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PACIFIC STUDIES

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THE RED AND THE BLACK: BOUGAINVILLEAN PERCEPTIONS OF OTHER PAPUA NEW GUINEANS

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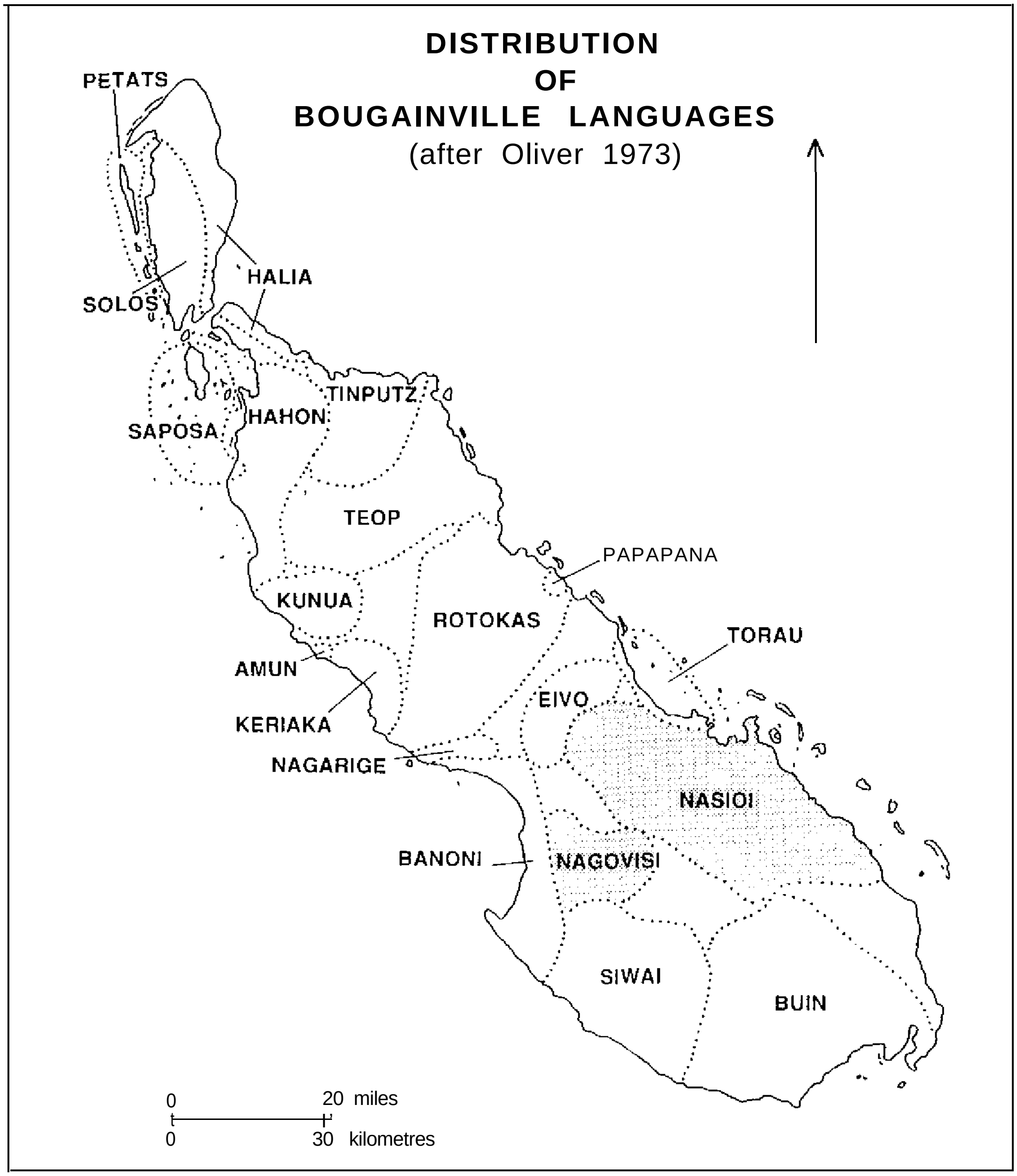
> People do not kill one another because
> their customs are different . . .[1]

The author of this quotation goes on to state, however, that such cultural differences may become associated with serious political cleavages. It is this possibility that concerns many observers of Papua New Guinea, who fear that ethnic divisions in that independent country are dangerous to its political stability. Thus political scientist Ralph Premdas has argued that the "PNG government faces formidable difficulties of disunity, much of this derived from its ethno-linguistic and ethno-regional fragmentation. . . . Colonial control has imposed new ethnic vertical cleavages."[2] In this article, we provide a specific example of the manner in which ethnic consciousness developed among two related groups of people living in south Bougainville, the Nagovisi and the Nasioi (see map).[3] Although there has been considerable theoretical discussion of the nature of ethnicity in the anthropological literature,[4] this article is not concerned with such issues. Rather, it takes for granted Comaroff's propositions that

> ethnicity always has its genesis in specific historical forces, forces which are simultaneously structural and cultural. . . .
> Ethnicity, far from being a unitary 'thing', describes both a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SOLOS
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KUNUA
ROTOKAS
TORAU
AMUN
EIVO
KERIAKA
NAGARIGE
NASIOI
BANONI
NAGOVISI
SIWAI
BUIN
0
20 miles
0
30 kilometres

> set of relations and a mode of consciousness; moreover, its meaning and practical salience varies for different social groupings according to their positions in the social order. But as a form of consciousness, it is one among many . . . each of which is produced as particular historical structures impinge themselves on human experience and condition social action.[5]

In what follows, we will attempt to describe the particular historical forces that have come to shape the perceptions the Nagovisi and the

Nasioi have of other Papua New Guineans. While a number of events have brought such people to Bougainville, we will argue that these movements would have had a far different significance without the simultaneous introduction of a colonial ideology that created "tribes" and ethnic identities.[6] In making this argument, we will provide material that can be compared with other studies of colonialism and ethnic interaction in Melanesia.[7]

Precontact and Colonial Background

The Nagovisi and Nasioi in precolonial times undoubtedly knew neighbors whose culture and language differed in some degree from their own. The Nagovisi, for example, tell of lineages that had extensive relations with people living in areas today called Siwai, Baitsi, and Banone. These relations involved trade, marriage, and the making of war and peace. Whatever the chronology of settlement along the coast near modern Arawa by the Torau,[8] the Nasioi in the valleys and hills saw these Austronesian speakers as in some way distinct from themselves. The cultural and biological diversity of neighboring groups on Bougainville has been well documented elsewhere.[9]

Precontact Nagovisi and Nasioi, however, notably lacked any centralized political institutions that might have provided clearer boundaries to distinguish themselves from other Bougainvilleans. On the contrary, widely shared symbols of common descent like the eagle and the hornbill would have blurred any such distinctions. Although we cannot say with any assurance what ethnic or "tribal" identities were recognized, it is unlikely that they resembled those that most affect Bougainvilleans today.[10]

Schwartz suggests that the Manus divided themselves by dialect differences--specifically the substitution of certain phonemes in a regular way and the use of a set of distinctive vocabulary terms.[11] The Nagovisi today might provide examples of linguistic similarity and difference with the closely related language of the Nasioi. Certain people were also able to speak proper versions of other neighboring languages and give amusing renditions of Koromira pidgin pronunciation wherein initial *t* is substituted for initial s (e.g., ***"tapos yu tik, mi ken tori long yu").*** Renditions of Rotokas pidgin, lacking a variety of consonants such as nasals and s, never failed to evoke appreciative laughter.

The Nagovisi furthermore spoke of cultural differences distinguishing them from their neighbors, involving kinship (they recognized themselves ***as*** the only group in the region with dual organization and special pronouns making reference to kin relationships), the frequency of sorcery practice and belief (they considered the Nasioi to attribute many more occurrences to sorcery than they themselves did), and the excesses of rivalry and competition in feasting (their idea was that the Siwai sought to humiliate feasting partners by surpassing them rather than to achieve the balance that Nagovisi claimed to seek). These differences were not regarded in a highly emotional or politicized way, however; Nash's informants who spoke on these subjects seemed rather to have an intellectual or almost aesthetic interest in these phenomena. Ogan's Nasioi informants took less interest in such distinctions, although they did voice their perceptions of Nagovisi as especially fearsome sorcerers and expressed their puzzlement over the Buin practice of bride-price. However, in neither case did recognition of differences form the basis for political divisions.[12]

Fried has argued that, without a notion of a discrete political entity with some titular leader, Europeans were unable to cope with the indigenous peoples they met in their explorations.[13] Hence, as Ranger (and others) have noted, modern "tribes" are a colonial invention. According to Ranger, the notions of "tradition" and "tribe" that Europeans introduced are characterized by their inflexibility. This quality is differentiated from "custom," which is pragmatic and fluid. Thus, as he notes for Africa, "the boundaries of the 'tribal' polity and the hierarchies of authority within them did ***not*** define conceptual horizons of Africans."[14]

The colonial process of "tribal" identification took place on Bougainville, too. There is no evidence that, before contact with Europeans, people living in hamlets scattered across southeastern Bougainville drew ethnic distinctions in the way they are drawn today; that is, that they viewed themselves as Nasioi. (Indeed, in 1978, "Kietas" was the term more likely to be applied to the area's inhabitants by Europeans, other Papua New Guineans, and even other Bougainvilleans charged with their administration.) Similarly, Nagovisi became such only some years after earlier Australian patrol reports dubbed them "Banone"--a term linguists today apply to an Austronesian language sharply contrasted with the non-Austronesian speech of most villagers living in that portion of southwestern Bougainville.

Not only were Bougainvilleans divided into named tribes by colonial agents, these tribes were ranked in terms of merit. The dichotomy between "backward" and "progressive" was a European way of thinking that colored many of the developing relationships between Bougainvilleans and outsiders: it is, for example, at the heart of missionary endeavors. Just as the hierarchical notion of "race," associated with different degrees of wisdom and virtue, justified the relationship between rulers and ruled, so could a scale of "progressivism" be constructed along which different groups could be ranked. To the extent to which any group was defined as "backward" or "primitive," greater interference in the lives of its members was seen not only as permissible but laudable.

Although Bougainville in general was considered a backwater until the discovery of the enormous copper deposits there, certain groups fared better in the evaluation of Australian patrol officers. The Siwai were a favorite--considered progressive, cooperative, whereas the Nagovisi were not--viewed as dirty, sullen, disease-ridden, and, worst of all, unprogressive.[15] The extent to which this powerful opposition between the condition of being backward versus the condition of being progressive pervaded European thinking is seen in the way these labels might serve to describe "subtribal" groups, those who differed on the basis of religious affiliation. Thus in the 1960s, Europeans in Kieta subdivided the Nasioi into progressive, "on-side" Seventh-day Adventists and backward, "cargo-cultist" Catholics.[16]

If they are to be better understood, all such distinctions must be placed in a more carefully drawn historical framework, for Nasioi and Nagovisi experiences with outsiders differ in important ways.[17] Encounters with Europeans dated from 1768, when the French discovered both Bougainville and neighboring Buka. Subsequently, whalers, traders, and labor recruiters visited both islands, and in 1899 Imperial Germany included both as part of its New Guinea colony. However, it was not until October 1901--when Roman Catholic missionaries arrived to establish a mission on land purchased from Nasioi near the natural harbor of Kieta--that sustained contacts began with outsiders of very different culture, language, and physical type.

The early and continuing presence of the missionaries (Methodists and Seventh-day Adventists followed in the 1920s) had special significance in the construction of ethnic categories, past and present. Initially used to convince Bougainvilleans of their need for salvation, the "missionary ideology of primitivity," contrasting the light of European Christianity with the "darkness of the savage past,"[18] was most effectively transmitted first to Nasioi, then Nagovisi. In Nagovisi, furthermore, as throughout the southwestern part of the island, rivalries between sects were encouraged by missionaries, as a means of symbolizing the total experience of conversion.[19]

Although the Germans established an administrative post in Kieta in September 1905, from which they began pacification efforts, it can be argued that neither the German nor the subsequent Australian administration had as much direct effect on developing Nasioi and Nagovisi notions of ethnicity as did experiences with missions and plantations. Labor recruiting on the east coast of Bougainville and on Buka island of men to work as strong-arm assistants to plantation developers in the Bismarck Archipelago created a special ethnic group: "Buka" became the category into which all the dark-skinned inhabitants of that island and Bougainville were placed by Europeans and every other resident of what was to become Papua New Guinea.[20] It was probably at this time that both Bougainvilleans and outsiders began to attach special significance to the former's distinctive skin color.

As Chowning notes, it was on plantations that "the stereotypes about aliens, whether Europeans, Chinese, Tolai or 'Chimbu', which so strongly affect subsequent inter-group relations" were often first formulated.[21] The early establishment of copra plantations on land alienated from the Nasioi meant that these Bougainvilleans gained the most common experiences of the colonial economy without leaving their home area, while having relatively limited contact with other Papua New Guineans, during the period between the world wars. Since there were no plantations in the Nagovisi area, young men from that region had to leave home in order to work for wages. Older men who had been under contract at Wakunai, a coastal settlement on northeast Bougainville adjacent to mountain tribes of cannibals, spoke of the fierce and savage Aita and Rotokas peoples who would come down to trade, their tresses in disarray, their bodies naked. But the fact that Bougainville's plantations operated with local labor[22] meant that Nasioi and Nagovisi experience with other Papua New Guineans would be most intensive after World War II.

World War II and Its Aftermath

Bougainville District "as a whole probably suffered more from the Japanese occupation and consequent operations than any other part of the Territory."[23] Faced with problems of sheer survival, the Nasioi and Nagovisi were little concerned with other Papua New Guineans, and their accounts of this period reflect the higher priority given to dealing with the successive alien forces occupying the island. A few Nasioi who found themselves under Japanese rule in Rabaul were able to observe the brothels that the conquerors established there and returned to provide lurid stereotypes of Tolai and New Ireland women. Otherwise, it was the disillusion suffered when European colonizers--with the exception of a few missionaries and coastwatchers--precipitously abandoned them that set the stage for new developments in ethnic categorization.

Nasioi disillusion produced, among such other effects as endemic cargoism,[24] widespread reluctance to work on local plantations reestablished after the war. Consequently, planters in the Kieta area were forced to import labor, particularly from the New Guinea Highlands and Sepik River regions.[25] Thus, the Nasioi, especially those who worked in slightly more skilled positions like that of domestic servant to a planter or Chinese merchant, had opportunity to view these outsiders in greater numbers than in the prewar era. The menial circumstances of plantation labor inevitably led Nasioi to apply to Highlanders in particular the same stereotypes of primitivity they had earlier learned from Europeans to the detriment of their own self-esteem. Nagovisi were not in quite the same position to observe outsiders, although working in the town of Rabaul became a common coming-of-age experience for young men. There, various ethnic stereotypes were formulated and reinforced, to be disseminated upon return home. One large plantation at Arawa gave preference to Nagovisi as ***bosbois,*** foremen over indentured New Guinea workers, implying some perception of Nagovisi as "more progressive" than "redskins," a term shared by Europeans and Bougainvilleans alike.

At the same time, postwar Australian policies of development had other effects on Bougainvillean perceptions.[26] A few Papua New Guineans began to appear on the island in such administrative positions as clerk, medical assistant, or leader of teams spraying villages against malarial mosquitoes. Nasioi bitterly resented submitting to the authority of those generally perceived, however correctly, as Tolai or Papuan, but nevertheless seemed to appreciate that these groups were somehow at least as "progressive" as they themselves. The same theme of rivalry with regard to progressivism was regularly exploited by agricultural officers urging Nagovisi to plant cocoa: the success of the Tolai in this activity was constantly thrown up as a challenge. On the other hand, patrol officers trying to get Nasioi to join local government councils emphasized both the superior numbers and pugnacity of Highlanders: "The Chimbu have a Council and there are more of them than you. If you don't join, they'll come over here and kick your arse."[27]

By the 1960s, then, Nasioi and Nagovisi had begun to redefine colonial notions of ethnicity to question the moral if not political superiority of Europeans, to see themselves rivaling the Tolai or Papuans in progressivism, and to find the "backward" Highlanders--of whom the Chimbu served as the prototype[28]--variously grotesque, repulsive, or frightening. For example, Nagovisi perceived a postcard depicting a Highlands woman nursing a pig as if the photo was a kind of pornography. Pictures of villagers wearing *arse-gras* at the Highlands Fair were similarly taken as evidence of indecorous immodesty, if not downright savagery. Nasioi matrons in 1963 were about equally divided as to whether they should laugh or cover their eyes when exposed to photos of phallocrypt wearers from the Eastern Highlands.[29] Villagers in both groups were unanimous in expressing their loathing for fighting with axes and "payback" killing, traits signifying a more primitive way of life.[30]

None of the earlier encounters between Nasioi or Nagovisi and outsiders from Papua New Guinea, however, could compare with those produced by the development on Bougainville of a multibillion-dollar copper mine. Construction of the mine and other, related social changes have been described elsewhere;[31] our concern here is with the effects on ethnic attitudes. Whereas the combined Nasioi-Nagovisi population in 1968-1970 probably did not exceed twenty-five thousand, at the peak of construction the copper company and associated contractors employed more than ten thousand, over six thousand of them Papua New Guineans, of whom Bougainvilleans were a relatively small minority. The influx of men, almost all without families, to the relatively small Kieta-Panguna-Arawa area (most of which had originally been occupied by Nasioi) created a drunken, brawling social scene more like a frontier town of the American Old West than the quiet, colonial backwater of the early 1960s.

Regardless of ethnicity, these alien workers gave overly abundant examples of behavior repellent to Nasioi and Nagovisi. Even the progressive Tolai were reported to be guilty of drunkenness, fighting, killing, and outrageous sexual behavior.[32] The most extreme cases of violence were regularly attributed to Highlanders. At the same time, the highly visible difference between Bougainvillean skin color and that of other Papua New Guineans was more than ever symbolic of antagonism, as the "redskins" dubbed their unwilling hosts *as bilong sospen,* "the burnt bottom of the cooking pot."

A New Ethnic Consciousness

It is against this background that the place of Nasioi and Nagovisi ethnic attitudes in the larger picture of developing "nationalist ethnic ideology" in Papua New Guinea can be assessed.[33] By the late 1960s, as the possibility of Papua New Guinea's independence appeared imminent, a number of organizations and movements appeared, decrying bureaucratic centralization and the loss of autonomy in decision making.[34] Unlike the Mataungan Association in New Britain, based on a single ethnic core of Tolai, the most notable movement in Bougainville hoped to rally all language groups in the island.[35] Although originally called Nasioi Navitu (the latter a Nasioi word for "together"), from its beginning what soon became Napidakoe Navitu included the Torau. These speakers of an Austronesian language quite distinct from Nasioi had actively opposed the administration's efforts at land resumption as part of an effort to create new towns as infrastructure for the mining development. Thus the movement can be seen as burgeoning ethnic identity in direct response to a new colonial experience, that of dealing with multinational mining interests. Napidakoe Navitu ultimately included Nagovisi, Eivo, and a few Terei and Siwai speakers, though it never generated much interest in the north of the district.[36]

Increasingly, then, Nasioi, Nagovisi, and other Bougainvilleans considered themselves a single ethnic group in contrast to other Papua New Guineans, with particular reference to preindependence politics. A focal symbol for this ethnic identity was skin color. No phenomenon that could distinguish Bougainvilleans from outsiders is more easily observable. No other characteristic can be so confidently assumed to be shared by all indigenous to Bougainville and Buka islands. If, as seems likely, racist European colonizers had in the past stigmatized Bougainvilleans vis-à-vis other Papua New Guineans for this trait, at the beginning of the 1970s the former, like other oppressed peoples, had turned this "ideological fiction of colonialism"[37] to their own political ends.

The potency of the color symbolism can be seen in connection with the Papua New Guinea flag. As soon as the design was publicized, Nasioi and Nagovisi noted that the upper half of the flag was to be red, the lower half, black. Discussion in the villages maintained that this design was meant to announce the continued domination of "redskins" over Bougainvilleans in an independent Papua New Guinea.[38] Unsurprisingly, as secessionist sentiment began to become more vocal at the beginning of the 1970s, Navitu supporters in 1972 planned a demonstration at which the national flag was to be pulled down from the Kieta Council chamber.[39]

Skin color was also utilized as a political symbol by the newly educated Bougainville elite. The Mungkas Association, originally formed at the University of Papua New Guinea, derived its name from the word for black in the Terei language of Buin. The association's activities in recent politics are further described below.

Unlike peoples in some other parts of Melanesia, the Nagovisi and

Nasioi have not used ***kastom*** as a rallying cry.[40] What has been significant is the contrast they draw between their own allegedly peaceful nature and the violence attributed to Highlanders in particular--an attribution based in part on descriptions provided by European colonizers, as noted above. An incident in the Eastern Highlands in December 1972 gave added confirmation to their beliefs in this absolute difference in behavior.

Two elite Bougainvillean civil servants, Peter Moini, a teacher from Buin, and Dr. Luke Rovin, a Nasioi physician, were murdered by Highlanders for their part in a traffic accident. Reaction on Bougainville to the report of this event illustrates the ethnic conflicts that were well entrenched by this time. Although the two were certainly guilty of wrongdoing--evidently, they were driving while intoxicated and had struck and killed a little girl--people in Nagovisi and Nasioi felt that the actions of the Highlanders, in beating these men to death on the spot, constituted an outrage. Among both villagers and educated elite, a call arose to deport all Papua New Guineans from the district.[41]

This incident clearly illustrates the themes that had come to play ***a*** prominent part in Bougainvillean thinking about other Papua New Guineans, particularly Highlanders. The educated, "progressive" men of dark skin, working to uplift the "backward" Highlanders, had been savagely set upon and murdered by these ungrateful creatures. The two had been alone, outnumbered by throngs of "primitives" who had overpowered them. Of course, had Moini and Rovin been arrested and tried for negligent homicide in connection with the accident, this ethnic-stereotype narrative would not have been tenable. As it was, the facts of operating a motor vehicle while drunk and driving over a child were almost never mentioned. The whole story was interpreted in ways that fit preexisting attitudes and indeed confirmed them, Not incidentally, the story perfectly paralleled narratives about European colonizers, who bore the "white man's burden" only to be slain by the "savages" they had come to help.

Research carried out after the murders demonstrated the salience to attitudes toward other Papua New Guineans of both skin color and the self-perceptions of Nasioi, Nagovisi, and other Bougainvilleans as peaceful and progressive. Southern Bougainville students surveyed by Moulik gave a hierarchy of social acceptance in which "New Guineans" were rated highest, followed by "Papuans," "Europeans," and last, "Highlanders." It is not clear which "New Guineans" were most acceptable, but certainly "dirty, menial jobs were identified as the profession of Highlanders only."[42]

While Kieta (presumably mostly Nasioi) respondents were "much more prejudiced than those from Buin," the pattern was generally consistent. Thus Moulik's adult village sample considered "other races in a broad category of 'red-skin' people as compared to their 'blue-black complexion. Toward these different people they commonly felt suspicion, distrust and fear." For the students, the "two most conspicuous and repeated characteristics in the sense of cultural identity in contrast to other . . . groups were the skin color and peaceful nature of the Bougainvilleans."[43]

A similar pattern appeared in a study carried out in June 1973 among students in the Kieta area. The students, most but not all of whom were Bougainvilleans, were asked to write essays on topics about the mine, consequent social changes, and inter-ethnic relations, Here students distinguished "good" from "bad" New Guineans, generally on the basis of "progressive" skills and attitudes. Thus good migrants were those skilled workers from the coastal areas such as New Britain, Madang, and coastal Papua, while bad migrants were unskilled or unemployed men from the Highlands districts. A fourteen-year-old girl wrote: "It is good to live with the coastal people because some, like the Tolais, are trained as teachers, nurses, typists, and machine operators. But I always see Chimbus digging drains and cleaning around the houses."[44]

Like the students and adults in the other sample, these also contrasted Bougainvillean peacefulness with the violence of other New Guineans: "the vast majority of students were concerned about ***intertribal fights, killings,*** and ***general lawlessness*** among some mainland Niuguinians." A sixteen-year-old girl's comment may be typical: "I think all Niuguinians are bad because they want to make trouble between themselves. . . . Bougainvilleans are like brothers and sisters."[45]

Conclusion

The attitudes and perceptions of Nasioi, Nagovisi, and many other Bougainvilleans toward other Papua New Guineans clearly illustrate, both in the historical circumstances in which they originated and in their effects on postindependence politics, more general points made by Comaroff and Keesing, among others. The place of introduced colonial categories in Bougainvillean perceptions and the transformation of those categories as part of their response to changed political and economic circumstances are striking. It is the creativity of this transformation that Premdas, in his warning cited at the beginning of this article, seems to dismiss.

There is no doubt that the sense of a Bougainville identity was vital in the establishment of a North Solomons provincial government, an administrative arrangement Premdas deplores. As Keesing notes, colonial discourse systematically denied political legitimacy to "primitive" peoples.[46] When the time came, employing this discourse gave Bougainvilleans an opening to declare relative autonomy from "backward" mainlanders. Thus their new ethnic identity, not simply a colonial creation as Premdas would seem to have it, as a single black people, peaceful and progressive, becomes a force to be reckoned with in dealing with coalition parliamentary politics, the distribution of mining revenues, and other elements of modern life with which they must perforce contend.

Beginning in late 1988, Nasioi landowners in the copper mining area began to express their long-standing grievances in acts of violence greater than any seen before. The particulars of the landowners' case cannot be adequately treated here. What is germane to the present argument is the way that ethnic identity has been incorporated into general social unrest on Bougainville. The ***Papua New Guinea Post-*** *Courier* reported on 13 March 1989 that a Kieta woman (presumably Nasioi) had been attacked en route to her garden, with an axe wielded by a man described as a Highlander. She subsequently died of her injuries.

Once again Bougainvilleans perceived "redskins" acting out their primitive, savage nature, with a peaceful black-skinned woman as victim. However, because of the present climate of generalized violence around Kieta, their response was unprecedented. Subsequent *Post-Courier* accounts told of the payback-style killing of five Western Highlands laborers on Aropa plantation, followed by a riot by non-Bougainvilleans in the urban area. Later the newspaper reported that local (again, presumably Nasioi) villagers had burned down a settlement of Sepik and Morobe people near Aropa airport. At approximately the same time, the Mungkas Association, newly active in the urban sector, made a series of demands, including compensation amounting to millions of dollars for four Bougainvillean deaths allegedly caused by Aropa plantation laborers "over the years."[47]

In the face of such turmoil, it is easy enough to join Premdas in deploring the negative impact of ethnic consciousness on the lives of Bougainvilleans and other Papua New Guineans. But it is equally possible to argue that the Bougainville case refutes Premdas's claim that "ethnic formations beyond the village level proved incapable of supporting and sustaining collective cooperative efforts for equitable development."[48] Nasioi, Nagovisi, and other black-skinned Bougainvilleans have had to contend for years with very real violence to themselves and their way of life, committed by colonizers, by a multinational mining firm, and presently by other Papua New Guineans, including riot police whose brutality under the guise of pacification is being investigated by the PNG government. Their creation of a Bougainville ethnic identity has precisely sustained "collective cooperative efforts" in self-defense against forces that might otherwise overwhelm them.

At this writing (June 1989), it is not possible to predict the outcome of current unrest in a situation fraught with contradiction, For example, Nasioi landowners are reportedly divided among themselves according to their differential success in obtaining wealth from mining and related economic activities.[49] Perhaps Premdas and others would see this as a dissolution of ethnic identity in favor of "a deeper reality such as class interests."[50] Such a result is problematic, however, both from a theoretical and a historical point of view. As Comaroff notes: "Much more vexing . . . is the question of when and why ethnic ideologies break down and class consciousness rises to replace it--*if, indeed, it ever happens* ***in*** *such straightforward terms.*"[51] It is certainly possible that class relations within what is now the North Solomons Province will be a more salient element in the consciousness of Nasioi, Nagovisi, and other Bougainvilleans than skin color or self-perceptions of peacefulness and progressivism. It is also possible that ethnic conflict will irreparably damage any political viability for Papua New Guinea as a nation-state. But, like the developments described in this article, any such change will be the product of history, That history has yet to be lived, much less written.

NOTES

A different version of this paper was presented at the 1987 meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, in Monterey, California. Ogan is grateful for the support of a Bush Sabbatical Fellowship from the University of Minnesota in completing his portion of the article. He also enjoyed the facilities provided by a Visiting Fellowship in the Anthropology Department, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University. The map was prepared by the Research School's Cartography Unit. Anonymous reviewers made helpful suggestions about earlier versions, but the authors accept responsibility for any deficiencies in the final product, Authors' names are listed alphabetically.

Although the colonial histories of Papua and New Guinea were distinct until World War II, for convenience of exposition the name of the modern nation-state, Papua New Guinea, is used throughout this article.

1. Abner Cohen, *Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns* (Berkeley, 1969), 200.

2. Ralph Premdas, "Ethnicity and Nation-Building: The Papua New Guinea Case" (Paper presented at the United Nations University Symposium, Suva, Fiji, August 1986), 1.

3. Unless otherwise noted, the "ethnographic present" for Nash on Nagovisi is 1969-1974, for Ogan on Nasioi, 1962-1972.

4. See, For example, Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Differences* (London, 1969); and George F. DeVos and Lola Romanucci-Ross, eds., *Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change* (Palo Alto, 1975).

5. John L. Comaroff, "Of Totemism and Ethnicity: Consciousness, Practice, and the Signs of Inequality," *Ethnos,* 1987, nos. 3-4:303, 306.

6. Premdas, "Ethnicity and Nation-Building," 6-8. Cf. Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa," in *The Invention of Tradition,* ed, Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, 1983), 211-262.

7. See, especially, Roger M. Keening, "Plantation Networks, Plantation Culture: The Hidden Side of Colonial Melanesia," *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 42, nos. 82-83 (1986): 163-170; idem, "Racial and Ethnic Categories in Colonial and Postcolonial States," forthcoming in M. O'Callaghan, ed., *Studies on the Adequacy of Theories, Paradigms, and Assumptions in the Social and Human Sciences* (Paris: UNESCO); idem, "Colonial and Counter-Colonial Discourse in Melanesia," also forthcoming in the volume from UNESCO Division of Human Rights and Peace; also, Ann Chowning, "The Development of Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Stereotypes on Papua New Guinea Plantations," *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 42, nos. 82-83 (1986): 153-162. Earlier treatments include Ann Chowning, "Recent Acculturation between Tribes in Papua New Guinea," *Journal of Pacific History* 4 (1969): 27-40; A. L. Epstein, *Ethos and Identity* (Cambridge, 1978), 40-61; Michel Panoff, *Inter-tribal Relations of the Maenge People of New Britain* (Canberra, 1969); and idem, "An Experiment in Inter-tribal Contacts: The Maenge Labourers in European Plantations 1915-42," *Journal of Pacific History* 4 (1969): 111-125. Drawing on the work of other writers about Bougainville, Caroline Ifeka made some suggestive comparisons between Siwai speakers and Ibo and Kikuyu groups in Africa, in "War and Identity in Melanesia and Africa," *Ethnic and Racial Studies 9* (1986): 131-149. The present paper is able to present ethnographic and historical data that Ifeka's article perforce lacked.

8. J. E. Terrell and G. J. Irwin, "History and Tradition in the Northern Solomons: An Analytical Study of the Torau Migration to Southern Bougainville in the 1860s," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 81 (1972): 317-349.

9. Douglas L. Oliver, "The Horomorun Concepts of Southern Bougainville: A Study in Comparative Religion," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology* 20 (1943); 50-65; idem, "The Peabody Museum Expedition to Bougainville, Solomon Islands, 1938-39," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology* 29 (1949): l-27; idem, *A Solomon Island Society* (Cambridge, MA, 1955); Jerry Allen and Conrad Hurd, *The Languages of the Bougainville District* (Ukarumpa, n.d.); Jonathan S. Friedlaender, *Patterns of Human Variation* (Cambridge, MA, 1978).

10. Premdas, "Ethnicity and Nation-Building," 5, generalizes for Papua New Guinea: "personal identity was kinship- and clan-based [,] generally expressed in traditional

names.” Cf. Ranger, “The Invention of Tradition,” 248, on precolonial Africa: “most Africans moved in and out of multiple identities, defining themselves at one moment as subject to this chief, at another moment as a member of that cult, at another moment as part of this clan,” and so forth.

II, Theodore Schwartz, “Cultural Totemism: Ethnic Identity Primitive and Modern,” in DeVos and Romanucci-Ross, *Ethnic Identity,* 106-131.

12. Contrast Panoff, *Inter-tribal Relations,* ch. 1.

13. Morton H. Fried, *The Notion of Tribe* (Menlo Park, CA, 1975).

14. Banger, “The Invention of Tradition,” 248.

15. Jill Nash, *Matriliny and Modernization* (Canberra, 1974); E. W. P. Chinnery, *Territory of New Guinea Anthropological Report* No. 5 (Canberra, 1924).

16. Eugene Ogan, *Business and Cargo* (Canberra, 1972).

17. In addition to works by Nash and Ogan already cited, see Hugh Laracy, *Marists and Melanesians* (Canberra, 1976), and Douglas L. Oliver, *Bougainville: A Personal History* (Melbourne, 1973).

18. Keesing, “Racial and Ethnic Categories,” MS pp. 16, 18.

19. Oliver, *A Solomon Island Society,* 118-119.

20. Paul Mason, “What Has Become of the ‘Buka Boy’?” *Pacific Islands Monthly,* September 1951, 81-83, 85. This explains the famous misnomer “Buka baskets” for the artifacts produced by Terei speakers in the southernmost part of Bougainville.

21. Chowning, “Recent Acculturation,” 29-30.

22. In 1933, 90 percent of indentured laborers in Bougainville District had been born there. Maxine Dennis, “Plantations,” in *A Time to Plant and a Time to Uproot: A History of Agriculture in Papua New Guinea,* ed. Donald Denoon and Catherine Snowden (Boroko, 1981), 232.

23. Australian Department of Territories, *Report to the United Nations on Administration of the Territory of New Guinea from 1st July 1947 to 30 June 1948* (Canberra, 1948).

24. Ogan, *Business and Cargo.*

25. By 1951, an estimated eight to nine hundred workers from elsewhere in Papua New Guinea were employed on Bougainville. Mason, “What Has Become,” 82; Paul Mason, “What Shall We Do with Our New Guinea Natives?” *Pacific Islands Monthly,* April 1950, 49-51.

26. Since this paper focuses on Bougainvilleans who stayed dose to home, we can only note briefly Bell’s description of the success of “Bukas” in the Pacific Islands Regiment, to which Bougainvilleans were first recruited in 1957. It is not possible to assess accurately the extent to which Nasioi or Nagovisi learned that “New Guineans have gained moral ascendancy over Papuans, Highlanders over fellow New Guineans, and Bukas over all.” At the very least, reports from those serving in the PIR might have confirmed notions, gained through other experience, of Bougainvillean superiority over “redskins.” Harry Bell, “Goodbye to All That? Integration in the PIR,” *New Guinea and Australia, the Pacific, and Southeast Asia* 2 (1967): 49-58.

27. Eugene Ogan, field notes, South Nasioi Census Division, 1964.

28. Cf. Chowning, "Recent Acculturation," 29-30; Keesing, "Racial and Ethnic Categories," MS p. 21.

29. In Ronald Berndt, *Excess and Restraint* (Chicago, 1957), facing 298.

30. Cf. Chowning, "The Development of Ethnic Identity," 158: "In Papua New Guinea, the common accusations are that members of other societies are particularly dangerous sorcerers or prone to physical violence. Less often, they may be considered sexually threatening."

31. For example, J. Momis and E. Ogan, "A View from Bougainville," in *Change and Development in Rural Melanesia,* ed. M. Ward (Canberra, 1972), 106-118; Oliver, *A Personal History.*

32. Other Papua New Guineans have perceived Tolai as "dangerous people." Cf. Panoff, "An Experiment," 123-124; Chowning, "The Development of Ethnic Identity," 159.

33. Richard G. Fox, Charlotte Aull, and Louis Cimino, "Ethnic Nationalism and Political Mobilization in Industrial Societies," in *Interethnic Communication,* ed. E. Lamar Ross (Athens, GA, 1978), 113-133. Cf. Premdas, "Ethnicity and Nation-Building," 9-11.

34. R. J. May, ed., *Micronationalist Movements in Papua New Guinea* (Canberra, 1982).

35. James Griffin, "Napidakoe Navitu," in May, *Micronationalist Movement,* 113-138.

36. Ibid., 126-127.

37. Keesing, "Racial and Ethnic Categories," MS p. 13.

38. The appearance of the bird of paradise, unknown in Bougainville, as a design motif was also believed to symbolize "redskin" dominance. For another example of flag symbolism in Melanesia, see Keesing, "Colonial and Counter-Colonial Discourse."

39. The demonstration was called off at the intercession of Navitu's charismatic patron, MHA (later Sir) Paul Lapun. Griffin, "Napidakoe Navitu," 134.

40. The contrasting Melanesian experience is well explored in R. M. Keening and R. Tonkinson, eds., *Reinventing Traditional Culture: The Politics of* Kastom *in Island Melanesia, Mankind* 13, no. 4 (special issue, 1982).

41. Cf. Griffin, "Napidakoe Navitu," 135.

42. T. K. Moulik, *Bougainville in Transition* (Canberra, 1977), 103-106.

43. Ibid., 133, 106.

44. Alexander Mamak and Richard Bedford, "Bougainville's Students," *New Guinea and Australia, the Pacific, and Southeast Asia* 9 (1974): 7.

45. Ibid., 5-6. The authors further argue that the general response to the mining company included an emphasis on Bougainvillean "identity and exclusiveness *beyond* the local level," 9.

46. Keesing, "Racial and Ethnic Categories," MS p. 19.

47. *Papua New Guinea Post-Courier*, 21 and 22 March 1989.

48. Premdas, “Ethnicity and Nation-Building,” 18.

49. *Papua New Guinea Post-Courier*, 19 February 1989.

50. Premdas, “Ethnicity and Nation-Building,” 18.

51. Comaroff, “Of Totemism and Ethnicity,” 319, emphasis added.

THE SOLOMON ISLANDS' TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF INDEPENDENCE: PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL SYMBOLISM AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Richard Feinberg
Kent State University

The period since World War II has seen former colonies, from the Caribbean to Africa and Asia to the Pacific Islands, emerge as independent nation-states. This trend is part of what has been described as an inexorable drive toward "modernization"--a phenomenon that cuts across the planet's normally pervasive geographical, political, cultural, and economic divisions and has been termed somewhat poetically by David Apter, "the burden of this age" (1965: 1).

Modernization, of course, means different things to different people. For Apter, it involves desire and ability to make self-conscious, systematic, rational choices among potential ends and means. Others emphasize literacy, socioeconomic complexity, administrative efficiency, political democracy, or interpersonal equality.[1] Yet, regardless of one's focus, there is wide agreement that "modernity" can only be accomplished through participation in a nation-state. Thus, Rostow (1960), in his influential book, cited development of an effective centralized national state as essential to the second of his five stages of economic growth.[2] More recently, Clapham described in similar terms the basic problem facing leaders of new Third World nations: "to increase the effectiveness of the state and diminish its fragility, ideally by creating a moral sense of its value and associating other social formations with it" (1985:61).

There is a countervailing tendency, however, to the worldwide drive to "modernize." Many terms have been used to label this tendency: "nationalism," "the national question," or "the problem of nationali-

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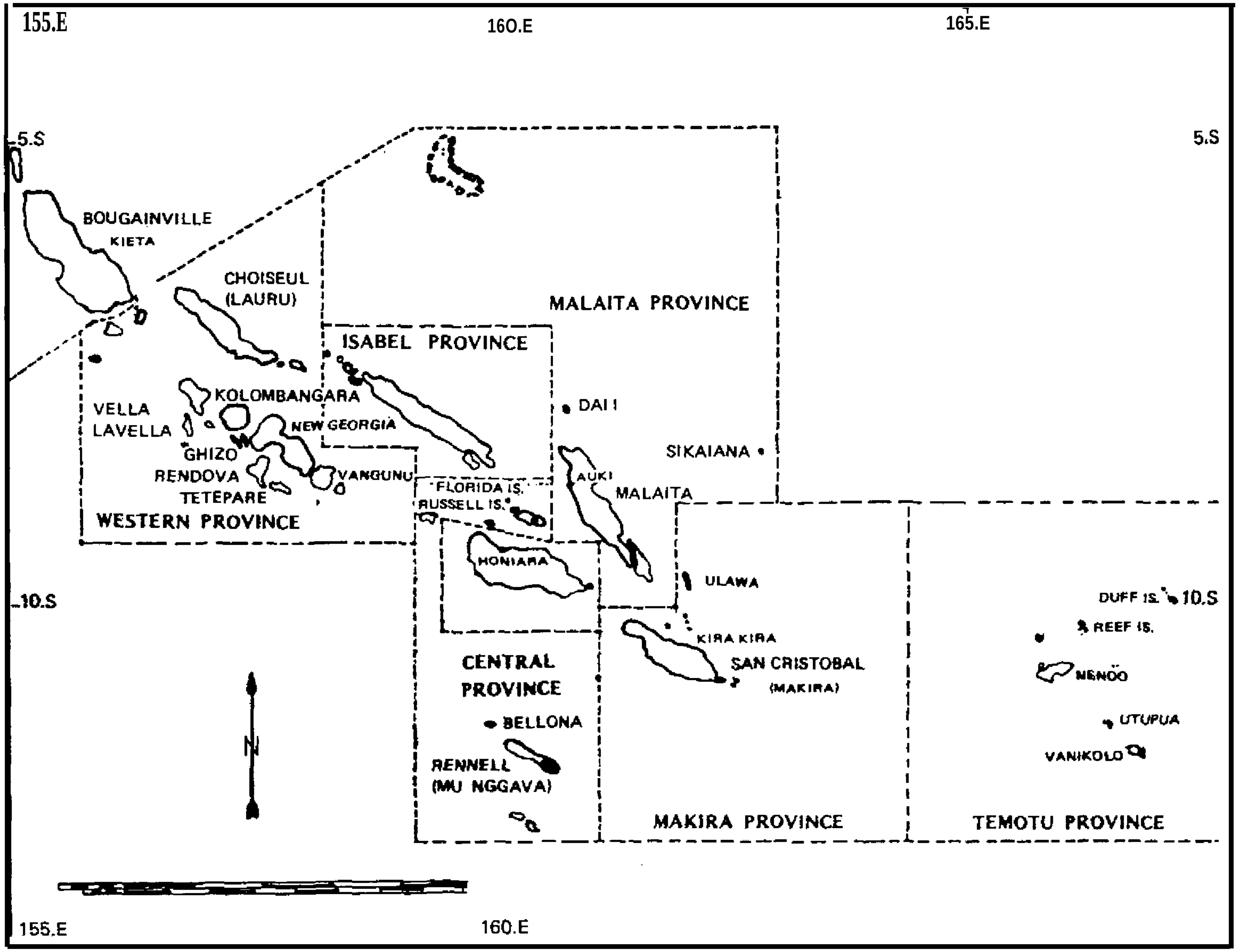
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NEW GEORGIA
GHIZO
RENDOVA
TETEPARE
VANGUNU
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SAN CRISTOBAL
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PROVINCE
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BELLONA
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VANIKOLO
RENNELL
(MU NGGAVA)
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TEMOTU PROVINCE
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FIGURE 1. The seven provinces of the Solomon Islands, excluding Tikopia and Anuta. (Reprinted from Mae et al. al 1998)

ties" by Marxists (e.g., Lenin 1967:599-653; Trotsky 1967:39-62; Gorbachev, quoted in Tambiah 1989:338); "micro-nationalism" by the functionalist anthropologist Mair (1963: 114-122); "ethnonationalism" or "subnationalism" by Connor (1973) and Premdas, Steeves, and Larmour (1984:37); and "ethnic conflict" by assorted scholars (e.g., Esman 1977; Tambiah 1989). In essence, it involves a sense among some portion of a country's population that it is "a single family with a common identity" (Premdas, Steeves, and Larmour 1984:37). This feeling usually is based upon shared language, culture, religion, or territorial affiliation, which differentiates the group in question from other members of the populace.[3] The feeling of distinctiveness becomes most problematic when such a group perceives the state to be controlled by others who may be indifferent or antagonistic to its interests. When groups feel themselves excluded from the benefits of full participation in the social order, they are likely to demand political autonomy or radical reorganization of the central government. At worst, the government is faced with prospects of dismemberment as the disenfranchised groups make efforts to secede; at best, its claim to moral leadership is compromised.

Such situations have plagued new states around the world and have posed problems even for such powerful and well-established nations as the United States and Soviet Union.[4] For Third World nations, with fewer resources and less well-established governments, the dilemma may seem insurmountable. Elsewhere, I have analyzed this problem from the viewpoint of local communities struggling to maintain a degree of political autonomy within the confines of a recently independent nation-state (see Feinberg 1985, 1986).[5] Here I deal with the same issue, but from the perspective of a central government attempting to instill a sense of national identity in a widely dispersed and heterogeneous population through the manipulation of symbols of national unity. My case in point is the Solomon Islands; the symbols are those associated with the tenth anniversary of national independence, which was celebrated on 7 July 1988.

Solomon Islands: Ethnographic Background

The Solomon Islands is a nation of approximately 300,000 people distributed over several dozen islands, mostly small and dispersed through hundreds of thousands of square miles of ocean. Its hundreds of communities, representing scores of distinct cultures and a plethora of mutually unintelligible languages, have been grouped into seven provinces, each exercising considerable authority over local affairs.[6]

In 1978, after almost a century as a British protectorate, the Solomons became an independent nation.[7] In contrast with much of the postcolonial world, however, it did not achieve independence as a result of a concerted political movement or military struggle.

Elsewhere, independence struggles have been both a blessing and a curse. Anticolonialist movements have been costly in terms of bloodshed and human suffering. On the other hand, they also have served to promote nationalist consciousness among culturally heterogeneous political units. In Geertz's inimitable turn of phrase:

> The granular images into which individuals' views of who they are and who they aren't are so intensely bound in traditional society, were challenged by the more general, vaguer, but no less charged conceptions of collective identity, based on a diffuse sense of common destiny, that tend to characterize industrial states. The men who raised this challenge, the nationalist intellectuals, were thus launching a revolution as much cultural, even epistemological, as it was political. They were attempting to transform the symbolic framework through which people experienced social reality, and thus, to the extent that life is what we make of it all, that reality itself. (1973a: 239)

Later, in the postcolonial period, with the common adversary removed or made less visible, it became apparent that {to quote Geertz once again) "most Tamils, Karens, Brahmins, Malays, Sikhs, Ibos, Muslims, Chinese, Nilotes, Bengalis, or Ashantis found it a good deal easier to grasp the idea that they were not Englishmen than that they were Indians, Burmese, Malayans, Ghanians, Pakistanis, Nigerians, or Sudanese" (1973a:239). Still, the fact of having fought, suffered, and eventually triumphed together could not but have wrought lasting changes in worldview.

Thus, the road to independence for the Solomons had implications for postindependence life as well. Geertz has identified four phases in what he described as "the general history of decolonization." These include "that in which the nationalist movements formed and crystallized; that in which they triumphed; that in which they organized themselves into states; and that (the present one) in which, organized into states, they find themselves obliged to define and stabilize their relationships both to other states and to the irregular societies out of which they arose" (Geertz 1973a:238). Unlike the typical Third World experience, the Solomon Islands began with the third stage and at present is contending with *both* stages one and four; stage two has never even been on the agenda.

In contrast with the usual euphoria of people on the verge of independence, many Solomon Islanders faced the prospect of being on their own with trepidation; and most of my informants in the early 1970s still clung to the hope that Britain would have a change of heart about leaving. Because of this unusual history, Solomon Islanders were spared the bloodshed that has accompanied achievement of independence in much of the world; but neither were they ever forced to develop a sense of national unity in opposition to a common enemy. This lack of nationalist consciousness was dramatized by Western Province's refusal to participate in the initial independence celebration in 1978.

> On Independence Day, an attempt to raise the Solomon Islands national flag at the police station in the provincial headquarters of Gizo led to a confrontation between Western people and migrants from Malaita, the home island of the prime minister. Three plane-loads of police were flown in to reinforce the police station. The next day, members of the British royal family arrived, fresh from the independence celebrations in Honiara. In welcoming them, the president of the Western Council was careful to limit the symbolism. . . . Union Jacks still flew in Gizo. . . . Western Province was boycotting the Solomon Islands' independence, not declaring its own. (Premdas, Steeves, and Larmour 1984:34)

Premdas and his colleagues list "territory; language, ethnicity, and values; color; and history" among the "fundamental factors" leading to the breakaway movement in the Western Solomons (1984:38-40). The same list of divisive influences could be applied to the country as a whole. As in many parts of Africa and Asia, political boundaries in the western Pacific have more to do with European diplomatic history than with precontact lines of continuity and cleavage.[8] Well over 90 percent of the population is classified as Melanesian. Yet, as the Western Breakaway Movement makes clear, even in the Melanesian segment of the population one finds important differences. In many cases, these seem minor from an outside vantage point. However, from the perspective of Solomon Islanders caught up in what Geertz (1973b), following Shils (1957), has called "primordial" loyalties, they can be gargantuan. When one adds to the Melanesian population the sizable Polynesian, Micronesian (primarily resettled Gilbertese), Chinese, and European minorities, these differences are much accentuated.

Most people speak local vernaculars as their first language. Children learn English in school, but primary-school teachers are now exclusively Solomon Islanders, many of whom are not entirely proficient in English themselves; thus, most students never learn to speak it well. The country's lingua franca is Solomon Islands Pijin. Although this is less standardized than English, it is an effective medium of oral communication, However, people rarely write in Pijin, and there are few materials published in that language.

Most people live in rural villages and depend on subsistence gardening and fishing for their sustenance. They identify with their kin group, village, region, island, cultural community, or language group; rarely do they think of themselves as Solomon Islanders. This tendency is somewhat less pronounced in Honiara, where people congregate from throughout the islands as they seek education, wage employment, or recreation. Even in town, however, people tend to stay with relatives and *wantoks*--members of the same language community. *Wantoks* tend to live together in the same house or a cluster of houses in the same section of town, to socialize with one another, and to marry among themselves. They often work together and support each other economically, while lines of enmity are often drawn between groups of *wantoks.*[9]

Meanwhile, in the provinces and rural villages, tendencies toward fragmentation may at times be overwhelming. Smaller and more isolated communities believe that they are not receiving the services to which they are entitled, and they are convinced that governmental bodies do not represent their interests. Provinces threaten to secede from the nation.[10] Islands have threatened to secede from the provinces.[11] And some groups such as the Kwaio of Malaita (Keesing 1982) and the Tikopians and Anutans of Temotu Province (Firth 1969; Feinberg 1986) have refused to participate in governmental bodies, vote in elections, or pay taxes.

The number of educated leaders, capable of providing political direction and staffing the public service in the complex modern world, remains small; and most commentators feel that the educational system will not sufficiently increase the pool of skilled and knowledgeable leaders or technicians in the near future. Moreover, to the extent that the educational system *is* successful, it produces an elite whose interests may fail to coincide with those of ordinary villagers.

The government has few of the financial resources necessary to provide such services as education and medical care, which people expect and on the basis of which the government's performance is evaluated. To a large extent, such services have been provided by the churches--sometimes more effectively than by the government. As a result, the government at times does not even receive credit for its genuine accomplishments.

Dependence on external support for financial solvency places the nation in a poor bargaining position with respect to foreign governments and businesses. The nation has few commercially viable natural resources and little of the industrial base necessary to exploit what it does have.[12]

Small communities are separated by hundreds of miles of open sea; yet shipping is notoriously slow and unreliable. Recently, for example, Lata, the capital of Temotu Province, was without a single ship for six months! Lata is normally serviced twice weekly by a small prop plane from Honiara, but air travel is expensive for transport of passengers and entirely unviable for shipping cargo. Moreover, Lata is sufficiently remote from Honiara that planes must refuel to make the return flight. Without shipping, the fuel supply was soon depleted, and Lata was completely out of contact with the outside world for a month before the government ship was returned to service. Temotu is the most remote of the country's seven provinces, and this is an extreme case. Still, geographical dispersal and transport difficulties have been cited as problems even in the comparatively cosmopolitan Western Province (Premdas, Steeves, and Larmour 1984:35). A series of articles in the March/April 1989 issue of ***LINK*** magazine cites transport as a major national problem, and even Guadalcanal's "Weather Coast," just across the island from the nation's capital, can be very difficult to reach (Solomon Islands Development Trust 1988:4-5).

Other than face-to-face contact, communication is almost exclusively by radio, and in the more remote sections of the country, the signal may be difficult to pick up. Some of the provinces have been equipped with their own broadcasting stations, but these are often out of service. At the time of my July 1988 visit, the Temotu station of the Solomon Islands Broadcasting Corporation (SIBC) had been silent for several months because of financial problems.[13] Brief messages can sometimes be sent by solar-powered shortwave transceivers, but effective communication is limited and difficult. The postal service provides an important medium for contact among people dispersed through the islands, but mail delivery depends on available transport and often is extremely slow, The few newspapers have little circulation outside of Honiara, the national capital.[14]

In addition to cultural heterogeneity and geographical dispersion, new divisions and new sources of stress have emerged. As in other developing nations, a dichotomy has appeared between the skilled, educated elite who control the government, public service, and economy, and the remainder of the people. Thus far, most of the intelligentsia have retained their ties with families and local villages; but divergence of values, experiences, and interests has been a source of strain. At the same time, genuine socioeconomic classes have developed. Class divisions have been exacerbated by a weak currency; a high cost of living, especially in town; an annual population growth rate of 3.5 percent;[15] and a severe housing shortage. Largely out of problems such as these, a trade union movement has emerged. A major political party, the National Democratic Party (NADEPA), was created as the political arm of the National Union of Workers. At times, strikes have almost paralyzed the country. Indeed, for a while it looked as if the national police might strike during the independence celebration.

Under these conditions, the challenge of creating a sense of national identity can be truly daunting, and the ingenuity of leaders is often taxed. The tenth anniversary of national independence, then, provided an important opportunity for building a sense of unity, and it was not to be missed.

Preparing for the Celebration

Preparations for the celebration began months in advance, and when I arrived in the Solomons in late May, they were well under way. Many of the most able and responsible political leaders and public servants had been relieved of their regular duties in order to devote full time to planning the forthcoming festivities. The main organizing committee consisted of the prime minister's entire cabinet, each province had its own organizing committee, and in Honiara eight major subcommittees were established (Figure 2). The subcommittees were chaired by such important officials as the commissioner of the Royal Solomon Islands Police and the director of the National Museum. This had minimal effect on routine daily functioning of most offices, but policy decisions had to be postponed, and little innovation took place during this period.

The celebration was expected to be the largest single event ever to take place in the new nation, the only comparable occasion being the initial independence celebration in 1978.[16] Sufficient land, therefore,

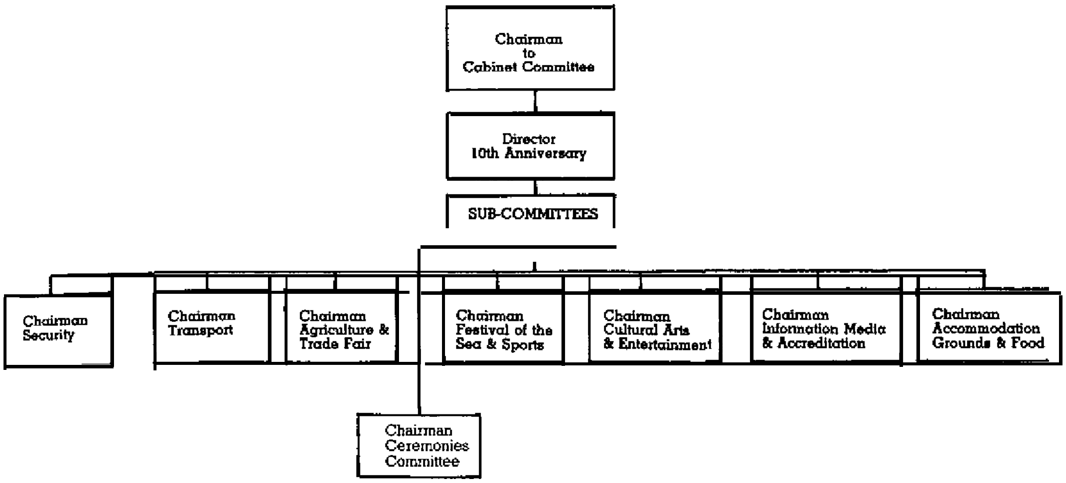
Chairman to Cabinet Committee
Director 10th Anniversary
SUB-COMMITTEES
Chairman Security
Chairman Transport
Chairman Agriculture & Trade Fair
Chairman Festival of the Sea & Sports
Chairman Cultural Arts & Entertainment
Chairman Information Media & Accreditation
Chairman Accommodation Grounds & Food
Chairman Ceremonies Committee

FIGURE 2. Organizational chart of Tenth Anniversary Celebration.
(Reprinted from Mae et al, 1988)

had to be set aside for the activities. Temporary booths, shelters, and toilet facilities had to be constructed. Featured participants from around the Solomons and overseas had to be contacted and their cooperation arranged. They had to be given instructions and transportation organized to get them to Honiara on time for the event. Events had to be scheduled, and judges and prizes arranged for the various contests. Schedules were printed for mass distribution, and radio programming radically rearranged as Independence Week approached.

Not all regular government activity came to a halt during this period, but most did. The most notable exception was the election of a new governor-general. Sir Baddley Devesi, from Guadalcanal Island, had been elected governor-general by the Solomons' Parliament at the time of independence, and the expiration of his term coincided with the tenth anniversary celebration. The governor-general is the queen's official representative, and the office is fundamentally ceremonial. Still, it is regarded as a high honor and a vitally important post. In fact it is, in my experience, the only office taken seriously by most Solomon Islanders regardless of their feelings toward the central government.[17] Thus, the new governor-general's election was given a great deal of attention on SIBC radio and in the celebration. Eight candidates had been nominated for the position, and Parliament needed seven ballots before George Lepping, from the Shortland Islands in Western Province, received the necessary absolute majority. Ceremonies marking the departure of Sir Baddley and installation of Mr. Lepping became a major part of the festivities.[18]

The Celebration

The celebration proved indeed to be a monumental affair. Scheduled activities spanned more than a week, and preparation of the ceremonial grounds took several weeks before that. Banners, colored lights, and other decorations were everywhere. Honiara is extremely overcrowded under normal circumstances with a population of thirty-three thousand, but during the celebration period this figure was expanded by many thousands and the town was bursting at the seams.

Official delegations were sent by every government with which the Solomon Islands has diplomatic relations. One head of state attended--Father Walter Lini, prime minister of Vanuatu. High-ranking officials as well as sports teams, dancers, and musicians from a myriad of nations took part. People from throughout the Solomons poured into Honiara to participate in custom dress and custom dancing competitions, or simply to witness the event.

During the actual period of the celebration, the town was humming with excitement and with the crowds of people filling the streets and ceremonial grounds. Busses and taxis were filled to capacity. All but one bus company took advantage of the opportunity to raise fares to forty cents from thirty-five. (The remaining company, in what will prove either an astoundingly shrewd or astoundingly foolish business move, ***lowered*** its fare to twenty-five cents from thirty.) Most business establishments closed, so the few that remained open could hardly keep up with demand.

Given the buildup and enthusiasm of anticipation, the weather was a major disappointment. July is normally the height of the trade wind season and a relatively dry time of year. Independence Week, however, proved to be an exception. Because of the rain, turnout at many of the sporting events, concerts, and dances was well below expectations. By Tuesday, the rain and crowds transformed Town Ground--the field in which most of the displays and exhibits had been erected--into a sea of mud. Soon, radio announcers were apologizing for the weather, and it looked like the great event would turn into an unmitigated embarrassment. By Thursday, July 7--the actual Independence Day--however, the sun came out, and the official ceremonies at Lawson Tama, a large sports field taken over for the celebration, were held under pleasant skies.

People's Reactions

Obviously, from the foregoing comments, a great deal of money, time, and energy were invested in the activities of Independence Week.

What, then, were the results? Did it help to create a sense of identification with the Solomon Islands and acceptance of the central government's legitimate authority, as had been hoped? In short, was this a sound investment? I posed these questions to many islanders over the next several weeks. My informants ranged from some of the highest government officials and public servants to people who had virtually no understanding of what government is about. They ranged from highly educated people with an outstanding command of English to outer islanders who spoke little Pijin. Because of my long association with Anuta, a Polynesian community in Temotu Province, a disproportionate number of my informants were from that island, making my sample less than random. However, my contacts also included people from all sections of the country.[19] As might be expected, responses were--to say the least--mixed.

The celebration's theme--echoing a call from the then Western District in the days leading to independence (Premdas, Steeves, and Larmour 1984:41)--was something like "unity in cultural diversity." Expressing cultural diversity were custom songs and dances with people dressed in traditional costumes from throughout the islands. The fact that they were all together, performing under the auspices of the government at the Tenth Anniversary of Independence Celebration, expressed the theme of unity. Even such holdout areas as Kwaio and Tikopia participated in the custom dancing!

Unity also was expressed in other ways. Sports teams composed of people from diverse islands and language groups competed as a unit against similar teams from other countries. Unity as a Christian nation was repeatedly expressed through blessings and invocations, hymns and prayers at official functions. On Independence Day, the archbishop of Melanesia led a hymn and blessed the flag just before the prime minister began his address to the nation. Booths at the Town Ground Trade Fair had several religious displays. And the emphasis was continually on ecumenism rather than sectarian differences.

Unity was expressed vis-à-vis other countries by talking about the Solomon Islands' place in the community of nations and accepting delegations from a wide array of foreign governments. These diplomats were officially received at the main ceremonies on July 7, and presented with such national symbols as shell money and betel nut. It should be noted, however, that these symbols are equivocal--Polynesians do not use shell money and betel does not grow on atolls.

Finally, unity was expressed through presentation of distinguished service medals to people from a range of islands, ethnic groups (including Chinese, Japanese, and European in addition to Melanesian), and denominations.

In all of this, however, some discordant notes were heard. My first indication that something was awry was the lack of interest evinced by my Anutan friends in the activities. The Anutan community in Honiara consisted of approximately forty persons, and few showed any desire to attend the festivities. On a number of occasions, I asked people to join me at one of the planned activities. The response was always that it was too crowded, too rainy, too hard to get to, or simply too uninteresting. The pretexts were diverse, but the answer was invariably negative. One man asked to see my copy of the program, but only to read the biography of the new governor-general--which *does* interest Anutans.

A few days into the celebration, one Anutan who had recently taken a job in town and was well positioned to hear local gossip commented that he had heard grumbling about the amount of money wasted on independence activities. My informant claimed that the events were only for the benefit of people who lived in town, worked for the government, or had the money or political clout to get to town for the affair. I cannot tell the extent to which this may have been projection and to what extent it was an accurate report on other people's comments. It is a fact, however, that the Solomons government spent something on the order of SI$l million on the celebration (Saemala 1988:9). The country is by no means rich, and one of the reasons many people feel little loyalty toward the government is the sparsity of services it provides.[20]

Some particularly cynical observers have suggested that the celebration was consciously conducted by the local elite for their own (largely financial) benefit. I have no evidence that this was a prime motivating factor among the event's organizers, but to some extent it did have that effect. In the organizers' defense, it would have been difficult to involve large numbers of people in the many activities held primarily for foreign diplomats. Moreover, quantities of pork, beef, fish, and other foods were made available for general distribution at several points around Honiara. Also, for the benefit of those unable to attend the celebration in Honiara, festivities were held in all of the provincial capitals. On the other hand, I have heard criticisms of the provincial celebrations similar to those directed at the national events. Without having witnessed these celebrations in person, it is difficult to assess the criticisms' validity. Just the fact that they were made and apparently believed, however, is significant.

In part, the events should be evaluated not in terms of dollars and cents but in terms of traditional Melanesian patterns of display and distribution (e.g., see Oliver 1967; Sahlins 1963; and many others). As one commentator put the matter: "The day was in fact the day which Solomon Islands wanted to show their joy as one nation under one flag. To many of us, it was not what was spent that was important, but what that day meant. The Solomon Island concept of feasting is not counting the cost but counting joy and celebration of the day" (P. Riti, personal communication). In the Melanesian context, the government's strategy of distributing the symbols of joy with the idea that they might be converted into moral capital makes sense. In the end, however, no government can safely ignore monetary costs.

At the official celebration on Independence Day, Prime Minister Ezekiel Alebua gave what I consider an excellent speech. His choice of theme, however, was peculiar given the occasion. He realistically documented the country's economic problems--weak currency, negative balance of trade, insufficiently diversified agricultural sector, too much spent on government salaries in proportion to what the government actually does. And he emphasized the importance of trimming government, increasing efficiency, diversifying agriculture, and developing industrial capacity to process the country's produce internally. It was curious, however, that he gave this speech at an event that was an obviously extravagant expenditure of scarce resources.

Moreover, while Alebua's speech struck *me* as a frank, realistic appraisal of where the Solomon Islands stood as of 1988, my Anutan friends were anything but impressed. One informant, who had lived in Honiara for years, had held several important positions in the national police force, and was a political supporter of former Prime Minister Solomon Mamaloni, asserted that the economy was doing just fine until Alebua became prime minister. In this respect, he claimed that the reserve fund was now down to SI$20 million while under Mamaloni's government it had been up to SI$70 million, Apparently this feeling about Alebua and his government was widely shared, Just a few months later he was voted out of office, and Mamaloni once again assumed the duties of prime minister.

The same informant was convinced that the rain, which had dampened the first three days' activities, was brought on by ***rau raakau*** magic of Guadalcanal people from the "Weather Coast," who had not been involved in the week's events.[21] Threats of rain induced by magic had been made as early as February 1988 (G. Carter, personal communication, 1989); and when it rained through the early part of Independence Week, it was easy to believe that the threats had been carried out. This man did go to look around at Town Ground one day toward the middle of the week, and his only comment was, ***"E takavare.*** The place is nothing but mud! It has been totally spoiled by the rain." The rain diminished by Wednesday of Independence Week and actually stopped for the independence ceremony itself on Thursday. Yet, he didn't go to Thursday's events either, saying that it was too hot in the sun(!). In short, he was convinced that the celebration was fundamentally flawed and was determined to find storm clouds under every silver lining.

Such negative evaluations, however, were not universally shared. A Malaitan friend of mine who had been given the major responsibility of organizing the week's cultural events commented that holding the celebration and carrying it off successfully was important just "to prove that we could do it." His point was that the Solomon Islands had never attempted an activity on the scale of the independence celebration, and it was important to be able to do it well in order to earn the respect of the international community as well as the country's own citizens.

Another high-ranking public official disputed the contention that funding the celebration cost money that would otherwise have been available for government services. His position was that funds were actually ***generated*** by the independence activities; services, therefore, did not suffer. This view was not entirely shared by one of the country's highest-ranking public servants--the permanent secretary for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The secretary recognized that funds expended on the celebration could not be used for other purposes and that the supply of money was finite. Thus, he acknowledged some merit to the argument that resources devoted to the celebration would have been better spent on services. Yet, he strongly felt the need to have some major activities on a nationwide scale with which people throughout the country could identify. Without such activities, he argued, it would be extremely difficult to build a sense of national consciousness and make the Solomon Islands into a unified nation.

Another prominent official in the Foreign Ministry emphasized the international significance of the festivities. He stressed the importance of showing foreign visitors a smoothly run, large-scale operation, giving them a good time, and sending them away with a positive impression. Again, the ultimate point was to create a situation in which the Solomons would be taken seriously by the international political and business communities.

Conclusion

Most new Pacific Island states have enjoyed several advantages in comparison with other parts of the Third World. Prominent among these is the peaceful transition to independence, which has forestalled much bloodshed, suffering, and animosity between new nations and former colonial powers. This is particularly true of such former British and Australian territories as Tuvalu, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands.[22] In addition, the Solomons has been fortunate to avoid the major postindependence military confrontations that have plagued its neighbors.[23] As a result, the Solomon Islands has no standing army, nor do the police normally even carry firearms. Decisions generally are made in an orderly manner, according to the rule of law, and implemented as diligently as one can reasonably expect considering the limited education and experience of government officials and persons staffing public-service posts.

Despite these considerable advantages, however, the Solomon Islands is, in other respects, quite typical of newly independent Third World nations. Like other developing nations, it is faced with problems of population, schooling, economic resources, infrastructure (particularly transport and communication), developing class conflict, micronationalism, and ethnic conflict. Yet, a shared sense of national identity is vital to provide "a firm and stable underpinning for the fundamental forms and goals" of government and "continuity and intergenerational agreement in the political culture" (Dawson and Prewitt 1969:61). Only under such conditions can leaders accurately gauge public sentiment and expectations, as is essential to intelligent formulation of policies and actions. In addition, if a government must use its resources to combat political resistance, it may not be able to provide the services needed to command its population's loyalty. Thus, it becomes essential for a nation like the Solomons to create among its citizens a moral sense of the state's value (see Clapham 1985:61, quoted on page 19 above) by manipulating its most readily available resource: ***symbols*** of unity. This is what the government attempted to do through the independence celebration.

The last page of text in the Tenth Independence Anniversary Celebrations Official Program contains a song entitled "We Are One Big Happy Nation." The lyrics are as follows:

God Bless our 10th Anniversary
10th Anniversary, 10th Anniversary
God Bless our 10th Anniversary
Happy Anniversary
We are all brothers; and
We are all sisters
Our Father in Heaven who loves one and all

We are One Big Happy Family
God's Family, God's Family
We are One Big Happy Family
God's Family are we
He is my brother; and
She is my sister
Our Father in Heaven who loves you and me

We are One Big Happy people
Gods people, God's people
We are One Big Happy people
God's people are we
You are our brothers; and
You are our sisters
Our Father in Heaven who loves all of us

We are One Big Happy Wantoks
God's Wantoks, God's Wantoks
We are One Big Happy Wantoks
God's Wantoks true
Wantoks are brothers; and Wantoks are sisters
Our Father in Heaven who loves everyone

Solomon Islands One Happy Country
God's Country, God's Country
Solomon Islands One Happy Country
God's Happy Isles
Provinces are brothers; and
Provinces are sisters
Our Father in Heaven who loves you too

Solomon Islands One Happy Nation
God's Nation, God's Nation
Solomon Islands One Happy Nation
God's Nation it is
Pacific our brothers; and
The World neighbours too
Our Father in Heaven bless all nations too

The song may be interpreted as wishful thinking, a statement of collective aspirations, or political hyperbole. Be that as it may, its sentiments express admirably the theme of the celebration: that the Solomon Islands is a unified Christian nation, enjoying a social order modeled on kinship ties--a community of ***wantoks,*** occupying its rightful position in the family of nations. In fact, of course, this is a far cry from political reality. It is, however, a fairly accurate description of the way Solomon Islands leaders would like to picture their homeland.

The tenth anniversary of independence celebration was, thus, a major event utilized by the government to try to inject a note of unity and sense of national consciousness into a heterogeneous and widely dispersed population. These activities required a tremendous commitment of resources--human and monetary--on the part of a small country with few resources to expend. Reactions to the celebration show it to have been a partial--but by no means an unqualified--success, and in the end it came to be another focus for the ongoing debate over the proper role of government and relative positions of the islands' many and diverse communities. Thus, the events brought into sharp symbolic focus all of the conflicts, tensions, and contradictions plaguing the attempt to forge a nation of a newly independent Third World territory,

NOTES

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1. Similarly, Pye has cited ten commonly used definitions for the closely related concept of "political development" (1966:33-45). These are political development as: (1) "the political prerequisite of economic development," (2) "the politics typical of industrial societies," (3) "political modernization," (4) "the operation of a nation-state," (5) "administrative and legal development," (6) "mass mobilization and participation," (7) "the building of democracy," (8) "stability and orderly change," (9) "mobilization and power," and (10) "one aspect of a multi-dimensional process of social change."

2. On this point, see also Dawson and Prewitt (1969:61) and Lewellen (1983: 118-120).

3. Another way to describe this problem is in terms of "nationalism," defined as "a political principle, which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent" Gellner (1983:l). Of course, if by "national unit" is meant something like a group of people sharing a common language, culture, and sense of identity, the fact is that the political and national units--"nation" and "state"--rarely if ever coincide.

4. Familiar illustrations of this issue in the United States include the black nationalist movement and integration of Latin American immigrants into the wider society. The Soviet Union's problems in dealing with ethnic rivalries among its Baltic republics have recently been front-page news throughout the world.

5. The communities in question are Anuta in the Solomon Islands' Temotu Province and Nukumanu Atoll in Papua New Guinea's North Solomons Province. Both are isolated Polynesian outliers in predominantly Melanesian countries.

6. The seven provinces, from west to east, are Western, Isabel, Central, Guadalcanal, Malaita, Makira, and Temotu. In 1984, the national Parliament enacted legislation devolving many important powers to the provincial governments. Some national leaders with whom I spoke in 1988 had reconsidered the wisdom of this move. They indicated that several powers given to the provinces in the 1984 act, such as control over local shipping, were on the verge of being reclaimed by the central government. This view is counterbalanced, however, by a push from many quarters to give the provinces still greater autonomy (see Gegeo 1989: 161).

7. The British declared a protectorate over New Georgia, Guadalcanal, Savo, Malaita, and San Cristobal (Makira) in 1893. The protectorate was extended to include Rennell and Sikaiana in 1897, and the Eastern Outer Islands (now Temotu Province) in 1898. In 1899, Santa Isabel, Choiseul, the Shortland Islands, and Ontong Java were ceded by Germany in return for Britain's relinquishing its claims in Samoa (Solomon Islands Government Information Service 1983).

8. Thus, in many ways, the western Solomons have more in common with Papua New Guinea's North Solomons Province than with the islands to the east. Similarly, the islands of Temotu Province have more in common geographically and perhaps culturally with northern Vanuatu than with the remainder of the Solomons.

9. Language differences have proven to be among the most intractable barriers to national unity in country after country, from India (Geertz 1973b:255-256; Harrison 1956:623) to Spain (University of Chicago 1989). Thus, it is not surprising that the Solomons has also fallen prey to this dilemma.

10. The most notable example is the Western Breakaway Movement, discussed above.

11. For example, there has been discussion on and off of Choiseul breaking away from Western and establishing itself as a province in its own right.

12. The country's major exports are copra, palm oil, fish, and lumber, The bulk of the copra and oil palm industries are controlled by Solomon Lever, local affiliate of the multinational Unilever Company (Larson 1966, 1970). The fishing industry is dominated by Taiyo, a Japanese corporation (see Meltzoff and LiPuma 1983, 1985), while lumber is exploited by a number of overseas companies. In each case, the national government has a financial interest in the operation, but business decisions are in the hands of foreigners. Natural resources are being depleted, particularly fish and timber, and some observers have questioned whether the country is getting a fair return for what it has given up. Similar points could be made about gold mining, which is still at an exploratory stage, and the nascent tourist industry. A series of provocative articles about these issues has appeared in LINK, a bimonthly magazine published by the Solomon Islands Development Trust.

13. The rumor in Temotu Province during July 1988 was that the broadcasting station had been closed because of difficulty replacing a defective part. I am grateful to the Reverend Philimon Riti, who was a member of the SIBC board at the time in question, for correcting my misapprehension. Still, this experience is one more illustration of the obstacles to trustworthy communication.

14. *LINK* magazine, cited above, is a national publication aimed largely toward the provinces and villages. The number of outer islanders who actually read it, however, is unlikely to be large at any time in the near future.

15. Nationally, the Solomons does not yet have a population problem, although specific areas--particularly Honiara--have become extremely crowded. More importantly, however, if the growth rate is not curbed, a population problem looms on the horizon. According to the 1986 census, more than 50 percent of the population is under sixteen years of age (Gegeo 1989: 162).

16. The initial independence celebration was not truly national in scope because of the Western Province boycott. Thus, the tenth anniversary provided the occasion for the first major *national* celebration.

17. I say this on the basis of informal conversations with many Solomon Islanders in 1983-1984 and again in 1988. A very different view is presented by the Reverend Philimon Riti, who served on the Constitutional Review Committee. The committee found that "about 90% of the submissions wanted the post abolished" on the grounds that it was ineffectual and a waste of money (Riti, personal communication, 1989). I have no immediate explanation for the discrepancy between my findings and those of the committee.

18. Unfortunately, Lepping's term has since been marred by controversy involving alleged irregularities in his election.

19. Moreover, my experience convinces me that Anutans' perceptions of the central government in many ways are fairly typical of small, isolated, rural communities despite their being Polynesians in a predominantly Melanesian country.

20. In fact, I have been told that the initial plan called for an expenditure of SI$2 million, but this was cut back because of the public outcry (G. Carter, personal communication, 1989).

21. The "Weather Coast" of Guadalcanal has been described as "the neglected side." According to *LINK* (Solomon Islands Development Trust 1988:4), some people here "still refer to their home as 'the polio side', not only in reference to one of the local languages, but because they believe they are paralysed by the lack of activity and advantages enjoyed by the rest of Guadalcanal." *Rau raakau* in Anutan literally means "plant leaf." In this context, it refers to a magical procedure in which plant material is used as an integral part of a spell. Anutans perceive this to be the typical Melanesian technique for performing sorcery.

22. By contrast, New Caledonia has experienced violent confrontations over the past several years as the indigenous population has sought independence from a seemingly intransigent French government. In addition, France appears determined to maintain its Wallis and Futuna colony as well as a number of possessions in eastern Polynesia. A somewhat comparable situation exists in Irian Jaya (formerly Dutch New Guinea), now claimed as an Indonesian province despite many years of local armed resistance. None of the Pacific

territories under U.S. jurisdiction has yet achieved full independence, although Belau and the Federated States of Micronesia are internally self-governing, But neither have they experienced armed independence struggles comparable to those in New Caledonia or Irian Jaya.

23. Here, one might point to the Santo Rebellion in Vanuatu, which in the end was militarily suppressed with the assistance of Papua New Guinea's Defence Force. Meanwhile, Papua New Guinea itself has had to deal with periodic and continuing "clan warfare,'" tensions with Indonesia over Irian Jaya, and recent acts of sabotage on Bougainville, which have closed the Panguna copper mine.

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REGIONAL VARIATION AND LOCAL STYLE: A NEGLECTED DIMENSION IN HAWAIIAN PREHISTORY

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This article states a case for the significance of a fundamental yet neglected aspect of Hawaiian prehistory and anthropology: the substantial degree of local and interisland variation in Hawaiian culture, including its material manifestations. Given the geographic extent of the Hawaiian archipelago, and the size of its indigenous population at the time of European contact, significant cultural variability should come as no surprise. The eight major inhabited islands span a total distance of more than 350 miles, and turbulent open channels up to seventy-five miles wide separate individual islands. Despite substantial local and some interisland mobility, it is likely that most precontact Hawaiians lived out their lives within a relatively small geographic sphere. Certainly the political organization of the archipelago in the late eighteenth century is indicative of strong boundaries separating four or five major sociopolitical groups. These were the more-or-less independent chiefdoms of Kaua'i, O'ahu, Maui, East Hawai'i, and West Hawai'i. (Smaller islands such as Moloka'i, Lana'i, and Kaho'olawe were variously under the sway of one or another of the larger hegemonic chiefdoms.) Not only did these chiefdoms operate as independent political units, but indications in the ethnohistoric literature suggest that each group maintained and expressed its own identity through ideological and ritual differences (see Valeri 1985: 184-185).

While geographic scale in and of itself is not a determinant of cultural

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diversity, a comparison between Hawaii[1] and other Polynesian cultures of comparable size reinforces the likelihood that we should expect to find substantial regional cultural variation in the Hawaiian case. Diversity among the New Zealand Maori is certainly the best documented within Polynesia, beginning with the pioneering studies of Skinner (1921, 1974), augmented by more recent work. Although the Maori population was smaller than that of Hawaii, the vast geographic scale of New Zealand assured isolation-by-distance of local communities, leading to distinctive regional styles of art, patterns of settlement and architecture, subsistence, and even linguistic differentiation. Some differences in Maori culture, of course, reflect the environmental gradient from subtropical north to temperate south. But distinctive forms of carving, and other artistic expressions, as well as dialectical variation in language, resulted from other processes of sociocultural differentiation. Archaeologists have demonstrated that these regional variations have a substantial antiquity in New Zealand prehistory, in some cases extending well back into the Archaic Period (Prickett 1982).

In other Polynesian archipelagoes more geographically compact than either New Zealand or Hawaii, cultural variation is also evident. In Samoa, the Manu'a group is distinctive in certain patterns of social organization and religion (Mead 1930), and Manu'ans proudly hold themselves apart from other Samoans. Some scholars have attempted to account for these differences between Manu'an and western Samoan culture in terms of successive migrations, while Mead (1930:9) pointed to the more likely role of geographic isolation and differences in population size. In the Society Islands, the windward and leeward groups display cultural differences, a point emphasized by Emory (1933) in his classic study of ***marae*** forms. The Marquesas Islands, too, illustrate cultural variation within an archipelago much smaller than that of Hawaii (the straight-line distance from one end of the Marquesas to the other is only about one-half that of the Hawaiian Islands). Northern and southern variants of Marquesan culture have long been noted (Handy 1923; Linton 1925), extending to such domains as the local folk taxonomy of fishes (Lavondes and Randall 1978), and to dialectical variation in general (Green 1966; Elbert 1982).

In short, a survey of intra-archipelago cultural variation in Polynesia provides sufficient reason to anticipate substantial regional differences and local styles in Hawaiian culture. Thus it is all the more surprising that so little attention has been paid, either by ethnographers or archaeologists, to the evidence for regional variation in Hawaii. To be sure, differences have occasionally been noted, especially the distinctive artifact types (pounders, grinders) associated with Kaua'i Island (Bennett 1931). The dominant approach in Hawaiian anthropology, however, has been to treat the culture normatively, as if regional variation were insignificant or nonexistent. The issue of cultural variation within the archipelago has been a "non-problem" of Hawaiian anthropology.

Stemming from this normative approach has been the implicit assumption that ethnographic or archaeological observations made in any particular locality are valid for any other locality in the Hawaiian archipelago, at least for the same time period. This is true not only in popular summaries of Hawaiian culture (for example, Handy et al. 1933), but in major syntheses of Polynesian anthropology in which "the Hawaiian case" is uniformly presented as if every island population and local chiefdom were structured identically (Sahlins 1958; Goldman 1970). This has led to some rather misleading or erroneous conceptions of Hawaiian culture, for example, the view that intensive irrigated cultivation of ***Colocasia*** taro provided the dominant subsistence base on all islands. This particular view was reinforced by Earle's (1978) important study of the Halele'a District of Kaua'i Island and of the role that irrigation played in Hawaiian sociopolitical evolution. Unfortunately, Earle did not sufficiently emphasize that the Halele'a District is not at all representative of other parts of the archipelago, such as east Maui or west Hawai'i, which virtually lack irrigated taro systems, and thus nonspecialist readers of Earle's important theoretical arguments may be misled as to the real complexity of the Hawaiian case.[2]

The fallacy of assuming cultural uniformity throughout the archipelago is nicely illustrated archaeologically by early attempts to develop an islandwide relative fishhook chronology (Emory, Bonk, and Sinoto 1959). The deep and well-stratified South Point sites on Hawai'i Island revealed a stylistic sequence in fishhook form (especially in the relative dominance of notched and knobbed two-piece hooks) that would (it was initially hoped) provide a dating yardstick for any assemblage of fishing gear excavated elsewhere in the islands. Unfortunately, subsequent excavations on other islands in the 1960s and 1970s failed to replicate the South Point fishhook sequence, indeed engendering debate on the age and relationships of some of the early assemblages. The problem, of course, lay in the original assumption that the South Point sequence would be representative of the chronology of fishhook types throughout a large archipelago. Twenty-five years of excavations have now demonstrated that the fishhook sequence of South Point is, in fact, highly localized, and that the distinctive notched form of two-piece hook that dominates the early South Point assemblages was a local style restricted to a small group of fishermen inhabiting the southwestern part of Hawai'i Island.

The potential significance of regional variation in Hawaiian culture goes beyond the role of simply avoiding pitfalls such as that just mentioned. We have yet to exploit the evidence for regional differentiation and local style for what it may reveal concerning the dynamics of Hawaiian cultural change. Regional variability in Hawaiian archaeological assemblages is in itself a topic worthy of investigation. The following examples are only a preliminary effort--based on available literature and personal experience--to highlight the potential significance of regional variation in two aspects of prehistoric Hawaiian culture. A full exploration of the subject remains for the future.

Regional Variation: Some Archaeological Examples

Material Culture

Both because they are relatively ubiquitous in coastal sites, and because they exhibit substantial temporal and stylistic variation, fishhooks have played a major role in Hawaiian archaeological studies, beginning with the first stratigraphic excavations in the early 1950s by Emory and his colleagues. Emory et al. (1959) pointed to local differences in the dominant materials used for hook manufacture (mammal bone, pearl shell, turtle carapace, and so forth), correctly inferring that these differences reflected geographic variation in the availability of raw materials, especially the preferred pearl shell. At the level of hook morphology, however, little attention was paid to the possibilities of local stylistic variation, leading to the problem with the two-piece fishhook chronology discussed above. A thorough study of geographic variation in fishhook morphology has never been undertaken, despite the availability of eight thousand or more excavated specimens in the collections of the Bishop Museum and other organizations. A brief review of the Bishop Museum collections carried out in 1983 as an aspect of research for a synthesis of Hawaiian prehistory (Kirch 1985a) revealed several distinctive fishhook forms that are almost certainly local "geographic styles." The multiple-notched, two-piece hook point of South Point, Hawai'i, has already been mentioned. On Kaua'i Island, a one-piece rotating hook with double inner (point and shank) barbs was locally very popular (Kirch 1985a: 104-106, fig. 85). On Lana'i Island, the single stratigraphic excavation by Emory at Ulaula Cave yielded a collection of bone trolling-lure points with distinctive distal lugs or protrusions on the base (Kirch

1985a:141, fig. 120), a form apparently unique to Lana'i. Another class of fishing apparatus displaying geographic variation is the octopus-hook sinker; Kaua'i Island sites and surface collections are notable for the high frequency of sinkers made of red hematite (Kirch 1985a: 106).

The significance of such local geographic styles in fishhooks (or, for that matter, in other items of material culture), lies in what they may reveal of patterns of interisland and intergroup communication or, conversely, isolation. Since these morphological variants are presumably *stylistic,* and not *functional* (see Dunnell 1978), they reflect shared mental concepts among a group of fishhook makers about how a particular kind of hook should be shaped. There are, however, a number of alternative explanations for why distinctive patterns of fishhook manufacture should have been restricted to small local groups. One explanation stresses geographic isolation of local communities; a stylistic innovation did not spread beyond a local area because there was little communication between fishhook makers on different islands. An alternative explanation would lie in the ***conscious*** production of stylistically distinctive hook forms in order to emphasize local group differences. Mead (1967) pointed to just such a pattern of elaboration of minor cultural differences as a mechanism for the generation of cultural heterogeneity in Melanesia.[3] Were the Hawaiians of the late prehistoric era consciously attempting to create local group identities through the production of distinctive artifact styles? If so, why? These are provocative questions that Hawaiian archaeology has yet to consider,

Probably the best-known examples of geographic style in Hawaiian artifact classes are the "ring" and "stirrup" *poi* pounders of Kaua'i Island (Brigham 1902; Stokes 1927; Bennett 1931). The Kaua'i population also used the typical conical *poi* pounder found throughout the other islands. Why three distinctive forms of food pounder, all evidently equally suited to the functional task of reducing taro corms to the *poi* paste, should have been retained on a single island is an intriguing problem that has inspired a variety of explanations. Most of these explanations are historical, in which the ring and stirrup forms are regarded as "archaic" survivals of an earlier period of Hawaiian culture. Given the absence of such forms from other East Polynesian artifact assemblages, however, this appeal to historical explanation is hardly satisfactory. It seems equally plausible that these forms represent local styles invented and elaborated on Kaua'i. But why *three* distinctive forms of a single functional class within a single island community? Is it possible that we are dealing with an artifact that was elaborated locally to reflect status or rank differences among its users, similar to the way in which feather cloaks and helmets were visual markers of status among ruling chiefs? It may never be possible to pose definitive archaeological tests for such hypotheses, but this should not constrain us to limit our explanations for stylistic variability to simple historical scenarios of the survival of an archaic "Menehune culture" on Kaua'i.

Local or regional stylistic variation is also apparent in the wooden and stone images used on temples and shrines and in various rituals. In their comprehensive study of Hawaiian sculpture, Cox and Davenport point to "considerable diversity in sculptural style" including local differences (1974: 104). Two geographic variants are particularly evident. The first of these is the slab type of temple image, unique to the northwesterly islands of O'ahu and Kaua'i. Citing the belief of Emory and others that slab images are an "archaic" Polynesian form, Cox and Davenport opine that "the northern end of the chain . . . especially Kauai, was more conservative and retained some of the more ancient forms of the culture" (1974:68). The other very distinctive type of temple image is referred to by Cox and Davenport as the "Kona-style," a complex of wooden images from the western part of Hawai'i Island characterized by distinctive mouth, nostril, and headdress patterns (see item nos. T3, T4, T5-8, K2-3, and K21 in the Cox and Davenport catalog; see also Buck 1957: fig. 308). (The "Kona-style" is essentially that which has been widely copied and promoted by the Hawaiian tourist industry as a public relations logo for Hawaiian culture.) The existence of a very distinctive style of temple image in the West Hawai'i region is provocative in light of other evidence for the emergence in this area of a hegemonic polity in late prehistory (Kirch 1984:253-257; Kirch 1985a). Valeri points provocatively to evidence that the emphasis on the god Ku in the ***luakini po'okanaka*** rituals has been especially strong on Hawai‘i Island, becoming generalized throughout the archipelago only with Kamehameha's conquest (1985: 184-185). "Some traces of a different system exist, especially on the island of Kaua'i" (Valeri 1985:185), where the ***luakini*** temples appear to have been consecrated more often to Kane or Kanaloa, and not to Ku. Maui Island, likewise, had "temples for human sacrifice whose main god was Kane" (Valeri 1985:185). Did the "Kona-style" serve as an ideological symbol of the politically ascendant Kalaniopu'u-Kamehameha lineage, and of its aspirations of conquest and expansion out of West Hawai'i? Were the distinctive slab images of the O'ahu and Kaua'i chiefdoms also the product of a deliberate social production of a symbolic identity? Regarding the diversity of image forms represented in the Hawaiian sculptural corpus, Cox and Davenport suggest this reflects "a period of cultural change, a re-forming of ideas, particularly concerning religion, that may have been taking place just prior to the discovery of the Islands by Europeans" (1974; 104). These are provocative ideas, indeed, which should inspire us to examine the archaeological data on geographic variability with new insight.

Agricultural Systems

Nothing was more basic to traditional Hawaiian life than the systems of intensive cultivation upon which society was dependent for production and reproduction. Yet even in this realm, the classic ethnographic texts tend to downplay the significance of regional variation in cultivation systems and to ignore the implications of such variation for society itself (for example, Handy 1940; Handy and Handy 1972). One of the main contributions of Hawaiian archaeology in the past two decades has been the documentation of the range of local and regional variability in the physical remains of prehistoric agricultural activity (Kirch 1985a:216-236; Kirch 1985b). A large number of field studies leave no doubt that cultivation systems varied substantially along two major geographic axes: (1) on individual islands, a gradient from windward systems dominated by valley-bottom taro irrigation integrated with shifting cultivation, to leeward systems dominated by dryland forms of intensified shifting cultivation; and (2) a gradient from northwest to southeast along the Hawaiian chain, in which the dominance of irrigation progressively gives way to a dominance of dryland intensive field systems. This second gradient is largely a reflection of basic geological trends in island age, degree of erosion and dissection, and consequent availability of suitable terrain for irrigation. While irrigation, shifting cultivation, and intensive dryland field cultivation were components found in all local Hawaiian agricultural systems, the dominance of particular components varied enormously. Thus, for example, on Kaua'i and O'ahu islands, taro irrigation was clearly the main focus of agricultural activity, even in many leeward valleys (such as Manoa and Nu'uanu on O'ahu). In striking contrast is the West Hawai'i case, where pondfield irrigation was an extremely minor cultivation type in vast leeward-slope field systems (Kirch 1984: 181-192).

While archaeologists have made major strides in documenting the field evidence for such significant differences in local agricultural systems, the implications that this variation entails for the structure of Hawaiian society, and for the internal dynamics of sociopolitical change, have hardly begun to be explored. Elsewhere (Kirch 1984), I have argued that the particular ecological and agronomic conditions of West Hawai'i were fundamental in the late prehistoric sequence of chiefly competition and conquest leading ultimately to the hegemony of the Kalaniopu'u-Kamehameha group. In my view, it is no mere coincidence that the most powerful and aggressive political leaders in protohistoric Hawaii (along with their particular emphasis on the Ku cult) arose in a region characterized by already-intensified dryland field cultivation, and not in the northwestern islands of Kaua'i and O'ahu where taro irrigation had not begun to approach its potential limits of intensification.

I cannot here review in detail the sociopolitical implications of regional variation in Hawaiian agricultural systems, but to merely suggest the kind of fundamental social distinctions that may have been correlated with agricultural variability, I will draw attention to a passage from Kamakau's *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* pregnant with unexplored significance:

> All the work outside the house was performed by the men, such as tilling the ground. . . . This was the common rule on Kauai, Oahu, and Molokai, but on Maui and Hawaii the women worked outside as hard as the men, often cooking, tilling the ground, and performing the duties in the house as well. At the time when Kamehameha took over the rule from Hawaii to Oahu it was not uncommon to see the women of Hawaii packing food on their backs, cooking it in the *imu,* and cultivating the land. . . . On Maui the men showed their wives where their [garden] patches were and while they went to do other work the women brought the food and firewood from the uplands. . . . This is why the chiefs of Hawaii imposed taxes on men and women alike and got the name of being oppressive to the people, while the chiefs on Oahu and Kauai demanded taxes of the men alone. (1961: 238-239)

When this passage was first brought to my attention by Marshall Sahlins, I could not help but be struck by the obvious correlation between the role of women in cultivation on Maui and Hawai'i and the dominance on those islands of intensive dryland field systems. For reasons that cannot be detailed here, intensive dryland systems have much higher labor requirements for maintenance tasks such as weeding and mulching (see, for example, Yen's ethnographic study of the Anuta system, 1973). It is not surprising, then, that in the last few centuries prior to European contact, as the Hawai‘i and Maui field systems were expanded and intensified and labor requirements rose substantially, women were increasingly pressed into garden work. (On a parallel argument involving a somewhat different kind of intensive agricultural system on Aneityum Island in Vanuatu, see Spriggs 1981.) On the northwesterly islands, however, the dominance of taro irrigation (in which the primary labor investment is in field and ditch construction) did not necessitate a similar commitment of both sexes to agricultural labor.

We have hardly begun to consider what other structural differences in late prehistoric Hawaiian society may have been associated with these contrasts in the sexual division of labor. Kamakau alludes to one: differential practices of chiefly taxation. There may well have been other, more fundamental implications, extending even to basic demographic parameters of fecundity in local populations where females were confronted with differential labor requirements. Such explorations must be left for the future, but we can surely conclude that a simple assertion of cultural or social uniformity within the Hawaiian archipelago is not only unsupported by the evidence, but obscures significant clues to Hawaiian sociocultural change.

Explaining Regional Variation in Hawaiian Culture: Preliminary Thoughts

In this article, I have attempted to provide some examples of regional variation and local style from the archaeological and ethnohistoric record, and to point out some of the significance of such variation for understanding prehistoric Hawaiian culture and society. To conclude, I will briefly review several major factors that have been or might be proposed to account for the existence of regional variation and local style. The list is by no means exhaustive, and is offered only as a starting point from which further explorations of regional variation may be made.

1. Certainly the standard explanation that has consistently been advanced to account for the existence of local styles is that of multiple origins or migrations. In this historical mode of explanation, differences are accounted for by tracing the origin of particular traits to this or that migrating group. Thus, for example, the stirrup and ring pounders of Kaua’i are said to be “archaic’” forms, survivals of an older population that inhabited the island prior to the arrival of newcomers who brought with them the common conical form of pounder. Bennett, for example, opined that features such as the block grinders and stirrup and ring

pounders on Kaua'i "seem to indicate traces of an older Hawaiian culture which was covered by the later influx" (1931:96), although he did not wholly discount the possibility of local development. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with such historical explanations, but they have rarely, if ever, been put to empirical tests. It has yet to be demonstrated, for example, that ring or stirrup pounders predate the conical form in Kaua'i Island stratigraphic sequences. Such testing is essential if historical explanations are to be given any precedence over other equally plausible kinds of explanations.

2. The Hawaiian archipelago is reasonably diverse in its environmental characteristics, including basal geology and physical and biotic resources. As a consequence, a certain amount of regional variation evident in prehistoric material culture, resource exploitation, or subsistence practices can be traced directly to environmental factors. For example, as Emory rightly pointed out, the dominance of pearl shell in fishhook assemblages from Kaua'i and O'ahu reflects not so much the predilection of fishhook makers from these islands for shell as the greater availability of this superior material on the ecologically mature reefs of the older, northwestern islands. Similarly, the differential roles of irrigation and dryland field cultivation in the northwestern and southeastern portions of the archipelago reflect a broad geological age-gradient of erosion, dissection, and terrain suitable for irrigation. In seeking explanations of regional variation and local style, such environmental correlates should always be sought and evaluated. Because a local pattern or style may prove to be environmentally constrained or determined, however, does not diminish its potential significance.

3. Yet another factor leading to regional differentiation was certainly geographic distance. The classic case of this is clearly Kaua'i Island; indeed, one might argue that Kaua'i's isolation alone is sufficient to account for the existence of so many unique local traits on that island (without having to invoke the old saw of multiple migrations and archaic survivals). Distance, however, can be a more or less powerful factor depending on other conditions, including the level of interisland contact and communication. Hawaiian archaeologists have yet to systematically explore the kinds of evidence that might provide indices of interisland communication over time (such as the frequency of artifacts made of materials traceable to particular local sources, that is, adzes, lava abraders, volcanic glass, etc.).

4. The most intriguing--and least explored--explanation for regional differentiation within Hawaiian culture is the *purposeful invention* or generation of local style and idiosyncrasy by a group of people in

order to consciously distinguish themselves from other, culturally identical groups. As noted earlier, this is precisely the kind of mechanism that Mead (1967) suggested as accounting for much of the ethnic heterogeneity of Melanesia. As late prehistoric Hawaiian society became increasingly divisive and competitive, at least politically, is it not conceivable that attempts were made to draw distinctions between "us" and "them"? Were such phenomena as the "Kona-style" in temple images and the West Hawai'i emphasis on the Ku cult precisely such attempts at symbolic and ideological distinction? This would appear to be a most fruitful avenue for further research.[4]

In sum, the normative view of Hawaiian culture that has prevailed in ethnographic as well as archaeological studies ignores substantial evidence for regional variation and local style. It is essential to break out of this normative paradigm, and actively exploit the evidence of cultural variation for what it may reveal concerning social process in ancient Hawaii.

NOTES

I am grateful to Professors Valerio Valeri and Roger Green for their insightful comments on an earlier draft of this article.

1. For the sake of clarity, I follow the convention set by Marshall Sahlins of using the spelling "Hawai'i" (with glottal stop) to designate the "Big Island," and "Hawaii" to designate the archipelago as a whole.

2. Earle was clearly aware of the geographic differences in taro irrigation development, for in a subsequent paper (1980) he succinctly summarizes the evidence for local distribution of irrigation systems. Nonetheless, his major monograph (1978)--widely cited in the anthropological literature on chiefdoms--is quite misleading on this point.

3. It is interesting that this provocative paper contrasted the conscious social production of ethnic heterogeneity in Melanesia with the overwhelming cultural homogeneity of Polynesia. On a level of pan-Oceanic comparison, Polynesia does appear as a largely homogeneous unit, yet, as I stress here, it is too easy to overlook the evidence for significant and, possibly, temporally-increasing local group differentiation.

4. In a comment on an earlier draft of this paper, V. Valeri (pers. comm.) drew attention to the fact that any cultural item that differentiates "us" from "them" must be mutually understood as a sign by both parties, and thus "presupposes shared cultural schemes." Hence, the very existence of such differentiating signs demonstrates a certain cultural unity throughout the archipelago, but one that is situated "at a deeper level than the one commonly understood by Hawaiianists." I fully agree with Valeri that the whole question is a complex one, involving theoretical difficulties that should eventually be addressed.

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MOE ‘UHANE--THE DREAM: AN ACCOUNT OF THE DREAM IN TRADITIONAL HAWAIIAN CULTURE

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Dreams and dreaming would seem an unusual subject for historical investigation. Historians’ interest in dreams has been slight: Dreams seem to be at the edge of ordinary reality and consequently at the edge of historical discourse. As a rule historians have left the dream for other disciplines to examine. In contrast to the conventional artifacts of history, such as the diary and the newspaper, the dream appears fragile--it is private and intangible.

With few examples to follow in general history or in Pacific history, I have attempted in this article to construct an account of the Hawaiian’s traditional cultural experience of the dream. In particular this study attempts to identify the significant dreamers in Hawaiian culture and elucidate the experience of dreaming for the Hawaiian individual. Historically this subject warrants investigation, for there has been no comprehensive study on Hawaiian dreaming.

Like historians, ethnographers have tended to shy away from examining the dream in a full cultural context. This tendency can be largely ascribed to a lack of emphasis on the dream in recent Western tradition, which has favored scientifically observable phenomena. The dream occupies an uncomfortable position in a worldview that values concrete structures; concomitantly the act of dreaming has been described as a “random and casual phenomena” (Stock 1979:114). Rather than dismissing the significance of dreams altogether a more subtle approach

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has been to pass over the study of dreams. As Michele Stephen writes, "the role of the dream in society has been almost entirely overlooked" (1982: 106).

A lack of Western emphasis obviously does not preclude a Hawaiian or Polynesian emphasis on the dream. In fact must non-western cultures have given the dream a much greater "epistemological value" (Stephen 1982:117). The value that non-Western cultures have placed on the dream suggests that it is a cultural artifact[1] well worth investigating. Anthropological studies of dreams have revealed a close correspondence between the culture of the dreamer and the manifest content of the dream, suggesting that the dream draws very much on the culture for its structuring (Bourguignon 1972:407-408; Stephen 1982: 120). At this level, the dream is a public experience insofar as the dream's symbolism can be perceived to derive from cultural practices (Firth 1973: 217), though one cannot assume any simple relationship between culture and the manifest content of dreams (D'Andrade 1961:308-309). Those studies that have investigated the public-manifest aspect of dreams have stressed the innovative role of dreams in culture (D'Andrade 1961:299).[2] More recently Stephen has suggested that among the Melanesian Mekeo people the role of dreams and dream interpretation has been as "a guide to social action and adaptation to change" (1982: 106).

The lack of a substantial historiography and ethnography of dreams in culture (Bourguignon 1972:405-406) has informed the structural choices made in this article with respect to the analysis of the dream in Hawaiian culture, In particular this study emphasizes the conceptual or ethnographic perspective rather than a developmental or chronological perspective of dreams in history. An emphasis on the conceptual aspects of the past does not preclude a developmental perspective on the dream in Hawaiian culture. For instance, there is obvious evidence of Christianization in the telling of dreams (Kamakau 1964:55). But it would seem premature to examine the historical development of the Hawaiian unconscious before a study has been made to define the role of the dream in culture--one has to know what the dream was before one can say what it became.

I have chosen to provide context and epistemological analysis sparingly, believing extended review to be more valuable for my purpose here. Evidence from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been drawn upon in an effort to complete a sufficiently comprehensive picture of the dream in Hawaiian tradition, although unquestionably the period from which a source is drawn will inevitably shape its nature

(Valeri 1985:xvii). Ultimately the conflation of nineteenth- and twentieth-century sources is problematic from a historical point of view. Nonetheless there are obvious links in contemporary Hawaiian culture with the past, of which the written traditions surrounding dreams is one remnant. As Beaglehole and Handy have noted, the "old ways" have persisted into the twentieth century as a variation on a fundamental pattern (Beaglehole 1940:49; Handy 1941: 126).

This article has attempted to counteract, in part, the inherent problems of an ahistorical approach by basing most of the evidence on key texts of nineteenth-century native Hawaiian observers, notably Kepelino and to a lesser extent Kamakau and Malo. Arguably these records are more reliable accounts--though Christianized--than the more removed accounts of missionaries or anthropologists (Johansen 1954: 269). Even so these latter works are still valuable in constructing a traditional account of Hawaiian dreaming. In the nineteenth century such observers were William Ellis, Joseph Emerson, and William Rice.[3] In the twentieth century E. S. C. Handy and Mary Pukui have been key figures in the study of dreams in Polynesia and Hawaii respectively, The significance of Pukui's and Handy's writings is that they have mutually acknowledged the central role dreams have played in the psychic lore of Polynesian-Hawaiian religion (see Handy 1941; Handy and Pukui 1972).

Defining the Dream

The task of defining the dream in Hawaiian culture has not been easy. Reservations by historians about studying dreams are not without foundation, for as a product of unconscious mental processes the dream cannot be ordinarily accessed. The problem of the dream's inaccessibility lies not only in the nature of the unconscious but also in the problem of translating a largely visual, imaginative phenomenon into words. The imaginal realm is typically the realm of creativity; thus dreams are essentially groups of images occurring within a creative (imaginative) discourse. In the sense that dreams are "image-full" and creative they have much in common with art (Hillman 1983:29-30; Lévi-Strauss 1978: 154-155). In translating a phenomenon such as the dream into words, I understand that there is an inaccessibility and an elusiveness about what I seek to describe--ultimately there is a profound subjectivity in comprehending dreams. James Hillman, a Jungian psychologist, recognizes that ultimately the key to the dream "is not hermeneutic, not a gesture of understanding. . . . We respond to paintings and music without translation, why not as well the dream? Imaginative art forfeits interpretation and calls instead for a comparable act of imagination" (1983:29-30).

For Foucault the "comparable act of imagination" must come through language. The incompatibility between language and the object is not the end but the starting point: Through language the object (in this case, a painting) gradually reveals itself once we acknowledge that "the profound invisibility of what one sees is inseparable from the invisibility of the person seeing" (Foucault 1974:16). Foucault's comprehension of the painting reflects upon the comprehension of the dream in this article. In both forms, language is the key through which a creative process may be elaborated.

For the study of the dream in culture this process of elaboration unfolds in the world inhabited by the dreamer. As Stephen writes, "each man and woman, through the creative process of his or her own dreaming, constructs a private symbolic universe--that is, creates an idiosyncratic combination of the beliefs and symbolic motifs made available to them by their particular cultural and physical environment" (1982:120).

A Hawaiian Definition of the Dream

One cannot discuss dreams without first defining what Hawaiians meant by dreaming. Hawaiian culture recognized that the act of sleeping produced a wide variety of visionary states. For instance, there was a conventional distinction in Hawaiian belief between the dream that occurred as one was falling asleep or awakening and the dream that occurred in deep sleep. Kamakau, writing on Hawaiian culture, distinguished between "dreams at the moment of falling asleep *(hihi'o);* and dreams in deep sleep *(moe* ***'uhane)"*** (1964:55). As well as distinguishing between dream states the Hawaiians attached varying significance to each. The transitional and deep-sleep states that Kamakau described were deemed by Kepelino to produce the most significant dreams. "Of all dreams the most significant ones were those which came when one was startled in a very deep sleep or just as the eyelashes closed together when falling into a doze. Those were true dreams" (Kepelino 1932:114).

In current psychological terms the states that occur when one is falling asleep or awakening are termed hypnagogic and hypnopompic respectively. These periods of light sleep produce a brief hallucinatory state and are distinguished from orthodox sleep states (Dictionary 1973: 188). In Hawaiian accounts one may discern sleep states that approximate the Western definition of the hypnagogic and hypnopompic. The Hawaiian notion of *akaku* in particular describes this transitional visionary state. As Handy and Pukui write: "*Akaku* . . . describes those clear flashes of imagery that seem so tangible, so real, across the threshold of sleep, generally just as waking consciousness dawns, particularly in the dim early hours of morning. They may come at the moment of dozing" (1972: 127).

In the Hawaiian texts there seems to be some discrepancy whether *akaku* can truly be described as a dream. Kamakau clearly terms *akaku* a vision and distinguishes it from the dream states *hihiʻo* and *moe ʻuhane:* "A vision, *akaku,* is unlike either of these. It is what one sees when one is really awake, and it is raised up by the mana [supernatural or divine power] of the *ʻaumakua* [family or personal god; guardian spirit]" (1964:55). In contrast to Kamakau's specific description of *akaku* as a vision, Handy and Pukui's more recent description cannot be so easily categorized. According to Handy and Pukui, *akaku* may occur in broad daylight or in sleep, making it more difficult to distinguish the vision experience from a dreaming state. The link Handy and Pukui make between *hihiʻo* and *akaku* also confounds attempts to clearly distinguish between vision and dream. *Hihiʻo,* it appears, not only describes a dream but also a vision--and while *ukaku* is the vision seen, *hihiʻo* is the act of visioning (Handy and Pukui 1972: 127).

Western definitions of the dream derive from a viewpoint that tends toward a strict delineation of these psychological states. In Hawaiian terms, however, such a clear distinction may be inappropriate, despite an obvious recognition in the language that sleep produces a variety of altered states. By reason of a common hallucinatory base, dreams, visions, and trances are interrelated.[4] Bourguignon has placed the dream at one end of a continuum of altered states. She writes that "it is legitimate and indeed appropriate to discuss dreaming and other types of hallucination, such as visions, in a ritual context" (Bourguignon 1972:423). In Hawaiian terms this continuum seems to be at work in their perception of the vision and the dream. Given the Hawaiians' broad and complex perception of dreams, the subject of dreams naturally encompasses the phenomena of visions that may occur during sleep.

A Preliminary Investigation of the Structure of the Dream

Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii includes one of the most comprehensive passages on Polynesian dream lore.[5] Kepelino's "Dream Lore," the major written work on dreams in traditional Hawaiian culture, provides a rudimentary framework for ordering, dividing, and comprehending the nature of dreams in Hawaii. The authorship of this document is attributed to a Hawaiian native, Keauokalani Kepelino, who was born at Kailua, Hawaii island, about 1830. Kepelino's traditional background gives his writing a firm historic context and credibility (Kepelino 1932:3-7; Leib and Day 1979:28-29).[6]

Kepelino writes, "The doings of the night held an important place in the thought of old Hawaii even down to these sad days" (1932: 114). His statement points to the significance of the dream in Hawaiian culture, a status indicated by the recounting of dreams and the public acknowledgment of the dream in culture. The dream is thus seen to be an expression of community and family structures. Arising out of the importance accorded to dreams in the culture, certain individuals have a role to play.

I will now look at these significant individuals; in particular, the dreamers and dream interpreters. In Hawaiian culture it is apparent that there were significant dreamers, notably the chief and the priest ***(kahuna).*** But it is the interpretation of the dream that gives it its public sense. As Kepelino writes, "In olden days dreams were taught by dream interpreters and their teachings spread everywhere even to this day" (1932:114).[7] Dream interpretation was largely the domain of priests generally and designated dream specialists in particular.

Next this article examines the Hawaiian experience of the dream and the relationship of the dreamer to the spirit world, again in context of community and family ties. The opening lines of Kepelino's "Dream Lore" alludes to this subject: "Dreams were things seen by the spirit. They were called revelations to the spirit and their great name was 'doings of the night,' or another, the 'great night that provides' " (1932: 114). Kepelino's statement--that dreams were things seen by the spirit --reveals that, for the Hawaiian, the dream was essentially the experience of the spirit leaving the dreamer's body. The relation between the dream spirit and the dreamer highlights the "different" Hawaiian concept of self.

An understanding of the nature of the dream spirit would be incomplete without reference to the "doings of the night" that Kepelino mentions. The dream spirit journeyed into a night world inhabited by a host of spirits. In this spirit world, the dreamer experienced both the good and bad aspects of dreams: "Dreams were divided into two classes, good dreams and bad dreams, and both kinds came from the night" (Kepelino 1932: 114). At a mundane level, the relationship between the dreamer and the spirit world broadens the base from which cultural analysis might be made.

Placing the Dream in a Cultural Context

At a broad level the experience of the dream reflects initially on the structure of Hawaiian society, in particular its communal and hierarchical structures. What initially strikes one on investigating the dream, as a subject, is that in a social setting it is an egalitarian experience--everyone dreams. The experience of dreaming transcends all boundaries of age, gender, social class, and race. As Stephen writes, "dreaming is a form of mental activity uninhibited by normal conventions" (1982: 116). In Hawaii, the egalitarian experience of dreaming distinguishes the dream from the more consciously enacted hierarchical traditional structures within society. As J. P. Johansen writes, the dream is "a gift which is not otherwise allotted to ordinary people" (1954:256). Johansen's comment, although referring to the Maori, can be applied to the Hawaiian cultural situation, insofar as dreaming is an experience of the wider community and family ***(‘ohana).***

The dream in Hawaii should be understood in light of the significance of the family structure. As Johansen observes, it is a European or Western perception that the dream is an expression of individual consciousness, whereas for the Maori (as with the Hawaiians), the dream is located within a "fellowship" (1954:256). If one takes Johansen's discussion further, one can say that the experience of the dream does not throw the Hawaiian back on himself or herself but on his or her sense of community--in this case the family. The Hawaiian concept of ***‘ohana*** expresses the communal links between the dreamers and their family.[8] Handy and Pukui write that dreams "affect the whole family, even though the dream be related primarily to some particular person; and more so when the dream reveals something of importance to the whole ***‘ohana"*** (1972: 126). The ability to dream for the community reflected a gift that singled individuals out from other members of the community, Hawaiian society understood that certain people would have "great gifts ***(ha‘awina)*** of vision" (Kamakau 1964:55).

Dreaming is also linked to the acquisition of skill. At a basic level dreams required interpretation--and the act of interpretation demanded a certain amount of skill and training. At a more specific level dreams were used by individuals as an aid for ritual and healing purposes (*NK* 1979, 2: 175). The place of the dream in Hawaiian culture must also be seen to represent the existing status structures. The appearance of the chief in the dream, for instance, was a recurring symbol of the status structure (Kepelino 1932:114). Within the status structure, the other prominent figure was the priest who interpreted the chief's dreams and, on occasion, dreamt for the chief (Rice 1923:99; Fornander 1917:442; Ellis 1827:284). Together, the paramount chief and the high priest represented the pinnacle of the status structure in Hawaii; they also embodied the public archetypal experience of the dream.

The Chief and Priest as Dreamers

Given that the chief was the supreme living symbol of divine power *(mana)* (Valeri 1985:98-99, 142) and had proof of the deepest genealogical ties, extending back in a direct line to the gods, it is not surprising to find that he had a significant role to play as a dreamer. Handy describes the first-born chief's function as that of a "spiritual medium between the gods, the people and the land" (1941: 128). As spiritual medium, the chief was the keeper of his people's welfare insofar as his divine power was connected with the fertility and productiveness of the land. In this sacred role as medium, the chief was a vessel of significant cultural dreams (Rice 1923:20-26).

While the chief may have been the ideal channel for a sacred power that was perceived to flow over into the secular realm, in practice the sacred and secular spheres of power were more separate. Generally speaking, the paramount chief governed the secular sphere of the Hawaiian social structure while the high priest presided over the religious sphere (Goldman 1970:12). In broader terms it was the priestly class in general--the *kahuna* class--that was devoted to dreaming and dream interpretation rather than the chief.

Dreams and the Hawaiian Specialist

In Hawaii the dream was employed as a specialist tool in a variety of ways. Those people whose occupations essentially involved attention to dreams in some form can be divided broadly into three categories: (1) those who interpreted dreams *(wehewehe moe 'uhane),* **(2)** those who used dreams as a device to track the activities of a living person's spirit or soul *(kilokilo 'uhane),* and (3) those who used dreams as a premeditated or spontaneous device for healing *(kahuna lapa'au).* The members of the two latter categories can be deemed to be part of the general category of specialist-professional *kahuna* (Valeri 1985: 135-137).[9]

The Dream Interpreter (Wehewehe Moe ʻUhane). In Hawaii the dream interpreter was required when an individual was having difficulty understanding the meaning of a dream. "One thing may mean this, and another that. When a person could not understand his dream and it worried him, then he went to a dream interpreter, To a ***wehewehe moe ʻuhane"*** *(AK* 1979, 2: 175).

The word *wehewehe,* writes Pukui, means "to take apart or explain"; ***the*** word *moe ʻuhane* is a generic Hawaiian word for dream (Kamakau 1964:55; Pukui and Elbert 1971: 106). Thus the *wehewehe moe ʻuhane* is one who "takes the dream apart to see what each part means and how all the parts fit together" *(NK* 1979, 2:175). Pukui tells us that each Hawaiian ***ʻohana*** traditionally had its own dream interpreter and that "every region and every family had its own customary meanings for dreams" *(NK* 1979, 2: 176). There were definite advantages to having a family member interpret one's dreams, including a knowledge of family symbols and personal circumstances.

The Spirit Diviner (Kilokilo ʻUhane). Alexander writes that it was the *kilokilo ʻuhane* (literally, spirit diviner) "who reported on the condition of the soul *(ʻuhane),* and interpreted dreams" (1899:72). David Malo also describes the activities of the *kilokilo ʻuhane,* whom he generally entitles *kahuna kilokilo.* Malo writes that it was the practice of the *kahuna kilokilo* to claim that he had seen "the wraith or astral body" of a person appear to him "in spectral form, in a sudden apparition, in a vision by day, or in a dream by night." The *kahuna kilokilo* interpreted the appearance of a person's astral body or spirit as a sign that the person's *ʻaumakua* (guardian spirit) was offended. The *kahuna* warned the person whose spirit he had seen that the *ʻaumakua* could only be placated through a ceremony of atonement and sacrifice *(kala);* otherwise death would result (Malo 1951: 112-113).

Alexander writes that the *kilokilo* were diviners "divided into several distinct branches" (1899:72). The *kilokilo* that Alexander and Malo refer to appear to have been part of a category of specialist who interpreted or read signs *(kilo).* Kepelino writes that the term *kilo* described interpreters who "read signs on the body, the signs in the heavens, and so forth" (1932: 130). In keeping with Kepelino, Pukui and Elbert write that the *kahuna kilokilo* was a priest or expert who observed the skies for omens. Given Malo's use of the term to describe the *kilokilo ʻuhane* it appears that *kahuna kilokilo* was a general classificatory title (Pukui and Elbert 1971: 106; Kamakau 1964:8).[10]

The Healing Specialist (Kahuna Lapa'au). The healing specialist in Hawaii was typically termed a *kahuna lapa'au* (curing expert). Kamakau writes that the category *kahuna lapa'au* was divided into eight branches, specializing in a variety of healing practices ranging from sorcery and hands-on healing to healing through insight or "critical observation" (1964: 98).[11]

Alexander states that dreams and visions were used by *kahuna lapa'au* to judge whether a patient would recover or not, although he does not specify if the use of dreams was a general feature of this class or confined to particular specialists. Of the *kahuna lapa'au* Alexander writes that "after prayer and sacrifices he would go to sleep, in order to receive intimations from his *akua* [god] by dreams or visions as to the cause and remedy of the disease" (1899:66). The role of the healing *kahuna* is mentioned elsewhere in Hawaiian literature. Laura Green and Martha Beckwith describe a woman who attempts to heal a family's ailing relative, first by falling into a trance and then, when that method fails, waiting for the answer to the cause of illness that "might come in a dream" (1926: 208).

The ceremonies described by Alexander and by Green and Beckwith bear a close resemblance to the *"kuni ahi"* ceremony that Ellis describes in his *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii.* Ellis gives a detailed account of the divinations and diagnosis of a chief's illness. As in the previous examples the dream is contained within a nexus of other divinatory procedures, forming one element of the prognostication process. As part of this ceremony, animal offerings were placed on a fire. A small portion of these offerings was eaten by the priest. After the rest of the remains had been consumed by the fire the priest slept, and upon awakening informed the sufferer of the cause of his or her illness (Ellis 1827:283-284). In the *kuni ahi* ceremony the dream was used as a premeditated device (insofar as the dream was sought out consciously by the healer), but there appears to have been another class of persons, "more commonly female," whose role demanded that the dream be used in a more spontaneous fashion. Handy describes this class as "psychic sensitives.

One prone to vivid dreaming at times of sickness or other personal or family crises" (1941: 126).

The Priest (Kahuna). Clearly the term *kahuna* is a general classification that subsumes a variety of divinatory practices and religious occupations. Broadly speaking the crafts of the *kahuna* ranged over two main occupational areas, although in practice these areas were not always clearly divorced. In the first instance there were the ceremonial priests *(kahuna pule)* who enacted formal rituals and functions associated with chiefs and their temples; second, there was a "heterogeneous" category of "professional" priests comprising specialists in ritual activities and medical (healing) practices (Valeri 1985: 135-l40), such as the above mentioned *kahuna lapa'au* and *kahuna kilokilo.* Evidence has shown that the dream was employed in some manner by each of these two priestly groups. In ritual the dream appeared as one of a number of divinatory procedures at the disposal of the priest. As a medical tool the dream had implicit connections with healing, for dreams were often experienced as forewarnings of illness (see page 68 below).

Within the priestly class there was a fourth category of person who could be called a dream specialist. In Hawaii the dream interpreter *(wehewehe moe 'uhane)* could be properly termed a dream specialist.

Even from the relatively fragmented evidence, one is able to discern the significance of the dream in Hawaiian culture. The dream was particularly significant for a few, notably the chief and the *kahuna* class, for its oracular and healing qualities. But the significance of the dream lay not only in the domain of the specialist. The dream expressed communal and family ties, and as such, it should be largely interpreted within this framework.

The Dream Spirit

Hawaiians conceived the dream as essentially the dream spirit leaving the body during sleep, to wander. The wanderings and encounters of the dream spirit (in a realm external to the dreamer's private, inner, and unconscious mental realm) constituted the Hawaiian dream experience (Alexander 1899:72; Beckwith 1940: 144, 177).[12] "Leaving through the *lua 'uhane* or 'spirit pit'--the tear duct at the inner corner of the eye--the spirit went traveling, seeing persons and places, encountering other spirits, experiencing adventures" *(NK* 1979, 2: 170).

Complex and difficult philosophical, linguistic, and anthropological issues arise when one attempts to apply the Western notion of self to a traditional Hawaiian setting. In Hawaiian belief, the dream spirit was held to move away from the dreamer's physical presence and travel in other realms; nevertheless the dream spirit was part of one's being and thus could be said to be part of the self in a Western sense (albeit a mobile part that in some sense detached itself from the dreamer). As a detachable personal element it was feasible in Hawaiian belief that the dream spirit's experience might not be initially congruent with the dreamer's sleeping or waking experience of their dream. Nonetheless the impact of the dream spirit's experience or wanderings could be measured in the physical realm. For example, the capturing of the dream spirit by hostile elements could result in the dreamer's experiencing a variety of physical symptoms ranging from a minor ailment to a major illness and even death (Malo 1951:114-115; *NK* 1979, 2:206n).

Naming the Part of the Self That Dreams

In the English-language portions of the literature on Hawaiian traditions, the terms *soul* and *spirit* are used interchangeably to name and describe the part of the self that dreams *(NK* 1979, 2:170; Malo 1951: 114). In this article the term *dream spirit* has been used to describe the part of the person that experiences the dream, There are a number of advantages to this compound term. First, the inclusion of the word *dream* differentiates the dream state from other states in which the spirit leaves the body; for instance, during trance and death (Alexander 1899:72; Emerson 1902: 13). Second, the term serves to distinguish between the different "spirit" parts of the self. In Hawaii the dream spirit was generally one of two or more vital essences ascribed to a person (Emerson 1902:10). Underlying the belief in the existence of spirit essences was the belief in an immortal part of the self, commonly described as the soul. In death, the dream spirit separated from the body with which it had been associated in life and was usually renamed to signify its changed state *(NK* 1972,1:193).

The name, thus given, partially reveals the nature of the dream spirit, but additional evidence is needed to elaborate on the nature of this entity. In particular, the relation between the dream experience and sleep and the relation of the dreamer to the dream spirit are two key relationships in the Hawaiian experience of the dream. The relation of the dream to the state of sleep is shown directly in the Hawaiian language: The word for sleep *(moe)* is part of the term for dream *(moe ʻuhane).* Literally, *moe ʻuhane* means soul sleep (Pukui and Elbert 1971: 230). In Hawaiian *ʻuhane* designates the dreamer's spirit; more generally it is the term for the soul (Kepelino 1932: 114-115; Pukui and Elbert 1971: 146).

Inasmuch as the dream is a private experience, the relationship between the dreamer and the dream spirit is much harder to define than the invariant relationship between sleep and dreams. Because the dream spirit was immaterial it was ultimately undefinable, yet paradoxically the dream spirit was linked to the definable, concrete body of the dreamer. For instance, the dream spirit had the appearance and attributes of the dreamer. Invariably the dream spirit was perceived as a replica (albeit an invisible, nonphysical representation) of the dreamer. An interpreter of Hawaiian culture at the end of the nineteenth century remarked that a woman's "spirit was seen and recognized from its close resemblance to the physical body to which it belongs" (Emerson 1902: 10).

The World of the Dream Spirit

Although the term has been briefly explained, a full description of the dream spirit (and therefore the dream) must include an account of the wider context. The dream spirit journeyed in a world inhabited by a multitude of entities of a spiritual nature. In Hawaii, these spirits were part of a complex and variegated pantheon that included dreamers' spirits, the spirits of the dead, and assorted deities (Valeri 1985: 12-36). Although these spirits were for the most part invisible, except to a select few, the Hawaiians believed that they intimately and powerfully influenced human life. Altered states of consciousness, such as dreams, made the usually invisible spirit presence visible. A Hawaiian perspective elucidates the way in which dreams gave access to the spirit world.

> They are seriously regarded and carefully studied by elders skilled in interpreting their meaning because they represent the most direct and continuous means of communication and contact between those living in this world of light *(ao malama)* and the ancestral guardians *(ʻaumakua)* and gods *(akua)* whose existence is in the Unseen *(Po).* (Handy and Pukui 1972: 126-127)

Family Ties and the ʻAumakua

In Hawaiian belief, most dreams were believed to be caused directly or indirectly by spirit activity *(NK* 1979, 2: 171). Most, or all, of the spirits that played a significant role in dreams were family spirits, the *ʻaumakua*-both ancestor spirits and recently deceased relations. The notion of family in Hawaii has already been briefly examined in relation to the communal aspects of dreams and dream interpretation. The supernatural realm reflects the continuity of this family structure internally, in the unconscious.

In particular, dreaming was a time when the *ʻaumakua* could pass on valuable messages *(NK* 1979, 2:172). For instance, dreams could be used by the *'aumakua* to show an individual that he or she was in fact related (in spirit) to a particular *'ohana* (Handy and Pukui 1972:120). Thus the dream message of the *'aumakua* restored the important links of family ties that transcended physical blood ties. The dream was also the medium by which a newborn child was given its sacred *inoa po* (night name). Such a name reflected the divine link between the ancestral god and the named individual *(NK* 1972, 1:95). The *'aumakua* could also visit during the night as a "spirit-lover." These spirits were called *wahine* or *kane o ka po* (nighttime wife or husband respectively). The *kane* or *wahine o ka po* would often give assistance and assurance to its human counterpart, But such a relationship could become life-threatening if one fell in love with the spirit, for the dreamer's own spirit could be enticed away from the body (Handy and Pukui 1972:120-122; *NK* 1972, 1:120). It was necessary to maintain a respectful relationship with the *'aumakua* of one's dreams, for the nature of that relationship reflected also the nature of the broader relationship to one's own *'ohana,* as the following passage indicates: "To-day as heretofore, dreams foretell good and bad fortune, sickness, ways to heal illness or correct faults committed in relationship or in disregard of duty to *'ohana* and *'aumakua*" (Handy and Pukui 1972: 127).

Punishment by the spirits for transgressions could manifest indirectly, for instance as an illness, perhaps foretold in a dream. Illness was also thought to arise from a sorcerer's involvement in, and invasion of, the psychic realm. The sorcerer's involvement obviously points to a human agent (not just a spirit agent) in dreams. Certain spirits, like sorcerers, were also ascribed innate malignant tendencies. The sorcerer directed and controlled some of these malignant spirits for his or her own ends *(NK* 1972, 1: 119).

The spirits, however, protected those who served them properly. Thus, behind the ostensibly vengeful aspect of the spirit realm lay a benign concern. Gods and spirits alike sought to guide and aid, as well as chastise, the dreamer. The nature of illness reflected the positive and negative aspects of dreams, for the spirits who caused illness were also believed to heal it (Handy and Pukui 1972:127). The Hawaiian conception of good and bad dreams is next examined as related to spirit behavior. Necessarily, this examination touches upon the subject of family ties.

Good Dreams and Bad Dreams

At one level dreams were revelations (Kepelino 1932:114).[13] This creative aspect of dreams ultimately derived from the gods. Such dreams were classified as *ho'ike na ka po* (revelations of the night) *(NK* 1979, 2: 171). For instance, in Hawaii certain medicinal remedies were imparted through the dream experience (Green and Beckwith 1926:208). Thus dreams were a source of invention but they also offered glimpses into the future *(moe pi'i pololei) (NK* 1979, 2:171; Handy and Pukui 1972: 127). At a deeper level such dreams reflected a profound religious experience. As Kepelino writes of one such dream, "It will encompass you" (1932:122).

But the knowledge or revelation the dream imparted could be used for negative ends, as well as positive ends. In a Hawaiian legend we are told that a man dreamt of a new kind of tree that directed him to worship it as an idol with "the power of procuring the death of whomsoever he chose" (Dibble 1909:84). Another account more starkly portrays the tension between the positive and negative spirit activity. In this example the dreamer combats numerous spirits in what is depicted as a life and death struggle. In the dream the spirits attempt to force the unwilling dreamer and his companion to plunge into the inescapable depths of the spirit world.

> As they stood on the rock they were surrounded by spirits who used every effort to make Paele face the sea. Had he once turned in the direction the spirits behind him would have pushed and forced him to jump into the vast deep of the spirit world. Then his fair companion held him, and together they struggled against the wiles and force of the spirits. He kept his face toward the mountain and thus got away from the perilous spot. (Emerson 1902: 14)

The appearance of certain symbols in dreams could also signify bad tidings. In Hawaii to dream of a canoe *(moe wa'a)* was considered an omen of bad luck, even death. A dream of losing a tooth was also considered an omen of death, indicating the death of a relative *(NK* 1979, 2: 180,181; Handy and Pukui 1972: 129; Kamakau 1964:56).[14] The perceived cause of bad dreams in the Hawaiian mind lay, in part, in the perception of dangerous and troublesome spirit activity, although it was also thought that certain foods produced nightmares *(NK* 1979, 2:171, 173; Pukui and Elbert 1971:395). A prolonged absence from the body made it more difficult for the dream spirit to return to its body; if the dream spirit found itself unable to return at all, death would result *(NK* 1979, 2:206n). As Emerson writes: "Souls frequently wandered away from the body during sleep or unconsciousness. If reconciliation was not made, it travelled to Ku-a-ke-ahu, the brink of the nether world of spirits . . . , whence it plunged *(leina uhane)* into Ka-paa-heo" (Malo 1951:114n).[15]

In Hawaii the innate mischievousness of the dream spirit was thought to contribute greatly to the probability of its becoming the target of a human or spirit adversary. The following incident reflects a common cultural presupposition in Hawaii that had the spirit stayed where it was supposed to be it would never have got into trouble in the first place. In this incident a Hawaiian wakes up when he finds himself being strangled by a woman whom he recognizes as living some distance away.

> To be sure her body was asleep in her own house at the time. All are agreed on that point. It was only one of her spirits up to those pranks, but the spirit was seen and recognized from its close resemblance to the physical body to which it belonged. (Emerson 1902: 10)

At one level Hawaiians had a very pragmatic perception of the dream. At this level dreams were believed to be guided by a strict pact between the human and spirit realms. This pact was based on the principles of *kapu* (taboo) and family ties. Underlying this pragmatic perception of dreams was a deeper esoteric principle that ultimately reflects on the divine nature of the dream. The dream not only reflected a contractual relationship between spirit and human realms but was also perceived as a gift from the spirit realm to the human realm.

Conclusion

While the dream in Hawaiian culture reveals itself to be a mythic state where gods, spirits, and the dreamer did battle, there were more prosaic dimensions to the dream play. On closer inspection one finds that the dream holds up a mirror to the culture and we see that the laws of the waking world about such things as class, family ties, and status combine in dreams too. More specifically dreams have been shown to be a significant experience in Hawaiian culture. Dream interpretation and the use of the dream in ritual stand out as two culturally significant activities whose common purpose was to aid and heal. In their most exalted form, dreams allowed the Hawaiian to contact the numinous. Kepelino concludes his "Dream Lore" on this esoteric aspect of the dream. He writes that the dream was considered a messenger, thus:

> The dream is not the thing to be thought of but the deep thought underlying it is what the spirit sees. It is said in the stories of Hawaii that the dream had great wisdom, deep knowledge, an appearance like that of a god. But its wisdom and knowledge are impossible to the body, hence the spirit reveals in dream the unknown things to come. (Kepelino 1932: 122)

This passage illustrates the sophistication and complexity with which the dream was viewed in Hawaii. Freud's classic statement that the interpretation of dreams is the "royal road to the unconscious" is perhaps not much removed from Kepelino's interpretation of the dream.

In this brief study the dream has emerged as an illuminating and significant part of Hawaiian cultural history. The evidence of the role of the dream in Hawaiian culture, although fragmented, shows that lack of documentation does not necessarily equate with a lack of historical significance. This point is particularly true of dreams that by their very nature are initially private--that is, personal, individual experiences--but nevertheless may have profound implications in the public-religious domain. In this article the search for the role and significance of the dream in traditional Hawaiian culture has only just been embarked upon. It will remain for further studies to construct a typology of the dream in Hawaiian culture and to place the Hawaiian dream in the context of other Polynesian studies of the dream.

NOTES

1. Stephen uses this term to aptly describe the dream in culture (1982: 118).

2. He refers here in particular to the work of Jackson S. Lincoln on American Indians, *The Dream in Primitive Culture* (1935), and the earlier, more general work of Edward B. Tylor, *Religion in Primitive Culture* ([1871] 1958).

3. William Ellis is one of the more renowned missionary writers of this period. His work in Hawaii produced his most interesting and factual study, *A Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii.* While this book preserves a strong missionary flavor it also contains a wealth of information in condensed form on Hawaiian beliefs and legends (Leib and Day 1979%7). Emerson and particularly Rice were notable ethnographic writers at the turn of the century.

4. Trance states, like visions, are at times difficult to differentiate in the literature. For instance, periods of prolonged or extended sleep might be more properly termed a trance. In the literature, trance states often characterize journeys to the underworld where a life and death struggle between the person in trance and spirits may take place. For an example of a trance-sleep state, see Emerson 1902:13-14.

5. Besides Hawaii, information regarding dreams comes primarily from the eastern islands, noticeably New Zealand, Pukapuka, Easter Island, and Tahiti. The cultural emphasis on dreams in Eastern Polynesia (over Western Polynesia) is in keeping with Aarne Koskinen's survey of supersensory knowledge in Polynesia, in which he finds knowledge of dreams to be slightly more common in Eastern Polynesia than in Western Polynesia (1968:80). Given the linguistic and to some extent cultural differences between Eastern and Western Polynesia (Krupa 1982:4), a finding of a cultural emphasis on the dream in Eastern Polynesia may have some credence, but any conclusions should be carefully drawn. Although it is certainly evident that some islands placed more significance on the dream than others, perceived cultural differences regarding dreams may be due to the nature of historiography. A lack of emphasis on the dream in Western Polynesia, and particularly in small islands throughout Polynesia, may well be due to a lack of documentation. It is probably more than coincidental that those islands which show a greater cultural emphasis on dreams are also those islands about which there is substantial documentation.

6. In using Kepelino as a foundation source for this study, some problems arise. Criticisms have been leveled at the text, particularly where suggestions of a Christian influence emerge. If a Christian-biblical influence is evident in Kepelino's traditions, his section on dream lore does not appear to be unduly affected. Except for a passing analogy to the catechism, no obvious biblical elements emerge in the section on dreams.

7. Given the context of the rest of Kepelino's passage on dreams, I take him to mean that dream interpretation, rather than dreaming, was "taught" here.

8. The concept of *'ohana* embraces a dispersed community of relationships based on blood, marriage, and adoption ties (Handy and Pukui 1972:2).

9. It is conceivable that the *wehewehe moe 'uhane* could also be designated as a class of *kahuna.*

10. How the *kilokilo 'uhane* fitted into the category of *kahuna kilokilo* is not clear, but perhaps they were considered specialists who read or interpreted the appearance (characteristics) of a person's spirit. Kamakau lists a number of *kilokilo* specialists (1964:8).

11. The following list contains the eight *kahuna lapa'au* classes that Kamakau enumerates: (1) midwifery, (2) diagnosis and treatment of certain childhood ailments, (3) lancing and closing of the fontanel, (4) diagnosis through the use of pebbles and the ends of fingers, (5) those who could see at a glance "through the eyelashes"--using insight and critical observation, (6) treatment through magic, (7) treatment through sorcery, and (8) treatment of the spirits of illness.

12. The Hawaiian understanding of the dream experience, although classically conceived as the wanderings of the dreamer's spirit, was also understood as the experience of being visited by spirits during sleep, Pukui, Haertig, and Lee write of " *'Ike akua nei ku'u.* My spirit saw . . . my spirit visited" (1979, 2: 170).

13. Alternatively dreams may be considered nonsensical. These "confused" *(pupule)* dreams are considered "devoid of *'aumaikua* messages" *[NK* 1979, 2: 171).

14. The canoe's connection with death can perhaps be related (in part) to the fact that canoes were once used as coffins (Judd 1930:11). Similarly, teeth have connections ***with*** death in the practice of mourners' knocking out their teeth as a sign of grief *(NK* 1979, 2: 181).

15. Ka-paa-heo was described by Emerson as a “barren waste” inhabited by “famished ghosts” (Malo 1951:114n).

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[*NK*] *See* Pukui, Haertig, and Lee 1972-1979.

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TEMPS PERDU ET TEMPS VÉCU: CROSS-CULTURAL NUANCES IN THE EXPERIENCE OF TIME AMONG THE ENGA

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> At last, time, time has come,
> It has drawn the attention of all tribesmen,
> They are surrounded by a mist of discussion.
> All the tribesmen are swaying.
> Now the tribes must make a choice.
> Men of Wabag, the choice is yours too,
> Men of Wabag you should now set the date,
> The date, you'll be free, free forever.
> (Talyaga 1975: 11)

This song, full of ambiguities about dates, events, and times, was recorded about 1974 by Kundapen Talyaga, then one of the first Enga undergraduates at the University of Papua New Guinea. It was being sung at a time when Papua New Guinea was moving towards political independence from Australian rule in September 1975. If viewed through the lens of a satellite camera, Enga Province would be seen to lie in the center of the Highlands at the heart of this new nation.[1] From a historical perspective, which takes account of patterns of colonial intervention and administration spreading fitfully inland from scattered coastal enclaves, the Enga would be viewed as latecomers to the colonial area. Even in the 1980s many Enga had an acute sense of being "disadvantaged," of being people who lived at "the end of the road of development."

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A sense of place and time in the colonial order is expressed by the singers of this song. There is a clash of time scales, a feeling of being left out of important decisions that will shape their futures, In the context of clan life, decisions of moment, they sing, are reached in the hurly-burly of speech-making and dancing (swaying) at ceremonial gatherings. But now other men, in the secrecy of distant forums, are making choices about independence and the latecomer Enga will surely be left out if they do not hurry and catch up.

The Enga sing of choices to be made between old ways and new, old rhythms and new. These choices are part of everyday living in a province rich in people, in subsistence productivity, in culture and history, but only recently entered upon the stage of colonial life. In fact Enga clans were only formally inducted into colonial rule in the decades following the end of World War II in 1945. So young Enga, such as the recorder of this song (once a provincial planning secretary, more recently a mining company executive), having left homestead and gardens to enter into Western forms of education, are caught between two time planes. These *évolués* would argue that their own people, according to the measures used by the modern bureaucracies of which they are a part, are gravely disadvantaged and trapped by their traditions and institutions in a situation of competition for limited national resources.

Old Rhythms and New

This article will explore a number of different experiences of time among the Enga, as perceived by a Western fieldworker. It will focus first upon the clash between a time experience embedded in agricultural and seasonal rhythms and one embedded in the demands of a colonial economy and polity. Then it will move to an exploration of genealogical time and its clash with the preconceptions of a historical time based on chronology. The final focus will be upon the discontinuities between dating based on Western science and estimates arrived at from the use of genealogical data in discovering when a particular event may have occurred. The paper will close on questions about cross-cultural sensitivity and its possible meanings for historical inquiry.

The context of contemporary, postcolonial living must be kept steadily in view in any exploration of the meanings of "time" in the everyday existence of the Enga, Ambiguities and dislocations are evident both in old rhythms of time rooted in horticulture and in recently introduced demands on time made by plantation work patterns, managers' desk calendars, and mission school clocks brought by "red" men (foreigners) and their black agents. The Enga have been for many centuries, it would appear, finely skilled cultivators of high valley soils and expert domesticators of pigs. They have lived often at a level above subsistence and have negotiated vigorously to keep open the networks, or “roads,” of exchange along which valuables have flowed in regular rhythms and cycles. Their checkerboards of garden lands strung along fertile fans and terraces in the high valleys, their volatile political and warfare systems, and their elaborate patterns of social relationships between and within clan clusters have stimulated long genealogical memories extending over not a few generations. Rooted in these traditions and institutions, they have carried into the trauma and chaos of the colonial and postcolonial eras clear notions of traditional rhythms and ways of measuring time. These differ from those introduced, but they persist, despite pressures towards forgetfulness.

Living in the early 1970s in the midst of a cluster of Enga homesteads not far from the main government station of Wabag (later to become the provincial headquarters) convinced me of the reality and persistence of Enga time frames. Since I worked closely with “men of knowledge” in order to record samples, of their rich and varied oral traditions, I came in touch with these frames; for these were men of a generation molded by pre-European worldviews and cosmology. They still wondered how the steel axes, spades, and bush knives--which they had gained by bartering their youthful labor with the earliest foreign intruders--had come to be made. Questions were still on their minds about what red men meant by “civilization,” about how metal tools could be mass produced, and whether European metal technology was linked with the introduced Christian religion.

They were men too who had crossed, rather painfully and often at cost to their dignity, freedom, and identity as human beings, significant cultural boundaries, as this new world of steel tools, taxes, law courts, high fences, metal-roofed houses, motor vehicles, and paper money pressed in on their lives and made new and contradictory demands on their time. My own rather painful attempts to learn a language as ordered in its syntax as classical Greek, a language that could be spoken at different levels of complexity by those fully inducted into its richness; my encounters with these wise men; my living in Enga Province: all made me aware of some of the hazards involved in cross-cultural interactions and understanding, and of some of the clung-to levels in lived time within which men such as these, who tread between worlds, sought balance in order to survive.

Before clocks and printed calendars came with the foreigners, the

Enga did have means of marking and dividing days and nights by sun positions and moon phases, and cycles of activities marked by lunar months. Meggitt (1958), one of the first social anthropologists to enter these valleys, recorded salient aspects of this lunar calendar (see Table 1). Even so brief a residence as eighteen months (between July 1971 and January 1973) gave me an acute sense of the pragmatic value of such a temporal ordering of significant activities in the economic and productive fields. The persistence and viability of this rhythmic cycle was evident to me almost two decades after Meggitt had recorded it, but the new time frames and demands brought by the colonial administration were also evident in two ways. Very few of the men with whom I conversed used the terminology of their fathers. They were caught between times: not clear about that earlier set of names and only partly confident in using introduced names like "January," "February," and so on. This was a natural enough transition for people inhabiting two worlds at once. While I did not set out to plot a year's cycle in the lives of any of the men with whom I worked, my living through these eighteen months and gathering data on central institutions and traditions convinced me that both the experience of cyclic productive activities and the pressure from new cycles and priorities were occurring simultaneously.

Some observations give a hint of what was happening to the calendar. The food base was changing, and so too were cultivation and land use patterns. Taro, which was still a significant food crop right through the Lai valley to just west of Wabag in the 1950s, was being almost completely replaced by sweet potato in the 1970s, with only a few pockets of taro cultivation then remaining. The multiplication of mixed or kitchen gardens, noted in the east of the province in the mid-1960s by the geographer Waddell (1972: 168-176), was in full swing by the time of my residence--as my own domestic dietary patterns attested. Introduced vegetables such as corn, cabbage, tomatoes, and Irish potatoes were grown in these gardens and a large proportion sold in weekly markets and at house doors on mission and government stations. The sale of these goods brought men and women growers money to pay taxes, school fees, and church dues and to buy foods like rice and tinned fish, which were dietary markers of "modernity" in rural life. The expansion of sweet potato mounds and the multiplication of mixed gardens pushed land occupation further up valley slopes and ridges. On the most fertile soils cash crops such as coffee trees and, to a lesser extent, pyrethrum competed with food crops for land space and cultivation time (Lacey 1982).

If, as Meggitt indicates, the lunar calendar was a blend between growth cycles of food crops, levels of soil fertility, and phases of the moon, these new demands on production were putting pressures on over-stretched land resources and crowding more productive work into each month. Some sense of how crowded were the lives of people in one community is conveyed by Waddell's careful observations recorded during two six-week periods in 1966: 8 March to 18 April (in the wet season) and 25 May to 5 July (in the dry season). The shifts in productive patterns can be seen by comparing the activities in Table 2 with those for the same months in Table 1. For instance, according to Meggitt's informants, who resided on ridges a few kilometers west of Wabag, they started house building during *pindi-mupa* (June) and completed that task during *pindi-nenai* (July). Waddell's informants, residing in the east of the province at Modópa, engaged in this task during both of the periods when he resided with them, in March/April and May/June. The more extensive use of their time in this activity may suggest that Modópa had a denser population in the 1970s than did the area near Wabag in the 1950s. Comparisons between other activities recorded in these two tables are also possible.

Clearly, both the subsistence substructure of life and people/land relations were changing, as was the manner in which time was being managed, measured, and lived by the Enga.

Exchange: Traditions and Practice

Three strands of oral tradition in particular were the focus of my study: rites of fertility and continuity (which generally lie at the core of religious life among cultivators of the soil); exchange ceremonies and relationships, especially manifested in the cyclic *mena tee pingi* rituals; and, finally, the *sangai/sandalu* bachelor purification rites. These were noted as occurring in specific lunar months in Meggitt's record (that is, May for bachelors' rites, August for fertility rituals, and wealth distributions in November), By the 1970s men claimed vigorously, especially if they were interviewed at or near mission stations, that upon embracing the new religion they threw their sacred stones into the river and let their fertility shrines fall into disrepair. These assertions were especially strong among adherents of one Christian tradition, largely because some pioneering missionaries had the habit of publicly smashing such stones and preaching forcefully against what they called the works of Satan. Though pioneers from other Christian denominations were more accommodating, apparently the external manifestations of the large and complex cycles of fertility rites did fall into disuse. The mind-set of believers and their substratum of worldviews embracing right relation-

TABLE 1. The Mae Enga Calendar

Approx. Time	Name	Rainfall		Usual Events
		Inches	Days	
January	*wambu-mupa* (first-firstborn)	11.76	25	Plant sugarcane; eat corn, leaf vegetables; pandanus ripening; fight, but otherwise keep out of rain.
February	*wambu-nenai* (first-lastborn)	11.35	26	Start pandanus harvest; plant emergency gardens; fight; keep out of rain
March	*iki* (single)	12.10	28	Harvest pandanus; corn, beans finished; eat first taro; food short.
April	*ni-mupa* [gleaning-firstborn)	12.68	24	Eat taro, bush foods; sweet potato scarce; fights over food.
May	*ni-nenai* (gleaning-lastborn)	7.02	18	Start hunting, cutting house timber, bachelors' rites; food scarce.
June	*pindi-mupa* (working-firstborn) alternative *ne-mupa* (garden food-firstborn)	5.04	15	Burn off for gardens; trap eels in slack water; hunt; start building houses; sweet potatoes bearing; frosts.
July	*pindi-nenai* (working-lastborn) alternative *ne-nenai* (garden food-lastborn)	3.70	13	Dig and fence gardens; trap eels; hunt; build houses; prepare for ceremonies; frosts.
August	*jambai-mupa* (thatching-firstborn) alternative *keori-mupa*	6.70	19	Dig and fence gardens; start planting; hunt; speed up house-building; make salt; fertility rituals.
September	*jambai-nenai* (thatching-lastborn) alternative *keori-nenai*	8.99	23	Finish house-building, gardening, fertility and bachelors' ceremonies; hasten planting corn, taro, potatoes; start trading trips,
October	*liu-mupa* (plucking-firstborn)	9.11	22	Trading trips; increase funerary and other wealth-distributions.
November	*liu-nenai* (plucking-lastborn)	11.06	25	Plant sugarcane, bananas; trading trips; wealth-distributions.
December	*kumba-mupa* (blotted out-firstborn) alternative *aringgi-mupa* (old-firstborn)	11.46	26	The same; fights starting.

Intercalary month *kumba-nenai* or *aringgi-nenai.* Months *ni-nenai* to *liu-mupa* are classed as *paina-* or *epe-kana,* good months; *liu-nenai* to *ni-mupa* are *ko-kana,* bad months.

TABLE 2. Modópa Sample Community: Mean Time Spent per Man-Week on All Activities (In Hours)

Activity	Period I	Period II	Total	Percent
Subsistence food production				
Clearing and fencing	0.8	8.0	4.6	10.6
Sweet potato cultivation	9.7	15.2	12.6	29.1
Mixed/kitchen garden				
Yams	1.6	1.5	1.6	3.7
Other crops	1.8	2.0	1.9	4.4
Pigs	0.4	1.0	0.7	1.6
Subtotal	14.4	27.6	21.4	49.4
Other subsistence tasks				
House construction	1.8	1.1	1.4	3.2
Household (sweeping, cooking*)	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.9
Preparation of tools, equipment, and clothing	0.3	----	0.2	0.5
Collecting firewood	1.9	0.8	1.3	3.0
Hunting	----	0.1	----	----
Subtotal	4.4	2.5	3.4	7.8
Commercial crop production				
Clearing	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.5
Pyrethrum (maintain)	0.1	----	----	----
Peanuts/Irish potatoes	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.5
"Business" crops	0.4	----	0.2	0.5
Coffee	1.9	0.6	1.2	2.8
Subtotal	2.8	1.2	1.9	4.4
Commercial				
Market commercial crops	2.7	2.4	2.6	6.0
Paid work	0.2	----	0.1	0.2
Purchasing	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.9
Playing "lucky"	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.7
Subtotal	3.8	3.0	3.4	7.8
Other external sector				
Council work	5.6	2.2	3.8	8.8
Church service/work	3.3	2.2	2.7	6.2
Clinic	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.5
Subtotal	9.1	4.6	6.7	15.5
Social/ceremonial				
Tée	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.5
Sadárú	0.5	3.1	1.9	4.4
Marriage	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.7
Mourning	2.5	0.1	1.2	2.8
Ceremonial (various)	0.4	1.1	0.8	1.8
Visiting	1.8	2.5	2.2	5.1
Subtotal	5.6	7.5	6.6	15.2
Total	40.0	46.2	43.3	100.0

*In earth ovens, and, therefore, for feasts only.

Source: Waddell 1972:89.

Note: Period I is for 8 March-18 April, the "wet" season; Period II is for 25 May-5 June, ships with powerful and sometimes dangerous spirits and ghosts remained, however. In fact, in October 1971, soon after my arrival, I climbed up into a high plateau assembly ground to witness a complex of food exchanges, speeches, and negotiations that marked the beginning of a *mena tee pingi* cycle that eventually reached its culmination in 1975 and 1976. Rumor had it that elders felt negotiations and exchanges were necessary at that time. Significant men had been visited in their dreams by the local python spirit, bidding them to go hunting in the high ridge forests to gather possums for wealth exchanges. In this they were being true to their '"old religion" and to the old calendar.

It is on the *mena tee pingi* as an indicator of continuities and conflicts over time frames that I wish to dwell briefly. Key wise men from around Wabag taught me that in the area in which I dwelt there were intimate ties between the rhythms of large fertility rites and the ebb and flow of *tee* cycles. There was still some visible evidence of this: public dancing grounds used in the great public exchanges had located beside them the sacred groves in which the fertility stones were housed. One man of knowledge, Kepai, argued that the rich men *(kamongo)* who were key actors in the *tee* would burn down their *aeatee* (fertility) shrines at the end of rites embracing a number of clan clusters, and that this would signal that negotiations were to be set in train for the beginning of a *tee* cycle (Lacey 1980:78, 79).

Much has been written about this cycle of wealth exchanges,[2] but much needs to be discovered and recorded as it persists, goes through a process of profound "involution" (to use Geertz's term), and reveals a great deal about Enga culture in change and history. So complex were the changes witnessed by Meggitt that he felt, in the late 1960s, that the strains were so great that this institution would collapse (1971). By the mid-1970s he was recording its continued, but "involuted," ebb and flow (Meggitt 1974).

This is not the place for extended detail on the *tee,* but a sketch of its character and its movement through major valleys, particularly those in the east and center of the province, is a necessary preliminary. My starting point is an extract from a report on the *tee's* historical meaning and implications:

> Without doubt the three-phase exchange, marked by opening gifts of valuables, return gifts of live pigs and pearl shells, and by the final return of cooked pig, is best seen as a network involving the exchange negotiations and transactions of the participating *kamongo.* Enga give names to this three-fold

> rhythm, This exchange system has a unity of its own, so that each completed cycle is marked also by ebb and flow along clearly marked exchange roads. . . . Thus, a given *tee* cycle, like the one witnessed in 1950 by Bus and Elkin at different points along its course, was completed later that year or early in the following year by the return of cooked pork in the reverse direction. Enga living in the Lai valley called this whole cycle an upward or westerly moving *tee*, because the gifts of live pig flowed westwards from Tambul in the Kaugel valley towards Wabag. The next major cycle (possibly in 1954-5) was then called a downward or easterly moved *tee* because the live pig exchanges moved from Wabag back to Tambul in the east. (Lacey 1979b:280)

Evidence from a variety of sources shows that the tee cycle was undergoing significant transformations through the decades from the 1950s to 1970s. It should be stressed that this institution did not enter the colonial era from a prior history of stasis or inflexibility. Of its nature it evolved, adapted, and absorbed significant changes mediated by its key players, the *kamongo.*[3] Part of that earlier history will be noted shortly. The major features of its transformations in the colonial era were as follows:

- A geographic spread from its earlier heartland in eastern and central Enga into communities to the north, west, and south of Wabag (see Fig. 1). Exchange "roads," trade routes, and communication pathways had existed and were used prior to when the red men from *Sali* (Australia) came and "cut their way through" (Talyaga 1975:3), bringing enforced pacification, new roads, and new possibility for mobility.
- A new and varied wealth base emerged and was absorbed into the cycles of exchange. Pigs, shells, feathers, oils, and salt to some extent remained the focal valuables. At first there was an inflation of each followed by a devaluation. As these fluctuated, new substitute and alternate valuables were being absorbed: paper money, steel tools, new foodstuffs, cartons of beer, motor vehicles. This process of absorption was like a musical theme and variations in which shells and pigs remained the dominant theme, but the new goods were woven through,

l A transforming demography of participation came to be, marked not simply by the entrance upon the exchange arenas of clans that had not participated before, but by a democratization of key players. Some ***wise*** old *kamongo* put it wistfully and pithily: "In the old days, before the Europeans came into these valleys, there were very few *kamongo*

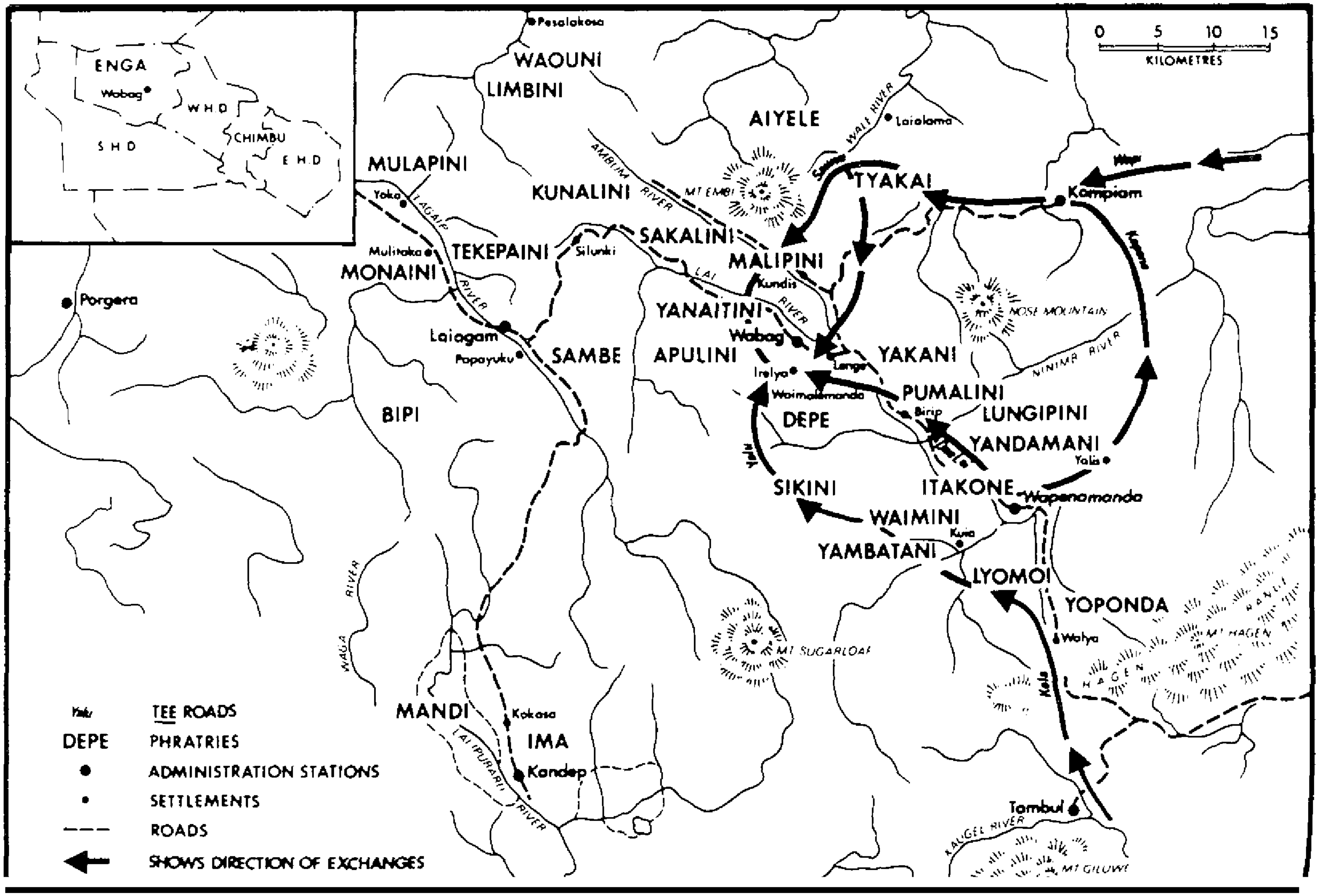

ENGA
Wabag
W H D
S H D
CHIMBU
E H D
Pesalakosa
WAOUNI
LIMBINI
AIYELE
Laialama
WALE RIVER
0 5 10 15
KILOMETRES
MULAPINI
KUNALINI
AMBUM RIVER
MT EMBI
TYAKAI
Kompiam
Wapi
Yoko
LAGAIP
TEKEPAINI
Mulitaka
MONAINI
Silunki
SAKALINI
MALIPINI
Kundis
LAI RIVER
Porgera
RIVER
Laiagam
Papayuku
SAMBE
YANAITINI
Wabag
APULINI
Lenge
YAKANI
NOSE MOUNTAIN
NINIMP RIVER
Irelya
Waimalamanda
PUMALINI
Birip
LUNGIPINI
YANDAMANI
Yalis
BIPI
DEPE
SIKINI
ITAKONE
Wapenamanda
WAIMINI
Kuia
YAMBATANI
LYOMOI
YOPONDA
WAGA RIVER
MT SUGARLOAF
Walya
MT HAGEN
HAGEN RANGE
Kola
MANDI
Kokasa
IMA
Kandep
LAI IPURARI RIVER
Tambul
KAUGEL RIVER
MT GILUWE
TEE ROADS
DEPE PHRATRIES
● ADMINISTRATION STATIONS
• SETTLEMENTS
--- ROADS
SHOWS DIRECTION OF EXCHANGES

FIGURE 1. **Enga Region: precolonial *tee* exchange roads.** *(Reprinted from Lacey 1979b:281)*

(and they would name them) and many *tipya* who were dependent on them. We and our ancestors had very few pigs and pearl shells. After the Europeans came there was more wealth available. This meant that it was now possible for any ordinary *tipya* to try to become a *kamongo.* Now there are too many men acting like *kamongo* who before were only *tipya*" (Lacey 1981a:80). This was not simply a mournful elegy for the passing of the good old days, but more importantly a shrewd assessment of what was happening in changing times.

Each trend fed into this process of involution and strain.

***Tee* and Time**

A passing review of the fluid mechanics of the *tee* reveals how much this institution was a core expression of "time passed" and "time lived" for the Enga. The public ceremonial places on which the great *mena tee pingi* exchanges were orchestrated were arenas full of history. For instance, specific trees were planted on the borders of these meeting places by founders of the grounds and by *kamongo* who saw themselves as bringers of this institution into their clans. *Kamongo* versed in the history of the *tee* in their clan cluster could read these trees like calendars and monuments, marking the deeds of men who could also be located and named in genealogical chains. As I moved through a series of *tee* grounds located in the valley terraces and ridges owned by my immediate neighbors of the Yakani clan cluster, I was convinced that, were it possible to use the science of dendrochronology for dating these trees, one set of time frames could be compared with another, with fruitful consequences. In the language of these trees lay many rich markers of the flow and high points in time remembered.

But time was not simply the heroic past locked into those trees bordering these exchange arenas. At the climax of any public exchange event, competing and cooperating *kamongo* strut, stride, and dance along lines of stakes to which pigs are tethered, counting them and naming them for their exchange friends and their clansmen. The stakes are markers in an accounting system of complex and cross-cutting transactions. But, like the trees, they are markers of historical time too. Lambu, a *kamongo* par excellence who had been a cornerstone in intersecting *tee* networks in the central Lai valley until his retirement from the public exchange arena in the mid-1950s, acted out the historical character of these pig stakes for me just as he had marked out the significance of the trees:

> There was another lasting memento of past *tee* for Lambu--the lines of pig stakes on Lenge ground. As we walked from the western approach to the ground towards its head at the eastern end, Lambu paused from time to time to plunge the handle of his axe into the ground. Then he would straighten up his towering figure, look around and proclaim that this spot marked the place where his line of pig stakes ceased at a certain *tee.* Whenever he proclaimed these triumphs the other old Yakani men who followed would nod their approval, perhaps recalling Lambu's glories for themselves as fellow clansmen.
>
> The first such place was where his last *tee* was completed in 1954 or 1955. At that point the approach to the ground was hard to discern, since the road now cuts through. The head of the ground was some distance away, and Lambu's line of stakes may have held nearly 200 pigs. Men with us claimed that clansmen and allies came from many places on that day, in their hundreds to witness the event at which Lambu made his last *tee.* European witnesses may also have been there. In addition, there is a specified distance of 4 feet between each pig stake. Lambu's testimony about his last and greatest *tee* could therefore be assessed from a variety of sources.
>
> The last place at which we paused was at the point where Pendaiane, Lambu's father, had made his last and greatest *tee,* assisted by his son and heir. It was apparent that Pendaiane in his own time was a great *kamongo,* in terms of the alliances he had built which enabled him to display so long a line of his stakes. But it was also obvious that the heir surpassed his father's great achievements. To appreciate the historical significance of this act of self-praise and remembrance performed by Lambu in late 1971 we need to examine the meaning and use of pig stakes in the *tee.* (Lacey 1979b:284)

The data are revealing and self-evident. No *kamongo* of any genealogical stature or pedigree walks on the arena alone. By his side are his own special "holders of the way" who have helped him assemble his line of pig stakes; behind him stand those who have gone before as mediators of clan wealth, They have laid down the line of stakes along which he now struts. They have also challenged him, for in each exchange cycle, as Kepai taught me, the *kamongo* sought to leap over, to exceed the achievements of his ancestors and father:

> . . . In his next *tee* he would work to go beyond what they had achieved. Once he had been able to reach beyond them, say to fifteen pig stakes, he could then proclaim in the presence of the assembly:
>
> "I am a *kamongo.* All others are poor men. My father's mark stands there (at the place where his father's eleven stakes had reached). I have added more, and have leapt over his stakes. I am therefore richer than my fathers!" (Lacey 1979b:287)

Time remembered and time lived for these key actors who came from acknowledged *kamongo* lineages intersected in public ceremony because of this precise mathematics of memory.

Some previous *tee* exchanges were so memorable for participant *kamongo* that they were memorialized by elaborate names now so dense in old symbolism that they are difficult to decipher. Two names that came with the colonial age could be deciphered and their interpretation was very revealing.

Early government patrol reports reveal that some European field officers had little understanding or time for the complexities and time-consuming endeavors of the *tee* exchanges (Lacey 1979a). From time to time they expressed the opinion that commitments to the *tee* got in the way of clansmen's work contributions to government schemes, such as land clearing, road building and maintenance, and growing food crops for stations--all part of the corvée by which the villagers were inducted into a colonial taxation system. One name given to a cycle in the early 1950s, when these pressures were being felt keenly, was *ariapa tee, ariapa* being an Enga version of the order *"Ariap!"* in Tok Pisin. Police and government village officials were putting pressure on participants to quicken the process, to reach hasty decisions in their transactions, rapping out that order, "Hurry up! Keep moving!" The *kamongo* felt the pinch of being caught between two competing time planes and felt justified in naming their cycle in this way.

The second name also comes from that first decade of the colonial era. In an earlier study I used a "chain-network" image to describe the ebb and flow of exchange relationships in the *tee.* I also argued that "through the mechanisms of this exchange system many Enga participants have circulated and absorbed new ideas and forms of wealth." That flexibility and absorption was true in precolonial, as well as in colonial, times. The example that struck me in 1972 was that of the Aiyele-Kutaipi clans who inhabit the Wale valley to the north of

Wabag. They appear to have first participated in the *tee* system about 1954. To commemorate their entry into it, they named that first cycle *kunjia tee* for the steel bush knives they drew as valuables into their clans through exchange allies living closer to Wabag. The Wale valley people were on the periphery of the colonial enclave developing around the Wabag station. Its sphere of influence was too small in scale to draw young Wale men into the labor corvée. But, Kutaipi *kamongo* saw the advantages of the new tools, had pigs to spare, and so worked hard to have the *tee* expand into their valley, bringing *kunjia* in return for pigs (Lacey 1973: 94).

The eastern and central Enga caught in the clash of two time frames gave the name *ariapa* to one *tee;* the northern Enga of the Wale enticed *kunjia* and a new productive rhythm into their cultivation calendar and named that memorable first *tee* accordingly. So names of *tee* cycles, like named commemorative trees planted at dancing grounds and numbered pig stakes lined along those grounds, were markers in which time remembered and time lived intersected for the Enga. There is another story altogether about the impact of steel tools upon lived time, charted by Salisbury in his fine *From Stone to Steel,* based on a study carried out in the early 1950s among the Siane (1962: passim). No one has conducted this kind of study on the effects of new, less time-consuming technology on the Enga. Salisbury's inquiry reveals a complex of qualitative changes in time use, sexual division of labor, and the social relations of production that flowed from this influx of new tools. One change of relevance to our consideration of the changing face of the *tee* cycles was an explosion of exchange ceremonies among the Siane. That evidence relates to what happened in the early decades of colonial life in Enga and reminds us that lived time would appear to have been undergoing some kind of qualitative change, of which the *tee* was a concrete and symbolic expression.

Genealogies and History

The time frames in which the Enga men of knowledge and I centered our encounters and discussions were not only cycles of repetition, such as the lunar calendar of cultivation and other productive activities and the *tee.* We also spoke and moved through what could be seen as a chronological frame. The language of this discourse was genealogical. That discourse was not only a Pandora's box for us, but is one that exercises many minds including those of historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists when they inquire into issues of dating in contexts where no written documents exist. I will draw my inquiry into Enga time to a close with some considerations on this area of contention, because it illustrates so well the hazards--and some of the ideological minefields --that lie in wait for those engaged in cross-cultural interpretation of time remembered.

First the testimony of Pangia. He was a member of the Mulapini-Tupimane clan whom I interviewed at his homestead in the western area of the province near Mulitaka in August 1972. Our interview had an air of coolness to it and I sensed that Pangia was treating me with some suspicion. Later his son, who was working with me as a research assistant, took a tape recorder home with him and taped his conversation with Pangia. That revealed how the old man perceived of me as a government agent recording genealogical evidence, and land settlement and tenure details, prior to coming into their area to freeze boundaries between disputing clans. His son was able to disabuse Pangia to some extent about the aims of my questioning, but as the following statement makes clear this man of knowledge had an acute sense of his inhabiting a universe of knowledge different from mine.

> I can tell you how our community began and the names of the fathers and sons from our founder down to me and my sons. But I know that this knowledge is incomplete. When my grandfather and father taught me in our men's house they did not tell me that a curious European would come and put me to the test by asking many questions about the times before. . . . The Mulapini people began at Yoko. That is the place I know. But Mulapini men have gone and settled in other places too. Yoko is the place where Mulapini clans began. Our people are like the root and trunk of a tree which has many branches. They stretch out in many different directions, but they all grow from the one root and trunk in Yoko. . . .
>
> The possum Komaipa begot Kombeke. Kombeke began the Mulapini people in Yoko. These two, Komaipa and Kombeke, are right at the base of the centre post in our men's house. Like the centre post these two founders of Mulapini (Komaipa and Kombeke) hold together our whole group. (Lacey 1974:40, 41)

Pangia's commentary has many implications as I have argued elsewhere (Lacey 1974 and 1981 b). Three images or metaphors expose some of the meanings he was expressing about genealogical time. One is the metaphor of the rope or chain of genealogy by which Pangia could link the founder of his people by "the names of fathers and sons"' down through ten generations "to me and my sons." That was essential knowledge for a man's sense of his roots and identity in time. He was confident about this knowledge, despite his sense that it was under my scrutiny and questioning as "a curious European." His second image was cast in terms of a tree and used to express the growth and spread of Mulapini clans and lineages out from their original and central place at Yoko. To verify a claim, demonstrated through the recital of a man's genealogy, gave him a sense of history, order, legitimacy, and ties with his homeland. His third metaphor was more complex than the previous two. It was about the transmission and quality of this genealogical knowledge and referred to the men's house: "my grandfather and father taught me in our men's house. . . . These two, Komaipa and Kombeke, are right at the base of the centre post in our men's house. Like the centre post these two . . . hold together our whole group." Through time and across generations the essential "rope" and "tree" of knowledge is passed on in the secrecy and warmth of the hearth.

Without wishing to leap overboard into the murky depths of the "primitive mentality" debate, which Rigby (1983) has attempted to set right in his elaborate essay, it would seem that Pangia is issuing a warning here. While genealogical knowledge lies at the hearth for a man's identity and roots in Enga culture, Western historical inquiry with its focus on "absolute dating" and calendar years may be of a different quality. The two may not necessarily share common ground. I am convinced that the Enga have a sense of their ties to time past and a sense of change through time past. Trees, pig stakes, and *tee* cycles, as well as Pangia's testimony, bear this out. Michel Panoff, in an epoch-making paper two decades ago, extended Evans-Pritchard's three categories of Nuer time and argued, using evidence of a tree metaphor, that the Maenge people of New Britain had an ordered sense of "historical time" (1969).[4] Pangia and other Enga men of knowledge convinced me that this was also a relevant category in the Enga worldview. Upon further reflection, I now wonder whether my contention was rather too simplistic and culture-bound and whether likening it to Western historical time, as conceived of in history textbooks with timelines and dates, was forcing this subtle Enga view into a straitjacket.

One provocative Australian historian has asserted that "the most sudden, drastic and hence dramatic change that Colonial Australians wrought on the Aboriginal landscape was to impose upon it the idea of the straight line" (Denholm 1980:48). By extension, perhaps the clock, calendar, and work regimes of government and commerce were rather drastic impositions upon the Enga and other Papua New Guineans, as they had been upon rural communities being drawn into the process of industrialization in the England of the 1780s. Given these particular manifestations of European industrialization and colonization, I wonder whether the quality and shape of historical time, rooted in genealogical perceptions of the past, might be worth exploring rather than simply being compared with or fitted into calendrical patterns.

Two further Pandora's boxes need to be opened to take this consideration another stage further. In one of the reflections that make up an essential thread in his book *Islands and Beaches*, Greg Dening explores some pertinent issues about "history at the edges of culture." One issue he addresses is that of chronology and dating:

> . . . Claude Lévi-Strauss drove a wedge between anthropology and history by imagining that primitive cultures, the object of study of anthropology, are timeless, outside of history in their isolation from the European intruder. Primitive cultures enter time, become the objects of study of history, through the changes that contact made. There is only one way in which this totally other primitive culture can be known and that is by contact--by the anthropologist's contact if he is the first, by all the other intruders' contact if the anthropologist comes late. The totally other is either not known or in the context in which it is known it is changed. Ethnohistory's preoccupation with cultures beyond the European frontier had meant . . . the pursuit of an "ethnographic present" as an imagined moment prior to the impact of intrusion. It is a moment that *historically* has never existed. It is a moment that existed in the past-these cultures had an existence before European intrusion. *Historically* --that part of the past which is knowable because of historical records--there is no "ethnographic present" of traditional societies which is not post-intrusion. . . . Even myths and legends which purport to be about pre-intrusion reality are collected, indeed rendered lifeless, unchanging and permanent, by translation of the living word to paper, a metamorphosis that comes only with the intruder. The *historical* reality of traditional societies is locked together for the rest of time with the historical reality of the intruders who saw them, changed them, destroyed them. There *is* no history beyond the frontier, free of the contact that makes it. (Dening 1980:42)

One strand of tradition that Kepai, Lambu, Pangia, and other Enga men of knowledge taught me was origin and settlement legends linking contemporary clansmen with their founders by story, putting flesh upon the skeletal bones of genealogy. What messages then are being carried by these traditions about founders and settlers? Only messages from the contexts and time frames recorded and used by the red men after they cut through the forests and entered Enga consciousness? My convictions, as a result of my dialogues with men of wisdom such as Kepai and Pangia, are otherwise. As already suggested, these conversations took place in those high valleys in the early 1970s when these men were caught by the changes and contradictions that were going on in their own lives and had gone on in their fathers' generation as a result of the coming of the red men, The evidence of their culture--particularly so central an institution as the *tee* with its markers and monuments to time lived in past generations, the shape and content of the traditions they taught me and a rising new generation, and the links between elements in their testimony and material remains that might be dated scientifically-- all points to the fragments from time past that these traditions carry. These messages suggested to me that, while there "*is* no history beyond the frontier, free from the contact that makes it," all evidence is not simply a total product of those contact encounters.

Derring's view of the nature of history challenges us to discover what time past, as transmitted through oral tradition, may mean. In some measure his position echoes that taken by Walter Ong, though it is more tempered than Ong's claim that "in an oral-aural culture there is no history in our modern sense of the term" (1970: 23).

More fully Ong argues the following contrasts in relationships between cultures and time:

> The differences between oral-aural culture and our own technological culture are of course so vast and so profound as to defy total itemization. We can here hope to touch only on some points relevant to our present interest in the word itself as sound.
>
> Perhaps one of the most striking and informative differences is that an oral-aural culture is necessarily a culture with a relationship to time different from ours. It has no records. It does have memory, but this is not by any means the same as records, for the written record is not a remembrance but an aid to recall. It does not belong to us as memory does. It is an external thing.
>
> In an oral-aural culture one can ask about something, but no one can look up anything. As a result, in an oral-aural culture

> there is no history in our modern sense of the term. The past is indeed present, as to a degree the past always is, but it is present in the speech and social institutions of the people, not in the more abstract forms in which modern history deals. (1970:23)

So Pangia, a modern Enga man of wisdom, and two modern Western scholars all seem to be raising important issues about the nature of time, memory, and history. My conviction remains, on the evidence that I gathered, observed, experienced, and was taught in my time with the Enga, that beyond the written records made after the red men's intrusion there exists a time past that is historical in character but that may well be challenging historians to give another shape to their craft. That may not mean fitting the past of oral tradition into a procrustean bedframe constructed by Western craftsmen.

"Time of Darkness"

The final Pandora's box concerns an event that occurred in the past, well before the formal beginnings in the 1880s of the European colonial age in these islands. It cast its shadow over much of the Highlands region. This event was a volcanic eruption that shed ash over many Highlands peoples, including the Enga. Many puzzles and contradictions emerge once attempts are made to date this event through relative estimates based on genealogical frames, radiocarbon dating, and calendrical dating from the fragmentary evidence in written records left by European voyagers. Since this investigation has generated a number of reports and at least one monograph, it is a matter of much discussion and detailed argument. From these I shall extract a few details to pinpoint its links with Enga time, memory, and history.

Enga name this tradition Yuu Kuia, the "Time of Darkness." In it they tell of the sky being filled with clouds and the sun being darkened; of people fleeing to their houses in fear as the ground, their gardens, and vegetation were covered with a thick layer of white dust; of people being caught without food, imprisoned in their houses for three days, and being driven by hunger to send out scouts to forage. Then light returned and people gradually emerged to clean up, assess loss and damage, and begin their lives again, These were memorable events. I gathered a small sample of these traditions during my initial fieldwork, assessing whether they could perhaps become a kind of standardized marker of time past. I was struck by the common elements in these traditions and by the people's classifying of them as *atome pii* (stories about events that could be verified) rather than *tindi pii* (explanatory stories or myths). In the mid-1970s I again studied these traditions in a joint investigation with some Enga undergraduates (one of whom, Paul Mai, wrote an important report) and with a geomorphologist, Russell Blong, an expert on analyzing and dating volcanic ashes. The geomorphologist proceeded to place this event in a framework of vulcanological history in the region. Table 3 and Figure 2 are two of his analyses of the Enga evidence, part of his argument about how such an event could be dated.

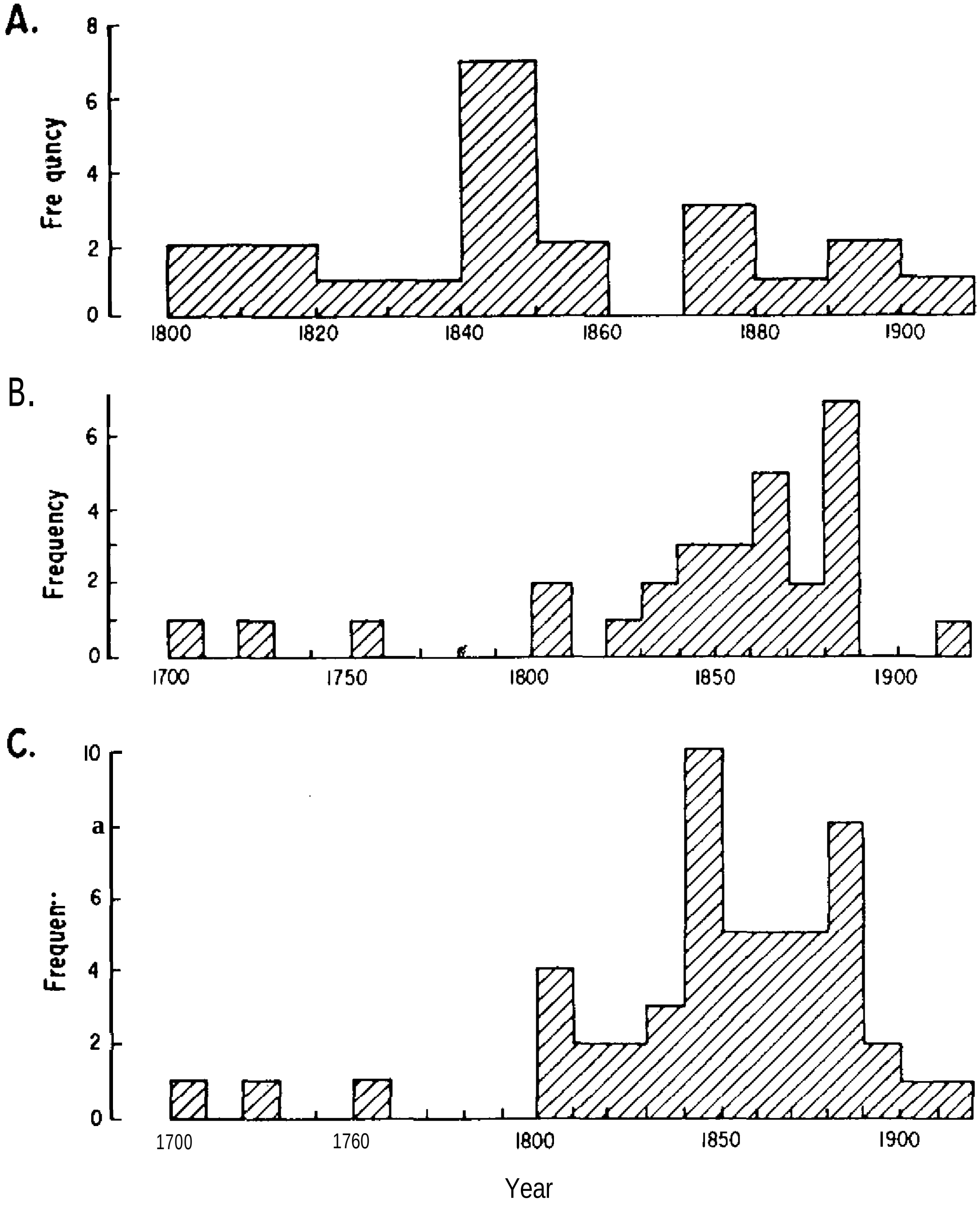
These inquiries and calculations reveal the complexity involved in seeking to reconcile time estimates from different cultures and disciplines. Using an estimate of roughly a thirty-year span for each generation as an indication of time past from an estimated date of birth of his informants, Paul Mai arrived at the data recorded in Table 3. Whether

TABLE 3. Enga Genealogical Estimates of the Date of the Time of Darkness

Enga Research No.	Informant's Approximate Date of Birth	Darkness x Generations Earlier	Estimate of Years before Informants Birth	Best Estimate Years AD
1	1914	1	30-15	1899
2	1918	2-3	70	1848
3	1919	2-3	70	1849
4	1932	3	90-15	1857
5	1915	3	90-15	1840
6	1924	2	60-15	1879
7	1917	3-4	110	1807
8	1939	3-4	110	1829
9	1917	2	60-15	1872
11	1914	1	30-15	1899
12	1930	3	90-15	1855
13	1925	3-4	110	1815
14	1934	2	60-15	1889
15	1920	1	30-15	1905
16	1919	1-2	45	1874
17	1918	3	90-15	1843
18	1922	3-4	110	1812
19	1922	3	90-15	1847
20	1916	2-3	80	1836
21	1914	2-3	70	1844
23	1908	4	120-15	1803
24	1924	3	90-15	1849

Source: Data from Mai [1981].

Reprinted from Biong 1982: 178.



Estimates of date of time of darkness based on genealogical data: (a) estimates from Enga Province [after Mai, 1981); (b) other estimates; (c) (a) and (b) combined

FIGURE 2. **Comparison of estimates of the Time of Darkness.** (Reprinted from Blong 1982: 179)

the estimated years of the eruption reached by Blong in the fifth column of this table are justified is a matter of debate. In Figure 2 Blong then compares these dates with those arrived at from other sources. Two points are clear: the genealogical "dates" for the Time of Darkness reveal a wide range among a small sample of only twenty-four Enga informants; and there are discrepancies between the dates arrived at by this method and those deduced from other evidence.

Blong generally concludes that more reliance can be placed on the written record and carbon dating than on dating arrived at on the basis of genealogical estimates. I am disinclined to reject the genealogical evidence; rather, I would interpret it in a different way. Using estimates based on a possible span of thirty years for each generation is only a relative indicator of time past, not to be linked with calendar dates: the two time systems, one relative, the other absolute, are difficult to reconcile. That a date can be found to be earlier in time, by canons of contemporary Western historical interpretation, than these genealogical estimates points to other characteristics of genealogies. In Enga and other oral cultures where genealogies are central to the people's sense of their roots and identity, it seems that there are floating genealogical blocks by which contemporary clansmen are linked with lineage, subclan, clan, and clan cluster founders.[5] Between these blocks there may be further genealogical steps that are not specifically remembered. If total recall was possible, a full genealogy might extend into several additional generations that would push it back further in chronological time. The names recalled for Mai were within the lineage and subclan blocks, so conceivably the Time of Darkness occurred much earlier than recalled within the genealogical frame, in fact, much closer to the times suggested by written evidence and carbon-dating estimates.

Here is the way in which Blong draws his conclusion:

> The strongest lines of evidence would seem to be the historical evidence and the radiocarbon dates. The historical evidence indicates that the eruption could not have taken place after about 1800 or in the period 1660-1680 to 1700, depending on the time allowed for revegetation. Combining the historical evidence with the radiocarbon dates we conclude that the eruption and associated events occurred almost certainly in the mid-seventeenth century (say 1630-1670) but we cannot totally deny the possibility that the eruption occurred post-1700.
>
> The paleomagnetic evidence, such as it is, also supports a mid-seventeenth century age. On the other hand, the ^{210}Pb date of 1680-1690 is in direct conflict with Dampier's description of

> Long Island. Presumably, the lead-210 dates/do not support, as yet, either a seventeenth or an eighteenth century date for the eruption. Similarly, the volcanic evidence can be used to support either argument.
>
> Finally, almost all the genealogical dates indicate a mid-nineteenth century date for the linked events [Figure 2]. Such a date, in fact any nineteenth century date, would seem to be totally precluded by observations of passing mariners, the Rai coast sojourn of Nicolai Mikloucho-Maclay and the 20-30 years necessary for the revegetation of Long Island.
>
> Thus the notion that Long Island erupted, Tibito Tephra fell and the time of darkness legends were generated in the mid-seventeenth century would seem to be in at least reasonable accord with all of the evidence except the bulk of the estimates based on genealogical dating. On the other hand, the notion that the linked events occurred in the early mid-eighteenth century is also in some agreement with most of the evidence except the paleomagnetic and, again, the bulk of the genealogical dates.
>
> As it seems necessary to regard the radiocarbon dates as the soundest of the ‘scientific’ techniques employed here, the author’s view is that a seventeenth century age is more probable than an eighteenth century date. However, it is perhaps more important to note, whichever date is ‘preferred’, that the genealogical dates based on the time of darkness legends are seriously in error, many of them by 200 years or more. (Blong 1982: 193-194)

This final Pandora’s box once more warns us that Enga memories of time past cannot easily by fitted into chronological frames from Western science and history. What was evident in this inquiry into the Time of Darkness was that the memories of the men who spoke to Mai, the other undergraduates, and me were rooted in the lived past. Some of these men could take us to garden sites where volcanic ash, which was chemically identified as Tibito tephra, could be dug up. That provided evidence for carbon dating. Once more, in Enga life, time past and time lived intersected in creative ways.

Conclusion

What this exploration has proven to me is more than the need to have a healthy respect for the nuances and complexity of time, memory, and history in cultures other than our own literate Western tradition. It also provokes me into wondering what may be the nature of the categories of time by which we live and whether a sensitive cross-cultural inquiry may lead us to question and evaluate afresh the ways in which industrialized societies portion, understand, and live time. An Australian poet, lamenting the drowning of a close friend, also draws our attention to these realities:

> Time that is moved by little fidget wheels
> Is not my Time, the flood that does not flow.
> . . . .
> Where have you gone? The tide is over you,
> The turn of midnight water's over you,
> As Time is over you, and mystery,
> And memory, the flood that does not flow.
> (Kenneth Slessor, "Five Bells")[6]

NOTES

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1. Enga Province, Papua New Guinea, comprises over 160,000 people speaking a number of mutually intelligible dialects. They reside in dispersed hamlets scattered along the floors of interlocking valleys at altitudes ranging from about 1,500 to 2,500 meters above sea level. Their territory covers 10,000 square kilometers of mountainous country west of the Mount Hagen range. The term "Enga" comes from a name given by people living in the Mount Hagen region to those living west of the range. These people in turn called Hageners "Simbai" or "Timbai." Prospectors moving up the Sepik River in 1929 met northern Enga. The Leahy brothers traveled into parts of Enga country during 1934, as did, probably, the Fox brothers in the same year. Later J. L. Taylor walked through the main valleys on his Hagen-Sepik patrol in 1938-1939. Colonial administration was begun about 1943 as part of the wartime Australia New Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU) structure (Lacey 1979b: 277).

2. See, for instance, Foster's review of the different studies of the *tee* (1985) and Feil's earlier and very detailed monograph (1984).

3. *Kamongo* means literally "rich man," though more often than not in anthropological literature the term "big-man" is used. These were the men, who with their allies and friends, *kaita miningi* (holders of the way), negotiated and manipulated resources to ensure the flow of valuables through networks of exchange. Feil has examined the behavior of *kamongo* and their friends in *tee* exchanges among the Tombema Enga (1984: chs. 5-6). His study is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the dynamics and tensions of exchange.

4. Rigby reminds us that the three time categories that Evans-Pritchard (1939) recorded for the Nuer pastoralists were “genealogical time,” “structural time,” and “ecological time,” He neglects to refer to Panoffs important category of “historical time,” perhaps because his focus is largely on African studies. He does, however, argue that Evans-Pritchard was culture-bound in his interpretation of these categories (Rigby 1983:433).

5. This idea of floating genealogies was proposed in conversation by Jan Vansina, based on his own and other historians’ work on African precolonial history. He raises some important issues about memory and oral tradition in the chapter of that name in a publication by historians of Africa (Vansina 1980).

6. This extract, probably originally published in Slessor’s *One Hundred Poems: 1919-1939,* is reproduced from C. Wallace-Crabbe, ed., *Six Voices: Contemporary Australian Poets* (Sydney: McGraw-Hill, 1977), 17, 20.

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NIKOLAI MIKLOUHO-MACLAY AND EASTER ISLAND

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The distinguished Russian traveler, scientist, and humanist Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay (1846-1888) owes his renown above all to his pioneering research in New Guinea, where he spent a total of over three years (Miklouho-Maclay 1982; Tumarkin 1982, 198813). In the 1870s and the 1880s, however, he also visited many other islands of Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia with considerable scientific results. The present paper surveys his contribution to the study of the traditional culture of the inhabitants of Easter Island (Rapanui).

This paper is based both on the published travel notes, articles, letters, and drawings of Miklouho-Maclay and on unpublished archival materials: the scientist's notebooks and the draft of his travel notes, which contains variant readings and phrases that did not get into the final text. Use has also been made of the reports of his fellow voyagers, Captain P. Nazimov, Lieutenant V. Pereleshin, and ship's doctor F. Krolevetsky.

In November 1870 the corvette *Vityaz,* sent to join the Russian Pacific squadron, left Kronstadt. By request of the Russian Geographical Society, the corvette was to deliver the naturalist Miklouho-Maclay to New Guinea. While the *Vityaz* was on her way from Copenhagen to Plymouth, the scientist visited several cities in Germany, Belgium, Holland, and Britain. He met eminent scientists and officials to obtain

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letters of introduction and consultations on scientific problems that interested him and bought needed expeditionary equipment (Miklouho-Maclay 1953:55-60; Nazimov 1986:74-75).

In Berlin Miklouho-Maclay talked with the well-known traveler and ethnologist Adolf Bastian, who drew the Russian scientist's attention to a published letter of the Chilean scientist Rudolf Amando Philippi in a German geographic magazine. The letter said that the museum in Santiago, which he supervised, had received two wooden tablets with mysterious writings on them delivered by a Chilean expedition aboard the corvette *O'Higgins* from Easter Island in 1870. Philippi quoted from the report of the head of this expedition, Ignacio L. Gana, who said that, hopefully, these writings, when deciphered, would help shed light both on the origin of the South Seas islanders and on their historical connections with the indigenous population of America. Gana said that the people of Easter Island no longer knew the content of the texts carved on the tablets--nor even the very designation of these objects (Philippi 1870). Philippi's published letter was accompanied by a photolithograph of an impression of one of the tablets, made on blotting paper and tinfoil.

"Bastian," wrote Miklouho-Maclay, "was absolutely positive that the carefully carved out lines of the signs were writings indeed" and emphasized the importance of this discovery because these were "the first writings to be discovered among the Pacific Islanders" (Miklouho-Maclay 1872a:47). Shortly thereafter, however, Miklouho-Maclay saw impressions from the same tablets at a session of the Ethnological Society in London, and the outstanding biologist Thomas Huxley, who demonstrated them, "had grave doubts that these boards should have depicted anything script-like." Huxley theorized that these boards could have served as a tapa-making stamp; he also believed that they might have been "accidentally brought to Rapa-Nui Island by currents" (ibid.). Such a wide difference of opinion between two recognized scientific authorities intensified Miklouho-Maclay's interest in Easter Island, about which, in preparation for his journey, he had read a great deal in books by Russian and West European navigators who had visited the island in the late eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth century.

Leaving Plymouth, the *Vityaz* crossed the Atlantic and, following an anchorage at Rio de Janeiro, in early April 1871 entered the Strait of Magellan, thus finding herself off Chilean coasts. The twenty-day anchorage at Punta Arenas and several other stops in the strait enabled Miklouho-Maclay to make interesting observations of the nature and

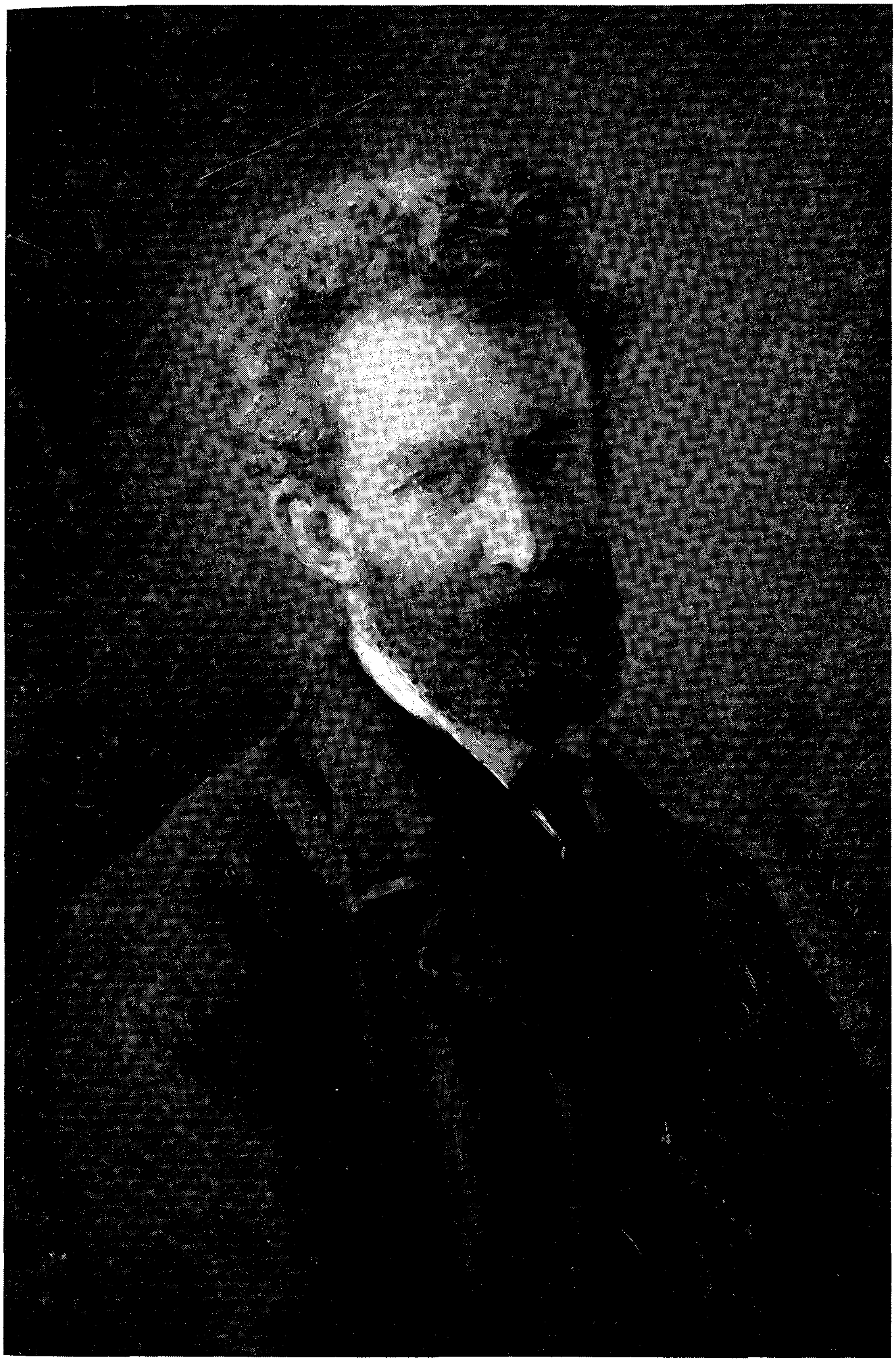

FIGURE 1. N. Miklouho-Maclay. (Oil painting by K. Makovsky)

population of this area.[2] From here the corvette set out for Talcahuano and thence Valparaíso, where she stayed from 3 May to 2 June 1871.

A naturalist of many interests, Miklouho-Maclay took this opportunity to collect all possible scientific information about central Chile. He made many visits to Santiago and a number of excursions into the country's interior. Miklouho-Maclay met noted scientists and statesmen, including Belisario Prats, Chile's minister of internal affairs, who presented the Russian scientist with a set of geographical maps (Miklouho-Maclay 187la:18, 27, 32, 34, 39). But the fact of greatest importance was his acquaintance with the famous Ignacio Domeyko, a foremost geologist, mineralogist, and ethnologist, who was then rector of Santiago University. "This fairly scholarly and useful figure in Chile," recalled Captain Nazimov, "noticed Miklouho and did all he could to acquaint him with all possible museums. . . . The same Domeyko announced in the newspapers the stay in Valparaíso of a Russian corvette aboard which the naturalist Miklouho-Maclay was setting out for the coasts of New Guinea with a view to remaining there to make a study of that country" (Nazimov 1986:77).

Hard at work gathering a variety of materials about Chile, Miklouho-Maclay at the same time strove to extend his knowledge about Easter Island. To this end, he went first to a Santiago museum that had by then received a considerable number of objects of Rapanui culture delivered by the Gana expedition.

> Apart from a big idol made of black lava, the said museum has four bas-reliefs: two of them depict human figures of different sexes; one side of a third flat stone portrays a big human physiognomy, and the fourth bas-relief represents several animals: a fish, next to it an animal which looks like a rabbit hacked out near a wingless birdlike animal with a beak and five-fingered hands. Furthermore, the museum has a sphinx-shaped figure with human figures standing on their knees, their backs butting into each other. The bas-reliefs are made of soft volcanic tuff, which easily lends itself to processing.[3] (Miklouho-Maclay 1872a:46)

These notes indicate that in the same museum and in the homes of several people in Valparaíso Miklouho-Maclay saw several little wooden figures also taken to Chile by the Gana expedition.

> From Rapa-Nui have also been brought small wooden idols (½ to ¾ metre high), which come from a later epoch and must

> have been carved out with iron tools. Examining and copying these bas-reliefs, I arrived at the conclusion that they represented, as it were, an intermediate stage between the big centuries-old idols of Rapa-Nui and the later artistic works made of wood; this idea was suggested to me by certain highly characteristic features and details of the finish and the general character of the design and execution. (Miklouho-Maclay 1872a: 46-47)

Naturally, Miklouho-Maclay's particular attention was attracted by two tablets with writings. The Russian scientist found out that the participants in the Gana expedition had received those tablets on Easter Island from the French missionary Hippolyte Roussel (Miklouho-Maclay 1872b:79). Meticulous study of the tablets led Miklouho-Maclay to the conclusion that "the rows of signs are really writings and that these boards were not designed for tapa-making" (Miklouho-Maclay 1872a:47-48). He grew still more firm in this conviction after a long conversation with Philippi on 21 May. Miklouho-Maclay's notebook contains a list of prepared questions he put to Philippi and the answers of this Chilean researcher (Miklouho-Maclay 1871a:29-30).

Miklouho-Maclay did not confine himself to study of the objects and conversations with specialists. While in Chile, he himself acquired several magnificent samples of Rapanui art. Miklouho-Maclay's collections, kept in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (MAE) in Leningrad, include nine objects from Easter Island (Miklouho-Maclay 1954:399, 400, 408, 411-413). These are little wooden figures *moai pa'apa'a* (coll. 402-l) and *moai tangata* (coll. 402-2), carved wooden depictions of a fish and a coconut linked by a cord made of human hair with a valve of a pearl-oyster shell (coll. 402-201 a, b, c), a spearhead made of obsidian (coll. 402-240), a massive wooden staff with ***a*** top shaped as a two-faced figure (coll. 168-192), and two tablets with writings, which will be discussed below. The authors of an article about the treasures of Rapanui culture collected by Russian travelers and kept in the MAE have traced the history of how Miklouho-Maclay obtained only two objects out of the nine (Butinov and Rozina 1958:307). However, the labels of the objects, filled in by the collector himself and thoughtfully preserved in the MAE, suggest that he obtained almost all of them in Chile: four (possibly five) of them were presented to him in Valparaíso by Captain Raymundo Pradel and the spearhead by Philippi. Only the time and place of the acquisition of the Rapanui staff, included in another Miklouho-Maclay collection, are unknown. But the attribution of this object raises no doubts.

After a month's anchorage in Valparaíso the *Vityaz* proceeded to cross the Pacific Ocean. In his letters to August Petermann, a well-known German geographer, and to the secretary of the Russian Geographical Society sent before the departure from Valparaíso, Miklouho-Maclay said that "from here the corvette will call at Easter Island, one of the most fascinating islands in the Pacific, and I hope to exert every effort to explore this locality" and "to make a few more additions to my recent finds" (Miklouho-Maclay 1953:68, 70-71).

Although Miklouho-Maclay must have received from participants in the Gana expedition certain information about the situation on Easter Island, he hardly had an idea about the scope of the tragedy that had befallen the population. In December 1862 Peruvian slave traders took away approximately fifteen hundred islanders. Almost all died in a foreign land. And fifteen Rapanuis who returned home in August 1863 brought to the island an epidemic of smallpox and other contagious diseases. The depopulation was accompanied by the progressive destruction of the local social organization, spiritual culture, and the entire traditional local life pattern. Contributing to this process were Catholic missionaries. The first of them, Eugène Eyraud, failed to gain a foothold on the island in 1864, but in 1866 he returned with Hippolyte Roussel. Shortly, the two were joined by another two envoys of the Congrégation des Sacrés-Coeurs. The missionaries converted the demoralized Rapanuis to Christianity, at least externally. They ordered the local people to destroy their tablets covered with mysterious signs as well as their wooden "idols" and other attributes of the "pagan" religion. As a result, the majority of these remarkable specimens of Rapanui culture were burned or hidden in caves and other caches (Métraux 1957:46-55; Heyerdahl 1976:44-47; McCall 1981:55-59).

In 1870 Jean Dutrou-Bornier, a retired French army officer, arrived at Easter Island to breed sheep. Soon he quarreled with the missionaries and kindled blood-spilling internecine strife among the islanders. In April or May 1871 the last remaining missionary, Roussel, was forced to flee from Rapanui, taking along over two hundred islanders (Heyerdahl 1976:53; McCall 1981:60-61).

On 24 June 1871 the *Vityaz* reached Easter Island and hove to off its western coast, at Hangaroa roads. Soon the corvette was approached by two boats with three Europeans (Dutrou-Bornier and his helpers) and several Rapanui rowers. Dutrou-Bornier said that he was going to establish a big sheep-breeding ranch on the island and that he had a partner, John Brander, a rich British merchant and shipowner who had settled on Tahiti. Dutrou-Bornier added that Roussel and a large group of islanders had set out for Tahiti, that about 230 indigenes were left on Rapanui, and that the ship aboard which Roussel had left would soon come back for another large group of islanders. This story depressed the Russian scientist and his fellow voyagers. Later (from missionaries on Mangareva and Tahiti) Miklouho-Maclay learned further details and the background of these events. "The natives, seeing their dwellings burned down and their sweet potato plantations destroyed and thus intimidated by Bornier's actions, agreed to settle in Tahiti upon the condition that they would work for a certain period on the plantations which belonged to Brander, who, due to the smartness of his agent, thus obtained almost a whole island to breed sheep on and, on top of that, hundreds of cheap hands for his plantations" (Miklouho-Maclay 1872a: 42-44).

Considering that "in this season Rapa-Nui, which has only open roads, offers no safe anchorage" and that Roussel, who was awaited by letters and parcels aboard the corvette, had already left the island, as well as the entire distressing situation there, Captain Nazimov canceled the contemplated landing. "In some two hours," recalled Miklouho-Maclay, "we got under way again, having seen only the outlines of Rapa-Nui, a dozen natives, and three sheep-breeders" (Miklouho-Maclay 1872a:43). Before the corvette set sail her officers had provided the three Europeans with "French and British magazines and cigars" and "shared with the natives linen, caps, and various baubles and parted with them like friends, wishing them all the best" (Pereleshin 1872: 12-14; Krolevetsky 1878: 185).

"I felt greatly vexed," wrote Miklouho-Maclay, "to be in sight of the island but to fail to visit it and to look at important evidence testifying to the islanders' former life, which makes Rapa-Nui the only island of its kind in the Pacific Ocean" (Miklouho-Maclay 1872a:45). Shortly, however, the scientist regained this loss, if in part.

Following a one-day stay off Pitcairn Island, on 8 June the *Vityaz* approached the Mangareva (Gambier) Islands and stayed there for six days. On the principal island of this group, which gave it its name, Miklouho-Maclay suddenly met Roussel and his flock. "These poor people, numbering about 250," he wrote, "taken aboard a small schooner, greatly suffered during the crossing, although it lasted not more than ten days. The shortage of fresh air in the hold and of decent food caused several of them to die en route; others, quite sick, reached Mangareva and two of them died already on the island" (ibid. :52). "The reason for which they have remained here," continued Miklouho-Maclay, "is that, brought to Tahiti, they were to have become workers (practically slaves) at the plantations of Brander, the owner of the ship which had brought them here: whereas here they remained free people" (ibid. :52-53).[4]

Taking up quarters in a small seashore house, Miklouho-Maclay proceeded to gather information about the local people and, even more so, about the Easter Islanders. He not only had long conversations with Roussel but also, using him as an interpreter, questioned Rapanuis themselves about their lives in their homeland, their customs, statues, inscribed tablets, and so forth. The scientist also made several pencil portraits, including one of a Rapanui girl with a traditional tattoo (Miklouho-Maclay 1871b:4-7; 1872a:53-54; 1950:65, 67; 1954:30-31).

Answering questions about the wooden tablets with rows of signs taken to Chile by the Gana expedition, Roussel said many interesting things. "The natives," the scientist writes conveying Roussel's answers, "call them *Kohau rongo rongo,* which means approximately 'talking' or 'concept-conveying wood'. The natives went on to say that these tablets could yield information about major events which had taken place on the island and that the signs carved out on the boards had been clear to their fathers, who had been able to carve out similar signs; at present, however, not a single person who could make out these signs is left on Rapa-Nui" (Miklouho-Maclay 1872a:48).[5]

Miklouho-Maclay continued his interviews and observations during an eleven-day anchorage of the *Vityaz* in the Papeete harbor, Tahiti, at the end of July 1871. Regrettably, the scientist had no time to write about his stay on this island for his travel notes (the Rapanui section cites only some of the data about the tablets he saw on Tahiti). Therefore in this particular case our main source of information is one of his notebooks. The most interesting entries tell about his meetings with Monseigneur Jaussen, a Catholic bishop whose official title was Évêque d'Axieri, Vicaire Apostolique de Tahiti (Miklouho-Maclay 1871b:8, 20, 22).

Florentin Etiènne ("Tepano") Jaussen holds a notable place in the history of the study of Rapanui culture, especially of *kohau rongorongo.* Having chanced to learn about the existence of flat wooden boards covered with rows of skillfully carved signs[6] on Easter Island, he evaluated the colossal cultural significance of these objects and ordered the missionaries who were staying there to send him as many such boards as they could find, As a result, the missionaries (who had put great efforts into their destruction, the fault, at any rate, of Eugène Eyraud) in 1868-1869 sent him five tablets and about half a dozen other samples of wood carving of sacral or ceremonial relevance (Jaussen 1893: 12-17; Heyerdahl 1976:47). Furthermore, Jaussen learned that among the

Rapanuis working on the Brander plantations in Tahiti was a man named Metoro Tau a Ure, who said that he was an expert on *kohau rongorongo.* In 1870 Jaussen invited Metoro to his place and asked him to read (more exactly, to intone) the texts carved on the tablets. Jaussen carefully wrote down what he heard, and although the value of the "Metoro readings" has elicited various assessments by modern researchers (Barthel 1958; Heyerdahl 1976:204-205; Butinov 1982; Fyodorova 1983), they were the first endeavor to approach the decipherment of *kohau rongorongo.*

Jaussen showed to the Russian scientist several tablets, which the latter measured and described (Miklouho-Maclay 1871b:8; 1872a:49). And although not all measurements are precisely accurate (possibly owing to Miklouho-Maclay's method of measurement), it can be asserted that he saw Tahua tablet (tablet A according to Barthel), Aroukou-kourenga (B), Kohau-o-te-ranga (C), and Ka-ihiunga (D). Jaussen must then have had at least one other tablet--Apai (E), which figured in the "Metoro readings" (Barthel 1958:14-21). But Miklouho-Maclay either did not see it or had no time to measure and describe it.

Studying the tablets, the scientist singled out some common features.

> The tablets I saw were of varying size and made of varying wood;[7] it seems to me that this difference can be attributed to the major deficiency of wood, which makes the natives use for many purposes driftwood. Some of the tablets in question bear traces of a long stay in water; one of them was no other thing than the wide end of a European paddle. . . . The figures had different heights on different tablets, but on the same tablet it was almost equal everywhere. The boards had both sides covered with these signs, placed in lengthwise rows; there were no spacings between the lines. It is also characteristic that absolutely the entire surface of the tablets was covered with this script: all the notches, irregularities, and edges showed carved figures, The specific feature of the line distribution was that if one wanted to trace a line, one had to overturn the whole tablet to go over to the next (this feature is easy to find if one notices the heads of the figures). . . . Very many of the figures represented animals. Numerous repetitions of the same figure occurred on the tablets, and such a figure either remained unchanged or showed a change in the position of its parts. . . . Certain figures were linked together in twos, more seldom threes and more, As one examines the rows of these signs, one

> arrives at the conclusion that one deals with the lowest stage of the evolution of writing, referred to as ideographic writing, (Miklouho-Maclay 1872a:48-49)

Captivated by the young scientist's enthusiasm, vast knowledge, and yearning to unlock the secrets of *kohau rongorongo,* Jaussen made him the precious gift of one of the tablets (Miklouho-Maclay 1871b:8). The MAE has two boards with writings delivered by Miklouho-Maclay, called the "Big Leningrad" and the "Small Leningrad" boards (coll. 402-12 a, b; tablets P and Q according to Barthel).[8] It is difficult to tell which of them was the bishop's gift. But indubitably it was not any of the five tablets that came to Jaussen in 1868-1869. It can be assumed that Roussel sent this tablet to the bishop with the schooner that delivered him and the Rapanuis to Mangareva and then sailed on to Tahiti, that is, in June-July 1871. As regards the second tablet kept in the MAE's Miklouho-Maclay collection, he must have acquired it from the Rapanuis who had got to Mangareva or Tahiti. At any rate, he notes that he saw such tablets in possession of the "natives of Rapa-Nui" (Miklouho-Maclay 1872a:48).

The meetings with Miklouho-Maclay were apparently of benefit to Jaussen as well. The scientist shared with the latter his thoughts about the character of *kohau rongorongo* and the regularities governing the evolution of writing systems and told him about the keen interest exhibited by eminent European scientists in the announcement of the discovery on Easter Island of the boards with writings. This undoubtedly stimulated Jaussen's further study of *kohau rongorongo* and other relics of Rapanui traditional culture, which was on its way to extinction. The main results of these researches are outlined in his work published only in 1893, a year after the author's death (Jaussen 1893).

In view of the importance of the Easter Island materials he collected, Miklouho-Maclay decided to prepare them for publication before his long stay in New Guinea, which might have unpredictable consequences. While the *Vityaz* was on her way from Tahiti to New Guinea (with calls at Samoa, Rotuma, and New Ireland) in August-September 1871, he wrote travel notes for the journal of the Russian Geographical Society, emphasizing the inhabitants of Easter Island and their culture (Miklouho-Maclay 1872a). Still earlier, in mid-August, he completed a short article about *kohau rongorongo* for the German journal that had previously published Philippi's letter (Miklouho-Maclay 1872b). Sent by Nazimov to Europe, the two texts were published in 1872.

Considering the conditions in which the scientist collected and processed the materials about Easter Island, it must be observed that his travel notes contained a wealth of aspects and information. They discussed the tragic plight of the island. The author attempted to explain the reasons for the dying out of the Rapanuis and their resettlement to Mangareva, and he offered certain information about their anthropological type, beliefs, and customs, including the bird-man cult and the related annual rites and ceremonies. He generalized the information he had about the big stone statues, noting that "many of them stand, others are overturned but still whole" and that "in certain places it could still be seen how in former times they had stood exactly on tall platforms or altars" (Miklouho-Maclay 1872a:46). As noted earlier, he also described stone bas-reliefs and small stone and wooden sculptures and tried to bring out the interconnections between various forms of Rapanui plastic art. But perhaps his keynote story was how he studied *kohau rongorongo,* ranging from his conversation with Bastian in Berlin to his meetings with Bishop Jaussen.

His article about the wooden tablets with writings included in the German journal is, in the main, identical to the corresponding part of his travel notes. Bastian supplemented the published article with an extensive commentary in which he spoke highly about this "exceedingly valuable communication" and, proceeding from it, entered into polemics with two leading German specialists in Polynesia, Georg Gerland and Karl Meinicke, on such general problems as the origin of the Polynesians and their historical contacts with the American Indians. He also speculated about the contents of the *kohau rongorongo* texts (Bastian 1872).

"As I think of all I have seen and heard about the antiquities of Rapa-Nui . . . I involuntarily arrive at the conclusion," says the draft of Miklouho-Maclay's travel notes, "that the study of this island may yield many interesting and important data, more than could hitherto be assumed, and I wish full success to a knowledgeable person who will be happier than me and will not only see the outlines of hilly Rapa-Nui, but will also visit the island with a view to solving important questions" (Miklouho-Maclay 1871c:31-32). The scientist was not fated to return to the development of these problems. Nevertheless, he made a certain contribution to the study of this "island of mysteries."

Furthermore, what little Miklouho-Maclay published, the excellent samples of Rapanui art he brought home--especially the two *kohau rongorongo* tablets--spurred the emergence in his native land several decades later of a whole school of interdisciplinary research--Rapanui studies. This research proceeds, in the main, in the Leningrad branch of the Miklouho-Maclay Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences. As many as three generations of Soviet scholars have been regularly and systematically studying *kohau rongorongo.* Considerable advances have been scored in the analysis of this system of writing, cogent arguments in favor of its local origin have been put forward, and interesting hypotheses concerning the content of the texts under study have been formulated. Different variants of the reading of their individual fragments have been proposed, but the problem of their decipherment as a whole remains to be solved. The difficulties of the decipherment are compounded by the scarcity of extant texts and the fact that the recordings must have been made in the ancient Rapanui language. Therefore the Soviet scholars engaged in the decipherment of these inscriptions conduct their research on a broad front, meticulously studying the history and traditional culture of Easter Island, analyzing all available folklore texts and all attempts to "read" *kohau rongorongo* by local people, and reconstructing the specific features of the Rapanui language at various stages of its history (see, for instance, Butinov and Knorozov 1957; Tumarkin 1988a; Fedorova 1988). At the source of this research stood Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay.

NOTES

A version of this paper was presented at the VI Inter-Congress of the Pacific Science Association, 7-10 August 1989, Viña del Mar, Chile.

1. Also can be spelled Fyodorova or Fyedorova due to varying transliteration systems. --ED.

2. The records made by Miklouho-Maclay while he stayed in Rio de Janeiro and the Strait of Magellan remained unpublished until 1950, when the first volume of his collected works appeared (Miklouho-Maclay 1950: 13-44). The scientist's stay in Chile is surveyed in a brief article (Polevoy 1988), partly based on archival materials. Regrettably, this interesting article is not free of factual inaccuracies.

3. Almost all these objects are now kept in the Museo Nacional de Historía Natural in Santiago (see Heyerdahl 1976). "A rabbitlike animal" is an anthropomorphous creature with upturned face and hands; similar images made from various angles occur on the *kohau rongorongo* tablets. "A beaked birdlike animal" is a picture of a bird-man *(tangata manu).* The small double human figure (shaped like Siamese twins) is now thought to be lost and is known only from a reproduction from an original photograph.

4. With respect to this question, Nazimov's report published in a Kronstadt newspaper said: "On Mangareva we saw up to 150 savages from Easter Island who had refused to go to Tahiti, where they would have been made Mr. Brander's slaves" (Nazimov 1872). Apparently, some of the Rapanuis were shipped aboard the same schooner from Mangareva to Tahiti. Concerning their fate see Métraux (1957:56) and McCall (1981; 139-140).

5. Here is how this part of the story is presented in the draft of the travel notes: "These tablets are indeed covered with writings once used on Rapa-Nui Island. Such is the common view of the natives. Old people are positive that their fathers and grandfathers could read the writings and that the history of their island is carved out on these boards. They even pointed to one of the living old men whom they said could read these tablets. Questioned by Roussel, the man said, however, that he did not understand the old writing" (Miklouho-Maclay 1871c:31).

6. One of the missionaries, Gaspar Zumbohm, visiting Tahiti, brought back a gift to Jaussen from the Rapanuis just converted to Christianity--a long cord woven of human hair. It was wound on an old wooden board with broken-off edges. Jaussen noticed that it was covered with some writings (Métraux 1957: 183).

7. Roussel insisted that all tablets, like the wooden "idols," were made of *toromiro:* "the only plant to reach the size of a tree" on Rapanui. In this connection the scientist notes that *toromiro* "has been almost fully destroyed; only its bushes have survived" (Miklouho-Maclay 1872a:48; 1872b:79-90).

8. The first publication of these tablets, made by a Leningrad scholar in a French journal in 1925 (Piotrowski 1925), made them known to researchers of Easter Island culture all over the world.

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EDITOR'S FORUM

SOME PERSPECTIVES ON AMERICAN SAMOA'S POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES

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I am reminded of a Chinese proverb that states, "If we don't change our direction, we are likely to end up where we are going." Anyone advocating change in a cultural setting like Samoa had better be certain that his or her reasoning is sound and that there is an overwhelming amount of facts to justify such claims, or otherwise be subject to public ridicule and criticism.

The purpose of this statement is only to point out certain facts and events that have transpired in Samoa's eighty-eight years of political association with the United States. Specifically, the statement addresses American Samoa's political development in two areas: its experience in drafting a territorial constitution and the implications of the 1900 and 1904 treaties of cession.

American Samoa's Constitution

There is a Samoan proverbial expression that states, *"Seu le manu ae taga'i i le galu,"* which means to catch the bird but watch out for the wave. The statement describes quite accurately the conservative nature of the Samoan people, and the phrase is always quoted by orators urging caution whenever an important matter comes up for deliberation by the traditional leaders of the territory.

Four years ago [1984], a constitutional convention was held in Ameri-

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can Samoa, whereby some eighty-two traditional leaders were selected by their respective district councils to review the territory's present constitution, last endorsed by the Samoan electorate and duly approved in 1967 by the U.S. Secretary of the Interior. Since then, several proposed constitutions have been presented to the Samoan voters and to the Secretary of the Interior for approval, and for one reason or another, all have been disapproved either because they did not meet federal departmental standards or because the voters were dissatisfied with certain provisions' that were included in the proposed documents. And as I predicted correctly, the results of the 1984 constitutional convention did not fare any better at a referendum held in November 1986: by 4, 722 to 3,070 voters disapproved the proposed constitution.

For the past thirty years, the Samoan people have gained valuable experience in drafting constitutions that have been subject to the approval only of the Secretary of the Interior. But in 1984, a bill was passed in the U.S. Congress and signed by the President that now requires congressional approval of any amendment to the territory's constitution. The reason for the new law was to prevent the Secretary of the Interior from participating in partisan politics. But several questions and problems are now raised in view of this law. First, why is Samoa now requiring congressional approval of any amendment to its territorial constitution, when Congress never expressly approved the constitution to begin with? Secondly, there are certain provisions of the present constitution that would definitely raise serious constitutional issues that Congress has not yet addressed, and it is questionable if Congress would approve such provisions in light of the U.S. Constitution. In effect, Congress by law delegated full administrative, judicial, and military authority and control of the territory to the President, and at the same time now requires American Samoa's constitution to be subjected to congressional sanctionings without first reexamining the powers and authority already vested in the President since the 1929 congressional ratification of the two treaties.

Under the American system of government, a treaty has the same force and effect as the provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Of course, the President initiates the treaty-making process subject to the "advice and consent" of the Senate. A question that is now posed under the present arrangements is whether the territorial constitution should be subjected to either congressional or presidential authority. If congressional, it is necessary to amend the 1929 ratification act, which now vests complete authority in the President or his designee to administer the affairs of the territory. If presidential, there is a need to rescind the 1984 law and return to the previous status of subjecting the constitution only to the authority of the President via the Secretary of the Interior.

This may be heartbreaking to the local leadership, but Samoa’s constitution, given its present status, is nothing more than an extension of the presidential authority of the Secretary of the Interior.

The 1900 and 1904 Treaties of Cession

Unlike other insular territories, American Samoa was never annexed by the United States as a result of war or conquest. In the years 1900 and 1904 the traditional chiefs of the islands of Tutuila, Aunu’u, and Manu’a, by means of executing two separate treaties of cession, freely ceded their islands to the U.S. with the understanding that native lands and Samoan customs and traditions be honored and protected.

Congress did not ratify the 1900 and 1904 treaties until 1929, and immediately thereafter delegated its constitutional authority to administer the territory to the President, who then transferred the administration of American Samoa to the Secretary of the Navy--primarily because of U.S. interests at the time to establish a naval station in the Pago Pago Bay area, located on the island of Tutuila. In 1951, the President transferred the administration of American Samoa to the Secretary of the Interior. To date, the transfer of administrative, judicial, and military authority from the Congress to the President has not been amended since the 1929 act that ratified the two treaties of 1900 and 1904.

In my judgement, the two treaties of cession still stand as the foundation or basis upon which American Samoa can claim a political relationship with the United States. However, nowhere do we find under the terms of the two treaties a political union in existence between the island groups of Tutuila and Manu’a. We have pretended for the past eighty-eight years that the Tutuila and Manu’a island groups are united, but as long as the two treaties are in existence with separate provisions and conditions that place on the United States certain obligations to both island groups, questions will always be raised concerning the political relationship not only between Tutuila and Manu‘a, but also with the United States.

A question that obviously comes to mind is whether the 1900 and 1904 treaties of cession are still operative today, and if so, do the treaties answer questions relative to citizenship, immigration, international trade and commerce, national security, marine and communal property ownership rights, membership in international organizations, and others? In my opinion, the treaties do not answer the above questions, but the two documents have been instrumental in providing a sense of stability and organization among the several villages, districts, and island groups.

American Samoa's Political Status

What exactly is Samoa's political relationship with the United States? It has been determined that American Samoa is an "unorganized and unincorporated" territory of the United States. Unorganized since the 1929 ratification of the two treaties, for Congress has yet to officially organize a government for the separate island kingdoms of Tutuila and Manu'a. Unincorporated because, according to U.S. Supreme Court decisions that have evolved over the years touching on the constitutional rights of insular territories, Congress has never intended, nor will it ever desire, to have Samoa become a state of the Union.

The Future

What are the future prospects of the territory? First, the island leaders of Tutuila and Manu'a need to call a national convention to deliberate the provisions of the 1900 and 1904 treaties of cession. Secondly, Tutuila and Manu'a must then officially declare a union as one political entity or governing body. Thirdly, there is a need to formulate a statement of principles underlining their desire to either amend certain provisions of the two treaties or establish an entirely new proposed treaty with the United States. The provisions of such a treaty should define Samoa's political relationship with the United States (for example, "covenant" status like the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, "free association" status like the Federated States of Micronesia, Belau, and the Marshall Islands, or "commonwealth" status like Puerto Rico).

Once we have defined what Samoa's relationship should be with the United States under the terms of a treaty that is agreeable to both sides, the leadership of Samoa should *then* call a constitutional convention and organize a government based upon the terms and principles outlined in the treaty, not the U.S. Constitution. Even if it takes Samoa the next twenty years to negotiate such a treaty, it must be done--and now is the time to do it. Otherwise, the less Samoa brings up the matter of the two treaties, the more it finds itself becoming less Samoan and more American; stated in another way--Americans of Samoan ancestry. And in fairness to the United States, Samoa cannot claim loyalty to America and at the same time refuse to apply federal standards that are clearly incompatible with its local traditions and land-tenure system.

At the present time, even the United States does not know exactly what its political relationship is or should be with American Samoa. This is indicated by the fact that in many instances congressional bills and federal statutes have either excluded American Samoa as a participant or classified the territory as a foreign country.

The dilemma American Samoa now faces is whether it should be searching more for answers to its problem from the U.S. Constitution or the 1900 and 1904 treaties of cession. Over the years, the territorial court has depended largely upon the U.S. Constitution and U.S. Supreme Court decisions to determine the outcome of cases that raise serious constitutional questions on the rights of U.S. citizens who live in the territory. There is also the question of whether the Due Process and Equal Protection clauses of the U.S. Constitution apply equally against certain Samoan traditions and local land-tenure systems that contradict basic property ownership rights now in existence in the United States.

It is the hope of this writer that within the next ten years, the Samoan leadership and the people will seriously address the above questions with the appropriate officials of the United States government, and if for anything else, lay the foundation for American Samoa's future and destiny.

NOTE

These remarks were delivered at a conference sponsored by the Pacific Islands Political Studies Association (PIPSA) on 23 May 1988 at the Church College of Western Samoa, Pesega, Western Samoa. At the time the author was Lieutenant Governor of American Samoa; he was subsequently elected to represent the territory in the U.S. Congress.

REVIEWS

Richard Feinberg, *Polynesian Seafaring and Navigation: Ocean Travel in Anutan Culture and Society*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1988. Pp. xvii, 210, illustrated, index. US$30.00.

Reviewed by Philip R. DeVita, State University of New York, Plattsburgh

The significance of Richard Feinberg's latest contribution from his continuing ethnographic studies of Anuta, a tiny Polynesian outlier, is, at least, twofold. First, he has given us an extremely well-written and comprehensive description of the sailing technology and seamanship of Anuta. Second, at a time when traditional boatbuilding, sailing, and navigational practices are rapidly being lost to the more easily learned Western techniques, Feinberg has endowed Oceanic studies with a permanent record to complement the previous literature on sailing technology.

The pioneering works of Alkire and Goodenough, and the later studies by Gladwin, Lewis, McCoy, and others, are important documents of the disappearing maritime masteries of the remote coral-atoll peoples of Micronesia, Lost, however, many decades earlier, were the great oceangoing vessels and sailing skills of the high-island Polynesians. In this regard, Finney and his Hawaiian colleagues have, through rigorous historical reconstruction, revived the forgotten art of the Polynesians with the fabrication and extensive, successful voyaging of *Hoku-le'a*. But what ethnographic evidence have we on record attesting to the maritime skills of the Polynesian?

Feinberg, inspired by Firth, has been studying Tikopia's Polynesian neighbors since 1972. Relatively untouched by outsiders, the Anutans have managed to maintain much of their ancestral lifeway, including their traditional technology for boatbuilding, fishing, and seamanship. These are assuredly not Polynesia's Vikings. Anutan vessels are small (the island's largest canoe is thirty-two feet in length) and their journeys restricted to local fishing and limited interisland travel. However, the Anutans' adaptation to the sea is a topic of merit and Feinberg's study of these aspects of a Polynesian island culture is, especially for students of oceanic maritime studies, a distinctive addition to the literature on the Pacific islands.

Today, the Anutans rarely sail for reasons other than local offshore fishing, though one or two trips a year of thirty miles are made to hunt birds on desolate Patutaka. The seventy-mile interisland voyage to Tikopia is part of a more adventurous seagoing history prior to 1950, of which we learn from documentation and the collection of oral accounts of past voyages. Through these oral accounts of past voyages and from contemporary oceangoing activity, we discover that the sea and things of the sea totally intermesh with the cultural life of the Anutans.

Feinberg first presents us with a brief introduction to the island and the people, and thereafter, the volume informs of the cultural significance of the ocean in the everyday lives of the people of Anuta. Complemented by a splendid collection of photographs and drawings, we are taken through each stage of canoe construction, from tree selection, to hull completion, to rigging and equipment. Descriptions of hull shapes, lashing and caulking techniques, outrigger design and fitting, sail and rigging systems--with each part of the canoe labeled and glossed--display the rigor with which the research was conducted.

Anutan seamanship, the practices of paddle and sail as a tacking strategy, is discussed. Differences are noted between Micronesian sailing canoes with their identical bow and stern for reverse masting: Anutan canoes have a defined bow and stern. The mast is never reversed, thus the outrigger always remains to port. Contrastive to the unique and effective method of tacking for the vessels of the Carolines, the Anutans sail and then paddle to effect the traverse. This strategy, since these vessels cannot sail close-hauled, is both time consuming and labor intensive. To compensate for the comparatively poor sailing qualities of their vessels, the Anutans sail when winds are most favorable to the particular design of their craft.

Lacking a fringe reef, the Anuta use their vessels primarily for fishing. Offshore piloting, not navigation, is basic to the requirements of seamanship. It is true, especially since the Anutans have long past given up long-distance sailing and navigation, that their seamanship is less sophisticated than that of the Carolinians. Courses are essentially set by sun, stars, and wave configurations. Feinberg discovers only six named directions for the Anuta sailors and compares these to the more extensive sets of directions specified by Lewis and Gladwin for the Carolines and Firth for neighboring Tikopia. However, whether or not contemporarily employed, he discovers twenty-two important named Anutan navigational constellations. This may indicate a past of more extensive interisland voyaging and a use of the sea for more than offshore fishing. Lacking a complex and abstract concept of *etak,* the Anuta distinguish star paths and wave types and employ land-finding birds as a navigational tool.

An important discovery is the significance of birds in the many aspects of Anutan life. Canoes are like birds and the parts of vessels are named accordingly. The sky is dominated by the bird, voyages are metaphorically depicted as birds in poetry and song, and members of voyages are "birds of the ocean." Bird symbolism is rich and lends to a comparison of the emphasis of birds in the lore of other oceanic peoples.

Discussing the importance of the social relations involved with all aspects of life for a people surrounded by, and dependent upon the sea, the author provides us with an excellent analysis of the sociology of Anutan sailing. Folklore, initiation rites, social association, canoe construction and ownership, crew selection, and the communal aspects of fishing are assessed. Also noted are the culturally categorized differences between expert fisherman, expert sailor, and the navigator, who, as was true on Gladwin's Puluwat, are the most highly esteemed members of the island society.

The concluding chapter is one of personal adventure. During his initial field research in 1972, Feinberg' joined two canoes for the thirty-mile, three-day round-trip to Patutaka. In reflection, he calls the voyage uncomfortable and interesting. The reader may make his or her own judgments. Upon return, when the canoe was dragged to the beach, the bow broke off.

The Andrew Sharp-Peter Buck debate over accidental or purposeful voyaging is briefly addressed. Feinberg, from the Anuta evidence, argues for both possibilities. Anutans did get lost at sea and made landfalls different than those intended. In the past, some voyagers never returned or were never again heard of. But, we find documented in the appendixes records of successful Anutan voyages to Tikopia for the last 150 years, as well as some Tikopian voyages to Anuta. Further, the appendixes offer lists of Anuta canoe ownership since 1973, star paths to Patutaka and Tikopia, auxiliary navigational techniques, and a description of a voyage to Tikopia, all in the Anutan language (with translation). A glossary of Anutan nautical terms is also included.

Why do the Anutans sail? Why go to sea? Feinberg offers clues. For these island people, the sea is their life but they also value the strong, fearless, adventurous man. These values may be a throwback to warrior times. And then, there remains a curiosity and a lust for adventure that appears embedded in most Pacific societies. These people derive from ancestors who have left their mark on every habitable piece of land in the extensive Polynesian triangle. And Feinberg now leaves his mark on the literature of the Polynesian seafaring cultures.

Margaret Critchlow Rodman, *Deep Water: Development and Change in Pacific Village Fisheries.* Development, Conflict, and Social Change Series. Pp. xii, 173, bibliography, index. Boulder, Colorado and London: Westview Press, 1989. US$18.95.

Reviewed by Joël Bonnemaison, ORSTOM, Paris

The "deep water" about which Margaret Rodman writes is the fishing ground for a development program in Vanuatu. The deep water off the reefs where the islands meet the sea is also a metaphor for the interaction between Melanesians and Westerners, and between rural people and the state in the process of development. This book is as much about foreign volunteers working in fisheries development as about the islanders, whose way of life Rodman has studied in a series of field trips beginning in 1969.

The book begins with an introduction in which Rodman contextualizes Vanuatu's quest for self-reliance in terms of the contemporary Pacific. She also points to the contradictions between national planners', foreign volunteers', and rural islanders' views of self-reliance. She observes that "if most village fishermen were expected to produce for export, self-reliance for the country measured in export dollars would mean a loss of self-reliance in the rural areas where the objective is to maintain one's social and economic options" (7). The context is expanded ethnographically, with a chapter on fieldwork and one on subsistence fishing. The relatively large village of Port Olry (population 600) on Santo Island and the scattered hamlets of the Longana district of Ambae Island are the two field sites central to the study. Their historical differences are compared in chapter 4, where the author notes that Port Olry is francophone, Catholic, and was a stronghold of the Santo rebellion on the eve of independence in 1980, whereas Longana is anglophone, Anglican, and was Prime Minister Walter Lini's first parish.

The rest of the book (chapters 5-10) focuses on development issues, as these are manifested in village-level fisheries projects. Fisheries development for deep-water snappers offers islanders the possibility of catching about one hundred kilograms of marketable fish per daily trip, using simple handreels and small outboard motorboats. These projects are heavily subsidized with loans, grants, expatriate volunteers, duty-free fuel, and often other equipment, or "cargo" in local terms, such as freezers. Yet, Rodman argues, islanders are generally unwilling to become full-time fishermen, because this would close off other ways of earning money and jeopardize the long-term security that results from meeting traditional social obligations. Instead, commercial fishing fits best into rural life as an intermittent activity, like copra production, in which islanders engage when they want cash to meet specific consumption goals. The author recognizes the frustration this response presents to planners seeking national self-reliance for Vanuatu, and for other small Pacific states facing similar problems. But, she concludes, "so far, the carrot rather than the stick has been the government's approach to increasing the productivity of the rural sector" (157), and so long as this continues, rural islanders' own self-reliance is best served by engaging intermittently in a wide range of activities to earn cash, provide for their own subsistence, and maintain their customary social networks.

The author holds a very sensitive view of Vanuatu's future and economic development. The one-hundred-kilogram figure given for daily fish catches, for commercial purposes, is perhaps too optimistic and not applicable to all areas of the archipelago: according to other sources, a daily catch of thirty kilograms is more likely to be the real national average. Fisheries do, however, feature prominently in Vanuatu's economic outlook--which is also the case for most Pacific islands.

Margaret Rodman's excellent work provides us with a perspective on the future of fisheries, whether it be in terms of local consumption or in terms of economic speculation in an island environment in search of development.

Hanns J. Buchholz, *Law of the Sea Zones in the Pacific Ocean*. Hamburg: Institute of Asian Affairs; Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1987. Pp. 115, bibliography. US$15.00.

Reviewed by Edward Miles, Institute for Marine Studies, University of Washington

This book attempts to portray the regionalization of the Law of the Sea in the western Pacific Ocean. In particular, the author summarizes the broad sweep of coastal-state actions from a historical perspective for Australia, New Zealand, and the states of the Pacific Islands, Southeast Asia, and East Asia. Much valuable historical information is collected and now available in a single reference. The emphasis is on regional implementation of the new Law of the Sea, which significantly extends co&t-al-state jurisdiction, but the data go only to 1980. Consequently, one gets a picture restricted to the initial stages of the new regime's introduction.

In addition to the record of state action compiled herein, the book is valuable as a regional reference for the large number of maps that treat in some detail issues of boundaries and zones. Analytically, however, the book is a disappointment because the underlying conceptual structure is almost totally undeveloped. The author never defines what he means by "regionalization of the Law of the Sea" and readers are never provided with criteria for judging what constitutes "regionalization" by which they can follow the author's analysis. We have only a useful compendium of facts about what states have done with respect to boundaries, zones, and issues of policy; neither the author nor the reader has any basis for comparing the trends presented.

Chapters 2 to 5, which are the heart of the book, do not constitute an analysis of regional trends concerning the economic and political significance of the phenomenon of extended coastal-state jurisdiction. Each chapter provides only yet another listing of the potential value of what each coastal state has at stake, particularly with respect to outer continental-shelf oil, gas, and fishing. Even so, fishing conditions are highly dynamic and the data go only to 1980. There have been enormous changes since then, but the uninformed reader will go away without even a hint of the possibility of this change since no indication of either direction or dynamics is provided.

In his conclusion the author does attempt to draw general conclusions, but both their utility and depth are constrained by the absence of any conceptual underpinning. This is to be regretted since a more self-conscious approach to the analytical dimension would have made this book much better and far more useful.

John M. Hailey, *Entrepreneurs and Indigenous Business in the Pacific.* Pacific Islands Development Program Research Report Series, no. 9. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 1987. Pp. 94, bibliography. US$8.00, paper.

Reviewed by Colin Aislabie, University of Newcastle, Newcastle, Australia

The Indigenous Business Development Project was initiated in 1983 to identify the various social and economic factors contributing to the success or failure of indigenous businesses in the Pacific Islands. As part of this project detailed studies of seven Pacific Island nations have been published: the Cook Islands, Fiji, the Marshall Islands, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Western Samoa. The book under review here is a synthesis of the findings from these studies: Hailey sees his task as one of providing a general analysis of the data generated and examining their implications.

This review will concentrate on the quality of the perspective to be found in Hailey's synthesis, though some consideration will be given to the question of whether or not it suffers from any lack of detail. Putting aside introductory material, the volume has eight chapters. The topics each covers will be considered in turn.

Chapter 2 is concerned with (local) entrepreneurs and indigenous business in development. Hailey notes that high expectations are held about their contribution, Consider the opening paragraph: "Pacific entrepreneurs play a key role in the balanced development of the Pacific Islands. They are a catalyst for growth, able to create new economic opportunities, generate new employment, and distribute wealth and enterprise throughout the community" (4). It is not surprising that a considerable part of the discussion concerns whether entrepreneurs and indigenous businesses measure up to these expectations.

In chapter 2 Hailey argues that an alternative to indigenous business --whether it be a colonial power, the postindependence government, or foreign business interests--is no longer viable. Further, indigenous business has the characteristics that are required to promote contemporary economic development in situations where it is sorely needed. Some of these indigenous business qualities might be regarded as inevitable, such as smallness, adaptability, local knowledge, appropriateness (to the local economic and political environment and to indigenous management and industrial relations practices), and flexibility. Other equally important characteristics are responsiveness to free market forces, import replacement, efficiency, wealth redistribution, and skill enhancement. At the same time it is evident that, despite retreats on some fronts, nonindigenous business is still playing a major role in the Pacific economies considered in this study.

In addition to specifying the anticipated characteristics of indigenous business in chapter 2, Hailey seeks to develop, in his next chapter, a more precise definition of the Pacific entrepreneur. In particular, he wants to know whether the definitions of entrepreneurship used in textbooks published in the United States and Europe are applicable to the island communities of the Pacific.

He begins by arguing that the impact of contact with Europeans was to stifle the indigenous trade and commerce that were already an integral part of island society. Examples are drawn from the histories of Tahiti, Rarotonga, Tuvalu, Fiji, and the Marshall Islands (though Tahiti and Tuvalu are not among the country studies). The problem that I see here is not that Hailey's generalizations are incorrect but rather that, having introduced a historical perspective, he provides no account of the reemergence of entrepreneurship during the latter part of this century. Did changes in attitudes only follow changes in formal political structures?

Hailey's treatment of the textbook definitions of entrepreneurship is also rather skimpy. He complains that no definition of entrepreneurship has been fixed and that, even if one did exist, it would be Europocentric --reflecting impersonal work practices and emphasizing individuality, monetary success, and individual acquisitiveness rather than the concern with customary obligations and reciprocal relations, traditional status, and kinship ties to be found in the communal cultures of the Pacific. Indeed, this chapter is mainly taken up with the social role of the entrepreneur.

In his conclusion to this chapter, Hailey proffers the following definition of a Pacific entrepreneur: "one who shows a practical creativity and managerial ability in effectively combining resources and opportunities in new ways so as to provide goods and services appropriate to island communities, and yet who can still generate sufficient income to create new opportunities for the individual, the family, and the community as a whole" (28).

One reading of this definition suggests that the Pacific entrepreneur is someone who reflects social expectations in relation to business dealings. Much of the book, and indeed the literature generally, would appear to emphasize the conflict between personal aspirations and these social expectations. However, another reading of this definition could be used, with little modification, to describe any moderately successful enterpreneur, European or otherwise. Perhaps what is wrong with this definition is that it does not clarify whether what is different about the Pacific entrepreneur is some intrinsic quality that the entrepreneur is said to possess or is, rather, just the milieu in which the entrepreneur operates.

The following two chapters ("The Performance of Pacific Business" and "Pacific Women in Business") provide some interesting insights into the operation of small indigenous businesses. These chapters suggest that these businesses might be regarded as different from their European counterparts in their concern with customary obligations and reciprocal relations, the traditional status and kinship ties to be found in the communal culture of the Pacific. Yet possibly more important is the different role these businesses appear to play in the economic life of the indigenous entrepreneur when compared to the economic life of a European counterpart. The ability to establish and operate more than one business simultaneously is not only *a* characteristic of entrepreneurship throughout the Pacific, as Hailey reports, but it, and the associated economic activity accompanying it, might well be described as *the* singular characteristic of entrepreneurship throughout the Pacific.

Insofar as it is possible to find an explanation in these two chapters for widespread multibusiness involvement, it would appear to represent the result of the relative ease of entry combined with subsequent real difficulties in growth and survival. The material in these chapters also suggests that this combination of circumstances not only leads to multibusiness involvement but also to resource duplication and economic stagnation. If this is the reality of entrepreneurship and indigenous business in the Pacific, then a case may well be made for avoiding Europocentrism. At the same time, an implication of accepting the status quo may be that exaggerated (European?) ambitions for the small-business sector will have to be abandoned.

Chapter 6, entitled "Government Policy and Pacific Business," further suggests that we have here a story of expectations, if not leading inevitably to frustrations, at least being closely associated with them. Governments promote indigenous businesses in the Pacific and yet, at the same time, restrict their opportunities and discriminate against small locally owned businesses. However, as Hailey points out, while government support for the small business may be inadequate and frequently inappropriate and ineffective, the government cannot be blamed for the genuine problems created by what is seen to be the ignorance and inefficiency of the Pacific entrepreneurs themselves.

These problems, which are attributed to the behavior of the entrepreneurs themselves, are considered in the next two chapters. In chapter 7 Hailey approaches the awkward question of the success criterion for an individual entrepreneur by arguing that certain similarities attend the performance of successful entrepreneurs. Particularly mentioned are managerial expertise, marketing skills, sufficient initial investment--and a particular entrepreneurial personality. These allow taking advantage of the opportunities open to indigenous entrepreneurs. It is stressed that a prerequisite for success is a continued respect for the obligations and communal commitments inherent in the local culture.

Chapter 8 examines the problems and constraints facing the entrepreneur most at risk of business failure. Hailey points to strong possibilities of failure associated with business problems peculiar to the communal societies of the Pacific. In particular, the entrepreneur is expected to satisfy social commitments as well as deal with the difficulties that any small business owner has to overcome. This discussion sets the scene for the policy-oriented discussion of the final chapter.

No doubt reflecting Hailey's own interests, the country studies on which this volume is based receive the most detailed treatment in chapters 6 and 9. There policies and recommendations for coping with the problems surveyed in the book are considered, briefly, on a country-by-country basis. Whereas chapter 6 contains a concise summary of a variety of initiatives, chapter 9 is arranged so that the principal problems encountered in each country are briefly summarized, followed by a short list of the main recommendations made to the governments concerned.

This country-by-country survey is followed by a list of nine recommendations made at a May 1986 regional workshop on indigenous business development in the Pacific. Hailey concludes by pointing to five themes that recur in the recommendations of the country studies and the discussion at the regional workshop: "(1) the impact of government policy on small indigenous business, (2) the problem of gaining access to capital, (3) the value of relevant business training, (4) the importance of up-to-date information, and (5) the need for suitable infrastructure" (85).

Hailey's is not the only publication covering the material resulting from this project. Te'o Ian Fairbairn has edited a volume that contains, among other material, chapters provided by six authors (material on the Solomon Islands is not included while Hailey authors the chapter on Fiji) "to highlight and disseminate major features of these studies." Its greater detail will give the Fairbairn book some advantages over the briefer treatment provided by Hailey.

It is useful to consider how the Hailey volume compares with the Fairbairn-edited work. While the latter does not lack attempts to present an overview of the contribution that it is making, Hailey's volume is the more successful. It will be, for some, less interesting than the Fairbairn alternative because it necessarily provides much less material on the specific country settings in which entrepreneurs operate. Among other things this means that some claims in the Hailey synthesis need to be understood in the light of the material to be found in the separate country studies. In particular, this reviewer frequently felt uneasy at Hailey's treatment of the "Pacificness" of the indigenous entrepreneur, It is a theme that appears to loom larger in Hailey's viewpoint than in his source material. It may be that he is making too much of a contrast with the textbook content of which he disapproves. Attention needs to be focused, instead, on the economic milieu that the textbooks purport to analyze. Ultimately, it is difficult to see how this characteristic of "Pacificness" has led to different policies and recommendations than those that might have been made if it had been ignored.

Nevertheless, putting Pacific/non-Pacific comparisons to one side, it must be accepted that small entrepreneurs in Pacific islands are subject to a variety of common constraints. Why have governments in the Pacific, and elsewhere, been generally unsuccessful in adopting policies that are effective in easing these constraints? Hailey appears to be suggesting two reasons: governments do not give their small business programs sufficient priority and the perceived problems are rooted in the nature of Pacific societies (and, by inference, possibly beyond effective government intervention). There is much sense in these suggestions but they do not grapple with a critical issue pervasive in much of the Europocentric literature. This is the question of why governments should be concerned with small business at all.

As the book indicates in chapter 2, there have been high expectations for the economic benefits from small business performance. Unfortunately, small business can be encouraged for a variety of reasons that, even if not conflicting, can imply different policy measures. There may well be a need for specialization in analysis and policy implementation that does not fit well with a holistic approach. Both small-business teaching and research favor the search for useful generalities; consequently, much policy-making is confused about the appropriate success indicators that are relevant.

A critical reading of this volume, and the companion Fairbairn-edited work, must raise questions concerning the ultimate purpose of the academic study of the Pacific entrepreneur. Does it derive from a concern with entrepreneurship, or with the nationality or race of local businessmen, or with smallness in economic activity, or with local control of business, or with developing local counterparts to European-style businesses, or with "neutrality" in government impact on business activity, or with equality between the sexes or with . . . ? Nothing is inherently wrong with a government's pursuing multiple objectives in this area. However, a government might well consider the advantages of deciding what its objectives are, then pondering possible conflicts among objectives, then choosing instruments appropriate to each objective, and then, finally, appraising possible conflicts between instruments. Of course, governments in the real world do not proceed in such a systematic manner, but it is an approach that those with a scholarly bent should continually commend to them.

NOTE

The reviewer is grateful to his colleagues Dr. Winston Dunlop, Dr. John Fisher, and Mr. Bill Sheehan and to a visiting fellow, Professor Te'o Ian Fairbairn, for comment on an earlier draft of this review.

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Mike Donaldson and Kenneth Good, *Articulated Agricultural Development: Traditional and Capitalist Agricultures in Papua New Guinea.* Pp. ix, 160. Aldershot, England and Brookfield, Vermont: Gower Publishing Group, Avebury, 1988. US$38.95.

Reviewed by Ben Finney, University of Hawai'i

This slim volume analyzes the articulation of traditional, precapitalist agriculture and the new capitalist agriculture of cash crops in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea. Specifically, it focuses on the Goroka Valley of Eastern Highlands Province and the remarkable way in which Gorokans have become major coffee producers in the world economy. The language and categories of analysis are explicitly Marxist. Although "bourgeois" Pacific scholars may be annoyed by the repetition of such phrases as "the rich peasants" and "the rural capitalist farmers," and jolted by references to their following the "*kulak* path," this study is actually relatively free of the Marxist cant that obscures so many analyses of its type. In fact, this is probably one of the better examples in the literature on the Pacific of how a Marxist perspective can illuminate the way islanders become enmeshed in the world economy.

The Gorokan experience, however, differs from many other encounters of Pacific islanders with traders, commodity prices, and the like, for in this case the islanders have come out rather well. The book analyzes this outcome, outlining how the Gorokans and their neighbors began as smallholder producers of coffee in the shadow of expatriate-owned plantations, then started their own plantations, and now, with the coming of independence, have virtually taken over the entire coffee industry and made coffee the premier agricultural export of Papua New Guinea. Essentially, Donaldson and Good explain this development as stemming from the receptivity of the production-oriented agricultural system of the Highlanders, with its emphasis on sweet potatoes, pigs, and other commodities, and the dynamism inherent in the big-man leadership system, all aided by colonial and postcolonial government policies aimed at promoting indigenous coffee production.

As such, their thesis, stripped of its Marxist language, is not new. The authors castigate anthropologists for a focus on static studies of Highlands societies, yet their own analysis borrows heavily from a variety of anthropological sources: archaeology and culture-history models of the development of Highlands agriculture; social anthropology models of indigenous production, exchange, and leadership systems; and economic anthropology analyses of the Gorokan case itself. However, the authors do perform a valuable service by synthesizing these sources with their own inquiries (which apparently consisted of interviews during the late 1970s and perhaps the early 1980s with government officials, agricultural officers, and their "rich peasant" subjects) and by adding new elements to the discussion, such as a comparison of Gorokan coffee development with analogous, but less successful, cases among various East African groups and a consideration of the inequalities between the rich peasants and small coffee growers and, of course, the plantation workers (which appear to be part of this successful articulation).

The really interesting thing about this study is how the authors seem reconciled (or resigned?) to the Gorokan success in coffee capitalism and the critical role indigenous Gorokan business leaders have played in that success. Where ten years ago Marxist analysts of Papua New Guinea were calling for socialist agriculture based on indigenous models, the authors admit that there is really no socialist alternative to capitalist agriculture "either growing out of the past or . . . on the agenda for the future" (viii), However, it must be admitted that while Papua New Guineans may be spared the absurdities of collectivization, capitalist agriculture carries, as the authors point out, its own social costs.

Lisette Josephides, *The Production of Inequality: Gender and Exchange among the Kewa.* London: Tavistock Publications, 1985. Pp. x, 242, glossary, indexes, maps, figures, tables, photographs. US$35.00, cloth.

Reviewed by Leopold Pospisil, Yale University

The program of this book, as stated by the author, is to analyze inequalities among men, and between men and women among the Papuan Kewa speakers of the Highlands of New Guinea. The source of these inequalities is claimed to be gender and the nature of exchange. The fieldwork on which this study is based was conducted in the 1,800-meter-high Sugu River Valley of the southern Highlands (southwest of Mt. Hagen) for two years, from 1979 to 1981.

The Kewa, who number over fifty thousand, live by horticulture, cultivating in permanent mounds sweet potatoes, and on separate fields bananas, sugarcane, grasses, fruits, nuts, greens, and nowadays also cucumbers, maize, cabbages, pumpkins, and tomatoes. Their main domestic animals are pigs, whose production and exchange, especially during elaborate pig feasts, bring not only economic prosperity but also prestige and power to their breeders. Some breeders, who excel in pig exchange and acquire skills of oratory and persuasion, become the well known "big-men," leaders of their groups. The Kewa are organized into what the author calls tribes, which consist of several agnatic exogamous clans. Marriage is polygynous by preference, residence virilocal in "pulsating settlements," and the society is dominated by egalitarian ethics. This, however, does not mean that the society is de facto egalitarian. Indeed, power through personal wealth enables successful breeders and traders to establish themselves as big-men, the leaders of their people. In their "gift oriented economy" they manipulate the redistribution of wealth (especially pigs and shell and paper money) by selling, loaning, and mortgaging pigs, even by promising delivery of yet-nonexisting animals, so that they accumulate wealth and prestige and thus the power to control to some extent the behavior of their followers. In this general presentation the author is not as naive as many other anthropologists who, following some dogmas of popular doctrines, claim egalitarianism and collectivism for societies in which by any stretch of imagination they cannot exist.

The book is divided into two parts. In part 1 Kewa social organization, historical analysis of group fusion and fission, position of sexes, an agnatic ideology, and basic features of economy are presented to the reader in general terms, often illustrated by a case account, or sometimes by several. Part 2 treats the production of inequality, applying theory to the assembled ethnographic material to "elucidate gender relations and power relations" (10). The first set of relations is characterized by men's domination of women, achieved through alienation of the products of their labor (pigs) and using the pigs for advantage in competition with other men for power. This exploitation of women is possible mainly because of men's ownership of land and pigs and because of virilocality, whereby the local group is composed of permanent males, who define the group and care for its integrity, and of potentially impermanent female members, both local (daughters) and incoming (wives), who may leave the group by marrying outside or by being divorced by their husbands.

The necessary data were obtained through informants and, as the author claims, "participant observation." As usual, the problem of the concept of "participation" crops up. Admittedly one can participate only if one knows the spoken language well, if one understands when two natives talk to each other. No pidgin English or translators can substitute for such knowledge, and no "participation" can result without it. Yet the author's ability to use the native language was, by admission, very limited, so that she "always needed the assistance of pidgin speakers during difficult and intricate conversations" and when data had to be "later translated from the Kewa with the help of pidgin speakers" (viii). Her "learning" the difficult Papuan language for three months in the library and six weeks among the Kewa is hopelessly inadequate.

The matter of getting solid data is further complicated by the fact that those pertaining to precolonial times had to be extracted, usually through interpreters, from the old people's memories, thus rendering them necessarily biased and unreliable. That this is a common practice in anthropology does not make it correct and scientific. The fact is that since 1945 the Kewa have been ruthlessly colonized, their territory "pacified" through elimination of warfare (1950s), their law replaced by an imposed Western court system, their religion and cult houses destroyed by the missionaries (1960s), their leadership--so crucial to this analysis--altered beyond recognition, their economy changed into a Western market type with coffee plantations and migrant labor as its main features, and this society infused by new, formally superimposed authorities, such as the various government officials, pastors, catechists, interpreters, agricultural experts, district officers, and so forth. In the words of the author, the Kewa culture was "transformed on a revolutionary scale" in the past two decades (90). No wonder then that because of the language and acculturation problems the data and the resulting analysis are rather wanting.

In spite of these limitations the author shows good sense in recognizing the inequality of the sexes and of men and in not taking the native ideology of egalitarianism at its face value, but confronting it with the radically different practice. Thus she can perceive well the subtle wife's power and her informal way of wielding it (especially 197). Nonetheless, the good features such as these cannot compensate for the deficiencies, some of which I will outline below.

The account itself, presented in only 220 pages, is definitely thin. Matters are made even worse by constant references to works and ideas of other authors (especially 18-20, 59-61, 83, 91, 97, 98), some of whose theories, definitions, and even data are presented as relevant to the Kewa analysis without supporting evidence (e.g., the use of Baruya myth, 137). One would expect a solid body of data on the Kewa to be analyzed by a precise method and only afterwards compared, if desirable, with ethnographies of other peoples. With the exception of good data on twenty-three pig killings presented in three short tables (192-193), there is an absence of quantification in the whole book. There is no quantitative account of the market or individual financial transactions: prices, exchange rates, differential wealth of individuals. For a rigorous economic analysis these omissions make the account useless, and certainly the material presented is not "reanalyzable" as the author claims that it ought to be (94). Lacking also is information on work time by sex, description and types of barter exchange, amount of average bride-price, production of households, or quantitative gains of the big-men in their particular transactions. A single case as an illustration is not a substitute for quantifiable data in an economic analysis. Sometimes these examples, like the unnecessary verbatim discussion of a particular exchange that for two pages reads like field notes, appear more as fillers of space than as necessary background for understanding of the transaction (58-59). This feeling is reinforced by the already mentioned constant reference to other people's data on other societies and lengthy quotations of not always pertinent material (e.g., 25-28,216).

Even the qualitative account is tainted by serious problems, including many undocumented generalizations. For example, the discussion of marriage rules, descent, and kinship is inadequate; time in the presentation is often telescoped; and no sharp distinction is made between rules, preferred behavior, prescribed behavior (law), and actuality (e.g., 53-56). Many terms are misused: an affine is not a father's sister's son or daughter, a father's sister, or a married daughter (192); *ruru* is obviously not a group but a category (e.g., church officials, 15); kinship cannot rest on a story of common origin (18) but descent may; structure is not a simple use of address terms but a relationship (131); and big-man is a concept, not a phenomenon (167). Political power is poorly defined, with no distinction made between it and legal power (99, 110). Aside of these factual criticisms, the style of the writing displays the usual unnecessary, quasi-scientific jargon that obscures rather than clarifies.

Throughout the book many wrong claims are made. For example, has division of labor really "little to do with biology" (97)? Some of it necessarily does (e.g., felling trees, war, hunting, etc.). Does sister exchange, as Godelier claims, really preclude inequality (112)? Not necessarily, as data on Australian aborigines show. The statement that "pigs are not produced for alienation" (209) cannot be correct if pig feasts are planned ahead of time, animals are "mortgaged," and nonexistent pigs promised for future exchange (199). This is an embarrassing contradiction. The author's claim that men only clear the gardens (111) is contradicted by her later acknowledgment of plants cultivated by males (117). The statement that women have no public activities of their own does not ring true either. Among the Kapauku Papuans they had special female dances, exclusive lunches in the fields, segregated fishing, prominence as bride mothers during the public bride-price payments (when they collected a portion), and roles in the wars and as plaintiffs, witnesses, or defendants at public legal trials. Women were also skilled surgeons and shamans with public performances. None of this existed among the Kewa in the old days?

As I have pointed out, the worst comes when an author contradicts himself or herself in the same volume. Additional cases of this fallacy in the text include a claim that men talk of women as sojourners (65) while on page 63 we read: "This is not to say that individual in-married women are treated as outsiders or thought of as sojourners." On page 82 it is claimed that traditional big-men are now elected to leadership, while on the following page leaders are described as a new breed of "boss boys." "Sharing within the group" is regarded as the basic Kewa tenet (172), yet individualism, individual ownership, and preoccupation with personal success in power struggles contradict it (188-189). Finally the sketchy account of precontact law and legal procedure among the Kewa is false. The author should have become familiar with legal analyses of nonacculturated tribes of New Guinea. Indeed, she assumes that popular old compromise statements by the headmen were the reality, that the big-man had "to find a formula acceptable to all parties" (146). The nonsense of this claim (made by so many ethnographers) is obvious when one contemplates concrete cases. Since when has a man sentenced to death, or to being shot in his thigh (a common punishment in the Highlands), or to being fined heavily accepted these verdicts as a compromise? Needless to say, Josephides herself contradicts the compromise viewpoint when she describes correctly the power of the big-men "whom ordinary people obeyed because they were afraid of them" (157), who consequently needed no compromise. Legal verdicts, whether among the Papuans, Eskimos, or Romans, have never been compromised settlements. Of course, judges and other leaders do make compromises, but outside of the legal arena of their courts (in the West it is done in their "chambers").

I would like to close with a final criticism that is directed not only at the author but generally at many writers on East New Guinea societies. Since when has a political boundary become a legitimate excuse for anthropologists to be ignorant of cultures beyond it? In the whole book I have not found one reference to the numerous works of anthropologists working in West New Guinea (Irian Jaya), where many native societies have been studied in a fairly unacculturated state! My Kapauku material is referred to only through a secondary source, Modjeska (119). In science one should consult all relevant data, not ignore 50 percent just because they come from behind an artificial political line drawn by colonial powers of the past.

Barbara Huber-Greub, *Kokospalmenmenschen. Boden und Alltag und ihre Bedeutung im Selbstverständnis der Abelam von Kimbangwa (East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea).* Basler Beiträge zur Ethnologie, vol. 27. Basel, Switzerland: Ethnologisches Seminar der Universität und Museum für Völkerkunde, 1988. SwF 48.

Reviewed by Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin, Universität Basel, Switzerland

This book is one of a series on Sepik cultures, several already published and others soon forthcoming. The Sepik--mainly Iatmul, Abelam, Kwangwa, and their neighbors--has been the main regional focus of the Department of Anthropology of Basel University in Switzerland for the last twenty years. Barbara Huber-Greub's book is based on eight months' fieldwork in 1978-1979 in the Abelam village of Kimbangwa, which has been classified since Phyllis Kaberry's studies as belonging to the ethnolinguistic group of the *shamu kundi* (Ndu language family).

Her book shows a broad ethnographic approach and focuses on the Abelam category of *kapma,* "ground/earth/territory" and the like. It adds substantial new evidence to the knowledge of the northern Abelam who, having been studied by many anthropologists (Phyllis Kaberry, Anthony Forge, David Lea, Diane Losche, Richard Scaglion, and myself), rank among the most thoroughly investigated cultures in Papua New Guinea.

In fact, the category of *kapma* is vital to Abelam thinking as they grow yams not only for their livelihood but cultivate extremely long tubers as a passion. The title of the book, *Kokospalmenmenschen,* "*coco* tree people" *(təpmandu),* already hints at their horticulturalist view, the idea that the earth is life-giving for plants as well as for people. It is an expression used by the Abelam for stressing the unity of people within a given (village-) territory; like the coco trees grown in the settlements the people are rooted in the villages where they are born.

Huber-Greub's book, which actually is her doctoral dissertation, treats *kapma* from the point of view of (1) migrations (the history of Kimbangwa clans as told in oral traditions), social organization, and locality; (2) subsistence, mainly the growing of yams,. and (3) emic categories of ground/earth. She also treats symbolic dimensions of *kapma.* She succeeds in showing convincingly how *kapma* is perceived not as a "thing" but as a living entity, sensitive and reacting, that at once separates and unifies the dead from the living, men from women, and old men from young. Thus, in this sense ground/earth becomes metaphorically also a crucial border that, especially in ritual context, cannot be transgressed without consequence. Huber-Greub demonstrates that there exist what she calls "meaningful relations" *("bedeutsame Relationen")* between different elements within Abelam culture that refer to each other and that are bundled in the notion of *kapma.*

This work contains, apart from the extensive and valuable chapters on ground/earth, additional sections as well. One is on metaphoric speech and another is on the meaning of Abelam paintings. Both are rather isolated from the main topic of the book. In the appendix she has included songs and discussions, as well as myths, some of which I believe originated in other areas of New Guinea, probably reaching the Maprik region through the regular *stori tumbuna* broadcasts of Radio Wewak.

Arthur J. Knoll and Lewis H. Gann, eds., *Germans in the Tropics: Essays in German Colonial History*. Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies, no. 24. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1987. Pp. xiv, 178, bibliography, index. US$39.95.

Reviewed by John A. Moses, University of Queensland

The editors of this volume have assembled nine historians, all of established reputation in the field, to produce what is at once a useful and provocative contribution to knowledge. Although at first glance a slender book, the length of the enterprise is compensated for by the use of quite small print. The aim has been to present a critical updating of the state of research on Wilhelmine Germany's colonial record in Africa and the Pacific as well as to reinvestigate the various theses advanced to explain the German participation in the scramble for colonies by the European powers in the three decades prior to the Great War.

Since the end of World War II there has arisen a veritable international scholarly industry in the field of imperial Germany's colonial endeavor. The main reason has been the fact that the records of the Reichskolonialamt in particular have become more or less accessible for the very first time. Without these, housed in the Potsdam archival repository of the German Democratic Republic, no meaningful research could be undertaken. It was, indeed, a breakthrough when much of this material was microfilmed and acquired by libraries in the Western world. This latter circumstance led in fact to the production of the first symposium in English on the former German Pacific colonies based on official records (John A. Moses and Paul M. Kennedy, eds., *Germany in the Pacific and Far East, 1884-1914* [St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1977]). Since then a number of monographs and proceedings of symposia have appeared, of which the present volume is the latest example in English.

There is also still great interest in Germany in setting the colonial record straight as a recent conference (June 1989) held at the Pedagogische Hochschule in Schäwisch Gmünd indicates. The proceedings of that international symposium--in which a number of the contributors to the present volume participated--will further add to knowledge of an eventful and controversial, albeit short, episode of German history, an episode about which "Germans nowadays are apt to be ashamed," to quote the editors of the present collection. Indeed the investigation of the colonial record assists in the ongoing process of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (digesting the painful legacy of the past) in which German historians seem to be perennially engaged--witness the current *Historikerstreit.* Understandably, the desire to refute the *Kolonialschuldlüge* (the lie of Germany's colonial guilt) is a legitimate inspiration for this research, especially if carried out in collaboration with non-German colleagues. But it is a task of great relevance not only to Germans themselves but also, and indeed more so, to the native peoples who were colonized. In this regard, "the Germans" were responsible for catapulting numerous, in varying degrees stone-age, peoples into the twentieth century. For this reason alone the record of the German presence in the form of planters, administrators, scientists, soldiers, and missionaries, and their impact, needs to be clarified.

The essays collected here contribute in no small measure to this clarification. At the very least they pose a series of questions about Germany's colonial experience: Why was the venture into the colonial field undertaken at all? Were there any significant voices of protest against it? Was it economically worth the effort? How did a handful of administrators on the slenderest of budgets handle their respective tasks? Through a series of case studies these questions are addressed honestly and soberly, but separately, by individual scholars representing both liberal and Marxist standpoints. It is, in this respect, encouraging to see scholarly collaboration among historians dispersed not only geographically (e.g., Peter Hempenstall of Australia), but also across ideological boundaries (e.g., Helmuth Stoecker and Peter Sebald from the German Democratic Republic, with five U.S. and one West German historian).

While most of the results are as yet tentative, they point to some reliable conclusions. For example, the German colonial enterprise was carried out on a shoestring; it was by no means widely popular among the bourgeoisie (not to mention the Social Democratic electorate); economically it was the riskiest of capitalist enterprises, although certain groups in Germany evinced great enthusiasm for maintaining a colonial presence. In this regard some of the conclusions amount to a direct challenge both to Marxist interpretations of German colonialism and to the social imperialism thesis of Hans-Ulrich Wehler. Some of the essays raise serious doubt whether the latter thesis can withstand scrutiny in the light of the economic facts. One is, perhaps, forced back into seeking political/ideological motivations. While it has been demonstrated that the vast majority of Germans did not wish to risk personal investment in shaky colonial enterprises or sacrifice themselves in the colonial service --not even the military wanted to maintain vast contingents overseas-- there was still that all-important political will for Germany to have her "place in the sun." Was it the underlying belief widely shared by the

Bildungsbürgertum that in the inevitable collision of the Great Powers for world hegemony, it was prudent to maintain a presence, however unprofitable for the meantime, in the far-flung corners of the earth to become the bases for the spread of *Kultur* in the future? That is, perhaps, an unanswerable question, but one which nevertheless poses itself tantalizingly.

Finally, what the present collection does confirm is the fact that there were far-sighted and humane German colonial officials; the record was by no means one of unrelieved, ruthless brutality and exploitation, As well, in comparison with the other colonial powers, the record of German science and medicine among the colonized peoples stands up very positively. The same can be said of German exploration. And all these endeavors, the most important of course being the economic exploitation of the colonies, have left a legacy of infrastructures and knowledge that has had far-ranging impact on peoples as distant from each other as Western Samoa and Togo. We will never know what the long-term consequences of a continued German colonial presence in the tropics would have been, but studies such as the present volume certainly give us valuable clues.

Richard Moyle, *Traditional Samoan Music.* Auckland: Auckland University Press in association with The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1988. Pp. xv, 271, maps, tables, musical notation, drawings, plates, appendix, glossary, bibliography, indexes. US$45.00.

Reviewed by Elizabeth Tatar, Bishop Museum, Honolulu

Traditional Samoan Music is as handsome as its companion volume, *Tongan Music,* recently published by the same author and press (Moyle 1987). Like *Tongan Music,* this volume contains a great deal of information presented to an academic readership from a predominantly musicological point of view.

Traditional Samoan Music is based on the author's fieldwork in Samoa between 1966 and 1969, and subsequent doctoral dissertation (Moyle 1971). The organization of the musical data, methods of analysis, and general conclusions are the same in both works. The 1971 manuscript has been substantially rewritten for the 1988 publication, and additional information has been included, such as a review of international collections of Samoan music recordings and a more comprehensive review of written historical sources concerned with Samoan music and dance. Detailed information on the amount and types of musical data collected in the field, methods of field collection, criteria for evaluating the data, and quantification of the data and their analyses are available only in the 1971 manuscript. For example, Moyle collected 913 musical pieces, of which 353 were chosen for detailed description and analysis (1971:xxi-xxii). Presumably these same 353 musical pieces form the basis for the 1988 study.

The first three chapters of *Traditional Samoan Music*--"Introduction," "Musical Ethnography," and "Musical Instruments"--serve as an introductory section to the remaining five chapters, which concentrate on the presentation, description, and analysis of musical data. The musical data are organized according to "texture," a musicological term Moyle employs to designate major song types as "solo," "unison," "responsorial," and "polyphonic," Songs not strictly conforming to the four major song types are handled through use of the qualifying statement "and predominantly," as in, for example, "Unison (and Predominantly Unison) Song Types," the title of the fifth chapter. Dance songs are discussed in a separate chapter. The distribution of the musical data within the four major song types, additionally divided into "pitched" and "unpitched" categories, is presented in the dissertation (Moyle 1971:3-4).

My review of this work naturally reflects my own bias toward contemporary works of an ethnomusicological nature. I have long grappled with the impositions of Western music theory and approaches as well as with Western anthropological approaches, particularly toward determining what is and is not "traditional" and what is and is not of value to a certain people. I recently attended a symposium concerning Pacific island cultures and was dismayed to hear several scholars, young and old, state that "tradition" in Polynesia can only refer to that which was done before the islands were "discovered" by Europeans. I was rather astounded to learn that everything, including music and dance, produced by the Pacific islanders since discovery by the West is not considered traditional (by Western scholars!).

The meaning of the term "traditional" in relation to Samoan music is very important to this work, Moyle presents his argument for what is "traditional" Samoan music near the end of the introduction. He reviews the Samoan terms and expressions for Samoan music: *'o pese fa'a-Samoa* refers to traditional Samoan music (songs) and *'o pese Samoa* refers to Samoan songs with "a broader reference base, encompassing both traditional material and compositions of European style" (10). He points out that the use of the Samoan language in a musical performance is not the only determining factor of its being traditional, but that age is also a factor as illustrated by the expression *'o pese mai anamua* (songs from antiquity), which "are usually said to be 'traditional' *('fa'a-Samoa').* However, the term ' *'o le pese mai anamua'* is sometimes used of [*sic*] a song of modern composition whose subject-matter relates to antiquity; in such cases care is needed to establish the date of composition, where this is known" (10). Besides age, Moyle says "a further basis for identification of 'traditional' musical styles emerges from the analysis presented later in this present work," that is, "texture," along with melodic contour, scales, rhythm, form, tonality, and other musical aspects. Throughout the volume Moyle places negative value on Western influences on music and dance, indeed on acculturated music in general, and positive value on pre-European music and dance. As one reads on, one discovers that many of the songs, musical instruments, and dances described are obsolete, or nearly obsolete. Do I assume then, to pick an example, that the Samoan songs performed today, accompanied by the Samoan equivalent of the Hawaiian slack-key guitar, are not traditional, or to take it a step further, are not Samoan?

Tantalizing glimpses of a complex political, economic, and social organization are given in the first two chapters, but the reader is left wondering how the rest of the study will relate to the people whose music and dance this is (or was). The idea of a "national" music, first mentioned in the introduction in connection with recent change in musical traditions, is never really explored. It is an intriguing idea and should have been fully developed for the reader to appreciate its manifestations in the data presented later in the book. In view of this, one wonders why, in the maps and in the discussions of Samoan history, Moyle ignores the political division between Western Samoa and American Samoa. That division certainly has affected the lifeways of Samoans and their view of a "national culture."

The references in the introduction to "prehistory" and "pre-contact" as opposed to "history" (2) is rather confusing as Moyle does not tell us clearly at what point the three became distinguished and by whom. Unfortunately, very little is said about Samoan accounts of Samoa's history, which, I suspect, would reveal that Samoa did have a great deal of contact with other peoples before the Europeans arrived. Many fleeting references are made to intermarriage, warfare, and trade with Tonga, Fiji, and Uvea. The reader, however, is never told when the contacts were made (and if they are still being made), how they were made, what the impact was on the society as a whole, and, in particular, how these contacts affected the evolving role of music and dance in Samoan society. For example, a discussion of the historical and contemporary relationships to Tonga would have been useful at the end of the section on "historical songs" in the chapter on responsorial song types.

"Musical Ethnography" is an interesting, though brief (eleven pages) chapter. It would have been more satisfying to learn more about, for example, the values placed on certain kinds of musical and dance performances, the imagery and symbolism of the poetry, the gender roles in musical and dance performances, individual versus group presentations, competition, and the processes and products of change in terms of music and dance. Moyle affirms the importance of poetry to traditional music and dance, but makes a curiously weak statement in this chapter: "Although an examination of Samoan poetry is beyond the scope of this present work, *it appears* that the values ascribed to the artistry through which language is shaped into spoken poetry are heightened when that poetry becomes the means of group expression and is communicated through song" (18; emphasis added).

Musical instruments, particularly from museum collections, are given relatively great attention. The instruments are carefully ordered and described, although I feel Moyle forces too strict a categorization of drums where there seems to have been none historically. Perhaps he is responding to his concern that "any study of Samoan slit drums is fraught with difficulties and confusion when the focus turns to the mid-nineteenth century" (26). In the introduction he says that Samoan music is primarily vocal, as indeed most Polynesian music is, and that "musical instruments play a role in regulating tempo and in signalling" (10). I could not find sufficient illustration through transcriptions and/or descriptions of how this occurs. I would assume that such a role is most prominent in dance music, but was not able to find an example in the chapter on dance songs. Kaeppler pointed out in her review of Moyle's *Tongan Music* that musical instruments were of minor importance to Polynesian musical performances before the introduction of the guitar and *'ukulele* (Kaeppler 1989:355). Since Moyle does not present evidence of the relationship of musical instruments to vocal music in this volume, I assume that musical instruments were not of major importance to traditional Samoan music (although the guitar as played by Samoans certainly is important to the Samoan musical system today). Drums were (are?) obviously important to Samoans and many clues are given in the text as to the nature of that importance, but there is no discussion of the traditions surrounding their construction or their relationship to traditional religious and social ceremonies, the chiefly hierarchy, and traditional poetry.

A thorough inventory of historical song types, most listed by their

Samoan-language designation, is presented in the next five chapters. The inclusion of transcriptions and translations of Samoan poetry and narration, together with Western musical transcriptions, enhance the presentation, and a summary analysis of the musical data presented ends each chapter. The reader’s appreciation and understanding of Samoan music would have been greatly elevated if a recording of the examples being described were to have accompanied the volume. Moyle refers the reader to a few commercial releases, one containing examples of his own field recordings from Samoa, for only a very few of the transcriptions.

The chapter on solo songs concentrates on *tagi* (songs performed during the course of *fagoga* stories) and medicinal incantations for four types of illnesses (Moyle reports that he collected incantations for eighty-four types of illnesses). Examples of lullabies are also examined, The section on medicinal song types, though most interesting, lacks an anthropological context. Some examination of the symbolism of the ideas and concepts expressed by the transcribed oral histories Moyle includes would have been helpful. One wonders why Moyle did not take advantage of the substantial body of literature available on traditional medicinal practices in Oceania (and elsewhere, for that matter).

The translation of the Samoan texts in this and subsequent chapters is apparently by Moyle (he does not credit any one individual). It is difficult to tell from reading his explanations of the texts whether what he writes is his own interpretation or the Samoan interpretation. Moyle makes a curious observation regarding the term *‘aue:* “the term appears to have no lexical meaning, and is used exclusively in the *fagogo* context” (61). In his dissertation, Moyle did not offer this opinion. The term appears often in the poetry of other song types presented in the subsequent chapters, where it is translated (apparently by Moyle) as the exclamation “oh!” *Auwe (aue),* the Hawaiian counterpart (also used in Tahitian and other Central Polynesian languages), is frequently used in speech and poetry to express grief, dismay, and surprise,’ and has a Proto-Polynesian root, *aue(e)* (see Pukui and Elbert 1986: s.v. aue). The word is also listed in the Samoan dictionary by Pratt (1911: s.v. **‘Auē**) with the meanings “alas, oh! wonder; Oh! of approbation.” *‘Aue* is certainly a part of the vocabulary of Polynesian languages and does indeed have meaning.

Many of the musical transcriptions in the solo songs chapter are in the bass clef, including all the lullabies. Were the lullabies all sung by males or by women with very low vocal registers? Although most of the captions to the transcriptions identify the singer(s) by name, gender is not given (nor is it specified in the index of Samoan singers). Moyle partially explains why the bass clef is used in his dissertation; the curious reader will have to refer to it (1971: 324).

The largest part of *Traditional Samoan Music* deals with game songs under the major grouping, "Unison (and Predominantly Unison) Song Types." I would think that at least some of the games might be gender specific; however, we are not told the gender of those who sing and participate in the games (the transcriptions are in the bass clef). Special emphasis is given the game *tuitui mata,* but no reason is presented for doing so. The reader gets a sense of important relationships of game players to particular age and gender groups, and, on a social level, of relationships to violence, punishment, and competition. These relationships are not explored.

The chapter "Responsorial (and Predominantly Responsorial) Song Types" includes songs to spirits (the only place in this volume where music relating to traditional religious practices is discussed), funeral songs, paddling songs, war songs, and a category of songs called *solo* in Samoan. Many of the transcriptions and descriptions are from historical sources, as Moyle was not able to find these types performed in the late 1960s. This chapter also includes *vi'i,* songs of praise, which Moyle says are very popular and represent the greatest number of song types in the culture. Unfortunately he presents only one example, because the *vi'i* he collected "tend to be acculturated and to contain a mixture of polyphony and block harmony" (190).

A separate chapter is devoted to "Responsorial (and Predominantly Responsorial) Song Types with Dance." In the volume's introduction Moyle points out that "throughout the historical period, and long before it, songs associated with dancing occupied a major part of the national repertoire" (10). In the introduction to this chapter Moyle eloquently describes how social rules embedded in historic antecedents are reflected in the *siva,* a common type of dance performed today, and how the values of social change have affected Samoan dance. One wishes this section had appeared earlier in the volume, since it refers to Samoan music generally. The chapter is divided into "obsolete dances" and "extant dances," with more attention devoted to the obsolete ones. Moyle has compiled a great deal of interesting historical material in a single source and succeeds in presenting a vibrant picture of dances of the past, particularly of a series of dances associated with the night-dance event called *poula.* Surprisingly, continuities of obsolete dances traceable in contemporary dances are largely disqualified by Moyle, who says that "occasions for performance, the size and constitution of the performing group, the style of the accompaniment, and the actions themselves differ, in most cases, from those of the obsolete categories" (224). Although the social contexts of the obsolete dances are thoroughly described, their musical accompaniment and dance movements are not. Although I am sure contemporary dances differ from obsolete dances, an explanation of how and to what extent they differ should have been included, and the continuities, if any, should have been delineated. In the conclusion to this chapter Moyle strongly implies that hardly anything traditional is left in Samoan dance. I find that rather difficult to accept.

Moyle's last chapter on the musical data consists of a brief overview of polyphonic songs, which in the 1971 manuscript are called part songs. Polyphonic singing in parallel fourths and fifths, according to Moyle, was a traditional (pre-European) musical trait in Samoa (two-part polyphony is inferred), Polyphonic singing in three or four parts resulting in Western harmonies was introduced to Samoa by Europeans. The musical style characterized by parallel fourths and fifths is not related to any particular song type within the three given before (solo, unison, responsorial). If, as Moyle argues, parallel singing in fourths and fifths was pre-European, and the musical system was modeled on the solo type, polyphonic singing would also be traceable to the solo type and be closely related to the unison and responsorial types. Polyphonic hymn singing is not examined and only a short sentence acknowledges that locally composed Protestant hymns are still being performed in polyphony (244). Since Tahitians, Mangarevans, Cook Islanders, Marquesans, and many of the other peoples of East and Central Polynesia developed such a distinctive style of hymn singing, a comparison to Samoan hymn singing would have been most interesting.

The chapter titled "Summary Analysis and Conclusions" first presents the "technical distinction" between unison and responsorial songs, which, according to Moyle, is not major, and then discusses the basic determinants of traditional Samoan music. In 1971 Moyle had concluded that "it now appears that Samoan traditional music comprises four distinct stylistic categories on the basis of musical texture" (1971: 1066). In 1988, however, he concludes that "the stylistic basis of Samoan music as a whole . . . appears to be determined principally by the numbers of singers. Two major categories emerge--solo and group songs--the latter including both unison and responsorial items" (248). That traditional Samoan music was (is?) determined principally by the number of singers seems rather startling to me. Moyle himself says that Samoans place the highest value in music on the song text (15). Would not the poetry, therefore, be the principal determinant of Samoan musical style, as it is in most Polynesian cultures?

The summary analysis of the musical aspects of Samoan music is presented according to the following Western musical traits: "form," "texture" (how is this different from "texture" as solo, unison, responsorial?), "rhythm," "scales," "melody," "tonality," and "cadences," in that order. How does this order--or for that matter, these concepts--reflect Samoan perceptions of musical cognition? If one follows a Western approach to music analysis, as Moyle does, then the approach should have been based on a hierarchy of analytic levels, which would have required that scales, tonality, and rhythm be examined before melody and form, in that order.

The summary of scales (250) presented after the summary of melodic contour (247) raises a few questions. If the contour is characterized by level movement followed by a rise or a fall of a fourth, how does Moyle derive scales that include seven discrete pitches representing an interval of a major seventh for solo songs and four discrete pitches representing an octave for group songs? Moyle argues that two prototype minimal scales exist, each with a range of a fourth, for solo and group songs. He further argues that the "numbers of songs in the respective categories [by "texture" ***or*** by Samoan song categories?] . . . and the total inventory of pitches within any singer's vocal capacity suggest that the accretion [from a four-pitch to a seven-pitch scale] is not accidental" (250). Although he admits that discussion of this phenomenon can occur "only on a theoretical level" (is it not real to the culture?), he argues that "both hierarchies [of scales or of song types?] grew from scales with the fewest notes" (250). Does that mean that the seven-note scale, being on the far end of the process of accretion, is the most important scale to traditional Samoan music? That would not be consistent with his argument for the great importance of the interval of the fourth, clearly evident in the musical data. A musical scale refers in the Western mind to an ordering of pitches from lowest to highest. Samoans, according to this study, had terms for only two levels of relative pitch, low and high, and a term for pitch flattening during a song (an interesting but unexplored concept) (13). "Incantations," apparently widely used by Samoans, are described as "unpitched" songs (86) (strictly speaking, all voiced communication, including recitation, is characterized by discrete pitches, i.e., frequencies). Has Moyle considered the possibility that pitch may have been relatively unimportant to the pre-European Samoan musical system, and that its importance did not actually become manifest until well after Western influences became assimilated and the prospect of "flattening pitches" became a concern? I agree with Moyle's conclusion that melodic and cadential stereotypes were used to form musical pieces, but I am not convinced that a "common scalic stock" had anything to do with Samoan musical cognition.

Moyle writes in the chapter on responsorial songs that "note durations closely parallel speech rhythms" and that "no pulse is evident" (193). This thought is repeated in the final conclusions. What is the Samoan concept of timing in music and dance? What value do Samoans place on time in general and time in traditional expressions, such as oratory? Unfortunately, Moyle does not provide parallel analysis of either Samoan speech rhythms or time and timing in Samoan culture. In addition, it would have been helpful for the reader interested in Samoan music and dance to have been given an idea of the kinds of voice qualities used in performance, of singers' movements and gestures during a performance, facial expressions, and clothing and ornamentation, all of which are considered by Polynesians to be important to the performance. Since Moyle briefly discussed some of these essential elements of traditional performance in his dissertation, I wonder why he chose not to in this publication.

A critique of two earlier works concerning Samoan influence on the music of Tuvalu is the focus of the appendix, "Post-European Samoan Influence." A brief discussion follows on the extent to which Samoan music influenced some of the island groups adjacent to Samoa, including Tokelau, and some of the island groups to the west of Samoa, including Torres Strait Islands and New Caledonia.

There is much of interest in this volume, particularly in the historical compilations, and the author is to be credited with publishing the first extensive work on Samoan music (although other extensive studies have been completed, they are not as yet published). This reader would have been less frustrated with the work had the author taken his chapter title, "musical ethnography," more to heart.

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Reviewed by Gordon R. Lewthwaite, California State University, Northridge

This work is at once a labor of loving scholarship and a source of recurrent irritation for the meticulous researcher. In conception, it is intriguing and timely. Polynesian voyaging and European discovery are topics of lively interest in current Pacific research, and their juxtaposition within the manageable realm of New Zealand sharpens the focus of the story: it is somewhat of an academic coup. But the reader's interest may well be blunted by the introduction, both prolix and debatable, which insists on differentiating "exploration" and "discovery''--the former a process which may or may not be accidental, the latter a result which isn't really discovery until it is firmly lodged in the public record. The distinction may be valid enough, but, stumbling over these reiterated terms at sundry intervals, the reader may wish he could remember which was which. Furthermore, while the breadth and depth of scholarship are impressive, the precise sources of the numerous quotations, and sometimes the identities of the persons cited, are incongruously omitted.

But, due allowances must presumably be made for considerations of publication cost and potential readership, and for those who stay the course the rewards are indeed commensurate. For this is one of those books where appreciation grows with the reading. The story is an interesting one that--occasional verbal thickets apart--is interestingly told. For New Zealand was at once the last of the islands that roving Polynesians incorporated in their vast oceanic triangle and the last substantial fragment of the habitable earth that was plotted onto European maps.

One of the strengths of this erudite work is the fact that it places the exploration and discovery of New Zealand within a panoramic rather than a parochial framework, and, though erudition is a tempting virtue that may sometimes lure the authors into distracting bypaths, it enables them to drop some illuminating hints on possible connections or contrasts touching events in Victorian England and post-Napoleonic France, Canada and Tsarist Russia, Aboriginal Australia and Maori New Zealand, Much deeper than a surface skimming from Kupe to Cook, it fruitfully combines Maori and "Pakeha" in the dual unveiling of "the farthest corner," with two far-ranging peoples, each operating within its separate complex of concepts and technology, converging on a single archipelago. And, all things considered, the presentation remains coherent, thanks in part to the relegation of many a potentially distracting detail or technicality to some parenthetic "box."

Naturally enough, exploration and discovery begin with the Polynesians. In two successive chapters, Johnston and Morton first bring the tropical islanders to temperate New Zealand and then seek to trace the pattern of adaptation and discovery within their new homeland, Though well aware that there's many a trap for the unwary in the interpretation of Maori tradition and attempted correlations with archaeological data, they weave the tale together as best they can. Touching cautiously on vexed questions as to the range of purposeful voyaging, they lean towards deliberation rather than accident in the initial occupation of New Zealand, and link exploration by sea and inland river with development of different canoe types. Inevitably, the transition from Moahunter to Classic Maori receives attention, and, though arts and crafts are not neglected, it is the discovery, utilization, and exchange of resources that are most appropriately highlighted. And further service is rendered by the authors as they project the story into the nineteenth century, tracing the changing Maori response to the advent of the Pakeha and recording the role of Maori guides and their sketch-maps in the initial phases of European exploration.

But the emphasis is necessarily on Western man as New Zealand is inscribed on the world map. First the coastline and then the interior come into scientific view, and neither the human nor the technological aspects are neglected. Abel Tasman, if not entirely exonerated for his sketchy and tentative probe in A.D. 1642, at least emerges as a respectable explorer given the context of time and resources, though Tasman's effort was inevitably overshadowed by the superb competence and determination of James Cook--a human figure, admittedly, but lustrous enough to convey a hint of halo. And still more welcome are the subsequent chapters on "Resurgent France" and "French, Russians, and Maori," for it too often escapes attention that a number of nations played an honorable role in the discovery of New Zealand. French and Russian expeditions in particular made substantial contributions to both Maori lore and the charting of the shoreline.

Thereafter, the unveiling of the North Island interior becomes central to the story as Johnston and Morton sympathetically trace the advent of Christianity and the efforts of missionaries of various creeds to contact the inland tribes. Here bush trail and river canoe were essential. But the shoreline again assumes prominence as attention returns to the contributions of whalers and sealers and especially to the meticulous application of the haven-charting art: Captain Stokes of the *Acheron* and a few other professionals take pride of place. And, once the coast is clear, attention reverts to the interior again, especially the interior of the South Island. The pioneering journeys of pastoralists, fossickers for gold, and those in search of routes to potential West Coast harbors are told, and these in turn were surpassed by a noble (and notably international) company of surveyors and scientists, Tuckett and Thomson, Hector and Haast, Brunner and "Explorer Douglas"--to name some of the most prominent--searched the South Island to its farthest corners, recording flora, fauna, minerals, and mountains and steadily locking peak and valley into triangulated place. The closing chapter, "High Challenge," appropriately records Dieffenbach's ascent of Egmont, Bidwill's venture to the *tapu* crest of Tongariro, and, as European mountaineers discovered the virgin challenge of the Southern Alps, the culminating conquest of Mount Cook.

It's a comprehensive story thoroughly told, and though the wearying reader may sometimes wish that surplus words and repetitions had been more ruthlessly excised, the book is not lacking in leisurely charm. There's a wealth of direct quotation from a multiplicity of observers and authorities, and, though sterner protocol would have required the documentation of sources, there are lively accounts of past personalities to add life to the telling, and carefully boxed explanations to take care of such specific matters as Polynesian languages, chronometers, ships' logs, and Maori music. Yet in a number of respects the reader is given precious little help. The list of contents conveys not one hint of the existence (let alone the location) of forty-five informational boxes, eight historic coastal and harbor charts, ninety-four illustrations, and five maps: presumably the reader will discover them by accident. The illustrations show every sign of judicious and tasteful selection to depict relevant aspects of the past, but the maps, which respectively outline the Polynesian Triangle, moahunting regions, the locations (but not the characteristics) of physical features in the North Island and the South Island respectively, and important North Island mission stations, do not begin to be adequate. Diligent readers would therefore be well advised to have a large-scale New Zealand atlas handy as they read. It would also have been helpful if the title of each chapter, rather than the overall title of the book, had appeared at the head of each page. And although the authorship is proudly plural, it seems a little odd to give pride of place to Harry Morton's name on the dust jacket and outside cover and to Carol Morton Johnston's name on the inside title page.

Of course there are a few misprints, and occasional questions of fact inevitably arise. Widespread though acceptance of the idea may now be, there is still reason to query the assumption that a traditional quarrel over breadfruit implied a population problem in the tropical homeland. Also, the assertion that climatic change made an impact on prehistoric Maori culture still seems a little too categorical, and there's room to doubt the conclusion that New Zealand's geographical shape could be envisaged by precontact Maori.

But, such issues of format and documentation apart, the book is a very fine presentation of the fruits of mature scholarship. Some may object to an occasional tendency to moralize and others to some slyly humorous political digs, but neither is tasteless nor obtrusive. It's a healthy sanity of viewpoint that prevails, a balanced assessment of human motivations and achievements. And, along with broad coverage of an intrinsically interesting theme, there are lively insights into the lives and characters of those who explored and discovered the farthest corner of the earth.

Virginia Cowan-Smith and Bonnie Domrose Stone, *Aloha Cowboy.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988. Pp. 152, illustrated, notes, selected bibliography, index. US$19.95.

Reviewed by Marie D. Strazar, Hawaii State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, Honolulu

Vignettes of cowboys and ranching in Hawaii, horseback-riding, rodeos and round-ups are presented in word and in photo in Virginia Cowan-Smith and Bonnie Domrose Stone's *Aloha Cowboy.* Obviously not meant to be a scholarly and historical treatment of the subject matter, this book offers the casual reader or devotee of horsemanship some familiarity with the history of horsebreeding and horsemanship in Hawaii. The authors have more than adequately researched their topic, gathering previously scattered bits of information into one place.

Beginning and ending chapters appear appropriately in their chronological setting, but intervening chapters appear disjointed in sequencing. Perhaps this is because no clear theme is developed at the outset. Hence, the book reads somewhat like a series of interesting articles. Moreover, text throughout the book is broken up by a series of contemporary color photo plates on subjects that three out of four times do not relate to the text they interrupt.

The book is arranged topically beginning with a good brief history of the arrival of cattle (1793), horses (1803), and, subsequently, cowboying in the islands. Unfortunately, the 1980s color photo plates found in the first chapter do not match its content. They serve to break the story line as does the story of the demise of David Douglas, the botanist of Douglas fir fame. After such breaks, however, the story refocuses on horses, especially those that became known as Mauna Kea mustangs, and here the authors initiate a style of bringing the topic under discussion up-to-date. Efforts of David Woo and Franz Solmssen in perpetuating the Mauna Kea as a breed are recounted--an episode of living, breathing "historic preservation." The book continues with the often-cited information on John Palmer Parker and his ranch to the 1880s.

Subsequently, the twentieth-century history of rodeo cowboys and rodeos are each given a chapter, one focusing on Hawaiian rodeo champions like Ikua Purdy and the other on the rodeo cowboys who came to the islands with the military and World War II. The next two chapters, "Armed Forces Cowboys" and "On the Plains of Leilehua," highlight the military, its role in reviving rodeo action in Hawaii, and its earlier cavalry horsemanship. These two chapters provide an interesting addition to the standard information on horses and cowboys in Hawaii, They also incorporate military-generated activities into local culture and history, something not commonly done. These chapters are somewhat difficult to follow, however, as contemporary and polo photos intersperse historical discussion on rodeos. The second chapter also sidetracks into confusing, and perhaps irrelevant, commentary on a variety of clubs and their activities. If the book's intended audience are horse lovers and horse riders, reference to rodeo and other associations and organizations is useful. If not, to the casual reader such references appear somewhat irrelevant and, potentially, boring.

Horsebreeding, polo, horseracing, and equestrian activities fill the following three chapters, therein rounding out the book's coverage of both horsebreeding and horsemanship. In the first two of these chapters, the authors have included interesting stories of Queen Emma and her grand cavalcade as well as notes on rental horses at the Alexander Young Hotel. Historic photos of excursions and races are particularly well chosen, though contemporary color plates are again misplaced. The chapter on the equestrian scene of the 1950s, followed by much on the 1980s, seems out of place and perhaps inappropriate in its length as well as its placement. Some mention of this topic would have been fitting in a book called *Aloha Cowboy,* but not fourteen pages. By focusing on this topic, not commonly discussed in books on Hawaii, however, *Aloha Cowboy* serves a definite informational purpose.

The next two chapters, "Pa‘u" and "Talk Story," return the reader to more unique aspects of traditions surrounding horsemanship in Hawaii. One wonders, though, why the *pa‘u* chapter does not precede the chapter on the equestrian scene of the 1950s-1980s, as well as equal it in length. "Talk Story" adds some warmth to the text with stories of some of the folk heroes of Hawaii's ranch life, such as Frank Freitas, Lloyd Cockett, Inez Ashdown, and Armine von Tempski. Still, this chapter, too, seems misplaced, with no direct connection to the chapters around it. The book concludes with chapters on modern rodeos and ranching in Hawaii in the 1980s, an excellent ending to an otherwise uneven work.

For the more academic or thorough reader notes provided at the rear of the book are excellent. The selected bibliography is also useful, though sources such as L. A. Henke's *A Survey of Livestock in Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1929) and Mifflin Thomas's *Schooner from Windward* (Honolulu, 1983) are not included.

An interesting and little known part of ranching's history in Hawaii is referred to in a photo caption that notes ranching's ties to the sugar industry, yet little explanation and few details are provided. Mention is also made about the existence of some 399 ranches in the state. The stories of some of these other ranches and ranching developments need to be written to provide us with a more balanced history of the time-honored and well-developed tradition of the Hawaiian cowboy and his workplace. In the meantime, Stone and Cowan-Smith have done well in pulling together some valuable and relatively uncommon information, particularly on the subject of horsebreeding in Hawaii.

For a tradition and industry that was very integrated into the lifestyle of native Hawaiians, however, little of that sense of deep tradition emerges through this book. Instead, the reader gets a sense of horsemanship as a tradition of outsiders maintained by outsiders. The almost equal reference to cowboys from outside of Hawaii who happen to be plying their trade while resident in Hawaii tends to diminish the tradition and history of the Hawaiian cowboy. This is of special concern since the book's title, *Aloha Cowboy,* implies that the Hawaiian cowboy is the focal point and that is simply not the case. All in all, the title *Aloha Cowboy* appears misleading. Nonetheless, despite its inadequacies, this book represents a beginning to the long-untold tale of the Hawaiian cowboy and the history and role of ranching in the state.

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