathed to Papua New Guinea by its colonial courts. The jurisprudential paradigm developed in nineteenth-century England and Australia (the paradigm that was introduced into Papua New Guinea and taught to the people who are today its judges and lawyers) is positivist.¹³ Positivism is both a philosophical system, which attempts to explain the sources and purposes of law, and a set of instructions for judges, telling them how to decide cases. As a philosophical system, positivism preaches that the law is found only in statutes or cases, that is, in the pronouncements of legislatures and courts, the agents of the sovereign or state.¹⁴ As a methodology, positivism instructs judges to decide new cases by combing prior cases to find an applicable common law rule. In the positivist universe, a judge ought not to look to custom or social conditions for the principles on which to decide a case, because neither custom nor social conditions are sources of law. If the rule of an earlier case is not suited to the social and political circumstances in which the new case arises, it is not the business of the judge to change the rule or to search for a new one.¹⁵

It is probably not mere coincidence that positivism became predominant in common law jurisprudence during the colonial period. Positivism's insistence on a single source of law enabled the colonizers to apply their own law wherever they went and reinforced their claims that their role was legitimate. Positivism plays a similar role for the new government of a new and pluralist nation. The government's claim to authority and legitimacy is supported by its claim to be the sole source of law

and its ability to apply the same law, with relative uniformity, to the disparate groups and regions under its sway.

But positivism depends upon two untenable propositions. First, it presumes that the common law contains a rule to fit every case that will come before any court. Second, it presumes that the facts of widely disparate cases will be so similar that judges can perform their rule-finding function mechanistically and that considerations of the purpose or effects of the rule need not impinge on the judicial process. In sending judges back to old cases and old rules, in limiting their authority to the mechanical task of picking out the appropriate rule and slapping it down on a new set of facts, positivism is, in the conflict between continuity and legal change, squarely on the side of continuity. But, even in England where the common law was born, judges have discovered time and again that there are many cases in which the questions and issues cannot be resolved by simple application of preexisting rules. Thus, even in its English home territory, the common law has changed over time—sometimes dramatically, more often by gradual evolution as judges reinterpret and reshape old rules to meet changing circumstances. It is therefore not surprising that judges in Papua New Guinea, a country very different from the one in which the common law was originally developed, frequently find that the available common law rules do not solve the problems that cases pose. So they, too, change the rules, often using principles and norms drawn from customary law to do so. Their positivist training, however, deters them from admitting in their opinions that they are doing this. Decisions of the Papua New Guinea courts that markedly alter the common law as it would operate in England continue to be written as if the judge had simply found the applicable English rule and stuck it on the case.

The National Court and the Common Law

In the *Ready Mixed* case, for example, the court made some radical changes to Papua New Guinea land law. But the opinion is written as if the court has merely found, and is applying, preexisting rules. Prior to the *Ready Mixed* decision, villagers in the respondents' position would most probably have been subject to immediate eviction; the law of trespass would have governed their situation. As trespassers—a category that includes anyone who enters land owned by another, however innocently they do so—they would have had no right to remain on the land, even for a moment.¹⁶ The company and the government presumed that the law of trespass would govern this case:

[The villagers] came onto the land as trespassers. . . . [T]heir status should not be recognized as having changed because they knew that the land belonged to the government and they never took any steps to notify the authorities of their presence, nor to request permission to put up their structures nor to do anything to put the State in a position where it could make an informed decision as to what to do.¹⁷

As trespassers, the company and the government argued, the villagers should be promptly ejected.

The court, however, accepted the residents' argument that they were protected from immediate eviction by the English principle of proprietary estoppel, which had been described by Lord Denning in an English case, *Crabb v. Arun District Council*.¹⁸ Lord Denning's description of the rule is quoted in the *Ready Mixed* opinion: "Short of an actual promise, if [a landowner], by his words or conduct, so behaves as to lead another to believe that he will not insist on his strict legal rights—knowing or intending that the other will act on that belief—and he does so act, that again will raise an equity in favour of the other."¹⁹ Applying this rule, the Papua New Guinea court found that the government, the putative owner of the land, had effectively conveyed to the villagers a license to possess the land by its conduct in not evicting the villagers, or even warning them that they might be subject to eviction, throughout the years that the temporary settlement was growing into an established village. The government had led the villagers to believe that it would not insist on its legal rights, with knowledge that the villagers would act on that belief by further investing in the development of the land. In leading the villagers to rely to their detriment on this belief, the government had created a license on their behalf against it and the company, which took the lease knowing of the situation; and both were estopped for a period from contesting the villagers' continuing possession.

This change in the common law was a large step for the court to take. The doctrine of proprietary estoppel was new not only to land law in Papua New Guinea but to land law in England as well. The doctrine had been developing for some time in the English courts but was not fully adopted in England until *Crabb v. Arun District Council*, which was decided 23 July 1975, less than two months before Papua New Guinea obtained its independence. The Papua New Guinea Constitution, at Schedule 2, limits the reception of English law by the courts of Papua New Guinea to those principles that were in effect at the date of independence. Thus, a two-month delay by the English court in render-

ing its decision in *Crabb v. Arun* might have left the Biwat villagers without a remedy.

It was by no means a simple or obvious step, however, from the reception of the doctrine to the conclusion that it protected the residents of Biwat. In taking the step, the court was again creating new law, going even further than the English courts had gone. In reaching its decision that the government and the company had created a situation in which the villagers might claim the protection of the proprietary estoppel doctrine, the court did not rely upon what the government and the company had done or said but upon what they had failed to do or say. A number of English cases are cited in the *Ready Mixed* opinion;²⁰ but in each of them, unlike the situation in *Ready Mixed*, the landowner had overtly said or done something to confirm the occupants' belief that they had been granted an interest in the land. In *Inwards v. Baker* and *Jones v. Jones*, a father had bought land and asked his son to occupy it.²¹ In *Pascoe v. Turner*, a middle-aged philanderer told his rejected mistress that the house they had shared was now hers.²² In *Ives v. High* and *Crabb v. Arun*, the parties had expressly agreed to rights-of-way across the landowners' property.²³ In each of these cases, the occupants had then acted to their detriment in reliance on these express promises or agreements and the landowners had then stood by, acquiescing in these actions.²⁴ The problem for the occupants (and for the courts) in the English cases was that the landowners' promises or agreements were unenforceable at law because the parties had neglected to write up or register their agreements. In the *Ready Mixed* case, however, no government official had ever expressly promised the residents that they could stay, nor had the government even implied such by any action (such as by providing building materials or garden seed). All the government ever did was to do nothing, to issue no warning that all could be taken away as houses were built, gardens were planted, and money was spent.

Courts everywhere find it much easier to find liability where there is misfeasance, where a person has actually committed a wrong, than where there is merely nonfeasance, a failure to do right. But, urged on by counsel for the villagers, the National Court was willing to take this leap and to hold that the government by its nonaction, by its failure to speak or act, had implanted in the settlers the belief that it would not contest their residence:

Once a significant number of persons had taken up residence on the land, built dwelling houses on it, planted trees and the like,

it was up to the State if it wished to protect its right to possession of the land to issue some sort of a warning or statement that persons who came on to the land to take up residence and build and plant crops there did so at their own risk. Yet no such warning issued at any time. The result is that those who came, took up residence, built houses, planted crops and the like . . . may be regarded as having sufficient interest in the land as to give rise by early 1981 to an equity entitling them to remain on the land despite the State's legal right to possession.²⁵

Unlike the government, the company had attempted to procure the settlers' eviction but not, the court found, in a timely fashion and, even then, not strenuously. After putting in its bid for the lease in 1979, the company waited until 1981 to ask the Department of Lands whether the government might evict the settlers. Informed that the government would prefer not to take action, the company did not insist that the state give it vacant possession but waited until after its lease had been approved to move against the settlers. "The company was in my view taking a calculated chance that sooner or later, though preferably sooner, the occupants would be ejected. In the meantime it refrained from insisting on vacant possession because such insistence may well have resulted in the State withdrawing its offer to grant the lease to the company."²⁶ Because the company knew of the situation and did so little, the court found that its lease was subject to the residents' license against the government.

By recognizing the doctrine of proprietary estoppel, a doctrine only recently developed by the English courts, and by applying it in these circumstances, the court was making new law for Papua New Guinea. And this new law can have far-reaching implications. At the least, it might prompt the government, which had hoped that if it ignored squatter settlements assiduously enough they would simply go away, to reconsider its alternatives in relation to the settlements that have grown up in all of Papua New Guinea's towns. At best, it provides squatters with a legal weapon that will help them avoid or delay eviction. But positivist courts do not like to be seen as lawmakers. Legislators, they insist, make new laws while courts merely apply the law as they find it.

It was, therefore, to be expected that the court would not announce this as a new doctrine. Indeed, the court said that it had found the rule in existing English law. Although admitting the doctrine was found in a case "decided on 23rd July 1975, a date about as close to the date of Papua New Guinean Independence as one needs to go," the court

referred to *Crabb v. Arun* not as creating the doctrine but, merely, as discussing it.²⁷ The court invented a history for *Crabb v. Arun*, placing it in a line of cases named but not described, partly (I expect) because descriptions would reveal that the doctrine had not always existed but was gradually developed over a series of cases, and partly because the naming was sufficient to establish, in incantatory fashion, that *Ready Mixed* was not new but was part of a tradition. To give the doctrine a local pedigree, the court cited a preindependence Papua New Guinea case. That case referred to (though it did not adopt) the holding of one of *Crabb v. Arun*'s predecessors; but, the court now opined, the earlier case would have adopted the doctrine, or something like it, if only the facts of the earlier case had been different.²⁸

The common law is made up of two sets of norms—the rules of law and the principles of equity—either of which, depending upon the circumstances and the courts' inclinations, can be applied to a particular case. The law gives money damages to those who have been injured by a breach of the rules; equity gives various remedies, when fairness or the parties' justified expectations are at stake, even though a rule might not have been breached. Proprietary estoppel is a doctrine of equity, allowing certain occupants of land to retain possession even though a strict construction of the rules of law would not permit them to do so. Equity is more flexible than law, but even equity is hedged about with procedural requirements and limited by the innate conservatism of the common law, so the relative flexibility of equity does not entirely explain the *Ready Mixed* decision. For that, one must look to customary law.

The National Court and Customary Law

Despite its conclusion that the doctrine of proprietary estoppel gave the villagers an equitable interest in the land, the court did not confirm them in permanent possession. Instead, it tried to strike a balance between the interests of the company and the needs of the villagers by permitting the villagers to remain on the land for six months to a year, after which the company would be free to bring ejectment proceedings again.²⁹ Nothing in the English doctrine of proprietary estoppel, nothing in English or Papua New Guinean principles of common law and equity, mandated this decision. The court found this remedy in customary law.

In striking a balance between the company and the villagers, the court was technically within the general guidelines laid down by Lord Denning in *Crabb v. Arun*: "it is for a court of equity to say in what

way the equity may be satisfied.”³⁰ But this maxim is not intended to permit a judge to fashion a remedy from thin air. In each of the English cases cited in the *Ready Mixed* opinion, the courts created a remedy that matched, as nearly as possible, what the occupants had been promised by the landowners.³¹ In other words, the English courts used their equitable powers to enforce the expectations that the landowners’ promises had created.

But, in granting to the villagers possession for a limited time, the Papua New Guinea court gave none of the parties what it had requested. Indeed, none of the parties had suggested the remedy that the court adopted. The court discussed the remedies that the parties had wanted it to exact and gave reasons, based primarily upon the principles of common law and equity, for refusing each of these remedies.

The company and the government had wanted the villagers removed immediately, arguing that the residents could not seek equitable relief when, by being in unlawful trespass, they had violated the basic maxim that “he who comes to equity must come with clean hands.”³² Although the court found “some merit in this submission,” it granted an equitable remedy nonetheless, seemingly on the grounds that the hands of the government and the company weren’t entirely clean either. The court pointed out that, in the manner in which the land was advertised for tender, the government had acted within the letter of the relevant statutes but perhaps not within the spirit that expects a government to look after the people’s welfare:

The advertisement or a summary of it was placed on the town notice board and there were even announcements over Radio Morobe. But as Mr. Morey, the Provincial Lands Officer, fairly and properly conceded in evidence, there was no way in which from a practical point of view the occupants, who were so vitally interested, could have been expected to know that tenders were being called for or that the Land Board was meeting or what was going on generally.³³

The court took pains to exonerate “the departmental officers who carried out their duty according to the statutory requirements, and probably more” and the Land Board (“There is no doubt that the Land Board came to a proper conclusion on the material before it that the public interest justified the granting of the lease to the company for the purpose of extending its industrial activities”). Nevertheless, the court concluded, there is blame to be placed somewhere, even if only upon “the

system,” because “if the occupants had been given some proper notification and afforded a real opportunity to object to the company’s application and to put their case to the Land Board, other considerations as to competing land use might have prevailed and the lease might never have been granted.”³⁴

The residents, too, had hoped for more than the court granted them. They argued for either lifetime possession or an alternative village site. Their argument for lifetime possession was based on common law precedent, most immediately upon *Inwards v. Baker*, one of the English cases that the court cites in its opinion in support for its statement that proprietary estoppel is an established rule. In that case, an English court had granted a son lifetime possession of a house that the son had built on land owned by his father.³⁵ The *Ready Mixed* opinion declared that case distinguishable, although it did not say why. Perhaps, the court had in mind the absence in the *Ready Mixed* situation of a familial relationship (although the villagers did point out that the government is “the father of the nation”).³⁶ But in *Inwards*, the court did not base its decision on the duties that fathers owe to sons. It permitted the defendant lifetime possession not because he was a son of the landowner but because he had given up opportunities to purchase other house sites, relying on the landowner’s promise that the house “was to be his home for his life or, at all events, for so long as he wished it to remain his home.”³⁷ In fact, not only in *Inwards v. Baker* but in all of the English cases on which the *Ready Mixed* court relied, the courts gave lifetime or permanent possession to the holder of the equitable license. When counsel for the villagers in *Ready Mixed* argued that the equitable license should result in a grant to them of lifetime or permanent possession, she was closer to the mainstream of English jurisprudence than was the National Court in granting them only temporary occupancy.

The residents’ argument for an alternative village site was based upon an amalgam of customary concepts: “Mr. Poli [a spokesperson for the villagers] says that if the National Government as the father of the nation does not carry out its responsibility of finding some land for him, he will stay on the subject land until he is pushed into the sea, that he regards the land (or part of it surely) as his and available for him to pass on to his children.”³⁸ The court rejected this argument on two grounds. Neither of the court’s responses was drawn directly either from common law or from customary precedents, but both reflect the premises on which the common law operates in a market economy. The court first pointed out that no statute requires the government to provide alternative sites for people who are being forcibly evicted and, in the absence

of statutory authority, "it would not be just and equitable [for the court] to order the State to provide alternative residential sites unless it could be shown that suitable land was available, and that has not been done." ³⁹ In a market economy, government and the courts play a limited role. Housing, like the distribution of other goods, is a matter for the private sector, to be decided by the bargains that individuals make. Government does not provide goods and services, nor generally even require their provision; and the courts will intercede to require government action only in the presence of a statute expressly requiring that action.

The court's second response reflected a misuse of custom that is widespread in Papua New Guinean government and business circles: "Mr. Poli (and possibly some of the other occupants) has his own land elsewhere which he holds under customary tenure near Angoram in the East Sepik Province; he understandably prefers to live in Lae where he has his immediate family and his employment."⁴⁰ The court did not ascertain how many of the residents had customary land available to them in the Sepik, but, even if most of them did and even if their villages could support them, it was callous to assume that going home to the village was an acceptable alternative for people who had chosen to make a life in the town of Lae. Papua New Guinea's economic growth is predicated, in large part, on the myth of the village, the presumption that the village can support every urban worker, so that neither government nor corporate employers need make large expenditures for housing, health insurance, or other forms of social security.

The court referred to common law principles and premises to help it reject the remedies suggested by the parties but was remarkably reticent as to the principles underlying the remedy that it chose to order. The opinion is written as if that remedy springs necessarily from the doctrine of proprietary estoppel, but it does not. Once the court had decided that the residents had an enforceable equitable interest, that interest could have been enforced in a number of ways. The court could have ordered that the Land Board hearing be reconvened, giving the villagers an opportunity to present their position and the board the opportunity to make a decision taking into account both the country's need for industrial development and its need for urban housing. By differently interpreting the English cases, the court could have ordered that the villagers had lifetime possession or even a freehold. Or, by placing the burden of proof as to the availability of alternative accommodations on the government instead of on the residents, the court could have permitted the residents to remain in possession until another village site was found.

The court chose instead to give the villagers possession for a limited time. This choice may be broadly consonant with the principles of common law and equity, but it was not dictated by those principles.

In deciding that equity gave to these villagers a license to remain on the land for six months or a year, the court was formulating a new principle of the common law and equity of Papua New Guinea. Although the court did not express its debt to customary law for this new formulation, customary norms informed the decision. Customary law seeped into the opinion in ways that the court neither credited nor, perhaps, recognized. The influence of customary law is evident, first, in the court's recognition that the villagers' residence on the land and their work in developing it gave them some rights in the land; second, in the court's decision that it must balance the interests in the land of the company and the villagers; and, finally, in its manner of honoring that balance by granting possession to the villagers for a limited time.

In granting an interest to the villagers based upon their residence and development the court was adopting customary law notions.⁴¹ Under customary law, clan and kinship are the basis of land rights, but interests in land may also be acquired through residence, contributions to the land-holding group, and participation in the development of the land. In most Papua New Guinean societies, ultimate territorial rights are held by the group as a whole; and most clans have stories describing the original settlement of the land and the naming of its features by the clan's founder, a putative ancestor of the current residents. This story, supported by legends in which clan totems spring from the land, links the group and its land in perpetuity. The land exists because the people found it and named its features, and the people exist as a group only in relation to the land. In the customary law of most Papua New Guinean societies, it is generally believed that the land cannot be permanently alienated from the clan, because to do so would be to alienate the identity of the people as well. But customary law does recognize other means by which clans may alienate or acquire land. Land may, for example, be lost to one clan and acquired by another by conquest. Land won in battle eventually belongs to the conquerors, if they cement their right to it by residing on it, planting gardens, and using it.

Within the clan territory subclans, family units, and individuals have rights to land, including rights to build houses or plant gardens on defined areas, to plant coconut or other trees, to hunt or fish, to use footpaths or gather wild fruits. A map of clan territory would be a variegated pattern. A family's needs require a variety of land types, so most families hold widely scattered plots for different purposes. Moreover,

some land uses are overlapping. The same plot of land in which one family holds gardening rights may provide coconuts or access routes for others. None of these rights can be described as belonging in perpetuity to an individual. Each individual exercises his or her land rights on behalf of the family and clan. Land is not individually owned, although individuals may nurture and preserve the land for this and later generations. Acquisition of these interests in land depends primarily on membership in the clan, on kinship; but a clan member who moves away, who does not participate in village affairs, may gradually lose land rights. Similarly, persons who were not originally members of the clan may acquire rights within its territory. They have potential claims to the land of their affines, to land owned by other kin, or even to the land of hereditary trading partners. They can actualize these rights by moving onto the land and taking part in the affairs of that group. As their land rights are gradually recognized, however, they come to be viewed as members of the clan, preserving by this genial fiction the general rule that clan land cannot be alienated from clan ownership.

A time chart of land rights within a clan would show a pattern that is simultaneously stable and shifting. The land rights of a son in a patrilineal society (or of a daughter in a matrilineal society) are acquired at birth, but whether these rights will mature into actual use of the land, and how much of it, will depend on how many other children are born, whether he or she stays in the village, is adopted into another family or moves onto a spouse's land, and whether other persons establish interests in the land that coexist with or contradict these land rights. At any moment in the life cycle, a person may have a secure hold on certain land rights, be in the process of gaining others, and be losing yet others. In recognizing that the residents of Biwat had established a claim to the land through their development and cultivation of it, as well as their participation in the life of the village, the court was borrowing from customary law the notion that interests can be acquired in land in this way.⁴²

The court was also indebted to customary law for the notion that it should seek a compromise that balanced the interests of the company and the villagers. Under common law, a verdict that effects a compromise between the parties is unusual. Even at equity, which professes to be (and occasionally is) more attuned to justice and fairness than is the common law, the winner-take-all principle usually holds. The English cases cited in *Ready Mixed* may have stated that equity permits a court to fashion whatever remedy best redresses the injury,⁴³ but courts of common law and equity seldom take equity at its word in quite the way

that *Ready Mixed* did. Equity sometimes finds doctrines (such as proprietary estoppel) that allow it to appoint a different winner than would the common law; but having found a different winner, equity is no more likely than is the common law to give that winner only some of the pie. In the English proprietary estoppel cases that *Ready Mixed* cites, for example, the courts did not balance the interests of the occupants and the legal owners. In each case, the court gave the occupant all that he or she had requested.

Customary law, on the other hand, has a 10,000-year history of striking a balance, of attempting to settle disputes by giving something to each party and less than all to any, with the intention that everyone will come away from dispute-settlement negotiations with some satisfaction (or, at least, that no one will leave entirely dissatisfied). This was a sensible goal for the societies that developed Papua New Guinean customary law. Precolonial societies had methods, but not institutions, of norm enforcement. With no police to enforce the judgments of adjudicators, with only the power of opinion to ensure obedience to social norms, the primary methods for dispute resolution and norm enforcement were compromise, in which both parties, feeling satisfied with the outcome, would relinquish the dispute, or war, in which one party, not necessarily the one with the better claim, would prevail. Disputes occurring within a clan or village could more easily be resolved by reminders of mutual interest. In a village, everyone must go on interacting after the dispute has been resolved. Ongoing social relations will proceed with the least friction if everyone can take some degree of satisfaction in the outcome of the dispute-settlement process. Those occurring between clans and villages were less amenable to compromise, more likely to erupt into violence if a workable solution was not found; but it was possible, through mediation and compromise, to procure the mutual agreement of two clans based upon each clan's perception that its interests had been served.

The dispute between the villagers and the company, two entities with very different interests and worldviews, is more like a dispute between clans, neither of whom has much incentive for settling with the other, than like an intravillage dispute. And, as the court realized, striking a balance can be a sensible goal for a court operating in a large, diversified, and disunited society, as well as for a mediator attempting to avert interclan hostilities. The court was faced with competing demands, coming from different socioeconomic classes, each buttressed by contrary notions of what the public interest requires. The parties to this dispute, the villagers and the company directors, shared neither a common

culture nor a common vision of land use. To the villagers, land was shelter; to the company, it was capital. A judgment in favor of the company would uphold economic development but at the expense of the working poor. A judgment in favor of the villagers would support the notion that government's first commitment should be the distribution of the benefits of development to the mass of the people but at some risk that income-producing businesses would be alienated. Like a mediator in a traditional forum, the court recognized that the feeling on both sides was at such a pitch, the competing values so firmly entrenched, that a winner-take-all solution, no matter how strongly supported by legal rules, would not end the dispute. In a politically tense situation, to come down entirely on either side was to ensure that the other would continue to pursue avenues of redress, both within the courts and without. The court chose, as customary law might have, a compromise position that gave some support, however symbolic, to both points of view.

The court's resolution of the controversy was to recognize the company's right to ultimate possession while permitting the villagers to continue in possession for a limited time. The court cited no prior English or Papua New Guinean common law cases that had adopted this remedy. Probably there are none. It is a resolution more familiar to customary law than to common law or equity. It is not unusual in customary law to find instances where disputes over land have been settled by recognizing the ultimate rights in the land of one party while permitting the other to remain in possession for a limited period. Under the conditions of traditional agriculture, where land is gardened only for as long as the soil is productive and then left fallow for a number of years, the length of a party's possession can be bounded by the time when the crops ripen or the garden has returned to fallow or the thatched house has become unfit for habitation.⁴⁴

However, where land has been converted to permanent cash crops such as copra or coffee, or where houses have been built of fiberboard or concrete, the courts must develop other yardsticks to determine the length of possession. There are Papua New Guinean cases that have awarded temporary possession to land, but they are cases heard in the local land courts, which apply customary law to disputes over customary land. The court in the *Ready Mixed* case did not cite them, though it was probably familiar with them. A local land court in East New Britain Province, for example, settled a dispute between two clans by determining that one owned the disputed territory but the other could harvest existing cash crops for five years. The court also required the occupying clan to pay an annual rental of K100 (approximately

US\$100) to the landowners and the landowners to pay compensation for trees still producing when they regained possession.⁴⁵

In permitting the Biwat villagers to remain temporarily in possession of their settlement, the National Court decision was consonant with customary law. But it was not a perfect mirror of customary law, either as traditionally practiced or as developed by local land courts. The remedy that the National Court devised for the village residents was considerably less generous than the settlement offered by the local land court in East New Britain to the occupying clan. The *Ready Mixed* decision permitted the residents to remain on the land for only six months to a year, and the court did not order that they be compensated for the homes and gardens they would leave behind.⁴⁶ In utilizing customary law, the *Ready Mixed* court altered it to suit the aims of the common law in an industrializing society.

The rules and processes of the common law were developed to meet the needs of a market economy. An axiom of classical liberal theories of the common law is that the law best serves the market by leaving it free to order itself through the self-interested bargaining of the actors in the marketplace. In this view the proper role of the state, its courts, and its common law is not to govern the market, to own or manage industry, but to support entrepreneurs by enforcing the bargains they make. In this century, the excesses and abuses of the market economy have demonstrated the limits of that classical liberal approach. The common law has found an additional role in mitigating the market's abuses, particularly through equitable doctrines such as proprietary estoppel. But equity does not do away with the predominance of the market, nor does it significantly alter the common law's function as a supporter of the market economy. In effect, by softening the market's harsher impacts, equity helps the market to preserve itself. By adopting into equity a customary law principle, the court in *Ready Mixed* was changing the common law, but it was changing customary law as well, making custom serve the ultimate aims of a market economy.

A Commentary and Some Conclusions

The Papua New Guinea Constitution is not a positivist document. It presumes that custom, public policy, and the circumstances of the country are as much sources of law as are statutes and the decisions of common law courts. It recognizes that there may not be a preexisting rule or principle of the common law available for every case that a court must decide (or that the preexisting rule or principle, having been developed

in and for a very different society, may not be appropriate to the needs and conditions of Papua New Guinea) and that judges therefore have a responsibility not only to find law but to make it.⁴⁷

As the *Ready Mixed* opinion demonstrates, however, the Papua New Guinea courts are resolutely positivist. They do not believe that law inheres in the norms and values by which people order their mutual existence and society meets its goals, whatever the sources of those rules. They believe that all the law is found in statute books and court reports, and that the proper role of the courts is to apply existing statutory and common law rules, not to create new common law principles out of the shared experience and common values of the people. Positivist judges thus tend to act as if they are finding the law even when, of necessity, they are making it. For example, the *Ready Mixed* case created new law, using customary norms to do so, but the opinion was written as if the court were merely finding and applying existing law. As a result, the process by which customary law became part of Papua New Guinea's common law, and the changes that the court made both to custom and to the common law, remained covert. The court did not discuss its assumptions about the nature of the customary principles that it was adopting, the policies that its new rules would further, or the relation of the new rules to the circumstances of Papua New Guinea.

We might wish to argue with the outcome of the case. We might, perhaps, have struck a balance differently, have given more time to the villagers and less to the company, have ordered the government to redo the process by which it allocated the land or to find an alternate site either for the company or for the village. Part of the reason for the positivist style of opinion writing is to forestall arguments of this kind. A judicial opinion is written as if it is merely an explanation of the grounds for the court's decision, but it is also a justification of that decision. By writing the opinion as if it were not making choices based upon policy, circumstance, or values but merely finding the applicable, already existing rule and mechanically applying it to the dispute, the court precludes (or hopes that it precludes) further argument on any basis other than whether it correctly applied the proper rule.

If the *Ready Mixed* opinion demonstrates the dominance in Papua New Guinea of positivist ideology, it also demonstrates the inability of that paradigm to encompass everything that judges, even positivist judges, routinely do. The court in the *Ready Mixed* case did create new rules for Papua New Guinea's common law, despite its positivist orientation. It recognized, albeit implicitly, that the existing rules and principles of the common law, either as previously applied in Papua New

Guinea or as recently developed in England, did not adequately solve the problems raised by the case. In order to balance the conflicting interests of the company and the villagers, of capitalist industrial expansion and the need to afford some protection to the victims of that expansion, new rules and remedies were needed. The court turned to custom to supply those new rules and remedies, perhaps out of the intuition that custom best embodies the policies, circumstances, and common understandings of Papua New Guinea.

In raising issues that demanded the construction of new rules and remedies, the *Ready Mixed* decision is not unique. Most cases require the court to consider new facts and issues and make new rules. The ultimate fallacy of the positivist position is its presumption that the facts of each new case can be mechanistically fitted under the rubric of a pre-existing rule. But each new case differs, in one respect or another, from the cases that have gone before it. The facts of the dispute and the circumstances in which the parties find themselves are never precisely the same. The social policies that the rules are meant to effect change over time. No prior rule or principle precisely applies to the new facts, circumstances, and policies. The judge's act of reinterpreting a rule so it will apply to new and different facts itself changes the rule and makes it into something new. In finding and applying the law, the judge of necessity is making law. For many cases, although no rule fits the new facts precisely, more than one prior rule could be applied, depending upon how each is interpreted. In order to choose among competing rules, the court cannot use the rules themselves, because either would be equally applicable. In such a situation, "the process of judicial decision is, as a matter of fact, determined consciously or unconsciously by the judges' views of fair play, public policy, and the general nature and fitness of things."⁴⁸ Despite the claim of positivist judges that their role is merely to find the law, all judges, most of the time, are making law.⁴⁹

The *Ready Mixed* case contains several examples of precedent's lack of definitiveness. At least two common law doctrines—trespass or proprietary estoppel—could have governed the case, and the court had to choose between them. The court chose to apply the doctrine of proprietary estoppel. Although the court gives no reason for its choice (the better to look as if no choice were involved), the choice did not rest within the rules themselves. Nothing in the elements of either doctrine definitively established it as more suitable to the situation. Most probably, then, the court's choice arose from an inchoate sense that proprietary estoppel better fulfilled the valid claims of the parties, as well as better serving the social policies that the court believed should be advanced.

Under the doctrine of trespass, the villagers would have been subject to immediate eviction, an outcome that the court obviously believed to be unfair. Using proprietary estoppel, the court could give the villagers a reprieve from the burden of ejection.

But the doctrine of proprietary estoppel did not perfectly fit the circumstances of the parties, so, in adopting the rule, the court had to change it. In England, the doctrine had been used to protect a spurned and aging mistress, a son whose stepmother was overreaching, homeowners who found the paths from their land to the highway suddenly cut off. In each of these cases, a promise had been made and then taken back. Extending the doctrine to cover a squatter settlement in Papua New Guinea, settled by people with no assurances from the landowner that they had a right to settle, itself changes the meaning and effect of the rule. Finally, for its construction of the appropriate remedy, the court could find no common law principle or rule that seemed appropriate to the situation and had to invent one. In doing so, it looked to custom, probably because custom captured the court's sense of fair play, of public policy, and of the nature and fitness of things.

There are many layers of irony and ambiguity in the unacknowledged use of custom by the court in the *Ready Mixed* case—most particularly in its use of the people's law to give the people a very limited remedy. But, then, there are layers of irony and ambiguity generally in any attempt to integrate custom into a common law framework. Not the least of the problems is the difficulty that courts have in defining what custom is. Used to dealing with statutes and cases, with the law in written form, the courts have not evolved a method for finding laws that inhere in tradition, in unwritten (sometimes unspoken) norms, and in informal dispute-settlement processes.⁵⁰ The Papua New Guinea Constitution admonishes the courts to ground the law in custom but without a clear definition of custom, of whether it consists of norms and shared beliefs or whether it is a tally of common behavior patterns.⁵¹ When the courts speak of custom, they seem to be referring to it sometimes as one, sometimes as the other.⁵² Nor are the courts certain, despite the statement in the Constitution that custom need not have "existed from time immemorial,"⁵³ whether the norms, values, or behavior patterns of Papua New Guineans today can properly be called custom. To an anthropologist, it is axiomatic that the customary law of Papua New Guinea's precolonial villages did not, could not survive intact into the present, as if one hundred years of colonialism and economic change had no impact. And a number of lawyers have noted that many of the norms that village people now believe to be of ancient origin were probably developed relatively recently, by or as responses to

colonial authorities and policies.⁵⁴ But to a positivist court, accustomed to think of the common law as essentially unchanging (even in the face of evidence that it changes constantly), the notion of relying upon an ever-changing body of norms is unthinkable.

There is also a question whose custom to apply in a country in which each tribal group or village has its own customary law system. When forced to deal with the question directly, the courts have responded by refusing to apply customary law unless both parties to the dispute were governed by the same custom.⁵⁵ Implicit in that response is the presumption that customary law can apply only to cases in which both parties are native-born Papua New Guineans, since expatriates or naturalized citizens tend not to be members of customary communities and not to have a Papua New Guinean customary law that extends to them. Nowhere has the court imposed similar limitations on the coverage of the English common law, even though that could with equal justification be viewed merely as the customary law of one of Papua New Guinea's many groups of people. Papua New Guinean customary law, which is the indigenous law of the country, is treated by the courts as the personal law of certain peoples, applicable only to them; whereas the common law, which was imported, is treated as the residual and general category, potentially applicable to everyone.

The *Ready Mixed* decision demonstrates a remarkably apt way out of all the problems that the courts have created for themselves in dealing with custom. The *Ready Mixed* court treats custom not as a rule to be found and applied but, like public policy or a general principle of the common law, as a source of the law that the court is constructing. The customs that the court used to formulate its remedies were certainly not the personal law of the expatriate owners of the cement company. They may or may not have been the law of the Biwat villagers; the court never inquired. But they were representative of general trends in Papua New Guinean experience and values, of current social and economic conditions, as well as of a uniquely Papua New Guinean approach to solving the problems occasioned by these social and economic conditions. Whether the parties would have felt themselves ruled by these norms, in all their particularity, is irrelevant; what counted was that the parties—and later parties for whom the rule in this case now stands as a precedent—would recognize that the values and policies embodied in these norms express the values and policies of their society. The court used custom to guide it in developing a common law that is suited to the circumstances and needs of Papua New Guinea. In effect, it was relying upon (and formulating) general principles of customary law.⁵⁶

But, even in a case that uses customary law as fluently as does the

Ready Mixed case, the changes that customary law undergoes when transmuted into a general principle of customary (or common) law are apparent. Law inheres both in substantive norms and in the processes by which those norms are realized in action. When common law courts adopt a substantive rule of customary law, they remove it from the customary process, thereby altering the operation of the rule and, because substance and process interact, changing the meaning of the rule as well. Because the aims of the common law process are different from the aims of the customary law process, the way in which substantive rules function in each is different as well. In the customary setting, the aims are to settle disputes, if at all possible, and, in doing so, to restore, for a time, amicable relations and to fulfill as much as possible the needs and expectations of all the parties at that time. No dispute is presumed permanently solved; the changing nature of village land needs, populations, and power relations mandate that no solution can be final, no rule impregnable. A decision that fulfilled the needs of a village at one time may not fulfill its needs at another time. To meet these aims, substantive norms must be flexible, fluid, capable of being used in different ways at different times. A rule firmly applied at one time may be later ignored in a situation that would seem similar to a mind trained in the common law.

For rules to operate in this way, for the process to remain open to different solutions that take into account the relative strength and needs of the contending parties, for settled matters to be capable of being reopened when needs and social relations change, there must be a multiplicity of substantive rules potentially available to each dispute, with none carrying more weight than the others. For example, a village can hold simultaneously to the norm that land is inherited by stipulated kin and to the potentially contrary norm that land belongs to those who work it. The fact that one of these norms is followed at one time, the other at another, both in varying proportions at yet other times, does not mean that the norms do not exist, but that social needs at the time of each dispute in which they are relevant will determine their application.

Under common law, on the other hand, it is presumed that rules directly determine the outcome of each dispute and that the adjudication process results in a solution that will resolve the dispute permanently. These presumptions are embodied in the positivist notions that there is only one rule that fits each dispute, and that similar disputes will be governed by the same rules. Once it has been decided, for example, that long-term residence and the development of a village site cre-

ates an equitable interest, this rule will be applied in later cases, to the exclusion of other rules that might also have been applicable. To ensure this consistency, judicial opinions are written and become available for citation in later cases. The written opinion comes to be regarded as the embodiment of the rule, disguising the choices that were involved in its writing.

The consistent application of uniform rules by common law courts performs a number of functions useful to a market society. First, consistency and uniformity lend the appearance of legitimacy to the state and the economy. In an economically diverse society in which some groups and individuals have better access to land, goods, and services than do others, the fact that the same set of rules ostensibly applies to all suggests fairness and justice, interposing a mask of legal equality over the realities of economic inequality. Second, consistency fosters predictability and the orderly functioning of the market. Predictable rules provide actors in the marketplace with guideposts by which to pattern their dealings. Knowing the relative security of registered title to land, a seller may seek a higher price for land that has been registered. Knowing that the existence on that land of a squatter settlement may tie it up for six months or a year, a buyer may offer a lower price but not so low as if no settled rule determined the outcome. Finally, the consistent application of rules helps the courts to bring disputes to closure, to achieve finality, by convincing both parties, even the loser, that the only possible outcome has been attained. The state's success at ending disputes adds to its legitimacy, as well as providing orderly social conditions in which the market can operate. Customary law, operating in societies in which the option of force is available to everyone, is more chary of outcomes that, by denominating winners and losers, lead to further dispute. But the state's ability to threaten imminent use of its agencies of force is not the only reason that the decisions of common law courts are obeyed. Because of the ideology surrounding the common law, the power of the rules themselves promotes acquiescence by the parties to judicial decisions. Even the loser is impressed by the ritual of the courtroom drama, the seeming consistency of rule application, and the irrefutable congruence of facts and rules.

The common law that was imported into Papua New Guinea from England is gradually changing, gradually becoming less English and more Papua New Guinean. One important force in this change is the influence of customary law on judicial thought. As in the *Ready Mixed* case, judges use custom to reinterpret common law rules and to make them better fit the circumstances of Papua New Guinea, even when

they do not acknowledge (or do not recognize) that they are doing so. In this process, however, customary law changes. Gradually, as Papua New Guinea's common law develops, it will become an amalgam of something that is not quite the law of England, nor will it replicate precisely the customary law of Papua New Guinea. It will be (and will be always in the process of becoming) itself.

Epilogue

Readers who have come this far will want to know how the story ended, what happened to the cement company and the Biwat villagers. Six months after the National Court handed down its decision in the *Ready Mixed* case, a second *Ready Mixed* case began. The company instituted another action against the villagers, this time in the Lae District Court, a lesser court that has jurisdiction to order summary evictions under Section 6 of the Papua New Guinea Summary Ejectment Act (PNG Revised Laws, ch. 202). The company argued that it had waited the six-month period prescribed by the National Court and should now have possession of its land. The district court refused to order the eviction of the villagers, however, noting that, in order to bring an action under Section 6, one must have legal title to the property. In this case, legal title required that a lease be in existence; and, although all the technical formalities for granting a lease to the company had been complied with, the Department of Lands had still not gotten around to signing and issuing the lease document. Nor did the earlier decision of the National Court vest title in the company. That opinion had quite explicitly stated that the issues would be considered as if the company had legal title but that, until the company actually received the lease, it did not have legal title. The company appealed to the National Court, where a judge different from the one who had heard the first *Ready Mixed* case held that the company did have legal title and could therefore eject the villagers.⁵⁷ The villagers appealed this decision to the Supreme Court, which heard the case in 1984. All three members of the Supreme Court panel agreed with the district court that the company had not obtained title as a result of the *Ready Mixed* decision and was therefore unable in 1982 to bring summary eviction proceedings.⁵⁸

As it turned out, however, the Supreme Court's decision had little direct impact on the dispute between the villagers and the company. At the Supreme Court hearing, company counsel informed the court (and the villagers) that its lease had at last been issued. The company was therefore in a position to commence summary ejectment proceedings,

however the Supreme Court ruled on the company's 1982 attempt to evict the villagers. To date, the company has not pursued its ejection option. Perhaps it was worn down by the villagers' perseverance. Perhaps it feared that demolishing the settlement would demolish its public image and its sales figures as well. Whatever the reason, as this article was being written, Biwat still existed, and its population had grown to approximately one thousand.⁵⁹ In the last few months, however, the Lae Town Council has been demolishing squatter settlements, claiming that they harbor disease and crime.⁶⁰ So, by the time this article is read, Biwat may have disappeared.

NOTES

An earlier version of this article was presented at the 1989 Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in a session entitled "Law in Papua New Guinea: Ideal and Practice." I am grateful to the panelists and the audience for a lively and informed discussion that helped me to clarify and illuminate many of the points made here. There are, in addition, many people whom I need to thank for their contributions to this work. Linda Bartlett, Ellen James, Josepha Kanawi, Nancy Mikelsons, Bruce Ottley, Christine Stewart, and Stephen Zorn read successive drafts and made helpful suggestions along the way. Kendall Johnson and Patty Buchanan were invaluable research assistants. Sharlene Rohter's editing was thorough and thoughtful. Counsel for the Biwat villagers (now a judge of Papua New Guinea's Supreme Court) T. A. Doherty shared her extensive knowledge of the case. Most importantly, I must thank the Biwat villagers, whose determination proved (yet again) that no court decision is final so long as people continue to find the strength and community to work for what is theirs. Research in Papua New Guinea for this article was supported by a grant from the City University of New York Research Foundation.

1. *png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Limited v. The Independent State of Papua New Guinea, Utula Samana and Samson Kiamba (representative of a class of 511 persons)* [1981] PNGLR 396 (National Court). The written decisions of Papua New Guinea's National Court and Supreme Court are collected in bound volumes (*Papua New Guinea Law Reports*), which are published annually in Sydney by the Law Book Company. They are available in many American law libraries. In this article, quotations from the words of the court in the *Ready Mixed* case, and descriptions of the court's reasoning, are taken from the court's written decision, as published in *Papua New Guinea Law Reports*, Volume 1981, pp. 396ff.

2. I use phrases such as "customary law" or "custom" in this article, although their validity is questionable and their connotations uncertain. The use of "law" in reference to the norms and dispute-management processes of stateless societies imposes a Western category on something that may have very different aims and effects. On the other hand, to call it "custom" alone is to suggest that, unlike what is done in the formal courts of Papua New Guinea, it is "not law." Some term, however, is needed to denote the norms and processes by which Papua New Guineans manage their disputes and maintain order outside the for-

mal court system; these have the virtue of widespread use, as well as being the terms that the formal courts themselves use.

3. For descriptions of squatter settlements in Papua New Guinea and of the reactions to them of other urban dwellers and the government, see Hugh Norwood, *Port Moresby Urban Villages and Squatter Areas* (Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea Press, 1984); Nigel Oram, *Port Moresby: Colonial Town to Melanesian City* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1976); Nigel Oram, "Urban Expansion and Customary Land," in *Problem of Choice: Land in Papua New Guinea's Future*, ed. Peter Sack (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974), 170–180.

4. The residents of squatter settlements are nominally subject to the laws and ordinances of the town in which the settlements are located, but custom is also an important source of law within urban settlements. Many settlements are built on land belonging to traditional trading partners or kin of the settlers, with the settlers' rights to use the land governed by customary law. In this situation, the migrants may compensate their hosts for use of the land. Settlement residents often form committees, composed of the leaders of the various clans or rural villages represented in the community, to settle disputes and keep order. Norwood, *Port Moresby Urban Villages*, 83. Where a community consists of people from various parts of Papua New Guinea, it is likely that the committee will be applying a new version of "customary law" in settling disputes, much as urban village courts do when deciding disputes between parties originally from different areas of the country. Even when residents of an urban settlement are all from the same area, the new problems and situations of urban life will require that new law be made.

5. Descriptions of the Biwat settlement and its history are taken primarily from *png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd. v. The State*, [1981] PNGLR 396, and from a letter, dated 29 December 1989, from T. A. Doherty.

6. For a discussion of the so-called Lae town purchase, see Ian Willis, "Lae's Land Grabbers: White Man's Justice—But Who Can Afford It?" *New Guinea* 6 (1972): 4. According to Willis, most of the land now comprising the town of Lae, including the land on which the Biwat settlement was established, was seized by the German Neu Guinea Compagnie in 1900 to 1910. "The Lae were never paid for their land because it was [considered by the Germans to be] ownerless," although evidence exists that the Lae considered it theirs and used it for gardens. Willis, at 11. In 1927, the Australian colonial administration, which had succeeded the Germans in control of New Guinea during World War I, took title to the land, but did not register its title until 1965. The Australian colonial administration believed for many years that the Germans had paid for the land. The Lae brought suit in 1971 for damages for the wrongful taking of their land. This was at a time when numerous clans throughout Papua New Guinea were starting to bring claims against the administration, asking for damages or for the return of their lands. The Lae won their suit in the trial court (although they were awarded only A\$7,200 in damages, the value of the land in 1927), but lost in the highest appellate court, on the grounds that contemporaneous German documents showing the land to be ownerless in 1900 are more to be trusted than oral histories. *Gaya Nomgui v. The Administration* [1971–1972] PNGLR 430, 448. To those versed in the common law, with its assumption that a case once decided cannot be reopened, the Lae's defeat on their final appeal should have ended the matter, but the Papua New Guinean view of disputes is more open-ended. The Lae persevered outside of the court system until in 1979 they reached a settlement under which the government awarded them compensation for their land.

7. Descriptions of the company and the genesis of the lawsuit are taken from *png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd. v. The State* [1981] PNGLR 396. It is noteworthy that, in its opinion, the court described Biwat at some length and very favorably (the court never, for example, used the term “squat settlement”), but accorded the company less than a paragraph, and then only to comment on the oddity of its lowercase name and the lack of citizenship of its shareholders.

8. *png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd. v. The State* [1981] PNGLR 396. The National Court is Papua New Guinea’s major court of original jurisdiction. It is also the first appellate tribunal for the local and district courts, both of which are trial courts with limited jurisdiction. Appeals from the National Court are heard by the Supreme Court. The National Court consists of ten judges, all of whom must be qualified lawyers. National Court judges sit as appellate justices in the Supreme Court.

9. The court refused to uphold the company’s claims against Samana. *png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd. v. The State* [1981] PNGLR 396, 410.

10. William Twining notes the existence of this tension in the common-law process in courts in the United States, in his *Karl Llewellyn and the Realist Movement* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 3-9.

11. The Papua New Guinea Constitution can be found in Brian Brunton and Duncan Colquhoun-Kerr, *The Annotated Constitution of Papua New Guinea* (Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea Press, 1984); and in Pacific Law Unit and Institute of Pacific Studies, *Pacific Constitutions*, vol. 2, *The Independent States of Melanesia and Micronesia* (Suva: University of the South Pacific, n.d.). The Papua New Guinea Constitution provides, at Schedule 2.1, that the rules of substantive customary law are part of the underlying law, except those that are inconsistent with the Constitution or a statute or “repugnant to the general principles of humanity.” Schedule 2.2 provides that the common law of England in effect at the date of Papua New Guinea’s independence (16 September 1975) is also part of the underlying law, except provisions inconsistent with the Constitution, a statute, or customary law, or “inapplicable or inappropriate to the circumstances of the country from time to time.” Schedule 2.3 provides, “If in any particular matter before a court there appears to be no rule of [customary or English] law that is applicable [to the case] and appropriate to the circumstances of the country, it is the duty of the . . . Supreme Court and the National Court to formulate an appropriate rule as part of the underlying law.”

12. A few of the many writers who have argued that customary law should be given a larger place in the common law scheme than the Papua New Guinea courts have afforded it include Brian Brunton and Derek Roebuck, “Editorial—Customary Law and Statute Law in the Pacific: A Policy Framework,” *Melanesian Law Journal* 10 (1982): 6-13; David Weisbrot, “Integration of Laws in Papua New Guinea: Custom and the Criminal Law in Conflict,” in *Law and Social Change in Papua New Guinea*, ed. David Weisbrot, Abdul Paliwala, and Akilagpa Sawyerr (Sydney: Butterworths, 1982), 59-103; Bernard Narakobi, “The Adaptation of Western Law in Papua New Guinea,” *Melanesian Law Journal* 5 (1977): 52; S. D. Ross, “A Review of the Judiciary in Papua New Guinea,” *Melanesian Law Journal* 5 (1977): 5; Law Reform Commission, *Declaration and Development of the Underlying Law*, Working Paper no. 4 (Port Moresby: Government of Papua New Guinea, 1976); Richard Scaglione, “The Role of Custom in Law Reform,” in *Essays on the Constitution of Papua New Guinea*, ed. Ross DeVere, Duncan Colquhoun-Kerr,

and John Kaburise (Port Moresby: Government of Papua New Guinea, Tenth Independence Anniversary Advisory Committee, 1985), 31–38. Roebuck has argued that the courts have begun to give custom a more prominent place in their decisions, in his “Custom, Common Law, and Constructive Judicial Lawmaking,” in *Essays on the Constitution*, ed. DeVere, Colquhoun-Kerr, and Kaburise, 127–145. The judges themselves believe that they are paying more attention to custom. See Papua New Guinea Supreme Court, “Appendix C: The Judiciary and the Development of the Underlying Law,” *Annual Report by the Judges 1987* (Port Moresby: Government Printing Office, 1988). In all these articles—both those that lament the absence of customary law from the opinions of the court and those that argue it has begun to be included—the authors presume that customary law has been considered or adopted only where the court, in its opinion, overtly discusses the applicability of custom. These writers would therefore classify the *Ready Mixed* case (and other cases like it), in which the court bases its decision on custom but does not acknowledge doing so, as a case in which custom was not adopted.

13. Positivism was introduced into English jurisprudence in the early nineteenth century. John Austin and Jeremy Bentham are among those given credit for originating it. A number of excellent works of legal theory or legal history trace the origins and development of the positivist school in England and the United States. See, for example, Brian Simpson, “The Common Law and Legal Theory,” in *Legal Theory and Common Law*, ed. William Twining (London: Blackwell, 1986), 8–25; David Sugarman, “Legal Theory, the Common Law Mind, and the Making of the Textbook Tradition,” in *Legal Theory and Common Law*, ed. Twining, 26–61; W. Friedmann, *Legal Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 253–311.

14. This is contrary to legal pluralism, which recognizes that law exists in every social grouping, institution, community, or social field within society that makes rules to which its members adhere. See Sally Falk Moore, *Social Facts and Fabrications: “Customary” Law on Kilimanjaro 1880–1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Sally Falk Moore, *Law as Process: An Anthropological Approach* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978); John Griffiths, “What is Legal Pluralism,” *Journal of Legal Pluralism* 24 (1986): 1; Sally Merry, “Legal Pluralism,” *Law & Society Review* 22 (1988): 869; M. B. Hooker, *Legal Pluralism: An Introduction to Colonial and Neo-Colonial Laws* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

15. Although positivism still dictates the way in which cases should be decided for most judges in Australia and Papua New Guinea, it has been replaced in the United States (and, to some extent, in England) by realism, a theory of judicial decision making that admits the inevitability of legal change and leads judges to make that change overt, along with the policies and values guiding the change, by grounding their decisions not only in prior rules but also in the circumstances of the parties and the social policies that the rules are intended to effect. For discussions of realism, see Twining, *Karl Llewellyn and the Realist Movement*; Karl N. Llewellyn, *The Case Law System in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

16. See, for example, *John Jivetuo v. Independent State of Papua New Guinea, Madang Provincial Government and Commissioner of Police, Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary* [1984] PNGLR 174.

17. *png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd. v. The State* [1981] PNGLR 396, at 407.

18. *Crabb v. Arun District Council* [1975] 3 All E.R. 865, 868.

19. *Crabb v. Arun District Council* [1975] 3 All E.R. 865, 871, cited at *png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd. v. The State* [1981] PNGLR 396, 404.
20. Cases cited in the opinion include some decided prior to *Crabb v. Arun* that were gradually developing the doctrine that it would enunciate. These were *Inwards v. Baker* [1965] 2 Q.B. 29, 2 W.L.R. 212, 1 All E.R. 446; *E. R. Ives Investment Ltd. v. High* [1967] 2 Q.B. 379. The *png Ready Mixed* opinion also cites two cases decided after *Crabb v. Arun*, which rely on it. These are *Jones v. Jones* [1977] 1 W.L.R. 438; *Pascoe v. Turner* [1979] 1 W.L.R. 431.
21. *Inwards v. Baker* [1965] 2 Q.B. 29, 35; *Jones v. Jones* [1977] 1 W.L.R. 438, 440.
22. *Pascoe v. Turner* [1979] 1 W.L.R. 431, 434-435.
23. *Ives v. High* [1966] 2 Q.B. 379, 392; *Crabb v. Arun* [1975] 3 All E.R. 865, 869.
24. In *Inwards v. Baker*, *Jones v. Jones*, and *Pascoe v. Turner*, the occupants gave up other dwelling places, or built or improved the house, believing it to be theirs. In *Ives*, the landowners acquiesced in and encouraged the defendant's building a garage accessible only if he crossed their property to reach it. In *Crabb v. Arun*, the landowner built a fence with gates at the places where the parties had agreed plaintiff's right-of-way would begin.
25. *png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd. v. The State* [1981] PNGLR 396, 405.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, at 404.
28. *The Administration v. Blasius Tirupia; Re Vunapaladig and Japalik Land* [1971-72] PNGLR 229; discussed in *png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd. v. The State* [1981] PNGLR 396, 404.
29. In determining the length of time that residents could remain on the land, the court divided the residents between those who had arrived prior to 1976 (five years before the company commenced its action for possession) and those who had arrived in 1976 and afterwards. Those who had arrived before 1976 could continue in undisturbed possession for one year from the date of the court's order and those who had arrived later could continue for six months. The court seems to have chosen 1976 as a watershed year for two reasons. First, government officials, asked at the hearing about their awareness of the village's existence, admitted to knowledge dating from that year, which is the year that the officials took up their postings in the area. Second, from the conflicting evidence of aerial maps and memories, the court concluded that there may have been no more than sixty residents in the village by 1976 and that its major population expansion probably occurred thereafter. It is not clear, however, if anyone during the National Court hearing was aware that the court's order would differentiate in this way. Counsel for the residents did not attempt to locate government officials who knew of the village prior to 1976 and did not establish the date at which each resident had settled in the village. Of the village's 511 inhabitants, only Samson Kiamba and Andrew Poli, both of whom had moved to the village before 1976, testified at the hearing, and, because no other residents were in court to be asked about their length of residence, only Kiamba and Poli and their families were given the one-year entitlement. *png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd. v. The State* [1981] PNGLR 396, 407.

30. *Crabb v. Arun District Council* [1975] 3 All E.R. 865, 871; quoted in *png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd. v. The State* [1981] PNGLR 396, 404.

31. In *Inwards v. Baker* and *Jones v. Jones*, for example, where the courts found that the landowner had promised lifelong possession of the house, the court granted that. In *Pascoe v. Turner*, where the court found that the landowner had promised to give the house to defendant, the court granted that. In *Ives v. High* and *Crabb v. Arun*, where the courts found that there had been (unenforceable) contracts for permanent rights-of-way, the courts granted permanent rights-of-way.

32. *png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd. v. The State* [1981] PNGLR 396, 407.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Inwards v. Baker* [1965] 2 Q.B. 29.

36. *png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd. v. The State* [1981] PNGLR 396, 406.

37. *Inwards v. Baker* [1965] 2 Q.B. 29, 37.

38. *png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd. v. The State* [1981] PNGLR 396, 406.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. The descriptions in this article of Papua New Guinean customary land tenure are taken from a number of sources, including D. J. Colquhoun-Kerr and Andrew A. L. Lakau, "Land Tenure and Land Dispute Settlement in Enga," *Melanesian Law Journal* 11 (1983): 59-90; Peter Eaton, "Customary Land Dispute Settlement: Should Lawyers Be Kept Out?" *Melanesian Law Journal* 11 (1983): 47-58; Oram, "Urban Expansion and Customary Land," 170-180; Andrew Strathern, "Melpa Land Tenure: Rules and Processes," in *Land Tenure in Oceania*, ed. Henry P. Lundsgaarde (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974), 18-38; Ron Crocombe, Robin Hide, and Peter Eaton, "Papua New Guinea: Unity in Diversity," in *Land Tenure in the Pacific*, ed. Ron Crocombe, 3d ed. (Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1987), 324-367. Although the descriptions in this article are generally true of many Papua New Guinean societies, groups vary considerably, and every aspect of the descriptions will not hold true for every group.

42. One might ask why, given this set of facts, the court did not simply apply customary law and hold that residence on and development of land confers rights in the land, regardless of what the owner of the land promised or did not promise. Here, however, the court might have felt itself constrained by the common law. The common law also recognizes multiple interests in land, but it bundles all those interests and grants them to the individual freeholder. Only he or she can unwrap the bundle, and all choices as to the use of the land are the freeholder's. If the freeholder wishes he or she may lease the land to another's use, may grant easements permitting others limited use of the land, may sell all or part of the land or give it away, may determine who inherits rights in the land, may use it productively or allow it to sit unused. Once a freeholder has voluntarily parted with any of these interests, the courts will hold him or her to the terms of that agreement, but the initial bargain is the freeholder's to make. Even the doctrine of proprietary estoppel, though interfering with the legal rights of a freeholder, pays deference to the common law model of individual ownership. Under that doctrine, courts do not simply declare that an occupant

has acquired rights to land through living on it or developing it; they phrase it as an acquisition that was actually or impliedly agreed to by the freeholder.

43. See, for example, *Crabb v. Arun* [1975] 3 All E.R. 865, at 871, 880.

44. Colquhoun-Kerr and Lakau, "Land Tenure and Land Dispute Settlement in Enga," 65; R. Hide, *The Land Titles Commission in Chimbu*, New Guinea Research Bulletin no. 50 (Port Moresby and Canberra: New Guinea Research Unit, Australian National University, 1973), 12-13.

45. *The State v. District Land Court [Kimbe] Ex Parte Caspar Nuli* [1981] PNGLR 192, at 194. The National Court upheld the original decision of the local land court and reversed the appellate decision of the provincial land court, which had held that the land should be spatially rather than temporally divided. At 196.

46. The court never discussed compensation, so one cannot know its reasons for failing to award it. Possibly, the villagers never asked for compensation in their pleadings. Possibly, the court was constrained by common law and statutory concepts. In common law, temporary occupants (lessees, for example) are entitled, when their occupation ends, to remove personal possessions from the land but not to remove fixtures (which include houses, trees, and anything permanently attached to the house or the land) or receive compensation for the fixtures they leave behind, unless statutes expressly permit compensation for improvements. For example, Papua New Guinea's Revised Land Act provides, at Section 48(3), that upon the expiration of the term of a government lease of land on which improvements have been constructed, the outgoing lessee is entitled to be paid the value of the improvements, but the act does not permit the lessee to remove the improvements. See *Fletcher Morobe Construction Pty. Ltd. v. Minister for Lands*, Unreported Supreme Court SC366 (1988).

47. For the relevant constitutional provisions, see note 11 above.

48. Morris R. Cohen, *Law and the Social Order: Essays in Legal Philosophy* (London: Transaction Books, 1982; originally published 1933), 123.

49. For much better descriptions of the judicial process than I have here given, concluding as I have that every case requires that a judge in some sense make new law, see Morris R. Cohen, "The Process of Judicial Legislation," in *ibid.*, 112-147; Karl N. Llewellyn, *The Common Law Tradition—Deciding Appeals* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1960).

50. As a result, the Papua New Guinea courts often write as if their failure to ground their decisions in custom more often and more overtly is primarily a matter of the administrative and procedural difficulties in doing so. See, for example, Papua New Guinea Supreme Court, "Appendix C: The Judiciary and the Development of the Underlying Law," *Annual Report by the Judges 1987* (Port Moresby: Government Printing Office, 1988). Since a number of writers, such as David Weisbrot, "Papua New Guinea's Indigenous Jurisprudence and the Legacy of Colonialism," *University of Hawaii Law Review* 10 (1988): 1-45, have listed these difficulties, I need not repeat them here, particularly since I contend that these procedural problems, while real, seem insuperable only because the courts' positivist orientation causes the courts to focus on them.

51. Schedule 1.2(1) of the Constitution defines custom as "the customs and usages of indigenous inhabitants of the country existing in relation to the matter in question at the time

when and the place in relation to which the matter arises, regardless of whether or not the custom or usage has existed from time immemorial.”

52. For example, in assault or murder cases, the colonial courts were prone to give Papua New Guineans light sentences on the grounds that, since it was the “custom” of traditional villages to fly off the handle at the slightest provocation, it would be unfair to impose stiffer penalties. In these cases, the courts were, in their patronizing way, confusing custom with common behavioral patterns. Sometimes, too, the colonial courts gave lighter sentences to Papua New Guineans when the murder was required by customary payback rules. Here, the courts were defining custom as a normative system.

53. See note 51 above.

54. For discussions of whether the “customary law” of today even deserves to be viewed as custom, given the changes wrought by the forces of colonialism, see Peter Fitzpatrick, “Traditionalism and Traditional Law,” *Journal of African Law* 28 (1984): 20; Francis Snyder, “Customary Law and the Economy,” *Journal of African Law* 28 (1984): 34.

55. See, for example, *Supreme Court Constitutional Reference No. 4 of 1980: Re Petition of M. T. Somare and Sir Julius Chan* [1981] PNGLR 265.

56. I am grateful to Andrew Strathern for this felicitous phrase.

57. *png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd. v. Herman Gawi* (Unreported, 1983).

58. *Herman Gawi (as representative of a class of persons) v. png Ready Mixed Concrete Pty. Ltd.* [1984] PNGLR 74 (Supreme Court).

59. Letter, dated 29 December 1989, from T. A. Doherty.

60. For reports of recent provincial and local government moves against urban settlements, see the Port Moresby *Post-Courier*, issues of July and August 1991.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OPTIONS FOR THE FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA AT INDEPENDENCE

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Introduction

This article is intended to extend discussion of development strategies of Pacific small-island countries to include the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM).¹ The FSM archipelago, with its four constituent states,² gained formal independence on 3 November 1986 with the ending of the United States' United Nations trusteeship, and this article describes development prospects at that moment.

Much of the previous literature on the region constituting the FSM was written by US academics and administrators and concerned with evaluating US policy during the forty years of the UN mandate. Overall, the evaluation appears to have been negative (a more sympathetic view can be found in Kanost 1985–1986, more typically negative views can be found in Kent 1982 and Kiste 1986). This negative evaluation can be split into two periods.

First came the “zoo” critique, starting with the capture of the islands from the Japanese and the period of Navy rule to 1951 and stretching through the rest of the 1950s. This critique saw US policy as self-interestedly restricting access to progressive political and economic ideas. Second was the “welfare” critique, following the negative UN comments in the early 1960s and the threat of possible loss of the trust territories. In this period, antipoverty programs designed for the mainland US were implemented in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

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(TTPI) with little local consultation and on a basis that gave virtually universal eligibility. This was also seen as being in US self-interest, as that self-interest was seen to be geopolitically strategic rather than economically extractive. Indeed, the original US mandate from the UN was unique in being formally labeled “strategic,” with explicit US military rights. The four trusteeship districts, now constituting the states of the FSM, had been governed separately in effect and the independence constitution is strongly federal along the lines of the US Constitution. This has given the FSM a relatively weak central government compared to other Pacific small-island states.

The four TTPI districts that eventually emerged as the FSM states can justifiably claim to have been as economically and politically ill-prepared for independence as any of the small-island Pacific countries. This article, however, is more concerned with appraising the future than evaluating the past. Notably, it is concerned to bring the situation in the FSM into the debate on development in Pacific small-island countries, stressing export promotion versus import substitution and large-scale versus small-scale production.

The Present Economic Situation and Likely Future Developments

The 100,000 people of the Federated States of Micronesia are now facing for the first time what could be termed the “economic reality” of most of the smaller, independent Pacific countries. This reality consists of four interrelated elements:

1. Economies dominated by agriculture and fishing (as measured by the population’s declared economic activities) with a rising demand for imported goods, most disturbingly food and beverages
2. Difficulties in finding new exports from the agricultural and fishing sectors, difficulties associated with sufficient quantity, consistent high quality, and punctual delivery to high-income markets
3. A tendency for people to look to government office salaries and trading in imports as preferred economic activities
4. Government expenditures rising faster than locally generated revenues

These processes were initiated in all the current FSM states during the US trusteeship period (by comparison, the period of the Japanese League of Nations mandate appears to have been one of some development of productive forces [pers. com. from three older Pohnpei

residents, 1987; Yanaihara 1939]). By the time of independence, the processes had been permitted to attain extraordinary dimensions by the willingness of the US simply to underwrite the economy. The result is a macroeconomic situation in terms of balance of payments and government deficit, which the newly independent economy could not possibly sustain through its own efforts, a situation summarized in Table 1.

Import figures shown in Table 2 suggest that food, beverage, and tobacco imports have been rising on average as fast as total imports, not a surprising statistic as they constitute around 45 percent of the total. Without a local price deflator it is difficult to say what has been happening in real per capita terms. The actual US dollars per capita spent on food imports per annum does seem to have risen to around \$200 from \$130.³ Given depressed international agricultural commodity prices in 1983 and 1984 plus substantial "disguised" imports in the form of US

TABLE 1. Economic Indicators for the Federated States of Micronesia in the Mid-1980s

Estimated Balance of Payments (1983)	
Estimated "imports" (including net remittances outflow)	\$52,090,000
Estimated "exports" (including tourism receipts and fishing rights payments)	\$ 6,800,000
Imports/Exports ratio	7:1
Waged and Salaried Employment (1985 estimates)	
Government sector jobs	6,810
Private sector jobs	5,820
Government/Private employment ratio	1:2
Productivity in Unwaged Subsistence/Artisanal Sector (1983)	
Total estimated annual value of agricultural and fishing activity	\$44,910,000
Estimated number of people in labor force not in waged and salaried employment	17,000
Average annual income per unwaged worker	\$ 2,642
Government Accounts (1983)	
Government current operational expenditure (national and state)	\$76,970,000
Government revenue (national and state, excluding US contributions)	\$ 9,473,000
Expenditure/Revenue ratio	8:1

Source: FSM Office of Planning and Statistics, Pohnpei; Federated States of Micronesia 1985b.

TABLE 2. Import Statistics for the Federated States of Micronesia for 1977, 1978, 1983, and 1984^a

	Food Imports (SITC 0) ^b (\$000)	Beverage and Tobacco Imports (SITC 1) ^b (\$000)	Total Imports ^c (\$000)	Food, Beverage, and Tobacco Imports as % of Total	Food, Beverage, and Tobacco Imports Per Annum Per Capita ^d (\$)
1977	6,493	2,370	20,562	43	130
1978	7,109	2,193	19,395	48	130
1983	11,150	6,940	48,890	37	213
1984	13,055	4,319	33,158	52	197

Sources: Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands 1979; FSM Office of Planning and Statistics, Pohnpei.

^aNo statistics are available for 1979 to 1982.

^bStandard International Trade Clarification as used in United Nations statistics.

^cThere is confusion in the records between whether imports are being recorded f.o.b. rather than the usual c.i.f.

^dNo deflator is available to correct for price increases in foodstuffs in FSM.

Department of Agriculture donations, this suggests there is certainly no tendency for the total of real food imports per capita to fall.

Uncertainty about the data cannot be dismissed, but the robust conclusion can be drawn here that food, beverage, and tobacco imports are not falling in any terms and, for them alone, the FSM spends at least five times its earnings from all merchandise exports in any year. The figures in Table 3 indicate that, even given the data problems, there is

TABLE 3. Imports by State in the Federated States of Micronesia for 1978 and 1984

State	% of Total Imports		Per Capita Per Annum (\$)	
	1978	1984	1978	1984
Kosrae ^a	55	49	57	241
Pohnpei	45	47	151	252
Truk ^b	49	57	108	155
Yap	54	60	171	201

Source: Federated States of Micronesia 1985b.

^aKosrae statistics may be underestimated. Imports may have been first landed elsewhere in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

^bTruk is probably the largest recipient of US Department of Agriculture donations.

every reason to believe that no individual state of the four constituent states can claim exemption from responsibility for this unsustainable level of national imports.

The First National Development Plan claimed that in 1983 the bulk of imports were essential items, including food (Federated States of Micronesia 1985b:77). Definition of the term "essential" is always difficult in economics, but three different approaches in the specific area of food imports can clarify policy issues. First, an imported food item is qualitatively essential if it contains a nutritional component that cannot be obtained within the local environment at any price. Looking at high islands and atolls together in the four FSM states, no imported food item is "essential" in this sense (witness the long list of local foodstuffs purchased by the Food Services Office program in Table 7 below) though the vitamins in imported fruit and vegetables may be highly desirable given current food production patterns and seasonal factors.

Second, an imported food item is quantitatively essential if there is no hope of raising production of a nutritional substitute to a level where it is available to the whole population. Again, looking across all types of islands and all states, there is so much underutilized potential in agriculture and fishing beyond the reef that it is difficult to argue the case for essential imports in this sense at this time. However, rice may have become a staple that bananas, breadfruit, and root crops will have problems completely displacing.

Third, an imported food item is distributionally essential if local substitutes will not become available to households without land and with low cash incomes because prices are too high for them to afford. Existing data are not sufficient to assess how many people are exposed to risk in this way in the FSM and no consumer price index exists to monitor the impact of price changes on low-income households. A basic nutritious diet for low-income households may need to be made accessible through a mix of pricing, welfare, and importing policies. However, this can hardly justify permitting every kind of foodstuff to enter the FSM at a nominal 1 percent duty regardless of nutritional content or place in a low-income diet.

If no food imports are clearly "essential" by any of these three interpretations and the overall economic situation demands a large reduction in all imports, then a policy to reduce food imports is highly desirable as part of a development strategy to achieve a viable economy. The next question is whether such an objective can be achieved at a low cost in terms of forgone opportunities.

Increasing Local Food Production

In the Federated States of Micronesia, the direct responsibility for agricultural and fisheries development is a matter for the four states, not the national government. The First National Development Plan, however, does attempt to set out general principles and identify common constraints. For instance, the plan states a commitment to “smallholders as developers of the Nation’s agricultural potential” to help attain the objective to “meet the bulk of the Nation’s food requirements locally” (Federated States of Micronesia 1985b:143, 85). Among the constraints noted:

We do not have a large pool of cheap labor for the development of the Nation’s agricultural resources based on a system of large commercial estates. . . .

Except for the marketing of copra, no organized system for marketing agricultural produce exists. . . .

[There is a] lack of agricultural research, especially adaptive research to improve the yield of existing crop varieties . . . [and a] lack of effective communication channels to convey information to farmers on new crops and technologies. . . .

While the FSM Development Bank finances viable agricultural projects, there is an absence of short-term credit. (Ibid.:85)

All these statements could be applied to agriculture and fishing in virtually any Pacific Islands country. Raising productivity of labor and yields from land in a small-producer context could be said to define the goal of economic development in many countries in the region. Experience elsewhere suggests no single economic constraint or bottleneck. Availability on suitable terms of labor, access to land or water, technical knowledge, equipment, credit, and markets are all important. An integrated approach is required, but integration must prioritize the various factors at different times.

At this time, the national plan is stressing marketing: what is required to “meet the bulk of the Nation’s food requirements locally” is “above all, the development of an efficient internal marketing system for handling local farm produce” and, for fishing, to remedy “inadequate marketing systems [that] hinder commercial production” (ibid.:83, 119).

Such a stress would be understandable if significant amounts of produce were frequently rotting in the gardens or on the quaysides and the local transport system and private trading sector were totally underdeveloped. This does not appear to be the case in the FSM. At this time, production itself appears to be very low, not just marketed supply.

Evidence from around the world over the past twenty years has convinced development economists that small-producers are economically highly rational; that is, they act consistently in the light of available information and experience to achieve specific economic objectives. Applying this view to the FSM suggests three interrelated reasons why more local food, substituting for imports, is not being produced from a relatively abundant natural resource base: it is easy to obtain cash outside the agricultural sector and purchase cheap imported food; a "target income" in kind and cash is being achieved with current prices and outputs; and the implicit rewards to labor, including effort and status, from self-employed food production are low compared with other activities, notably those in the bureaucracy.

The first factor should diminish in impact over time. Cash incomes from other than agriculture will become harder to find as US funding decreases. Imported food will also become more expensive if the national government chooses to increase duties to move closer to a balance on the international and government accounts. The fundamental economic facts of life will tend to stimulate increased food production.

Any target income will also become harder to achieve in the FSM in the future as the economic fundamentals change. Therefore, local food production might be expected to increase if a producing household with access to land or marine resources wishes to maintain its standard of living. However, a problem will emerge if the response to local food price increases is a reduction in the marketed supply of local food due to producers' being able to obtain a similar income from lower sales. Such a view of possible producer response, the so-called backward-bending supply curve, does have some support among economists writing on Pacific island economies (see, for instance, Fleming and Fearn 1986). With a backward-bending supply curve, the effect of price increases on total production is likely to be very weak, as only the most commercially minded producers respond to the improved incentive. On the other hand, lower prices will discourage these commercially minded producers. While there may be some increased marketing by target-income producers, it would be at the cost of reducing productive investment in food production and mass alienation and resentment, a situation not conducive to sustained increases in production. Thus, processing and

marketing projects can be frustrated if they offer either higher or lower prices to producers, especially with the current underdevelopment of production in the FSM. Raise prices and target-income producers withdraw; lower prices and commercially oriented producers withdraw.

If the economic fundamentals favor increased local food production, but indirect encouragement through improved processing and marketing is likely to be ineffective in increasing supply, then a direct approach is worth consideration. Reducing the effort required to produce food and raising the status of food production by associating it with technological innovation could increase rewards per worker in financial and psychological terms. The aim would be to make producing more attractive, higher-status work. Much of the success in artisan reef-fishing projects in increasing output in the FSM and the wider Pacific is attributable to efforts to improve boats, tackle, and propulsion equipment. Only subsequently and consequently did marketing, storage, and processing bottlenecks arise. This principle may have applicability more widely in marine resources and agriculture, including livestock rearing, providing the fundamental production potential exists.

Such potential appears to exist in Pohnpei State. The state consists of a volcanic island of 334 square kilometers with fertile soil and good rainfall where just over 90 percent of the 30,000 people live. Less than 10 percent of the population live on the five inhabited atolls in an environment difficult for agriculture. The surrounding ocean has a massive potential for protein-rich food. Certainly in the ocean beyond the reef, fishing potential is regarded universally as sufficient to allow a vastly increased catch for local use and export.

On the main island of Pohnpei, a recent comprehensive soil survey found 23,000 hectares of land that could be cultivated indefinitely with soil fertility conservation techniques (US Department of Agriculture 1982). Table 4 shows a summary from that report breaking down this total cultivable area by the number of potential varieties of crops that could be grown out of twenty-three listed crops. Almost half the cultivable area is considered suitable for fifteen or more crops including avocados, citrus fruits, mangoes, papayas, pineapples, and watermelons. More than a quarter is also suitable for corn, Chinese cabbage, cucumbers, and green onions. The report also claims that only 30 percent of the total land area was under cultivation at the time of survey—that is, about 12,000 hectares—remarking “the potential of the soils in the survey area for increased production of food is fair to good, partly because many areas are not being used for crops at the present time” (*ibid.*:23).

TABLE 4. Cropping Potential on Pohnpei Island

Number of Potential Crops (maximum 23)	Area of Suitable Land (000 hectares) ^a
1-4 ^b	0.4
5-9	3.9
10-14	7.9
15-19	4.3
20-23	6.8

Source: US Department of Agriculture 1982.

^a1 hectare = 2.4 acres.

^bWetland suitable only for rice or swamp taro.

Even if atolls are assumed to have no cultivation potential, which is overstrong, the soil survey suggests there is two-thirds of a hectare of cultivable land for each person in the state on Pohnpei island alone. Using College of Micronesia College of Tropical Agriculture and Science results from research on Pohnpei island as indicative of full potential, two-thirds of a hectare could produce 10 tonnes of taro or sweet potato (1986, April and May). This annual yield is equivalent to 27 kilograms of root crop per day per state inhabitant! But instead of massive food surpluses, Pohnpei State imported about \$4 million in food in the 1980s (see Table 5). The proposition that increasing local food production is both physically possible and economically desirable certainly seems to be supported by the evidence.

The Pohnpei State Agriculture Division estimates that there were three hundred commercial vegetable farmers in 1986, whereas there were only twenty-five in 1973. The following quotes from the division's monthly reports (Pohnpei State 1973-1985) also suggest potential for changes in growers' attitudes (and problems) and behavior:

During the tour it was pointed out to the Congressman that the crux of the problem is the lack of desire to farm by the people and willingness to adopt the new methods of modern agriculture. (March 1973)

[B]ecause of school lunch programs more farmers are now planting vegetables around their houses all around the islands. (October 1980)

TABLE 5. State of Pohnpei Food Imports, 1982–1985 (\$000, f.o.b.)

Item	1982		1983		1984		1985
	Actual	Adjusted ^a	Actual	Adjusted ^a	Actual	Adjusted ^a	Actual
Rice	892	678	961	730 ^b	814	619	621
Meat	1,086	825	1,174	892	1,459	1,109	1,241
Fruit & vegetables	223	169	240	182	285	217	170
Other foods	2,031	1,544	2,200	1,672	1,952	1,484	1,706
Total	4,232	3,216	4,575	3,477	4,510	3,428	3,738

Source: Pohnpei State Office of Planning and Statistics.

^a“Adjusted” means—in an attempt to correct for all Kosrae imports probably passing through Pohnpei between 1982 and 1985—that the actual figure has been multiplied by 0.76 on the basis of the relative populations of the two states.

^bRice figure for 1983 may be strongly affected by drought conditions in Pohnpei.

The Division receives numerous complaints regarding the surplus of vegetables on the islands. The markets and the Food Service were not able to buy all the vegetables produced by the local farmers. (November 1980)

More recent, but equally fragmented, evidence is shown in Table 6, where a comparison between 1980/1981 and a part of 1984/1985 (there are no strong seasonal patterns in Pohnpei's climate) suggests a significant increase in seedlings sold by the Agriculture Division.

Indeed, the Pohnpei State Food Services Office managed to purchase almost 83,000 kilograms of local fruit and vegetables in the 1984/1985 school year (Table 7) in addition to imported fruit and vegetables valued at \$100,000, according to 1987 program records. However, the sharp rise in total fruit and vegetable imports in 1984/1985 may indicate the service was purchasing from growers who were diverting produce from their own consumption or from the private-sector market. The fall in both Food Services' purchases and imports in 1985/1986 from 1984/1985 levels may indicate a restoration of normal conditions. If this is the case, and an increase in demand of 40,000 kilograms per annum (that is, 2 kilograms for each cultivable hectare on Pohnpei island or 3 kilograms per cultivating household) can only be met by significantly increased imports, then, despite improvements in the last few years, the production situation is still critical.

TABLE 6. Seedlings Sold by Agricultural Station, Pohnpei State, 1980/1981 and Part of 1984/1985

Type	1980/1981 (whole year)	1984/1985 (7 months only) ^a
Bell pepper	4,125	7,193
Chinese cabbage	29,271	45,229
Head cabbage	14,294	15,501
Tomato	2,878	3,172

Sources: Pohnpei State 1973–1985.

Note: This information, as for all types of agricultural information, has not been systematically recorded across time or by category.

^aSeasonal differences are not climatically significant on Pohnpei island.

TABLE 7. Purchases of Local Food by Pohnpei State Food Services Office, 1983 to 1985 School Years (Kg.)

Type	1983/1984 (total value \$207,000)	1984/1985 (total value \$354,427)	1985/1986 (total value \$456,374)
Staples ^a	50,509	86,661	145,765
Protein ^b	44,966	60,332	77,529
Fruit & vegetables ^c	42,157	82,854	45,350

Source: Records of the Pohnpei State Food Services Office.

Note: An indicator of the spread of purchases is that 4,073 separate payments were made in 1984/1985 and 6,500 in 1985/1986, the maximum number of payments in the same name appeared to be about forty, and the median payment was under \$50.

^aIncludes banana, breadfruit, sweet potato, tapioca, taro, and yam.

^bIncludes pork, reef fish, and tuna fish; does not include small amounts of mahimahi fish, shrimp, crab, octopus, chicken eggs, and venison.

^cIncludes eggplant, cucumber, squash, Chinese cabbage, head cabbage, bell pepper, pumpkin, *pahr*, papaya, and watermelon; does not include root crops and banana, small amounts of oranges, pineapple, mountain apple, star apple, pandanus, sugar cane, mango, lemon, lime, snake cord, palm shoots, beans, guava, sweet corn, tomato, green onion, and local green vegetables.

The production potential of Truk State appears less promising. Truk has not only the largest population of all the FSM states, with an estimated 46,160 people in 1985, but also one of the smaller land masses—only 127 square kilometers. The resulting population density of 362 people per square kilometer is four times the density of Pohnpei State. Also, whereas 90 percent of Pohnpei State's residents live on one large island

encircled by motorable road, the most heavily populated island in Truk State, Moen, the state center, has only about a third of the state's population (even allowing for considerable immigration since the 1980 census) and sea journeys are necessary for most intrastate communication. The Truk lagoon, as the major marine resource area for the state, is vulnerable to overuse despite its relatively large size, given the population dependent on its exploitation.

In terms of developing human resource potential, the current population growth rate in Truk State is estimated at just over 3 percent (3.08 percent in Federated States of Micronesia 1985b). As would be expected with a relatively high level of population growth, the age structure in 1985 is believed to have included 44.5 percent of the population as being between the ages of 0 and 14 years (Truk State 1986). Education has dominated government expenditure in the 1980s, taking more than 40 percent of the state's total government operational expenditure during the last year of the trusteeship period (*ibid.*). One thousand school teachers constituted 17 percent of the wage- and salary-earning work force in 1985.

Despite the relatively tight natural resource constraint and the efforts in the human resource field, there has been no strong development of employment opportunities outside low-productivity, self-employed farming and fishing. Only 5,764 Trukese were recorded in waged and salaried work in 1985. About a thousand young people leave school each year, and so the probability of getting a waged or salaried job is small. Studies elsewhere suggest that a moderate level of schooling can be an important factor in higher agricultural productivity, so it would be wrong to regard schooling as wasted if school-leavers do not obtain waged or salaried employment. But schooling may reinforce negative attitudes toward farming and fishing. Some FSM curriculum material is specifically directed at farming and fishing, but generally the curriculum has been criticized for being based too rigidly on US standards (Cantero 1984; Colletta 1980). Concern with overacademic schooling, however, is a Pacific-wide problem that goes well beyond the FSM classroom and relates to the whole way in which development priorities are determined. The primary challenge appears to be one of improvements at the point of production, not in the market or the classroom.

Access to potentially productive land and marine resources in Truk appears to be widely spread among the population, though precise rights of individual and communal ownership or control can be disputed or complex. Land is held in small plots and these plots can often be fragmented (see Castro 1984 for a description of Pohnpei's differing,

but also complex, land tenure system). On the other hand, property rights over marine resources appear to be very few or weak, which leaves these resources vulnerable to abuse and overexploitation—most dramatically in the practice of using explosives for fishing. Opportunities exist for increasing production from land and from the sea, but the problematic inheritance from the past one hundred years needs to be faced. The tangle of property rights through which people can both neglect land and abuse marine resources appears to need determined policy action. A fast-growing population needs feeding now and in the future; both cultivable land lying idle and reef fish stocks irreparably damaged by explosives are not compatible with that need.

However, foreign exchange is bound to be limited for any use as economic pressures grow. As seen above, the FSM overall has chronic balance of payments and government budget problems and these problems look even more intractable for Truk State taken alone (see Table 8). The twin problems of moving some way towards balancing both the international account and the government budget are bound to dominate

TABLE 8. Economic Indicators for Truk State

Balance of Trade

Year	Imports ^a (\$000)	Exports ^b (\$000)	Trade Deficit Per Capita ^c (\$)
1983	16,246	663	339
1984	13,631	679	289

Government Budget

Year	State Govt. Operational Expenditure (\$000)	Total State Govt. Income from Non-US Sources (\$000)	Deficit Per Capita (\$)
1982	19,082	1,668	379
1983	19,050	1,729	377

Source: Truk State 1986.

^aF.o.b. is "free on board" at the port of dispatch; transport and other expected associated costs could add 20% plus to the import total.

^bTourism probably adds about \$500,000 to overseas earnings; and a share of international fishing fees should also be included, which would amount to about \$1 million on a pro rata population basis.

^cGross state product per capita is about \$1,300.

decision making over the next fifteen years and set tight economic constraints on what can be done. Choices, between import substitution and export promotion, between large-scale and small-scale programs and projects, will have to be made.

Import Substitution versus Export Promotion

Import substitution in consumption terms does not have to mean producing locally an identical commodity to what was previously imported. Certainly the experience of problems with rice cultivation in the 1970s on Pohnpei island (though production by Japanese settlers in the 1930s may have been more successful) or with the Solrice Company on Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands does not suggest that direct substitution of a local for an imported item is always a desirable approach. Consumer convenience is undoubtedly a major factor in preferences for imported food, but if convenience has an increasing cost, other factors will gain significance. Nutritionally, the customary root crops are substitutes for rice; fresh or smoked fish and shellfish are substitutes for canned meat, frozen meat, and canned fish; dried and other simply processed snacks and flavorings produced on a small scale from local products are substitutes for those produced in factories abroad; and coconut products can substitute for soft drinks and cooking oils.

But import substitution as an approach to development itself has a poor general reputation. In the drive for industrialization by many less-developed countries in the 1950s and 1960s, import substitution came to be identified with low-quality, expensive products produced by firms importing all their nonlabor inputs, working at undercapacity behind high tariff walls. The main reasons for these problems was that import substitution was attempted using totally imported technology with an efficient scale of production greater than the domestic market. At that time, few less-developed countries were food importers and the idea of import substitution for food imports was being advocated in industrialized countries like the United Kingdom, not agriculturally based, less-developed countries.

For import substitution in a broader sense to be successful, economic factors need to be moving in a supportive direction. Three major economic factors are income, relative prices, and marketed supply. In the period of the US trusteeship, these economic factors tended to be unsupportive to import substitution (in addition to any educational/cultural influence towards a Western diet). The economic situation may be

expected to change over the next fifteen years, under the Compact of Free Association.

Income levels, especially incomes in cash, have probably risen greatly in the past decade. No estimates of aggregate economic activity exist for the period, but a crude indicator of growing relative affluence even in the depressed 1980s is shown in Table 9. Not only did the number of registered motor vehicles in Pohnpei State rise by about 76 percent, but also the 1985 total of 1,854 represents one motor vehicle on average for every two households in the state (though with household sizes of more than eight people it is understandable that pickup trucks are a very popular form of vehicle!). If incomes have risen, it might be expected that imports would rise generally; and among food imports, meat and other nonstaple imports would rise in particular (see Table 8). Under the compact arrangements between the US and the independent FSM, cash incomes will likely fall, which will tend to reduce imports, including food imports.

Food prices have been dominated by cheap US imports coming in with a nominal tariff. Also, food donations through the US Department of Agriculture have been significant since 1975. Under these circumstances, locally produced food appears comparatively expensive as well as less convenient for consumers. In the future the FSM national government, on behalf of itself and the states, is likely to be forced to raise tariffs, and consequently prices of imported food, as part of an attempt to balance federal and state government budgets and to assist the international balance of payments.

Marketed supply is itself closely related to income and price factors.

TABLE 9. Private Motor Vehicle Registrations in Pohnpei State, 1981–1985

Type	1981	1982	1983 ^a	1984	1985
Pickups	471	558	612	832	998
Sedans	296	269	283	366	485
Jeeps & station wagons	78	80	58	104	148
Buses	18	25	18	35	60
Other (including motorcycles)	191	217	169	172	173
Total	1,054	1,149	1,140	1,509	1,854

Source: Pohnpei State 1986.

^aProbable year of greater pressure on incomes due to impact of drought.

If a household can sell its labor directly for cash and purchase imports at a rate of exchange better than using its labor to cultivate or fish and selling the product, then rationally it will do the former. The crucial question in Pacific island situations is whether food production responds to encouraging economic factors so weakly (including price inelasticity) that food imports will be hardly affected by changes in economic fundamentals. The experience of the Pohnpei State Food Services program over the last three years as shown in Table 7 gives some reason for optimism in this area. During this time the program offered producers the full retail price in an active effort to increase the proportion of local food in school meals (which are available free to all school-age children) and other smaller feeding programs.

With this policy, local items purchased under the heading "staples" increased dramatically and the amount of fish increased significantly in the "protein" category. The extent of local purchases was limited by budget and US Department of Agriculture donations, so the figures may well underestimate total supply available at highly advantageous prices. Also, households may have been selling local produce at the higher prices and purchasing imported food for consumption instead of selling to private-sector retailers, which raises difficult questions about the net impact of the policy. The amounts involved in 1985/1986 were still small, with only about 12 kilograms of staples and 6 kilograms of protein food per school-age child in the year. This raises a question of scale if a much larger supply was desired. Nevertheless, the evidence does indicate significant elasticity of supply (if not production) response to higher prices.

The background economic conditions may be tending in a positive direction as far as consumer substitution for imports is concerned and producers have shown some responsiveness in the past, albeit starting from a very low base. Policy action is needed, however, if the economic signals of income and prices are to be kept moving in the right directions. What is needed are consistent, long-term national and state government policies that resist political pressures to pretend that the uncomfortable economic reality of the difference between trusteeship dependence and compact independence can be ignored. Getting prices, incomes, and markets right is only a small part of the task, though. The states' Agriculture and Marine Resources divisions need more resources to directly assist small-scale food production. Current positions on resource allocation between export promotion and import substitution need to be reexamined as well.

Table 10 attempts to summarize the development resource-allocation

TABLE 10. Indicators of Agriculture and Marine Resource Priorities in Pohnpei State Draft Five-Year Development Plan, 1985-1989

Agriculture	Allocation (\$ over 5 years)	Marine Resources	Allocation (\$ over 5 years)
Local Production Oriented			
Crop research and development (50%) ^a	325,000	Reef reseedling (50%) ^a	33,000
Agricultural extension	110,000	Economic Development Authority ^b small loans scheme and co-op support	750,000
Livestock feed	120,000	Other EDA activities (insulated fish boxes, outboard repairs, navigation aids, ice plant repair, refrigerated truck)	280,000
Outer Island agriculture development	75,000		
Farm loans	500,000		
Total	1,130,000		1,063,000
Processing & Marketing			
Commodity price support program	375,000	Cannery	3,500,000
Commodity processing	200,000	Fish drying & smoking	36,500
School lunch program	7,500,000		
Public market	100,000		
Total	8,175,000		3,536,500
Export Oriented			
Export commodities (general)	50,000	Reef reseedling (50%) ^a	33,000
Crop research and development (50%) ^a (notably pepper)	325,000	Sea cucumber processing	36,000
		High-quality fish export	80,000
		Seaweed extension and promotion	192,000
		Freezing and cold storage plan	1,300,000
		Purse-seiner vessels	3,325,000
Total	375,000		4,966,000

continued

TABLE 10. *Continued*

Agriculture	Allocation (\$ over 5 years)	Marine Resources	Allocation (\$ over 5 years)
Other			
Quarantine and disease control	90,000	Education on conservation and management	85,000
Information and agriculture promotion	125,000	Turtle ranching	10,000
Total	215,000		95,000

Source: Pohnpei State 1985.

^aDivided between local and export oriented.

^bThe Pohnpei Economic Development Authority (EDA) also has responsibilities and finance for marine resource projects. In 1986, the EDA was responsible for repairing out-board motors, provision of ice chests and other fiberglass work, a small freezer plant, a credit scheme for artisan fishing involving 70 loans, and operation of two small vessels. EDA expenditure in 1983/1984 was \$345,000, of which \$200,000 was spent in setting up the credit scheme, all of which should be repaid to finance new loans. The future of the EDA was in some doubt at the time of the consultant's visit.

situation as laid out in the draft Pohnpei State Development Plan 1985–1989, showing that, in practice, exports, processing, and marketing dominate resource allocation. Over five years, the plan suggests less than \$6,000 total direct development assistance for each household for farming and fishing. Also, operational resources include only one agricultural extension officer per five hundred cultivating households.

Priorities expressed in the Truk State Draft Overall Development Plan 1985–1989 do appear to show concern for pursuing import substitution within the agriculture and marine resources chapters. For instance, objective 2 for agriculture is to “increase the availability of local food products to ensure adequate nutrition for the increasing state population with special attention to those islands or regions within the state which do not now have adequate production capabilities,” while objective 3 is to “provide for the production of selected agricultural products which can be substituted for imported items.” Objective 1 for marine resources is to “complete the development of small-scale fisheries as a major component of the state’s economic base” and objective 4 is “provide for secure subsistence for a significant proportion of the population” (Truk State 1985). But these statements exist alongside others stressing export promotion. In the final analysis, it is allocated resources

that reveal priorities and, as the figures in Table 11 indicate, export promotion is given the higher priority.

Placing the greater real priority on export promotion suggests that current levels of food imports are necessary or desirable and can be expected to remain at about present levels. But these two propositions can both be challenged. First, some food imports are not nutritionally desirable or necessary. Foods and beverages containing refined sugar, salt, and concentrations of animal fats or alcohol may actually cause ill-health. Reduced imports may mean reduced refined sugar, salt, animal fats, and alcohol in the average diet and more dietary fiber. When root crops replace imported "energy-dense" staples, it can also mean fewer calories for the overweight. Noncommunicable diseases associated directly with diet or indirectly through obesity would be expected to become less prevalent. If the federal government is forced to impose duties on all imported goods, as it probably will to try to reduce the balance of payments and the government budget deficits, then people in

TABLE 11. Indicators of Priorities from the Draft Truk State National Plan, Budget Allocations 1985–1989

Sector	\$000	%
Agriculture		
Export related (copra)	3,251	48.4
Local production (staples, fruit, vegetables, livestock)	1,826	27.2
Extension/research	836	12.4
Processing (food and feed-mill)	547	8.1
Other	258	3.8
Total	6,718	99.9
Marine resources		
Export related (Dublon Island fisheries complex, purse-seiners, bait-fish projects)	11,990	79.9
Local production (pole and line boat, fishing cooperatives, small- scale cannery, fish production data collection, boat repair facility, mariculture reseeding, ice production, etc.)	3,010	20.1
Total	15,000	100.0

Source: Truk State 1985.

the FSM will have to choose which imports no longer to purchase. Nutritionally more desirable imports such as fruit and vegetables and cheap sources of protein could then be at risk alongside the nutritionally undesirable imported food items, as well as nonfood items.

Unfortunately, reducing food imports is not unproblematically associated with better nutrition and better health. Apparent "overnutrition" in the form of obesity among adults in some affluent groups in Pacific societies does not rule out "undernutrition" for children and poorer adults when only a higher-cost local diet is available. Also, if "undernutrition" deficiency is specific to certain diet components—e.g., certain vitamins or minerals—then the whole population can be at increased risk, regardless of body weight in proportion to height, when imports containing those components are reduced.

Physical measurements of students in six schools by Pohnpei State Food Services officials suggest that on average 8 percent of students could be categorized as significantly underweight for their height by international standards. Of the six schools, one elementary school on Pohnpei island had 14 percent of its children in this category (Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands 1985). On Pingelap atoll in 1983, Hargreaves (1984) reported diets for seventy-seven children aged 0 to 4 years. In the three days before the survey, a third had eaten only rice, and only twelve children had eaten any fruit or vegetables. In 1975, another study is reported to have expressed concern about widespread nutrition-associated ill-health among young children and remarked on the absence of vegetables and fruit (other than bananas) from children's diets (Demory 1975).

Some children in Truk State also show signs of not being well-nourished in quality or quantity of food. The draft state plan remarks "the average family does not consistently include fruit or vegetables in its home meals" (Truk State 1985). Measurements of height and weight by state Food Services Office officials in forty-five schools found that 10 percent of younger children were below the range generally considered to be adequately nourished. In twelve schools, more than 15 percent of students were below this range and have now been put on a special school lunch program. These schools were located in both the state center and on outer islands, suggesting diet inadequacy is widely spread. In fact, the data suggest that undernutrition decreases as students get older, at which time a significant part of their diet is provided by the Food Services program with its heavy use of imported food (probably 70 percent by value in 1985 if an estimated value for US Department of Agriculture donations is added).

Within a general strategy of substantially reducing food imports, an

active policy on reducing particular food imports and encouraging local production of all types of food at federal and state levels is needed to ensure that supplies of nutritionally desirable food items are actually increased and consumed widely by the whole population. Increasing local supplies of protein-rich and vitamin-rich food, as well as staples, and substituting them for less nutritious types of imported food is a way of helping the balance of payments and achieving the wider development goal of a healthy population.

Large-scale versus Small-scale Production

To clarify the elements in the choice between large-scale export promotion and small-scale import substitution, a comparison is made here between the reasoning behind the actual development of a fisheries complex on the island of Dublon in the Truk lagoon and a hypothetical broad, community-based extension officer program. The intent is to bring out the broad strategic aspects of the choice, not to appraise the two as alternatives. In terms of a project cycle, the intention is merely to identify the broad parameters of a possible choice, not to actually make the choice.

The attractiveness of heavy investment in a plant and machinery for storing, processing, and exporting tuna such as envisaged on Dublon island (Kondo 1985) can be broken down into a number of aspects:

1. The raw material, tuna, is abundant and no competing resource ownership claims exist locally.
2. The technology is known and can be installed immediately.
3. Aid or joint-venture finance is likely to be forthcoming for some part of the capital cost.
4. Economic appraisal is relatively straightforward as international prices can be used.
5. The scale of operation means only one decision is needed to make a substantial impact.
6. Food for local consumption can be expected as a by-product.

The associated disadvantages have become very clear in the operation, and current nonoperation, of the freezer already on the site:

1. Catching tuna in sufficient quantity and quality requires further heavy investment in fishing vessels, crews, and equipment or attracting foreign vessels at a price attractive to them.
2. The technology assumes an infrastructure of large-scale, cheap

- availability of energy, water, and waste disposal; other priorities in these areas have to be overridden to service the investment.
3. Operating expenses may fall largely on local investors with no possibility of financial return on these elements for five years or more.
 4. International prices can change, often downwards, bringing demands for subsidies that are hard to resist with the heavy investment already sunk.
 5. If the one decision is economically a wrong decision, then retrieving anything from the situation is very difficult; also, a single large investment is vulnerable to loss through a single accident.
 6. The need to overcome high freight costs pushes export-oriented projects towards high value/low bulk products too expensive for the local market.

For a small economy, a single large-scale export-oriented project can preempt choices by continually demanding large supplementary, seemingly consequential, investments in activities downstream and upstream from the original investment, even if the original investment was totally financed externally. A large freezer demands a purse seiner to fill it and a cannery to use its product, which in turn demands new electricity- and water-generating capacities. Finally, the question becomes whether Truk State runs Truk Fisheries Company or vice versa.

The net foreign-exchange consequences of the large export-oriented project are unclear even if it does make profits. Some inputs will be imported. Local workers on the project will be able to afford to buy more imports, including food imports. The state will have a share of the profits, which could, or could not, be used for development, for example, a feeding program or the promotion of local food production or more nutritious imports. By-products may be sold locally but probably at the same price and quality as equivalent imports. The net foreign-exchange and nutritional impacts are uncertain. No child in Truk will necessarily be consuming more protein, especially locally produced protein, at the end of the project than at the beginning.

Import substitution for food imports need not involve large-scale or imported technology and thus can avoid the problems of larger-scale production. Distributional and nutritional problems are solved immediately and directly through small-scale production in which the distance between producer and consumer is kept small, becoming zero when the producer consumes the product. But attempting to raise productivity in the small-producer food systems of the Pacific islands has its own special problems as outlined earlier.

1. If the policy raises prices to give producers incentives, then some producers may simply take the extra revenues and not increase sales, or they may sell more but then purchase imported food for themselves. Either way there is no increase in total output.
2. If the policy lowers producer prices to allow a processing or marketing margin, then the more commercially minded producers or ones with alternative cash-income possibilities will withdraw from the market as sellers and may even enter it as purchasers, again with no total output gain.
3. Offering processing, transport, or market facilities may produce sporadic interest but timing, quantities, and quality will be unpredictable and tend to be below the capacity of the facilities offered.
4. Offering credit may not find any security given the nontransferability of many property rights. The loan can disappear into a maze of social obligations and neither be used productively nor repaid.
5. Offering sensitive, attentive extension assistance to producers in their communities will work while the adviser is present but not when the adviser is absent.

Some observers have argued that the problem in various Pacific countries is intractable and that land consolidation and private individual property rights over land and marine resources should be pursued as matters of priority (Young and Gunasekera 1986 provides useful insights into this debate). Given political realities, however, it is likely in the FSM (as elsewhere in the Pacific)—where producers are still rooted in communities with strong reciprocal rights and obligations—that only a marginally reformed small-producer system will emerge in the foreseeable future. Such communities are desirable for spreading benefits and providing a minimum consumption level for the vulnerable.

Experience suggests small-producer systems in the Pacific islands do not respond well to pricing, marketing, credit, and processing policies taken singly and managed solely from the center. Continuing contact and information on all these factors is necessary but not sufficient to increase output. It is more important to see producers as people with actual production problems and not just inadequate deliverers of supplies to markets. This would suggest a priority of building a “community extension worker” scheme aimed directly at increasing production, which would function like “barefoot doctor” schemes in providing services in answer to simpler questions and acting as a referral system for complex queries. Listening and problem identification would be as important as advising and problem solution for such workers. Whether

community extension officers could combine nutrition, agriculture, and marine resource activities as many actual producers do would merit investigation. (A variety of relevant small-scale programs are described in Bamford 1986, though the stress there tends to be on training individuals rather than assisting groups of producers.)

Production credit and loans have been a special problem in the FSM. Several schemes have broken down completely, occasionally bringing down government institutions with them. Properly identifying producer needs through a community extension service would help, especially if needs can be put in tangible forms, such as capital equipment. If social obligations on an isolated borrower are seen as a major problem, then establishing a loan as a collective responsibility for a group of producers assisted by the community extension worker may help the individual resist pressure, and as a by-product ensure high utilization of equipment. The Truk Maritime Authority loan scheme for fishing appears to work in this fashion, though it is still to be tested over time.

Also, to minimize nonrecoverable loans, it is important to foresee, and hopefully avoid, "debt trap" scales of activity when assessing project proposals. Between backyard operations using part-time family labor and fully commercial operations with a full-time manager and an accessible accountant are a range of "debt trap" scales of operation. A "debt trap" can occur when the cash flow moves into such large deficit over a long period of time due to initial capital outlay and subsequent cumulative operating expenses that a small external disturbance causes the part-time owner/manager to give up and go out of that business. This analysis may apply wherever there is a choice: first, of set-up costs; second, of family or wage labor; and third, of other income sources for the borrower. The effective economic choice is between very small scale and a monopoly structure (as for many products the whole FSM market would be easily controlled by less than ten producers); in between appears to lie a range of scales where the actual risk of failure is higher.

Working on the smaller scale with small-producers in the FSM to reduce food import bills permanently demands locally trained labor and needs a steady release of resources over time, not expatriate experts and an immediate injection of joint-venture foreign aid or investment. The Federated States of Micronesia has an underemployed labor force and a large education system that could be partially reoriented to provide suitably motivated trainees. The compact arrangement with the United States provides resources over a fifteen-year period. Therefore, the costs of increasing local food production would be low and the bene-

fits of success would be a healthier economy and, more importantly, healthier people.

A Strategy for Promotion of Import-substituting, Small-scale Farming and Fishing

Improving access to productive inputs as a priority in agricultural and fisheries development policy can be seen as a sequence of interconnected steps: invention and design; promotion and adoption; credit and loans; and distribution of benefits.

Invention and design of new inputs requires careful investigation of existing practices and discussion with producers, using local research institutions' results. Currently used tools and implements need assessment in terms of energy use (human and mechanical) and appropriateness. The ability to manufacture locally and maintain new and improved equipment is also important if maximum local gains are to be achieved.

Introducing new implements and equipment into small farming or fishing systems invariably raises questions of scale. Full utilization often requires sharing among several existing production units, though one design criterion must be to keep scale of efficient operation down to a minimum given the commitment to small-producer systems. Encouraging groups of small numbers of producers to become contractual sharers of indivisible inputs is a necessary part of the adoption process.

Credit and loans to adopting producers, individually or in groups, will need to be available, given the low level of labor productivity in FSM agriculture and fishing. Loans for relatively durable investment goods should have advantages for the creditor, as the items involved cannot be easily diverted to consumption purposes and should be repossessable. Even if the original borrower gives or sells the equipment to a relative or neighbor, the stock of productive assets is undiminished. This does not solve the financial problem for the lending institution, of course, but the importance of increasing the real capital stock should not be underestimated (for a case study, see Young and Gunasekera 1986). Production loans also provide the means to make work easier and pressure to raise marketed output in order to make repayments.

Improving labor productivity through even minimal mechanization may have undesirable distributional consequences in a society with high unemployment. The First National Development Plan estimated unemployment in 1980 as 22 percent (Federated States of Micronesia 1985b) and the unemployment rate is unlikely to have fallen since then. But,

with widespread access to underutilized land and marine resources, it is difficult to interpret FSM unemployment statistics. Certainly they reveal genuine frustration with a shortage of waged and salaried jobs, when the alternative is uncomfortable physical labor for uncertain rewards. But this frustration may decrease if the alternative is made more pleasant and the rewards more predictable. If people are more willing to work currently underutilized resources after introduction of an innovation of some sort, then the work-sharing attributes of FSM society will tend to remove distributional problems. Even without work-sharing, consumption-sharing will still operate to reduce such problems. In addition, new local employment in manufacturing and maintaining the equipment could also act to spread benefits.

Building an industry to provide improved equipment for local food small-producers in the FSM requires effort to make the following links:

1. The link between research and development and manufacture and adoption
2. The link between manufacturing, which tends to have large efficient capacity per producing unit per year, and food production, which is primarily a small-producer system dispersed over the whole of the FSM
3. The link between financial credit and technical advice
4. The link between production experience and business experience

One existing organization, the FSM Development Bank, has the mandate and scale to make such links that cross the boundaries of sectors and states. Within states, various semigovernment authorities have mandates to cross sectoral boundaries and provide loans but generally possess the capacity to reach only a small number of producers with highly aid-dependent projects. As any efficient manufacturing industry would need the whole of the FSM small-producer market of about 12,000 units to sustain continuing production of investment goods, a national perspective is justified in this instance. Working closely with state-level organizations, however, especially in agriculture and marine resources, is crucial to successful identification and implementation.

Unfortunately, the FSM Development Bank has suffered from a close association with a previous institutional failure: "The delinquency rate on old Economic Development Loan Funds was down from 97% when the FSM Development Bank took over their collection in 1983 to 43%" (Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands 1984:15). But this success had its cost. In such circumstances, the bank's relatively conservative lending

pattern between 1982 and 1985, shown in Table 12, is not surprising, with production-oriented loans falling to under a quarter of the annual total. Also, the loans to productive enterprises numbered only sixty in the whole period, with an average amount loaned of \$14,600. The level, number, and average size of loans for productive purposes is not consistent with a commitment to economic self-sufficiency derived from a small-producer system of production.

If investment funds provided under the compact are to be used productively to increase self-sufficiency, a reorientation of the FSM Development Bank is required towards actively supporting mass manufacturing and distribution of inputs for the thousands of food small-producers in close cooperation with strengthened state extension agencies. The dam holding back increased local food production may well be upstream of the small-producer in terms of new inputs and credit rather than downstream in processing and marketing.

With respect to providing a macroeconomic environment for food import substitution through small-scale activity, two possible policy options exist. One is to ban or impose quotas on certain imports judged to be actually harmful nutritionally. This should not be ruled out, though it is up to nutritionists to make the case. The other is to raise duties differentially over time, taking into account nutrition, produc-

TABLE 12. Loan Amounts by Sector Approved by the FSM Development Bank, 1982-1985

Sector	1982		1983		1984		1985	
	\$000	%	\$000	%	\$000	%	\$000	%
Agriculture	56.5	24.3	14.0	3.0	88.8	14.5	146.7	8.5
Fishery	39.9	17.2	101.1	21.5	43.5	7.1	0.0	0.0
Manufacturing	42.0	18.1	58.9	12.5	28.7	4.7	255.2	14.7
Subtotal	138.4	59.6	174.0	37.0	161.0	26.4	401.9	23.2
Real Estate	0	0	228.2	48.5	185.8	30.4	997.0	57.4
Commercial	94.1	40.4	68.7	14.7	263.6	43.2	336.6	19.4
Subtotal	94.1	40.4	296.9	63.2	449.4	73.6	1,333.6	76.8
Total	232.5	99.9	470.9	100.2	610.4	100.0	1,735.5	100.0

Source: Federated States of Micronesia 1985b.

Note: Total numbers of loans approved between 1982 and 1985 were: agriculture 32, fisheries 13, manufacturing 15, real estate 16, commercial 31.

tion, and consumption factors. Duties have the advantages of raising government revenue even if they fail to reduce imports, unlike quotas where financial benefits go to private traders.

Without data on trader and consumer price responsiveness it is impossible to predict the impact of increasing duties. An indication of possible levels of duties is shown in Table 13, where the actual rates of duties plus related charges for three small South Pacific countries in mid-1986 are listed. To estimate the orders of magnitude of the economic impact of raising duties and related charges on food imports in the FSM to the levels in the Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Vanuatu, it will be assumed here that people in the FSM do not reduce their consumption of imported food in response to increased duties. Such an extreme inelastic price response could have raised government revenues by almost \$3 million in 1984 as calculated in Table 14. This would have been about a 30 percent increase in total 1984 government revenue. If people did insist on consuming the same quantities of imported food and all the duties were passed on in the form of higher prices without money incomes increasing, then the average standard of living would fall by about 5 percent (assuming 20 percent of income spent on imported food with an average duty of 25 percent). In such circumstances other imports would take virtually the whole pressure of reduced incomes and have to fall by up to \$5 million, that is, about 15 percent of the 1984 balance of payments deficit. But these figures can

TABLE 13. Ranges of Duty and Associated Charges on Foodstuffs in the Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Vanuatu, 1986 (Percentages)

Item ^a	Solomon Islands ^b	Tonga ^c	Vanuatu ^d
Rice	20	17.5	5-15
Wheat	25-50	17.5-32.5	5-22
Fish	55-70	42.5	22-60
Meat	30-50	17.5-37.5	22-60
Sugar	70	17.5	42
Fruits and vegetables	50-70	32.5-42.5	25-42
Others	20-80	17.5-42.5	5-60

Sources: Communication to author from Customs Offices in Honiara (Solomon Islands), Nuku'alofa (Tonga), and Port Vila (Vanuatu), 1986.

^aIn general terms, range includes a variety of forms of the basic product.

^bThe Surcharge Tax of 20% has been added to the basic rates of duty.

^cThe uniform Port and Service Tax of 17.5% has been added to the basic rates of duty.

^dThe Service Tax of 5% has been added to the basic rates of duty.

TABLE 14. Hypothetical Government Revenue from Increased Duties and Associated Charges on Food Imports, Assuming Consumers Maintain 1984 Consumption Levels

Item	FSM Imports in 1984 (\$000)	Assumed Rate of Duty (%)	Increased Govt. Revenue ^a (\$000)
Rice	2,399	10	216
Flour	513	10	48
Canned meat	1,178	30	342
Canned fish	1,240	30	360
Sugar	513	50	251
Cereal preparations	338	40	132
Frozen meat	2,104	30	610
Other	4,749	20	902
Total government revenue increase			2,861

Sources: Communication to author on 1984 imports from FSM Division of Statistics, Pohnpei; author's calculations.

^aTotal revenue less current 1% duty.

only be taken as indicating the crudest order of magnitude under extreme assumptions.

In practice a mixture of responses could occur, leaving farmers and fishers better off; all imports, including food imports, reduced; and government revenues increased. On the negative side, wage and salary earners would be worse off and nutritional vulnerability would increase for poorer, cash-dependent households. Traders totally dependent on selling imports would have to redirect some of their efforts to locating and nurturing local producers if they wish to maintain income levels. It is also to be expected that a significant number of people would end up healthier.

The four state governments, urged and supported by the FSM national government, have produced plans to improve the economic situation through investment in potential exporting and import-substituting activities. These activities are expected to increase employment and productivity, and produce revenue for government. But a lack of experience in commercially competitive economic activities compared with competitors, the continuing international economic recession, and the relatively vast gaps to be closed mean that the FSM will need some very special factors in its favor to achieve economic viability by the year 2000.

Conclusion

So far, this article has developed an argument for a particular approach to economic policy in the FSM as if the only constraint on policy choice were that mysterious quality of local "political will," which Petersen (1986b) suggests is present for greater economic self-sufficiency. But even the boldest import-substituting and small-scale economic development strategy would require external assistance in light of the current macroeconomic fundamentals.

Given this requirement, it is appropriate to consider why the FSM should not be forced to go through a process of "Structural Adjustment" in the 1990s similar to that imposed in Jamaica in the 1980s. Three reasons can be advanced for FSM's being permitted to enjoy a "softer landing" than many other countries. First, the structural reality of the FSM is that no post-Structural Adjustment economy can be imagined at this time. Any attempt to bring the economy into equilibrium through market forces would totally destabilize the FSM politically, even if any elected politicians emerged to attempt this path. Second, blame for economic and political destabilization would unambiguously lie with the US, which has dictated policy in the islands for more than forty years. The US may well be willing to pay a price for avoiding such embarrassment and wait until blame can be placed on local political leadership. Finally, the islands have a geopolitical role in the world system rather than an economic role. This role is weaker for the FSM than for the Marshall Islands and Belau as no specific requirements for US bases exist in the FSM. But the concept of "strategic denial" still has some meaning and the US's concern to contain the USSR, evidenced in fishery negotiations with South Pacific countries, does suggest that an economic "rent" can be charged for such denial.

These considerations seem to have underlain the compact agreed upon between the FSM and the US for assistance over the next fifteen years, granting the FSM sufficient funding to give apparent room for maneuvering in development strategy. The compact between the FSM and the US to replace the trusteeship relationship involves a fifteen-year virtual guarantee of budgetary support and development payments (the term "aid" is used, though the FSM is giving the US considerable control over aspects of foreign policy in return for the funds). The total annual payments start at \$70 million but are due to be reduced significantly after the fifth and tenth years and to stop after the fifteenth year. Also agreed upon is the FSM's right to be a part of US customs territory with respect to some products under specified conditions.

The compact provides for \$40 million per annum of budgetary support payments over the first five years (US Government 1986). An element of indexation partially protects this aid against price inflation. This total sum is similar to that paid as a pre-compact grant by the US Department of the Interior, but \$20 million of program-specific current expenditure by other US federal departments are immediately in jeopardy, and will at best be phased out over three years. Therefore, a substantial reduction in recurrent public-sector activity in the FSM is required even with this level of budgetary aid.

Development aid is due to account for 40 percent of total compact funds expenditure, that is, around \$30 million in the first five years and much less subsequently. Additional payments may be made in the first three years to complete existing projects and allow for transition. With pressure on the established bureaucracy through budgetary tightening, there is a real risk of true development activity being eroded and funds leaking into operational expenditure. Nevertheless, compact development payments do represent a significant opportunity in the medium term. Unfortunately, the total lack of experience in the FSM with productive investment projects suggests caution is appropriate in appraising the long-term benefits.

Exporting without duties to the US appears to be a very attractive option for a small economy. Even the 30 or 35 percent local value-added requirement is not an insuperable obstacle for joint ventures with non-US companies, and, indeed, is desirable to ensure some local employment and income generation. Unfortunately if, as seems likely, textiles, garments, electronics, and other relatively successful less-developed-country exports to the US are formally excluded, the option is in reality very narrow. The internal obstacles to producing agricultural, livestock, and fish products in quantities, quality, and regularity for the difficult US market probably outweigh the customs-duty advantages.

Thus, budget support and trading concessions from the US are not overwhelming in their generosity. But there is some external room to maneuver, which brings us back to the question of the internal political will to use that room productively. Here it is difficult not to be pessimistic. The bureaucracy is large but experienced only in administering welfare programs planned and managed by expatriates. Politicians are emerging from either customary leadership with a distributional claim based on tribute and a status based upon donation, or from the merchant sector deriving profit from distributing imports (Petersen 1986b argues that merchanting is also closely integrated into "traditional" society). Both the will and the ability to initiate active development of

productive forces must be in doubt, and factional patron-client politics is already developing (see Kanost 1982).

Three likely futures seem possible:

1. Uneven entry by international capital, possibly in the tourism sector, allowing one or two of the states or even islands to meet local financial and international deficits and thus encouraging secessionist movement, leaving options of US military intervention or collapse of the federation and a period of realignment at different distances from the US
2. A drift into bankruptcy for the whole federation and a request to put aside the compact's "free association" arrangements (an option available to either side at relatively short notice) and negotiate for a closer association with the US on a similar basis to that accepted by the Northern Marianas
3. Extensive use of the right of emigration without visas to the US for FSM citizens that is included in the compact

International migration is a fact of life for many smaller Pacific Islands nations. For several countries, more nationals now live outside than inside the national boundaries. The FSM states were spared this drain of people during the trusteeship period. The risk is now that the pressures felt at the household level, if the bureaucracy contracts and new cash-income earning opportunities do not emerge, will engender an emigration response, with residents taking advantage of the right to migrate freely to the US. From such migration will come a flow of remittances and invitations for others to follow. The economy will move towards balance by losing consumers and gaining remittances. It will also lose potential producers, of course, and the process will tend to be cumulative.

The greater food self-sufficiency and nutritional implications of such a response to economic pressure are clear from the experience of other nations. The migrants will have gone to the major source of imported food (about 80 percent of food imports come from the US). They will inevitably consume even less traditional food with likely loss in nutritional and health status, especially as the migrants will be relatively poor by US standards (see Coyne 1981 and Thaman 1983 for attempts to summarize the literature on migration and nutrition as part of the general urbanization issue). Also, migrants' remittances (and evidence from other nations suggests remittances will be substantial) will pay for continuing consumption of imported food in the FSM diet. Remittances

will take over the role of a portion of the US government grants during the trusteeship period. Continuing high levels of food imports to the FSM and associated ill-health for Micronesian people (at home and in the US) will be an undesirable feature of moves towards the migration, remittance, aid, and bureaucracy (MIRAB) based economy, widely observed in the South Pacific microstates (Bertram and Watters 1985).

The little discussed migration aspect of the compact may prove to be its most important economic restructuring element, but with negative social development side effects. Avoiding, or minimizing, this outcome through a “virtuous spiral” of direct action aimed at increasing local food production in small-scale units to provide more incomes to keep people in the FSM and healthy might appear to be a better alternative. History in the region seems to be against it, though. An element of cultural autonomy and political independence may be maintained, as in other MIRAB economies, by people going to capital as migrant workers rather than capital coming to the people, but this would be at a severe cost in terms of national economic dynamism.

NOTES

1. The thanks of the author go to the many informants in the Federated States of Micronesia who generously gave their time, to the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations under whose auspices the author visited the FSM in 1985–1986, and to the referees of this journal who gave useful comments. Naturally, only the author is responsible for the content of this article.

2. The fieldwork for this article was undertaken in 1985–1986 in the states of Pohnpei and Truk as then constituted. This resulted in the neglect here of the important, though much less populous, states of Kosrae and Yap. Since 1986, the formal name of the state then called Truk has been changed to Chuuk. Given that Truk is used in all the official document references, the author decided to use the old name Truk throughout to avoid confusion. The author apologizes for both these deficiencies.

3. All sums in text and tables are given in US dollars, the actual currency in the period 1945 to the date of this study.

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MAGIC GARDENS IN TANNA

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Magical thought is not to be regarded as a beginning, a rudiment, a sketch, a part of a whole which has not yet materialized. It forms a well-articulated system, and is in this respect independent of that other system which constitutes science. . . . It is therefore better, instead of contrasting magic and science, to compare them as two parallel modes of acquiring knowledge. Their theoretical and practical results differ in value. . . . Both science and magic, however, require the same sort of mental operations and they differ not so much in kind as in the different types of phenomena to which they are applied.

Claude Lévi-Strauss
The Savage Mind

Tanna, an island in the southern part of the Melanesian archipelago of Vanuatu,¹ occupies a special place in the ethnological literature of the South Pacific because of its peculiar history. I worked on this island in an ethnogeographic capacity in 1978 and 1979, staying in villages located in the northwest (Loanatom and Imanaka) and then in the central part, called Middle Bush (Lamlu). My purpose was to study traditional land tenure through the mapping of customary territories (this research was published in Bonnemaïson 1985, 1986, 1986–1987). Along the way I discovered the magic gardens of Tanna.

In the first two decades of this century it was thought that Christian-

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ization of Tanna was practically complete. "Pagan magic" seemed to have disappeared and "Christian order" reigned over the island, enforced by a sort of militia of zealous neophytes anxious to impose by force the new moral concepts of Presbyterian theocracy and monotheism (see Guiart 1956; Adams 1984). As in many other Pacific islands, traditional culture and a whole civilization seemed forever extinguished and the transition to a "modern" society irreversible.

On the eve of the Second World War, however, the people of the island made a sudden about-face and returned in a body to magic and to their old values and beliefs. To do so they invented a new religion based on a new messiah: John Frum.² This messiah preached that the white man's church should be rejected. The power of the Melanesians as producers and masters of nature reemerged. The return to traditional magic, seen both as an explanation of the world and as a means of controlling the supernatural forces that animate it, took many forms: divination, traditional medicine, magic to control the climate or the land's fertility, the multiple powers of leaves and stones, and so on. It also had the direct result of giving new strength to traditional gardening based on sophisticated and intensive methods.

If Tanna's traditional gardens are still, today, overflowing with beauty and abundance, they owe in part to John Frum their return to their magical foundations. They are beautiful because they are "traditional," and "traditional" because they are magical. The link, which in Tanna joins the cultural revival of tradition to that of magical thinking and its application in the field of gardening, is fundamental.³ The constructed landscapes formed by traditional gardens, and their symbolic arrangement, are illustrations of this.

Magical Space

Tanna itself is a sort of "pantheon," a polytheistic space peopled with an infinite number of spirits, divinities, and cultural heroes. Networks of places, where magical rocks or stones called *kapiel* are to be found, cover the land and scatter it with supernatural forces. It is in these sacred places (*ika assim* in the Lenakel language of the western part of the island) that the lineages responsible for the essential magical functions sprang up. Alongside the human population, a mythical people of dangerous beings with deformed bodies and of short stature, the *yari-mus*, also emerged from the stones. Guarding the land of the stones, they come out at night and wander through the forest.

No big magic stone on the island is without a lineage that springs

from it, and in the case of the most essential of them, a whole network of lineages. Conversely, there is no descent group without a place or network of places and stones within its territory to which it can trace its attachment directly or indirectly. Each big sacred stone (*kapiel assim*) is thus both the foundation of the lineage and the place of emergence of the magical and territorial powers of the human group that draws its essence from it. So between humans and the magic stones there exists a filial relationship and a relationship of shared power: Humans are the children of stones.

In this type of society, magical space subtends social space. The proliferation of humans with their status and powers refers back to the territorial grid of significant places. The earth is a sacred book, a semiological structure that by constructing space also constructs society. On Tanna then, society is reproduced within a mythological explanation of the creation of the world. Rootedness in a place is further reinforced by magic that attaches people to stones.

The forces of garden magic are localized in a territorial network of stones and places from which this power gushes forth.⁴ All these places are dedicated to Mwatiktiki and are inhabited by his spirit. This "god" with the Polynesian name is considered to be the "god of food" and the master of all fertility magic: It was he who sent "hot" food to Tanna, which came in the form of magic stones from the island of Lapnuman, his kingdom.

Garden magicians are called *naotupunus* and are the human faces of the fertility stones. There are as many magicians as there are places dedicated to Mwatiktiki. The result is an extraordinary diffusion of the magical function; practically every residence group has one or more garden magicians. The political unity of the clans and residence groups is symbolized by the *niko*,⁵ a little wooden canoe a few centimeters long in which the magic fertility stones belonging to a local group are kept. These stones fit into the palm of the hand. Sometimes they are roughly the shape of the yam or taro tuber, the breadfruit, or the banana they are supposed to render fruitful. Each has its name and its own magic connected with a plant or one of its cultivated varieties. The missionaries or their followers threw into the sea many of these magic stones between 1900 and 1930. They organized "parties" to look for stones still in the possession of the pagans. When found, they walked in procession to the sea and threw them away.

The magic stones contained in the canoe draw their power from specific magic places and rocks. One of them for a given area and for each specific plant or variety represents the source of all the others. This pri-

mordial place is the focal point of a magical creation, and the center from which emerges the lineage of magicians in whom the power is crystallized. This idea is expressed in Bislama by the word *stamba*, which comes from the English “stump,” the base of a tree. All magic is connected with *stamba* scattered throughout the island. From this primordial place and from the original rock there spreads a network of places of secondary emergence where other magical “canoes” and other magicians are found. They officiate with their own stones but recognize the primacy of the primordial stone and place.

Thus, magical space comprises an infinity of sacred places, each of which is placed in hierarchical order in relation to a few central poles. They form a pattern of links, a series of chains that crisscross the island from one side to another and give rise to political territories and the clans rooted in them. At each nexus there is a garden magician, usually the oldest member of his lineage. To him falls the redoubtable honor of awakening the magical force of the stones.

Magic Stones

The beauty and fertility of gardens are the outcome of an initial magical piece of work. Magical power is vested first of all in a man—the garden magician—and in a place—the sacred garden made by the magician. The magical power then spreads from there throughout the group’s territory and that of its closest allies, giving life and vigor to the other gardens, which reproduce on a larger scale the initial model of the sacred garden. Thus, the magician’s task is first to awaken the power in the stone, then to prepare the sacred garden that will concentrate its power. In order to do this, he goes into seclusion as soon as the time comes for clearing and burning.

Now the magician must focus on developing his magic and become a being invested by the stones, a “tabu-man,” or sacred man. He has withdrawn from the world because it would be dangerous both for him and for laymen if he met and mingled with them. Any relations with the world of women are particularly forbidden. The magician sleeps alone, observes food prohibitions, eats only “hard” tubers prepared and roasted by himself. He refrains from drinking anything except his evening kava,⁶ which he drinks alone near the spot dedicated to Mwatiktiki. After a certain time spent living in isolation, and with the nightly semi-intoxication of kava, the magician gradually enters a secondary state in which he behaves strangely and which is conducive to visions and contacts with supernatural forces.

The magician awakens the powers of the stones by “washing” them in the little wooden canoe in which they are kept. For this purpose he uses water from a sacred spring, resurgent stream, or a particular place on the seashore within the stones’ territory. Then he rubs them with a special assortment of leaves and tree barks. In the case of stones dedicated to yam growing, the magical assortment must always include the leaves of the *nangarie* (*Cordyline* sp.), which are Mwatiktiki’s personal emblem. The magician spits on the stones and leaves, and repeats incantations: The water, the plants, the magician’s breath and saliva will then awaken the power of the stones. Afterwards, the wooden canoe is buried in the magician’s sacred garden, where only he and his closest relatives may work.

Each of the tasks carried out by the magician in the sacred garden is then repeated by all the other members of the community in their own gardens. In addition to his supernatural function, the garden magician appears to be a veritable guide to traditional gardening. He is also a sort of master of agricultural technology.

His so-called magical tasks end with the “first-fruits” celebrations. In the case of yam growing, this festival is called the *kamaru nu*, “attaching the yams.” When the vines flower, the magician takes the first yams from the sacred garden and distributes them among the members of his residence group. In exchange they “pay” him for his work with a banana *lap-lap*,⁷ a pig, a fowl, or a kava root. After this the magician once again becomes a man like any other; he can at last sleep with his wife, drink water, eat *lap-lap* and “soft” foods. His segregation will have lasted six months, from the garden clearing in August to the first-fruits festival in March or early April. The sacred garden is then abandoned; whatever has not been consumed on the day of the first fruit is left to the wandering spirits. Simultaneously, prohibitions affecting other gardens are lifted, particularly those that during the periods of the beginning of fecundation make it taboo for children, menstruating women, and men who have recently had sexual relations to walk through them. So, in the now-open gardens, begins the time of consumption, feasts, and ritual exchanges.

In the past, magic was performed every year to ensure the continuance and abundance of the harvest. For the magician it meant fame for good years, a thankless task for bad ones, and a real danger, should some disaster overtake the gardens, for instance, hurricanes or nasty tribal wars. Nowadays, magical functions tend to be simplified. One man, rather than several as in the old days, takes on the task and observes the taboos, often helped by a biological or adopted son who is

destined to succeed him and whom he initiates into his future functions. As a general rule, complete segregation is observed only in years when a very important ritual is being prepared, which involves calling upon all the available magicians within the area of a group and its allies. In ordinary years, people are satisfied with a more flexible ritual and segregation for a few days only, during which the magician “washes” his stones and plants his yams in the sacred garden.

Such magic practices exist (or existed) for all plants traditionally grown in gardens—for example, yams, taros, bananas, kava, native cabbage, and sugarcane. There are also magical practices for traditional pig raising, for the diseases of pigs, their proper growth, and their safe return in case of loss. Yet others are used for hunting, fishing, and dealing with the rats that may wreak havoc in gardens, for war, for love, and so on. The list is virtually endless, and each group has its techniques, its stones, its own traditions. Between one village and another such special magic practices can be loaned, exchanged, or traded; a magician is often a man with hardly a moment to himself because he works not only for his own people but for a whole alliance.

Traditional Yams

In Tanna, where the yam reigns, the traditional classification covers more than a hundred recognized clones. These clones are not true botanical varieties but cultivars, kinds of hybrid cultivated strains obtained by chance in the course of gardening and then carefully selected and reproduced by the gardeners (Haudricourt 1964; Bourret 1982). Each has a proper name and is linked with magic places and stones that individualize it. The most important have a mythological origin and a place of first appearance. These clones can be broken down into four families, arranged hierarchically according to the position occupied in exchange rituals. For example, the first set of classification criteria apply to the tuber—its shape, size, color, consistency, whether it is smooth or hairy—and the second to the appearance of the aerial vines—the shape and color of the leaves, and whether or not aerial bulblets are present.

The yams ranked at the top of the traditional hierarchy are those with the longest tubers. They are *nu*, or true yams, and when carefully tended may reach up to 1.5 or 2 meters in length and weigh 30 to 50 kilograms. To the botanist these yams are all *Dioscorea alata*, easily recognizable by the small vegetal wings that form ribs around the aerial stem (Barrau 1956). Each large cultural area of the island has its own

classification and preferences.⁸ The large yams at the top of the ritual classification system are always put at the base of the *niel*, a pyramid-like pile of yams topped with kava roots and, nowadays, lengths of cotton cloth, which are presented in the middle of the dancing ground during traditional exchange rituals.

Traditional classifications place the “short yams” or *nowanuruk* next. These have tubers that are usually of irregular shape, with “fingers” like a hand, or curved. These short yams are cultivated in honor of the big yams and, it is said, to serve them as a retinue, so they are placed at the top of the *niel* pyramids, resting directly on top of the big yams. The number of clones is large, greater than in the case of the *nu* yams. The short yams form an important part of the daily diet, and people seek to obtain large quantities rather than concentrating on size.

Round yams, or *nowanem*, comprise the third traditional group. For the people of Tanna, they are not true yams but tubers of a secondary species, sometimes grouped with the potatoes and sweet potatoes brought in with European contact. They are not, therefore, used in ritual exchanges but purely as food. Formerly, they played an important role as a stopgap because they could be harvested early—in January or February when grown according to a quicker cultivation cycle.⁹ Most of these yams, especially those with small, numerous and very sweet-tasting tubers, are part of the botanical group called *Dioscorea esculenta*.

Finally, there are the “wild” yams, *nelakawung*, which grow on the edges of gardens or in fallow ground. These types of “strong” or “hard” yams are particularly appreciated on other islands in the group, in north Malakula for example, but on Tanna they are merely gathered where they are found. Although people like their taste, wild yams do not, to my knowledge, have any primordial magic places or true lines of magic connected to their reproduction, and this distinguishes them from the other three groups. They are recognizable by their round, hard, and sometimes spiny aerial stem. Some are *Dioscorea nummularia*, the others from part of the *Dioscorea bulbifera* botanical group.

This classification into a hierarchy of four families is found throughout Tanna.¹⁰ Each local group tends to place the clones that “appeared” on its own land at the head of the classification. As a result of social solidarity, every residential unit is integrated into a larger political and cultural entity that has its own set of magical places and stones—a varied assortment of clones that forms the “biomagical heritage” of the corresponding territory. The hierarchial arrangement of clones rests on the principles of localization. The more “local” a yam is, the more highly it will be considered by the clan that holds its place of origin and possesses

its fertility magic. It will be found to dominate in numbers and in ranking in the gardens and in the *niel* of the exchange rituals of that place.

The principle of clone localization is still observed, even though today there is a stronger tendency to mix clones together and “pool” them. Gardeners do not reject clones that are “foreign” to their territory, in the same way that they accept all the new plants introduced as a result of contact with the outside world. But they do distinguish them from those that are part of their heritage. The latter are the custom plants; they have to do with traditional magic and gardening. The others are aliens and lie outside the domain of magic and tradition. Sometimes the aliens tend to be the most numerous, but they do not form part of the “real” garden; culturally speaking they are marginal even if dominant economically.

The Garden's Magical Center

The coexistence of traditional and alien plants results in a dualistic garden organization. In the center are the cultural plants of the biomagical heritage and on the outskirts are the profane food plants.

A traditional garden is in fact organized according to a core-periphery pattern. The infusion of magic, the type of gardening that requires special knowledge and is for ceremonial purposes, is carried on at the core. Successive circles of yams, then secondary plants of decreasing cultural value for which simpler gardening techniques are used appear towards the periphery. The proportion of a garden devoted to the ceremonial heart reflects the strength of tradition in the region, but the balance between the two kinds of gardening may vary from year to year according to the importance of the rituals being prepared for. The ceremonial heart is a conservatory of traditional clones and of the cultivation techniques proper to them. The big yams are planted in big mounds called *toh*. Around these is an inner circle of smaller mounds called *toh toh inio*. On the fringe, yams called *kopen* predominate; these are planted straight into the ground without mounds or preparation and usually mixed with other secondary plants, such as manioc or taro, while a ring of banana trees encloses the whole garden and marks its outer limit.

While the “knowledgeable” and intensive gardening at the center is carried out on the basis of rigorous selection of clones and varieties, the simplified gardening at the fringe includes a much more diverse set of clones, many of which are new, introduced species. At present, there tends to be a conflict between the core of the garden that remains a

“true garden” and the periphery, which is a “modern” area with a large and heterogeneous range of plants.

Considerable variations exist today from one garden to another, from one village to another. Some gardens are still traditional while others become more and more modern, similar to those in other parts of the archipelago. But traditional agrarian practices still remain strong on Tanna and can be observed. Gardeners take the principle of classification of cultivatable varieties to its limits. Their horticulture specializes in fully developing a few clones, and each plant is seen as an individual to be surrounded with personal attention. In this way the gardeners seek to attain aesthetic perfection: The planting of ceremonial yams is something of a work of art. Overall, the Tannese garden is a mosaic, an accumulation of mounds each of which is a different ecological niche and an artificially reconstructed microsite.

The traditional mound or *toh* varies with the type of soil, the value of the clone it contains, and the skill or imagination of whoever builds it. Each gardener can give free rein to his sense of aesthetics when planning his garden or making his mounds (see figures).

Simplified Gardening

While ritual cultivation of *toh* yams only involves big *nu* yams, the “profane” cultivation of edging yams (*katuk toh*) that formerly only involved round yams (*nowanem*) today makes indiscriminate use of all yams grown just for food. Such yams are planted without mounds or holes by a method called *kopen*, meaning “to dig in.”¹¹ A small piece of seed yam is simply buried in soil that has not been turned over but merely broken up with a digging stick. Usually little or no mound is made for the stock yam. The yield of each stock is small, an average of 5 kilos of tubers, whereas a traditional mound will yield 40 to 50 kilos. Much more land is used for this kind of cultivation since low productivity is offset by increasing the planting area. The only advantage of such extensive plantations is that they require much less labor.

Formerly, *kopen* gardening was limited to the outer edges of a garden or a mound. *Kopen* yams, in fact, formed a sort of buffer zone between the *toh* and the outer circle of bananas, wild yams, and often taro. Today, *kopen* gardening is becoming more extensive while the traditional, magical method is decreasing. The profane periphery is silently encroaching upon the sacred core. This development is particularly marked in certain densely populated coastal parts of Lenakel and White Sands where, in many cases, the magic heart of the garden is disappear-



FIGURE 1. A newly planted yam garden near Imanaka (northwest coast). In the center of the garden are the bigger yam mounds called *toh*.



FIGURE 2. The flourishing of a yam garden near Loanatom (northwest coast). The ceremonial heart of the garden is a conservatory of traditional clones and of the cultivation techniques proper to them.



FIGURE 3. Yam stakes in a garden in east Tanna (White Sands). After building mounds, people construct the reed stakes to support the yams' long aerial vines. Tannese gardeners seek to attain aesthetic perfection: The planting of ceremonial yams is a work of art.

ing completely. The vegetable garden then becomes what it is already in many other parts of the archipelago: a “desacralized” garden that contains many different plants without a fixed spatial order and is cultivated more extensively (see also Ward and Proctor 1980).

New Gardens

In the villages near the sea, which have mostly opted for modernity, the disappearance of garden magic involves in effect the abandonment of intensive agriculture and the gradual replacement of local plants and varieties by food plants imported at the time of European contact. Such plants are easier to grow and some have the advantage of being harvestable throughout the year.

In modern gardens, introduced plants are in the majority, especially manioc, but also sweet potatoes, *Xanthosoma taros* (locally called Fiji taros), maize, citrus, pineapples, and, frequently, vegetables of European or American origin (potatoes, tomatoes, onions, and so forth). These plants are mixed together in no particular order, except that low-growing plants benefit from the shade of taller ones. The principal criteria for selection here are economy of labor and ease of cultivation. The plants are cultivated simply by burying them without the addition of compost, and yam mounds have disappeared.

This kind of modern gardening represents a definite agricultural “disintensification.” Yam harvests are up to five times greater when the *toh* method is employed. Smaller yields lead to an increase in the amount of land devoted to multiplant gardening. However, in coastal regions, where there is a growing shortage of land as a result of population pressure and the development of commercial coconut plantations, expansion of food gardens can only occur at the expense of fallow periods. In the absence of fertilizer or compost, there is progressive exhaustion of the volcanic soils, which, although rich, nevertheless have a fragile physical structure (Quantin 1980). Fallow periods of eight to ten years were usual in the past. These days, due to extensive horticulture in many coastal areas, they have been reduced to two or three years.

This reduction has numerous consequences. The drop in productivity of food gardens cannot be compensated for by income from cash cropping, coconuts, or the infant cattle-breeding industry, none of which produces more than fluctuating and unreliable returns. In other words, modern areas are gradually losing their self-sufficiency in food without gaining in return a commercial benefit that makes up for the loss. Therefore, present “development” must lead to a dual imbalance, eco-

logical and social; the loss to the Tannese is immense. Because land is scarce, it is divided up more and more, leading to incessant and innumerable conflicts over boundaries and the right to occupy plots as "owner." In short, a new kind of society is emerging in a new landscape, this time a profane one, that of extensive gardening. It is neither traditional nor modern, but appears to have become locked into a cycle of increasing poverty. Those who, at the outset, opted most wholeheartedly for cultural modernity now seem to find themselves in an impasse in the very context of modern economic and social values. Their only consolation is that a little cash circulates among them and they consider that they spend less time in their vegetable gardens than previously.

The traditionalist groups on the island have adopted a dualistic economic structure, and in the middle of their "extensive" gardens or apart from them they still have an assortment of *toh* or *toh toh inio* mounds of various sizes. In the John Frum village of Imanaka the two types of gardens are kept separate. Each family makes one or two small *toh* plots of about 100 or 150 square meters each, and alongside it or at another site, one or two large *kopen* gardens with many plants, of an average size of 1,000 to 1,500 square meters. The relative proportion may alter in favor of *toh* gardens in years when some ritual is planned. Such dualism, combining extensive food growing and cash crops on some land with intensive food growing based on magic on other land, provides a certain balance. The door is kept open to modernity, without compromising food self-sufficiency and a surplus of ritual production for the purposes of keeping traditional society going. In the particular context of Tanna, the magical foundation, by making it possible to maintain intensive ritual gardening, forms yet another factor of social and economic stability.

The New Sexual Division of Labor

A further consequence of modernity is that more of the burden of garden work falls on women, whereas formerly (and still today in traditional society) agricultural labor was divided more or less equally between the sexes.

Hard and painful work requiring strength was traditionally done by the men, such as the clearing and burning of land for gardens, and previously, the construction of fences to prevent pigs wandering in, digging holes, and building *toh* and their cane tutor frameworks (Fig. 3). On the other hand, maintenance and routine tasks like hoeing, keeping the gardens tidy, harvesting small *kopen* yams for everyday consumption, and the simplified care of secondary or imported plants were women's

work. Thus the traditional division of space in the gardens was connected with a sexual division of labor that guaranteed a certain equality in the amount of time spent by men and women on garden work.

In the traditional view, the harmony of the world rests on the separation and equilibrium of contraries, and particularly on the duality and complementarity between the principles of hot and cold. A misfortune or an illness is explained as a break in harmony, the excess of one principle over the other, or by the mixing up of two opposing principles (Wilkinson 1978; Lindstrom 1981). The function of magic is to reestablish balance in a bipolar world by restoring the previous harmony; the aim of fertility magic ultimately is to recreate from the beginning the original harmony that allows food plants to be fruitful. In the context of this magical thinking, men represent a hot concept, women a cold. The magical act itself, in that it constitutes a gesture of power, belongs to the masculine world of heat and is, hence, forbidden to women who belong to the cold, the contrary concept.¹² As a result, intensive ritual gardening, a magical activity, calls for a man's hand while extensive subsistence gardening, a profane activity, calls for the hand of a woman. The numerous prohibitions restricting women's access to the heart of the magic gardens during periods of vegetative growth, or forbidding even men from entering a garden after sexual intercourse, are explained by this rule of necessary harmony between the principles. Similarly, as we have seen, the magicians abstain from any relations, visual or tactile, with the world of women throughout the entire period of their magical creativity.

Consequently, there is a division of labor that corresponds to the spatial division of the garden's sacred center and profane periphery, and a sexual division of labor based on the distinction between hot-masculine and cold-feminine. It is in compliance with these principles of "dialectical" separation that the original harmony, which allows gardens to be fruitful, depends.

The principle of separation is still maintained today but in a changed agricultural context. The relationship between the two types of gardening is out of balance and the original harmony of the amount of time spent at work has been broken. When the sacred center of the garden shrinks, or disappears altogether, the profane periphery takes over. Men, whether or not they are traditionalists, desert the garden. It thus becomes an essentially feminine place of work. The ancient harmonious work relationship has been transformed into an unequal relationship in which women tend to be the losers.

This tendency is particularly marked in modern areas where intensive

ritual gardening tends to have been reduced to its simplest expression. Men devote themselves to “noble” activities that give access to the new power: money. They cut copra and sell it, look after cattle, maintain fences, sometimes cultivate market gardens, the produce of which is intended for sale, and apart from this, when they can they go to Port Vila, eventually Noumea, looking for work. Meanwhile, the whole burden of day-to-day work in gardens where food is grown for daily household consumption—in other words the real economic activity of survival—falls on the women. Planting, looking after the garden, harvesting, and carrying roots and firewood to the village are now women’s work entirely. Men only go out to the gardens when it is time for clearing bush, and unless they are building *toh*, they often disappear again afterwards. They then go back, apparently with relief, to an economy that, while it does not produce abundance in terms of monetary gains, does give them plenty of leisure. In Tanna any such spare time is effectively filled up with numerous meetings to deal with land problems, politics, or pigs.

Hence, life is carried on as though modern society experienced a magical transformation. Values have changed but the same complex of mental attitudes persists. To be more precise, the pursuit of monetary gain is now seen as a valorizing activity and a sign that economic power has taken the place left vacant by the disappearance of traditional magic. In this regard, men have remained faithful to their own image: They are following the path of the new magic of modernity and its dreams. The women, on the other hand, continue to follow the traditional ways of the garden, and are finding their share of the work is increasing proportionately on land that brings no prestige and has no magic, as they go on with the extensive subsistence gardening that has always been their lot. This tendency is naturally less marked where traditional societies have retained their magical foundations. Custom still demands a large amount of work from the men, and production of the ritual long yams has remained a source of pride to them. In this case, sexual division of garden labor does not prevent maintenance of a certain *de facto* equality in the amount of time the two sexes spend in garden work. On the other hand, the disappearance of the magic dream and its replacement by the dream of modernity brings with it a growing imbalance that can only be redressed by genuine economic development. The principle of separation of men’s and women’s tasks has led to increasing inequality between the amounts of work expected of the two sexes. Since this has become the case the women have been feeding the family; they have not benefited from the change.

Conclusion

For the traditional people of Tanna, the power of the magic stones activates the earth's fertility: Gardening is a ritual act. By accomplishing it they obtain high yields from a small area, preserve ecological balance, and have a production surplus available for exchange with their allies, thus fulfilling their social obligations. They pay for this attitude by having to work harder in their gardens, and, in a sense, by being pushed to the fringe of the modern world, out of reach of the promises it holds out and its symbols of power, money and consumer goods.

This resistance in the face of the modern world is not motivated by what we would call today a will to maintain "cultural identity" or by a dismissal of the modern world in itself. It is, basically, a belief in the powers of a magic that was lost while Christian rules held sway and then rediscovered. Traditional society and custom's gardens in Tanna continue to exist today because they are still underpinned by a living space through which there stretches a web of magical places, the repositories of ancestral belief in supernatural powers. For many people, it is those powers that must open the way towards the promises of a future whence will come abundance. They are waiting and hoping for material well-being just as much as the others, but to attain it they continue to put their faith in the way of ancestral wisdom. On the other hand, new society and new simplified gardens, which are the result of a drift away from magic, are based on a belief in other values and explanations of the world, perhaps on what we could call a modern "magic." The cultural space that underlies them extends beyond the island, it is sensitive and open to the winds of the world, which carry the idea of progress and change, but it is also more dependent and fragile.

Between traditional society, which seeks its destiny within the closed circuit of its own culture, and the society in search of modernity, which seeks salvation in the outside world's models and its economic and technical rationality, the debate continues. Tanna's gardens embody a choice of society and, even more, a different kind of belief. At the end of the day one may ask oneself who in the circumstances has made the right choice. The people of Tanna ask themselves the same question.

NOTES

A French version of this article appeared under the title "Les jardins magique: le géosystème de l'horticulture vivrière dan une île mélanésienne du Pacifique Sud (Vanuatu)," in *Le Développement Rural en Questions: Paysages, Espaces Ruraux, et Systèmes Agraires*.

Maghreb-Afrique Noire, Mélanésie, ed. C. Blanc-Pamard et al. (Paris: ORSTOM, 1989), 461–482.

1. The island has now a population of almost 20,000 and covers an area of a little more than 560 square kilometers.

2. According to various sources, but still debatable, Frum comes from the English word “broom.” The meaning here is obvious: John Frum is the one who is coming to sweep the island clear of harmful outside influences. The appearance of this local prophet in the south of the island set off a wave of repression by the Anglo-French Condominium authorities, which lasted until 1957 when adepts of this neotraditional religion were allowed a closely watched liberty.

3. In this way of thinking I am following the logic of Malinowski (1935).

4. Other territorial networks of places and stones on the island are connected with other magical systems and other powers. I shall only deal here with places connected with garden magic.

5. The concept of *niko* is essential to the understanding of the island’s traditional social organization. The word has multiple uses: It designates the wooden platter containing the magic stones and the political territory in which the clan is rooted. The canoe is a metaphor for the local group and its independence. The most influential man in each group is called *yani niko*, “the voice of the canoe,” that is, he who speaks for the others.

6. Kava or *Piper methisticum* is a plant of the pepper family found in the Pacific Islands whose roots have a narcotic effect leading to a sort of quiet inebriation and lethargy. The men of Tanna drink the juice from the chewed root every evening, considering it a religious act; kava puts them in touch with their ancestors (Lindstrom 1980).

7. *Lap-lap* is a traditional dish consisting of dough made from tubers or bananas mixed with coconut milk and cooked in an earth oven with hot stones. It is sometimes described as a sort of pudding.

8. For example, the *naravanua* yam, also found on the neighboring small island of Futuna, where a Polynesian language is spoken, is generally classified at the top in all parts of eastern Tanna. This yam is said to have emerged in the form of a stone from Yasur volcano, and a number of primordial places on the east coast serve to contain its magic power. In the western part of the island and in the White Grass area two other varieties are considered dominant yams: These are the *milu* and *kahuye*, which floated into the bays of Ipak and Loenpekel from Mwatiktiki’s magical island, Lapnuman. Another yam is dominant in Middle Bush, called *nuya* or *nussua* in the local languages. According to Dominique Bourret (pers. com., 1979) this latter yam is also found on Mare Island in New Caledonia, where it has almost the same name, the *nuia* yam. The catalogue could be further enriched.

9. The people of western Tanna believe round yams originated in the northern parts where the primordial sources of their magic are to be found. They then appear to have spread to the south and center of the island through the intermediary of the Rakatne tribal group, which owns one of the sites of first emergence of a number of clones. According to other traditions, *nowanem* yams come from Ilmanga, a local west Tanna name for the neighboring island of Erromango, which is said to have acquired this yam variety and the corresponding magic stones in the course of very ancient exchanges.

10. A classification of a similar type is found in the Loyalty Islands on Mare (Dominique Bourret, pers. com., 1979). See also Doumenge 1982, a study of the Melanesian horticultural complex of New Caledonia that mentions comparable organizational structures.

11. This kind of planting apparently originated in the White Grass area and other areas of the coastal terraces, no doubt because it is difficult to build mounds there and also because crumbly soils lend themselves fairly well to surface growth of short or round tubers.

12. This principle of symbolic separation between hot and cold appears also to occur in the practice of traditional medicine studied by Bourret in New Caledonia. She writes that "certain barks collected on the east coast must be taken at the moment when the rising sun touches them; the same ones on the west coast, at the moment when the sun sets. These trees are called hot in the east and cold in the west, and they are used to treat opposite types of illness, also referred to as hot and cold. Hot, dry, masculine plants are used in the treatment of cold, wet, feminine illnesses, and vice versa" (Bourret 1982).

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**“NO TOBACCO, NO HALLELUJAH”:
MISSIONS AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF TOBACCO
IN EASTERN PAPUA**

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According to myths and legends told by some peoples of New Guinea, tobacco is an ancient and indigenous plant, having appeared spontaneously in a variety of ways. In other instances, the plant and the custom of smoking it are said to have been established by local culture heroes, while still other traditions prosaically cite adoptions from neighboring groups. On the basis of oral history alone, then, one might conclude that New Guinea tobacco appeared in widely scattered locations in the mythic past, and its distribution at the time of European contact is explainable as simple diffusion within the region.

Although some researchers speculate that one or more indigenous tobaccos existed in New Guinea (e.g., Feinhandler, Fleming, and Monahan 1979), the consensus among scholars today is that there is no solid evidence for the presence of tobacco anywhere in New Guinea prior to the beginning of the seventeenth century (Haddon 1946; Riesenfeld 1951; Marshall 1981, 1987). Instead, a comprehensive review of the botanical, ecological, ethnographic, ethnohistorical, historical, and linguistic evidence (Hays n.d.) leads to the conclusion that the only tobacco reported from anywhere in New Guinea is the New World plant *Nicotiana tabacum* L., and that the custom of smoking is unlikely to predate significantly tobacco's first notice in the historical record, for northwestern Irian Jaya in 1616 (Schouten [1619] 1968:70, 72-73). Tobacco and tobacco smoking doubtless were introduced either directly or

indirectly by Europeans following their entry into what is now insular Indonesia. Subsequent diffusion and multiple reintroductions resulted in the widespread, though not universal, distribution of tobacco when a significant and sustained European presence began in the late nineteenth century.

The current ubiquity of tobacco smoking in Papua New Guinea—which is nearly matched by contemporary missionaries' opposition to the practice—can be especially misleading, since (in at least some parts of the country) both the custom *and* negative mission attitudes towards it are relatively recent developments. In this article I shall survey the historical record for coastal Eastern Papua (earlier known as British New Guinea); that is, the region from Yule Island southeastward to the "Papuan Tip" and the Massim, and northward along the coast to present-day Morobe. My concern is to elucidate the role played by early missionaries in the adoption and spread of what many later would consider a reprehensible habit.

Tobacco in Eastern Papua

Consistent with the proposal of a general eastward and southeastward diffusion gradient, the areas of New Guinea where the *absence* of tobacco smoking was most conspicuous at the time of "first contact" are in the southeastern quadrant of Papua New Guinea, or what I refer to here as "Eastern Papua." It is notable that in the records of the coastal exploration of HMS *Rattlesnake* (e.g., Stanley 1849; MacGillivray 1852), despite numerous contacts with and observations of the people from Cape Possession to Redscar Bay, Orangerie Bay, and the Louisiade Archipelago, there is no mention whatsoever of tobacco or smoking among the native population. This contrasts with the detailed descriptions given of smoking and smoking implements observed by the same explorers among Cape York Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (Moore 1978). Furthermore, when Captain John Moresby sailed HMS *Basilisk* up the coast of northeastern Papua in 1873, local people everywhere rejected offers of tobacco (Comrie 1877:108). While such records may leave much to inference, other reports are unambiguous and can be used to reconstruct the situation in the late nineteenth century for many language groups, which in some cases were experiencing extremely rapid changes (see Appendix).

Despite the incompleteness of the information available, the general picture seems clear. Unlike the situation elsewhere on the island of New Guinea, with only a few exceptions in the interior (e.g., Mekeo, Moun-

tain Koiari, and groups around Kokoda), neither the cultivation nor the smoking of tobacco had yet diffused to most of Eastern Papua by the last three decades of the nineteenth century, when a sustained European presence began. Instead, we find an almost continuous string of absences, or very recent arrivals, along the entire coastline and on the adjacent islands. It may be true, as Mac Marshall has suggested (pers. com., 1990), that Europeans' interest during this period in maintaining a trade monopoly limited Papuans' exposure to tobacco plants and to knowledge of cultivation techniques, but in any event the incidence of tobacco *smoking* increased rapidly.

“The God of the Motuites”

The Australian explorer/adventurer Theodore Bevan recounts that “in the autumn of 1884 I made up my mind to visit New Guinea. It was described as a land of gold, yet where a fig of tobacco would buy more than a nugget of the precious metal had power to purchase” (1890:3).

Indeed, one of Bevan's predecessors, Octavius Stone, had found that in the Hanuabada of late 1875 the people “seem[ed] madly fond of *kuku* [the Motu word for ‘tobacco’], and would pawn their very clothes for it if they wore any” (1880:55). According to Stone:

Even little babies learn to utter the word *kuku* before *tinana*, “mother.” I never knew a people so fearfully fond of this weed. *Kuku* is their god, whom alone they worship and adore. The word *kuku* escapes their lips more than any other in the course of the day, and is ever in their thoughts. Its praises are sung in their *hehonis*, or night-chants, and your health is smoked with it in the daytime. . . .

. . . It is the cause of joy, the cause of sorrow, the cause of friendship, the cause of enmity, the cause of content, and the cause of discontent. (1880:89)

An accompanying engraving is captioned “TWIST TOBACCO, OR KUKU, THE GOD OF THE MOTUITES” (Stone 1880:89).

The “Motuites” were not unique in their rapid adoption of and obsession with European trade tobacco. By 1911–1912, only twenty years after the administrator, Sir William MacGregor, found it impossible to get Goodenough Islanders to accept tobacco in trade (see Appendix), Jenness and Ballantyne discovered a radically changed state of affairs among the Bwaidoga:

Two things appear to the native almost as necessary as his food—betel-nut and tobacco. Abundance of both makes life rosy, their absence robs it of all pleasure. Sometimes the natives assert that they could not live if they were deprived of tobacco. A man would often come to us and say, “My tobacco was all used up, so I stayed at home in my hamlet. My strength all left me; I existed, and that was all. At last I thought to myself, ‘I will go to my father [i.e., the Rev. Ballantyne] and he will give me some tobacco.’ ” (1920:163)

Even if some hyperbole is granted in the above claims, it must be conceded that on the coastline of British New Guinea in the late 1800s, twist tobacco was indeed worth more than its weight in gold and, like beer in modern-day Papua New Guinea, eminently more portable, divisible, and consumable. As Otto Finsch described it, the American twist tobacco (which was often soaked in molasses or rum) took “a form like a thin stem of sealing wax, and constitutes a pressed black mass that is broken apart with a sharp instrument. Each piece has two overlapping braided halves and is easily divided. 22 to 26 pieces are counted per pound” (1888:58–59).

At about the same time, the trader Pitcairn reckoned the cost as high: “Trade tobacco costs in Queensland, say 1s. 3d. per lb., then there is the transit, say 1d. per pound, and New Guinea duty of 1s., so it costs you 2s. 4d. per lb. on board” (1891:141). Somewhat later, the Anglican missionary Chignell (at Wanigela from 1907–1914) estimated the cost of twist similarly at “about a penny halfpenny” per stick, or about thirty-odd cents per pound (1915:133).

What could be obtained for these “costly” sticks? Food, certainly: in the 1890s the London Missionary Society (LMS) obtained sago from Purari Delta people at a rate of “one stick of trade tobacco for one bundle of sago” (Holmes 1924:231); in the Samarai of 1897, at the Kwato Mission school, “a stick of that black-looking tobacco would buy as much food as you wanted, and if you had a pocket full you would be rich!” (Thompson 1900:17); on Sud-Est (Vanatinai) in 1883, the labor recruiter William Wawn bought fish “at the rate of one stick of twist tobacco (eighteen sticks to the pound) for eleven fish, the whole lot for elevenpence-halfpenny” (quoted in Lepowsky 1982:328); and at turn-of-the-century Wanigela, one stick of tobacco yielded a local trader “ten or twelve pounds of native sago, or thirty pounds of taro or bananas or yams. As much tobacco as would fill a clay pipe [would] purchase sev-

eral crabs, or as many prawns as even [the trader] would care to eat at a single sitting” (Chignell 1915:60). Rates paid by the Anglican mission itself were:

a stick of tobacco, which costs about a penny halfpenny, for twenty-five to thirty pounds of taro or yams, and the same for fifteen coconuts, or for eight or ten pounds of sago, though when sago is very plentiful, and the supply everywhere greater than the demand, we expect to get half as much again for our tobacco. A turtle is worth four or five sticks. . . . A wallaby fetches two or three sticks at ordinary times, but much less when the big hunts are going on, and game is plentiful. (Chignell 1915:133)

Coconuts for food or as a source of copra could also be obtained, though the rates varied considerably. At Tauwara in Milne Bay in January 1891 MacGregor complained that

the price they receive for their copra is far from encouraging; they get two-fifths of a pound of trade tobacco for a full sack of copra. If they sell the cocoanuts, they get for twenty-eight cocoanuts the twenty-fifth part of a pound [i.e., one stick] of tobacco. It is wonderful that they care to take so much trouble for such poor returns. (1892c:32)

But these returns were good compared with the rates in Misima in the 1890s, where goldminers paid one stick of tobacco for forty coconuts (Nelson 1976:40).

Labor, too, could be purchased with twist tobacco, at the rate of one stick a day for hunting murderers on Vanatinai in 1886 (Lepowsky 1982:328), or as much as three sticks per day for “ordinary work” at the mission stations in the Delena district in 1896–1912 (Dauncey 1913:81) or construction work at Dinawa in 1902 (Pratt 1906:111). And by 1911–1912, on Goodenough Island “two sticks of tobacco a day [was] considered high wages, and a man [would] often work for only one” (Jenness and Ballantyne 1920:164).

Nor might it be stretching the truth to say, as did Pitcairn of coastal natives of the late 1880s, that the people “would sell their souls for tobacco” (1891:85).

Mission Use of Tobacco

Shortly after R. W. Thompson arrived in 1897 at the LMS mission among the Roro at Maiva, he became aware of the extension of tobacco's buying power beyond the meeting of everyday subsistence needs.

The teachers naively submitted to us the question of the expediency of following something like the plan which they said was adopted by the [Sacred Heart Mission] Roman Catholic priests. According to their description, it was the practice of the priest to go through the village on Sunday morning with a basket containing a supply of tobacco. He promised a piece of tobacco to every man who attended service, and, in consequence, his ministrations were greatly esteemed by a considerable number of the heathen. Our good friends felt that they could not adequately contend against such competition as this unless we could see our way to provide them with similar means of tempting the people to their services! I need scarcely say that we did not accede to the request. (Thompson 1900:76)

While Thompson may have been shocked at such a proposal, his own mission, like others, had long depended on trade tobacco in its work. G. R. Askwith, on a tour of inspection with newly appointed Special Commissioner Sir Peter Scratchley, summarized the situation as of 1885: "Tobacco was of the greatest importance. At Port Moresby the [LMS] mission house really lived by tobacco. . . . At the mission house no service could be secured without payment in tobacco, which was really the current coin of the country" (quoted in Chalmers 1887:84).

The extent of the missionaries' reliance on tobacco was readily admitted by W. G. Lawes (who established the mission at Port Moresby in 1874), when he responded to criticism from within the LMS.

The quantity of tobacco used is large in the aggregate, but it has to be divided among twenty teachers and missionaries. Each teacher uses about one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco a year. It is really the currency here; houses and churches are built with it, boats are pulled by it, gardens and fences made with it; it is our wood and water, our fruit, vegetables, and fish; it is the sign of peace and friendship, the key which opens the door for better things, and . . . the shortest

way to a New Guinean's heart is through his tobacco-pipe.
(Quoted in Lovett 1903:216)

In the light of such observations Basil Thomson's judgment that "the success of the Mission in many places is in proportion to the amount of tobacco distributed" cannot be disputed (1889:528).

The dependence of missions and local people on trade tobacco was sometimes criticized, or at least was the basis of complaints. From an administrator's viewpoint, it was sometimes a wasteful distraction; thus Sir William MacGregor lamented of the Suau of Logea Island in late 1890 that they spent "far too much time in going backwards and forwards to Samarai trying to sell such things as shells, pumpkins, cocoanuts, &c., for tobacco. . . . They almost always sell their produce for tobacco" (1892b:28). And Assistant Resident Magistrate A. C. English despaired over conditions in the Rigo district:

In my opinion, one of the greatest curses to the native is trade tobacco. He will go to work for a few weeks or months and earn a few pounds; then returns to his home and leads the life of a gentleman. He is able to purchase with the tobacco he buys the best of food and luxuries, and leads a most immoral, lazy, and sluggish life. While tobacco remains the currency, as it is now, I see no hope of improvement in the labour conditions with the native. (1905:23)

In 1926, among the Suau, F. E. Williams heard other complaints of social disruption:

One old man, explaining why so many more people died nowadays, said very shortly that it was due to tobacco. Expanding his answer somewhat he said that tobacco was the ruin of women's virtue. Whereas in his youth women's favours were not easily obtained, it was now only necessary to go into the garden and show a stick of trade twist. Tobacco led to adultery, and adultery to death by sorcery. (1933:6)

As was the case regarding alcohol and kava use elsewhere in the Pacific (Mac Marshall, pers. com., 1990), Protestant missionaries were divided on the topic of tobacco smoking. So far as some were concerned, there was something unseemly about winning souls through tobacco.

Thus, just as R. W. Thompson was repelled at the thought of bribing villagers to attend church, in early 1883 Samuel Macfarlane, a pioneer missionary with the LMS, “raised an objection to what he considered an excessive use of tobacco in the work,” and Chalmers’s biographer, Richard Lovett, agreed that “at first sight it must be admitted that it is hardly in accordance with the views of the average British supporter and friend of missionary efforts to believe that tobacco can be an effective evangelizing agent” (Lovett 1903:215).

But Lawes’s official response in a letter home stressed both its effectiveness and the *economic necessity* of its use:

I have no predilections in favour of the weed. I am a non-smoker, I have never had cigar or pipe in my mouth, and until I came here had never handled a piece of tobacco. But I entirely fail to see either the harm done by it to the natives, or the possibility of substituting anything else for it. If we dispensed with the use of it, the expenses of this mission would be increased at least twelve-fold. We should have to give a tomahawk which cost a shilling where we now give tobacco which cost a penny. And even then we could not manage, for you cannot divide a tomahawk as you can a stick of tobacco. . . .

It is better, we think, to get the supply of tobacco as we have done, and let the teachers have all they want. It is impossible for them to do without it. They can only raise a very small quantity of native food, but they need never be without it if they have tobacco. The people will work readily in fencing, building, and all kinds of labour, and the women will keep them supplied with wood and water for tobacco, when nothing else will induce them to move. (Quoted in Lovett 1903: 216–217)

In 1884 Chalmers joined with Lawes in writing to the directors of the LMS:

I would say, leave the tobacco question alone; we only can manage it. I use the weed myself, and have found it a good friend in many strange places and amongst very peculiar people. Mr. Macfarlane has been leading you astray in saying that at the east end [of the southern coast] the work was done without missionaries or tobacco. The statement is altogether inaccurate. . . . Tobacco is and has been as much used at the east end

as here [in the Port Moresby area], and perhaps much more. Mr. Macfarlane's own teachers have again and again said, "Suppose no tobacco, no man come church or come see us." (Quoted in Lovett 1903:218)

The LMS did not abandon its extensive use of trade tobacco, which dated from the beginning of their ministry in the 1870s (and much earlier elsewhere in the Pacific), when the people around Port Moresby "received their entire supply of tobacco through the Mission, and their name for the Mission vessel [was] 'The Tobacco Ship' " (Turner 1878: 494). Nor were the other missions in Papua any different; they simply left less documentation.

Missions as Promoters of Tobacco Use

It seems clear from missionaries' own accounts that it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for them to have functioned in the Eastern Papua of the late nineteenth century without employing the "currency" of trade tobacco. Yet it could also be said that this was partly a circumstance of their own making, a previously unexamined proposition, perhaps because of the complexity of the issues involved and the scarcity of direct evidence.

Scholars such as Whiteman are undoubtedly correct in noting the tremendous impact on Melanesians' lives of Western material objects introduced by traders, including tobacco, of which many "islanders became so desirous . . . that their want soon became a need, a need that could only be satisfied through exchange with Europeans" (1983:110). Shineberg has characterized well the complicated linkages within the growing world system that motivated this promotion of dependency: "Traders sold tobacco for Pacific islanders to smoke in order that the Chinese might burn sandalwood in order that Australians might drink tea" (1967:151). In Whiteman's view, then, the missions were unavoidably caught up in the consequences and constraints arising from the earlier, and still ongoing, activities of European traders; thus "the missionaries were necessarily forced into a mold of having to 'trade' with the islanders," though there were occasional exceptions, such as G. A. Selwyn, head of the Melanesian Mission in the 1840s, who "refused to trade tobacco," but did not draw the line at "fish-hooks, metal tools, cloth, and 'trinkets' " (Whiteman 1983:110). Such exceptions, apparently, were not to be found among the Marists in the Solomons (see Laracy 1976:71-72), and I have learned of none in Eastern Papua.

Others, such as Lepowsky for Vanatinai, have documented the introduction of tobacco and matches as well as instruction in how to use them by nonmissionary Europeans, assuming the same motive as that attributed to traders elsewhere in the Pacific: "By creating a desire for tobacco among the islanders, the early traders in the Louisiade Archipelago and other Papuan islands could insure that the local inhabitants would be eager to barter with them whenever they appeared" (1982: 327). Sometimes, however, the tactic was not immediately successful, as Austen relates for the Trobriand Islands, where tobacco smoking was a late adoption (see Appendix):

When Whitten and Oskar Solberg had a trading station on the north-west end of Kiriwina, they could not get the natives to smoke, until one day Whitten persuaded one of the Toliwaga chiefs to have a draw from his cigarette. After that, smoking spread all over the island, and to-day the Trobriander is the most inveterate smoker throughout Papua. (1945:24)

Speaking generally of the use of Western goods by the Melanesian Mission, Whiteman has argued that "given the cultural context in which they first contacted the islanders, they seem to have had little alternative" (1983:110–111). But how true was this of Eastern Papua, at least with regard to tobacco smoking?

Apart from abortive attempts in 1847–1855 on Woodlark Island by the Society of Mary and the Milan Foreign Missionary Society, the first missionaries in British New Guinea were those of the LMS (Langmore 1989). Working from a base in the Torres Strait established in 1871, Polynesian teachers were settled at Katau (in the Trans-Fly region) and Redscar Bay in 1872, followed by teachers at Anuapata (Port Moresby) in 1873. The Rev. W. G. Lawes arrived in Port Moresby the following year and began a lengthy stay (until 1906), during which time Port Moresby became a center for mission exploration. Over the period 1874–1880 thirteen LMS stations were established, including ones on Yule Island (1875) and Teste Island and South Cape (1877), soon to be followed by many more, at Delena, Maiva, Gabadi, Hula, Kerepunu, and Aroma, until virtually the whole length of the Papuan coast was served by LMS stations.

In 1885 the hegemony of the LMS on the south coast was challenged by the arrival of Fr. Henri Verjus, of the Sacred Heart Mission (SHM), on Yule Island. The SHM quickly explored Mekeo, Kuni, and Roro country, and their presence as well as interest shown in British New

Guinea by others gave impetus to a “gentlemen’s agreement” reached in June 1890. Negotiations among Sir William MacGregor (the administrator), Lawes of the LMS, the Rev. George Brown (general secretary of the Methodist Overseas Mission Board), and the Rev. Albert Maclaren (representing the Australian Board of Missions) established respective “spheres of influence.” To the LMS was allocated the south coast all the way to the eastern tip (with the SHM given free reign over the interior of the mainland opposite Yule Island); the Louisiades and D’Entrecasteaux were awarded to the Methodists; and the vast northeastern region from Cape Ducie to the Mambare River was to be the province of the Anglicans.

The Methodists and Anglicans proceeded quickly to settle their allotted areas (Wetherell 1977). The former established W. E. Bromilow and teachers at Dobu, S. B. Fellows and J. Watson at Panaete, teachers at Teste Island, and J. T. Field at Tubetube—all in 1891. In 1894 Methodist teachers were set up on Misima, and Fellows was transferred to Kiriwina, followed by lay missionary Glew on Woodlark Island in 1897. For the Anglicans, Maclaren reconnoitered the northeast coast in 1890. In 1892 the Rev. Copland King was firmly settled at Dogura, and in the next two years Polynesian teachers were installed at Taupota, Awaiama, and Boiani. In 1898 stations were established at Wanigela and Mukawa, with another at the mouth of the Mambare River in 1899. By 1901 the Anglicans had eleven functioning coastal stations.

While American (and possibly other) whalers were exploiting the waters of the Massim and off the eastern coast of Papua as early as the 1830s, there is little indication that their presence had much effect on the local people’s awareness of or interest in Western goods. It is possible that they were the Europeans who introduced tobacco and smoking to Vanatinai, but oral traditions to that effect cited by Lepowsky (1982: 327) are not corroborated by any other evidence, and the historical record suggests that there, as elsewhere in the islands, tobacco was a recent arrival in the 1880s (see Appendix).

Missionary activity was late in Eastern Papua compared with the rest of the Pacific, but in the period 1871–1900 there was little if any “mold” into which missionaries were forced to fit, except as they may have *presumed* one from their previous experiences elsewhere in Melanesia and Polynesia. This was especially true for the LMS, early representatives of which made many “first contacts” in their extensive exploration of the south coast.

It is at least suggestive to note the pattern of recorded absence and subsequent recorded presence of Papuans’ knowledge of and interest in

tobacco smoking in relation to the periods of initial mission activity and settlement, as shown in Table 1 (see Appendix for specific cases). With regard to the LMS "sphere of influence," we might infer from the records of Stanley's exploration that tobacco was still unknown all along the south coast from Yule Island to East Cape in 1849, and historical sources indicate absences in numerous locations into the early and mid-1870s. In contrast, definite appetites for trade tobacco were recorded nearly everywhere by 1891; that is, after about two decades of LMS (and six years of SHM) exploration and settlement. What I have referred to here as the "northeastern" coast was Anglican territory, beginning with Maclaren's exploration in 1890 and settlement by missionaries and teachers starting in 1892. Almost certainly the Anglicans arrived in virgin territory so far as tobacco smoking was concerned, but by the end of the 1890s this was no longer true. And in the Massim—where the Methodists' "sphere" began effectively in 1891—again we find the absence of smoking into the late 1880s, then its presence almost simultaneously with the Methodists' arrival and expansion.

This concordance provides only circumstantial evidence, perhaps, as the missionaries were not the only agents of change in the region in the late 1800s. Indeed, in a few locations "native tobacco" was diffusing into the region at about this time. Although this affected primarily the groups (Mekeo, Kuni, and Roro) being missionized by the SHM priests, it is possible that the Koiari or other inland peoples had recently introduced the custom of smoking to Motu groups by the time Lawes arrived in 1872 (see Miklouho-Maclay 1886:352, n. 3), and certainly the Motu could have spread it far and wide on their *hiri* trading expeditions. In any case it was promptly superseded nearly everywhere by a preference for twist tobacco.

From the beginning, too, not only missionaries but administrators were exploring Eastern Papua and using trade tobacco (where there was a demand for it) in barter for food and services. Also, as early as 1878 gold prospectors were numerous along the Laloki River, as they were in the late 1880s and 1890s at Cloudy Bay, Milne Bay, Misima, Sud-Est, and the Mambare and Gira rivers (Nelson 1976). Prospectors and miners were often supplied by local white traders, and all of these parties doubtless fostered the spread of trade tobacco among the local populations.

Only in the case of the Wamira, in the Milne Bay area, is there an explicit claim in the literature that tobacco was first introduced directly by missionaries (Kahn 1986:51). Kahn's assertion is probably based on local accounts of the arrival in August 1891 of the Anglicans Maclaren

TABLE 1. Latest Absences and First Presences of Tobacco Smoking

Location/Group	Absence ^a	Presence
London Missionary Society "Sphere," 1872–1900		
Yule Island	1876	1879
Mekeo	[1849]	1890s ^b
Kuni	[1849]	early 1880s?
Nara	[1849]	1878
Redscar Bay	[1849]	1872 (new)
Port Moresby	[1849]	1875
Laloki River	ni	1877
Rigo	[1849]	1905
Hood Bay	1876	1878
Aroma	1878	ni
Kalo	[1849]	1881
Orangerie Bay	1873	1890
Basilaki Island	1880 (some)	1891
Tubetube	1873	ni
Anglican "Sphere," 1890–1900		
East Cape	1873	ni
Wamira	[1873]	1891 (new)
Rawden Bay	1885	ni
Cape Vogel	[1873]	1890 (new)
Collingwood Bay	1890	1894
Holnicote Bay	1890	ni
Gona Bay	1893	ni
Orokaiva		arrived late 1880s?
Lower Kumusi River	1894	ni
Douglas Harbor	1890	ni
Mambare River (mouth)	[1873]	1896 (new)
Lower Gira River	[1873]	1897 (new)
Methodist "Sphere," 1891–1900		
Misima	1888	late 1890s
Vanatinai	[1849]	1883
Rossel Island	1885	1892
Gawa Island	ni	1893
Kiriwina	late 1880s	1891
South Normanby Island	1888	ni
North Normanby Island	1888	1888
Southeast Fergusson Island	ni	1888
Fergusson Island	1888	1895
Goodenough Island	1891	1911

ni = no information; new = recently arrived

Sources: See Appendix.

^aBracketed date indicates presumed absence based on global statements by Stanley (1849) or Comrie (1877).

^bTwist preferred.

and King, who greeted the people of Wamira village by reading from a book (probably the Bible) and giving the headman some tobacco (Wetherell 1977:21). Such “opening gifts” were, in fact, common during the initial explorations by the LMS missionaries Chalmers and Lawes. For example, Chalmers reports that in his 1878 exploration of the inland Koiari villages: “On their first meeting with us they were somewhat troubled, but after a little tobacco smoke had a wonderful effect in assuring them we were friends” (1887:73). In this instance the Koiari were already familiar with smoking and were cultivating and trading their own tobacco, but in other cases LMS missionaries were making “first contacts” with peoples who did not yet know tobacco. In such instances the practice of immediately distributing trade tobacco—perhaps based on previous success in the islands of Melanesia and Polynesia—may well have involved numerous first contacts of another kind.

Certainly the record left by missionaries is replete with accounts of the casual disbursement of twist tobacco, not only in payment for food and services, but as a gesture of goodwill. Thus Gill describes the scene from shipboard at Kapakapa in February 1881 with “Mr. Chalmers occasionally throwing a handful of small pieces of tobacco into the sea. Men, women, and children all dived down [from their canoes] for the coveted prize, and in a friendly way contended with each other for it” (Chalmers and Gill 1885:283). Nor do we find any indications of the early missionaries’ discouragement of tobacco smoking. As Lawes was quoted earlier, he “entirely fail[ed] to see . . . the harm done by it to the natives” (Lovett 1903:216), and this clearly was a widespread view, continuing into the next century. Thus Chignell reports the Anglican mission policy at Wanigela in 1907–1914: “Our station boys must get permission before they begin [to smoke], but the privilege is granted to them as soon as they are of an age when they would be allowed to smoke if they had still been living at home in the village” (1915:137).

It may be that in many instances trade tobacco and the practice of smoking were first introduced into Eastern Papuan communities by traders and others with only material profit as a motive, and that the early missionaries were thus placed, like their counterparts in island Melanesia, in a “cultural context” that provided “little alternative” (Whiteman 1983:110–111). But, even if unwittingly, by example and as direct suppliers (at considerable profit), the missionaries of Eastern Papua clearly were a major force in supporting and spreading the custom. They thereby contributed, ironically, to the success of what is now seen more often as a rival, “the god of the Motuites.”

APPENDIX

Historical Record of Tobacco Absences and Presences (by Language Group) in Eastern Papua, 1849–1900

South Coast

TOARIFI: James Chalmers, with the LMS in the late 1870s, reported: “Only recently have they used tobacco” (1897:331).

RORO: On Yule Island and the mainland opposite “the use of tobacco was unknown” in 1845, according to Jukes (quoted in Riesenfeld 1951:81), as it also was in 1875 (Stone 1880:187) and 1876 (Turner 1878:494). Not until Chalmers’s visit in 1879 was its use recorded (Riesenfeld 1951:81). By the time of Henry Dauncey’s ministry (beginning in 1888), tobacco had become the “real currency” of the area (Dauncey 1913:81).

MEKEO: While they had their own tobacco, by the 1890s a preference was shown for “the manufactured article” (Kowald 1894:114).

KUNI: Among these inland neighbors of the Mekeo the custom of smoking was believed by the SHM missionary Egidi to have been introduced in the early 1880s (Riesenfeld 1951:82).

NARA: Chalmers found them to be smokers in 1878 (1887:74).

GABADI: At Redscar Bay, Owen Stanley had found a demand for calico and hoop iron in 1849, but he does not mention tobacco (MacGillivray 1852). By 1872 LMS missionary Gill reports: “A few Redscar natives use tobacco, but do not seem to care much about it” (1876:253).

MOTU: In coastal villages abutting the territory of the Koita the explorer Octavius Stone found a demand for tobacco, beads, and cloth in 1875 (1880:33), and in Port Moresby “the first words [he] heard in landing were *kuku* [‘tobacco’ in Motu], *kuku iasi*” (1880:39). One gets a clear sense from Turner (1878:494) that when he began a six-month residence in March 1876 he believed smoking to be a recently adopted introduction by “foreigners.” In any case, by October 1877 the men, women, and children of Port Moresby were smokers (Chalmers and Gill 1885:32).

KOIARI: Among the inland (or Mountain) Koiari both sexes smoked as early as 1875 (Stone 1880:124). Along the Laloki River, Morton gave beads, turkey red calico, hoop iron, and stick tobacco as payment in 1877, finding the people “as inveterate smokers as the coast natives” (1885:81). While they cultivated their own tobacco and traded it with coastal tribes (Lawes 1879:375), at Uakinumu in 1879, through a local medium, a “spirit dilated at length on the good qualities of foreign tobacco and the badness of the native stuff, and wound up by asking for some foreign” (Chalmers and Gill 1885:109).

HUMENE: There is an absence of early records, but by 1905 trade tobacco was used as “currency” in the Rigo district (English 1905:23).

KEAPARA: At Hood Bay tobacco was not used in 1876 (Turner 1878:494); by 1878 it was considered a “smoking region,” though in the Aroma district “smoking was [still] not known” (Finsch 1914:305). In Kalo by February 1881 “[t]he one cry was, *Kuku!*” (Chalmers and Gill 1885:292–293).

Southeast Peninsula

Speaking generally, the LMS missionary Samuel Macfarlane wrote with reference to the early 1870s: “On the south-east peninsula [smoking] is a recently acquired habit. They did

not know the use of tobacco when we first met them. They have learnt to smoke from foreigners. . . . Wherever it came from, the habit is now [late 1880s] universal amongst all the tribes with which we are acquainted" (1888:125-126).

SUAU: Owen Stanley (1849) makes no mention of the presence of tobacco in Orangerie Bay in 1849; and in January 1873 d'Alberty found the following situation: "They also accepted some tobacco, in the same ignorance as to its uses [as was true of ship's biscuit], and when I showed them how we used it, they gave it back. From this we may infer that the use of the tobacco plant are [*sic*] unknown to these natives, or that, if known, it is not appreciated" (1881 [1]:184-185).

By the end of 1890, at the extreme eastern end of Suau territory, Sir William MacGregor was complaining (1892b:28) that the people of Logea Island were continually going back and forth to Samarai, eager to sell anything they had for tobacco, and at the Kwato mission in Samarai tobacco was being used as "small change" by 1897 (R. W. Thompson 1900:17).

KEHELALA: In 1880 Miklouho-Maclay visited on Basilaki Island "some hill villages . . . where the natives where [*sic*] completely unacquainted with tobacco and smoking" (1886:352, n.1). By January 1891 at Tauwara copra was regularly exchanged for trade tobacco (MacGregor 1892c:32).

Subsequent records are all consistent with the common picture disclosed by Moresby's 1873-1874 exploration on HMS *Basilisk* from Tubetube to East Cape and up the coast to the Huon Gulf: "The use of betel was universal all along the coast, but no other form of stimulant was observed; tobacco in any shape they would not touch, and were evidently unacquainted with its use" (Comrie 1877:113).

WEDAU: In Wamira village, according to Kahn, tobacco was "introduced by the first missionaries in 1891" (1986:51).

GAPAPAIWA: In Rawden Bay in 1885 Forbes found cloth and beads welcome, but steel unknown, and "of the use of tobacco they were quite ignorant" (1886:45). Elsewhere in Goodenough Bay, at Kwamana village, MacGregor found the same to be true in August 1895 (1897b:7).

MUKAWA: Off the Cape Vogel region in 1890 MacGregor reports of the people of Ataiyo village, Kairaga Island, that "they are beginning to learn the use of tobacco, but at that time they were not very desirous of obtaining it" (1892a:11).

Northeastern Papua

UBIR/MAISIN: In the bight of Collingwood Bay, MacGregor found in 1890 that "they did not know the use of iron or of tobacco" (1892a:14), but in Dako in April 1894: "Not only had these natives learned to respect and trust the white man, but they had also been taught the accomplishment of smoking tobacco, formerly unknown to them" (MacGregor 1894c:37).

NORU: In Holnicote Bay in 1885 Forbes (1886:45) found that the use of tobacco was unknown, as MacGregor (1892a:13-14) reported later to be true of Augo village and others up the coast in 1890. In Gona Bay as late as September and October of 1893 MacGregor found that they "do not seem to know or to use tobacco in any form. This district appears to be the only one on the mainland of the Possession in which this plant is unknown" (1894a:5) (but see below).

OROKAIVA: Among the inland villages in 1923-1925 tobacco had arrived through native trade routes from the Kokoda region within memory of living informants (Williams 1928:120; 1930:66).

AEKA: Of the villagers on the lower Kumusi River in early 1894 MacGregor writes that “They have no tobacco in their gardens, and did not know it” (1894c:34).

BINANDERE: South of Douglas Harbour in mid-1890 MacGregor found that villagers were ignorant of iron and that tobacco was unacceptable in barter (1892a:16). He wrote of Eruatutu village at the mouth of the Mambare River in early 1896: “Tobacco being new to them—unknown till our first arrival there—they do not as yet attach much value to it” (MacGregor 1897c:50). And, of the lower Gira River in mid-1897: “When we first visited the north-east coast rivers, they had no tobacco, and did not seem to know it. Tobacco appears to be grown now in every village” (MacGregor 1898:31).

Massim

MISIMA: The accounts of Owen Stanley’s exploration in the Louisiades in 1849 (Stanley 1849; MacGillivray 1852) made no mention of tobacco. In addition, MacGregor made no reference to tobacco smoking in his account of this area in 1888 (Haddon 1946:190) and, given his attention to this matter elsewhere (see above), this may imply absence. In any event, by the late 1890s miners were routinely obtaining coconuts with trade tobacco (Nelson 1976:40).

SUD-EST: According to oral traditions, the first Europeans to visit Vanatinai distributed tobacco and matches and showed the people how to smoke (Lepowsky 1982:327). In 1883 the labor recruiter Wawn bought fish with trade tobacco, and the latter was the “chief article of barter” by 1889 (Lepowsky 1982:328).

YELE: Rochas reported ignorance of tobacco on Rossel Island in 1859 (Armstrong 1928:197), and by 1885 Captain Bridge of HMS *Dart* found that “One or two of them knew the words ‘tobacco’ and ‘pipe’, to the use of which most of them were evidently unaccustomed” (Armstrong 1928:204). By July 1892 MacGregor seemed pleased to report: “They have taken kindly to tobacco, and will consequently be willing to trade” (1894d:7).

MUYUW: On Kawa (Gawa) Island in September 1893 MacGregor found that the people were “fond of tobacco, but do not know it as a plant” (1894b:20).

KILIVILA: According to Austen: “In the early ‘70’s and ‘80’s of last century, whalers calling at Kiriwina often paid for things with tobacco, but usually it was thrown away as the people did not understand smoking” (1945:24). Similarly, on Kiriwina in the late 1880s Pitcairn found that tobacco was “unknown here, and they would not accept any” (1891:141). By July 1891, however, MacGregor found the Kiriwina villagers of Kaibula to be “passionately fond of tobacco” (1893:4), and in Nabai in the same month *bêche-de-mer* was being exchanged for tobacco from a European trader (1893:5).

BUNAMA/DUAU/SEWA BAY: Closer to the mainland, the situation on Normanby Island was more complex and various. In 1888 MacGregor visited it (probably the south coast) and found that the people “knew nothing about tobacco, pipes, nor matches, and did not seem to wish in the least to have anything belonging to us” (quoted in Haddon 1946:193). But in October of that same year Thomson found astonishing diversity: “At a spot not ten miles from a tribe that would barter all they possessed for tobacco and pipes, were people so ignorant of their use that they put the tobacco into a bottle we had given them, poured water upon it and drank off the compound” (1889:536).

DOBU: Among Dobu-speakers of the northern end of Normanby Island MacGregor found people eager to trade for tobacco in 1888 (Haddon 1946:193). In southeastern Fergusson Island in that same year Thomson experienced people “clamouring for tobacco, which they preferred to all other European articles” (1889:536).

YAMALELE: Elsewhere on Fergusson Island, in November 1888, Thomson found people

who "knew nothing about tobacco, beads, or the ordinary articles of trade, nor did they seem to care for anything we could give them" (1889:537); while on the Buinai River in the interior in July 1895 MacGregor found a few tobacco plants in cultivation, although he "could not learn where they had procured the seed" (1897a:5).

BOSILEWA: Again on Fergusson Island, in Hughes Bay in late 1888, Thomson notes that the people "appeared to care nothing for beads, tobacco, nor knives, but were pleased with small strips of Turkey red" (1889:538).

BWAIDOKA: Finally, on Goodenough Island in July 1891, MacGregor encountered people from the island of Wagipa, who "will not take tobacco, and it is more difficult to trade with them than with most other natives" (1893:2).

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I am indebted to Matthew Smedts, a Dutch journalist, for the title of this article. According to him (Smedts 1955:49–50), in the early 1950s a "Capaukoo" (Kapauku) man in the Wissel Lakes area of Irian Jaya (then Dutch New Guinea) responded "no tobacco, no hallelujah" when asked why the people had stopped attending church after the local American Protestant missionaries abruptly ended their practice of distributing cigarettes to all who attended Sunday services. That incident shows that the practices and attitudes discussed in this article are by no means confined to Eastern Papua or to the time period considered here.

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EDITOR'S FORUM

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN ECONOMIC RELATIONS
ALONG THE AITAPE COAST OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA,
1909-1990

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In this article we report some preliminary results of a recent reconnaissance survey of the Aitape coast undertaken as part of our current research on the A. B. Lewis Collection of Melanesian material culture and its associated archival documentation and photographs.¹ Our initial objective during this brief field survey was to assess how much change has occurred in traditional craft production and intergroup exchange relations among villages on the coast, offshore islands, and neighboring hinterland since our predecessor, Curator Albert B. Lewis of Field Museum of Natural History, visited this area in 1909 at the beginning of the Joseph N. Field South Pacific Expedition (1909-1913).

The A. B. Lewis Collection is the largest and best documented ethnographic collection ever assembled by a single field researcher in Melanesia. It also has considerably better archival and photographic documentation than most museum collections made before the First World War and is thus a unique historical resource for understanding conditions during the early colonial period in Melanesia.

The Lewis Collection was assembled at a time when little was known about New Guinea and the extreme ethnolinguistic diversity found there. It grew out of Lewis's efforts to document and define ethnological groupings in this vast region. The collection was assembled at a time when similarities and differences in material culture were commonly

used to define cultural relations between contemporary ethnic groups and were also seen as a key for understanding the culture history of non-literate societies. Consequently, Lewis paid particular attention both to where different kinds and styles of objects occurred and also to where the objects he collected had been manufactured. In doing so, he recorded a wealth of detailed information about the production and exchange of local commodities in the Aitape area: nearly twice as much information, in fact, as can be found in all known published sources combined (Welsch 1989a, 1989b; cf. Tiesler 1969–1970). Taken together with other early accounts (e.g., Erdweg 1902; Friederici 1912; Neuhaus 1911; Parkinson 1900; Schlaginhaufen 1910), the Lewis Collection establishes a valuable historical baseline for the Aitape area and the economic relationships among its diverse communities observed in the early twentieth century.

As a result of studying objects in the Lewis Collection from the Aitape area, we visited the Aitape coast in April–May 1990 to (1) find out how economic networks and local technologies have changed since Lewis's time, (2) determine whether—and in what ways—the manufacture and trade of material culture have shaped and helped maintain the local diversity observed by Lewis and other early researchers along this coast, and (3) assess research strategies we might use in subsequent efforts to study these two problems in the field.

A. B. Lewis on the Aitape Coast in 1909

For about five months in 1909, A. B. Lewis (1867–1940) conducted an ethnological survey of the Aitape coast (then known as the Berlinhafen region of German New Guinea) in his capacity as assistant curator of Melanesian ethnology at Field Museum. His aim was to document the lives of the New Guinea peoples he encountered by collecting objects for the museum, by taking photographs of village life, and by recording what he could of native customs, practices, and beliefs. The Aitape area was his first major research destination during a field expedition that lasted nearly four years and took him to all the colonial territories of Melanesia, from then Dutch New Guinea to the Fiji Islands. During this time, he collected over fourteen thousand objects, made almost two thousand photographs depicting village life, and wrote more than one thousand pages of field notes in the form of field diaries, specimen lists, word lists, maps, sketches, and expedition correspondence. Most of these research materials are preserved in the collections and archives of the Department of Anthropology at Field Museum.

Trained by Franz Boas at Columbia University, Lewis was the first American anthropologist to conduct long-term field research in Melanesia. While in New Guinea, he wanted to document the cultural differences he found from place to place to “get a connected view of the whole coast” (Lewis 1910). Initially, Lewis seems to have planned a systematic comparison of the artifacts and decorative styles found in the materials he was collecting at different villages in order to define and describe the culture areas and ethnological associations of peoples living in Melanesia, much as was being done in North America at the time.

Soon after his arrival in the Berlinhafen area, however, Lewis was impressed by the amount of trade in foodstuffs (notably, sago and fish), raw materials, and handicrafts that was taking place among coastal, island, and interior communities speaking a variety of different Melanesian and Papuan languages. His collection, his photographs, and his field notes document the remarkable volume of such exchanges and the wide variety of foodstuffs and local handicrafts that moved between villages situated along more than two hundred kilometers of coast.

Two seemingly contradictory features of the Aitape coast struck Lewis and other early observers as both remarkable and unexpected: (1) they encountered many linguistic and cultural distinctions that, on the one hand, seemed to differentiate communities along the Berlinhafen coast into a number of small, village-level societies, periodically at war with one another; and (2) on the other hand, they found a great volume of trade in both basic necessities and exotic luxury goods among these same communities, which provided them all with a similar, if not actually identical, material culture.

Prior to Lewis's expedition, Richard Parkinson (1900, 1979), building on preliminary observations made by Otto Finsch, had already defined the “Berlinhafen Section” of the coast as an area where different communities all shared a fundamentally similar material culture as well as many similar customs, ritual practices, and the like. Lewis agreed with Parkinson, and he interpreted this commonality—this community of culture—as largely the result of the intricate trade networks he observed and had reported to him in 1909.

In Lewis's field notes, for example, he observed that of the objects he was collecting:

Nos. 498–571 were obtained in Tumleo, but a majority of these things came from elsewhere. The same is true of the other islands of Berlinhafen, as all the islanders are great traders, having large canoes with sails. Their expeditions go as far as Sis-

sano on the west, and Dallmannhafen on the east. Hence on the islands one finds specimens from a coast region of over 100 miles, and often further, as well as from the interior, often several days journey. They themselves manufacture only a few things, which are made in large quantities, and used in trade. (1909: Specimen Lists, Book 2)

At the same time, however, he also observed many differences in the local products and economic behavior as well as in the range of material culture found in the communities he visited.

All the coastal region from Sissano to the neighborhood of Dallmannhafen [the modern Wewak] must be regarded as of one general material culture, with many minor variations from district to district, and even from village to village. In fact, the differences frequently seem to be greater than the resemblances. The islanders are the chief traders and travelers, so the islands show the most generalized culture. Many of the coast villages are very "local." Certain objects from the interior, however, are found in all, especially bows, arrows, and netted bags, which are the specialties of the "bush" villages, and which they trade to the coast natives for such things as salt, shell ornaments, etc. (Lewis 1909: Specimen Lists, Book 2)

In other words, the volume and variety of local commodities traded did not correspond in any obvious way to the linguistic associations that were beginning to be recognized about this time (see, e.g., Klaffl and Vormann 1905; Lewis 1909). Exchanges created a kind of common regional culture though the area was made up of many small communities, each possessing local cultural, economic, and stylistic differences.

The Aitape coast was the focus of considerable research during German times, but since the First World War there has been relatively little anthropological research in this area, particularly in comparison with other parts of Papua New Guinea. No detailed ethnographic studies have yet been written about any community or society around Aitape. Most recent studies about the area are either quite general in scope or focused on particular local crafts and hence add little to historical accounts of intervillage exchange (e.g., Deklin 1979; Dennett and Dennett 1975; May and Tuckson 1982; Swadling 1979; Tiesler 1970, 1975; Tuckson 1977; Tuckson and May 1975; Wronska-Friend n.d.). Only Woichom's (1979a, 1979b) preliminary research on Ali Islanders' trade

relations adds materially to what is known about Aitape's regional networks.

As such, modern anthropological research has not examined in any comprehensive way how Aitape's regional economy has changed since the early twentieth century. Nor have anthropologists addressed the problem of how these economic networks have shaped the area's ethnolinguistic diversity. Therefore we set off "in the footsteps of A. B. Lewis" along the Aitape coast, in an effort to combine archival and museum-based research with field research in Papua New Guinea to study these problems of general interest to anthropologists, historians, and economists.

The A. B. Lewis Project

Using Lewis's collection and his unpublished field notes and other documents, and with the assistance of students and museum volunteers, we are currently analyzing the complicated exchange networks he recorded not only in the Aitape area but along the North Coast of New Guinea Island from Dutch New Guinea to Madang. Our A. B. Lewis Project, jointly sponsored by Field Museum of Natural History and Northwestern University, seeks to better understand the character and details of these networks (described more recently by Frank Tiesler [1969–1970]). In particular, we want to determine what role such networks have played in shaping patterns of cultural diversity along this coast since the early colonial period.

We visited communities in the Aitape area in April and May 1990 to discover what possibilities still exist for long-term field research on exchange networks in this area. We were especially eager to find out the extent to which the intervillage exchanges reported by Lewis and others have disappeared as a result of two world wars, missionization, the introduction of money and a modern cash economy; and also as a result of the development of modern roads, local stores, and markets. Have traditional craft specializations and the precontact exchange economy disappeared altogether in the eighty years since Lewis? Or are at least some crafts still alive? Has the old exchange economy been totally replaced by a very different set of economic relations dependent on cash crops and money? Or do at least some vestiges of former customs and economic practices still survive?

Some years before Lewis's survey of the Aitape area, Parkinson related, with considerable pessimism, that traditional crafts had already been rapidly disappearing in the 1890s (1900:18; 1979:36). Simi-

lar pessimism about the persistence of older customs and practices in this area was raised more recently by some of our anthropological colleagues, who salute the concept of Field Museum's returning to Aitape for what they term "salvage ethnography," but who doubt that enough traditional material culture and knowledge of precontact exchange relations still remain to justify systematic field research.

After our visit in 1990 to seven communities around Aitape that Lewis had visited in 1909, we were amazed to find that traditional exchange relationships have not disappeared despite regular and busy modern marketplaces at Aitape and Sissano Lagoon. In some key ways, of course, exchange relationships have changed since Lewis's time. Shell rings, ornaments, string bags, and soft Murik baskets, for example, no longer play a prominent part in exchanges between individuals in different communities. However, the direct exchange of sago, smoked fish, tobacco, betel nuts, clay pots, and other items is still an important component of the area's economic networks that continues to mediate relations among this melange of villages speaking different languages.

Similarly, modern roads, PMVs (public motor vehicles), outboard motors, and marketplaces have altered and, in some ways, restructured earlier patterns of communication and exchange. But while earlier relationships have been transformed along somewhat different paths, they have not been disrupted altogether. Moreover, traditional exchange relations are still a vivid part of local knowledge in every village and hamlet we visited.

Exchange Relations in the Early Contact Period

During our reconnaissance survey, we visited Tumleo and Ali islands, as well as the lagoon communities of Sissano, Warapu, and Malol, and the mainland road communities of Yakoi, Lampu, and Pultalul, which lie to the west of the Aitape town. Time did not permit visits to villages east of Aitape or in the interior, although we were able to interview a few individuals from Yakamul, Paup, Lemieng, Pes, Koiniri, Sumo, and Serra. In every hamlet we visited, we found that traditional exchange relations with other communities are important to the people's sense of their own local identities and to their understandings of their past.

Older people are readily able to detail the general patterns of transactions in the colonial period and the kinds of objects exchanged. Even younger people have considerable knowledge of the major kinds of customary transactions that used to take place, although their knowledge is generally less detailed and reliable than that of their elders. We also

found that information related in one community can be independently confirmed in the communities with which the first was traditionally linked by regular exchanges. Although intensive analysis of early exchange networks was not possible in the short time available to us, we have established that further systematic research will enable us to uncover a great deal of specific, reliable information about exchange relations in the early contact period.

Although each community today has its own identity, language, craft specializations, and resource exploitation strategies, the impression we got is that people in these diverse communities see themselves as part of an interdependent regional system of economic relations both now and in the past. People in different communities appear to define the limits of the regional network in which they participated somewhat differently. Such differences in perception may reflect their positions within the regional economy, both geographic and environmental, as well as their relative dependence upon other communities.

At this point in our research, therefore, we tentatively conclude that the regional economy of the Aitape district was formerly more extensive than the area covered by the exchange networks of any of the localities we visited. The traditional dimensions and parameters of this economic system varied depending upon where people were located in the extensive regional network.

As both Lewis and Tiesler (1969–1970) have suggested, we found that the Berlinhafen islands (Tumleo, Ali, Seleo, and Angel) used to be dependent upon mainland villages for many basic needs. They had to import all of their sago (still their chief food), as well as virtually all of their building materials and canoe timbers, from their mainland exchange partners.

The descriptions of early exchange patterns that we heard on Tumleo and Ali uniformly emphasized the importance of individual exchange partnerships, which were characterized by an exuberant spirit of generosity. Here, as in many other parts of Papua New Guinea, generosity with individual exchange partners (or exchange friends) helped insure reciprocal generosity during subsequent visits to the mainland.

Repeatedly, we also heard accounts from the islanders describing how exchange partnerships existed among the four islands of Tumleo, Ali, Seleo, and Angel. Through these relationships, the inhabitants of each of these islands obtained the products of the others (pots from Tumleo, fish from Ali, and shell ornaments from Seleo and Angel), both for local use as well as for subsequent exchanges with mainland communities.

Our sense from talking with both islanders and mainlanders is that

there used to be more or less standard equivalences that pegged the relative value of pots, fish, shell rings, sago, tobacco, and other goods. But no one we spoke to discussed early exchanges as the direct barter of equal for equal. People in every village surveyed stressed that other goods were customarily added “on top of” the main items exchange or (even more metaphorically) “went inside” the main goods sought by their exchange partners.

The “extra” gifts added by the islanders tended to be either additional pots or fish, or a variety of handicrafts (such as Murik baskets) that they had received from previous exchanges elsewhere on the mainland. In communities west of Aitape these extra gifts included bows, arrows, string bags, and ornaments. Few of these traditional goods appear to have been the primary goal of particular exchange transactions but, nonetheless, they contributed substantially to the volume of specialized handicrafts that Lewis and his contemporaries, for example, recorded as moving within this region.

Our interviews in the villages verified the exchange of many kinds of handicrafts obtained by Lewis in 1909 that he recorded as having been collected in one place but made in another. We were also able to document instances of the transfer of goods—and their sources—not reported in Lewis’s notes or the published literature (as summarized in Tiesler 1969–1970).

Because of their dependence on mainland products, the islanders do appear to have had more geographically extensive networks than those of the communities west of Aitape that we surveyed. The islanders see themselves as having been central to the earlier exchange economy and do, in fact, appear to have played an important middleman role within the region.

On the other hand, the communities we visited west of Aitape also see themselves as having been at the center of relations that linked them to hinterland villages, other coastal communities, and the islands. From their perspective, people on the islands lived in relatively marginal communities situated at the periphery of mainland exchange networks.

Tiesler suggests that the islanders—because of their dependence on the coast for sago and other vital commodities, and also because of their position as middlemen—were the prime movers in the regional economic system (1969–1970): a role analogous to the one that Harding (1967) says the Siassi Islanders have played in the Vitiav Strait system. However, further research in the Aitape area is clearly needed to assess how far the extensive regional economy was, in fact, driven and motivated by the Berlinhafen islanders’ need for sago and other necessities.

In this regard, we were impressed by the range of microenvironmental differences that seem to exist among many of the island, mainland, and lagoon communities surveyed. A refined analysis of these diverse local environments is plainly necessary before we can confidently conclude—following Tiesler—that the islanders' acute shortages fostered the development of such a complex network of relations as was formerly present in the Aitape area.

Our recent survey also leads us to think, as we have noted, that each mainland community sees itself as having long been strategically placed at the center of important exchange relations. Such relations may have been less extensive along the coast than the networks of the Berlinhafen islanders, but mainland networks, unlike those of the islanders, appear to have been quite wide, ranging into the hinterland. We conclude, therefore, that more research should be undertaken to establish the precise character and relative frequency of early exchanges at different locations on the coast, in the interior, and on the islands to assess the relative importance of, and the motivations for, hinterland-coast and coast-island transactions.

Production of Traditional Handicrafts in 1990

Traditional handicraft production is an active and obviously major part of modern life in every hamlet we surveyed. To study both techniques of manufacture and the products created—canoes, canoe paddles, earthenware pots, fish traps, fish nets, baskets, leaf buckets, taro mashers, sago pounders, sago paddles, drums, bows and arrows, and other kinds of handicrafts—in these communities is not a matter of “salvage ethnography.” Such research study can be conducted using standard anthropological methods of participant observation. Just as Barlow, Bolton, and Lipset (1986) have observed along the East Sepik coast, people in West Sepik Province continue to make and use many kinds of traditional items of material culture that serve vital functions in their basic subsistence strategies. People along the Aitape coast have not lost these skills and handicrafts despite the substantial disruptions of World War II.

In most places we visited, people were busy making traditional handicrafts in nearly every household. Much as Lewis reported, local crafts still vary considerably from one community to another, reflecting both village specializations and what we have tentatively identified as differences in local microenvironments.

We were impressed not only by the importance of traditional craft

production but also by the obvious pride that people take in their local crafts. Moreover, nowhere in the area surveyed was production aimed at the tourist market, though at least one village (Warapu) aspires to have a tourist market available to it.

Traditional crafts, however, have changed in a number of ways since Lewis's time. Production of shell rings, discs, and other ornaments has largely ceased, being replaced by colorful beadwork and bead necklaces, plastic rings, and imitation dog's teeth. Similarly, few string bags and nets today are still made from *tulip* (*Cnetum gnemon*) and pandanus string; most women prefer to use the more colorful strings and yarns available in stores throughout the region. Women also frequently add plastic and nylon to their fish traps and baskets (still made out of plant materials), apparently in an effort to give added color to their work.

Traditional *haus tambaran* and the carvings formerly associated with these elaborate ceremonial structures have disappeared. None of the people we met regularly wears the traditional bark loincloth and bark belt, as everyone now has modern clothing for day-to-day wear. We did, however, see *garamut* (slit gongs), hand drums, and bark belts in some villages. These items are still used for *singsing* (local dances). And to prove to us that such things are not gone, a man in one village emerged from his house dressed for a *singsing* in loincloth and bark belt, and with ornaments of feather and shell.

Surprisingly, aluminum pots and pans have not eliminated the local demand for clay pots, although modern cookware does seem to have reduced demand for locally made pots and has rendered certain kinds less necessary for cooking vegetables and fried sago. Earthen pots used for storing and turning sago (into pudding) are still in high demand and such pots can be found in every hamlet.

The modern availability of enamel paints and steel tools appears to have given people new creative avenues for decorating their canoes and canoe paddles. Nearly every canoe and paddle in Sissano and Warapu, for example, is carved or painted or both with decorative motifs, usually clan emblems resembling designs on some items that Lewis collected in 1909. In fact, these lagoon communities appear to have experienced not a decline but rather an efflorescence in carving in recent decades. This observation parallels that of Maria Wronska-Friend (pers. com., May 1990), who has documented many new designs and elaborations on older motifs in the carvings now being done on Warapu and Sissano canoes and paddles, which she has been studying for several years.

On Ali Island, formerly noted for the production of large sailing

canoes, traditional canoe-making has been transformed into a modern boat-building industry that exists side by side with the continued production of small, single-outrigger fishing canoes, a local industry that also continues on the other islands and along the mainland coast.

In short, even a brief visit to the Aitape area confirms the fundamental continuity of utilitarian craft production since Lewis's time. Modern crafts are characteristically more colorful than before, but manufacturing techniques have otherwise changed only in minor ways. People in the lagoon villages of Sissano and Warapu still value the clan emblems of their past. At both of these villages, for example, we saw such emblems preserved on carved plaques used as wall decorations and as pattern boards from which canoe designs can be studied and copied by those having the right to use them. We see no reason for pessimism regarding the continued survival of local handicraft production.

Exchange Relations and the Market Economy in 1990

Despite the pessimism of some of our colleagues, the persistence of handicraft production and local knowledge of customary exchange relations was not altogether unexpected. We were, however, surprised to find considerable evidence that customary exchange relations still exist side by side with active marketplaces where cash transactions for foodstuffs are clearly occurring.

It was obvious that everyone we encountered on the Aitape coast has a need for cash—for transportation, clothing, manufactured foods, tinned goods, rice, other foods, and the like. But, contrary to our expectations, the growth of the cash economy has not eliminated the need for exchange partnerships with people in other communities. Rather than the replacement of the traditional exchange economy by a money economy (see, e.g., Woichom 1979a), we found evidence of a transformation and restructuring of local economic relationships into a dual economy in which direct transfer of customary exchange items occurs alongside cash transactions.

A decade ago, John Woichom (1979a) reported detailed evidence that by the late 1970s traditional exchanges were giving way to cash transactions. Whether there has been a resurgence of traditional exchange transactions since then, or, alternatively, customary exchanges were even then somewhat more important than Woichom assumed they were, cannot be established from our survey results. What does seem clear is that traditional exchanges still occur in every locality we visited. And such exchanges also occur in the nontraditional setting of the mod-

ern marketplace as well as in the more conventional setting of traditional visits to exchange partners.

Certain aspects of traditional exchange have altered since A. B. Lewis's day. First, except for Tumleo pots—which are still actively traded for sago, fish, and tobacco—handicrafts such as shell ornaments, bows, arrows, and Murik bags no longer play the significant role they formerly did in exchange. The vast majority of items exchanged today appear to be foodstuffs, betel nuts, and tobacco. Exactly why this shift has occurred is not completely clear from our data, though this change is not an unexpected outcome given the importance now placed on colorful bead ornaments, the declining need for bows, and the relatively easier access to Murik bags in Wewak now that a road links Aitape and Wewak.

Moreover, because our data on modern exchange come from interviews rather than participant observation, we cannot at this point provide details about precisely what items are being exchanged and under which specific circumstances. It would appear, however, that pots, fish, sago, and tobacco are most frequently exchanged at the market in Aitape, and betel nuts and fish are exchanged in Sissano.

Second, new modes of transport have influenced the timing of exchange transactions and the frequency with which exchange partners are likely to meet. The islanders have largely abandoned sailing canoes in favor of boats and large double-outrigger canoes, both using outboard motors. Thus, economic transactions are no longer so dependent on the good sailing weather of the dry season brought by the southeast winds (*rai*). Relatively safe transport is now possible even during the northwest monsoon (*taleo*).

Similarly, good roads now connect the villages between Aitape and Wewak, those along the coast west of Aitape as far as Malol, and many of the interior villages. Regular PMV service has made access to both markets and exchange partners far easier than in 1909. These changes in the transport infrastructure have possibly “peripheralized” the mainland communities that are not directly linked to the modern road system—communities such as Sissano, Warapu, Ramo, and Sumo—as well as those on the islands that no longer dominate transport as they did at European contact (see Tiesler 1969–1970; cf. Woichom 1979a).

Roads do not seem to have reduced the degree of interdependence between former exchange communities. If anything, they have perhaps encouraged more frequent contacts between mainland villages situated at some distance from one another. For example, we met two groups of people from Sumo, a village in Sissano's hinterland, who had first

walked to Warapu, where they had kin, before proceeding on to Aitape by road from Malol. In another case, a woman from Kombio, in the Torricelli Mountains several days' walk from Yakamul, had taken a PMV through Dreikikir, Maprik, and Wewak to Yakamul, where she stayed with friends before continuing on to Aitape to sell her tobacco at the market. Traditional ties between Kombio and Yakamul were noted by Lewis (1909) and Schlaginhaufen (1910) in 1909 (see also Tiesler 1975). Thus, it would seem, this woman was able to maintain ties with traditional partners in Yakamul by catching PMVs over a long, circuitous route. Clearly, roads and new forms of water transport have restructured the geography of customary economic relations without eliminating the need for them.

Finally, before the introduction of money into the local economy, exchange partners in the past were the sole source of desired nonlocal products. Traditional exchanges were the only way of turning local products into other goods. The presence of marketplaces—as well as the sale of fish and sago directly to local entrepreneurs and the high school—now means that individuals have a variety of alternative uses for their consumable products not available in the past. While at this point in our research we cannot tell precisely how these two economies are connected, it is clear that the cash economy and the traditional exchange economy are linked and satisfy different local needs.

The Berlinhafen islanders, for example, still get a substantial part of their sago as well as most of their building materials and canoe timbers from their mainland exchange partners. Successful management of these important exchange relationships often requires them to call on their partners on the other islands to provide sufficient pots and fish for mainland exchanges. Therefore, while various other options now exist for disposing of fish and pots, these newer options must compete with the demands created by these traditional exchanges that continue to link many communities along the Aitape coast.

Conclusion

The local economy in the Aitape area is an extremely complex set of economic relationships that possess many continuities with traditional exchange patterns as well as a variety of recent changes and modern innovations. A superficial look at Aitape's busy main market would suggest that older exchange relations have given way to the cash economy. This does not, however, seem to be the case.

Moreover, although money changes hands in the local marketplaces,

it is not clear how much cash profit these market transactions generate for individual vendors, or to what extent these markets have merely become new redistribution points where vendors can sell or exchange their own products for the products of other local communities.

In sum, our survey has raised many more questions than it has answered about the character of the intercommunity economy in the Aitape area today and about how this economy has grown out of the exchange economy of the early colonial period. With further systematic field research, we feel that detailed reconstruction of the historical transformation of this regional economy is possible. When that has been accomplished, we will be in a better position to describe how and why the Aitape economy has both changed and persisted in the particular ways it has since it was observed by A. B. Lewis and his contemporaries in 1909.

NOTE

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BOOK REVIEW FORUM

Douglas L. Oliver, *The Pacific Islands*, third edition. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989. (First published 1951; second edition 1961.) Pp. xi, 304, illustrated, maps, bibliography, index. US\$14.95 paperback.

Review: COLIN NEWBURY
OXFORD UNIVERSITY

Enhanced by useful maps and the late Sheila Oliver's tasteful and accurate illustrations, this book has been a text in colleges and universities for nearly forty years. Textbooks, unless constantly revised, should be allowed to quietly fade away. The chronology of this one takes the Pacific's "contact histories" to about 1950, since when there have been considerable social, economic, and political changes. On what grounds should one welcome a third edition undertaken, we are told, on the persuasion of colleagues "who continue to make use of the 1961 edition in their teaching despite its many obsolescences" (p. xi)?

It is simply written and easily accessible, to be sure. I would recommend it still to students for the excellent first chapter on island societies in precolonial times, and for the final section on the impact of the Second World War enlivened by personal observation and documentary style based on the author's own experience. For much of the rest, however, there are intrinsic problems in organization and exposition. Such problems were inevitable, given the range of materials and the time span, imposing severe selectivity and a condensed historical narrative that access to new source materials from the 1960s has not entirely removed.

First, it should be noted that the contents of the third edition are somewhat different from its predecessors. The Australian Aborigines

have vanished from the scene and the general survey of "The Islanders" is shorter by far. The "Aliens" of the four chapters covering early European exploration and activities in the islands have become "Invaders" and some new material has been included. It is surprising to find still that the old error about the "annexation" of Tahiti in 1843 (disavowed) is repeated twice (pp. 51, 141), when the important date is the protectorate of 1842. "Transformations" has supplanted the former "Metamorphosis" in the section of ten chapters on economic staples and the effects of contact on sample societies. The final section on "Cataclysm" is much the same, minus the chapter on "Events and Prospects" in the 1961 edition. Best of all, the bibliography reflects the state of the art some twenty years on. Is it reflected in the text?

I am not sure that it is, apart from some expansion of the examples in the major themes—staples, religious conversion, administrative systems—where we have been well served by new monographs and by a few distinguished general surveys from Peter Bellwood, H. C. Brookfield, K. R. Howe, O. H. K. Spate, François Doumenge, and by the author's much more valuable *Native Cultures of the Pacific Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989). Treatment of the agents of change, whether from outside or inside island societies, is summary in the light of what we now know about Pacific entrepreneurs, officials, missionaries and their auxiliaries among the converts, the labor recruiters and the chieftaincies. Some older errors are repeated. Missionary expansion was the product of the eighteenth-century Evangelical Revival continued into the "Victorian" era when, admittedly, there was an infusion of some new values based on British commercial success and the Utilitarians. Certainly no missionary resolutions came from a place called "Essex Hall" (p. 47); and any generalizations about Catholic expansion require a different framework and reference to Catholic churches in Latin America. Arguably, too, the political and commercial changes in Latin America should be mentioned as one of the influences on the opening of the Pacific basin to European commerce (pp. 48–49) if Jean-Paul Faivre's work (mentioned in the bibliography) is taken into account. A further difficulty is that the chronology of missionary activity in Melanesia does not fit into this tidy sequence about missionary "invaders" to 1850. Nowhere is the technical and institutional contribution of alien administration (public works, revenue and taxation, health, education and legal systems) really accounted for. The theme of religious change is taken up again later in the chapter on "Souls," which contains some useful warnings on theorizing about religious systems and adds to the example of Tonga new material on Siuai and cargo cults

from Laracy and Worsley. Administrators vanish along with the Aborigines; and they have no entry in the index. Were they not among the principal agents of change? On the other hand, although there is no general entry under "business" or "companies," an attempt has been made to incorporate material on Burns Philp, the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, and Sanford Dole, and to avoid stereotypes.

There is a second difficulty, perhaps more fundamental. We are not told the purpose of the text; and the foreword by Harry L. Shapiro to the 1961 edition did not tell us either. On page 80 of that edition the careful reader will discover that "the subject of the book as a whole is cultures." Unexceptionable in itself, this purpose requires some enlargement on the use of the term in its historical context even for "the nonspecialist American" at whom the book was originally aimed and who is intelligent enough to be interested in the first place. Something more needs to be said about the process of change in these cultures. And is it really true that the lot of "full-blooded Islanders" was "easier than that of the mixed bloods" (pp. 250-251), given the access to education and intermediate roles in business and administration enjoyed by the latter? Did they all live in a "caste limbo" by the 1950s, or were many of them political brokers in French and British territories?

Distance changes the perspective. What is the "culture" of the Hawaiian Islands in mid-century? Are the New Zealand Pakeha part of the local culture or not? Indeed, New Zealand is a very awkward case in this context. The new edition gives the same potted history as before and nothing has been added to the short statement on Maori revival from the end of the nineteenth century (pp. 105-111). All that has been added is reference to four or five new books at the end of the chapter and the "nonspecialist American," unless he digs into these, will not be any the wiser about the content of New Zealand "culture" in the mid-twentieth century.

Admittedly, W. P. Morrell had much same trouble with his homeland in *Britain in the Pacific Islands* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960); he resolved it by leaving New Zealand out altogether. But there are other themes integral to the economic welfare of islanders that require more substantial treatment. To use the major staples—coconuts, sugar, minerals, and so on—as a framework of reference for economic change was a good idea, and this arrangement still serves to group the islands by their dependence on exports. But the section has become inflated with other material concerning French Polynesia, the Solomons, and New Guinea that has nothing to do with staple production. More disappointing, the chapter on "Sea Harvest" still takes us no farther than the

Torres Strait. The mining chapter is much better in its treatment of guano, gold, and nickel, though it is unnecessarily mysterious about the ownership of Société le Nickel (Rothschild's).

In the light of Douglas Oliver's scholarly works, I reluctantly conclude it was a mistake to be persuaded by colleagues to revise this book. Too much has happened to the "cultures" since the 1950s. But if the book is still cited as a teaching text, the students will be well served by the bibliography and encouraged, one hopes, to read beyond an introductory survey that is no longer adequate.

Review: K. R. HOWE
MASSEY UNIVERSITY
NEW ZEALAND

In several previous accounts of Pacific historiographic developments I made brief comments about Douglas Oliver's *The Pacific Islands*. His book was notable, for my historiographic purposes, on two counts. First, it had no competition. This seemed to illustrate a weakness within the Pacific history-writing profession for producing monographs and articles rather than, as well, attempting some general, overview history. Second, I was concerned that in the absence of any such new enterprise, Oliver's edition of 1951 (and its very slightly revised version of 1961) was perpetuating a view of Pacific history for general readers that predated the findings and perceptions of a whole new generation of scholarship.

It is sobering to consider that in 1989 Oliver's book was still the only single-volume survey of consequence for the period to 1949. Moreover, it was a "superannuated" (his word) Oliver who had the energy to set to and bring out a third edition. While much of what follows is critical in tone, I wish to make it clear that in general terms I consider *The Pacific Islands* a most significant work in Pacific historical literature.

In this review I will address two questions: In what ways does this third edition differ from the first? Where does the book now fit into a Pacific historiographic context?

Oliver's revisions fall into several categories. A considerable number of sentences have been slightly reworked, presumably for grammatical and stylistic reasons (that often seem less than compelling). Thus, for example, Godeffroy and Son "constituted Germany's spearhead of imperialism in Oceania" (1958:97)¹ becomes "constituted Germany's imperialistic spearhead in the South Pacific" in the third edition (p. 69).

A number of words and expressions that were acceptable in the 1940s and 1950s have had to be changed. Hence “whitemen” and “white masters” become “Westerners.” “Natives” sometimes, but not always, becomes “Islanders.” References to violence and cannibalism are desensationalized (e.g., 1958:80). Hence “clubbed to a standstill” (1958:105) now becomes “fought against” (p. 77); sentences such as “the inland hill tribes still showed more preference for white man’s blood than for his wages” (1958:93) are dropped altogether. Also mirroring changing racial sensitivities is the author’s awareness of sexist language. Hence “man” becomes “person.” Yet such revisions are sometimes careless and incomplete. Thus “man” at the beginning of one sentence becomes “person,” but then “he” occurs unchanged twice more in the same sentence and in the next (p. 62). National sensitivities are also more developed in 1989 than in 1951. Japanese and Germans in particular are spoken of in more neutral terms (p. 82 cf. 1958:108; p. 70 cf. 1958:97). Oliver’s cold war assessment of the likelihood of Communist imperialism in Oceania is deleted in 1989. Some chapter titles and sections are renamed, for example, “Aliens” becomes “Invaders,” “Metamorphosis” becomes “Transformations.” One of the more obvious changes in terminology is the partial substitution of “labor recruiter” for “blackbirder.”

This latter change leads on to a category of potentially more substantive revision—that of incorporating scholarly findings and interpretations that have developed since 1951. Having checked each sentence of the first edition against the third, I have to say that changes falling into this category are in fact quite small. The most radical change has been to the book’s opening ethnographic/anthropological sections. The original six chapters on the ocean, the coming of its inhabitants, and the cultures of Australian Aborigines, Melanesians, Micronesians, and Polynesians have been completely rewritten as one thirty-page chapter, about half the size of the original six chapters. The Australian Aborigines virtually disappear from this section and from the rest of the 1989 edition. This timely and excellent revision is a “brief summary” of Oliver’s *Native Cultures of the Pacific Islands* (Honolulu, 1989). And speaking of radical surgery, the 1951 edition’s final two chapters (“Utopia’s Prospects” and “Epilogue”) have been abandoned. Sources have been added after each chapter. The bibliography has been revised and, to some extent, updated.

But the bulk of the historical narrative, that dealing with the coming of Westerners and their impact on Oceania (pp. 35–278), has been altered very little in substance. Leaving aside the more stylistic and cosmetic changes already mentioned, revisions in this main part of the

book are generally of two kinds. First, there is the addition of “factual” information taken from post-1960s monographs. These additions typically consist of odd sentences or paragraphs that add to the detail of the narrative. In quantity they add minimally to the original text. Oliver’s third edition lists of sources (especially post-1951 sources) for these chapters are not always reflected by additions to the text. Second, there are some more substantive additions, of an analytical or interpretive kind, such as the dozen or so pages of new material in the chapter “Souls” (that examines the Siuai and cargo cults). The biggest addition is fourteen pages to chapters 6 and 7 that demonstrate the extent of depopulation by taking the examples of the Marianas, Aneityum, and Maude’s work on the Chilean slavers.

Overall, I would contest that this book is quite as extensively revised and augmented as Oliver claims in his preface. Apart from its beginning and ending, the third edition is substantially the same as the first edition, and its overall argument for the overwhelming preponderance of Western influences and a consequent “fatal impact” for the Islanders is unmodified, or even strengthened. This might not immediately be apparent since Oliver has acknowledged the existence of counterarguments (e.g., pp. 52–53, 87–90) and he has certainly modified some of his earlier, more extreme descriptions about the actions of certain groups of Europeans, notably the labor recruiters (e.g., a number of statements on 1958:92–93 have been deleted or modified). Yet such changes are semantic rather than substantive. Oliver has chosen virtually to ignore the findings of the now very extensive scholarly literature, beginning with Scarr and Corris on labor recruiting in Melanesia, that highlights the active and voluntary participation of most recruits. Oliver’s narrative continues instead to emphasize the preponderance of violence and kidnaping. His one mollifying sentence from the first edition—“Arguing statistically (of all the masters, there must have been some who were not as bad as some others), many laborers were treated decently, rewarded justly, and returned to their homes on schedule” (1958:94)—is barely altered in the 1989 version: “Arguing statistically, many laborers were doubtless treated decently, recompensed fairly, and returned to their homes on schedule” (p. 67). This seems to me to be but a token gesture to Scarr and Corris and those who have followed them.

It is, of course, a moot point as to how much any revising author should be obliged to take notice of findings that are not easily reconciled with the overall arguments of the original work. And I unreservedly acknowledge how difficult it must be to revise work written almost forty years ago. It is not appropriate here to get embroiled in what is

now an increasingly dated and irrelevant argument about the extent to which there was or was not a “fatal impact.” I simply wish to make the point that Oliver does not appear to have changed his ground, as is his perfect right.

But what is less excusable is his reluctance to revise material that is not subject to points of interpretation. Oliver’s treatment of aspects of New Zealand’s history is particularly poor in this regard. There is some confusion about chronology. In chapter 3 it is correctly stated that the Church Missionary Society (CMS) arrived in New Zealand in 1814, the Wesleyans in 1819, and Catholic missionaries were later on the scene (1838 to be precise) (pp. 55–57). Yet in chapter 8 we learn that the CMS arrived in 1814, “then the Catholics, then the Wesleyans” (p. 108). It is not true that a higher percentage of Maori were literate in English than the “colonials” (p. 110); Maori were literate in their own language. The argument that either or both the French government and the New Zealand Company forced the British government to annex New Zealand (pp. 58, 109) is a hoary old notion discredited many decades ago. Unfortunately, Oliver’s source is I. L. G. Sutherland, ed., *The Maori People Today*, published in 1940 (Christchurch; p. 110). And Oliver mistakenly calls this author “Sullivan” in the notes and bibliography. This dated book also appears to be the source for a series of quite unfounded statements about the Treaty of Waitangi and related questions of “political equity,” Maori voting rights, and legislation for Maori (p. 110; cf. Sutherland 1940:82). Anyone almost fifty years later writing about this now very sensitive period of New Zealand history should at least look at such major works as Alan Ward’s *A Show of Justice* (Auckland, 1973). Oliver does list a 1980 edition of Keith Sinclair’s *A History of New Zealand*, but he has taken little notice of its findings on such issues. Given the quite intense study since the 1960s of early Maori-European culture contact, Oliver could have been expected to be familiar with the works of Harrison Wright, Judith Binney, and John Owens. At the very least he might have consulted W. H. Oliver with Bridget Williams, eds., *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Wellington, 1981), which summarizes this literature.

Other errors dot the book. For example, Presbyterian missionaries did not “pioneer” missionary work in the New Hebrides (p. 55)—it was the London Missionary Society. Nor did the Wesleyan Mission work in the Loyalty Islands (*ibid.*). And while I am in my correcting mode, I note errors in the notes and bibliography. Titles are sometimes misspelled, and there is inconsistency over whether books are edited or not (for example, Corris is incorrectly listed as editor for his book *Passage*,

Port and Plantation, whereas Shineberg is not acknowledged as editor of *The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne*). The following authors also have their names misspelled: Harrisson, Macdonald (both his first and second names), Sutherland (rendered Sullivan), Ward (wrong initials), Wedgwood. Since this is presumably the final version of this book, it is a pity more effort was not made to get such matters right.

Turning now to the second question, which to some extent has already been answered: If the text and the argument have not been substantively revised, then the 1989 version is unlikely to reflect adequately Pacific historiographic developments since the 1950s. This point can be reinforced by considering less what the book says as what it does not say. The fundamental shift in Pacific history scholarship over the past thirty or more years has been to concentrate more on what the Islanders were doing in the period of culture contact rather than concentrating on depicting Western agents as the sole initiating influences. Pacific historians have long since rejected the imperial overview whereby Westerners were subjects at the center stage and the Islanders were shadowy objects somewhere in the background, having things “done” to them.

Oliver’s history is, essentially, in the imperial vein (in a nonpejorative sense) in that his historical narrative is almost exclusively about Western (and Oriental) activity in the islands. Apart from his persistent argument about the generalized sufferings of Islanders as a consequence, there is little information on just what island communities were actually *doing* during the past two hundred or so years. Oliver’s text was very apposite in 1951, but far less so now. Leaving aside the question of the fate of island societies, Oliver has made no place for a whole generation of Pacific history scholarship that focuses on the social, economic, political, religious, and intellectual initiatives of and developments in indigenous societies since contact with the outside world. Oliver raises this issue briefly and says that indeed the “active” and “two-way” nature of culture contact “cannot be denied” (pp. 87–88). But he then sidesteps the matter with his rather narrow definition of what he understands “active” and “two-way” to mean, namely, that Islanders sometimes killed Westerners, that island religions “put their imprints” upon local Christianity, that Islanders were not easy to employ, and that some island words have “crept into Western vocabularies.”

The validity of the argument that Oliver’s chronicle is mainly Eurocentric or imperial in focus is clearly illustrated by the fact that in his book scores of Westerners have names, from popes to pirates. Yet, if my counting is correct, only five Pacific Islanders are named—one Hawaiian, one Fijian, and three Tongans: Kamehameha I, Cakobau, Ma’afu,

Tāufa‘āhau Tupou, Queen Sālote Tupou. These are all among the most elite. Is it also indicative of a particular worldview that four are referred to by old-fashioned names or outdated orthography or both (“Thakombau,” “Maafu,” “George Tubou,” “Queen Salote Tubou”)?

Oliver’s book remains an extremely useful account of the penetration of Oceania by the outside world. If I had reviewed it just on that ground, my assessment would have been much more favorable. In some respects, it may have been better to have simply reprinted the book rather than to have attempted “extensive revisions and additions” for a third edition. For in this latter exercise I believe that the opportunity to incorporate the essence of post-1960s research on the history of Pacific islands societies since European contact, regardless of how the “losses and gains” may have been assessed, has been lost.

NOTE

1. Since I was unable to get a copy of the 1951 first printing, I have used a 1958 third printing (Cambridge: Harvard University Press). Hence my page references to the 1951 first edition are to the 1958 printing.

Review: CAROLINE RALSTON
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY
NEW SOUTH WALES, AUSTRALIA

In concluding a review of Kerry Howe’s *Where the Waves Fall* published in these Book Review Forum pages in 1985,¹ I wrote that I hoped a new general history of the Pacific would soon be written, one informed by the latest developments in anthropological and ethnographic history, in the changing patterns of gender relations, and in the recognition of the heterogeneity of island populations and historical experience. Howe had failed to address these new fields, hence my desire for another general history. The publication in 1989 of the third edition of Oliver’s *The Pacific Islands*, only five years after Howe’s book, does not fill the bill, however. Despite Oliver’s claim (p. xi) that this edition “contains extensive revisions and additions” and the inclusion of a substantially updated bibliography, it is not a new general history. Works by Hanson, Hanson and Hanson, Schoeffel, Ortner, and James on gender relations, all published before 1985, are not included,² nor are Sahlins’s, Valeri’s, and Dening’s more recent publications focused on the intersections of history and anthropology.³ In scope,

structure, and interpretation this edition offers only minor modifications, additions, and deletions from previous versions of the same titled text.

In scope the excision of the Australian Aborigines, who were included in the first and second editions, makes good sense on many grounds, but Oliver still attempts to cover in 304 pages the whole of Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia from precontact times to 1950. With no organizing theory or theme apart from the claim that the islanders have been exploited and their lives disrupted, Oliver attempts encyclopedic, empirical coverage, which inevitably becomes so generalized, selective, and superficial that the reader gains no insight into historical or cultural processes and is offered few clues where to go for more complex analysis or detailed data. No footnotes or endnotes are provided, and only a handful of references itemized by place or topic appear at the end of some, but not all, chapters. For example, notwithstanding the enormous range of published material on the nature and history of millennial or cargo cults, which occurred throughout the Pacific from precontact times through to the late twentieth century (a fact the author fails to establish), Oliver discusses these phenomena in three pages and supports his case with two references at the chapter's end. No contentious issues, no differing interpretations can be acknowledged or discussed using such a bland, broadbrush approach.

The structure of the third edition is basically identical with that of the second edition. The text is divided into four sections, the titles of two of which have changed from "The Aliens" (1961) to "The Invaders" (1989) and from "Metamorphosis" (1961) to "Transformations" (1989), a fashionable concept in current anthropological debate but not one that informs Oliver's methodology or interpretation. The first section, "The Islanders," attempts comprehensive coverage of the precontact island world. In reviewing Howe's *Where the Waves Fall*, Oliver accused him of giving "an overbrief description of those islands' recent indigenous cultures (which numbered into the hundreds!)." ⁴ But in twenty-seven pages (in contrast to Howe's sixty-three pages) Oliver has attempted to cover an even greater number of islands and includes geological and climatic data as well. Such abbreviation and attendant selectivity cannot provide satisfactory anthropological analysis or insights into cultural processes. The second section, "The Invaders," poses a similar problem of condensation (a potted history of foreign presence in the Pacific from 1521 to 1939 in forty-eight pages). "Transformations" (sect. 3) outlines economic changes in a number of islands oddly grouped under chapter headings such as "Land" (New Zealand),

“Souls” (Tonga and Siuai), and “Sugar” (Hawaii and Fiji). The organizational principles underlying this section do not enhance an understanding of the island groups’ diverse historical experiences. Why is the loss of land so crucial in New Zealand but not Hawaii? How can conversion to Christianity be said to have characterized the history of Tonga and Siuai but not that of Samoa, Fiji, or the majority of other islands in the Pacific? Oliver’s conclusions, offered in the final chapter of the “Transformations” section and in the epilogue at the end of section 4, “Cataclysm,” are brief (five pages in total) and simplistic: “To begin with, it required no great perspicacity to see that foreigners as a whole had usually profited at the expense of the Islanders” (p. 246). The analysis that follows continues in the same generalized, superficial vein.

Not only the structure has remained unchanged from the second to the third edition of *The Pacific Islands*. The underlying interpretation and tone are also the same; and despite the citing of much new literature, the wording of many passages is identical with the 1961 edition. In these circumstances the third edition offers no competition for Howe’s *Where the Waves Fall* for the period in which the two books overlap. Given the limitations of both *The Pacific Islands* and *Where the Waves Fall*, is it realistic to demand a general history of the Pacific for the whole period of foreign intrusion? The area and geographic variations are too great, the cultures too numerous and diverse, and the 450 years of cross-cultural contact too long and individually specific to be encompassed satisfactorily in a generalist account. I now believe we need smaller areal and thematic studies on topics such as the rise of indigenous political elites in different contexts throughout contact and later periods, the impact of the loss of economic self-sufficiency, the role of the Christian churches or nuclear politics. Such works would allow comparative analyses across several archipelagoes and island isolates, as well as fine-grained explication of historical and cultural processes within particular islands or island groups.

The basic difference in interpretation between Oliver and Howe can be simply stated as that between seeing the islanders as naive victims of foreign exploitation (the Fatal Impact, a theory popularized by Alan Moorehead in his book of the same name) versus seeing the islanders as historical agents and equal partners in cross-cultural events. In Oliver’s version of the islanders as victims, disruption, cultural loss and exploitation are inevitable and vitiate the need for any careful exploration of the historical and cultural processes that preceded these outcomes. The foreigners are rogues and exploiters; the islanders, frequently referred to as natives, are pawns satisfied with knickknacks and geegaws. Faced with

the Samoan Mau or later islander political movements, Olivers lacks the interpretative tools and outlook to analyze them seriously and resorts to explanations of the influence of foreign dissidents and leftists (pp. 149–152, 271). Anticolonial activities in post-World War II New Guinea are described as “some nasty local incidents” (p. 271). The problems with the opposing assertion of islander agency I have dealt with elsewhere.⁵ Suffice it to say that to argue persistently for islander agency precludes any exploration of the various oscillations of power between island and foreign groups that pertained in specific contact situations, and ignores that in the long term the balance was to swing against the interests and well-being of the majority of islanders.⁶ The increasing integration of the island world into the margins of the international capitalist system left the islanders with greatly diminished economic and political power and initiative. This situation remains true today in many contexts.

Among Pacific historians the interpretative debate over islander agency versus exploitation is rarely publicly confronted and has not developed beyond this rudimentary level. Among anthropologists, in particular Marshall Sahlins and Jonathan Friedman, similar interpretative models are being explored and developed on a more theoretical plane. Sahlins, who pioneered the writing of structuralist cultural history in the Pacific with his work on Hawaii and Fiji,⁷ is criticized by Friedman for the central and determining role the former claims for indigenous cultural myths and practices, and his refusal to acknowledge the foreign forces that in time overwhelmed them. Friedman argues that the universal pattern of incorporation into the Western capitalist system cannot be denied.⁸ The intellectual exchange is verbose, vehement, and fascinating, if at times difficult to follow.⁹ Being less theoretically oriented myself, I wonder whether the protagonists have not at times allowed their theories to predetermine historical analysis. Ideally, in any postcontact context the cultural and personal factors influencing all participants should be investigated as carefully and thoroughly as possible and the final judgment on the balance of the power relations between them should be based on the specific interplay between structure and process (culture and history). At times, particularly in the early contact period, islander agency could be clearly established; more frequently, foreign domination and exploitation could not be denied. No group of islanders would be conceived of as essentially passive or eternally malleable, nor on the other hand would they be seen as always successful active agents.

The tension between analyses of culture and history, between anthropological and historical methodologies, will not be resolved and, as

Dening has so cogently argued, should not be: "The tension between model-construction and actuality description is in both anthropology and history. That the tension can be resolved is a false hope; that it *should* be resolved is a wrong ideal."¹⁰ But the fruitfulness of analyzing the interplay between structure and event is clearly attested in the works of Sahlins, Dening, Valeri, and several others now in the field,¹¹ and I believe some of the most exciting studies of the Pacific past in the next decade will come from practitioners of this approach.

NOTES

1. Caroline Ralston, review of *Where the Waves Fall*, by K. R. Howe, in Book Review Forum, *Pacific Studies* 9, no. 1 (1985): 160.

2. F. Allan Hanson, "Female Pollution in Polynesia?" *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 91 (1982): 335–381; F. Allan Hanson and Louise Hanson, *Counterpoint in Maori Culture* (London, 1983); Penelope Schoeffel, "The Origin and Development of Women's Associations in Western Samoa, 1830–1977," *Journal of Pacific Studies* 3 (1977): 1–21; Penelope Schoeffel, "Gender, Status, and Power in Samoa," *Canberra Anthropology* 1 (1978): 69–81; Sherry B. Ortner, "Gender and Sexuality in Hierarchical Societies: The Case of Polynesia and Some Comparative Implications," in *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality*, ed. Sherry B. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead (Cambridge, 1981), 359–409; Kerry James, "Gender Relations in Tonga 1780–1984," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 92 (1983): 233–243.

3. Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom* (Ann Arbor, 1981); Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985); Valerio Valeri, "The Transformation of a Transformation: A Structural Essay on an Aspect of Hawaiian History (1809–1819)," *Social Analysis* 10 (1982): 3–41; Valerio Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii* (Chicago, 1985); Greg Dening, "Possessing Tahiti," *Archaeology in Oceania* 21 (1986): 103–118.

4. Douglas Oliver, "A New Approach to Pacific History" (review of *Where the Waves Fall*, by Kerry Howe), *Honolulu Star-Bulletin/Advertiser*, 1 July 1984.

5. Ralston, review of *Where the Waves Fall*, 150–163.

6. I am grateful to Dr. Nicholas Thomas for discussions on this point and for access to work on it that he has in progress.

7. Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors*; Sahlins, *Islands of History*.

8. Jonathan Friedman, "Captain Cook, Culture, and the World System," *Journal of Pacific History* 20 (1985): 191–201; Jonathan Friedman, "No History Is an Island: An Exchange between Jonathan Friedman and Marshall Sahlins," *Critique of Anthropology* 8 (1988): 7–39.

9. Marshall Sahlins, "Deserted Islands of History: A Reply to Jonathan Friedman," *Critique of Anthropology* 8 (1988): 41–51.

10. Greg Denning, *Of Islands and Beaches* (Melbourne, 1980), 42.

11. For Sahlins, Denning, and Valeri see n. 3. Other scholars working in the field include Bronwen Douglas, "Written on the Ground: Spatial Symbolism, Cultural Categories, and Historical Process in New Caledonia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 91 (1982): 383–415; Nicholas Thomas, "Unstable Categories: *Tapu* and Gender in the Marquesas," in *Sanctity and Power, Gender in Polynesian History*, ed. Caroline Ralston and Nicholas Thomas, special issue, *Journal of Pacific History* 22 (1987): 123–138; Nicholas Thomas, "The Contradictions of Hierarchy: Myths, Women, and Power in Eastern Polynesia," in *Myths of Matriarchy Reconsidered*, ed. Deborah Gewertz (Sydney, 1988), 170–184; Phyllis Herda, "Gender, Rank, and Power in 18th Century Tonga: The Case of Tupoumohēfo," in Ralston and Thomas, *Sanctity and Power*, 195–208; Phyllis Herda, "The Transformation of the Traditional Tongan Polity: A Genealogical Consideration of Tonga's Past" (Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1988); Margaret Jolly and Martha Macintyre, eds., *Family and Gender in the Pacific: Domestic Contradictions and the Colonial Impact* (Cambridge, 1989).

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The Pacific Islands, as shown by this third edition since 1951, could be described as a successful challenge. It was a gamble, indeed, to have kept a balance between readability and rigor about such a huge topic. In the same book are sketched the ethnography of the Islands societies, the main historical trends of the Western irruption, and the various encounters of both, in such a wide and diverse area that the "search for broad regional labels" can be considered "fruitless" in the author's own words (p. 15), although he stresses, with good grounds I think, the cultural and historical relevance of the concept of Polynesia.

Undoubtedly this challenge was implicit in the very project that gave birth to the book: to write something informative and of high quality about something difficult to define, something that happened to be called, around the end of World War II, "the Pacific Islands," the modern version of "Oceania." This was a very specific and geopolitical notion; it was followed, in the Anglo-Saxon world, by concepts no less idiosyncratic when one thinks of it: "Pacific Studies" in the academic world, "Pacific Islanders" (or even "true Pacific Islanders" as I heard recently, an expression that forgets, at least, that nothing can be "true" culturally speaking when expressed in nonnative languages or concepts, like "Pacific"). When Oliver wrote the first edition the very notion of "the Pacific" was in the air, so the book itself, epitomizing the vision of contemporary Pacific Islands societies and histories as a whole, is "in history."

The book's scope was a wide one indeed, which, all things equal, could be compared to General de Gaulle's conception of Europe, "de l'Atlantique à l'Oural": something that confusedly makes sense—as recent geopolitics seem to show—but what sense? The topic certainly needed someone as talented and fiercely cautious as Doug Oliver—an ethnographer but also a high-level, if transitory, civil servant at about the time he wrote the book, someone who rubbed elbows not only with Tahitian fishermen and Sivaian chiefs, but also with American generals and French governors, who lived so closely the contemporary history of the Pacific—to make something clear and readable out of Nauru's phosphates, Micronesian mothers' brothers, Queensland's British settlers, Spanish explorers, Japanese expansion, German protectorates, Polynesian gods, New Guinea languages, Solomon Islands weather conditions, and the rest.

Given the diversity in time and space, this challenge could only be faced through a bias of some kind in the organization of the book, biases that are the common fate of whoever wishes to say something about "the Pacific." One can think of an organization by the colonial or Western powers' spheres of influence, but this solution can aggregate societies that sometimes, historically and culturally, have little in common—except, precisely, this influence—like the French-controlled territories of French Polynesia and New Caledonia. One can choose to speak of the Pacific islands geographical cluster by geographical cluster or archipelago by archipelago, then face the risk of repeating uselessly fairly identical issues—like the ecological constraints of atoll life or the behavior of whaling crews. One can take for granted cultural or "regional" labels like Polynesia, at the risk of understating, for instance, what makes Hawaiian and Western Samoan histories and contemporary societies so different, that is, the nature of the confrontations of the societies and foreign powers.

Oliver's choice was resolutely transversal and laconic: "Pre-Colonial Times," "Explorers," "Whalers," "Planters," "Miners," "Change," "Lives," "Souls," "Coconuts," and so forth (a nonexhaustive and abridged list of chapter titles). It is only within this framework that the islands' societies and spatial networks appear as such, as illustrations of more general features or issues that they share or did share, sometimes unknowingly, including the contemporary trials of Western irruptions of all kinds. This choice appeared relevant: the simplicity and power of words like "Lives" or "Souls" let the book breathe, if one may say so; the reader—student or older—was kept comfortable; and the thorny difficulties of the project, the varieties of its issues were therefore reduced to a common and smoother landscape. This framework, without giving

too much way to teleology, is not surprising given Oliver's renowned commitment towards the "basics" in ethnography—a way, actually, of keeping at a distance jargon and intellectual arrogance—and his down-to-earth attitude towards things human, so explicit in his famous *Ancient Tahitian Society* (1974), organized with words as lonely as in *The Pacific Islands* ("Grooming," "Food," "Cosmology," etc.), where he can sound sometimes like the eighteenth-century explorers and naturalists he is so familiar with, Banks, the Forsters, Wales, Cook, and the others, as directly and straightforwardly attentive as they used to be.

These qualities have certainly contributed largely to *The Pacific Islands'* enduring success, and to its still unreplaceable function as a handbook or a high-level introduction to the Pacific islands' world. One could note particularly, amongst the richness of paragraphs to be underlined, the description of ecological issues (the formation of phosphate deposits on "low" islands is, for instance, a literary masterpiece in its way), the remarkably clear presentation of the whaling and labor-recruiting phases (the famous "blackbirding"), or the well-documented parts on Japanese policy and expansion, notably in northern Micronesia, all the more relevant given current trends in Pacific geopolitics.

One can note also a definitely critical approach towards Western influence in terms of "Losses and Gains" (chap. 15) on the island societies' side, hence the repeated scathing remarks about "the historian's commitment to the all's well that ends well" (p. 90).

Like any intellectual choice, the ones that presided over *The Pacific Islands'* production have some drawbacks, and it is certainly not questioning the book's outstanding quality to comment further on them. If the book's scope is the "Pacific Islands," then its attention must be directed towards the Pacific Islands' *specificity*. In that sense a fast reading of the table of contents could lead the hurried reviewer to a mishap: "Lives," "Souls," "Coconuts," "Planters," "Explorers: 1521–1792," "Islands and Islanders in Pre-colonial Times," "Sugar," "Bases"—this must be Indonesia. In fact, the book's patient way of proceeding through examples and hints gives the reader a Pacific feeling, if this makes any sense, more surely than would a less empirical way of writing things, not to speak of megalomaniac—hence meaningless—intellectual constructions.

Still this question, the "Pacific's" "specificity," deserves some attention. Oliver's legitimate concern for placing the Westerners in front of their responsibilities leads him to target a "new generation of Pacific Islands historians" for their tendency to stress "the active roles some Islanders have played in the interactive process [with Westerners]" (pp.

87–88). This is swept over by the argument that Westerners “have been overwhelmingly preponderant in the cultural and political interchange” (ibid.). This is certainly worth repeating, but it does not help by itself to ascertain the specific features of contemporary Pacific Islands societies, which are the results of no less specific historical processes. Observing the imprint of island cultures *on* Western irruption itself—the example of the island churches’ organization is certainly one of the most illustrative—does not mean that Western influence is of no importance; it helps rather, to my point of view, to describe more adequately the transformations, hence the contemporary societies. The carelessness and cynicism through which diseases brought havoc to island populations is worth noting, but it is no less necessary for the historian and the anthropologist to note the way traditional land tenures adapted to lower population densities, like in the Leeward islands of Tahiti or in Rapa, southernmost of Tahiti’s Austral Islands (Baré 1987; Hanson 1970).

So we are here involved in a broader debate that concerns intercultural history, the history of Western expansion being in that sense a particular case of the former. This discussion pertains particularly, if not exclusively, to the Pacific world, since Western expansion and the island societies’ responses were such good issues for myth-making and rewritten history. Either we take what the historian Paul Veyne calls humorously “God’s point of view” (1971) (we give rewards and punishments after the event, because we supposedly know what should have happened or what the people should have done), or we try to describe what happened, and both sides have indeed to be taken into account. It is an absolute duty, intellectually speaking, to be committed to ethical concerns, to stress the whaler’s brutality, or more generally the part played by force in the Western irruption in the Pacific Islands. Still, force *in itself* is certainly not a clue to Pacific history and contemporary societies, no more than whaling is a Pacific Islands specificity. So, if force, whaling, or mining do not make “the Pacific” by themselves, and if the subject of the book is indeed the contemporary Pacific Islands’ specificity, what is left is: what the Pacific Islanders did do with Western models like whaling, mining, or something more complicated called “God-the-Father” (see below).

It is worth noting that Oliver, critical as he is about this “new history” (whose existence as a consistent intellectual field one can actually question), could not help regularly pointing out interesting ethnographic issues that would precisely pertain to this way of seeing things. For example, the classical way of seeing bartering as crookery—“a handful

of glass beads . . . for, say, a hundred-weight of sandalwood”—is challenged by noting that this is so “by Western ethical standards, . . . but not viewed as such in many native eyes” (pp. 52–53). Similarly he notes that the Hawaiian people who had the best fate in the difficult 1940s were cowboys, because “the cowboy life, exciting and varied, . . . corresponded to the Hawaiians’ life before Western contact” (p. 192); and that the missionary task of transmitting the notion of God the Father was of a different nature, and certainly a more painful one, in societies with matrilineal clans where “a ‘God-the-Father’ was less important, socially, than a ‘God-the-Mother’s-Brother’ ” (p. 116); and so forth.

So the book’s points of view tend to oscillate between a legitimate concern for stressing Western-oriented destructurement and the unavoidable evidence that transformation processes were to some degree oriented by the islanders themselves, but without delving very far into the synthesis of these two apparent antinomies. In other words the book, successful as it is, exposes some of the difficulties involved in speaking about “the Pacific,” a not-insignificant quality. It is this kind of oscillation that must have led to some slightly contradictory ways of dealing with certain issues. Although, for instance, the invention of metaphorical “kingdoms” is rightly related to “the nature of native leadership” (p. 59), the creation of these “kingdoms” is related a few lines later, rightly but incompletely, to the Western mind’s difficulty in dealing with “something politically . . . inconceivable” like “small, separate, mostly community-sized political entities, each with its own chief . . . about equal in power and influence.” But there is not a word about the political tendencies towards centralization that were very often implicit in Polynesian hierarchies themselves (as in Tahiti and Tonga; the Samoan case again giving a perfect counterinstance). If traditional leaders could so easily play the part of metaphorical kings and queens, as did Tahiti’s Pomares or Tonga’s Tupou, it is obviously because they were interiorizing to some extent this model themselves, as representatives of their political culture. (Hence, in a good many Polynesian historical conjunctures the relevance of the idea of a “working” or “productive” misunderstanding, even in areas other than the political.) This lapse is all the more surprising given Oliver’s fascinating analysis (1974, vol. 3) of the reciprocal relationships between the Tahitian god Oro’s cult and centralizing policy at the end of the eighteenth century.

It is surprising also that the episode of Cook’s death in Hawaii is dismissed with “the causes [of it] are still being debated” (p. 45), when one knows the rich and innovative work devoted by Marshall Sahlins (1985) to this episode as epitomizing precisely many problems of Pacific cultural history. No doubt this is attributable to Oliver’s understandable

defiance towards the boldnesses or maybe the imprudences of a so-called new history, but Sahlins's recent work about this conjuncture, and the general inspiration of it, would have deserved at least a footnote, critical or not.

What could seem, not without a certain paradox, an underrated treatment of the action of island cultural systems on the events could have led to some fairly questionable dealings, like the one about Catholicism in Tahiti, which is presented as a successful result of the French seizure of the central archipelago, "thereby legitimizing and assisting the spread of Catholicism throughout most of southeastern Polynesia" (p. 57). One should remember first that the French protectorate on Tahiti in 1842–1845 was set by royalist officers of the "Restauration" period—a monarchical reaction against revolution and laicism—which was not exactly the context in subsequent periods. So on the Western side there is already something specific going on. But mention should have been made anyway that on the Tahitian side Catholicism was only successful in sociopolitical entities distant and autonomous from the Society Islands, like the "Gambiers" (Mangareva) or the Marquesas; that the French administration had to negotiate, like it or not, with British missionaries (or even employ them, as the case with Orsmond and Simpson) whose relationships with the chiefs and an important majority of the *ma'ohi* population were impossible to circumvent, and that French Protestant missionaries had to be requested to replace the departing London Missionary Society ones in the 1860s; that, at the end, a good part of the Catholic audience was constituted by the Chinese community, whatever the actual social and historical importance of the Pape'ete bishopric; and that in a good part of rural French Polynesia a Catholic church is still something of an oddity. Mentioning all this composes of course a different picture than what seems to be a rather slight, if usual in Pacific studies, equation: "Catholicism equals France." As I tried to show (1985, 1987), the so important "religious" question in Tahiti (and, very likely, throughout Polynesia) can only be seized in the celebrated Fernand Braudel's "*longue durée*"—for Tahiti, from the fascinating years 1803–1820 onwards, much ahead of the French protectorate, when a Protestant god becomes *mau*, altogether "permanent" and "empirically true"—and this can only be done by taking into account what we can reconstruct of the *ma'ohi* cultural system of the time. These kinds of remarks can be extended to other historical issues. This being said, the book's parts devoted to the Catholic question in the Pacific are, as far as I can know, of a high interest, given the space that could be devoted to them.

Any bibliography—especially given the huge bibliography on the

Pacific—is also a choice. This edition's being the third since 1951, one can personally regret the absence of certain references, among them some more or less recent publications in French, although Oliver pays more attention to them than some of his English-speaking colleagues. I noted (by alphabetical order) the absence of Bensa and Rivierre's monograph on rural New Caledonia (1984), Bonnemaïson's historical and geographical work on Vanuatu's Tanna Island (1986a, 1986b), the synthesis on the important adoption question throughout Polynesia by Vern Carroll et al. (1970), the synthesis on Polynesian societal transformation by Antony Hooper et al. (Hooper and Huntsman 1985) (some essays pertaining to the "new history"?), Garanger's ethnoarchaeological work on Efate (Vanuatu), worth quoting because of the use of oral tradition (1972), and Ottino's monograph on the Tuamotu archipelago of French Polynesia, especially important because of the outstanding land tenure analysis (1972).

Oliver notes that the book's "narrative" ends in 1951 and necessarily skips new trends in contemporary Pacific societies. It is true that through important evolutions—like the postwar "trusteeship" doctrine—almost all Pacific island societies are now institutionally organized in independent states, the organization of nonjurally independent collectives like France's "Overseas Territories" being perhaps less different *in their structure* from their island neighbors than is generally stated. The more we go, the more it seems that to be a Pacific Islander has something to do with talking "balance of payments" and "cultural identity." It is hardly possible to resist speculating about a fourth edition of *The Pacific Islands*, let's say in 2000, and take a few bets: Will Tonga still be so centralized? Will Tahiti still be shaken by money scandals? Will Western Samoans still be one of the poorest, yet best fed people in the world? Why? I hope Oliver will change his mind that this edition is to be the last (p. xi), and confront even more closely these long-run (and specific!) evolutions, for the sake of our pleasure and learning.

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Oliver's *The Pacific Islands* (hereafter *TPI*) appeared at a time when anthropologists were renewing their interest in or receptivity to historical approaches. Cultural evolutionism (reborn), acculturation, and development were all claiming programs of study and practitioners. However, apart from the author's interest in the prospects of development in Pacific Island territories, *TPI* seems to have been conceived independently of these new interests. As history it was conventional, an "objective" sort of history, and certainly not eccentric by reason of its emphasis on socioeconomic rather than political dimensions. It was happily conventional—again, for historians—in being well written, from a definite point of view, and frequently entertaining in the bargain.

The publication of *TPI* also coincided with the commencement of Pacific history “as an organized specialization within the general discipline of history” at the Australian National University in Canberra (Maude 1968:xv). A quarter of a century later, in the same year (1975) that the second edition of *TPI* was reissued by the University Press of Hawaii, some of the Canberra historians gathered to discuss their collective accomplishments (Daws 1979). These did not include a general history of the Pacific, even though there was a perceived need for one. Deryck Scarr thought that several people were planning to do “short general histories of the whole area” (ibid.: 125), but none appeared. Another of the discussants, Oskar Spate, may have put his finger on a reason for this. The material and political insignificance of the Pacific as part of the world past means that a general history, however well done, would likely be counted as a small contribution among historians generally. (Scarr himself has just published *The History of the Pacific Islands, Kingdoms of the Reefs* [Melbourne: Macmillan Australia, 1990].)

Whatever the place of the Pacific Islands in world history, Pacific Island cultures, by reason of their number, diversity, and comparative isolation prior to the late eighteenth century, hold a very significant position in the history of anthropology. For that reason a general historical account that is especially attuned to anthropological interests, as *TPI* is, has held its place for anthropologists engaged in teaching cultures, as it were, rather than teaching history. It is from this vantage that the third edition of *TPI* is cause for celebration, and from which many of the comments of the three reviewers who consider the revisions of the third edition—Howe, Newbury, and Ralston—appear oddly disparaging. Most surprising is the opinion of Howe and Newbury that it was a mistake to revise the book at all.

But what, more specifically, is this vantage point from which one is led to applaud rather than denigrate the revised edition? It is that of an anthropologist teaching an ethnographic area or survey course on the Pacific. Such courses seem to be characteristic of North American university curricula. They are styled “service” courses in that they are intended to cater to the interests of students with diverse academic goals and professional aspirations. Typically they are the only courses (subjects) in their respective universities that focus on the Pacific Islands. In 1961, when the slightly revised second edition of *TPI* appeared, only about two hundred students enrolled in Pacific ethnography courses in tertiary institutions in California. Within a few years particular courses

enrolled that many, and since then many thousands of students have elected Pacific area courses in US and Canadian universities.

Thus, a considerable fraction of the nonspecialist audience at which Oliver aimed his book has been made up of undergraduates who, one may add, are neither aspiring anthropologists nor historians. Oliver knows this kind of audience well from his teaching days at Harvard and Hawaii, and I suspect that it was more a sense of obligation to students than to his teaching colleagues that underpinned his decision to produce the revised edition. But I am no less grateful for the book's many changes that are definite aids to learning in anthropology courses, and that are not mentioned, exemplified, or evaluated by the reviewers (see below).

In the postwar study of Pacific history, the interests of historians and anthropologists have overlapped, but our priorities are not the same. The usual goals of the ethnographic area course are to gain some understanding of how the indigenous sociocultural systems were constituted and functioned prior to disturbance by Westerners and how they have changed as the result of that intrusion. It would be quite enough to do one or the other, to present a comparative survey of traditional cultures in light of selected questions or problems that have engaged anthropologists in the study of nonliterate small-scale societies generally, or to do a survey of studies of sociocultural change. If there is only room for the one course, as is usually the case, there is a very strong temptation, if not also a responsibility, to try to tell the whole story, or as much of it as possible. Whatever path is chosen, *TPI* is indispensable, not merely as historical background but in providing, first, a historical—which is to say, explanatory—framework for understanding sociocultural change, and second, the historical contexts of the ethnographies themselves.

Given these objectives, the most salutary feature of the third edition is that in “scope, structure, and interpretation” (Ralston) it has remained the same. The essential continuity in these major aspects justify the reviewers' judgment that overall the revision is minor and also the approach of Baré's critical appreciation in which he found little need to comment on changes in the text. But Howe, Newbury, and Ralston appear to approve of the revisions more than they do the continuities. Before addressing the latter, however, one feels compelled to say a few words about the value of the revisions in the context of an ethnographic area course.

With the practiced eye of an ethnographer and teacher, Oliver has sharpened the discussions of indigenous cultures in systematic fashion.

So, for example, the somewhat inaccurate statement that Solomonese returned laborers “had less respect for status based on old age alone” (1961:231) becomes in the third edition: “less respect for social status based entirely on seniority and native-money wealth” (p. 159); of the achievements of missionaries in German New Guinea by 1939, the rather vague statement that “it is most unlikely that they succeeded in changing many basic institutions or attitudes toward the supernatural” (1961:242) is replaced by: “they had doubtless enlarged the native pantheons of spirits and supernatural powers; but it is unlikely that they had succeeded in transforming many native attitudes or practices vis-à-vis the supernatural, least of all in the sphere of magic, both helpful and harmful” (pp. 165–166). Cumulatively, changes of this specific order for the benefit of students who are now more sophisticated readers of ethnography—or readers of more sophisticated ethnography—add up to a greatly improved text.

Revisions of this kind in the historical narratives and discussions of European activities are less extensive, evidently far less extensive than the historians would have liked. Newbury, for example, has a number of specific complaints, but at least one of these, the allegation that administrators have vanished from the work, is far from the truth. They may not appear in the index, but they appear in the title of chapter 5 (“Miners and Administrators . . .”) and in many other places as well. Some examples: the character and effects of Spanish colonial rule in the Marianas (pp. 93, 95); colonial government and land (pp. 103–104); pacification and effects on indigenous leadership in Siuai (pp. 123–124); administration and cargo cults (pp. 128–129); administrative regulation of native labor (p. 135); colonial government functions in the Solomons (pp. 156–157); functions and goal of the prewar Australian administration in New Guinea (p. 166); the peculiarities of the Anglo-French Condominium administration in the New Hebrides (pp. 172–173); the New Caledonian administration (p. 227). In these and other discussions, Oliver has answered Newbury’s question of whether administrations were “not among the principal agents of change?” They were influential agents of change, but in giving more attention to missionaries and European economic agents than to colonial administrators, Oliver has judged, correctly I believe, their respective impacts on the indigenous societies in the period up to World War II. If student readers are led to contest this assessment, on the basis, say, of perusing Newbury’s *Tahiti Nui* (1980), all the better. *TPI*’s generalizations, arguments, and judgments invite challenge, and the author’s caveats and provocative phrasings show that they were so intended.

Let us turn now to *TPI*'s essential continuities, beginning with its somewhat modified scope.

Scope

The geographic scope of the third edition has contracted by the exclusion of Aboriginal Australia whereas the temporal span, which brings us up to the immediate pre- and post-World War II years, remains the same. Oliver's failure to extend his coverage to the last four decades, although he seriously contemplated taking on the vast project that this would entail, in no way diminishes the value of what he has done, including the provision of bibliographic leads. Certainly he would not have been satisfied to devote only a couple of chapters to the recent decades, as Scarr (1990) has done.

Usefully retained are the twin historical perspectives that Spate (e.g., 1978) dubbed the Oceanic and Insular—the history of the Pacific Ocean and the history of Pacific peoples. This is one sense in which the book is both Eurocentric and islander-centered, and it is important that students understand, as Baré's opening comments underscore, how the Pacific began to emerge as a new entity by the end of the eighteenth century.

Structure

At the core of *TPI*, and comprising over half the book, is the section now titled "Transformations." Following a brief introduction on the dimensions of change, illustrative stories of what took place to change islander ways of life unfold in the series of chapters entitled "Lives" (new), "Land," "Souls" (both extensively revised), "Coconuts," "Sugar," "Sea Harvest," "Mines," and "Bases." Displayed here are the new conditions, constraints, and opportunities faced by islanders in the postcontact era, in short, the causes of sociocultural change. If there is extensive treatment of Western (and Oriental) activities, this is because for the nonspecialist reader such activities—e.g., the roles of missionary, trader, planter, colonial officer—are as exotic, or nearly so, as those of islanders in the traditional scheme of things. To say, as Howe does, that *TPI* is mainly or essentially Eurocentric/imperial in focus is belied by the way in which legions of students have read the book. It is islander-centered, first, because the focus is on those conditions that help to explain how and why islanders' ways of life changed, and second, because as colonial history we clearly have a view from the village and

not from the metropole (not to mention that it is abundantly clear who claims the author's sympathies).

The method of presentation of "Transformations," which is the key feature of what Baré refers to as Oliver's choice in the face of a difficult challenge and Newbury acknowledges as a "good idea," has some disadvantages. Some of these are discussed by Ralston (e.g., diversity is underplayed) and especially by Baré. But the advantages of Oliver's comparative-illustrative presentation are patent; and beyond those qualities which, to Baré, account for the book's "enduring success" is that it conveys the sense that understanding the history of Pacific societies is a serious and rewarding intellectual endeavor.

Interpretation

The principal issues of contention raised by the reviews are, crudely put, Fatal Impact and islander agency. These are separate, or at least separable, issues since Fatal Impact refers to effects whereas islander agency refers to causes. Of course, Fatal Impact may imply that islanders were exploited victims rather than effective agents in change, for if they were effective they must have conspired in the demise of their own cultures (this they did, as in Oliver's references to indigenous "opportunists"). Howe linked the two issues by proposing that islander passivity is an assumption shared by "all" Fatal Impact thinkers (from Cook to Moorehead and including Oliver), and goes on to state, "Just as modern Pacific historians have rejected the view that Islanders were inferior, passive, and helpless in a contact situation, so have they also rejected the view that the end result was a fatal impact" (1984:350; see also Howe 1977). The first view is obviously not that of anthropologists who see in islanders the same sort of adaptability as is exhibited by humans generally. Adaptability and adaptation, however, are not the same thing. In Melanesian cargo cults, for example, we see islanders who are active, creative, and exasperatingly resilient—*islander agency* raised to a high power—and invariable adaptive failure owing to the complete mismatch of means and ends. Nor is adaptation explained, adequately or in full, by identifying the people who are doing the adapting.

With respect to Fatal Impacts, every island culture is on the casualty list, initially and early on, not only as an end result. There are a range of problems and questions that are of great interest to anthropologists, and which can only be pursued by means of knowledge of the pristine sociocultural systems (in the Pacific and elsewhere). In varying degree,

ethnographies are reconstructions of systems modified by Western contact, and it matters a great deal whether those reconstructions are correct and whether, in the particular case, they are even possible. In the sense that every system ceased to function in the way it had in its pre-European context, the Western impact was invariably “fatal”—i.e., destructive, decisively and irreversibly so, and so probable as to be reckoned inevitable. The many instances and aspects of change described in *TPI* help to provide students with a historically critical approach to the ethnographic record. And contrary to Howe’s suggestion, the Fatal Impact issue is neither dated nor irrelevant. Indeed, in a world in which fatal impacts go by the terms genocide and ethnocide, and in which so many of the world’s ethnic populations are at risk, such a suggestion seems curiously out of touch.

But arguments about islander agency or Fatal Impact that are cast in general terms will probably not get us far. One needs to get down to cases, and the case chosen by Howe, wherein both issues can be joined, is the Melanesian labor trade. Oliver’s portrait, he contends, is one-sided for its emphasis on violence and coercion. So once again islanders are exploited victims rather than the active volunteers that more recent scholarship has shown them to be.

The systems of labor migration comprising the Melanesian labor trade can be analyzed in terms of a complex of “push” and “pull” factors. Significant among these were various forms of coercion, some of them infrequent (which does not mean insignificant!) so far as the total number of recruits over time was concerned, such as kidnaping, while others were more frequent, such as the forceful means used by indigenous leaders. Still others, such as head taxes and the forced return of contract breakers, were systematically applied under colonial rule. Nor did violent means of recruiting cease following the Queensland phase of the trade. The extent and bases of voluntarism varied, but there is no inconsistency between voluntarism and violence. There is no more avid volunteer than the illegal Mexican migrant bound for the fields of California, yet the labor agent or “coyote” is viewed with the same apprehension and hatred as the labor recruiters were, say, on the Sepik River. As with voluntarism/coercion, so with exploitation/benefits. Ralph Shlomowitz has recently argued (1989), convincingly, that Meillassoux’s notion of “super-exploitation” in African labor systems does not apply in the Pacific. If islanders were not super-exploited, were they, then, merely exploited? Time may have eased the pain and the moral outrage, but to listen to islanders’ accounts of their experiences as laborers in the prewar era is to instantly recapture the violence and brutality, the

deception and extralegal tactics, not to mention the pitiful rewards and the problems created for village life and livelihood. *TPI* captured this succinctly, and though Shlomowitz's analyses of the economics of the Melanesian labor trade are admirable, they do not carry us as far as Howe's characterization of the trade as a "cooperative venture" (1984:330)!

What are at issue, really, both for Oliver and his student readers, are the consequences of migrant labor for the islanders' social and cultural lives. In the eastern Pacific (Oliver summarizes Maude's *Slavers in Paradise* [1981] in the new chapter, "Lives," on demographic history) the consequences were sudden and drastic cultural loss. Much of the so-called mystery of Easter Island depends on this. In the west there was a bundle of sociocultural changes, for example, as summarized for Solomon Island villagers (pp. 158-159), which many islanders viewed as adverse consequences. A focus on the character and history of the labor systems is directed to the question of what happened to change island cultures; but again, it is the new features of these and the explanation of these features that claim our (anthropological) attention. Yet Howe objects that Oliver's book dwells on "generalized sufferings," tells us little about what island communities were actually doing, and ignores the findings of Pacific historians concerning the "initiatives of and developments in indigenous societies since contact with the outside world." What islanders were doing, their initiatives and the developments in indigenous societies as the result of plantation wage labor, are presented in specific terms for all to read. All one can suggest is that Howe is not interested in such doings, restricted as they are to the village arena. Understandably, historians are more interested in those new and larger arenas for islander action, to our knowledge of which anthropologists have contributed so much less than they might have by virtue of customary reluctance to tarry in the "contact culture" while enroute to the village. While opportunities were missed, it was just as well that we yielded to the siren call of the traditional Pacific worlds. Those worlds still beckon, their call reinforced by the splendid achievements of our archaeological colleagues and the self-conscious efforts of islanders in cultural revival and preservation.

Symptomatic of a classic work, George Steiner suggests, is that it does not become "the equivalent or even the lesser occasion" of the interpretations and commentaries it gives rise to (1978:158). In the present airing and exchange of views, the third edition of *The Pacific Islands* passes Steiner's test with ease.

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Response: DOUGLAS L. OLIVER
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A word from the defendant's dock: There is nothing rejoinderish I want to add to Tom Harding's pertinent response to the criticisms leveled against my book. On the contrary, I acknowledge those criticisms, in the hope that the reviewers will avoid my errors and oversights when they get around to writing the kind of book they think I should have written—or should not even have tried to write.

First, I regret that the book's revisions and additions were, as charged, not "extensive" enough to merit publication. (How extensive is "extensive"?)

Second, I deplore the book's factual errors and infelicities, including: the beginning of French rule in Tahiti—which was 1842, not 1843; the mistaken notion that LMS resolutions originated in "Essex Hall"; the lack of an index entry for "administrators"; the Sullivanizing of "Sutherland"; the use of an outdated orthography for the names of certain Islanders; and some inconsistencies in the gender of pronouns (I never feel comfortable with "person").

And third, I apologize to the reviewers for what they call my ceramic (i.e., "potted") style of history writing, and for my pinched treatment, or omission, of some of *their* favorite topics—such as cargo cults, the convolutions of Maori-Pakeha relations, the jolly cooperative side of labor recruiting, and the "culture" of Hawaii in mid-century. (I do not apologize, however, for ending the book's time frame at 1950, which its preface firmly declared it would do.) It is my hope that the writer of the next general history of the region will possess more knowledge and wisdom than I have about those and countless other "vital" aspects of the region's history—and that he/she will find a publisher willing to produce and market a volume two or three times longer than mine (and one that undergraduates can be induced to read).

REVIEWS

Marta Langridge, trans., and Jennifer Terrell, ed., *Von den Steinen's Marquesan Myths*. Canberra: Target Oceania and *The Journal of Pacific History*, 1988. Pp. xxii, 222, maps, illustrations. A\$22.00/US\$24.00 paperback.

Reviewed by Katharine Luomala, University of Hawaii

Marta Langridge has translated from German to English the twenty-two orally transmitted narratives that Karl von den Steinen collected in 1897 in the Marquesas. She and editor Jennifer Terrell have rendered a valuable service in making this collection known to a wider audience of readers, some of whom may not have access to *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, which published "Marquesanische Mythen," the German versions, in 1933–1934 (vol. 65:1–44, 325–373) and in 1934–1935 (vol. 66: 191–240).¹

The translator states that she has been as literal as possible in her translations even at the risk of occasional awkwardness of style (p. xvi). The introduction, as well as the indexes, maps, and illustrations, substantially increase the usefulness of this volume. The leading feature of the introduction is a ten-page informative and multifaceted essay about the collector, the collection, the style, and much else. The numerous footnotes based on both early and recent publications about the Marquesas and mythology in general add further interest to the essay.

The translation into English omits very little from von den Steinen's often extensive discussions that precede and conclude almost every narrative. Omissions include synopses that repeat nearly exactly the content of a story as well as any comparative material from other areas that is widely available or more copious than von den Steinen had access to. Notes supplementing the collector's own numerous footnotes have been set off in brackets.

Langridge and Terrell have compiled a bibliography of the nearly forty authors (pp. xxi–xxii) that von den Steinen cited in his comparative analyses. Of the twenty-two narratives he collected they list only twenty-one, probably due to an oversight since the translation has all twenty-two.² Each story is identified by the title and number—and for each different version, if any, a capital letter—that von den Steinen assigned to it. It must be noted that his identifying number may cover more than one related tale that later collectors tend to present as separate stories. Additional information extracted from the collection summarizes the meticulous documentation that von den Steinen provided for nearly every story—the island of collection, locality, and the informant's name and sex (p. xix). For three of the four stories for which he gave only the title but not the narrator or the island Langridge and Terrell suggest where each may have been recorded (p. xix). Another page (xx), drawn from E. S. C. Handy's *Marquesan Legends* (Honolulu, 1930), gives the phonetic variations between the northwestern and southeastern groups of islands. There are two indexes, one of names (pp. 211–219), the other of subjects (pp. 220–222).

The volume is enhanced by two maps and twenty-one illustrations, most reproduced from von den Steinen's unsurpassed three-volume *Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst* (Berlin, 1925–1928); a few are from other publications. One from Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels*, that I found particularly interesting is a Nukuhiva song that has the Marquesan text, English translation, and notation (opposite p. 141), all obtained by Dr. D. Tilesius during May 1804 when, as a member of the Russian expedition under Krusenstern, he visited the Marquesas.³ The covers of the Langridge and Terrell book depicting tattooed men add to its attractiveness as does the print job. The translator, editor, and others concerned have devoted much thought, effort, and care to this publication, and readers will appreciate it.

Von den Steinen (1855–1929) had already traveled widely in Polynesia and other parts of the world (but not as an ethnographer) before going to the Marquesas, where he conducted his first Polynesian ethnographic fieldwork. As a young physician and psychiatrist he had made a world tour between 1879 and 1881 to inspect psychiatric institutions in Mexico, California, Japan, Java, India, Egypt, and several Polynesian islands other than the Marquesas. Of all the places on his itinerary Polynesia had made the strongest and most vivid impression on him because, as he stated romantically, there man and nature lived harmoniously together in beauty and happiness as nowhere else on earth. Charmed as he was by the islands he nonetheless united romanticism

with realism, for he commented on customs of which he disapproved and on current political changes.

While in Honolulu in 1880 he chanced to meet ethnographer Adolf Bastian (1826–1905), who was on one of his nine world journeys. The two men had much in common. Both were trained in medicine. Bastian, after receiving his medical degree in 1850, had immediately gone as a ship's doctor to Australia, and von den Steinen was still on his three-year medical tour. When they met, von den Steinen was twenty-five years old, the same age as when Bastian had first gone to the Pacific. Now twice von den Steinen's age, Bastian had become a famed ethnographer, theoretician, philosopher, mystic, and prolific writer. The younger man, perhaps influenced by Bastian and his own cultural and geographical observations in Polynesia and other parts of the world, changed his career to ethnography and was later appointed to a position in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, of which Bastian was one of the founders.

Bastian, it must be added, had a gift for locating knowledgeable and cooperative informants. During his month in Honolulu he met not only von den Steinen but King Kalakaua. Hearing of the king's family genealogical prayer chant, the *Kumulipo*, he borrowed the king's Hawaiian-language manuscript, copied sections, and in 1881 published them with a German translation and commentary together with other cosmogonic chants. Kalakaua, perhaps responding to Bastian's interest and seeing an opportunity to strengthen his hereditary claim to the throne, then had his manuscript printed. In 1897 Queen Liliuokalani, his sister, published the Hawaiian text and an English translation. (See Martha W. Beckwith, *The Kumulipo. A Hawaiian Creation Chant* [Chicago, 1951; reprint, Honolulu, 1972].)

Von den Steinen, despite his attraction to Polynesia, did not return there until seventeen years after meeting Bastian. In the interim he became an authority on central Brazilian Indian tribal cultures and languages. During an expedition to the headwaters of the 1,300-mile-long Xingu River, which flows into the Amazon at its mouth, his "discovery of Indian tribes untouched by modern civilization, had a profound influence on the course of South American ethnology" (Alfred Métraux, "South American Literature," in *Encyclopedia of Literature*, ed. Joseph T. Shipley [New York, 1946], 851–863). Von den Steinen's three books about these Indian tribes (1886, 1892, 1894) not only influenced South American ethnology but revealed his gift for comprehensive research, which became further evident in the Marquesas. Needless to add, his books on the South American Indians encompassed mythology and art.

“One always returns to one’s first love!” the forty-two-year-old scholar exclaimed in 1897 at the prospect of at last realizing his dream of returning to Polynesia, this time as an ethnographer. When he arrived, however, for his first and only visit to the Marquesas, he mourned, “*Etwas ein halbes Jahrhundert zu spät*” (About a half century too late).⁴ His purpose was to purchase artifacts for the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde. During his six-month stay he found that most of the old artifacts had disappeared to collectors from ships stopping at the islands and that in the southeastern group residents were beginning to manufacture such artifacts for sale as might appeal to foreign visitors. What little he found for the Berlin museum was supplemented on his travel back to Germany by information he acquired while surveying Marquesan artifacts obtained by earlier collectors (among them whalers) that had found their way into American museums. He next examined European collections for more information. His results, published in *Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst*, also “covered contact history, population, statistics, European literature on the group, and anything at all that could be relevant” (p. xv). His references are wide-ranging, with much from other parts of the Pacific. Included are myths additional to those published later in *Zeitschrift*. As yet these three volumes have not been translated into English, at least not for publication. The value of the work, according to Franz Boas (*Science*, n.s. 71:7–8), is in von den Steinen’s “attempt to interpret on the basis of painstaking formal analysis the many directions art forms take under the conditions of technique and constant reinterpretation.”

While searching for artifacts in the valleys of Hivaoa, Tahuata, Fatuhiva, Uapou, Uahuka, and Nukuhiva (and losing forty pounds because of his physical exertions) he took the opportunity to collect orally transmitted narratives from some fifteen informants, about equally divided as to sex. He described his experiences vividly and with flashes of humor in his publications, and his references to fierce disputes between informants enliven his accounts. He himself did not escape criticism; one man scolded him for a half hour because a certain detail in an informant’s account was a “great lie” (p. 53, n. 1; see also “Reise nach den Marquesas-Inseln,” published in 1898 and 1902 in *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*). He also published three brief articles relating to the Marquesas in other journals.

Although much of von den Steinen’s material was destroyed, I have been told, during the Allied shelling of Hamburg in World War I, the manuscripts on art and mythology were saved. During 1925 and 1928 *Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst* was published through the assistance

in New York of Franz Boas and the Emergency Society for German and Austrian Sciences. I have not learned, however, whether von den Steinen saw all of *Die Marquesaner* in print before his death at age seventy-four in 1929.

The manuscript on mythology was not published until about ten years after *Die Marquesaner*. Unfortunately *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* published only the collector's German translations without the Marquesan texts, although von den Steinen had taken down the Marquesan for nearly every one of the twenty-two narratives. I do not know what became of his Marquesan texts or of the other myths, if any, that he collected that are not in *Zeitschrift, Die Marquesaner*, and one or two short articles.

Of his collection of myths he has stated that he recorded them with few exceptions in Marquesan, which he then translated into German. He began by writing down the Marquesan, which he then read back to his informants without understanding the meaning. Then an interpreter—English or French—assisted him until he became fluent enough in Marquesan to no longer need such help.

His myth collection as published in *Zeitschrift* and now translated into English by Langridge is not entirely devoid of Marquesan texts but they consist of only brief quotations, some translated but others of which he commented "(translation missing)" (see, for example, three songs interspersed in the narrative about Pua-Hina-Noa, pp. 201–205). He also noted when he did not get the Marquesan (for example, p. 75). As far as can be determined now, his translations into German are probably fairly literal; that he numbered each sentence of every narrative (except "Tutona and Kena," pp. 132–149) suggests that he had done the same for the Marquesan in order to refer back to it as needed. A "sentence" may consist of two or more closely related statements. He also used the sentence numbers in some of his analyses and discussions, for example, of "The Island of Women" (pp. 75, 81–83, 93).

Of the five islands where von den Steinen collected myths, Hivaoa and Uapou are probably the best represented. Much was from Atuona Valley on the southern coast of Hivaoa. E. S. C. Handy observed that to Marquesans it was the cradle and source of native lore and the great center from which traditions spread to other islands (*The Native Culture in the Marquesas* [Honolulu, 1923], 7; *Marquesan Legends*, 3). Most of von den Steinen's Atuona lore came from Taua-Hoka-Ani, a woman who told five different stories. One wishes to have learned more about this remarkable narrator than can be gleaned from von den Steinen's references and Handy's long genealogy of her (*Native Culture*,

342–345). The genealogy, beginning with Animotua (Sky Father) and Nohoana (Resting), names some 140 pairs with Taua-Hoka-Ani and her husband in the next to last generation. The female in the last generation died in 1921 but her husband was alive when Handy was in the Marquesas. The prominence of women as keepers of tradition is indicated by the numerous narratives they told von den Steinen and by their always being the reciters of genealogies on certain occasions, particularly during formal festivals. Two women standing together would take turns to recite alternately, one the woman's name, the other, the man's (Handy, *Native Culture*, 342).

Most of Taua-Hoka-Ani's narratives are very long. Her connected series about Vehie-Oa and his son Ata (cognates include Wahieroa and Rata) has nearly two hundred sentences. The part about Kae in "The Island of Women" (pp. 82–93) and its continuation about Kae's grandson Pota (pp. 93–96) has 254 sentences. Her connected series about Maui is also long, as is that by another outstanding narrator, Chief Vaikau of Fatuhiva. Taua-Hoka-Ani's version of "Aotona Journey," consisting of ninety-nine sentences, is the longest of the four the collector obtained—three on Hivaoa and one on Fatuhiva from Chief Vaikau.

Taua-Hoka-Ani's narratives are not, however, the longest in the collection. Two by unidentified informants from unidentified islands are "Tanaoa," which is over four hundred sentences long and conjectured by Langridge and Terrell to have come from Uapou (p. xix), and "Pua-Hina-Noa," which is over 350 units long and thought to have come perhaps from Nukuhiva.

The length of the stories and the number of narrators demonstrate von den Steinen's success (like Bastian's) in locating well-informed and willing informants. He encountered, however, at least one individual who was supposed to know "Aotona Journey" but, as von den Steinen remarked, "was very reluctant or possibly ignorant" (p. 16). That the informant was descended from the hero of the story and that it could be revealed only to other descendants point, it seems to me, to reasons for his reluctance. The collector, nonetheless, got a brief version from another man in the same locality.

It is no surprise, of course, to find long genealogies and narratives in the Marquesas, for they are also characteristic of other Polynesian cultures. Cognates of the numerous proper names of people, stars, objects, and the like are recognizable elsewhere in Polynesia and beyond. For most stories von den Steinen conveniently supplied a list of names with his translations and explanations as part of his content analysis, and he frequently stated in which numbered sentence a certain name first appeared.

After hearing many narratives about legendary voyages he critically examined them, he states in his foreword to "Aotona Journey," for material that "contained a historical core and could advance the inquiry into Polynesian migrations" (p. 11). His four versions about voyages to Aotona (cognate Rarotonga) therefore "extremely pleased" him, especially since they "concerned the rare direction from east to west." The purpose of the voyages was usually to fetch the highly valued red feathers of the *kula* bird for ornaments.

He cryptically refers to native tradition and scholarly nineteenth-century Western theory about Rarotongan legendary history, a subject to which he returns in his conclusion. Rarotonga, he remarks (p. 11), was apparently an important stopping place during migrations, and the famous migration canoe *Arawa* was supposed to have been built there. Rarotongan islanders claimed that according to their traditions they had come from Tahiti, Samoa, and Tonga, and that they had colonized the Manihiki group, which, von den Steinen comments, was considered "historically reliable." At any rate his entire discussion of "Aotona Journey" is the most detailed and extensive of any narrative in the collection. He presents a breathtaking amount of contextual information not only from the Marquesas but from Rarotonga (where he interviewed, among others, an old man), other parts of Polynesia, and beyond. The diverse topics he discusses as relevant to understanding "Aotona Journey" include details from ethnography, linguistics, ornithology, zoology, botany, legendary history, navigation, geography, and meteorology!

He concludes that whatever modicum of historical fact "Aotona Journey" possessed had been transformed into fantasy and myth (p. 31). Skeptical of the narrative as a direct source of history, he stresses the need for "scientific criticism and comparison" of as many versions and texts of a narrative as possible "so that we do not need to believe what they [islanders] believed" (p. 31). "Myths," he stated, "have become history everywhere and local history is considerably interfered with by tribal jealousy and the reciprocal claims of the guardians of tradition." He regarded "Aotona Journey" as "a modest but good example of the insurmountable difficulty of defining legend and history within a Polynesian tradition. . . . Nothing makes me more suspicious than the results of research on when and how New Zealand was settled by the Maori. I consider the statement 'middle of the 13th century' a fantasy." He would have relished current theories that also question aspects of the statement's historicity!

Most of the characters in von den Steinen's collection did not travel between the Marquesas and distant islands like Aotona, however, but from one named Marquesan island or place to another, or to different

levels of either the sky or Hawaii (cognate Hawaiki), a land beneath the sea. Wherever they traveled they found a way of life reminiscent of that on earth, were able to communicate with the residents, and, after meeting challenges by guardians at the entry, pursued their goals. In "Vehie-Oa and Ata" as told in *Atuona* by Tauga-Hoka-Ani (nos. 7, 8), Vehie-Oa's wife, unhappy because another woman had seduced her husband, went down to Hawaii to live with the Lord of the Night. When Vehie-Oa longed for her, searched, and found her, the reconciled couple came up from the Land of Night to the earth to live again on their land, where their son Ata (Rata) was born.

Two stories localized entirely on earth profess to explain the origin of the strained relations between places or islands. In no. 1, the bad feelings between the people of Nukuhiva and Fatuhiva came about after Large Eel from Nukuhiva on a visit to Small Eel of Fatuhiva was killed and eaten by the people of Fatuhiva. After quoting four versions by earlier collectors, von den Steinen, interested in the opposition's view, recorded two versions from Fatuhiva. He learned that in dividing up Large Eel's body with each district getting a part to be eaten, the people of Hanahouua on Fatuhiva, who got the head, did not eat it but kept it as taboo (pp. 3-4). Since then people from there are welcome in Large Eel's home, Taipi Valley, Nukuhiva, but those from elsewhere are killed unless they lie that they are from Hanahouua.

In his foreword to no. 2, von den Steinen states that duels between Hivaoa mountains left the losers smaller and jagged (p. 6). The victorious warrior then dueled with a challenger from Uapou, and, according to Uapou, was defeated, and his body left as a rocky promontory and his head a rocky island nearby, while the Uapou winner, once a dwarf, became large. When von den Steinen inquired at *Atuona* about the historical truth of this Hivaoa defeat, it was "meekly acknowledged" except by an old man who claimed the Hivaoa warrior "paid him [the Uapou winner] back thoroughly later on." The younger men denied this as being impossible since the Hivaoa warrior had lost his head. After several hours of "fierce dispute" over this "tricky question," the old man left for home "excited and very angry." Uapou's defeat of Hivaoa was still a sensitive subject at least into 1934 and 1935 when Samuel H. Elbert collected myths and chants in the Marquesas ("Marquesan Legends," manuscript, my personal copy and one in Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu).

Nature mythologists of earlier centuries carried to an extreme their interpretation and explanation of myths the world over as representations of natural phenomena—especially those of solar, lunar, stellar, and other celestial bodies—rather than merely about their human actors. To

a nature mythologist it was up to a scholar to locate beneath the human layer the natural phenomena and events it represented. The general principle of applying a monistic methodology and theory to mythology is age-old; each era tends to have its favored applications without, nonetheless, ignoring other possibilities.

Von den Steinen, despite his critical rejection of narratives as direct sources about historical events, interpreted some as astronomical myths. Marquesans themselves, it is true, as is evident from several stories, personified natural phenomena as beings with whom they could talk and interact. In the Fatuhiva version of "Aotona Journey," for instance, the voyagers carry on a repetitious, rhythmical question-and-answer conversation with each monthly star that appears as they travel for a long time and over a great distance from Hivaoa to Aotona.

One cannot, however, always determine from von den Steinen's discussion of a story how much represents his own interpretation of it as a nature myth and how much may have been based on his informant's commentary. In the Hivaoa story "Pohu" nothing suggests, as the collector does (p. 44), that the characters are really day and night winds, moon, stars, small cloud formations, and evening mists. In "The Hunchbacked Moon Night"—remember that this is von den Steinen's title—the hunchback is a parent who hides the fishing catch in the hump, thus depriving the children of food (p. 97). One or more of them discover this at night and replace the fish with live eels that by eating the entrails kill the parent. To von den Steinen the selfish parent (who may be either the mother or the father) is the moon and the spying and revenging sons are stars. "In this naturalistic way," the collector concludes, "the form of the full moon and its waning is explained" (p. 98).

In "The Island of Women" (pp. 75–82), Kae, the first male on the island, teaches Hina, its ruler, human mating and childbirth. Previously women had mated with tree roots and borne only girls and had died when the child was cut from the body. When Hina and Kae age she rejuvenates herself in the ocean, but as he cannot he leaves on a dolphin, Hina's brother, to prepare for their expected son. Von den Steinen concludes, "As the natural elements of the story lend themselves to interpretation as an astronomical myth, the following points could be generally valid" (p. 80), listing six. The gist is that Hina is the moon, Kae the sun, and the dolphin the "tidal wave of the new moon." Agreements and differences between the Marquesan and New Zealand versions about Kae suggest to von den Steinen that the Marquesan was probably the original because "the person of Hina has been preserved in a purer form" (p. 82).

Von den Steinen's preference for interpreting a story as a nature myth

rather than as history is most evident in his discussion of “Vehie-Oa and Ata” (pp. 52–64). Rata (Ata), who was famous in many islands, was, notes von den Steinen, “often thought to be a historical person since he seems to be especially vividly remembered” (pp. 63–64). It will be recalled that in order to make a canoe that he needed to travel to avenge his father’s murder, he chopped down a suitable tree, intending to return the next day to continue his work. The next morning, however, the tree was upright with every chip and leaf in place. This happened repeatedly until Rata captured the leader of the spirits who had restored the tree because he had failed to honor the forest god. After he had made amends the spirits themselves built and manned his canoe. Von den Steinen interpreted the tree as the sky covered with fleecy clouds that the sun, Rata’s adze, had divided and absorbed during the day; the chips, leaves, and other debris were small clouds. This “natural and simple explanation” of the story about the magical tree showed, according to von den Steinen, that Rata could not have been a historical figure.

Marquesan narrators incorporated much ethnographic description in their stories. That von den Steinen, however, calls attention to these cultural additions only in passing may be due to the amount of ethnographic data in his *Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst*. In the narrative collection his longest comment is to an unnamed Atuona narrator’s direct description of tattooing in “Tutona and Kena” (pp. 132–149). This is also one of the few stories that von den Steinen did not divide into numbered sentences. Of Kena’s tattooing he states: “More reliable information on the procedure of tattooing than I asked for specifically is given in a legend I collected about the hero Kena, renowned for his magic. The tattooing of the whole body takes only seven days here. We are given a clear picture of the sequence of the special operations” (p. 128). (Many a Marquesan being tattooed probably wished that his ordeal would be finished in seven days like Kena’s!)

In 1923, nearly twenty-five years after von den Steinen’s visit, Handy, in *The Native Culture in the Marquesas*, extracted relevant cultural information from the stories that he and others had collected during 1920 and 1921 or copied from manuscripts, among them those in the Catholic mission. The collection *Marquesan Legends*, published in 1930, came principally from Hivaoa, Fatuhiva, and Nukuhiva, with Atuona providing the most. Almost every Atuona story was from Haapuni, Handy’s talented coworker and principal informant, who had listened as a boy to his elders and later to schoolmates and his wife’s father. The other sources and their stories are named on page 4 rather

than with each Marquesan text. Handy, despite finding only a fragmentary knowledge of the old lore (*Native Culture*, 3), has in his 1930 collection about ten stories in Marquesan with English translations; two dozen English “resumes” (as he calls them) that are often complete stories or very long summaries with the collector’s name, island, and frequently district; and a few pieces.

Among topics treated in his introduction to the collection, in addition to linguistic data, are differences between islands in vocalization, “trick” languages based mainly on transposition of syllables or imitations of Tahitian sounds either to amuse or hide meaning, and education of both sexes in legends under professional bards. Handy has much more information, however, on education, types of chants, festivals, and customs relating to chanting in *Native Culture* (314–341).

Two other major collections of Marquesan narratives besides those by von den Steinen and Handy are by Samuel H. Elbert and Henri Lavondès. In a year in the Marquesas (1934–1935) during which he visited several of the islands, Elbert spent much time on Tahuata and Uapou, where he obtained most of his narratives; a few came from Hivaoa. His unpublished manuscript, “Marquesan Legends,” has about forty-nine stories, which are very long, like many collected by others; and two genealogies, one of Chief Kahueinui and the other of Te Vahine Mata. The stories were either told to him in Marquesan by elderly men and women or, in one instance at least, copied from a notebook in which one man had written a story as told by his father. Each story has the narrator’s name, his or her locality or island, the date of collection, and, frequently, explanations inserted in the narratives or added at the end by the storyteller, Elbert, or both. Unfortunately, except for an occasional narrative, the manuscript contains mostly Elbert’s English translations of his Marquesan texts. He has provided, however, both the Marquesan and English for the many chants and songs about legendary characters that are composed in old and new styles and inserted in the stories.

Elbert’s foreword, while touching only briefly on many features of style and content, offers leads for future comparisons and analyses. He found, in general, that the stories portray the ancient culture through both concrete details about which narrators tried to be as accurate as possible and more abstract data relating to ethics, morals, taboos, and social hierarchy. Observing, as had von den Steinen and other collectors, Marquesan reluctance to tell any tale that reflected negatively on their valley or island, Elbert, nonetheless, collected several illustrative examples. The collection also includes the opposite side’s viewpoint.

Importantly complementing and supplementing this manuscript is his publication in 1941 of a large number of chants and love songs with Marquesan texts, English translations, and often detailed explanations in "Chants and Love Songs of the Marquesa Islands, French Polynesia" (*Journal of the Polynesian Society* 50:53–91). Most are from Tahuata but some come from Uapou, Hivaoa, and Fatuhiva. Contributors include many who also told Elbert stories found in the manuscript. Elbert singles out Kave, Puko'i, and Mahana as especially helpful with chants. Each poem is identified as to informant, island, and the Marquesan name for the type of song.

Among topics Elbert deals with in his introduction to "Chants and Love Songs" are linguistic details, poetic qualities of the language, music and dance, as well as the attitudes, superior or inferior, of different islands toward each other's dialectical variations. Even more revealing are Marquesan and Tahitian attitudes toward each other. Many Marquesans have worked in Papeete, and some Tahitians now live in the Marquesas. Tahitian residents "consider their own culture superior and oblige the Marquesans to speak to them in Tahitian." Nevertheless, "Marquesans thoroughly enjoy speaking it" and composers of modern love songs like to use Tahitian words for euphony and elegance. Moreover, "as a *lingua franca* in eastern Polynesia Tahitian is very stylish" (*ibid.*: 60, 61). It is not surprising that the narratives also use some Tahitian words.

In "Chants and Love Songs," Elbert classified each example as ancient (61–75), early modern (75–85), or modern (85–91) and described at length its principal features. The ancient chants are simple, direct, and religious, frequently have the nature of causative spells, and often refer to gods and heroes, of whom Kena and the Lord of the Night are two examples. To Elbert these chants are more ethnology than art; and they do, I find, clarify certain elements in the narratives. In the early-modern poems Tahitian influence begins to appear. These songs use florid, figurative, and symbolic language, and at times exult rather morbidly in grief. Of special interest is the leading composer and musician, Moa Tetua of Tahuata, a blind leper who died about 1900, whose songs stand out for imagery and individuality; people gathered illegally at night outside the leprosarium to hear his concerts. Of his numerous compositions, four were performed for Elbert's collection by Mahana. In the modern category are love songs accompanied by dance, which were composed until about 1930 to celebrate special events or to tease young lovers. They have more word play than earlier compositions and show whimsical humor, eroticism, and praise of the beauties of nature

as well as an increasing number of references to Western culture and religion. The missionaries “relentlessly fought” the love songs “because of the erotic symbolism of some of the words.” The wickedness of the love songs that Marquesans performed for Elbert at Tahuata was the subject of an entire sermon (*ibid.*:53).

Lavondès and his collaborator Samuel Teikiehuupoko have produced two volumes of narratives from Uapou, *Récits Marquisiens* (Papeete, 1964, 1966), each with an introductory essay. The Marquesan text with a French translation accompanies each narrative together with the narrator’s name and valley, but not the date. The collection presumably was made in the mid-1960s.

While acknowledging narrative variability in past epochs, Lavondès stated that he wished to record impartially and nonselectively the currently known narratives, and to familiarize the now acculturated Marquesans with their rich heritage. It was also a duty, he declared, for French Polynesia to participate through the Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique d’Outre-Mer, Centre ORSTOM de Papeete, in salvaging knowledge of the old culture, begun by Handy and others at Bishop Museum. Contributing to this goal are the narratives and his copious footnotes about the culture reflected in the stories. He also wanted abundant material for linguistic study, and like many elsewhere he recognized the value of narratives for this. On the whole the language in the narratives, he stated, is archaic compared with the present language, and the younger generation does not understand certain words in some chants. It is unfortunate that the Marquesan texts of von den Steinen and Elbert are unavailable for study, since those two scholars also collected texts to learn the language and became fluent in it.

On Uapou Lavondès encountered not only vestiges of traditional culture but a small group of elderly men and women regarded as authentic narrators, unlike others who had merely vague ideas about traditional lore. The six stories in the first volume are from Lavondès’s most gifted narrator, Kehueinui, who, having once written them down as learned from Pupe, an old blind man, later lost the manuscript. The portion of his repertoire that he wrote down for Lavondès—about half—proved superior in quality to the tape-recorded remainder.

The second volume has only two different stories. But for the one centering on the life and adventures of Taheta and his son Vaka-Uhi there are four versions by four narrators, one of them Kehueinui. To illustrate the need to get several versions of the same story, Lavondès describes how each version supplements the other three to clarify the plot and increase the chance of knowing the totality of the episodes. He provides

outstanding description and analysis of the four storytellers' backgrounds, abilities, styles, and the like. Each emerges as a memorable personality with a distinctive talent. Kehueinui, the most accomplished, showed skill in his sense of measure and balance of different developments. The second proved the most intelligent, reflective, mature, and modest. The third provided incidents not in the other versions but present in Handy's collection, included more archaic aspects, tended to be dry, and was least inclined to exploit literary possibilities. The highly verbal fourth spun out his version from his knowledge of traditional subjects and was unembarrassed by the contradictions and lacunae that he filled in with often clumsy inventions. Lavondès also points out that besides the opportunity to learn how differently each narrator told his version, one might also consider doing structural analysis when one has several versions of the same narrative. He also calls attention to how one can discern through comparison the narrators' transfers of stylistic features and ornamental elements from one story to another. Further, Lavondès indicates the stories are valuable sources preserving ethnographic data about the ancient culture. He recognizes, of course, how many Tahitian, French, and other non-Marquesan terms have come into the narratives.

Because few narratives were recorded before 1897, these four collections, ranging over a seventy-year period from von den Steinen to Lavondès, constitute the memories of some of the elders and their descendants. Von den Steinen, Handy, Elbert, and Lavondès have salvaged a vast amount of narrative lore, to which they added informative commentaries of their own or of their informants. The collections, although superficially described here, will, I hope, suggest innumerable topics for intensive study of the Marquesan lore as a unit and of its relation to other Polynesian narratives. One is struck immediately by the persistence in the Marquesas ever since the first few stories were collected of certain plots, particularly those relating to island geography. Also, each collector has interestingly described his principal informants' personalities, repertoires, styles, and the like, but more can be learned from further comparisons. The stories, as have been noted, are large repositories of ethnographic data, especially of the past. One can extend the list of possible studies of these stories and never come to the end.

The stories are very readable for even a casual reader who likes to know about a different literature and culture; one can easily become immersed in them, feel transported, and lose a sense of time. The collections are a rich heritage of the Marquesan people, and Langridge and Terrell through their translation into English of von den Steinen's Ger-

man collection have reminded us of how much he added to knowledge about that heritage.

NOTES

1. The introduction to the translation merely states, "They [the stories] eventually appeared, in 1934 and 1936 in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* . . . some years after von den Steinen's death" (p. xv). Because the page and volume numbers in *Zeitschrift* were not cited I give them here for anyone wishing to consult the original German.
2. "Contents" omits "Tono-Fiti," the collector's twenty-first narrative; "Pua-Hina-Noa" is his twenty-second. "Tono-Fiti," however, is included in the English translation.
3. The earliest publication of the song was probably in 1805 in a German journal on music, which I have not seen. For the reference see C. R. H. Taylor, *A Pacific Bibliography* (Oxford, 1965), 180.
4. Somehow overlooked was the introduction's lapse in translating the line as "perhaps a half a year too late" (p. xiv).

Rita Knipe, *The Water of Life: A Jungian Journey through Hawaiian Myth*. Illustrated by Dietrich Varez. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989. Pp. 176. US\$22.50 hardcover.

Reviewed by Renate von Gizycki, Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen University, Germany

Scholars of Polynesian oral literature are familiar with a great variety of approaches and methods for dealing with mythology. Chants and stories have been collected, translated, compared as folklore, and interpreted in the context of linguistic, religious, or historical studies. Rita Knipe came to Hawaii as a professional psychologist, and also with a deep yearning for an island that to her was something like a "mythical land." It became a "love affair," and she felt as though she had "known this place outside my personal life history" as an "almost remembered place of origin" (p. 2).

It is against this background (fittingly described in her first chapter as "Drumbeat, Heartbeat") that we must view her involvement with the study of Hawaiian mythology. Her exploration of the deities and heroes of ancient Hawaii led her "beyond the myths," and her fascination with "the brown and golden Hawaiian people, who are changing now as they strive to reconnect with their own vanquished heritage" became a "personal odyssey" to uncover "her roots as a woman." Using the trea-

sure of edited and translated material of well-known scholars like Emerson, "The Water of Kane," symbolizing "The Water of Life" (chapter 2), became the central topic of her explorations and the title of her book.

As an analytical psychologist of the Jungian school, she found a "storehouse of archetypal motifs": Mother Earth, Father Sky, "the orphaned and miraculous child" (p. 14), and other gods, lovers or heroes, communal themes of life and death, and "universal images born anew within each of us," repeated in our basic behavior and expressed in our religion and art forms. "We discover them in our dreams and as the motivating force within various rituals" (p. 15).

"All myths of all nations teach important psychological truths" (C. G. Jung, *The Vision Seminars*, Books 1 and 2 [Zurich: Spring Publications, 1976], 461). Knipe applies key concepts of Jungian psychology to symbolic characters of Hawaiian mythology, for example, "the collective unconscious," archetypes, and the unity of opposites (male-female, yin-yang, anima-animus, and so forth). She also develops the relevancy of mythical accounts to the modern human psyche by dream analysis, translating archetypal patterns of dream messages received by herself or through her patients into individual experience. Conversely, she explains them, often elegantly amplified, in symbolic, archetypal terms: for instance, as the "healing quality" of "the water of life" in a quest for wholeness (p. 170), or Pele's destruction and primitive power as Great Mother in suppressed femininity.

Knipe, however, studies mythological characters as more than a psychologist searching for illustrations of her concepts. Although aware of her Jungian training, she approaches her subject with the sensitivity of a woman and in her own poetic way. (In the tradition of science one might call her method a hermeneutical one.)

In a sequence of myths and stories featuring prominent Hawaiian goddesses, gods, and heroes like Hina, Kane, Maui, the Menehune, Kamapua'a the pig god, and Pele, the author (in eleven chapters) returns, together with Pele's younger sister Hi'iaka, to her original question: the search for "the water of life." Analyzing the account of Hi'iaka's travels to find her sister's and her own lover, Knipe confesses: "When I, as a woman, am loyal to my basic nature, raw and primitive as it may be, and yet differentiate myself from it by separating from the volcano, and embarking on my own journey, I may be able to touch the Hi'iaka quality within myself. When I learn not to divide my loyalties and love, but to suffer the conflicts they are sure to bring, gradually I may discover what belongs to me" (p. 157). The previously undiscovered

ered parts of our personalities are brought together in a new way, in a process that Jung termed "individuation." At this juncture, of the author's personal odyssey and the Jungian journey through Hawaiian mythology, a new perspective seems opened, a kind of dialogue possible. The symbolism of Hi'iaka's travel allows not only for the transformation of mythical into psychological experience, but may, again, express human experience in poetic or mythological language. It may thus become a differentiated and analytical "narrative" psychology.

If the reader is willing to accept Knipe's conceptual premises, she or he will find this book stimulating reading. We should, however, remember that it is a Jungian journey through Hawaiian myth. Other journeys are conceivable: for example, with Freud or Erich Fromm; or as literary excursions teaching us new insights into the life of another people as well as our own existence; or, last but not least, as a purely aesthetic encounter with Hawaii's oral literature, the hula chants and legendary tales. The author is aware of the poetic quality of her mythological material. The illustrations of Varez are very popular in Hawaii; contrary to the text, however, they romanticize rather than explore mythology. A glossary of Hawaiian words and an index are useful background information for the general reader, and the bibliography serves as an introduction to the classics of ancient Hawaiian literature (although the Fornander Collection is not included).

In conclusion, I offer some subjective remarks on a subjective book. It will certainly appeal to readers familiar with Jungian psychology and New Age discussions; more traditional scientists may find Knipe's interpretations occasionally speculative, also perhaps too feministic. I can identify with her rather poetic approach to Hawaiian myth, her subjective voice not denying but transcending "objectivity." I share her hopes that the "communal myth about the search for the water of life may point toward a modern mythology" (p. 163), which I would understand to be an "enlightened" one, reflecting our human condition on an endangered planet. I am in sympathy with her involvement in contemporary Hawaiian life, the current renaissance of Hawaiian culture, and the female revolution, which should help to channel rage and frustration of modern women into creative paths (p. 118).

Other dimensions of Hawaiian life, important as they are for many native Hawaiians, are not within the perspective of a Jungian journey, such as political and social problems of recovering the land (like Kaho'olawe) in a concrete way. "The Hawaiian eats the rock and is formed by it into a *pua* of Hawaii. He brings the land inside of himself and thus becomes one with it. At the same time the land becomes his."

This intimate relationship between language, land, and Hawaiian tradition is “an ideal of Hawaiian poetry: to reproduce in words the density of experience,” to quote John Charlot (*The Hawaiian Poetry of Religion and Politics: Some Religio-Political Concepts in Postcontact Literature*, Monograph Series, no. 5 [Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1985], 28). Symbolic language—according to his analysis—is “a screen impenetrable to non-Hawaiians, behind which authentic indigenous concepts and feelings can be expressed” (ibid.). A question I eventually ask of myself is, how do Hawaiians react to our quest for understanding?

Allan Thomas, Ineleo Tuia, and Judith Huntsman, eds., *Songs and Stories of Tokelau: An Introduction to the Cultural Heritage*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1990. Pp. 88, map, illustrations, bibliography. NZ\$14.95 softcover. Accompanying audio cassette produced by Asia Pacific Archive, School of Music, Victoria University of Wellington, NZ\$8.

Reviewed by Richard Moyle, University of Auckland

The three atolls of Tokelau (Atafu, Fakaofu, and Nukunonu), until recently under the linguistic and administrative influence of Western Samoa, have had very little published in their own language. With this modest publication, the amount of readily available material on the texts of Tokelau songs and stories has increased significantly. Judith Huntsman has authored numerous publications on Tokelauan social anthropology over the past twenty years. Allan Thomas's studies of Tokelauan music, both in Wellington and during a nine-week field trip to Nukunonu in 1986, have already produced two useful publications (1986a, 1986b); his accompanying cassette of thirty songs from the book enables the public to hear for the first time a selection of several song categories. Ineleo Tuia is a longtime leader of Tokelauan cultural groups in Wellington. Book and cassette together are welcome as further source material for a Western Polynesian musical tradition hitherto little known and sparsely documented.

Song texts appear in English and Tokelauan on facing pages, the original poems in larger font, presumably for visual balance. According to the preface, “an English version is favoured which gives the meaning of the song rather than directly translates it. Translations are thus not generally to be regarded as literal” (p. 9). This explanation is helpful when

determining why many features of the song poetry that help make it typically Polynesian—for example, phrase repetition within individual or adjacent lines, refrains, as well as many whole phrases, verbal particles, and definite articles in the original—are omitted in the translations. The explanation does not help explain, however, the absence of any translation at all for the *tuala* wedding song (p. 53), although we learn in another chapter (p. 54) that the words are “not understood.” A similar principle appears to have been applied to the Tokelauan texts themselves: when listening to the accompanying cassette, one finds that whole repeated lines or phrases are omitted from the written texts (e.g., songs 18, 20, 38). A further complication in documentation is that side B, track 5 of the cassette includes songs 18–20, not 18–22 as indicated in the cassette notes.

The net effect of this approach to translation is to heighten the cultural distance between the reader and the composer. While acknowledging that any translation is essentially an act of compromise, the identity of the intended readership is not clear to this reviewer. Tokelauans themselves will find occasional discrepancies between sung/spoken and written forms, and other readers seeking insights into Tokelauan modes of verbal expression from this “testament to the lively imagination of Tokelauan composers” (cover notes) may find the generalizing effect of the translation process something of an impediment. For those primarily interested in Tokelauan music, however, the most valuable sources are the nonprocessed recordings themselves.

A noticeable change of translation approach characterizes the *kakai* (*märchen*) about Alo, which occupies almost a quarter of the book; here the translation is indeed close to the original and the characters’ personalities are allowed to emerge. These tales contain one or more short songs (*tagi*) sung by the narrator at crisis points in the story. From a comparison of the four *tagi* on the cassette with specimens recorded in Tokelau by Huntsman in the 1960s, it appears that the former practice of singing slowly and using stereotyped melodies may have changed: Thomas’s 1986 recordings are sung faster and are not stereotyped. The audience unison participation, found in Huntsman’s recordings but not duplicated in Thomas’s sample, likewise suggests a recent change in procedure (or perhaps a difference in recording circumstances).

The unmetred, slow *pehe anamua* (ancient songs) are sung by men who depart only occasionally from unison to produce two-part harmonies. Their sound is similar to premissionary Tuvalu songs recorded by Gerd Koch (e.g., Christensen and Koch 1964:57). By contrast, the *hiva hahaka* (old danced songs) consist of men singing unison antiphonal

couplets, each line of which has equal duration, and each section ending with a call that identifies the particular dance genre. The melodies, accompanied by beating on a tapa-making board, concentrate on two pitches a Major second apart, and the overall tempo accelerates with each repetition of the text. Almost the entire Tokelau programs in the last two South Pacific Arts Festivals have consisted of *fātele*. This most popular dance is well represented with several specimens both in the book and on the cassette. These two-part songs sung by a mixed group repeat a short text, accelerating in both danced and sung tempo and concluding with a shouted call. *Mako* love songs are a feature of the more westerly islands of Western Polynesia and also the Outliers. Textual lines are repeated, the first and second presentations respectively of each line tending to use identical melodic material.

The songs featured in the book and on the cassette include stylistic features and categories either known to have been common elsewhere in Western Polynesia in earlier times but now rarely heard or obsolete, or present also in the Outliers. Although much material is presented, readers may have to work to make best use of it.

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Jerome Feldman and Donald H. Rubinstein, eds., *The Art of Micronesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Art Gallery, 1986. Pp. 76.

Reviewed by Richard J. Parmentier, Brandeis University

The Art of Micronesia is, like the cultural artifacts it discusses, multi-functional. First, this slim volume served as a commentary and catalogue for the objects exhibited at a show by the same title held at the University of Hawaii Art Gallery in 1986. Second, the two substantive articles, Jerome Feldman's "Beyond Form and Function" and Donald H. Rubinstein's "Fabric Art and Tradition," attempt to place the study

of Micronesian "art" within the broader contexts of the cultural analysis of "primitive" art. While it may be true that many museum or show catalogues lose much of their coherence when detached from the particular site of their production, these two excellent essays put forward sophisticated arguments that deserve an audience beyond those fortunate to have visited the original exhibition.

Feldman's article deals with a variety of objects, including canoe-prow carvings from Truk, weather charms and spirit canoes from Ulithi, human masks from the Mortlocks, supernatural images from Nukuoro, meetinghouse architecture from Kiribati, Belau, and Yap, and carved figures from Belau. By demonstrating that the design features of objects in these classes cannot be reduced to purely instrumental or utilitarian functions, Feldman proposes that their cultural significance goes "beyond form and function." But Feldman's article, in fact, shows clearly how formal features such as abstract stylization, miniaturization, and decorative elaboration exactly fit local conventions of meaningfulness and how the "function" of these objects includes not just practical rationality but such things as being mythological reminders, repositories of sacred power, and marks of social distinction.

Rubenstein's article concentrates on woven, pounded, and plaited fabric as visual expressions of social relations in the Carolines (especially Fais and Tobi), the Marshalls, and Nauru. Given the recent surge of interest in textiles and fabric in Oceanic studies, Rubenstein's expert analysis of the productive techniques and geographical distribution of forms is timely. Cross-cutting techniques and distribution, however, are several interlocking themes, including: (1) the use of distinct patterns and degrees of elaboration to index social rank and life-cycle stages; (2) the close linkage of two dimensions of ritual usage: embodiment of sacred power and protection of people (especially the dead and chiefs) from the pollution and danger originating in that power; and (3) the widespread valuation of fabric objects as wealth tokens, exchange items, and tribute prestations. (A puzzle that begs for comparative attention is that fabric in Oceania serves, in some contexts, to facilitate communication between human and supernatural realms and, in other contexts, to prevent the interpenetration of these domains by bounding them.) It may be premature to ask for a theory accounting for the areal consistency of these three themes (such a theory has been offered by Valerio Valeri for Polynesian materials in *Kingship and Sacrifice* [Chicago, 1985]). One tantalizing suggestion (cited from Glenn Petersen's work on Pohnpei) is that "weaving" is a cultural metaphor for social integration; Rubenstein (in an earlier publication) proposed that fabric

design represents the order of social units. Another possibility (following the Ifaluk myth fragment cited on p. 58) would involve fundamental ideas about the ontology of artificial “bodies” or “skins” as quintessentially cultural products. Whatever the direction this theorizing eventually takes, Rubinstein’s article guarantees that Micronesian data will play an important role in Oceanic comparison.

The exhibition as well as the articles under review need to be evaluated in light of several imposed constraints. First, many “traditional” arts of Micronesia all but died out over the past two centuries, especially as economic, political, and religious changes transformed the functioning of many of the societies. This means that the goal of a genuine cultural account of art, that is, an account which tries to establish the local functions of production, ownership, and use of various classes of material artifacts and which attempts to understand style and form in terms of meaningful conventions, may be impossible to achieve. Contemporary artists and informants frequently know less about these traditional forms and functions than the scholars who are familiar with the ethnographic record. Fortunately, artists and scholars alike can be grateful to the collections, illustrations, photographs, and explanations by members of the Hamburg Südsee Expedition (1908–1910). Many of the volume’s illustrations are copied from the publications resulting from this expedition; and at least in Belau local craftpersons are relearning lost skills by copying designs from those volumes. Second, the label “Micronesia” encompasses a range of societies with distinct cultural traditions and artistic conventions. Included in the exhibit and covered in the articles are objects from island groups associated with Indonesian or Philippine stylistic heritage (Belau and Yap), groups with distinctive Polynesian cultures (Nukuoro), and groups in central Micronesia manifesting extreme ecological diversity, such as volcanic high islands (Pohnpei) and low atolls (the Marshalls, Truk). This diversity makes it difficult to seek out a coherent, underlying Micronesian “aesthetic” and compels the quest for comparative associations to seek beyond the geographical limits of the “Micronesia” label.

I want to make two sorts of criticisms of the volume, the first concerning the “fabric” of the volume itself and the second with reference to the particulars of Belauan ethnography. I can only suppose that great care went into producing this volume, since the unusual color and paper quality point to an artistic volition; however, the finish of the paper (designed perhaps to imitate Micronesian fabric) makes the illustrations and photographs appear dark and blurred. This is a shame, since in many cases the detailed workmanship of objects cannot be fully appre-

ciated. More regrettable is the fact that no key is provided to enable the reader to move back and forth between the complete exhibit catalogue printed at the end (pp. 70-75) and the photographs selected to accompany the articles.

And, as a Belauanist, it is my duty to register objections at a few points—none that affects the validity of the authors' substantive arguments. First, Feldman's statement that the "only masks indigenous to Micronesia come from the Mortlock Islands south of Truk" (p. 29) needs to be slightly hedged in light of the unique Belauan shell mask depicted in Hidikata's *Stone Images of Palau* (Agana, 1973 [1956]) (and the protective and curative functions described for this shell mask correspond almost exactly with the functions of the Mortlock masks). Second, the discussion of Belauan "men's houses" fails to distinguish those structures that house men's clubs (*bai er a cheldebechel*) and those that house titleholders of the village (*rubakbai*). The structures pictured in figure 24 (located in Ngeredelolk village of Beliliou, not in "Melekeiok" as indicated in the caption) are examples of the latter category. This distinction is relevant to the analysis of the icons on these buildings. Their principal theme is not, as Feldman claims, fertility but rather finance: heads are depicted not because of "cosmic renewal" but because captured heads were ransomed for valuables; the birds conventionally depicted are associated with the "money bird" that generates valuables; the crossed circles placed between and below the heads stand for valuables; and the carved female figures called Dilukai recall the fact that concubines operated not as representations of some abstract "female presence" but as money-makers for their home villages' titleholders. Third, the six meetinghouses in a village are not conceived of as the "cornerposts of the village." The "cornerposts of village" are the four house affiliation units ("clans") centered around the four principal titles; correspondingly, these four principal titles are said to be the "cornerposts of the meetinghouse." Fourth, the ruins of the first meetinghouse mentioned in myth are not located "beneath the sea near Babeldaob Island" (p. 71); the familiar story of the first master builder Orachel describes his visit beneath the sea at Mekaeb near Ngeaur Island. This mistake results from the confusion, in this paragraph, of the story of Orachel and the story of the creation of heavenly bodies, featuring Iechaderngel (not "Techadrenge").

Despite these limitations and criticisms, the authors should be congratulated for their sensitivity in two specific areas. By downplaying the distinction between traditional and contemporary artistic production, these articles will actually encourage artists and craftspersons from the

various island communities not to be depressed by the huge gap between their experience and the ethnographic record and to realize that “form and function” exist as a *cultural* rather than a necessary linkage. Thus, their creative talents can be inspired by the axial symmetry and abstract clarity of traditional artifacts without being forced to produce objects mechanically tied to long-vanished functions. Finally, the exhibit and the volume should play a significant role in enabling art to become an important source of pan-Micronesian identity. Lacking common cultures and languages, dispersed across the expanse of the Pacific Ocean, and committed to different strategies of political modernization, Micronesians might well find a bond in the technical skill and aesthetic vision of their artists. Ironically, it can be argued that only by treating the exhibited objects as “art,” in the sense of objects created with high expertise whose special valuation is tied to perceptions of formal beauty *independent* of specific practical, ritual, and social functions, can these objects be refunctionalized as the “fabric” of Micronesian identity. Thus, the “art of Micronesia” lies in the future, not in the past.

Diane Langmore, *Missionary Lives: Papua, 1874–1914*. Pacific Islands Monograph Series, no. 6. Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies and University of Hawaii Press, 1989. Pp. xxiv, 408, illustrated, index. US\$35.00 cloth.

Reviewed by David Wetherell, Deakin University, Geelong, Victoria

Twenty years ago the academic study of mission history in Oceania was in its infancy. Today, due to the writings of such authors as Lacey and Hilliard, Whiteman and Garrett, among many others, the missionary epoch in the South Pacific is far better understood. Diane Langmore's study deals with the period starting just before the coming of international rivalry in Africa and Oceania in the 1880s, when the Evangelical missionary movement was already on the wane. Between 1871 and 1914 some 327 Europeans entered British New Guinea or Papua as agents of the London Missionary Society (LMS) and the Sacred Heart, Methodist, and Anglican missions. In particular, support for English Evangelical missions was ebbing from its mid-nineteenth-century summit, and mission resources had to be stretched to keep pace with the ever-widening British expansion abroad.

Langmore has used the “slice of history” approach familiar to readers

of the 1988 Australian bicentennial volumes. For her Ph.D. thesis and subsequent book, she has selected the “pioneering” slice, from first contact until World War I, a phase she calls the “golden age” of Christian missions in Papua. A reader would not turn to this book to learn much about the Papuans, for its scope is other than the interaction between Melanesian and missionary, the adoption of Christianity, spread of cult movements, and so on. Rather, Langmore’s concern is with the European missionaries themselves, “their objectives and aspirations, their ideals, convictions, and opinions, their actions and responses” (p. xiv).

In the first of the book’s ten chapters Langmore discusses the nationality and social background of the missionaries. It is interesting to know that no less than 45 percent of the group were from the countries of continental Europe, the homelands of the Sacred Heart missionaries (France alone provided 25 percent of all Papuan mission volunteers). Another 19 percent were from the British Isles and 30 percent were from the Australian colonies, the largest single “national” group. The social backgrounds represented ranged from artisan class to professional; as Langmore shows, few were “powerful or highly born.” Nor, considered from their academic achievements, were they of the first rank. The intellectually gifted LMS volunteers went to China and India, and it was once said that Africa and the Pacific were usually assigned to the physically fit—those “with an A1 life at Lloyd’s.”

Chapter 2 is a discussion of the religious diversity of the individuals accepted for Papuan service, in an age when results seemed less likely to be glorious than earlier. Most younger candidates for the LMS and Methodist missions were giving a reduced emphasis to the Atonement than did many Evangelical pioneers of the LMS mission and a higher place to the social consequences of the Incarnation of Christ, working among orphans, building up industrial missions, staffing hospitals, and so forth. A dramatic contrast between older and younger evangelists appears on p. 41, where Langmore cites the oft-quoted retort of the venerable Presbyterian John G. Paton in 1903 to the young Methodist J. W. Burton: “Young man,” he almost roared, “do you think I would have risked my life amongst the savages and cannibals of the New Hebrides if I had not believed that every man, woman and child I met was going to hell?” But such apocalyptic expectations arising from this teaching were usually absent (or present only in muted form) in the sacramental practice of Anglican and Sacred Heart missions.

Langmore’s previous writing on mission women in the *Journal of Pacific History* foreshadows her chapter on “The Gracious Influence of Wise and Thoughtful Womanhood.” Not only were women missionaries

significant in Papuan mission homes, schools, and hospitals, but male missionaries often owed much to the childhood influence of their mothers, an influence that Langmore says appears to have been counterbalanced in some cases either by the “negative influence” of the father or by the father’s absence altogether through death during his son’s formative years.

Generally, however, it may be said that this is a disappointing book. There are two reasons for this. Langmore’s research leaves the impression that she has had only the most fleeting acquaintance with the missions she describes. The writing seems to have begun and ended in a metropolitan archive. Certainly, up to fairly recent times, historical materials were usually equated with archival documents. But today—and especially in the South Pacific—the documentation used in recording history encompasses a much wider variety of sources, and personal experience of the field is essential. Especially is this so in such a land as Papua New Guinea, where geography as well as climate left such a strong personal mark on the Europeans who went there. Bronislaw Malinowski’s injunction to his anthropological students—that they would need to spend at least a year in the field to become familiar with local language and culture—might well have been heeded here. Or, if an anthropologist’s advice is gratuitous, Langmore might have listened to the dictum of the Australian historian Sir Keith Hancock, who said that the historian’s first requirement was “a stout pair of boots.”

The second reason for disappointment with *Missionary Lives* is its lack of consciousness of styles of worship, an activity that sharply distinguished the missionaries from the secular Europeans in Papua. “To know these people,” wrote an observer of Papuans in a mission village, “you must see them in church,”¹ a statement equally applicable to the missionaries themselves. A good deal of missionary time was spent in building churches and worshiping in them; these aspects were an indispensable part of the missionary life. The way missionaries constructed their shrines tells us much about themselves, whether the shrines were plain chapels of coral or wood containing preaching rostrums, or ornate gothic Roman Catholic and Anglican churches designed for the celebration of the Mass, conducted amid clouds of incense and streams of holy water. Why is this facet of missionary lives altogether neglected? To write about missionaries without worship may be compared to writing a biography of Babe Ruth without once mentioning the baseball field.

This book, then, plays down the missionaries’ religious lives. To do so is to sell its subjects short. For, in any mission settlement, the inhabitants lived in a strictly disciplined manner in which every waking hour

was devoted to a routine of work and worship. Attendance at the daily service of the Holy Communion was—and is—an important part of life on a Roman Catholic or Anglican station. “Summoned by bells” might have been a good chapter title, so frequent was the clanging of iron pipes and bells to call mission staff and converts to church. And, once inside the church (if the liturgy was elaborate) Papuans taught by missionaries displayed a knowledge of the finer points of ritual that struck European visitors as extraordinary.² However, the historian of *Missionary Lives* manages to skirt around the subject of church building and church behavior altogether, apart from a sole reference or two to the word “prayer.” Religious activity, which is so evident to any visitor and well documented in archives, is suppressed in this study. The result is a book that does not mention the visible focus of the missionaries’ Christian religion at all!

Langmore’s use of the term “golden age” to describe this missionary epoch seems wide of the mark. It is certainly justified for the Nonconformist or LMS mission, but such a grandiose term is inappropriate for the Anglicans. Anyone who compared the paltry achievements of pre-1914 Anglican missionaries, as embodied in their tumbledown bush churches, with the huge concrete cathedral completed by missionaries at Dogura in 1939 would smile at the idea of the pre-1914 phase being a “golden age.” In terms of growth the “boom” period for European missionaries in the Anglican church took place after 1950, during the later years of Bishop Philip Strong’s episcopate, and thus is of comparatively recent origin. Langmore’s golden age seems judged entirely from a Nonconformist perspective.

Nonetheless, *Missionary Lives* is a well-written work, characterized by a judicious use of language and a certain chasteness of style; it is backed by a very long biographical register, page notes, appendixes, and bibliography. Her vignettes seem to contain not a word too many nor too few. The balance and modesty of her conclusions are among the more attractive features of this book. It is well illustrated and the maps are particularly good.

Alan Ward of Newcastle University, New South Wales, has commented on the overempirical emphasis in some Pacific history written by Australians,³ and this book is a good example of this defect. As a result of separating library research in Canberra and elsewhere from real experience in the field, Langmore’s work contains an undue emphasis on factual, “archive proved” details. She does not take any risks. Of course, history is “scientific” in the sense of being analysis, the stripping of documents, and statistical inquiry. But it should be more

than that. There is too little in this book about the emotional, religious, or artistic response of missionaries to Papua and the Papuans, and virtually nothing of the way in which missionary perceptions may have changed as a result of experience. Apart from a bare arrangement of three pages on scenery and the outlines of mission homesteads (pp. 65–66), the book conveys little, if any, sense of what it actually felt like to be in New Guinea during the pioneering period. Unlike Malinowski's New Guinea publications, whose success lay in his marvelous ability to "manage the imagination" by deft strokes of the pen, this book becomes a mere retrieval system of empirical facts, a directory of names and details, all rearranged and lumped together in chapters. A book merely providing facts concerning "everything-you-ever-wanted-to-know-about-Papuan-missionaries" tends to reduce its subjects to husks that lack living substance. As indicated above, had Langmore taken the trouble to participate even briefly in life within a community of missionaries (for example, by observing their worship and writing a little about it), her subjects might have been given an added dimension.

It would be difficult to fault the content of this book within its limits. To obtain it, Langmore must have digested nearly every scrap of information sent to mission headquarters from the beginning of the period she chose to study. The book's text is followed by a vast compilation of details spanning an additional 140 pages. One can only speculate on the amount of labor the assembling of such data must have involved.

Was such an exhaustive display of information necessary? The basic problem, as the political scientist Sean Regan observed six years ago in an article about historical research in Australia, is the outbreak of the malaise of "doctoratitis"—the assumption that scholarly worth is to be measured by mere diligence. This, as Regan observed, is all wrong. Genius, or even talent, is not an "appetite for indigestible and trivial details" but by definition a capacity to jump the whole process of taking infinite pains.⁴ Indeed, the Ph.D. thesis that is reproduced in this book seems to have delivered its author into a kind of intellectual bondage to her own diligence.

Unhappily, too, Langmore seems inclined to ignore the contributions of previous scholars and what she has derived from them. Readers closely familiar with books about Christian missions in Papua New Guinea during the past fifteen years will realize the extent to which she shows a readiness to adopt as her own without documentation lines of argument that have already been committed to print⁵ (which earlier reviewers of Langmore's book did not recognize, for example, *The Journal of Pacific History* 24, no. 2 [1989]). Even when she came indepen-

dently to some of the concepts and ideas as a result of her own work, references confirming and acknowledging the findings of previous work would have been appropriate. It is striking, indeed, to compare the generosity of Garrett's acknowledgments to previous scholars in his recent missionary study *To Live among the Stars* (Geneva, 1982) with the discourtesy of Langmore's omissions. For further information on the transference of unacknowledged ideas in Langmore's book, the reader is referred to a review published in *Pacific Islands Monthly* in which the writer, a Pacific archivist, comments on Langmore's use of materials in chapter 5 without acknowledgement.⁶

Missionary Lives, then, is a disappointing book. It adds very little indeed to our knowledge of the way in which missionaries' beliefs and attitudes over a forty-year period may have been affected by their interaction with Melanesians. And it tells us next to nothing about the wide variety in expression of the activity which all missionaries regarded as central to their lives: the styles of worship that they offered daily in the churches they raised wherever they went in Papua.

NOTES

1. Anglican Diocese of New Guinea, *Occasional Paper* no. 54 (London, 1917), 7.
 2. A point not lost on many anthropologists seeking to explain how Christian belief could be accommodated without displacing the materialistic assumptions within traditional Melanesian magic. See, for example, Peter Lawrence *Road Belong Cargo: A Study of the Cargo Movement in the Southern Madang District, New Guinea* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1964).
 3. *Historical Studies* 18, no. 73 (October 1979): 650; see also Greg Denning's review of Hugh Laracy's *Marists and Melanesians*, *New Zealand Journal of History* 12, no. 1: 81-82.
 4. "The Scholar as Slave," *Australian* (Sydney), 4-5 February 1984.
 5. For one example, in Langmore's book it is stated that the New Guinea Anglicans under Bishop M. Stone-Wigg, first bishop of New Guinea (1898-1908), were influenced by the cultural attitudes of the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) "as exemplified by Bishop Tozer" (pp. 123, 197), a claim made in my book and in no other source before or since (see David Wetherell, *Reluctant Mission: The Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea 1891-1942* [St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1977], 128-129). Other instances are on pp. 110, 112, 113, and 115, which may be compared to pp. 127-128, 130, 127, and 108 of *Reluctant Mission*.
- It may be worth adding that I now believe Bishop Stone-Wigg was more familiar with his contemporary, Bishop Smythies of the UMCA, than with Tozer. I created a connection with Tozer in my book because he was insistent about the need to preserve African customs within Christian communities.

6. As that reviewer says:

. . . It is necessary to note an unfortunate tendency that this reviewer has noticed in some recent Pacific histories: selective referencing that fails to acknowledge fellow scholars' work on the same subjects and sources.

Readers of PNG history may be surprised to find no acknowledgement, in ch. 5, of Dr David Wetherell's writings, specifically in discussion of Anglicans' cultural attitudes . . . (pp 112–113) . . . full referencing is essential to respect the interest of readers. (Fabian Hutchinson, correction to review of *Missionary Lives, Pacific Islands Monthly* [Suva], March 1991, 5)

Ian C. Campbell, *A History of the Pacific Islands*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989. Pp. 239, maps, tables, glossary, bibliography, index. US\$30.00 cloth, US\$10.95 paperback.

Reviewed by Glen St. J. Barclay, University of Queensland

Any book purporting to be in any sense a history of the Pacific Ocean and its peoples deserves to be treated in terms of what it takes in, not what it leaves out. The Pacific washes the shores of both Asia and the Americas; and Australia, Japan, and Indonesia are at least as entitled to be designated as Pacific Islands as are New Caledonia, Tonga, or the Marianas. There is also the problem of whether to focus on the continuing experience of the Polynesian, Melanesian, and Micronesian peoples themselves, treating the European involvement as being something in the nature of a brief intrusion; or whether to regard the European impact as overwhelmingly significant, altering massively and permanently the course of the development of earlier arrivals in the region. Some selection of area, period, and theme is inevitable, and almost any can be justified, provided that whatever is selected is treated in a manner accessible and useful to the reader.

Campbell's book scores very high on both counts. His style is lucid, resourceful, and what the Eighteenth Century would call copious. He provides maps and comparative linguistic and cultural tables that are convenient indeed. He also has a capacity to appreciate worthwhile human qualities and a sense of characterization displayed to advantage in his studies of the benevolent John Thomas and the mixed blessing John Geddie, and in a superb tribute to Cook, who really does seem to have deserved all the good things said about him.

It is no criticism to say that Campbell's subject matter is essentially the history of the European impact upon the Island peoples, rather than that of the Island peoples themselves. It does, however, mean that his

book is far more enlightening on certain areas of the Pacific experience than on others. The distinction may be a fine one but its practical significance is considerable, for the more history an Island people might have in their own right, the less he has to say about them. For example, little is said about the extraordinary political history of Tonga and Fiji and their diplomatic and dynastic relations; the tumultuous saga of conflicting local and foreign imperialisms in Hawaii; or the near-fatal decline, struggle for survival, and reemergence of the Maori people of New Zealand, perhaps the most substantial historical achievement of the Polynesian race. And the horror story of Easter Island hardly rates a mention. What is supplied is a highly informative and remarkably comprehensive account of trade, missionary activity, and the colonizing process generally, concluding with succinct, enlightening, and generally objective and judicious chapters on the experience of the Island peoples during decolonization and in the first decades of recovered independence. Here indeed the problem of what to take in and what to leave out can hardly be solved satisfactorily. It is not really logical to take in the inconvenient, relatively minor intrusions of Libya into Pacific affairs but leave out the intimate and enduring concern of Indonesia in the Papua New Guinea-Bougainville imbroglio or the brooding presence of India in racial issues in Fiji. And it is surprising to say the least to see West Irian described as a colonial territory and Indonesian control there compared with the worst of seventeenth-century Spanish or nineteenth-century French regimes. This may or may not be true but it is completely irrelevant; what is relevant is that the Indonesians think West Irian is a part of Indonesia. The only useful comparison would be between their methods of maintaining control there and those employed by, say, China in Tibet, which the Chinese think is part of China, or by India in Kashmir, which the Indians think is part of India. And one would naturally expect a certain amount of historical evidence and statistical data to support any such comparison.

This is the real problem with a book that overall provides a valuable complement to the studies of the Pacific already in print, even if it might not supplant any of them. It is always difficult to make a judgment as to just how much reliance should be placed on a historical study that supplies no documentation or other source material whatever. The problem is exacerbated in this case by the quite inadequate nature of the bibliography, which is merely a list of materials for further reading. Unquestionably Campbell has read and researched far beyond what is enumerated here. But it would have been helpful if he had indicated just what materials his narrative and analyses are based on. And it would have been still more helpful if the index had not managed to omit

most of the names and a fair number of the subjects dealt with in the book. One is entitled to expect better from the publications of academic presses.

One other small point. There is no question that in terms of endurance the voyages of the Polynesian seafarers are unsurpassed in maritime history. But there seems little future in arguing that they must have possessed technologies and techniques that there is no proof they actually did possess, because otherwise they could not have made voyages that there is no proof that they actually did make. It is difficult enough to comprehend how they could have made the voyages we know they made with the technology we know they had.

Paul Spoonley, *The Politics of Nostalgia: Racism and the Extreme Right in New Zealand*. Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press, 1987. Pp. 318. NZ\$38.95.

Reviewed by Stephen Levine, Victoria University of Wellington

New Zealand's tranquil reputation and geographical isolation have made it appear a somewhat unpromising subject for scholars interested in political extremism in its various forms. Even so, particularly in recent years commentators both from within the country and overseas have discovered a more complex and less attractive reality beneath the much more familiar bland and benign image. While not surprisingly much of the analysis has concentrated on relations between the indigenous Maori inhabitants and the non-Maori population, focusing on contemporary issues against a backdrop of accumulated grievances, other features of racism and prejudice have not gone unrecognized.

A principal contributor to the study of New Zealand racism and political extremism has been Dr. Paul Spoonley, a social scientist at one of the country's tertiary institutions, Massey University.¹ His investigations of the country's political psychopathology have gone some way towards stripping New Zealand of its smug claim (once widely heard) to have developed a society characterized by race relations uniquely harmonious in the contemporary world. His studies, beside those of others, have had the perhaps paradoxical effect of making this island state seem more "normal," vulnerable as are others to poisonous political perspectives that those committed to more rational and humane outlooks have an obligation to oppose.

In *The Politics of Nostalgia*, Spoonley draws upon his doctoral research into neofascism and racism to provide an important overview

of some ugly tendencies imperfectly concealed behind New Zealand's much more pleasant facade. His review places on record detailed information about the existence and activities of a remarkable array of individuals and organizations. In doing so, he documents fairly meticulously the persistence in New Zealand—and, through comparative analysis, in the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada—of political movements and visions deeply inimical to those values and conventions central to the democratic process.

The book's theoretical perspectives and cross-national material, though useful, are overshadowed by the sheer density of bizarre material scrupulously summarized by the author. An interesting feature of the book in this connection, however, is a brief methodological appendix acknowledging various ethical considerations associated with the research. In it the author makes clear not only the distasteful character of his subject matter but, more strikingly in the circumstances, the guidelines that disciplined his relationship with those leaders and participants interviewed in the course of the study. Spoonley's sensitivity to "the rights of the researched," and his open and candid approach in terms of his own values and objectives, appears to have made possible access to materials and viewpoints from sources typically disposed towards suspicion and truculence.

Most of the groups analyzed in this work have displayed limited strength and authority within the New Zealand political process and there seems little likelihood that any of them will gain much of a public following in the foreseeable future. This reflects particular economic, political, and cultural conditions, including a disinclination among most New Zealanders to take political and religious controversies terribly seriously. Despite the absence of traditions of intense political argument, however, Spoonley makes clear the affinities that at times exist between aspects of neofascist and racist claims, on the one hand, and viewpoints more acceptably held within the wider community.

Spoonley also notes briefly the weakness of New Zealand's media in reporting about fringe political movements and consequently the contribution that clumsy reportage can make to legitimizing a group's policies and purposes. This observation underscores the distinctive value of his own endeavors, as do other, almost parenthetical statements about the damage such groups can do to the well-being of those they choose to target.² Prospects for lives free from politically induced stress and harassment are enhanced neither by what Spoonley terms "a relatively free market in prejudice," nor by a generally pervasive complacency in New Zealand about the country's ostensible immunity from pernicious political strains.

Despite the variety of extreme thought and behavior encompassed within this study, a unifying feature for many of the groups and personalities discussed is found in the virulent anti-Jewish sentiments to which they subscribe.³ These obsessions, although corresponding to some extent to what Spoonley characterizes as “relatively low-level prejudice, or folk anti-Semitism,” politicize anti-Jewish feeling well beyond what most New Zealanders appear prepared to endorse.⁴ Nonetheless the author does not discount the possibility that policies and philosophies antagonistic to Jews may yet gain a higher place on New Zealand’s political agenda, with adverse effects for its small Jewish community as well as the country’s wider political environment.

NOTES

1. His studies include “New Zealand First! The Extreme Right and Politics in New Zealand, 1961–1981,” *Political Science* 33, no. 2 (1981): 99–127; “Race Relations,” in *New Zealand: Sociological Perspectives*, ed. Paul Spoonley et al. (Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press, 1982), 265–290; “The Politics of Racism: The New Zealand League of Rights,” in *Tauitiwi: Racism and Ethnicity in New Zealand*, ed. Paul Spoonley et al. (Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press, 1984), 68–85; *Racism and Ethnicity* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1988); “Racism and Ethnicity,” in *New Zealand: A Sociological Introduction*, ed. Paul Spoonley et al. (Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press, 1990), 82–97.

2. These issues are considered at greater length in Paul Spoonley and Walter Hirsh, eds., *Between The Lines: Racism and the New Zealand Media* (Auckland: Heinemann Reed, 1990), particularly in Spoonley’s “Racism, Race Relations, and the Media” (pp. 26–37) and in Lesley Max, “Talkback Radio: Airing Prejudice” (pp. 76–79).

3. This is also the case in David Harcourt, *Everyone Wants to Be Fuehrer: National Socialism in Australia and New Zealand* (Melbourne: Angus and Robertson, 1972), which reviews some of the same personalities as are found in Spoonley’s much more methodical study. Spoonley distinguishes New Zealand’s “New Right,” with its libertarian economic policies to some extent adopted by the Labour government in 1984 and by the National Party subsequently, from fringe groups promoting racist and anti-Jewish ideologies. A much more extensive critique of dimensions to “New Right” thought within the New Zealand context is provided in Paul Spoonley et al., *Revival of the Right: New Zealand Politics in the 1980s* (Auckland: Heinemann Reed, 1988).

4. These attitudes have at times been given expression in policy environments, especially in the hands of bureaucrats administering regulations impinging on Jewish immigration to New Zealand. Ann Beaglehole’s history, *A Small Price to Pay: Refugees from Hitler in New Zealand, 1936–46* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1988), and Fred Turnovsky’s autobiographical memoir, *Turnovsky: Fifty Years in New Zealand* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1990), chronicle the often explicitly anti-Jewish recommendations articulated by officials possessing considerable discretionary powers to admit Jews to the country.

BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLANDS PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, JANUARY-MARCH 1991

This list of significant new publications relating to the Pacific Islands was selected from new acquisition lists received from the libraries of Brigham Young University-Hawaii, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, University of Auckland, and University of the South Pacific. 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; some entries may be arranged by title in cases of an edited or compiled work and may include only primary author in cases of multiple authorship.

- Ahlburg, Dennis A. *The North East Passage: A Study of Pacific Islander Migration to American Samoa and the United States*. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National U., 1990.
- Allen, Jane. *Five Upland 'Ili: Archaeological and Historical Investigations in the Kane'ohe Interchange, Interstate Highway H-3, Island of Oahu*. Honolulu: Dept. of Anthropology, Bishop Museum, 1987.
- Alonz, Laetitia, ed. *A Collection of Palauan Legends*. Koror: Palau Press Agency, 1990.
- Amesbury, Judith R. *Native Fishing Rights and Limited Entry in Guam*. Guam: Micronesian Archaeology Research Services, 1989.
- Anderson, David, ed. *The PNG-Australia Relationship: Problems and Prospects*. Sydney: Inst. of Public Affairs, 1990.
- Angleviel, Frederic. *Wallis et Futuna (1801-1888): Contacts, evangelisations; inculturations*. Ph.D. thesis, U. Paul Valery, 1989.
- Austin, Roberts. *Handcrafts of Niue*. Alofi: Niue Ministry of Trade, 1988.
- Bank of Hawaii. *An Economic Assessment of French Polynesia*. Honolulu: The Bank, 1990.
- Barker, John, ed. *Christianity in Oceania: Ethnographic Perspectives*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990.
- Barratt, Glynn, ed. *Queen Charlotte Sound, New Zealand: The Traditional and European Records, 1820*. Ottawa: Carleton U. Press, 1987.

- Bauer, Aaron M. *A Checklist and Key to the Herpetofauna of New Caledonia, with Remarks on Biogeography*. San Francisco: Calif. Academy of Sciences, 1990.
- Bedford, Richard, ed. *Population of Vanuatu: Analysis of the 1979 Census*. Noumea: South Pacific Commission, 1989.
- Bird, Richard Miller. *Taxation in Papua New Guinea: Backwards to the Future?* Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National U., 1987.
- Bisignani, J. D. *Big Island of Hawaii Handbook*. Chico, Calif.: Moon Publications, 1990.
- . *Oahu Handbook*. Chico, Calif.: Moon Publications, 1990.
- Booz, Elisabeth Benson. *Collins Illustrated Guide to New Zealand*. London: Collins, 1989.
- Bray, Harrison. *Tomasi: For Islands Far Away*. Palmerston North, N.Z.: Nagare Press, 1990.
- Burt, Eugene C., ed. *Oceanic Art Five-Year Cumulative Bibliography: Mid 1983 through 1988*. Seattle: Data Arts, 1990.
- Christian, Erwin. *Tahiti vu du ciel*. Singapore: Editions du Pacifique, 1989.
- Controvich, James T. *The Central Pacific Campaign, 1943–1944: A Bibliography*. Westport, Conn.: Meckler, 1990.
- Coral Reefs of the World*. Gland, Switz.: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, 1988.
- Corne, Chris, and Andrew Pawley, eds. *Le Coq et le Gagou: Essays on French and Pacific Languages in Honour of Jim Hollyman*. Auckland: Linguistic Society of N.Z., 1986.
- Crowley, Terry. *Beach-la-Mar to Bislama: The Emergence of a National Language in Vanuatu*. New York: Oxford U. Press, 1990.
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