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# PACIFIC STUDIES

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## MICRONESIA: WRITING AND REWRITING THE HISTORIES OF A NONENTITY

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In a 1967 editorial on developments within the discipline of Pacific history, Harry Maude noted the paucity of written histories on the islands of Micronesia.[1] It appeared to Maude that the past of these rich, varied, and complex island societies had been ignored as if by some tacit agreement. Now, more than twenty years later and with the recent publication of several monographs on various topics in Micronesian history, it is perhaps an appropriate time to assess the present state of historical investigations and to consider some of the larger issues involved in the study of the area's past.

A conceptual problem immediately presents itself. There is the story of the American congressman who, when asked his opinion of the future political status of Micronesia, replied, "Mike Who?"[2] The remark has often been cited to underscore America's seeming ignorance of and indifference to the Carolines, Marshalls, and Marianas--a collection of island groups once known more formally as the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and still the core of the larger Micronesian geographical area that also includes Nauru and northern Kiribati. While an unwitting indictment of American administration in the Trust Territory, the remark also reflects a more fundamental problem in any consideration of the area. "Mike Who?"; indeed, "Mike Who?" The question is a most telling one because Micronesia is, in many ways, a nonentity. For the most part, Micronesia has existed only in the minds of people from the outside who have sought to create an administrative entity for purposes of control and rule.[3]

First used by the French scholar Domeny de Rienzi in 1831 and later promoted by his fellow countryman and explorer Dumont d'Urville, the term "Micronesia," meaning "tiny islands," refers to the more than twenty-five hundred islands and atolls spread over an area of the western Pacific greater than that of the continental United States.[4] At times over the last century and a half, missionaries, traders, colonial officials, writers, social scientists, and modern-day island politicians have all employed the term to designate the physical boundaries of their work or interests. Indicative of only the grossest geographical ordering of the area, the term "Micronesia" actually reveals far more about Euro-American society's concerns for a neat, manageable, efficient, and logical ordering of the world. To be sure, colonialism has been a shared experience for all of the island groups in this area of the world, but colonialism has not created a cultural identity that can be described as "Micronesian." Likewise, the similarities noted by ethnographers in cultural practices or institutions regarding land, kinship, social organization, rank, and political hierarchy do not constitute a culturally homogeneous entity. There certainly do exist historical linkages among the different island groups of the area that hopefully will become clearer through future research and investigation. A first step in coming to a better understanding of the islands' past, however, involves a deconstruction or disassembling of the essentially alien construct that is Micronesia. For purposes of convenience, I will employ the term "Micronesia" throughout the remainder of this essay; readers, however, should remain cognizant of the problems involved in its usage.

Micronesia's inventors, at times, have actually shown little respect for their creation. One early European visitor likened the many small islands to "a handful of chickpeas flung over the sea."[5] William N. Truxton, the commander of the American naval vessel *Jamestown* that surveyed the Marshalls and Carolines in 1870, wrote in his final report that he saw no value to the islands whatsoever.[6] Though brief, these writings revealed much about the larger world's views on the worth and significance of the area. They conveyed assessments that have carried over centuries. With the exception of anthropologists who have made it one of the most studied areas of the world within the discipline of anthropology, most people remain largely ignorant of this small but extremely interesting and vital part of the world.

A question that comes immediately to mind is, why study the islands and their people? The answer is not a difficult one. Embodied within the area's past are many of the major themes that have concerned historians in the Pacific and elsewhere. Issues concerning origins and settle-

ment, survival, power, struggle, the development of complex governing structures, change, acculturation, imperialism, colonialism, resistance, dependency, and independence movements all figure prominently in the past of the islands. The islands constitute a worthy area of study in and of themselves, and because they provide a most illuminating stage within the larger theater of world history. Events often take place on islands in striking relief, especially events between "native" and "stranger."[7] There is much that can be gleaned about the general nature of culture contact from a study of the events that occurred on the beaches of Micronesian islands and atolls.

If the islands have remained largely hidden from the consciousness of continental populations, governments and individual interest groups nonetheless have found at different times an arena for their expansionist programs. Over the last four centuries, outside forces have consistently sought to exploit the islands. Whalers, China traders, plantation owners, and mining company executives have all endeavored to profit from the area's resources. Nations from both the East and the West have discovered important political and strategic value in the islands' general location. In the last one hundred years, five major world powers have exercised at different times formal colonial jurisdiction over the islands. Not surprisingly, major disputes arose between established colonial powers in the area and those nations that sought to supplant them. Spain and Germany almost went to war in 1885 over the disposition of the islands before a carefully arranged program of papal arbitration recognized Spain's claim to administrative control by right of initial discovery while permitting German trading interests continued access to the area.[8] Following its seizure of the islands from Germany soon after the outbreak of World War I, Japan clashed with the United States over a series of issues ranging from the fate of an important cable station on Yap to American charges of clandestine and illegal fortification of the islands.[9] The islands also served as settings for some of the most crucial and violent battles of World War II. In a real sense, then, the islands are bound closely and importantly to the modern histories of Spain, Great Britain, Germany, Japan, and the United States. There is much to be learned about these nations, their national character, social divisions, domestic economies, and expansionism from their presence and activities among the islands of the area called Micronesia.

The islands' involvement in larger international considerations persists. Micronesia now figures prominently in a host of critical global issues ranging from the Law of the Sea to nuclear proliferation. The energy the United States has expanded in recent and lengthy political

status negotiations with the emerging governments of the area attests to the islands' persisting importance to American strategic interests. The islands of Micronesia also have attracted the world's attention as part of the new and larger Pacific arena for superpower rivalry. There was considerable international press coverage given recently to Kiribati and its negotiations with the Soviet Union over a fishing treaty. The United States' repeated, intensive, and apparently successful efforts to have the people of Belau amend their constitutional ban on the storage and transport of nuclear weapons and materials through Belauan territory mirrors dramatically the strategic concerns and related issues involving superpower rivalry, In short, the islands of Micronesia continue as an extremely important area of world affairs and world history.

Despite these weighty considerations, some might cite the islands' lack of size and their small populations as arguments against any extended consideration of their past. Former United States Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is reported to have said: "There are only 90,000 people out there. Who gives a damn!"[10] But the size and population of the islands, far from being a detriment, are in actuality an asset for purposes of study and scholarship. As O. H. K. Spate, the distinguished geographer of the Indian subcontinent turned Pacific historian, has written: "There is an economy of small scale. . . . We have whole congeries of little universes, ready-made isolates for study; each capable, in appearance at least, of being readily grasped as a whole."[11] The importance of the islands in terms of what they can teach us, then, is in inverse proportion to their size. Harry Maude, in a 1971 essay on the study of Pacific history, had specifically in mind perhaps the islands of the Micronesian area when he wrote of a multiplicity of societies that, in varying degrees of distance from each other, have developed a heterogeneous assemblage of social, economic and political systems, of culture traits, complexes, beliefs, values and attitudes that can be observed in detail over time.[12] There exist, then, numerous incentives to investigate the islands' past. Marshall Sahlins, in general reference to all Pacific islands but with direct bearing on the island groups of the Micronesian area, writes: "the heretofore obscure histories of remote islands deserve a place alongside the self-contemplation of the European past,--or the 'history of civilizations,'--for their own remarkable contributions to an historical understanding."[13]

Inquiries into the islands' past, then, should not be seen as esoteric, eccentric, or less rewarding than investigations into other areas of world history. But if the worth, significance, and advantage resulting from a study of the islands' past can be acknowledged, there still remains the

very formidable question of *how*. And that question of how is compounded considerably by the fact that we are dealing with the histories of other peoples in other times. From the very outset of any scholarly endeavor, the outside historian must confront extremely serious questions that involve the definition, nature, and meaning of history in these different island societies. On the island of Tabiteuea in Kiribati, for example, the people of the northern village of Buota recently washed the bones of the famous warrior Kourabi.[14] Originally from Beru, Kourabi, after a life of fighting on atolls and islands to the north, finally settled on Tabiteuea. Following his death, his bones were cleaned and hung in the meeting house *(maneaba)* called Atanikarawa. This bathing of Kourabi's bones involved an elaborate ritualistic, ceremony that lasted more than five hours; preparations occupied weeks prior to the actual event. It is a ceremony that takes place periodically and at the command of Kourabi himself. The command is delivered to the leading elder of one of the islands senior clans, the Tekatanrake, through the medium of a dream. Among other things, the washing of Kourabi's bones strongly suggests a different sense of history, a different way of knowing and relating to the past.

During my most recent research on the island of Pohnpei in the Eastern Caroline group, I engaged in a conversation with a Pohnpeian that touched on this same point regarding different notions of history. I tried to explain to this individual the purpose of my work. I came, I told him, to gather as much information as possible in order to write a history of the island. Without blinking, the man asked if I planned to include a history of the reef, forests, mountains, hills, rivers, streams, boulders, and rocks. I knew him well enough to understand that he was not being facetious. On Pohnpei, the activities of human beings constitute but one facet of the island's past. Equally important to the people of the island are the actions of natural and supernatural forces. Indeed, the name of the island conveys a very strong indication of the way Pohnpeians view themselves and their past. The word *Pohnpei,* meaning "Upon a Stone Altar," implies this linkage of the supernatural and natural worlds, between which the people of the island seek to mediate with rituals, ceremonies, and prayers. Because of the nature of their professional training, most Western-trained historians understandably shy away from attempts to discern divine will or chart complex biological processes. Nonetheless, it should be remembered that Pohnpeians and other peoples of the area hold these aspects to be important dimensions of their history.

Geological as well as cosmological elements enter into a consideration

of the islands' past. Any history of an island in the area called Micronesia must take into account the possibilities for and limitations on human activity created by environmental factors. There is William Alkire's point about the special kind of environment found on a coral atoll and the social consequences of the conditions it imposes upon the inhabitants.[15] Thomas Gladwin's study of navigation on the central Carolinian atoll of Puluwat reinforces the importance of environmental considerations in the shaping of the past. Gladwin writes of a people surrounded by a sustaining but sometimes hostile ocean who live by sailing.[16] The ability to sail has kept the Puluwatese in contact with other peoples; it has provided them with new ideas, skills, and technologies and with networks of social, political, and economic ties without which they could not survive. Puluwat's past, then, is inextricably linked to the ocean and to her people's journeys upon it. One of the remarkable things about many existing Pacific Island histories is that they lack any sense of island environment or ecology. Hopefully, future historians of the islands called Micronesia will not neglect a consideration of this critical dimension.

As preface to the *how* of writing histories, reference has been made to different senses of history and to different physical settings upon which the events of the past have been played out. Another important point to emphasize is that the past (or, more appropriately perhaps, pasts) of these islands extends far back in time. There exists archaeological evidence that places the settlement of the Mariana Islands at about 3500 B.P.; a four-thousand-year sequence has been postulated for Belau, while the earliest data for human settlement in Yap extend back twenty-five hundred years.[17] The earliest dates for eastern Micronesia are found in the Marshalls and go back in time about two thousand years.[18] These islands' pasts do not begin, then, with the arrival of Europeans and neither should their histories. Knowing the precontact past is problematic to be sure. But there are enough data to suggest the existence of sophisticated, complex societies long before the appearance of a European ship upon the horizon. There is, for example, Nan Madol, an extensive complex of ninety-two man-made islets off the southeastern coast of Pohnpei.[19] Nan Madol is called the "Venice of the Pacific" by visitors, one of the Pacific's most unique and distinctive megalithic sites by archaeologists, and sacred by the people of Pohnpei. The site is characterized by immense columns of prismatic basalt rock that form high-walled, rectangular enclosures for the coral rubble used as fill for the islets' floors. Radiocarbon dating suggests the beginning of megalithic construction sometime in the early thirteenth century A.D.[20] Taken as a whole, the

ruins of Nan Madol reveal a former people possessed of a highly complex form of social organization. The "Yapese Empire," more appropriately known as the *sawei* exchange system, suggests an equally sophisticated past.[21] Reliable data indicate an extensive precontact system of tribute and exchange centered on the island of Yap that extended eleven hundred kilometers east to the atoll of Nomwinuito in the present-day Truk group. In their attempts to understand something of this deep and distant past, historians and archaeologists may rediscover their shared and complementary interests.

Discussion of the precontact past leads to the issue of sources for the histories of the islands. There is much that has been written, pro and con, concerning the use of oral traditions as sources for the study and writing of history.[22] For many Western scholars who rely solely on the written word, histories derived from oral traditions constitute an unsettling problem. General objections to the use of oral traditions in the writing of history focus on their loose sense of chronology, their incorporation of the supernatural, their unreliability due either to deliberate distortion or faulty human memory, and their reference to fundamentally different cultural values and categories not immediately intelligible to outside observers. Problems of transcription, translation, conceptualization, and interpretation as well as the influence exerted by the situational contexts in which oral traditions are narrated all combine to complicate the work of even the most sensitive recorder. There also exist larger epistemological questions and the well-heeded warnings against the dangers of translating the living word to paper.[23] These concerns certainly cannot be dismissed lightly; nonetheless, the fact remains that, on many islands of the area called Micronesia, oral traditions continue to live beyond the confines of bound pages in the minds of the people. It is through this extensive body of knowledge that these islanders know and interpret their past. Oral traditions persist as a principal form of historical expression in Micronesia.

Pohnpeians, for example, know their past through an extensive body of oral traditions that includes sacred stories *(poadoapoad),* legendary tales *(soaipoad),* songs *(koul),* chants *(ngihs),* prayers *(kapakap),* spells *(winahni),* and narrative accounts of more recent events *(soai).*[24] In writing my history of Pohnpei, I relied upon oral traditions that, in speaking of the islands early periods, convey many of the key values that have helped to shape Pohnpeians' involvement with their land and the larger world. The use of oral traditions as a historical source also involves a larger issue. Thomas Spear has phrased the issue directly with the question, "Oral Traditions: Whose History?"[25] Despite the intensity

of the assault upon their oral traditions, Pohnpeians harbor few doubts about themselves and their past. Armed with grandiose theories about Pacific migrations, settlement patterns, and social stratification, many modern scientists have come seeking to fit the island's past into their perfect schemes. Their findings have only confirmed what Pohnpeians already knew. Linguistic research has identified influences from both the south and the east, areas referred to in the island's settlement histories as Eir and Katau, respectively.[26] The discovery of pottery shards at various locations on Pohnpei suggests some form of contact with areas to the west, or Katau Peidi.[27] No test pit or radiocarbon date has yet yielded any information that contradicts Pohnpeians' understanding of who they are. A commitment to the use of Pohnpeian sources leads, then, to a removal of the Western scholarly distinction between history and prehistory as an essentially inappropriate qualification imposed upon the island's past from the outside. Indeed, the vitality of Pohnpeian and other Micronesian oral traditions offers important access to the larger patterns at work in those periods of the islands' past prior to contact with the Euro-American world.

Marshall Sahlins has taken one form of oral traditions, myths, and used it as a source for the writing of Hawaiian history. In his *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities,* Sahlins views myth as a historical precedent that shaped the Hawaiian response to the arrival of European forces.[28] Using the case of Cook as Lono, the University of Chicago anthropologist explains the death of the British explorer within a Hawaiian cultural context. Cook's second visit to Hawaii, in November 1778, coincided strikingly with the celebration of the Makahiki, a yearly rite of thanksgiving and supplication associated with the god Lono. The timing of his, visit, his movement around the islands, and his participation in certain rituals all supported the identification of Cook with Lono in the minds of certain groups of Hawaiians. When bad weather forced Cooks unscheduled return to Hawai'i in February 1779, the Hawaiians viewed his reappearance as the action of a greedy, rapacious god, not content with the offerings and sacrifices made to him. Threatened by the presence of an insatiable deity, Hawaiians, in accord with the logic and patterns of their past, turned upon the god. Cooks death, then, became a historical metaphor for a construction of reality revealed first in myth. Put more simply, the killing of Cook was the reenactment of an event in Hawaiians' mythic past involving the welcome and dispatch of the god Lono. Sahlins's use of myth (a source of historical expression I think better described as accounts of the more distant past) has added a highly enriching dimension to the study of the

Pacific Islands. In elucidating the cultural structures that helped shape the Hawaiian response to the outside world, Sahlins has created an important vehicle for bringing nonliterate peoples out of the shadows and placing them in the forefront of histories about their islands. His work, as we shall see, is not without influence on the writing of Micronesia's past.

The area's larger past is not one of islands in isolation from each other or from the larger world. With the contact period--and that period begins at different times for the various islands--there are available written sources with which most professionally trained Western historians are more comfortable. With the rich interchange between island populations and groups of people from the Euro-American world that begins in the sixteenth century on Guam and intensifies dramatically for the rest of the area in the first decades of the twentieth century, the histories of various Micronesian islands and island groups embody many of the major themes and issues current in the study of Pacific Islands history. Since the beginnings of intensive foreign contact, these islands have experienced wars, rebellions, epidemics, forced labor, land seizures, and colonial domination as well as the less violent but equally powerful experiences of early barter, conversion to Christianity, and the introduction of modern economic practices. As sources to help delineate the complex interaction between Micronesians and those who reached their islands from European and American shores, there are the writings of beachcombers, whalers, traders, missionaries, travelers, and colonial officials as well as the surprisingly detailed and factually accurate accounts of these relatively recent events provided by islanders themselves.[29] The accuracy of the outside observers' descriptions as historical sources suffers from a combination of factors that include the limitations of language, the brevity of direct contact, ethnocentric prejudices, culture shock, and the inordinate attention given to the more exotic aspects of an island's culture.[30] To be sure, these ethnohistoric sources often reveal more about the authors and their times than they do of the islanders being described. Still, in the glimpses and information they provide of the islands during the-first decades of contact with the Euro-American world, these writings remain an important historical source.

With their emphasis on straight description and simple narration, investigations into the histories and cultures of Micronesian islands have been generally criticized for their lack of theory. There exist encouraging signs, however, that students of the islands' past are indeed beginning to engage in a more fruitful application of different theoretical

perspectives. Employing a Marxian perspective, David Labby identifies the dialectic between clan and estate as the fundamental distinguishing feature of the Yapese past.[31] In its exhausting but important detail, Labby's work evidences a less paradigmatic, more diffuse Marxism that acknowledges the concept of culture and the advantages of ethnography. Richard J. Parmentier has used Sahlins's notion of structural history to understand the Belauan past.[32] Believing that history is locally ordered and hence cultural, Parmentier attempts to elucidate those principles that have shaped Belauans' understanding of their past. Signs are at the core of his analysis. The meanings of events in Belau's past lie in physical signs that serve as vehicles for the transmission of important, culturally endowed information. These signs mark an event as significant, memorable, and thus historical; they are also invoked, modified, and contested in later social activity. For Parmentier, then, signs function in two ways: as signs *of* history and as signs *in* history. These signs of and in Belauan history include stones, trees, valuables, and customary practices. There are, of course, others. Parmentier, for example, finds the spatial configuration of the Belauan village with its paths, cornerposts, sides, and graded rankings between things large and small as signs that offer a historical diagram of changes in the islands' polity. The history of these signs can be found in Belauan sources of historical expression, most particularly myths.

An exploration of those Belauan myths that reveal the history of signs also adds to a more thorough understanding of the contact and colonial periods. Belauans today, argues Parmentier, view the successive waves of Spanish, German, Japanese, and American colonialism as part of a larger historical pattern first revealed in the myths of the Ruchel gods. Instrumental in the transition of the Belauan polity into a more contemporary form, these deities came to establish a new order but turned instead to the manipulation of local political rivalries, the exploitation of economic resources, and the usurpation of indigenous leadership. What emerges from this intensive scrutiny of the signs in Belau's past is a distinctive, locally defined, and persuasive history of early Belau. Despite the objections that some might raise against the approaches of Labby and Parmentier, the great advantage of these two works lies in their efforts to locate the major determinants of the Yapese and Belauan pasts firmly within Yap and Belau.

In recent years, world-system theory as advanced by André Gunder Frank and refined by Immanuel Wallerstein has achieved credibility as an approach that links the pasts of different areas of the world to the dominant pattern in modern world history; namely, the extension of the

Western capitalist economy to all parts of the globe.[33] Whether or not the islands of the area called Micronesia are best understood as satellites or peripheral areas of the expanding capitalist order remains an open question. The subordination of the islands' past to the role of footnote in a world history dominated by the global expansion of European economic practices and institutions appears to be reductionism of a rather severe sort. To invert Eric Wolfs argument a little, a world-system approach would seem to make peoples with histories into people without history.

There are, then, serious questions surrounding the application of different theories to interpret the past. These concerns over theoretical application heighten when other cultures in other times are the object of study. Foreign theoretical constructions can invite invention as well as exotic, inappropriate, and artificial interpretations. James Peoples has argued that dependency theory alone does not satisfactorily explain the paradoxes and complexities of contemporary economic activities on Kosrae.[34] Peoples rejects capitalist determinism as an explanation that overlooks variations in the motives and styles of exploitation; strategic rather than economic considerations explain the flow of American largesse that has made Kosrae dependent. At the same time, a false dichotomy between traditional and modern Kosraean cultures fails to represent the complexity of change in the island's postcontact and colonial periods. The author concludes that contemporary Kosraean society is best understood as the result of a complex interplay between exogenous and endogenous forces. Peoples's caution is well-taken. On the other hand, the lack of any sense of theory can impoverish efforts to know and understand better what we can of the past. Much of what has been written about the islands has been of an excessively descriptive character. Mere description, no matter how thorough and exhaustive, does not ensure greater accuracy or insight; indeed, there are those who argue that the act of description, in its selection and representation of the subjects considered, is essentially an interpretive exercise. Despite the problems involved, much can be gained from sensitive applications of theory to the islands' past.

Attention to local conceptions of history, culture, and discourse offer a most critical complement to theoretical perspectives. Greg Dening has written recently:

> But it is simple in the extreme to think that power has only one definition and one expression, or that one can understand power without understanding the exchange that exists between

> the dominant and the dominated, or that it is of advantage to skip to the last page of the mystery and, say "politics did it" and not know that "politics" was also "age" and "sex" and "genes" and "belief' and "manners" and . . . ![35]

Glenn Petersen, for example, has provided a cultural analysis of why Pohnpei, alone among the four Caroline island states that compose the Federated States of Micronesia, rejected the terms of the Draft Compact of Free Association in a general plebiscite held during the summer of 1983.[36] Most reports of that vote tended to ignore the Pohnpeian decision altogether, focusing instead on the strong majorities of approval for the compact won in each of the other three island states of Kosrae, Truk, and Yap. Those few accounts that did cite Pohnpeians' dissidence over what was essentially a cash for sovereignty deal attributed it to ignorance and greed, a "sour note" in an otherwise harmonious, democratic exchange of goodwill and respect between Americans and Micronesians. Petersen demonstrates convincingly that the Pohnpeian vote against the draft compact resulted not from miscalculations or selfishness but from serious, culturally rooted, long-standing skepticism about the nature of power, authority, responsibility, and dominance. Pohnpeians had passed judgement upon a proffered political status that, as they understood it, threatened the autonomy of their society. An island culture with a long-standing tradition of resisting foreign challenges to its autonomy and integrity had once again adopted a posture of resistance to hostile, alien forces of change.

As the Pohnpeian case intimates, local conceptions of history can be as much about the present as they are about the past. Lin Poyer's work on Sapwuafik Atoll, formerly known as Ngatik, reveals the input that indigenous conceptions of history can have on modern notions of self-identity.[37] Poyer examines how the Sapwuafik people's current understanding of a major event in their past--the 1837 massacre of the atoll's entire adult male population by the crew of the trading schooner *Lambton* for possession of a rumored, ultimately nonexistent, cache of valuable tortoiseshell--strongly informs their sense of themselves. The Sapwuafik people understand themselves as being distinctive from other neighboring island and atoll populations because of this particular historical tragedy. On the surface, the question of identity for the people of Sapwuafik appears extremely problematic because of the influx of whites, Pohnpeians, and other islanders who reached the atoll and intermarried with the surviving aboriginal population of Sapwuafik women in the aftermath of the massacre. In practice, however, a very

distinctive sense of community has developed on Sapwuafik. Poyer argues that the cultural and ethnic identity of the modern-day people of Sapwuafik is defined and chartered through the oral traditions surrounding the 1837 massacre and its aftermath. Foreign intrusion initially meant violence and the obliteration of an indigenous but unenlightened culture. Events since the massacre have brought Christianity, more material goods, and direct blood ties with wealthy and powerful Americans. For the people of Sapwuafik, this version of history distinguishes them from other peoples of the immediate region in ways perceived as positive and desirable. In short, interpretations of the past construct and maintain a unique, special sense of identity in the present.

The works of Labby, Parmentier, Peoples, Petersen, and Poyer underscore the insights to be gained from the application of anthropological understandings to the practice of history in Micronesia. Conversely, Micronesian anthropologists should benefit from a consideration of their own past. The discipline of anthropology is, at this time, grappling with a crisis of representation.[38] There is a growing awareness that ethnography is ultimately more interpretive than objective. An emerging school of anthropological thought now argues that ethnography's claims to be a social science become suspect when considered against the social, professional, institutional, and political contexts from which the alien or outside observer comes.[39] If nothing else, such a position at least invites a reexamination of the early German and Japanese ethnographies as well as a critical look at the more recent work of American and Commonwealth anthropologists.[40] A reconsideration of these works in light of the historical and cultural contexts of the writers would clarify concerns surrounding the selection, representation, and interpretation of those particular aspects of island life chosen for study. Michael Foucault would certainly have found linkages between knowledge and power in the different colonial periods of the Micronesian past.

The histories of the islands of the area that has been called Micronesia are waiting to be done. Another question that asks itself is *who* should write these histories. Maude looks to American historians for a history of the American Trust Territory.[41] Undoubtedly, there will result several histories from American historians attracted by the accessibility of the area, the area's relationship to the larger patterns in American expansionism, or their own personal involvement with the area and its people. At the same time, colonial boundaries that have done so much to shape the nature of past scholarship should not be perpetuated. Kiribati should not remain the domain of Australian or British scholars, any more

than the Carolines, Marshalls, or Marianas should be the exclusive preserve of American-trained historians. There is much to learn from an international dialogue of scholars that presents a variety of perspectives and approaches to understanding this important area of the world.

Admittedly, this essay has focused on outsiders' efforts to understand the Micronesian past. This emphasis in no way seeks to deny or diminish the work of islander historians of the area. There already exists a written body of history produced by the people of the area. There is Luelen Bernart's history of the island of Pohnpei, written between 1932 and 1946 and published jointly in 1978 by the University of Hawaii Press and the Australian National University Press.[42] Masao Hadley has produced an unpublished manuscript on the history of Pohnpei's Nan Madol site.[43] Rufino Mauricio, a professionally trained archaeologist from Pohnpei, has used the oral histories of twenty-four separate clans to reconstruct the early settlement period of the island.[44] Raphael Uag composed, in 1968, an early precontact history of Yap while the Community Action Agency in Belau, under the direction of Kathy Kesolei, completed a three-volume history of Belau some ten years later.[45] Of particular note is the recent publication of La Bedbedin and Gerald Knight's *Man This Reef.*[46] In addition to providing a uniquely Marshallese view of the past, the book also charts the problems and pitfalls involved in the translation and transcription of sacred knowledge to written form.

Several individuals have pointed to the relative lack of written histories by Micronesian peoples as an indictment of the American colonial education system.[47] While the flaws of the Trust Territory educational system have been many, the scarcity of indigenous literature and written history may reflect as much the persistence of more traditional and oral forms of preserving and presenting knowledge. Throughout the islands, there still can be found individuals recognized by their own peoples as human repositories of special and privileged knowledge concerning the past. During the course of my own work on Pohnpei, historians such as Benno Serilo, Lino Miquel, Pensile Lawrence, and Masao Hadley took me into Pohnpei's past, allowed me to ask the silliest of questions, and patiently tried to explain to me the meaning and significance of Pohnpeian practices and beliefs that only I found complicated. Too often, the overly general, ultimately pejorative word "informant" has been used by outside scholars to lend credibility to their own arguments while masking the sources of their information. Islander historians involved in the study and interpretation of their past need to be recognized for their significant contributions to an understanding of both Micronesian and world history.

A related problem in the study of Micronesia's past involves the role that Micronesians themselves have played in the making of their past. Recent critical examinations of the Trust Territory administration have focused exclusively on the failures of the American administration.[48] Liberal critics, while expressing considerable sympathy for the islanders as victims, have failed to acknowledge the people as participants, negotiators, and shapers of their own destiny. In their analyses of American misadministration, these critics have tended to regard Micronesians as little more than nebulous shadows falling lightly across valuable pieces of strategic property. The convening of the Micronesian Constitutional Convention, the struggle of the Bikinians and other groups of Marshallese to secure compensation for the devastation done to their lands and life-styles by American nuclear testing, the establishment of the Federated States of Micronesia, and Belauans' struggle to maintain the integrity of their republic's constitution against powerful outside forces all suggest a very active agency on the part of islanders. Future historians of the islands will hopefully recognize that there continues to be much going on in this area of the world that some have dismissed as nothing more than an "American lake."

The publication of Fr. Francis X. Hezel's history of the Marshall and Caroline Islands and Prof. Mark R. Peattie's work on Japanese colonialism in Micronesia are encouraging signs for those concerned with the study of the islands' past. There remains, however, much to be done. We are, in a sense, just starting. There are histories of women, men, individual islands, island groups, precontact exchange systems, culture contact, and colonial periods all there for the doing. There are also such immediate and globally significant topics as the history of American nuclear testing in the Marshalls; Stewart Firth's disturbing study of the superpowers' use of the Pacific as a nuclear testing ground dramatically demonstrates this point.[49] Hopefully, writings on the islands' past will be open-minded endeavors that demonstrate a keen sensitivity to the particular definitions and sources of history among the islands. The writing of histories of the islands should make use of theories and should, where appropriate, borrow from the work of other disciplines, especially the social sciences. Efforts to identify islanders' attempts to manage the intrusion of the larger Euro-American world should not overlook the serious disruption caused during the last two centuries by violent conflicts, epidemics, colonial regimes, global wars, and neocolonial manipulation. There should also be comparative reference to other areas of the Pacific and explicit efforts to relate events in the islands' past to broader issues and themes in world history. In some instances, a deeper understanding of an island or island group's past may require a

decolonization of existing histories. This is particularly true for Guam, where historical accounts of the Catholic Church and of the Spanish and American colonial administrations have combined to suppress a more locally oriented history of the island and its people.

Finally, a study of this nonentity's past should acknowledge the limitations as well as possibilities of the effort. These are difficult times in which to write and reflect upon others' pasts. There are postmodern ethnographers and literary critics who view all written texts as thoroughly historicist and self-reflexive. Words written down ultimately reveal only the determining contexts of the writer; nothing is learned about the subjects of inquiry. On the other hand, more traditional historians plead for a return to an earlier narrative form of writing about the past that avoids the interpretive for the simply factual. In the midst of this debate, I offer a comment on the doing of history. In its attempts to reconstruct the past, the practice of history is, by its very nature, an imperfect discipline. The necessity of including cultural analysis, a process that Clifford Geertz refers to in positive terms as "guessing at meanings," complicates the inherent shortcomings of doing history.[50] We can never begin to approach the totality of the islands' past; and much of what we can do will be guessing at meanings in the Geertzian sense. But the effort will be worth it nonetheless. With the recognition of the diversity, richness, and complexity of the islands and their distinctive histories, we can, like Sahlins, exclaim that suddenly there are all kinds of things to consider.[51]

## NOTES

An earlier version of this paper was first presented to the History Students Association of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa on 27 February 1987. In addition to the members of that audience who provided me with constructive comments, I wish to thank the two anonymous reviewers who read a second draft for *Pacific Studies.* I have drawn also from my recently published work, *Upon a Stone Altar: A History of the Island of Pohnpei to 1890,* Pacific Islands Monograph Series, no. 5 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988). The history of this paper involves too the students in my Micronesian History seminar (Hist. 675C). Over the last four years at Mānoa, I have found encouragement in their enthusiasm and concern for both the past and present of Pacific peoples. Finally, I make these last revisions having just learned of the passing of a close friend, Mr. Shisenando Seneres of Wone and Awak on Pohnpei. This paper is dedicated to his memory; he taught me a great deal.

1. H. E. Maude, "Editorial," *Journal of Pacific History* 2 (1967): 4.

2. This often-cited quote first appeared in "Micronesia: Trials of Trusteeship," *Time* 77 (23 June 1961): 25.

3. Norman Meller comments on the imposed and artificial ordering that is Micronesia in *Constitutionalism in Micronesia* (Laie: Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University-Hawaii, 1985), 11-12.

4. Jules Sébastien César Dumont d'Urville, "Sur les îsles du Grand Ocean," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 17 (1832): 5. In this piece, Dumont d'Urville attributes the origin of the term "Micronesia" to Domeny de Rienzi. Norman Meller, *Congress of Micronesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1969), 1, writes that Domeny de Rienzi asked for official recognition of the term before an 1831 meeting of the Société de Géographie in Paris. See also Grégoire Louis Domeny de Rienzi, *Océanie ou Cinquième Partie du Monde: Revue Géographique et Ethnographique de la Malaisie, de la Micronésie, de la Polynésie, et de la Melanésie,* 3 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1863-1872).

5. Francis X. Hezel, S.J., *The First Taint of Civilization: A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in Pre-Colonial Days, 1521-1885,* Pacific Islands Monograph Series, no. 1 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), xi.

6. William T. Truxton, "Report of the Transactions of the USS *Jamestown* among the Caroline and Marshall Islands," 3 July 1870, Record Group 45, Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library, Subject OM, U.S. Naval Archives, Washington, D.C.

7. I am borrowing here from Greg Dening's endorsement of a cross-cultural approach to the study of history in the Pacific; see Dening, Review of *Marists and Melanesians* by Hugh Laracy, in *New Zealand Journal of History* 12 (1978): 82.

8. For a history of the Caroline Islands controversy between Spain and Germany, consult Richard J. Brown, "Germany, Spain, and the Caroline Islands, 1885-1899" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern Mississippi, 1976); see also Hezel, *The First Taint of Civilization,* 306-313.

9. Regarding the specifics of the Yap controversy, see Sumitra Rattan, "The Yap Controversy and Its Significance," *Journal of Pacific History* 7 (1972): 125-136; and Timothy P. Maga, "Prelude to War? The United States, Japan, and the Yap Crisis, 1918-1922," *Diplomatic History* 9 (1985): 215-231. Mark R. Peattie provides a very effective summary of the larger, long-standing Pacific tensions between Japan and the United States in his ***Nan'yō:*** *The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia,* 1885-1945, Pacific Islands Monograph Series, no. 4 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988).

10. This 1969 remark was attributed to Kissinger, President Richard M. Nixon's then assistant for national security affairs, by then Secretary of the Interior Walter F. Hickel; see Hickel's *Who Owns America?* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1971), 208. The comment is also cited by Donald McHenry, *Micronesia, Trust Betrayed: Altruism vs. Self-Interest in American Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1975), 98.

11. O. H. K. Spate, "Islands and Men," in *Man's Place in the Island Ecosystem: A Symposium,* ed. F. R. Fosberg (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1963), 253.

12. H. C. Maude, "Pacific History--Past, Present, and Future," *Journal of Pacific History* 6 (1971): 4.

13. Marshall Sahlins, "Other Times, Other Customs: The Anthropology of History," *American Anthropologist* 25 (1983): 534. This essay is also included in Sahlins's *Islands of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 32-72.

14. Batiri Bataua, "Bath of Bones for Kiribati Warrior Hero," *Pacific Magazine* 9 (September / October, 1984) : 30-31.

15. William Alkire, *Coral Islanders* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: AHM Publishing Corp., 1978).

16. Thomas Gladwin, *East Is A Big Bird: Navigation and Logic on Puluwat Atoll* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 34-35.

17. John L. Craib, "Micronesian Prehistory: An Archaeological Overview," *Science* 219 (February 1983): 922-923.

18. Ibid., 924. Charles R. Streck, Jr., reports a date of 4000 B.P. for the earliest human activity in the east in a paper entitled "Prehistoric Settlement in Eastern Micronesia: Archaeology on Bikini Atoll, Republic of the Marshall Islands." If correct, Streck's date would necessitate a major revision of the existing settlement sequence for Micronesia. The paper was presented to the Micronesia Archaeology Conference held 9-12 September 1987 on Guam.

19. For reports of recent archaeological investigations at Nan Madol, see J. Stephen Athens, *Archaeological Investigations at Nan Madol: Islet Maps and Artifacts* (Guam: Pacific Studies Institute, 1980); and William S. Ayres, Alan E. Haun, and Rufino Mauricio, "Nan Madol Archaeology: 1981 Survey and Excavations" (submitted by the Pacific Studies Institute, Guam, to the Historic Preservation Committee, Ponape State, Federated States of Micronesia, and the Historic Preservation Program, Saipan, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, May, 1983). Athens offers an extremely valuable and concise summary of research at Nan Madol over the last century and a half in his *The Discovery and Archaeological Investigations at Nan Madol, Ponape, Eastern Caroline Islands: An Annotated Bibliography,* rev. ed., Micronesian Archaeological Survey Report, no. 3 (Saipan: Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1981).

20. Joyce E. Bath and J. Stephen Athens, "Prehistoric Social Complexity on Pohnpei: The Saudeleur to Nahnmwarki Transformation" (Paper presented at the IPPA-UOG Micronesia Archaeology Conference, Guam, Mariana Islands, 9-12 September 1987), 13.

21. For descriptions of the *sawei* exchange system, see William A. Lessa, "Ulithi and the Outer Native World," *American Anthropologist* 52 (1950): 27-52; and William Alkire, *Lamotrek Atoll and Inter-Island Socioeconomic Ties,* Illinois Studies in Anthropology, no. 5 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965).

22. The literature on the uses and abuses of oral traditions as sources for the study of history is quite extensive. For a consideration of the issues as they relate to Pacific history, see P. M. Mercer, "Oral Traditions in the Pacific: Problems of Investigation," *Journal of Pacific History* 14 (1979): 130-153.

23. Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas 1774-1880* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), 42.

24. Hanlon, *Upon a Stone Altar,* xvii.

25. Thomas Spear, "Oral Traditions: Whose History?" *Journal of Pacific History* 16 (1981): 133-149.

26. Kenneth L. Rehg, with the assistance of Damian *G.* Sohl, *Ponapean Reference Grammar,* PALI Language Texts: Micronesia (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1981), 7. For a consideration of the concept of Katau or Kachaw on a pan-Micronesian level, see Ward H. Goodenough, "Sky World and This World: The Place of 'Kachaw' in Micronesian Cosmology," *American Anthropologist* 88 (September 1986): 551-568.

27. Athens, *Archaeological Investigations at Nan Madol,* 53.

28. Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom,* Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO) Special Publications, no. 1 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981). For refinements and revisions in this initial argument, see Sahlins's "Captain James Cook; or The Dying God," in *Islands of History,* 104-135.

29. A positive assessment of Micronesian oral traditions as sources for the study of more recent historical events can be found in Roger E. Mitchell, "Oral Tradition and Micronesian History: A Microcosmic Approach," *Journal of Pacific History* 5 (1970): 33-41. Mitchell demonstrates convincingly the compatibility between the written record and Trukese oral accounts concerning a nineteenth-century conflict between the atolls of Losap and Nama.

30. For an examination of the problems associated with the use of ethnohistoric accounts in reconstructing the contact histories of island societies, see Greg Dening, "Ethnohistory in Polynesia: The Values of Ethnohistorical Evidence," *Journal of Pacific History* 1 (1966): 23-42.

31. David Labby, *The Demystification of Yap: Dialectics of Culture on a Micronesian Island* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

32. Richard J. Parmentier, *The Sacred Remains: Myth, History, and Polity in Belau* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987). See also Parmentier's "Mythical Metaphors and Historical Realities: Modes of Transformation of the Belauan Polity," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 95 (1986): 167-193; and "Times of the Signs: Modalities of History and Levels of Social Structure in Belau," in *Semiotic Mediation: Sociocultural and Psychological Perspectives,* ed. Elizabeth Mertz and Richard J. Parmentier (Orlando, Fla.: Academic Press, 1985), 131-154.

33. André Gunder Frank, *World Accumulation, 1492-1789* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978); and Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974). For an anthropological perspective on the world-system approach that includes a very brief analysis of European trade among the Pacific Islands, see Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

34. James Peoples, *Island in Trust: Cultural Change and Dependence in a Micronesian Community* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1985), 184.

35. Greg Derring, *The* Bounty: *An Ethnographic History*. Melbourne University History Monograph Series, no. 1 (Melbourne: History Department, University of Melbourne, 1988), 110.

36. Glenn Petersen, "A Cultural Analysis of the Ponapean Independence Vote in the 1983 Plebiscite," *Pacific Studies* 9, no. 1 (1985): 13-52.

37. Lin Poyer, "The Ngatik Massacre: Documentary and Oral Traditional Accounts," *Journal of Pacific History* 20 (1984): 4-22.

38. Two recent works that pay particular attention to the nature of modern ethnographic discourse are James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); and George E. Marcus and Michael M. J. Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

39. This argument is advanced most clearly in James Clifford, "Introduction: Partial Truths," in Clifford and Marcus, *Writing Culture,* 2.

40. For a bibliographical essay on the current scholarly literature dealing with Micronesia, see Robert C. Kiste and Karen Peacock, "Micronesia," in *Pacific Islands Studies: A Survey of the Literature,* ed. Miles Jackson (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986), 61-114. Other helpful bibliographies on Micronesia include Mac Marshall and James D. Nason, *Micronesia, 1944-1974: A Bibliography of Anthropological and Related Source Materials* (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1975); and Stephen C. Woodworth, *Navigating the Micronesian Culture Area: A Guide to Source Materials* (Saipan: Trust Territory Historic Preservation Program, 1980).

41. Maude, "Editorial," 4.

42. Luelen Bernart, *The Book of Luelen,* trans. and ed. John L. Fischer, Saul H. Riesenberg, and Marjorie G. Whiting, Pacific History Series, no. 8 (Canberra: Australian National University Press; Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1977).

43. Masao Hadley, "A History of Nan Madol," trans. and ed. Paul M. Ehrlich, unpublished manuscript, 1981. Copies of the English and Pohnpeian versions of this manuscript are in my possession.

44. Rufino Mauricio, "Peopling of Pohnpei Island: Migration, Dispersal, and Settlement Themes in Clan Narratives," *Man and Culture in Oceania* 3 (1987): 47-72.

45. Raphael Uag, *A Legendary History of Yap,* ed. Frank Molinski (Yap: Good News Press, 1968); and Palau Community Action Agency, *A History of Palau,* 3 vols. (Koror: The Agency, 1976-1978).

46. La Bedbedin and Gerald Knight, *Man This Reef* (Majuro, Republic of the Marshall Islands: Micronitor, 1982).

47. Ron Crocombe, "Pacific History: Perceptions from Within," *Pacific History Association Newsletter* 12 (December 1985): 4.

48. A good example of the liberal critique of American Micronesia is David Nevin's *The American Touch in Micronesia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977). On the failings of the liberal critique, see David Hanlon, "Myths, Strategies, and Guilt in Micronesia," *Perspectives* 3 (Summer 1982): 23-27. Though somewhat dated, the best single history of Ameri-

can Micronesia remains Roger W. Gale, *The Americanization of Micronesia: A Study of the Consolidation of U.S. Rule in the Pacific* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1979).

49. Stewart Firth, *Nuclear Playground,* South Sea Books (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987).

50. Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 20.

51. Sahlins, "Other Times, Other Customs," 534.

# DEMOGRAPHIC PRESSURES ON HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND EMPLOYMENT RESOURCES IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC REGION

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Population projections by age and sex are presented for Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Western Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Vanuatu. These projections are used to generate projections of the school-age population and the potential labor force. Based on these population projections the nations under study are predicted to experience an increase of between 30 and 100 percent in demand for infant and child health services, school places, and jobs over the next twenty years. The success of each nation in meeting this challenge will be instrumental in its economic and social development.

Recent population forecasts for many Pacific countries show increasing population pressure on relatively scarce resources over the remainder of this century. Rapidly growing populations present these nations with critical human resource problems, namely, how to educate, train, and employ their expanding population.

Apart from indications from population projections and some brief discussions in development plans, there is little information on the size of the human resource challenge facing these nations. In this article I present projections of the population by age and sex for Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Western Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Vanuatu that make clear the problems facing these nations.[1] Once the size of the problem is known, more informed policy choices can be made.

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## Method

Forecasts of the total population such as those reported in Ahlburg (1987) are useful in that they tell us by how much the quantity of raw human resources (population) will increase. However, for policy purposes it is important to have an understanding of the age, sex, educational, and labor market status of the future population.

To illustrate how this may be done, I take the age and sex structure of each nation as reported in the census closest to 1975.[2] For Fiji, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Western Samoa this was 1976. For Vanuatu the last census was 1979 and for Papua New Guinea, 1980. I then multiplied the age-specific population estimate by one minus the corresponding age-specific mortality rate to age and advance the age-group by five years. This estimate was then multiplied by one minus the census-based mortality for the next age group and so on until each group reached 65+ years. This Markov-like procedure allows me to generate population estimates by age and sex for 1976-2001 for four countries and 1979-2004 and 1980-2005 for the others.

To complete the matrix we need estimates of the population 0-4 years of age for the years after the last census. These were obtained by multiplying forecasts of total population estimated by Ahlburg (1987) by the percentage of the population aged 0-4 years recorded in the last census.

These estimates assume that the census mortality rates remain constant for the next twenty years. This is a conservative assumption, particularly for a nation such as Papua New Guinea where significant mortality declines are expected. The age-specific and total population figures are therefore likely to exceed my estimates in those nations that experience reductions in mortality.

The estimates of the population by age and sex also form the basis for estimates of the population 5-24 years of age enrolled in school and for estimates of the economically active population by age and sex. The population estimates are multiplied by the census proportions of individuals aged 5-24 years currently enrolled in school to yield estimates of enrollment by age and sex for each country. The population estimates can be multiplied by the census proportions of the population who are economically active to yield estimates of the economically active population by age and sex.

To succinctly summarize these forecasts, indices of population, school enrollment, and working-age population were constructed by assigning the relevant 1981 population, enrollment, or working-age population figure a value of one hundred and expressing the 2001 figure relative to

this base. For example, in Table 1 the entry for Fiji in the total population column is 152, which means that over the twenty-year period Fiji's population is expected to increase by 52 percent.

To simplify the discussion, males and females are added together and the discussion focuses on age. The age-sex specific forecasts are available from the author on request.

## Forecasts of Increases in the Supply of Human Resources

If the population ages with the assumed mortality rates and with the fertility implied by the autoregressive model, Fiji, Tonga, and Western Samoa will experience about a 50 percent increase in human resources (total population) and Papua New Guinea a 60 percent increase. The population of the Solomon Islands is expected to increase more than twofold and that of Vanuatu to increase by 80 percent.

The methodology used disregards possible effects of migration and also future reductions in mortality. Out-migration leads to an overestimate of local population growth, and, conversely, lower death rates lead to an underestimate. The autoregressive forecasts reported by Ahlburg (1987) implicitly incorporate information on these elements of population change. These forecasts are also presented in Table 1. They indicate lower rates of population growth where migration is important, namely in Tonga, Western Samoa, and, to a lesser extent, Fiji. They indicate higher rates of growth in Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands where mortality rates may fall. They also indicate a lower rate

TABLE 1 **Indices of Projected Population Growth in Selected Pacific Countries, 1981-2001 (1981 = 100)**

| | Total Population | Total Population Based on Autoregressive Model | Population | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Aged 0-4 | Aged 5-14 | Aged 15-64 |
| Fiji | 152 | 140 | 143 | 138 | 159 |
| Papua New Guinea | 157[a] | 140 | 144[a] | 138[a] | 170[a] |
| Solomon Islands | 210 | 219 | 216 | 213 | 206 |
| Tonga | 145 | 130 | 132 | 122 | 159 |
| Vanuatu | 181[b] | 191 | 191[b] | 172[b] | 182[b] |
| Western Samoa | 150 | 117 | 117 | 113 | 179 |

[a]1980-2000 (1980 = 100).
[b]1979-1999 (1979 = 100).

of population growth for Papua New Guinea. However, the estimates for Papua New Guinea are influenced by the 1980 census, which showed an intercensal growth rate of 2.3 percent. McMurray (1985) has challenged this estimate. The United Nations (1985) and Goodman, Lepani, and Morawetz (1985) use an estimate of 2.8 percent per annum. If this estimate is correct then the index of population growth would be 174, that is, a 74 percent increase in population.

If we use these estimates to indicate rough upper and lower bounds on the increase in the quantity of raw human resources, Fiji will experience a 40 to 50 percent increase, Papua New Guinea a 40 to 75 percent increase, Western Samoa a 20 to 50 percent increase, the Solomon Islands a 110 to 120 percent increase, Tonga a 30 to 45 percent increase, and Vanuatu a 80 to 90 percent increase. The expected increase in population for all countries with low-income economies over the same period is 45 percent (World Bank 1987:254).

The predicted increases in population by age are also reported in Table 1. They indicate decreases in the young dependency ratio (population 0-14 years/population 15-64 years) for Fiji, Western Samoa, and Tonga. Increases are likely for Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands. The position for Papua New Guinea is not clear because of the data problems already noted.

The forecasts above indicate that the six Pacific countries under study will experience large increases in the supply of raw human resources over the next twenty years. For most of these countries the increases will exceed that for all low-income developing countries. The large increase in numbers of people presents several human resource challenges. These are, at a minimum, the provision of infant and child health services, education, and jobs. The success of each nation in meeting these challenges will be instrumental in the economic and social development of these nations.

## Infant Health Services

In 1980 Fiji, Western Samoa, Tonga, and the Solomon Islands had infant mortality rates that were below the average for all developing nations. The rate for Papua New Guinea was slightly below it (68 versus 72) and the rate for Vanuatu much higher (Ahlburg 1986; World Bank 1987:258-259). This situation reflects, in part, the relatively high expenditures on health in the Pacific. The shares of public expenditures allocated to public health range from 11 to 15 percent (Hughes, Ahlburg, and Lee 1987: 103).

From Table 1 it is clear that there will be a strong increase in the demand for infant and child health expenditures over the next twenty years, particularly in Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands, which have higher infant mortality rates than most Pacific nations. Increases in demand ranging from 20 to 120 percent are predicted. This demand as well as recent outbreaks of malaria and increasing concern about cardiovascular and cerebrovascular diseases and diabetes could severely strain public health budgets and may lead to a deterioration in the relatively favorable standard of health in the island nations.

## Education

Increases in the school-age population (5-19 years of age) are also predicted to be relatively large. These are broken down into 5-9, 10-14, and 15-19 years of age in Table 2. The increased demand for school places, given constant enrollment rates, will exceed 30 to 40 percent in all nations except Western Samoa. In the Solomons and Vanuatu demand for schooling at all levels will approximately double.

The assumption of constant enrollment rates is conservative and is likely to hold only for those aged 5-14 in Fiji, Tonga, and Western Samoa. When 100 percent enrollment is assumed for those aged 5-14 and 60 percent enrollment for those 15-19, the predicted increases in demand for education for Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands,

TABLE 2 **Indices of Projected School Enrollments in Selected Pacific Countries, 1981-2001 (1981 = 100)**

| | Case 1: Enrollments assuming current enrollment ratios | | | Case 2: Enrollments assuming 100% enrollment for ages 5-14 and 60% enrollment for ages 15-19 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Aged 5-9 | Aged 10-14 | Aged 15-19 | Aged 5-9 | Aged 10-14 | Aged 15-19 |
| Fiji | 143 | 132 | 115 | 150 | 152 | 193 |
| Papua New Guinea[a] | 138 | 138 | 153 | 464 | 305 | 987 |
| Solomon Islands | 217 | 209 | 210 | 667 | 363 | 497 |
| Tonga | 136 | 110 | 110 | 152 | 135 | 129 |
| Vanuatu[b] | 175 | 170 | 170 | 283 | 266 | 453 |
| Western Samoa | 118 | 109 | 110 | 144 | 115 | 122 |

[a]1980-2000 (1980 = 100).
[b]1979-1999 (1979 = 100).

and Vanuatu are extremely large--between 500 and 1000 percent for those aged 15-19. Since these nations have lower enrollment rates than many other developing nations (see Ahlburg 198660; World Bank 1987:262-263) increases in desired enrollments are likely and the rising enrollment scenario is more likely than that assuming constant enrollment rates. These forecasts also indicate that many more teachers and schools have to be provided if the predicted demand for education is to be met rather than turned back by selective enrollment policies.

The position of education in the Pacific appears to be critical. The estimated returns to investment in education, particularly at early levels of development, are higher than the returns to almost any other investment, provided, of course, that the output of education is of appropriate quality and relevance (Psacharopoulus 1982). Education is the cornerstone of human resource development. However, the predicted increase in the school-age population threatens to swamp the education system.

## Jobs

Predicted increases in the working-age population are presented in Table 3. The smallest increases, about 60 percent, are predicted for Fiji and Tonga. Larger increases, 70 to 80 percent, are projected for Papua New Guinea, Samoa, and Vanuatu. The largest increase, 106 percent, is projected for the Solomon Islands. The rates of increase are roughly equal for males and females.

Increases are somewhat smaller for ages 15-39 years in those nations where population growth is slowing, namely, Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga. The evidence is less clear for Vanuatu. In Papua New Guinea and the

TABLE 3 **Indices of Projected Working-Age Population Groups in Selected Pacific Countries, 1981-2001 (1981 = 100)**

| | | | | Aged | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Male | Female | 15-39 | 40-54 | 55-64 |
| Fiji | 159 | 159 | 159 | 142 | 213 | 207 |
| Papua New Guinea[a] | 170 | 164 | 177 | 166 | 159 | 149 |
| Solomon Islands | 206 | 204 | 208 | 219 | 176 | 167 |
| Tonga | 159 | 161 | 157 | 158 | 168 | 144 |
| Vanuatu[b] | 182 | 177 | 189 | 178 | 198 | 189 |
| Western Samoa | 178 | 182 | 175 | 173 | 212 | 153 |

[a]1980-2000 (1980 = 100).
[b]1979-1999 (1979 = 100).

Solomon Islands the demand for jobs will be greatest among workers at the youngest ages. Using data on the working-age population, rather than those economically active as I have, implies an assumption of constant labor force activity rates over the period 1980 to 2000. Activity rates are quite high for males in Fiji, Tonga, and Western Samoa (except for those 60-64 years) and so the estimates of the increased need for jobs reported in Table 3 are likely to be unbiased. However, activity rates for females in all countries and for males in the Solomon Islands (activity rates for Vanuatu and Papua New Guinea are unavailable) are low. For females the rates are between 2 and 27 percent. For males in the Solomon Islands the rates are between 20 and 49 percent. If activity rates continue to rise the demand for jobs will be much greater than indicated in Table 3. Yusuf and Peters (1985:6) found evidence of rising female participation rates in Western Samoa.

The likely increase in the demand for jobs in Tonga and Samoa is overstated because out-migration is particularly strong among the young. However, the indices in Table 3 are useful for they indicate the pressure on job creation that would occur if migration were to stop.

There is some evidence to suggest that the island nations of the Pacific are currently having difficulty producing sufficient jobs to employ the annual crop of school-leavers (Walsh 1982; Ahlburg 1986). The result of the supply of labor exceeding demand (in the absence of flexible wages) has been unemployment, particularly for the young. For example, in Fiji in 1976 three out of four people classified as unemployed were young, inexperienced workers aged 15-24 years (Walsh 1982:40). The evidence from Table 3 indicates that increased pressure on the labor market will be experienced by Pacific Island nations over the next twenty years.

## Summary and Conclusion

The populations of many Pacific Island nations are likely to increase by 50 to 100 percent over the next twenty years. These increases exceed the average rate for all low-income developing nations. The predicted rates of population increase imply roughly similar increases in the demand for infant and child health services, education, and jobs.

The island nations face very large increases in the demand for health services, education, and jobs. A population that is healthy, educated, and employed is a critical element in the development of a nation. If the island nations fail to turn their large population increases into valuable human resources, their future development is at risk. Given the magni-

tude of the task ahead, it is unlikely that just spending more money, whether it is generated internally or comes from loans or aid, will suffice. The nations need to increase the efficiency of their health and education systems and their labor markets. In addition, they need to critically evaluate their general lack of a population policy.

## NOTES

The author would like to thank the three referees for their thoughtful comments.

1. These countries were selected as the first group of countries to be studied intensively as part of the Islands-Australia Project being carried out by the National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University. They were chosen on the basis of the size of their population and economy. The smaller nations are now being studied in the second phase of the project.

2. Although several nations have had more recent censuses, all of the data needed for the calculations in this paper were not available for all countries. For comparability across countries a roughly common starting point was chosen. More recent data may change the quantitative analysis somewhat, but not the basic conclusions of the paper.

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# SHARPENING THE SPEARHEAD: SUBREGIONALISM IN MELANESIA

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In recent years the international political environment of the Melanesian region has been undergoing considerable change.[1] In part this change has been caused by--and at the same time has further confirmed--a growing sense of subregional identity among the three independent states of the area. Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu have increasingly asserted their distinctness in both ethnic and political terms within the South Pacific region, not merely from the metropoles of Australia and New Zealand but from the other island states to the east and north as well.

The evolution of distinct but similar political cultures and institutions in the postindependence period has, of course, been a major factor in the emergence of this group identity. Perhaps more significantly, though, developments within the South Pacific region as a whole--both externally imposed and internally generated--have created a political and diplomatic climate in which this new subregional cohesion has been consolidated through cooperative action. In March 1988 the existence of a developing political community was formally acknowledged by the signing in Port Vila of a set of Agreed Principles for Cooperation among the three members of the so-called Melanesian Spearhead group.

The decolonization process in the subregion and the varying but shared experiences of it in the three states were an important determi-

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nant of postindependence relationships among them. All three became independent within a five-year period (Papua New Guinea in 1975, the Solomon Islands in 1978, and Vanuatu in 1980), and although the nature of decolonization differed between the three, each was a close observer of the experiences of the other two. It was, in fact, the circumstances surrounding the decolonization of Vanuatu that were to sharpen the sense of shared political identity and to accelerate the process of political cooperation. French obstructiveness towards independence for the New Hebrides--and complicity in attempts to sabotage it--created the conditions for the intervention of the "Kumul Force" from Papua New Guinea, which was instrumental in consolidating Walter Lini's postindependence government.

The experience had a considerable effect on the subsequent relationship between the two states, an effect, moreover, based on ethnic solidarity. This solidarity was given greater potency by the fact that the Papua New Guinea intervention--though bilaterally agreed upon with the Vanuatu government--was essentially a unilateral action carried out despite considerable opposition from Fiji and the Polynesians in the South Pacific Forum.[2] The Solomon Islands, while lacking the resources to contribute materially to the undertaking, nevertheless strongly supported the Papua New Guinea initiative.

The division within the Forum between the more activist west, represented by the Melanesians, and a more cautious east, composed of Fiji and the Polynesians, has to an extent been confirmed by subsequent developments. A number of issues concerning the region's external relations have highlighted what has increasingly appeared to be a fundamental difference in outlook between the Melanesians and the other Forum island countries.

The South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty that emerged from the Rarotonga Forum in 1985, for example, was seen by the Melanesians as an essentially Australian artifact reflecting Canberra's strategic interests. The geographical narrowness of the treaty as well as its limited restrictions on passage and port rights for nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed vessels have been perceived by many as a bid to secure American compliance.[3] If indeed this was the Australian intention, it was of course unsuccessful, but the Melanesian states expressed resentment at what they saw as an attempt to railroad through an insufficiently radical agreement.[4] Similarly, the Melanesian states were in the forefront of the drive for a fisheries agreement to curtail the activities of American tuna boats in their two-hundred-mile economic zones.

In many ways, though, the greatest impetus for cohesion among the

three states has been the problem of New Caledonia, replete as it is with a range of political and cultural resonances within Melanesia. The importance of the New Caledonia issue as a catalyst in the development of the Melanesian grouping points to the role of French colonialism (and the contrasting responses to it by the states of the region) as a connecting thread between the origins of the group and its current consolidation. The abandonment by French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac in 1986 of President Mitterrand's "independence in association" plans for the Melanesian territory obviously carried echoes of events six years previously in the New Hebrides. Similar echoes could also be discerned by the Melanesian states in what they interpreted as a lack of resolution in the responses of the other Forum members. Once again Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, now reinforced by a radically-inclined independent Vanuatu, found themselves in the position of frontline states--in both geographic and diplomatic terms. This was the context in which the first Spearhead meeting took place, in Suva prior to the opening of the 1986 South Pacific Forum.

While these imported issues have had a considerable effect on the Melanesian subregion as obvious rallying points, the phenomenon is also fueled by differing but convergent national interests among the members of the group.

## Unity in Diversity?

The apparent radicalism displayed by the Melanesian grouping has different origins in the individual member states. Papua New Guinea can be considered radical only in the regional context. It has, since independence, turned its face against membership in the Non-Aligned Movement, for example, being suspicious of its anti-Western rhetoric.[5] The PNG economy is robustly rooted in private enterprise and strongly dependent on foreign investment, while the churches are a potent and essentially conservative force in PNG society.

In the regional context, though, from the Vanuatu affair in 1980 onwards, Papua New Guinea has developed something of a radical image. This was particularly prominent during the premiership of Paias Wingti, who succeeded Michael Somare as prime minister in November 1985 and remained in power through the 1987 general election until his defeat in a parliamentary vote of no confidence in June 1988. Part of a younger generation of politicians who served apprenticeships entirely in the postindependence period, Wingti brought some distinct changes in the direction of Papua New Guinea foreign policy. The contrast here

with his two prime ministerial predecessors is one of both style and substance.

Michael Somare's political image differs from Wingti's in both a historical and a geographical sense. Somare is associated with the broader Pacific independence movement of the sixties and seventies--a period when the notion of a self-defined Melanesian political grouping would have been quite premature, and the island South Pacific as a whole was the accepted focus for the new states' regional identity. His close political and personal friendship with Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara of Fiji is emblematic of this perspective. Significantly, this friendship and the political outlook it symbolized determined much of Somare's initial opposition to intervention in Vanuatu in 1980.[6] Somare's continuing commitment to the broader scope for Papua New Guinea's Pacific policy was evident when, at the end of 1987, he mounted a fierce attack on the Spearhead idea. The group was "anti-Australian and anti-New Zealand," had been "scorned in the Asia-Pacific region as being racist," and was merely a vehicle for the Wingti government to "hide behind to shield its inexperience with foreign policy aspects in respect of the greater Pacific region."[7]

Wingti's defeat in June 1988 brought Somare's Pangu Pati back to power at the head of a new coalition. Although Somare himself had stepped down as party leader just prior to the change of government, thus guaranteeing the premiership for his successor Rabbie Namaliu, the "Chief" became minister of foreign affairs in the new administration. The extent to which Somare might translate--or be permitted by his prime minister to translate--his declared hostility to Melanesian subregionalism into practical diplomatic action remains unclear, but the return of Michael Somare must reasonably be expected to have some policy implications.

Sir Julius Chan, who as prime minister in mid-1980 was responsible for the intervention in Vanuatu, is nevertheless far from a radical figure in either domestic or foreign policy. Closely associated with Papua New Guinea's growing indigenous capitalism, Chan is politically and economically conservative. Since 1980 he has been a vocal supporter of greater regional cooperation, even advocating the development of permanent peacekeeping mechanisms, but his context--like that of Somare --is broader than the Melanesian area alone. His enthusiasm for the Melanesian cause is perhaps also limited by the fact that he himself is half-Chinese and therefore not so obviously attracted to interisland cooperation on purely ethnic grounds.

Whatever the orientations of his predecessors, however, Wingti, dur-

ing his period in office between 1986 and 1988, aspired towards a redefinition of foreign policy direction, a redefinition in which eastward-looking Melanesian subregionalism played an important part. Essentially this change of diplomatic focus involved an attempt to reconstruct the basis of the postcolonial relationship with Australia. The continuing dependence on direct budgetary subvention from Canberra has been both an affront to national pride and a source of considerable economic vulnerability, as witnessed in the aftermath of the major cut in this subvention announced by Australia with a minimum of prior consultation in 1986.[8] Wingti's expressed aim was to free PNG from this dependence over a relatively short period and to change the basis of the PNG-Australia economic relationship from aid to trade.[9] Hand in hand with this economic reorientation would go, the argument ran, a corresponding change in the nature of the political and security relationship. This thinking was inherent in the Joint Declaration of Principles signed by Prime Ministers Wingti and Hawke in Canberra in December 1987.

A corollary of this redefinition of the relationship with the former metropole has been a deliberate pursuit of alternative outlets for PNG's economic and political foreign policy. As the view to the south has lengthened, that to both west and east has been brought into sharper focus. To the west the rapprochement with Indonesia, symbolized by the Treaty of Mutual Respect, Friendship, and Cooperation signed in October 1986, has been important both in itself as the basis for the resolution of future border issues and more generally as providing an entree for PNG to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) region as a whole. Southeast Asia was seen by some policy planners close to Wingti as a useful economic counterweight to the Australian relationship. While it was widely accepted that full ASEAN membership was not likely in the near future, continuing links were assiduously fostered. There is no indication that Wingti's successors will substantially depart from this approach.

While Papua New Guinea is very much the junior partner in this western axis with the ASEAN countries, the prospect to the east is quite different. In this direction lie the other Melanesian states and among these Papua New Guinea is dominant in territorial, demographic, military, and economic terms.[10] The leadership role in this relationship is therefore a significant balance to the essentially subordinate one to the west. It is also one that offers the opportunity to maximize the effect of PNG's national input (and thus prestige) in the regional and global organizations that constitute such a large part of the foreign-policy activity of all small states.

In the case of Vanuatu, the traumas of the decolonization period have had an obvious influence on postindependence foreign policy. While the transfer of power has typically been an amicable process in the South Pacific, Vanuatu's experience was an exception. French intransigence--and British inaction in the face of it--meant that some of the conditions did not exist for the pro-Western foreign-policy orientation characteristic of island states in the postindependence period. Uniquely among the Forum states Vanuatu is a member of the Non-Aligned Movement. Vanuatu has also entered into a fishing agreement with the Soviet Union and has given a generally positive response to Libyan proposals for the establishment of diplomatic relations.

This robustly independent "Third World" foreign policy has been pursued in Vanuatu with considerable persistence. In the main this is due to the continuing dominance of Father Lini and his Vanua'aku party. The deep cleavage in Vanuatu politics between the anglophone and the francophone traditions inherited from the Anglo-French Condominium has exerted a powerful centrifugal force on each side. As a result Lini's leadership remained unchallenged for the first eight years of Vanuatu's independent statehood. Criticism of his foreign policy has been leveled at Father Lini from within his own party, though. One side has been concerned mainly at its possible effect on Vanuatu's relatively successful, profoundly capitalist financial policies by which the country has remained a major tax-haven for foreign businesses.[11] Simultaneously, however, his main challenger for leadership of the Vanua'aku party, Barak Sope, was rather more enthusiastic than Lini himself at the prospect of closer Libyan links. Although the rivalry between Lini and Sope led to a major political crisis in mid-1988, the issues involved were essentially domestic and, to an extent, personal.[12] Sope enlisted the parliamentary support of the francophone opposition in his challenge to Lini, but it was an alliance of enemies against a common foe. Previously in fact Sope, as an ultra on the side of the nonaligned foreign policy, had been a particular object of opposition hostility. Whatever common ground Lini's diverse enemies can make, it is unlikely to cover foreign policy. The established anglophone-francophone divisions on foreign policy go deep. The issue of Melanesian solidarity itself is a feature of these divisions, founded as it is on the circumstances of Lini's victory in 1980 and nourished by hostility towards France over New Caledonia.

Although in the late 1980s the Solomon Islands shares neither the declaratory radicalism of Wingti's Papua New Guinea nor the substantive variety of Lini's Vanuatu, it had been a vocal advocate of pan-Melanesian cooperation earlier in the decade. Under the leadership of

Solomon Mamaloni, the Solomon Islands proposed the formation of a "Melanesian Alliance" among the three independent states. With Michael Somare in power in Port Moresby at that time, however, the plan did not prosper.[13] Although the former British colony does not suffer as PNG does from the continued proximity of the former metropole or from the consequences of a divided and divergent colonial administration as in the case of Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands economy is dominated by Australian business interests, a situation that periodically leads to difficulties in the bilateral relationship. Beyond the Solomon Islands' political and economic relations in the region, geographical position and ethnic identity make its membership in the Melanesian grouping all but inevitable.

The Solomons does not have the influence of size exerted by Papua New Guinea and it has eschewed, at least in recent years, the high profile radicalism of Vanuatu.[14] It was, though, as already mentioned, prominent among PNG's few Forum supporters during the 1980 intervention in Vanuatu. It also shared the misgivings of its PNG and Vanuatu counterparts about the limits of the nuclear-free-zone treaty and has been an active participant in the U.N. moves over New Caledonia. And, beyond the question of political and ethnic identity, the diplomatic enabling power provided by organizational participation must obviously be a potent consideration for any state with such limited unilateral resources as the Solomons. In the case of the Solomons, adherence to the Spearhead group perhaps implies a degree of radicalization in foreign policy, but such an adjustment might be seen as a reasonable price for this enhancement of diplomatic influence.

## The Perimeters of Pan-Melanesianism

The Spearhead meeting in Port Vila in March 1988 saw the group enter a new phase of institutional existence. The Agreed Principles for Cooperation signed there represent a formal compact between the three states. In no sense, however, is the agreement a binding treaty or even an organizational charter. It consists of nine largely unexceptional principles for possible future cooperation rather than concrete proposals for a closer integration of the current relationship.[15] Nevertheless, its symbolic importance is considerable. Despite the absence of clear commitments to defined diplomatic or even extensive functional cooperation, the agreement is clearly significant as an affirmation of a discrete political community.

How much further might the group develop in future, though, and in

which directions? The answers to these questions are fundamentally dependent on three factors: the potential for numerical growth within the group, the readiness of the membership to cooperate with greater integration, and the potential areas in which collective activity might be undertaken.

Clearly, a grouping that is both subregional and ethnically delimited has a very circumscribed capacity for expansion. Within these limits there are only three potential new recruits for the Spearhead group: Fiji, an independent Kanaky emerging from a decolonized New Caledonia, and a similarly independent West New Guinea.

The second and third of those can be dismissed relatively easily. Despite the transformation of the New Caledonia situation brought about by the mid-1988 fall of the Chirac government in Paris, a permanent settlement of the issue remains in the long-term future. Moreover, when such a settlement does emerge it is unlikely to take the form of a crisp transfer of power to an independent Melanesian republic free to choose its regional and international alignments without constitutional restraints.

If anything, the prospect of a Melanesian community swollen by the membership of an independent West New Guinea is even less likely. The persistence of the guerrilla effort against the Indonesian administration in Irian Jaya should not disguise its fundamental weakness.[16] Additionally, the rights of Indonesia in the territory are internationally recognixed. And, while this recognition has been shared by successive governments in Papua New Guinea, the recent rapprochement with Jakarta has sharply underlined it. The aims of Melanesian nationalism in Irian Jaya are neither feasible in their own right nor do they appear to have any place in contemporary pan-Melanesianism as represented by the Spearhead group.

Only Vanuatu has expressed any interest in taking on the question of Irian Jaya as a Spearhead issue--and then on the initiative of the Sope faction. As Sope insisted while outlining Vanuatu's general foreign-policy principles in November 1987, "All Pacific people must have their independence. Our position on West Papua [Irian Jaya] is the same. This will not change until West Papua is free. . . . Not until then will we consider diplomatic relations with Indonesia."[17] Such a position on Irian Jaya is unlikely to be pursued unless Sope were to emerge victorious in his contest with Lini.[18] It may safely be assumed, moreover, that in its own diplomatic interests Papua New Guinea would actively discourage any Spearhead involvement in Irian Jaya. Questioned on the issue at the time of the signing of the Agreed Principles, Wingti's foreign

minister, Akoka Doi, confirmed Port Moresby's recognition of the territory as "an integral part of Indonesia." It was, in his words, a "mistake done by the colonial powers so let it stay as it is."[19]

The case of Fiji, however, is not so easily dismissed. From the beginning Fiji's position in relation to intra-Melanesian cooperation has been problematic. As the first Melanesian island to become independent in 1970 it might be expected to have assumed a leadership role. Its failure to do so cannot be explained in terms of any general isolationist tendency in foreign policy. Fiji is, for example, the only island state to have participated in U.N. peacekeeping operations, with all the implications that carries for its international position. Under Ratu Mara in precoup days it was also regarded as something of an activist in the institutional politics of the Commonwealth. Yet Fiji has taken a consistently "minimalist" position on regional integration--in the context both of the Forum and of specifically Melanesian cooperation. Ratu Mara's government was one of the strongest critics of intervention in Vanuatu in 1980 even though, many would have thought, Fiji was ideally qualified to cooperate in such an intervention, given its relatively large and well-equipped army and its U.N. experience.[20]

One explanation of Fiji's position was that such an intervention might create an unwelcome precedent for future intercommunal crises in the region. In short, the anglophone-francophone conflict in Vanuatu was uncomfortably close to the Melanesian-Indian one in Fiji itself. Here a particular irony of recent developments in the Melanesian area becomes evident.

Far from lobbying for any type of Forum intervention to resolve the Fijian crisis of 1987, Papua New Guinea was insistent on a policy of complete noninterference. Wingti advocated this with considerable vigor both at the Apia Forum in May that followed hard on the coup and at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Vancouver in October. As a result he found himself in sharp conflict with his Australian counterpart, Bob Hawke, in Apia.[21] In November, despite the second coup of the year, Papua New Guinea was the first state to formally recognize Brigadier Rabuka's regime. Wingti's public justification of his notably muted approach to the brigadier's activities was that the marginalization of Fiji would be counterproductive to a settlement of the crisis. It is a reasonable assumption, however, that an underlying sympathy with Melanesian aspirations was also present in his attitude.

Yet the emergent postcoup Melanesian regime--like its pre-Bavadra forebears--shows no inclination to pan-Melanesian regional cooperation. The open invitation issued to Fiji by the Spearhead group in

March 1988 at its Port Vila meeting was firmly declined by Ratu Mara.[22] The paradox is that the supposedly non-Melanesian Labour government of Dr. Bavadra might have provided a much more willing and politically suitable fourth member of the Spearhead group, sharing as it did the common view on such issues as the nuclear-free zone and French colonialism. The Rabuka-Mara regime in contrast seems more inclined towards the siren calls of French aid on the one hand and on the other trade and diplomatic fence-mending with Australia and New Zealand. Membership in a vocal subregional grouping openly hostile to Paris and potentially at odds with both Canberra and Wellington might reasonably be seen as less than helpful in these circumstances. In short, Melanesian revolution or not, Fiji's diplomacy continues to display a caution more usually associated with the Polynesian states rather than the putative Third Worldism of its ethnic cohorts.[23]

In the present circumstances, therefore, the prospects for an expanded Melanesian grouping seem remote. The Spearhead group is both self-limiting in nature and limited by political circumstances. If then numerical growth is unlikely, what of the present membership? What prospects for further degrees of cooperation are indicated by the respective outlooks of the states already in the group?

The signing of the Agreed Principles for Cooperation was obviously an occasion for considerable self-congratulation among the Spearhead members. But amid this some words of caution made themselves heard. The Solomon Islands government did not altogether share the more ambitious aspirations being expressed by some PNG and Vanuatu elements. The Solomons government, for example, was much less sympathetic towards developments in Fiji in 1987 than was its Papua New Guinea counterpart and continues to withhold recognition from the Rabuka-Mara regime. It has also been more censorious of the use of violence by the Kanak separatists in New Caledonia, despite its commitment to independence.[24] Honiara was particularly concerned that the Spearhead group should not be seen as any kind of challenge to established regional groups, in particular the South Pacific Forum.

In this the Solomon Islands was merely emphasizing something already explicit in the Agreed Principles. The third of these insists that the agreement should not weaken "other bilateral or multilateral arrangements." This inclusion illustrates the somewhat paradoxical character of the Spearhead group in the context of contemporary regional organization in the South Pacific. The Melanesian grouping is composed of those Forum members most committed to the principle of a Single Regional Organization (SRO) for the region. This issue is con-

cerned essentially with the supposed diffusion of effort and duplication of functions between the Forum and the older South Pacific Commission. The latter--with its lingering colonial resonances--should, the advocates of the SRO argue, be dissolved to permit the concentration of resources in the Forum. What though of resources diverted into the kind of subregionalism represented by the Spearhead group?

Ironically, it appears as though the frustration of the Melanesians at the diffused efforts and caution of the other island states in the Forum might have created an obstacle to the emergence of a strong, united SRO. In this respect the continuing commitment of the Melanesians to the Single Regional Organization might act as a restraint on further integration within the Spearhead group.

The absence of a bipartisan commitment to Melanesian subregionalism in Papua New Guinea has already been touched on in relation to the fall of the Wingti administration and the subsequent return of Michael Somare to government as foreign minister in the Namaliu Cabinet. One of his first pronouncements in the post was a reaffirmation of his hostility to the Spearhead idea. He was, however, at pains to emphasize that he spoke personally rather than officially and that the Cabinet itself had no plans for a radical change of direction on the issue. The position of the Namaliu government on subregionalism will therefore depend largely on the pressure that Somare chooses to exert on the issue. It is not clear, however, that in his position of elder statesman in semiretirement he will be willing to confront what had already been asserted as a major foreign-policy "orthodoxy" by his immediate predecessors.

Cooperation, of course, is not merely a function of political will--although that is clearly important. The pace and extent of integration is also conditioned by the nature of the issues on which cooperation is focused. What then are the issue areas that confront the Melanesian Spearhead and what is the likelihood of their being addressed collectively? What aspects of the area's concerns--economic, political, and security--might be amenable to pan-Melanesian cooperation?

In the economic field the grounds for future cooperation are limited by a number of factors. Intra-Melanesian trade must remain restricted by the fact that the primary products of the island states are essentially the same. There is perhaps some prospect of preferential trading arrangements in the few exceptions to this, such as PNG coffee and Vanuatu beef, but these would hardly provide the basis of a major trading community. Papua New Guinea's predicted mineral boom that involves oil as well as precious metals might alter this picture somewhat. The impact will depend on the extent of secondary processing

that will take place in Papua New Guinea itself and, more generally, on the degree of state control that can be exercised over the largely foreign-based extractive industries.

The prospects are not much more encouraging in the area of external trade. The major agreements between the island states and their external markets tend to be fixed within established institutional structures. In the case of the principal agreement with Australia and New Zealand--the South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Agreement (SPARTECA)--the institutional framework is the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation (SPEC), which is an agency of the Forum. It is difficult to see any significant changes being brought to this arrangement by the Melanesians alone. It is possible, however, that Melanesian cooperation as a pressure group *within* the Forum could have some impact. This would be less likely in the agreements with the European Communities that exist in the context of the Lomé Convention. Any changes to this would stretch the capacity of the Forum as a whole, let alone a grouping within it.[25]

A further restraint is placed on economic cooperation within the group by the potentially divergent unilateral trading interests of its members. Papua New Guinea's ambition for a new economic relationship with the ASEAN region has already been mentioned. It was unlikely even in the Wingti administration that pan-Melanesian sentiment would have been allowed to constrain the development of extra-regional agreements flowing from this. It is even less likely in that of his successors, who do not share his enthusiasm for the Melanesian idea itself. While both the South Pacific and the Southeast Asian axes of Papua New Guinea's foreign policy are significant in the reorientation away from continued dependence on Australia, the tangible economic benefits sought from the first are likely to take priority over the less tangible political returns from the second.

The prospects for closer economic ties therefore do not seem to go further than a fairly limited range of functional arrangements. New air links between the Spearhead members have been established as a consequence of the new relationship--but it is questionable if these perform any truly practical purpose or merely a symbolic political one.[26] Visa formalities between the three states have been eased but as non-"customary" inter-island travel is largely insignificant this is unlikely to have any practical effect. Further joint undertakings are likely, perhaps in the field of product processing such as food canning and in tourist promotion. But in general, the Spearhead group does not seem destined to adhere through any spiderweb of agreements on the prescribed functionalist pattern.

The political purposes served by regional cooperation in the Third World are easily adumbrated. Institutional participation amplifies the diplomatic voice of the small state; the leadership opportunities provided within the organization reinforce the national foreign policies of the larger participants; and joint positions provide an enabling force to relations with large or hegemonic neighbors outside of the group. To some extent all of these factors might be seen as applying to the Spearhead group.

Mediation of policy aims through the group has given added force to the position of the individual Spearhead members on such issues as New Caledonia in larger forums like the U.N. and the Commonwealth. And, Papua New Guinea's implicit leadership position within the group has perhaps given a certain *gravitas* to national foreign policy not evident in the past. A new confidence has been discernible in Port Moresby's diplomacy since the mid-1980s, both regionally and globally. It is a reasonable hypothesis that in part this is both a cause and a consequence of the development of the Melanesian grouping and Papua New Guinea's authority within it during the period of the Wingti governments.

This confidence has been particularly evident in the Papua New Guinea-Australia relationship, and it is here we touch on the enabling function of the group. Australia, as the dominant regional power, is now constrained to alter, at least to some extent, its diplomatic *modus operandi* when confronted by an increasingly multilateral diplomatic entity in Melanesia rather than a series of hitherto compartmentalized bilateral relationships. This is not to suggest, of course, that the emergence of the Spearhead group is itself sufficient to precipitate major changes in Canberra's regional policy; but its existence might be expected to modify the means by which this policy is pursued.

## The Strategic Dimension

There are obvious dangers in taking such speculation too far. One of these lies in making unjustifiable assumptions about the degree of political cohesion among the members of the Spearhead group. The diversity of basic foreign policy directions among the three states has already been remarked--from the radical nonalignment of Vanuatu to a fundamentally pro-Western Papua New Guinea. But such coherence as there is exists principally within the limits of the region itself and it is here that the relationship with Australia, the region's major power, is played out. And, it is in this relationship that the ill-defined boundary between questions of politics and those of national and regional security is approached. The security issue highlights the problems of differing per-

ceptions of interests and threats between the island states and Australia, both as a local power and as the principal guardian of Western strategic interests in the region.

Developments over the past decade have considerably altered the regional security agenda in the South Pacific. For the island states a number of problems have emerged, paradoxically, from generally advantageous changes in the Law of the Sea. The advent of the two-hundred-mile economic zone has provided the prospect of much greater benefits from the exploitation of marine resources. But it has also imposed the burden of providing security for these resources. Apart from the legal wrangles with the American tuna-boat owners that eventually led to the Forum Fisheries Agreement in 1987, straightforward poaching by vessels from a number of Southeast Asian countries has been a continuing problem. Australia and, to a much lesser extent, New Zealand have been the only regional states with the capacity to undertake reasonably effective marine surveillance. Australia took the lead in extending this to the waters of the closer island states both directly through the creation of a surveillance network of Orion long-range aircraft and indirectly through the Pacific Patrol Boat Programme that provides fast interception vessels to the island states themselves.

Australia's motives cannot be assumed to be purely selfless. While surveillance of their waters is to the economic advantage of the islands, it is also in the strategic interests of Australia and, more generally, the Western alliance as a whole. The Melanesian area straddles the approaches to Australia's major east-coast population centers. Increasing concern over Soviet naval activity in the area makes such long-range surveillance a necessary part of Australia's defensive posture. The Dibb Report to the federal minister of defense in 1986, which constituted a fundamental reassessment of Australia's defense interests in the late 1980s, called for the "promotion of a sense of strategic community" in the South West Pacific as Australia's "area of direct military interest."[27]

The primary cause for concern in Dibb's view is "access by the Soviet Union, especially the establishment . . . of a presence ashore."[28] The island states do not entirely share Canberra's concern at Moscow's intentions. Vanuatu has, as already mentioned, entered into a fishing agreement with the Soviet Union while Papua New Guinea has not ruled out this option for itself and is actively exploring the prospects of a closer trading relationship. It is therefore particularly useful for Australia to be able to pursue its own, largely unshared, strategic ends while simultaneously maintaining a cooperative relationship with the island states. Canberra can carry out an unobstructed program of strategic

surveillance while the islands benefit from the spin-off of marine resource protection.

This symbiosis has not been entirely trouble-free. National security and the capacity to safeguard it are, after all, crucial components of the sovereignty of the state. Dependency for this on the resources of another state is obviously a situation fraught with problems of postindependence sensitivities and nationalist *amour propre.* The defense relationship with Vanuatu came close to breakdown in 1987 during a period of greater than usual Australian "Libophobia."[29] At the beginning of 1988 there was a bad-tempered exchange between the respective departments of defense in Port Moresby and Canberra involving allegations and counter-allegations of each side's failure to execute its responsibilities in the joint surveillance activities.[30] Despite these predictable difficulties, however, there have been clear signs of Canberra's intention to pursue the recommendations of the Dibb Report and further develop its security relationships in the region. The defense minister, Kim Beazely, has been energetic in promoting these relationships both by a series of personal visits to the Melanesian states and, reportedly, by the vigorous advocacy of greater commitment to the islands against Cabinet opposition.[31] The Joint Declaration of Principles signed with Papua New Guinea in December 1987, for example, included a significant advance on previous defense commitments.[32] In a major statement to the Federal Parliament on new defense priorities in February 1988, Beazely saw the economic vulnerability of the island states as a source of "opportunities for countries with interests inimical to our own."[33] In consequence he announced a Military Cooperation Programme for 1988 involving aid of A$23 million to Papua New Guinea and a further A$16 million for the other island states of the South West Pacific.[34]

In reality there seems to be little alternative to the Australian defense connection. Prospects for pan-Melanesian security cooperation are severely circumscribed by lack of resources. Only Papua New Guinea has a military capability in any conventional sense, with a force of about thirty-five hundred men relatively poor in resources. Security cooperation among the Melanesians so far has extended no further than the training in Port Moresby of Vanuatu's paramilitary Police Mobile Force--and even this has been undertaken with considerable Australian assistance.[35] Since the 1980 intervention in Vanuatu Sir Julius Chan has been a frequent advocate of a South Pacific peacekeeping force. But the idea has been resolutely resisted by the other potential participants and would in any case be much more broadly based than the Melanesian grouping itself.[36] The asymmetrical relationship between Australia and

the Melanesians seems bound to continue, in view of both Canberra's increasing interest in the area and the lack of any viable alternative for the islands.

What then are the actual or potential effects of the consolidation of the Spearhead group on this relationship? It is certainly possible that the enhanced influence and confidence provided by the collective spirit would operate to limit Australia's dominance of the relationship. The Dibb Report, in its consideration of the region's significance to Australian security interests, emphasized the importance of being "particularly mindful of the national sensitivities and aspirations of small South Pacific nations."[37] The Melanesian position in any future negotiations--either multilateral or bilateral--could in this way be strengthened. This would presumably be the hope of the island governments.

In one sense Australian security interests might be enhanced by an increased consolidation of the Melanesian grouping. The adoption of a collective position might well strengthen the islands' hand in relation to Canberra, but by much the same token the adjustments required in adopting such a collective position could provide Australia with a more managable environment within which to pursue its security concerns. In particular, a Melanesian group's acting collectively could, for example, serve to "de-marginalize" Vanuatu's position in relation to outside influences and how to respond to them.

In short, both the maximizing and the reductive aspects of international organization may operate simultaneously here. While a collective position offers the islands the possibility of an increase in influence in the security relationship, it offers Australia the possibility of a lessening of the diplomatic complications attendant on that relationship.

## The End of the "South Pacific"?

The emergence of the Melanesian Spearhead group serves to illustrate some of the inadequacies of the South Pacific as a unit of regional cooperation. While such indicators as total population and land area within the boundaries of the Forum might suggest optimum conditions for successful regional cooperation, the picture is rather different when seen in the context of the enormous and dispersed geographical area involved. To a degree, of course, this spatial separation removes some of the problems inherent in maintaining cooperation among closely bordering states; territorial disputes and border tensions are virtually absent. But large distances involve correspondingly large variations in political culture and priorities. In the South Pacific, therefore, the impetus towards

postcolonial cooperation characteristic of the Third World in general might reasonably be expected to have a subregional focus rather than the wider regional one. The proposal for a Polynesian economic organization that closely followed the formalization of the Spearhead group might be taken as confirmation of this tendency.

Does the emergence of these subregional bodies, though, place the future of the South Pacific Forum as a whole under question? If the Forum area is indeed inappropriately large and too dispersed to provide a viable basis for regional cooperation, can it now be expected to go into decline in the face of the emergence of more tractable subregions?

The answer is probably no. While the cultural and political differences between the Melanesian and Polynesian (and more recently, Micronesian) islands may make their respective subregions more suitable units for intragroup cooperation, limitations of size and resources render them much less effective in mediating members' political and economic interests to the outside world. For this external activity the Forum region as a whole provides a much more effective basis for interisland cooperation. The recognition of this, on the part of the Melanesians at least, is witnessed by their continuing commitment to the concept of a Single Regional Organization for the South Pacific as a whole. The replacement of an administration strongly committed to the notion of Melanesian solidarity by one with a more traditional Pacific-wide perspective in Papua New Guinea, the largest of the states concerned, must also be expected to have some restraining effect (if not an actively regressive one) on further levels of subregional cooperation. In short, coexistence between the Melanesian grouping and a broader, South Pacific-wide regional organization seems not only feasible but also necessary and destined to continue.

## NOTES

1. Much of this article is based on a paper presented at the Pacific Islands Political Studies Association Conference in Apia, Western Samoa, in May 1988. I am grateful for a number of helpful comments offered by participants there.

2. The circumstances surrounding the PNG intervention in Vanuatu and the regional reaction to it are discussed in Norman MacQueen, "Beyond *Tok Win:* The Papua New Guinea Intervention in Vanuatu, 1980," *Pacific Affairs* 60, no. 2 (Summer 1988): 235-252.

3. On the politics of the treaty, see Paul F. Power, "The South Pacific Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone," *Pacific Affairs* 59, no. 3 (Fall 1987): 461-465.

4. See David Hegarty, "Soviet Bid to Catch the Winds of Discontent," *Pacific Defence Reporter,* 1988 Annual Reference Edition (December 1986/January 1987): 15.

5. Despite a suggestion by the acting foreign minister, Aruru Matiabe, in September 1987 that the time was now right for PNG to join the Movement, the proposal did not survive his fall from power and favor at the end of the year. See *Post Courier* [Papua New Guinea], 11 September 1987.

6. Bill Standish, *Melanesian Neighbours,* Legislative Research Service Basic Paper no. 9 (Canberra, 1984), 72. Somare was, to Ratu Mara's considerable gratitude, a consistent defender and supporter of the once and future Fijian prime minister through the various vicissitudes of 1987; see *Post Courier,* 21 September 1987.

7. *Post Courier,* 30 September 1987.

8. See *Pacific Islands Monthly,* May 1987, 19.

9. *Post Courier,* 26 October 1987.

10. Approximate comparative figures are:

| | Population | Land Area $km^2$ | GNP per capita |
|---|---|---|---|
| P N G | 3,479,400 | 462,840 | US$680 |
| Solomons | 285,796 | 27,556 | US$510 |
| Vanuatu | 140,154 | 12,190 | US$880 |

Based on data from *The Europa Yearbook 1988,* vol. 2 (London, 1988).

11. See Hegarty, "Soviet Bid to Catch the Winds of Discontent," 14.

12. Following the serious disturbances in May 1988 over reforms to Vanuatu's land registration system, Sope, who was a moving force in the protests, was dismissed from his government post as minister for immigration and tourism and from the secretary-generalship of the Vanua'aku party.

13. Standish, *Melanesian Neighbours,* 73, 114.

14. The bases of the Solomon Islands' postindependence foreign policy are outlined by David Sitai, "Low-Cost Diplomacy," in *Solomon Islands Politics,* ed. Peter Larmour (Suva: USP, 1983), 220-237.

15. The principles were first circulated in draft form at a pre-Forum Spearhead meeting held in Rabaul, Papua New Guinea, in May 1987. In précis they involve: (1) the recognition of Melanesian traditions and cultural values; (2) the facilitation of traditional and customary trade and exchange; (3) a statement of the nondivisive intentions of the agreement in respect of other bilateral and multilateral relationships; (4) a commitment to "high level" meetings on matters of mutual concern; (5) a commitment to the rule of law in international relations; (6) a commitment to explore possibilities of further economic, technical, and cultural cooperation between the signatory states; (7) a recognition of national interests as the basis for cooperation; (8) a commitment to the principle of colonial independence; (9) a commitment to U.N. principles on disarmament and human rights. See *Post Courier,* 11 March 1988.

16. The Australian defense analyst Ross Babbage puts the strength of the rebel OPM (Organisasi Papua Merdeka, "Free Papua Movement") at between fifty and one hundred

--though the organization obviously enjoys a measure of passive support from the Irian Jayan population in the PNG border area; "Australia and the Defence of Papua New Guinea," *Australian Outlook* 41, no. 2 (August 1987): 88.

17. Barak Sope, quoted in *Post Courier,* 27 November 1987.

18. Sope's links with political exiles from Irian Jaya resident in Vanuatu in fact became a considerable point of conflict in the power struggle with Lini. In June 1988 a number of these Sope protégés were arrested on Lini's orders and deported. See *Times of Papua New Guinea,* 16-22 June 1988.

19. Akoka Doi, quoted in *Islands Business,* April 1988, 26.

20. See *Pacific Islands Monthly,* January 1981, 9-11.

21. *The Australian,* 1 June 1987. Something of a ripple was also caused to relations with New Zealand over Prime Minister Lange's suggestion that his government might consider military intervention in Fiji; see *Post Courier,* 21 May 1987.

22. *Islands Business,* April 1988, 8-9.

23. The *actual* Polynesian cultural component in the coups was felt by some in Papua New Guinea to put the issue beyond questions of Melanesian ethnic solidarity. Former Foreign Affairs Secretary Sir Paulius Matane was one influential opponent of diplomatic recognition on these grounds. See *Post Courier,* 21 October 1987.

24. *Post Courier,* 14 September 1987; *Times of Papua New Guinea,* 28 April-4 May 1988.

25. Both the SPARTECA and Lomé Convention arrangements are outlined by Uentabo Fakaofo Neemia in *Cooperation and Conflict: Costs, Benefits, and National Interests in Pacific Regional Cooperation* (Suva: USP, 1986), 78-80.

26. The political nature of the air traffic agreements is suggested by the fact that they were signed at the prime ministerial level during a series of stopovers made by Wingti en route to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Vancouver in October 1987. See *Times of Papua New Guinea,* 8-14 October 1987.

27. *Review of Australia's Defence Capabilities,* Report to the Minister of Defence (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1986), 37.

28. Ibid., 49.

29. *Times of Papua New Guinea,* 14-20 May 1987.

30. *Post Courier,* 23 March 1988.

31. On the reported split between the minister of defense and his foreign affairs counterpart, Bill Hayden, on the issue of a greater defense commitment to the region, see *Pacific Islands Monthly,* October 1987, 17-18. Hayden's move to the governor-generalship and his replacement as foreign minister by Senator Gareth Evans in mid-1988 led to a more unified Cabinet position on the issue.

32. The two states are now committed to consultation on possible forms of joint action in the event of a threat to either; Australian High Commission, *Joint Declaration of Principles Guiding Relations between Papua New Guinea and Australia* (media release, Port Moresby, 9 December 1987). The relevant section is paragraph 4 (d).

33. *The Australian,* 24 February 1988.

34. *Post Courier,* 24 February 1988.

35. *Papua New Guinea Foreign Affairs Review* 2, no. 2 (April 1982): 51.

36. The idea of a Pacific peacekeeping force was raised in Papua New Guinea's first foreign-policy white paper at the end of 1981 with the proposal that island states should cooperate "in dealing with external military pressure and internal disorder"; *Papua New Guinea Foreign Policy* (Port Moresby: Government Printer, 1981), section 4.19. Chan has continued to advocate different forms of such cooperation since then--just as the other regional states have continued to resist them.

37. *Review of Australia's Defence Capabilities,* 49.

# THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF HOUSEKEEPING AND IMPORTS IN FIJI

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Women have been involved in the process of development in Fiji since missionary wives and other European women arrived there in the 1830s. The wives of Wesleyan missionaries brought with them ideas new to Fiji about running a household, many of which required goods not available locally. They introduced different foods, a new idea of work, and new considerations of health and child care, all dependent to some degree on imported items. Since these women were committed to introducing Fijians to these new concepts, we can place them among the "early developers" at the micro-economic level. I will therefore highlight the role of these early immigrant homemakers in setting Fiji on a road to dependence on imported goods.

Although the missionaries arrived in a land abundant with foods (Wilkes 1845), they saw the need to import foodstuffs and other goods better suited to their ideas of household management. The Fijian foods and housewares were not acceptable to them. So they requested these foods from overseas, Britain at first and then Australia, for their own comfort and correct living. At the same time they sought to induce Fijians to obtain these goods in the name of civilization; they were deeply committed to improving the lot of women and children by their own example (Burton and Deane 1936:98).

The emphasis here is on these women's involvement at the household level rather than on women's status vis-à-vis that of men, or the con-

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cerns of women's studies and feminist theory (Tinker 1985). Using their own ideas of correct household management the immigrant women sought to establish a need for material goods, and thus the need to work hard. They set up schools to pass on these new ideas to Fijian women. Fijian women observed and listened and adopted those new ideas that they found acceptable.

The contributions that missionary wives made more than a hundred years ago to introducing these new ideas have not been widely recognixed. Women's issues in development have become a point of focus only in the past twenty years. The need to increase women's involvement in the developments occurring in the 1960s in various Pacific societies was a key item on the agendas of South Pacific Commission conferences (for example, one in Tahiti in 1972 and one in Rarotonga in 1985) and of South Pacific Forum meetings. The issue of how best to help women participate in the development process has gained momentum in the 1980s (see the proceedings of two major conferences: "Women, Aid, and Development" [Melville 1983]; "Women in Development in the South Pacific," 1984 [Cole 1985]). Hughes has argued that "if the economic and social situation of women in the Pacific is to be improved, the household economies are the focal point" and suggests that gardening, fishing, and other areas where women's work could be more productive need to have a higher profile (1985:8). Looking specifically at women's work in Fiji, Schoeffel and Kikau have shown how missionaries tried to impose their view of women's domestic role on Fijian women, and how that view continues to be the basis of much development today: "it apparently justifies excluding women from important decision making processes, thereby depriving them of relevant supporting government services and either ignoring their activities in national economic planning or giving them only marginal consideration" (1980: 28).

By showing here that missionary women were deeply committed to changing Fijian ways of running a household and a family one hundred or more years ago, we can demonstrate their early influence on the pattern of imports and the subsequent path of development that Fiji has taken. Women were not just on the receiving end of alien values, but were also the disseminators of those values, even in the nineteenth century.

Missionary wives' contributions in Fiji have been overlooked in the literature, largely because they are not well documented. Two exceptions are Heath's thesis examining social change in Fiji between 1835 and 1874 with special attention to the life-style of Fijian women (1974)

and C. Knapman's monograph on white women in Fiji (1986). Knapman's well-documented account of the lives of missionary wives, administrators' wives, and other non-Fijian women in the early contact period (1835 to 1930) takes issue with other approaches that have sought to lay the blame for racism, in varying degrees, on white women in various colonial societies. She examines the lives of these immigrant women both in and outside their homes to show that they were "ordinary women" pursuing their lives as they would in England or America. Drawing on material from the Pacific, Australia, and India, she demonstrates that "women in mixed race situations suffer from extreme vulnerability" due to the way the interrelationship between racism and sexism has been portrayed (C. Knapman 1986:177).

Margaret Cargill is the only wife of a missionary to Fiji whose life account has been published; that account has drawbacks as it was edited by her husband after she died in Fiji (Cargill 1841; Dickson 1976). David Cargill makes little mention of his wife in his own diaries and correspondence (Schutz 1977). Thomas Williams, the missionary who has provided us with much detail about Fiji in the 1830s through 1850s, barely mentions his wife either in his ethnography or in the two volumes of his journal (Williams [1858] 1982; Henderson 1931b), except at the intervals when she gave birth to their five children. Calvert ([1858] 1983) and Lyth (Garrett 1982) tell us a little more about their wives. Burton and Deane's retrospective survey of missionary activity in Fiji devotes a chapter to "The Remaking of Womanhood" (1936). The unpublished literature of the Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia, Fiji district, compiled by Thornley (1971), includes little written by the women missionaries; the writings give only brief indications of mission trading transactions and few incidental comments.

It would seem that female missionaries wrote very little. We must thus rely on the implications of what male missionaries have recorded, together with comments by nonmissionary women such as Mrs. Wallis and Mrs. Smythe, and, later, Miss C. Gordon Cumming and Miss Grimshaw who had lived in Fiji immediately following the period when the first missionary wives were establishing themselves and their ideas. From these sources we can piece together a picture of these early women's contributions to the development of Fiji.

The writings of the male missionaries thus provide the bulk of the information about the management of the new immigrants' households. From their statements we gain an impression of a contrast between their own values and those of the Fijians whose lives they wished to change (Williams [1858] 1982; Calvert [1858] 1983).

## Fiji in the 1840s and 1850s

The first missionaries arrived in Fiji in 1809 aboard a sandalwood trading ship, but only for a temporary stay on their way from Tahiti to Sydney (Im Thurn and Wharton 1925). In 1835 David Cargill and William Cross arrived to take up permanent residence, in answer to "that outcry of savage passion which reached them from 'the regions beyond' " (Calvert [1858] 1983:6). Coming from Tonga where they had been establishing missions, they arrived with their families on the outer island of Lakeba in the Lau group, where traditional ties of kinship and trading with Tonga were strong. Through the King of Tonga's social ties with the Tui Nayau of Lakeba, the new arrivals were promised land on which to build houses and a church.

These two young men and their wives already had experience living in the Pacific. Cross had spent eight years in Tonga, and Cargill had been there two years. As the Wesleyan church advised (Schutz 1977:4), they had married just before setting out from England on the long voyage halfway around the world. Cargill met his wife while he was getting an M.A. and she was a student at the University of Aberdeen in 1826; she later became his fiancee and converted from the Presbyterian to the Methodist church (Schutz 1977:4). Both Cargill and Cross developed a good working knowledge of the Tongan language, and were strongly committed later to recording and printing the Fijian language.

They landed in Lakeba on 12 October 1835 in the company of a group of Tongans aboard the trading vessel *Blackbird.* Communications between Tonga and the Lau islands in the eastern part of the Fiji group were well established in pre-European times (Lessin and Lessin 1970; Macnaught 1982) as well as during the days of whalers and sandalwood traders. There were regular patterns of trade, exchange of goods, and generally friendly relations as well as kin ties between Fijian and Tongan people. Cargill and Cross were fortunate in having some familiarity with Fijians living in Vava'u. This made the establishment of the Wesleyan mission easier. Cargill found some similarity between the languages (Schutz 1977) and compared the life-styles.

From Lakeba the mission eventually spread out to other mission stations in the eastern part of Fiji at Somosomo, Ono, and Bau, and also at Rewa and Viwa. The numbers of mission families in the 1850s and 1860s did not exceed a dozen at any one time (Garrett 1982). Mission families were thus few in number and scattered in remote parts of Fiji. Only later was mission work begun in Levuka on Ovalau, where several British and American traders had established themselves. Levuka eventually became the capital and government center in 1875.

Margaret Cargill and Mrs. Cross were the first European women to take up residence in Fiji for any length of time. They had been together in Vava‘u. Margaret Cargill does not appear to have enjoyed good health throughout her stay in the Pacific; she had been “the subject of severe distress. . . . The heat is very relaxing to her constitution . . . and during the last three months she has been often reduced to the debility and helplessness of an infant. I leave her in the hands of the Lord, who doeth all things well,” noted her husband in his diary (Schutz 1977:53). While in Vava‘u she had had a difficult pregnancy and had given birth to a son who died within a few hours. Poor health marked her subsequent stay in Fiji, though she was more fortunate in the pregnancies, bearing four daughters: Jane Smith, Augusta Cameron, Margaret, and Mary. When Mrs. Cargill died on 2 June 1840 at Viwa of dysentery and severe hemorrhaging after the birth of another daughter who “died in a fit” (Schutz 1977:183-186), David Cargill returned to Scotland with their daughters as it was not possible for him (or any other missionary) to raise children and run a mission without a wife to help. He subsequently remarried and returned to Fiji with his new wife.

The land to which the missionaries came was generally rich in produce. Fijians grew taro, yams, bananas, and breadfruit in plantations and collected seafoods from the rivers, the reef, or the ocean (Ravuvu 1983; Pollock 1985). Starchy foods were generally plentiful, except when storms and hurricanes damaged the crops. Special foods such as pork, turtle, or chicken were eaten only at feasts and special occasions. Most foods were cooked in an earth oven, though breadfruit and fish might be grilled in the coals. Building materials were readily available as were pandanus for thatching roofs and weaving mats, and bark cloth for clothing.

The Fijian foodstuffs were either cultivated or gathered in the wild. Yams and taro were planted. Breadfruit could be gathered in season (see Seemann [1862] 1973 for a detailed description of Fijian cultivation practices). In addition to the abundance of cultivated food, there was also a range of species of yams and *ivi* nuts that could be gathered in the forests where they grew wild. As Williams noted, “the Fijian has an exhaustless store of food in the uncultivated districts of the larger islands” ([1858] 1982:97). This abundance and ease of access were in contrast to the hard work necessary to grow corn and other cereals that were the basis of the food supply in England.

In addition to this ready abundance of planted foods, the Fijians also set aside some of their breadfruit, taro, bananas, and *kawai* (yams) in pits to ferment (Seemann [1862] 1973). The paste, *madrai*, was taken

from the pits, kneaded with water, and baked in the form of loaves. This product was labeled "bread" by English visitors (for example, Wallis 1851: 132). Even so it was not considered the same as the bread the missionaries were used to and was used only as a substitute for the real thing. To Fijians it was a delicacy.

The missionaries were impressed by this abundance, but considered Fiji to be otherwise poor. As Calvert recorded in his mission history, the missionaries brought with them a far greater boon,

> which at the same time awakened and satisfied new desires; began to lift up the people from their almost hopeless degradation; enriched them with an imperishable wealth; and set in motion a renewing and elevating power, which has already changed the aspect of Fiji; pressing forward in spite of all resistance; triumphing over treachery, persecution and blood-shed; smiting the structure of a false and horrible religion, and proving its rottenness in its ruin; leading tens of thousands from among the foulest crimes and deepest social wretchedness into virtue and domestic comfort; and, in short, carrying out, in the only sure way, the work of civilization. ([1858] 1983:5)

Such were the changes that missionaries sought to bring about in Fiji. And their wives played their part in introducing the "domestic comforts" and other "virtues" of civilization.

The first homes the missionaries were allowed to establish in Fiji were described as rude even by comparison with what they had left in Tonga. Two small houses of local materials with earthen floors were built for them in three days. Into these they were able to transfer from the ship the embellishments that would make them seem more like a home, namely "furniture, articles for barter, books, clothes, doors, windows and various stores," and on the evening of 17 October 1835 "the families took possession of their new homes" (Calvert [1858] 1983:8). These hastily erected homes were blown away in the first storm, thus necessitating the construction of more comfortable housing (Calvert [1858] 1983:14).

For the wives, housekeeping in these circumstances must have been a major concern. They had few of the items usually found in an early-nineteenth-century English kitchen nor the other household niceties with which they were familiar. Furthermore the foods they believed to be necessary were unavailable; none of the local starches made a "proper" flour and beef was unobtainable. So they could not make the

breads and soups that were the mainstay of their British diet (Oddy 1976).

Missionary wives had been brought up to expect that their role in life was to look to their husbands as the decision makers and to serve them (Oakley 1976:47). In the Bible their role was clearly stated--"Wives submit yourselves as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife even as Christ is the head of the Church" (Eph. 5:22-23). To be a good wife meant to be strongly committed to one's own household as the first responsibility, with the husband as the dominant figure. In Fiji they found these commitments took an inordinate amount of time and energy.

Their dedication to household tasks was in marked contrast to the Fijian women's commitment to a much wider social group, which included many relatives as well as persons of status in the village, and the community beyond the village. They also worked extensively outside the household. They had major work commitments such as planting, fishing, weaving mats and baskets, and participating in public meetings (Schoeffel and Kikau 1980:22). Much of their commitment was expressed through food exchanges, which were a joint responsibility of both men and women of the community.

The domestic responsibilities to which missionary wives were committed were those that they had learned informally in England from their mothers and other women. In nineteenth-century England their tasks included providing "good' foods in the right form at the right time, caring for children, and looking after the house and the clothes (Oakley 1976:43-56; Roberts 1984: 152). Their work was to run a smooth household and thus ease the lot of the husband. The men expressed little outright sympathy for their wives' difficulties in running a household in a culture so far from their home base.

David Cargill did observe that, in contrast to Tongan women, Fijian women were subject to bad treatment and their work was drudgery, "making little more of them than if they were beasts of burden. She is required, nay, compelled to undertake the labourious duties of tilling the ground; she digs the earth; she sows the seed, dresses the plantation, reaps the harvest, cooks the food, and in fact takes the man's place except in war, while he lounges away his time in idleness or employs it on something worse" (Schutz 1977:38). These tasks were in direct contrast with those he expected his wife to perform. To this drudgery he added the practice of widow strangling, which was so abhorrent to many missionaries. Yet neither he nor other missionaries appear to have seen how hard their own wives had to work just to maintain a home in

Fiji or the toll of ill health, both the women's own and that of their children.

It is clear that missionaries had to adjust their own life-styles somewhat. As Calvert noted, "Peculiar qualifications are needed for a Missionary. Besides a head well stocked with general knowledge, he must have a ready hand, fit for any work, or he will have a poor time of it among such people as these Fijians" ([1858] 1983:14). Their wives, though not mentioned, had to be equally--if not more--versatile to maintain homes for their husbands and families, and to maintain standards of living based on values originating many thousands of miles away. The only clue we have to missionary women's reactions to life in Fiji is Cargill's account of his wife's feelings: "The ignorance and depravity of the people in general . . . excited her commiseration and induced her to become a cordial abettor of every plan that was adopted for the amelioration of their circumstances" (1841: 108). Margaret Cargill and the other missionary wives thus became involved in introducing a new set of values, European ones. These formed the basis of their efforts to change Fijian ways of housekeeping.

## Homemaking Principles

These immigrant women's homemaking concerns were designed to replicate in Fiji as nearly as possible the way of life in which they had been brought up in England. As new brides they were dedicated to maintaining the welfare of their husbands and children, a task that took up much of their time. Mrs. Cargill's husband noted that "her attention to domestic duties, and her constant solicitude to promote the comfort and happiness of every member of her family still attracted notice" (Cargill 1841:235). Running a household in Fiji, they found, required new skills and resourcefulness. The local foods were new and very different, and required different modes of cooking. There were ants, cockroaches, and other insects that got into the house, the food, and other undesirable places. Any imports they wanted for the house had to be ordered a year ahead to arrive on one of the trading ships. New forms of sickness hit these Europeans and their babies, and young children were all too often unable to survive the tropical environment. Household worries were a full-time consideration.

Missionary families' domestic needs could only barely be satisfied from what they could obtain locally. They found that the so-called abundance of foods that Fijians used were not the kinds of foods they themselves were used to eating. The British diet of the times centered on

bread, potatoes, and meat as the essentials, but this varied among socio-economic classes. Animal foods were expensive and thus working-class families used cheaper cuts that were high in fat, such as bacon and ham. The man of the house was fed a greater proportion of whatever food was available (Oddy 1976:223-226). The diet of the upper classes was more varied: "Before the 1840s to 1860s well to do people enjoyed heavy breakfasts, often as late as 10 a.m. and had dinner at the early time of 4 to 5 p.m. This left little room for luncheon which even if taken was an informal cold meal. . . . Tea and cakes could be served in the late evening, or alternatively as a light supper" (Corley, quoted in Oddy 1976: 220). When Williams visited the trader Whippy in Levuka, he shared what he called "a plain breakfast" of an egg with a little yam and boiled pork (Williams, quoted in Henderson 1931a:425). Such a meal would have been in line with what they would have had at home.

The yams, taro, breadfruit, and green bananas that made up 80 percent of the Fijians' daily food intake did not satisfy English palates in the way that potatoes, bread, and parsnips did. The meat that was normally part of a meal, at least for British men, was very hard to find. So, "Yams and salt with cakes of arrowroot, accompanied by some pork when they could bargain for it, and an occasional fowl, formed the main part of their diet" (Dickson 1976:97). Sometimes even these were hard to obtain, especially after storms when crops were damaged. "But they have caused David to turn gardener, and we have been kept from feeling want by the many conveniences which the garden has yielded us" (Cargill 1841:141). The so-called abundance that Wilkes and other earlier visitors had reported consisted of a wide range of foodstuffs for Fijians, and usually a large supply, but they were not suitable for the English diet.

While the missionaries tried to cling to their familiar foods, they found they had to change their own food habits out of sheer necessity. When supplies of flour and salt beef ran out they had to rely on whatever they could obtain locally. To do so they traded the precious goods they had brought with them. Mrs. Cargill notes that "I had to sell some of my own dresses and the children's frocks, and David's shirts for food and firewood' (Cargill 1841: 137). And that food was not all that desirable. But bartering for local produce was the only means of tiding the household over while waiting to obtain the "right" food from overseas when the next trading ship called. Alternatively, they could rely to some extent on what grew in their gardens.

They were thus very dependent on the shipping contacts with England initially, and later Sydney, as the only sources of the goods needed

for keeping house in the manner to which they were accustomed. The missionary support vessel was supposed to bring them supplies, but it called irregularly. The ships that were trading in Fiji waters for trochus and bêche-de-mer only occasionally carried the kinds of supplies missionary wives wanted; they in fact were also seeking supplies with which to victual their own crews (Young 1984). Communications with Sydney and with London in the 1840s and 1850s were all too infrequent to meet these needs. When the missionary supply ship *Active* arrived in 1836, supplies "were spoiled before we received them, and the rest are nearly consumed, so that we have now to live principally on the produce of the island; such as yams, and pork and a fowl now and then by way of a treat. Provisions are scarce on this island; and are much scarcer this year . . . on account of three dreadful storms which destroyed the plantation" (Cargill 1841:141).

The missionary wives also considered certain items such as cooking pots, china, and cutlery as essential to civilized living. But Fijians used disposable woven-leaf plates. So to obtain new household items the missionaries had to import them. By demonstrating the importance of these goods in a properly run household, they strove to impress upon Fijian women how necessary they were and thus to educate them about the uses to which European goods could be put. This, however, was at the expense of their own supply of these goods.

As the only white women in Fiji in the 1840s, living away from the main ports of call in remote villages, the first missionary wives must have felt very alone (C. Knapman 1986). Their husbands were away a considerable amount, traveling to bring new converts to the church and to explore possibilities for establishing mission stations in other parts of Fiji. David Cargill refers briefly to the difficulties in his own household when, after living close by in Lakeba, his fellow missionary Cross took his family to set up a new mission in Rewa (1841:169). Williams also mentions some concern about leaving his wife, particularly when she was sick or nearing the time of delivery of another child (Henderson 1931b). Calvert recorded his concern on leaving his "wife and little one" and asked,

> "How can I. . . leave you alone?" Let her answer be remembered: "It would be much better to leave me alone, than to neglect so many people." . . . The heart from which that strong word came was as gentle and loving, as warm and as womanly, as any that ever crowned a man's life with wealthy joy. But it was "strong in the Lord." . . .

> Let the Church thank God that He has provided such women for such a work as that of the Fiji Mission. In all cases they have been helps meet for men engaged in that great and perilous enterprise. They have never hindered their husbands; but, as in the case just given, from them has come a cheering voice, urging on the work. ([1858] 1983:60-61)

He gloried in her strength and recognized her commitment to the job at hand. His commitment, though, was to a wider family, the family of God.

At the times when the missionary wives were left at home with their young children they became more dependent on the local village community, both for their food supplies and for moral support. (This was less necessary later when the numbers of Europeans in Fiji increased, but even in the second half of the ninteenth century many missionary wives were living away from the main centers on islands and in the interior with no other Europeans close by.) It can thus be argued that their presence in rural communities had a considerable impact on Fijian women because of their close interaction with the village people. Exposure to new ways of running a household, however, did not necessarily mean these ways were adopted.

The missionary wives undertook to teach the Fijian women the arts of homemaking. Those included cooking, sewing, child welfare, and simple hygiene. Some of this they expected the Fijian women to pick up through contact with the missionary families, either through barter or working in their homes. As one missionary recorded, “The intercourse with a civilized home could not have other than an elevating influence on these heathen savages” (Calvert, quoted in Vernon 1890:40). Such a strong statement underlines the differences that were perceived by the Europeans between their own life-style and that of the Fijians among whom they were living.

The missionaries also taught classes in mat making, sewing, cooking, and child welfare and encouraged what they called skill in garden-craft so that households were well supplied with their own food. We can only wonder at what the missionaries could teach from their temperate climate background, and with the shortage of materials familiar to them. Cloth in particular was hard to come by, yet their sewing classes depended on this. To see those who had joined the church dressed in white cloth on Sunday was a symbol to these bearers of new values that they had been successful.

Thus they sought to change the domestic values not only informally

but also formally. That they recognized little worth, other than curiosity value, in the ways that Fijian women had cared for their families for centuries is very obvious.

The degree of acceptance of these new values throughout the households of Fiji is hard to assess, for we have only the missionary and other European reports. "As the result of the impact of our Western civilization, new values were given to their lands . . . the Fijian's wants had been excited. Earth and sea no longer supplied all his needs for the needs had multiplied enormously" (Burton and Deane 1936:108). But this is only a general assessment written from hindsight. Tables of items imported to Fiji are the most tangible evidence of the degree of commitment to these new values; but the consumers were as likely to be members of the increasing band of foreign residents as the Fijians themselves (*Fiji Blue Book* 1875-1930; see Pollock n.d. for a discussion), as discussed below.

The strength of conviction about the desirability of these new domestic values was an underlying factor in the request to the Methodist mission to send out trained teachers in 1852. Mr. and Mrs. Collins were appointed with the sole task of training women so that these principles could be more widely known (Burton and Deane 1936:76). "Our great object in evangelizing and then elevating these natives into a state of civilization, cannot be attained without educating the youth of both sexes; and the education must, if possible, be general" (quoted in Heath 1974:78). Thus the mission formed a Ladies Committee for ameliorating the conditions of women in heathen countries, female education, and so on (*Mission Reports* 1859). The schools and the women's committees associated with the church focused on this education task, directed particularly at the Fijian women and young girls.

## Child Care

The missionary wives were committed to preparing Fijian girls for motherhood; however, they paid little attention to the fact that Fijian women had been producing children for several hundred years before they arrived, as that did not seem relevant to them as they attempted to introduce their own European philosophy. And since these European children were not very strong, and died all too frequently (C. Knapman 1986:21), their own practice of motherhood was not very encouraging for Fijian women.

Missionaries gained an impression fairly early in their stay that Fijians lacked feeling for their children (Williams [1858] 1982; Calvert

[1858] 1983). These ideas were based partly on what they saw as little outward demonstration of affection and partly on their observations of young children being left in the care of any one of a number of children aged ten or twelve or older. With what seemed to them a loose-knit family system, a child's needs were taken care of by one of its many relatives. This included feeding, weaning from the breast at the appropriate time, and treating them when sick. The birth mother did not carry the sole or major caring role. This was interpreted by missionaries as neglect, or at least uncaring attitudes.

In contrast, the missionary mother was committed to the total care of her children and her husband--a task for which she had sole responsibility. Missionary wives did help one another with difficult tasks, including childbirth, but after the initial period when two missionary families lived together, the wives were on their own, separated by many miles from another white woman. Cargill lamented the departure of Mrs. Cross at the time when his fifth child was due in 1838 and noted: "We have had none but natives to assist us at this critical juncture. Our native female servant has been very attentive." He adds a note in a letter to the Reverend Beecham: "I had no human aid, but had to act as accoucheur, nurse &c.&c. I am sure you would have smiled had you seen me trying to dress the lovely babe. I succeeded in getting on two of its garments with the back in the front, & was obliged to desist; and having wrapped it in an abundance of flannel the little stranger soon fell asleep & allowed me to take care of the Mother" (Schutz 1977: 112). His ineptitude with number five can only give us some indication of his lack of involvement with the earlier births and with any care of those infants, even to dressing them.

Fijian women in their turn were shocked at how European women gave birth at annual intervals, and how their children died so easily (Seemann [1862] 1973). Their own custom forbade sexual contact between husband and wife until a child was weaned. Missionary teaching against polygamy and against separate dwellings for husbands and wives had a major effect on birth intervals, family size, and thus population growth (reviewer's comment).

## Bread of Industry

Good work habits were fundamental to the changes the missionaries sought to introduce. They felt that in a land where food was so abundant, and houses easily constructed, there was a real danger of idleness. So they endeavored to encourage good work habits, beginning in the

household. As Thomson noted, giving a biased view of differences between European and Fijian work habits:

> They have none of the steady application of those who must compete with others for their daily bread. Industry and thrift are hardly to be looked for in a luxurious climate among a sparse population, but rather among those races whose climate and soil yield food only at stated seasons of the year, and then grudgingly in return for unremitting labour, or in those crowded communities whose local supply of food is insufficient. When we blame the Fijians for their thriftlessness we are prone to judge them by too high a standard, and to forget that they are land-owning peasants, a class which even among ourselves is exempt from the grinding necessity of perpetual toil--a state that has come to be regarded as the natural lot of the poor. ([1908] 1968:2)

The missionaries sought to disseminate their ideas not only to those women who were working in their houses with them, but to other women who joined the church *(lotu).* The Sunday feast was a significant innovation that has become an integral part of the Fijian weekly cycle. It began when nine Christians partook of an abundant repast of baked hogs, yams, fish, and so on, which their own liberality had provided after the conclusion of the morning services (Cargill 1841:189). It can be seen as a continuation of old feasting patterns in a new social environment, and thus became more readily acceptable to the Fijians than some of the other new ideas.

The "habits of industry" the missionary wives were encouraging applied to the domestic scene as well as to the village and beyond. They were concerned at the lack of furniture and bedding within the Fijian home and particularly at the lack of the ordinary utensils for serving and cooking food. They let it be known that they considered knives and forks, china and cooking pots, and bed linen as basic essentials that all civilized people owned, and that the exertion required to obtain these items was an important part of civilized existence. Hence industry is greatly promoted, as Pritchard (1844:170) so cogently phrased it. By promoting needs in the household, toil on the land could be promoted to bring the means to satisfy those needs. As Calvert noted:

> The arrival of these strangers was a new era in Fiji. Many now obtained an axe or a hatchet, or plane-iron, or chisel, or knife,

> or razor, or iron pot, or some calico or print, or other article, for which they had often longed hopelessly before, and which was given in payment for fencing, building, gardening, or other services; as also for pigs, fowls, crabs, fruits, and vegetables. Thus, too, were purchased wooden bowls, mats, curtains, etc.; for in no other way could these or other items be procured. . . . A new stimulus was thus given to native industry, and new comforts were introduced among the people. . . . The natives took notice of everything, and could not help admiring the domestic comforts, regularity of meals, subjection of children, love of husband and wife, and general social enjoyment, which could only be taught by a practical exhibition of them in every-day life." ([1858] 1983:12-14)

Thus promoting the virtues of hard work was a message the missionary wives felt it their duty to advance vigorously, But it had to be proper work, not just working in the fields. The new ideas of work were associated with material goods and seeking a cash return, not just food. But first they had to create a need in this land of abundance.

## Material Goods and Trade

Missionaries thought that by increasing their work and productivity, Fijians would be excited to obtain those items the missionary women considered essential for running a civilized household, If they produced more goods, they could use these in trade for the cotton and pots and pans they were told they needed. These items were obtained initially by bartering with the missionary families. But the need in this case was on the missionaries' side. Margaret Cargill describes a desperate situation when she had to barter clothes, cooking utensils, and china to obtain yams, bananas, and firewood for her family's welfare (Cargill 1841:137).

They soon realized they would need more supplies to enter into these exchanges. "An early letter to London asked for 8 doz. broad axes, 8 doz. fell axes, 4 doz. spades, 4 doz. adzes, 16 doz. hatchets, 16 doz. chisels, 16 doz. pinions, 3 doz. iron pots, 3 doz. Fry pans, 3 doz. sauce pans --some of them cast iron, 16 doz. knives, 24 doz. P. knives, 8 doz. razors, 16 dozen [scissors?], 16 doz. gimlets, 16 pieces print, 16 pieces calico, 16 oz. slate with pencils, 16 lbs. beads, 4 doz. japanned lamps with cotton 12 lbs., 4 doz. hand saws of different sizes and kinds" (Schutz 1977:93). This marked the beginnings of imports to Fiji from

Europe of items to be used in barter for the foodstuffs the new arrivals needed to demonstrate their efficacy in the household. The mission society, however, took steps to eliminate the barter system in the 1840s.

We must remember there were only four or five missionary families in Fiji in the 1840s and 1850s, so the stimulation to trade was not great. At the same time this factor served to enhance the scarcity value of European goods. Calvert recounts that "a new stimulus was thus given to native industry, and new comforts were introduced among the people." The purchase for home use and not for gain "made a favourable impression on all who came" and stimulated many others "to see, as well as to sell. . . . Thus the great object of the Mission was helped forward, and the fame of the new religion spread in every quarter" (Calvert [1858] 1983:13).

Exchanges between missionary families and Fijians were in marked contrast to exchanges between Fijians and traders. The latter gave guns and iron in exchange for Fijian sandalwood and bêche-de-mer that they then sold for a profit. But the stimulus to trade had some negative effects as well. Both Calvert and Cargill wrote of what they termed "theft" of family household goods early in their stay: "For several months we have been annoyed by some malicious and ill disposed persons,--who have come to the mission premises through the night, and stolen pots, ovens and other kitchen utensils. Last night they stole two tea kettles" (Schutz 1977:141). Cargill appealed to the chief to prevent the repetition of such robberies and was given an assurance that the stolen property would be found. Some of the goods were returned, together with the tips of four little fingers the king had caused to be cut off as a punishment to the thieves (Schutz 1977:142). Whether the goods were taken out of genuine desire to use them or just "borrowed" in accord with local custom is hard to know.

Flour for bread making was the one item for which the missionary wives could find no adequate substitute in Fiji. The *madrai* made from fermented breadfruit and other starches formed a paste (Pollock 1985), but this was unsuitable for bread or pastries. Thus flour had to be imported from Sydney. But it kept poorly in the tropics. As Williams noted, "Yesterday I opened a new flour cask and unhappily it contains very indifferent sour flour" (Henderson 1931b, 2:321). Flour also became infested with weevils: "Our bread was occupied by living tenants" (Wallis 1851:207). Such were the hazards of trying to maintain standards of household fare based on imported foodstuffs.

Only with the increase in the number of European families in Fiji in the 1860s and 1870s was the demand for imported goods large enough

to warrant the carrying of flour, meat, vegetables, and housewares by trading vessels to meet these new domestic needs. The goods were destined mainly for the European population, not the Fijians. The Fijians became acquainted with the new goods and were curious about them, as Calvert reports ([1858] 1983:14). If obtained in barter, that was good, but many Fijians did not see great need to make enough money to be able to buy them. This is clear from the fact that they have continued to rely heavily on their local foods and cooking in the earth oven for another hundred years (Ravuvu 1983; Pollock 1985).

The success of missionary endeavors to get Fijian families to buy these goods can be gauged only indirectly. The new goods appear to have been regarded as windfalls or luxury items, rather than as essentials to the running of a Fijian household. Fijians did not consider them important enough to warrant producing more trochus, bêche-de-mer, or copra to sell for the cash to buy these items. Perhaps a few Fijian women valued the prestige associated with having china and cutlery to put on a table when serving food to an honored guest, but there is little evidence from the comments of visitors, such as Miss Grimshaw (1907a, 1907b) or Thomson ([1908] 1968) or Quain (1946) some fifty to a hundred years later, that Fijian households had changed their practices drastically to become totally reliant on these new goods. The *lovo* (earth oven) was still in everyday use, and woven-leaf plates and coconut-shell cups were far less fragile than the European equivalents. A china cup might be a prestige item for its short lifetime, then the household could revert to more readily available drinking utensils such as a half coconut shell. Cloth goods were in the greatest demand. These were imported from Britain via Sydney, even though Fiji itself was producing South Seas cotton during the American Civil War (Forbes 1875).

The amount of goods that the missionaries could import, and thus have available for trading purposes, was very limited. They did ask the mission to help supply some goods, but there were long delays due to the irregular visits of trading vessels. Their own missionary supply vessel was supposed to bring items they had ordered both for their own household use and for use of the mission. But it too was very irregular. As Williams noted, “Could the *Triton* have come when more needed. We were out of sugar, had flour enough for one loaf and several of the stores were in the same low state. Praise the Lord for His kind oversight of us” (Henderson 1931b, 2:357). With shipping far from regular (Cargill 1841:91), they had to spin out what supplies they had by using local products. This meant compromising some of their ideals.

Shortage of these goods was also due in part to the very limited

amounts of money that missionary families had. The salary of between £120 and £150 a year was reduced after 1844 (Henderson 1931a:100). Given their needs for bread, meat, and other "necessities," there was little money to spend on replacing the kitchen items bartered for local foods. So they relied on the mission to supply some of these goods. On 15 August 1838 Cargill wrote reprovingly to the mission:

> Our financial accts are quite a chaos, and now our privations are unnecessarily increased [since a shipload of goods had failed to arrive]. Our supply of trade is a mere pittance notwithstanding the large quantities of articles of barter with which you have from time to time furnished the Brethren in the Friendly Is. We have been obliged to sell our trunks and many articles of wearing apparel, & are still under the necessity of giving up to the Mission print & Calico which have been ordered for family use. We are badly off for kitchen utensils--crockeriware &c. We have only one tea cup, & that by the by has lost the handle. Please to send us a supply of such things as soon as convenient. (Schutz 1977:116)

Although the number of trade vessels increased in the 1840s and 1850s with the demand for sandalwood, trochus, and copra (Young 1984), Fijians were not overly committed to this trading. They did bring sandalwood from the interior to the coastal areas and collected bêche-de-mer to be dried and traded, but they did not see fit to increase the amount of foodstuffs for sale, particularly pigs, to meet the new demands. A similar situation had greeted John Davies, one of the London Missionary Society missionaries, who spent some three weeks in Fiji in 1809-1810 on the way from Tahiti to Sydney. He was greatly concerned about the difficulty in obtaining food either from the Fijians or from the sandalwood traders: "Dec. 13 The Fijians do not now bring much for barter, so that our stock of provisions begins to be very small"; "Dec. 20 The Fijians brought a quantity of taro, uru and cocoanuts to sell. It is very hard to deal with them and we are destitute of proper articles of barter"; and "Dec. 26 Our provisions, except pork, are nearly expended, and we can get nothing to buy at present. In a few days it will be hard with us" (Im Thurn and Wharton 1925:140-144).

Thus while Fijians quickly became familiar with the trading habits of sandalwood traders, whalers, and others seeking to buy what Fiji produced, that did not necessarily "promote industry," as the missionaries hoped. The items most in demand were guns, metal goods, nails, and

cotton. So these were the items carried on trading vessels. Fijians did not increase their production to obtain these goods; difficulties in trying to obtain sufficient pork to victual the trading ships are well recorded (Wallis 1851; Ward 1972). Thus the stimulus to trade that missionary wives sought to induce had minimal response. Fijians did not see a need to buy household goods with their trading money, and barter was a sufficient means of exchange for many.

Traders' demands for local foodstuffs also did little to stimulate greater production. The pigs, yams, and bananas were supplied from whatever stores a village had at the time, not by producing more. This was partly because Fijians did not need the goods the Europeans offered; the goods were just a bonus. But it was also due to the negative value the missionary wives placed on these foodstuffs. They made it clear that taro and yams were not as healthy as the bread and meat they liked to eat, and also that these were not foods a civilized household ate. So Fijians saw little need to increase production of items that the resident Europeans said were not equal to European foods. Nor did the Fijians see a need to try to obtain the new flour and salt beef that did not suit their palates as well as their own yams, taro, and coconut. Why work to produce more items for sale if the goods were considered inferior and uncivilized and were unappetizing? The missionaries did not seem to appreciate the paradox.

As more ships called at Fiji in the late 1860s both to obtain sandalwood and bêche-de-mer and to meet European planters' increased demand for trade goods, trade increased in scale. Cotton goods for the clothes the missionaries considered necessary apparel for church-going and also for pillowcases and other household linens became items that Fijians who had joined the church were compelled to buy. It is hard to know how many pots and pans and how much china and silverware they bought. It seems likely that the imports of these items to Fiji were to service the needs mainly of the European households.

In sum it can be argued that a strong stimulus to overseas trade resulted from missionary needs for material goods, not Fijian needs.

## Health and Hygiene in the Home: Missionary Ideas

Missionary wives stressed the need for cleanliness, good food, and careful treatment of sickness as the bases of a healthy home. They consciously tried to introduce these ideas to Fijian women in order to improve their way of life. But the missionary families were not good examples. They all suffered from time to time from dysentery, head-

aches, colds, and ophthalmological problems, and lost many of the children that they bore in Fiji.

The new arrivals brought strong alternative beliefs in curing that they used as a powerful tool in conversion (Calvert [1858] 1983:115). That those beliefs were based on very limited medical knowledge was recognized back in England, and the Protestant Missions' Medical Aid Society was formed in 1856 to help missionaries help themselves and their own families "as well as the people among whom they are placed, where there are no medical men" (Calvert [1858] 1983:116). That knowledge of medicine came from another cultural system--knowledge that was as limited as that of the Fijians, and perhaps less useful. Nevertheless it was used as an important tool in gaining converts. New ideas of child care and of medicine were their contribution to what they considered to be improvements to the Fijian way of life. They did not see that Fijian women were more successful in raising children, nor that healing involved more than the application of one kind of potions and pills. This mission curing was just the beginning of one hundred years of Western ideas of medicine and nutrition designed to replace the indigenous system, without evaluating the merits of the latter.

They also spent what time they could spare from their own households caring for sick Fijians. That was one way in which they could prove that the Christian god was more efficacious than the local gods--as Calvert demonstrated with the healing of Tangithi (Calvert [1858] 1983: 115). Their ability to perform such services either in their own households or in the wider community was severely hampered by the sequence of pregnancies the missionary wives endured. And such nursing of others must have exposed their families to even more sickness. The missionaries' ideas of health, developed in another cultural setting, were inappropriate in Fiji, and yet they believed so strongly in those principles that they continued the practices even though they suffered by doing so.

Cleanliness consisted of washing and starching clothing and household linens weekly, and also washing and cleaning pots and pans, china and silverware in the kitchen. None of those were necessary tasks in a Fijian household. Such tasks were particularly difficult in places such as the small outer islands where fresh water was in short supply.

By contrast, Fijian women's household chores consisted of sweeping leaves from around the houses, rolling up sleeping mats, and washing clothes. As sleeping and cooking areas were separate in some parts of Fiji, the former had less heavy use. Sleeping mats were renewed when necessary. Weaving mats was one of the Fijian women's main tasks, both for household use and for exchange.

This Fijian manner of household care, it can be argued, was far healthier than one devoted to washing, especially in areas where water was scarce. When missionaries introduced the new fetish of washing everything, they introduced a whole new set of principles that led to time-consuming work habits and another possible means of spreading disease.

Cooking in the earth oven required no utensils, and was the work mainly of Fijian men. The one concern was that the starch foods such as taro be properly cooked: "The acrid taste of the raw root is removed by cooking, which renders the taro a useful and delicious food, the substitute for bread to the natives, and greatly esteemed by foreigners. As a vegetable, it is served up entire, and, made into paste, forms the chief ingredient in many native puddings. The leaves, when boiled, eat like those of the mercury, and the petiole is little inferior to asparagus" (Williams [1858] 1982:62). If not properly cooked taro left an unpleasant stinging sensation around the mouth, reflecting poorly on the household. Plates were plaited from coconut leaves and cups were made from half a coconut shell; these could be made each day as needed.

## Food Concerns

That missionary women and Fijian women had very different views of what foods constituted a healthy diet is clear both from the missionary reports and from the attempts the Europeans made to change Fijian habits. It is not clear, however, whether they realized just how drastic a change they were trying to bring about.

To the missionaries a healthy diet consisted of three meals a day, of which two should be bread or potatoes and meat (Oddy 1976). Bread was the one food that was hard to replace in Fiji. They had to substitute yams for potatoes and were limited to pork out of necessity. Meat in the diet was considered necessary, especially for the man of the house, and was a symbol of good household management and thus of a good wife. In Fiji they blamed a lot of the sickness and ill-health of children on the lack of these "proper" foods. The amounts served at any one meal were modest, and each person was expected to clear his or her plate, wasting nothing. The mother, cook, and housewife determined what was "good" for the family. The control of health was in her hands.

Even though the trading situation improved as more families from Europe and the States settled in Fiji, they still suffered in their diet. Litton Forbes, a cotton planter in the early 1870s, recounted that "the food they are obliged to eat is of the coarsest and most unpalatable kind. Salt beef, as salt and tough as beef can be, that has been several years in

cask, and has circumnavigated the globe; ship biscuits swarming with weevils, a boiled taro or yams, and a few bananas are their usual fare" (Forbes 1875:88). This is hardly an attractive picture of domestic life in the tropics. The poor supply of meat lasted through to the end of the century (Grimshaw 1907a). By the 1930s "the colony had become self-supporting in the matter of beef and also had abundant supplies of milk and butter" (Walker 1936:22).

Vegetables were not so highly regarded by nineteenth-century Europeans as essential for a healthy diet as they have become in the 1960s and 1970s. Nevertheless missionary families liked to have green vegetables and also sought fruit. Despite a profusion of local fruits, small luxuries such as apples were welcome, as Williams recorded: "The Hobart Town whaling brig brought us a dozen or so apples. Mrs. Williams and the boys had a rare treat" (Henderson 1931b, 2:351).

Reliance on those foodstuffs so far from their point of production may have accentuated digestive problems, rather than providing the healthy properties with which the missionary wives endowed them. They would have been physically (but not mentally) healthier eating local foods.

Lack of variety in their daily meals was felt keenly by these new settlers. It was a point of contrast with Fijian eating habits that struck several European observers. As Seemann, a visiting botanist who lived in Fiji in 1860 and 1861 and was something of a cook himself, noted, "In the tropics to eat day after day pork and yam, the usual food of Fiji, is not very tempting and we therefore endeavoured to introduce some diversity into our mode of living, by obtaining as many fowls as we could. Eggs were but seldom seen. The Fijians consider it babyish to eat them" (Seemann [1862] 1973:37). For special events such as Christmas a leg of mutton and a turkey besides, concluding with an excellent plum pudding, was a rare luxury, according to Mrs. Smythe (1864:148). Mrs. Wallis described a special meal put on by the captain of a new mission ship, the *John Wesley,* which arrived in Fiji in 1850 bringing new missionaries and supplies: "Our dinner was excellent--thanks to the art of preserving meats, vegetables and fruits. The green peas and beans, the currant, gooseberry and damson tarts did not come amiss to those who had been in Feejee some two or three years" (Wallis 1851:277-278). These special treats stood in marked contrast to the daily fare, but happened only three or four times a year.

However, when the occasion warranted, the missionary wives dug deep into their remaining stores of imported foods to put on a notable meal. As Mrs. Smythe, a visitor in 1860, remarked:

> And now a word about Wesleyan teas. We have all heard of Scotch breakfast and Russian dinners, but for tea we can unhesitatingly affirm that nothing can surpass a Wesleyan Methodist tea. Imagine in Fiji tea, coffee, excellent homemade cakes, preserves, honey and delicious bread and butter! We are, I may add, pretty well disposed to these social repasts, as dinner takes place at a very early hour. The Missionaries wives tell me that if they did not adopt these primitive hours they would have a very good chance of getting no dinner at all; for their half-domesticated native servants consider the afternoon of each day as their own in which to bathe, gossip, go to the reef, or otherwise amuse themselves. (1864:32)

Such events took their toll of the sparse supplies of flour and meat, but did much to break the monotony of daily fare.

Some diversity could have been achieved by incorporating more local foods into their diet. But missionary wives were so attached to their own dietary practices as part of their commitment to maintaining healthy household standards that Fijian foods were regarded as second best, though a necessary standby. Gifts of food such as turtles, pork, and rich puddings were welcomed as chiefs became more accustomed to their presence (Williams, quoted in Henderson 1931a:293). Such gifts helped to add diversity and to alleviate some of the catering problems that missionary wives faced, but could not be counted on. And they never supplanted the strong desire to have proper English food.

## "Good Food": The Fijian View

Fijians considered that eating the right foods, sharing food, and performing the appropriate ceremonies were all part of the process of maintaining good health. Their health practices were an intricate part of their belief system, involving the gods, the ancestors, the spirits that lived in rocks and plants, and the manifestations or signs that these gave (Spencer [1941] 1966). When something went wrong in that system, a healer was consulted. That was often a woman who was loathe to disclose her secrets, certainly to a foreigner. Seemann did record the use of certain plants for ailments such as rheumatism, coughs, and colds; for purifying the blood; and for procuring abortion ([1862] 1973:341-342). They did not need fancy potions imported from overseas.

Good food to a Fijian meant adequate amounts of one or more of the several starches *(kakana dina)* that grew locally in abundance, together

with a little coconut or fish as an accompanying dish *(i coi)* (Pollock 1985). The starch might include yams (*Dioscorea* sp.), taro (Colocasia *esculenta),* breadfruit *(Artocarpus altilis),* or green bananas. As Mrs. Wallis noted, "The principal and most loved article of food in Feejee is yams, which are to a Fijian what bread is to us" (1851:131). The starchy food formed the largest portion of the daily intake and was consumed both on a daily basis as well as at any feast. Only one or two kinds might be cooked for the household's daily fare, This combination of some yams, or taro or bananas, eaten together with some coconut or fish made a Fijian feel well fed and healthy (Pollock 1985).

Fijians had to have this combination at least once a day in order to feel satisfied. As one missionary noted: "The natives usually take two meals in the day; the principal one being in the afternoon or evening. Where ovens are chiefly used, they cook but once a day, but twice where boiling is most in vogue. Their general food is light and plain, fish being highly esteemed. Contrary to the taste of civilized gourmands, these people will have all their meat quite fresh, and some small kinds of fish are eaten alive as a relish" (Williams [1858] 1982:139). Other foodstuffs such as puddings made of grated taro and coconut might be eaten, but they were not considered "real food." Williams gives us a clear differentiation between his own principles of food consumption and those that he viewed as uncivilized. It was not just the food, but the mode of cooking and the way the food was eaten, that struck him as less than civilized.

Another contrast with European ways was the large amounts that Fijians ate at one sitting: "In times of plenty a full grown man will eat as much as ten pounds' weight of vegetables in the day; he will seldom be satisfied with less than five. A great quantity, therefore, is required to feed a very few people" (Thomson [1908] 1968:334). He implies that eating large amounts when food was available was a means of tiding them over the less bountiful times. It was thus one way of evening out irregularities and balancing times of abundance with times of scarcity. This was the positive view. Others saw it as gluttony.

At feasts enormous amounts of food were prepared. That was part of the Fijian view of a healthy society where food was shared with a wide range of people. The abundance of foods available most of the year was essential to Fijians' mental well-being. It was their assurance of caring for the extended family. It was the symbol of the wealth of the land over which the ancestors and the gods maintained a watchful protection. By performing the appropriate rites of planting, nurturing, and harvesting, as well as the presentation of first fruits, the continuity of the food

supply--and thus the health of the whole community of Fijian people--was assured. Maintaining the supply was a social responsibility so that all would share in the health of the society.

The missionary and Fijian views of a healthy diet were thus very different. One included meat and bread, but stressed variety and limited amounts, while the other stressed "real" starchy food and its accompaniment of coconut or fish shared in abundance with anyone who happened to be visiting. These contrasting views were based on two very different approaches to food and how it contributed to health.

It is ironic that the European nutritionists' view of a healthy diet today recognizes the high value of Fijian foods over European processed foods and sees them as high in fiber and low in fat and salt. So-called uncivilized diets are now being promoted to the confusion of Fijians and others (Coyne et al. 1984). What about all those milk products, canned foods, cakes, and pastries that the missionary wives longed to serve visitors?

Sharing food with a wide group of people was an integral part of a Fijian's social commitment. It marked a whole range of social relationships. Food was the concern of all members of the society. Also, within the structure of the language, food was a separate category of possession, drink another (Williams [1858] 1982; Pollock 1985), thus indicating that they had a strong cultural value. Treating yam or taro as just food, as missionaries did, missed this wider significance.

## How Effective Were Missionary Development Ideas?

The efficacy of any development program is open to debate; it depends on the criteria used. Missionary wives had a broad motive: to help their husbands bring civilization and Christianity to Fiji. Their aim was not just economic development, but broad social development. We must consider that breadth when choosing criteria to judge their effectiveness.

Missionary wives brought to Fiji new principles of housekeeping that depended on imported goods, including food. Their influence on Fijian women had great potential for change as they lived alongside them in rural areas, interacted closely on a day-by-day basis, and tried to pass on their ideas through formal teaching. They genuinely believed Fijian lives needed changing if they were to become good Christians, for the wives' view of Christianity included good housekeeping, caring for children, and being a good wife. Hence we can call them the first development agents in Fiji.

Fijians' acceptance of these new ideas was highly selective. Because they were living in their own environment surrounded by the resources they had been using for generations, their own cultural practices were stronger than the need for these new ideas. The value of hard work; of "good" food that included bread, potatoes, and meat; of "good" health practices and child care; and of concern for the household before the community were all alien to Fijian beliefs.

Missionary women's demonstrations of these new values were not too effective, either. Fijian women did eventually take on the art of boiling food on a fire as an alternative to roasting in the earth oven, mainly when rice was imported to feed the Indian laborers in the 1880s. This new food was quicker to prepare than their own starches.

Some Fijian women no doubt sought to emulate the ways of the pastors' wives, and women who lived with European men accepted more of the new-fangled ideas because they had the cash. But on the whole the need was not demonstrated in Fiji. The main demand for imports came from the growing European and Indian communities. Latterly, post-World War II Fijians living in the urban centers buy some goods in supermarkets and this has helped to push up the import bill.

The demand patterns that the missionaries established have now become a liability for Fiji. The import bill for foodstuffs had grown to some 25 percent of total imports in the 1970s (B. Knapman 1976). The demand over the years has increased due in part to the growing non-Fijian community of Europeans, Indians, and Chinese, but in the last twenty years Fijians have participated increasingly in the cash economy and purchase of some imported goods.

The legacy that Mrs. Cargill, Mrs. Cross, and other missionary wives have left for Fiji is an imposition of alien values. Their attempts to civilize Fijian women--by downgrading local practices, such as cooking in the earth oven and eating raw fish, and by supporting the subservient status of women--had only minimal success. In the new era of the 1980s those original Fijian practices and food values are being lauded as providing better food and thus leading to lower incidence of heart disease and diabetes. And women are being urged to assume more nearly equal status with men in their communities. The women's groups, Soqosoqo Vakamarama, are a potent force in channeling messages to women in rural areas; their base is more in traditional ties than in European ideas. Development today is designed to lead to greater self-reliance.

Thus while missionary wives started a trend in reliance on imported goods needed for the household, that trend is being reversed since independence in 1970. The values symbolized in their message of how

households should be run were reinforced by the growing numbers of other European colonizing families. And yet Fijians maintained their cultural integrity by borrowing selected items from the new inventory, trying them out, and, where acceptable, making them part of their own life-style.

These early developers delivered the European message as the best path to follow. But that message was received and transformed into something distinctly Fijian. Today Fijian women are feeding their children and husbands local food and asserting their standing in the community. The result is that their households are run on Fijian principles that have incorporated such European ideas as found acceptable. The early development agents have left their mark, but more in unintended ways.

## NOTE

A version of this paper was read at the Pacific History Conference in Fiji in 1985. I am grateful for comments by anonymous reviewers; these have been incorporated as appropriate.

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## EDITOR'S FORUM

# "A GULF OF STYLE": EXPERIENCES IN THE PRACTICE OF ORAL HISTORY WITH THE ENGA

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The phrase a "gulf of style" comes from the Australian poet, Les Murray. It was used in 1980 by art historian Bernard Smith as he reflected on cultural conflict in Australia. His lectures were called "The Spectre of Truganini." His words:

> Frontiers are not places, except in Antartica, where men meet nature but where they confront other cultures, and systems of law conflict. Malinowski has called such frontiers 'a third cultural reality'; and they produce, in Professor Stanner's words, 'a queer set of shapes'. Les Murray has described them as a *'gulf of style'*. (Smith 1980:18; emphasis added)

On first coming into those high, green valleys of Enga in the July of 1971, within a few weeks of leaving behind almost two years of graduate school in America, and a lifetime of more than thirty years in Australia, I experienced an acute sense of crossing a threshold or a gulf into another life.

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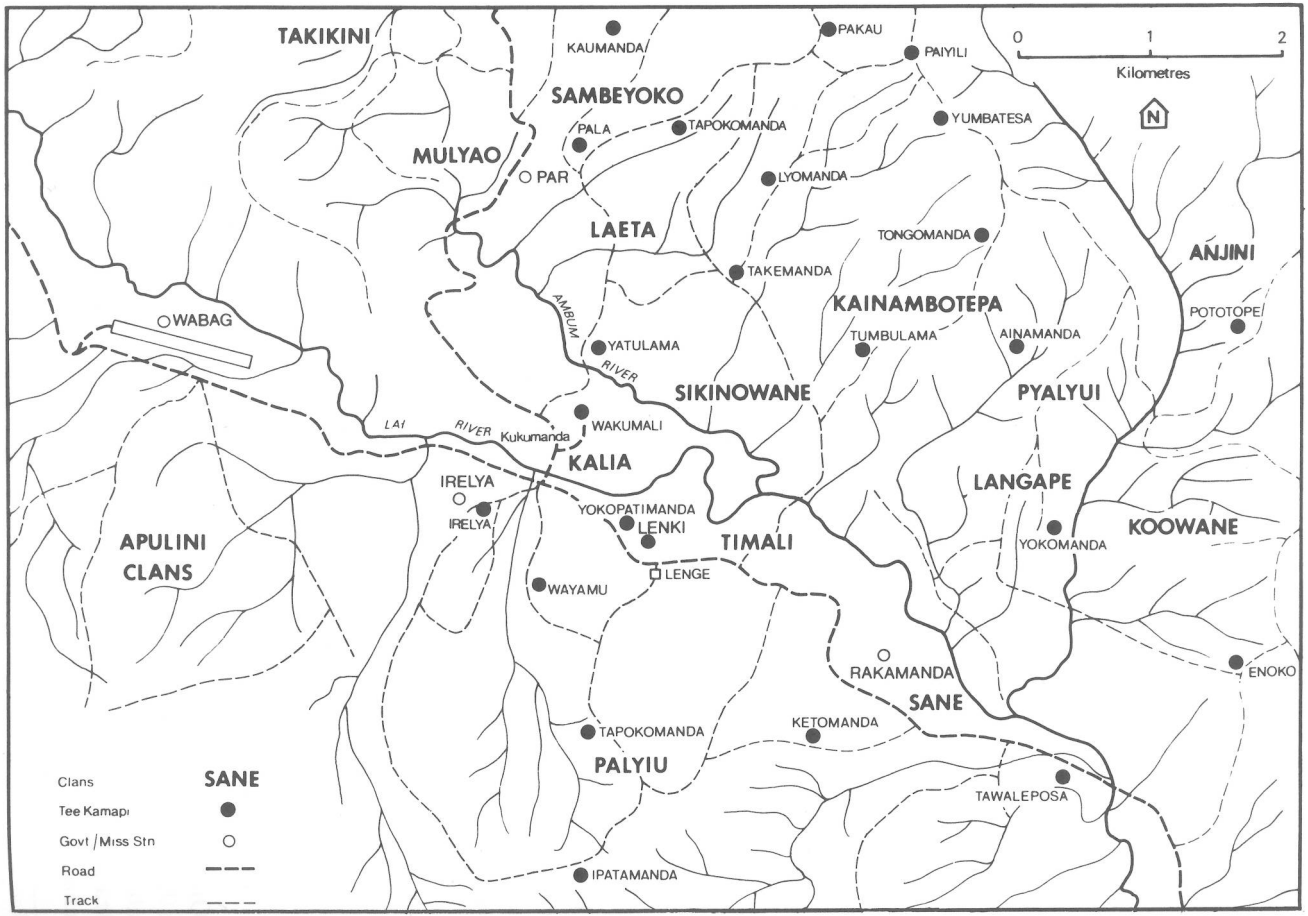


FIGURE 1 **Enga region, Papua New Guinea, showing clans and principal *tee kamapi* (ceremonial exchange grounds) of Yakani phratry.** (Reproduced from Lacey 1975; original by Cartographic Laboratory, *University of Papua New Guinea.*)

This was not only a gulf of communication, a difference of language. That difference did put a screen, a filter on discourse; even on everyday conversation. Three months' diligent, constant schooling with my teacher, Rupaina, with language manuals and tapes prepared by experienced missionary linguists, gave me a sense of "hearing" the language and yet not the confidence to speak it. The verb endings at the close of each sentence would elude me, despite constant drilling. So I would launch into questions and greetings, and then my side of the dialogue would lapse into silence.

As Rupaina and I launched into a pilot survey of the clans of the Yakani phratry across the Lai River valley to the north, we rapidly scaled our thirty questions down to a handful: about genealogies and settlement history, fertility rites, exchange patterns and male purification rites. These, we agreed, were the traditions and customs by which Enga men became Enga in the times before Jim Taylor had walked through the Lai and Lagaip valleys from east to west in 1938 and ushered in a colonial age (Taylor 1971). As Rupaina and I, and other guides, moved out to converse with key "men of knowledge" in other clans scattered through the wide expanse of valleys inhabited by Enga speakers, I could signal to these men that I knew something of the elements of their traditions. So we could proceed to explore together some deeper areas of tradition.

* * * *

But language, though a large issue, was not the only "gulf of style" between us. My hosts signaled others too; I could sense them also. There were, for instance, those fluid chains of reciprocal exchange that lay at the heart of Enga life. Very early after I moved with my family into a small house with *pit pit* (woven bamboo cane) walls and a tin roof on the edge of the central station of the Wabag Lutheran Church at Irelya, people came to our door and offered gifts, or goods for us to buy.

Soon we sensed that these were not all commercial transactions, though often on market days down in Wabag town, callers would be coughing at our door from first light. These were the women taking garden produce to market to raise money for government taxes and fees for school, or tithes for the church. Our house was the first one occupied by *kone* (foreigners, "red people") on the walking tracks that led from higher valleys in the south and east, across the mission station, to the town road. Whether we gained a reputation as good and fair buyers or soft and easy prey, we never discovered. But to be able to sell some of

the heavy loads they carried in net bags on their backs to a family who ate well must have been a relief for these women gardeners and traders.

But these early morning women traders were not the only ones to stand and cough at our door with goods at their feet or in their bags. Men would come with firewood. Some negotiated through the medium of the man who worked from time to time in our house, or washed our clothes. He was a keen go-between and his kinsmen, from near and far on the scale of relationships, would seek us out.

Other men came and offered precious items from their stores of custom and tradition: stone axe heads, stone carvings, and an array of bird-of-paradise feathers. The mission linguist and resident anthropologist had begun, some time before we arrived, a linguistic survey based on the terms for axe heads (Brennan 1982:198-205). He was also assembling artifacts for a regional museum that he later established. The colonial government frowned upon trade in traditional objects; the selling of bird-of-paradise feathers for distribution overseas was outlawed. So, I had a number of legitimate escape routes should these men become persistent about our striking a bargain.

What I did begin to sense, slowly and painfully and with the help of both Enga and foreigners who were more experienced than I, was that this was--for me--a time of testing. My work was becoming known. I was here from a "big school on the coast" and I was gathering information about ancestors and the times before. But what were my credentials, what ties was I seeking to build with and between the people among whom I lived and worked; what sources of wealth and power did I have; what kind of person was I? That probing agenda was expressed and acted out by these offers of gifts and the attentive listening and watching for my response.

Some probed more openly than others; some were very subtle in their approach. Kepai, the man who taught me much, in a very formal way, about bachelor purification rites (called *sangai* by his and other clans around Wabag), was wise and graciously subtle. His approach was as one teacher to another. It began with his walking down to our house from his home far up on the high ridges to the south and approaching me through his distant kinsman, Nakepane, who worked in our house. He inquired as to my work and purpose and took some well-worn and beautiful axe heads from his woven shoulder bag. Was I interested in their story and, perhaps, would I, like the linguist across the river, wish to purchase them to begin a collection of my own? he wondered.

My refusal to purchase them, or rather my advice to him to take them to the linguist for the Enga museum, did not break the chain of exchange and communication he was weaving. I now knew his name

and his status as a serious man of knowledge who would be willing to teach me of the old ways. So it was no wonder that, some months later, when I needed some detailed teaching about the *sangai* and other traditions, he was ready to come and begin.[1]

* * * *

Another of my teachers, Busa, became so in a different set of circumstances. He lived across several ridges to the north of the neighboring Ambumu valley. His son, Waka Busa, was soon to leave home and go down to the Lutheran seminary on the coast. Waka took me to his own house, located close by his father's house on a high terrace. That was a long journey: by jeep along winding roads, and then a long walk over a narrow path on a moonless night. We carried bedding, food, and various utensils. I was seen as one unfamiliar with such journeys, a *nongo pingi* (awkward man), and so was entrusted with one or two light things including a kerosene lamp for which we had no matches. I stumbled and almost shattered its glass. After a day of rather fruitless inquiries, it seemed, we gathered in Waka's house for our evening meal and were later joined by Waka's father, his mother, and family. Busa, Waka's father, inquired into what I was about, though he had been watching and listening carefully as I questioned other men that day. He then told Waka to ask me to switch on my tape recorder, He wanted to record something important.

I wrote down in my field diary for Wednesday, 19 January 1972, what he did:

> In the course of the conversation, Busa said he would like to recite a *nemongo titi pingi* (ritual poem) about the coming of the *lepe wai* (the sacred plant for the *sangai* rituals) into Kombane-Kokope (clan territory) in the time of his grandfather Makatai and grand uncle Katalu. This was a special ritual poem he [Busa] had learnt at the *sangai* and he knew it by heart. We recorded both this and then his own praise poem cast in the same form. The whole performance was a *tour de force;* the little audience was spellbound, because it was the first time they had heard it. I think his concern about losing Waka was the motive behind breaking the ritual silence surrounding such a performance. He felt he should teach Waka and others before it was too late. . . . He would allow me to play [this tape] elsewhere to stimulate others to record their treasures of tradition.

Waka Busa was full of wonder, surprise, and tears in the silence that followed. Then he spoke through his tears onto the tape to say how this was great poetry that he did not know existed, since he had not been initiated into the *sangai,* but had gone away to study at the mission high school.

At Busa's insistence, I went away with his tape and played it to others, including Kepai. Some were startled with the way he had played with tradition and elaborated it into a poem praising his own power and achievements in exchange. Others saw it as praise for these powerful plants and for the hero-ancestors who had endangered themselves to gain a great prize for their people. Quite a number responded to Busa's challenge and chanted their own people's praise poems, which had been bound in the silence of their memories from the time of their youth.

But Busa did not stop at that. Two months later, on the evening of 23 March 1972, he knocked at the door of our house, presented us with some cabbages he had grown, asked to come in, and told me once more to switch on my tape recorder. He had, he told me, only chanted a short version of the *sangai nemongo titi pingi* when we had first met. The reason was that he had to struggle with his memory after so long a silence. Over these weeks, he had worked on that memory and now he wished me to record a richer, longer version. So we sat there, before the fire, and this great chant flowed forth, wave after wave, until he was finished.

When it was over, Busa and I drank cups of tea. As he left he scolded me, saying he had traveled far to chant for me, had brought me cabbages, and what was I planning to give in exchange? He left me with a dilemma, which I later sought to resolve in negotiation with his son, Waka Busa. One thing Waka and I did was to work together for several weeks in January 1974 to translate the poem into Tok Pisin. The mission also, with Waka's help, published in their vernacular magazine an article on Busa as a poet with some extracts from that chant (Busa 1974). Perhaps his appearance, with photograph and text, in that magazine gave Busa standing as a man of wisdom among the literati and rising generation in the mission church. Was this an adequate response to his coming across the ridges with gifts of food and his chants to my house? Reflecting on that exchange between us in the light of anthropologists' writings on the significance of reciprocity in relationships among peoples of Papua New Guinea and their disjunctions in colonial contexts (see, for instance, Burridge 1969 and Feil 1984), I know now that inequalities and ambiguities between me and Busa are difficult to resolve.

For Busa and me, who had met and conversed in this way, an

exchange did take place. Its unresolvable dilemmas are many and still remain. We spoke to each other from different worlds and a "gulf of style" separated us.

* * * *

Then there was a different kind of exchange with another teacher in which he made that gulf even more obvious than did Busa. His name was Pangia. Like Busa, he was of the older generation shaped by the values and worldview in place before the effects of the "red men" were felt. He, too, had a son, Philip Pato, with whom I worked. And, too, at Philip's bidding, I had gone into Pangia's territory near the Lutheran station at Mulitaka many kilometers west of Wabag, in the Lagaip River valley.

That first abortive visit was in July 1972. It was there that I sensed acutely how some Enga were "reading" me and my work. Philip took me to a house at Yoko along the road southwest from Mulitaka. Pangia was there with other men. He greeted me coolly and asked me my business. I launched into my usual explanation about wishing to record some traditions and teachings from him as a "man of knowledge," so that the rising generation would have them on tape and in writing. In this way, I said, their valuable teaching may not be lost in a time of change. I also wanted to try to write a history of Enga people and clans. He heard me out in silence, so I went on to ask about his knowledge of the Mulapini phratry genealogy and his ancestors' patterns of dispersion and settlement in their territory.

There he froze and would not respond. Philip conveyed to me quickly that his father was very busy and could not spare time for me on that day. It was 12 July 1972--almost a year since we had come into Enga territory. I still had much to learn.

Philip informed me briefly that the men of Tupimane clan were involved with a land dispute and were being urged by government land officers to settle their clan boundaries so these could be recorded for the Land Titles Commission. That commission had been in operation since the 1960s (Sack 1974). It was seeking to negotiate with people in a number of regions of Papua New Guinea in an endeavor to fix boundaries and ownership patterns. The ultimate purpose of the territory government was to open up land for cash cropping and other commercial ventures by clan corporations or local entrepreneurs.

Both Philip and I were disappointed because we were convinced that Pangia had much to teach about the people of Yoko. After we returned

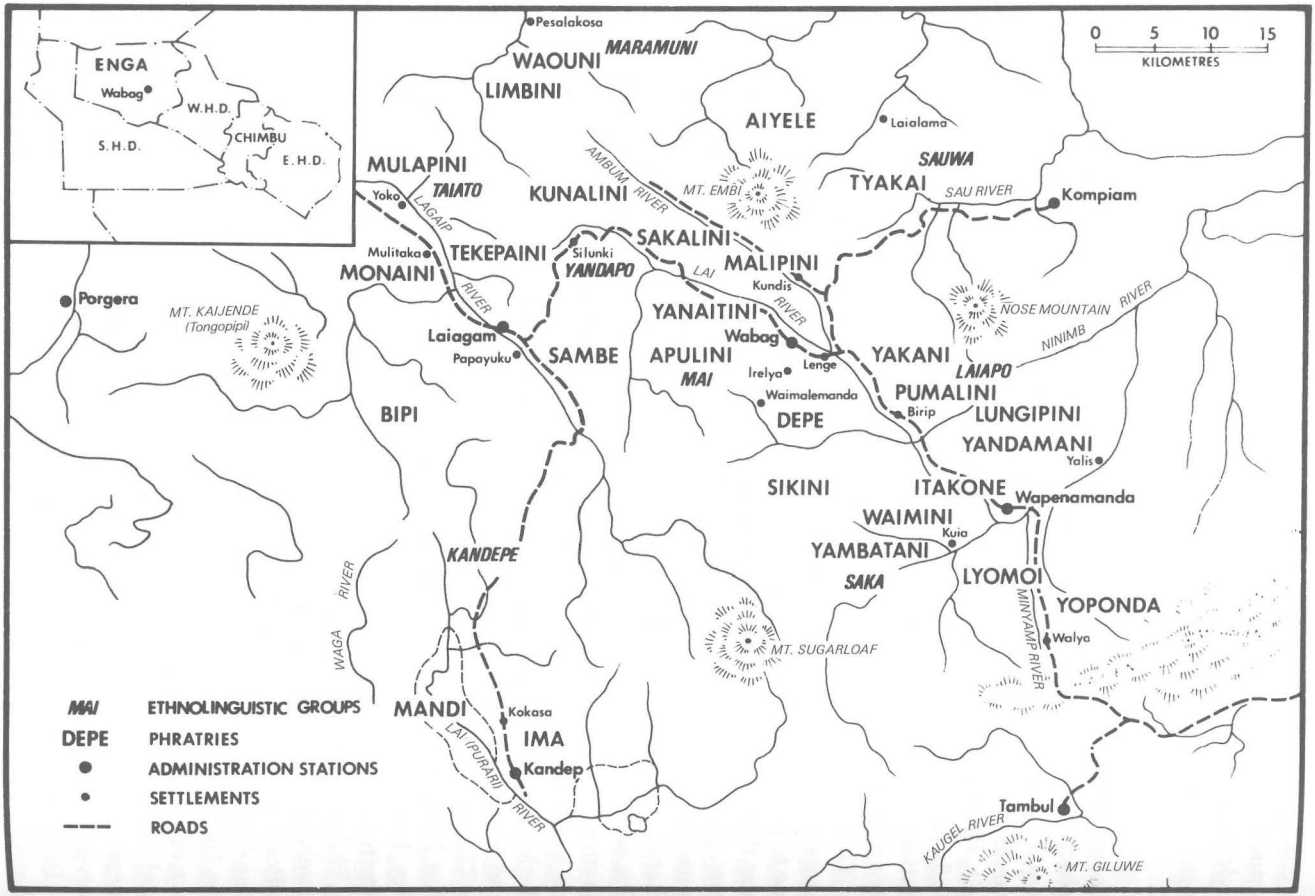


FIGURE 2 **Enga region, Papua New Guinea, showing ethnolinguistic groups and phratries studies.** *(Reproduced from* Lacey 1975; original by Cartographic Laboratory, University of Papua New Guinea.)

to our base at Irelya, two things emerged. Among Enga whose social, exchange, and political relationships were shaped by their clan and subclan identities, there was the habit of seeking to determine which clan "red men" belonged to. These included the following categories: *bingsu* (mission), the subclans being *lutere* (Lutheran), *popi* (Catholic), *esdiaa* (Seventh-Day Adventist), and others; *gavman* (government officers), including *kiap* (district officers), *polis* (police), *didiman* (agricultural officers), and others; *bisnis* (entrepreneurs and businessmen), who included trade storeowners, hotelkeepers, and others; *tisaa* (schoolteachers or researchers, fieldworkers, university staff); and so on.

Those earlier approaches and negotiations made at the door of our house about artifacts and feathers were aimed at testing my nature and character as a human being, and they were probes to discover my identity and ties. That identity and purpose, and hence the source of potential relationships, was an enigma for many, it seems. We lived on Irelya station, so was I *bingsu?* Yet I asked questions about the past, sometimes about what early missionaries had dubbed "the works of Satan"--fertility rites and other religious traditions like the *sangai.* This was a source of painful contradiction for people who saw me as *bingsu*. Or was I *tisaa?* I claimed to come from "a big school on the coast" (the university) and talked about writing down ways of the ancestors for their sons and daughters.

And for Pangia, that day in July 1972, I came wearing my long white socks and boots, bearing notebook and pencil and asking (naively, I later felt) about the dispersion of his ancestors from their point of origin in Yoko. To Philip, Pangia later revealed that, for him, the signs were clear, there were no ambiguities. I was a *kiap,* a government land officer. My disguise was thin, I was spying into their land boundaries to snare them and catch evidence for the *kiap* and *polis* to come and fix cement markers that would freeze the boundaries of their clan territory. No wonder he gave that steely silence and cold look.

Philip resolved to return to his father with one of my tape recorders but without me; to persuade Pangia that I was neither *bingsu,* nor *kiap,* but *tisaa.* He would ask his father, on his own and my behalf, to teach him about his heritage and traditions as a member of the Tupimane subclan of the Mulapini phratry. This he did, as they sat by the fire, close to the center post in Pangia's men's house on the night of 8 August 1972. What Pangia said as he began to teach Philip became significant, enduring, and disturbing teaching that shaped my approach to Enga oral traditions then and in subsequent years.

* * * *

Pangia revealed:

> I can tell you how our community began and the names of 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 questions about the times before.

Then he proceeded to teach his son some central truths, such as the following:

> The Mulapini people began at Yoko. That is the place I know. But Mulapini men have gone and settled in other places too. . . . 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 one root and trunk in Yoko. . . .
>
> The possum Komaipa begot Kombeke in Yoko. These two, Komaipa and Kombeke, are right at the base of the center post in our men's house. Like the center post, these two founders of Mulapini hold together our whole group.

Those images of the generating possum (a totemic emblem), the tree root, trunk, and branches (a central sacred place, stability and change among a people over time), and center post or hearth (a place and way for communicating powerful knowledge and traditions) have become paradigms for reflecting upon Enga and other traditions of origin and migration.[2] They come from a worldview and universe of knowledge different from that of Western categories of history. They began unlocking for me some elements in the Enga world and their visions of people living in and spreading through these valleys. But Pangia's opening words have conveyed to me his sense that we were speaking to each other across a gulf of difference.

Those others, who came offering gifts at our door, were seeking to reach across a gulf to discover in what ways I was human, what tendencies and possibilities I had to weave reciprocal ties between my world and theirs. Some sensed a response and continued the conversation. I sensed, for Kepai, that reaching across the gulf was possible as we engaged in dialogue as one teacher to another. Busa had taught and

commissioned me, had traveled across the ridges and through the valleys, like those hero-ancestors his chant praised. And after that second song came his chiding: What bridge was I intending to cross in response to such a gift and chant?

For Pangia, it was a gulf of knowledge, understanding, and perception that divided us. Implicit in those words of his lies a fear that I would not understand or that I would distort his teachings. Explicit is his sense of being assaulted by questions from a man who probed and questioned and who still represented the threat of colonial power, a man who might well harm the people of Yoko with what he heard. All those images that he used bespoke power: Knowledge, after all, gave power. Knowledge about their sacred emblem Komaipa and the genealogies traced from Mulapini could be seized by others to claim that they were true sons of those founders. If explicit details of the way the branches spread from their roots in Yoko were in the wrong hands, then his people's access to precious garden land and forest could be tampered with.

* * * *

That sense of the gulf of knowledge and power between us grew with hindsight. Coming out of graduate school to fieldwork put me in a different frame in 1972. What I sensed was that Pangia spoke to me from an intellectual and cultural universe different from mine, that we approached history from different vantage points. That opened up a whole arena for academic debate that has been pursued elsewhere and that exercised our minds and hearts in the time that followed when a number of us pursued the task of creating a "people's history" for a newly emerging nation in Papua New Guinea.[3]

Bernard Smith used that telling image, "a gulf of style," in the context of a reflection upon the frontier. A dominant theme in the comparative world history program at the University of Wisconsin during my years at graduate school (1969-1971) was one about "center" and "periphery," "metropole" and "frontier" (e.g., Leach 1960).

My practice of oral history evolved in Enga within that particular framework of knowledge and understanding. To trace its evolution, we need to turn to more Enga imagery. The words are difficult to translate. They come from a *sangai nemongo titi pingi,* those chants to which Busa introduced me in January 1972.

*Yuu kuiamo miningi minao waipu leo lelyamo*
*Apu epeamo tuli soo kipu leo lelyamo.*

These words praise the ancestor-heroes who went on epic journeys through deep valleys and over high ridges to gain famed *sangai* plants for new owners. They were chanted in a *sangai nemongo titi pingi* by Imbuni Mulyia one Saturday morning at the end of January 1972 at Irelya.

These ancestors, so the words recall, were traveling at night, carrying the sacred plants. They were guided along shadowy pathways by light sputtering from bamboo torches. They protected themselves with pandanus-leaf raincapes. They had ventured from the familiar territory of their home clan, crossed enemy territory, and come to the place where the owners of these plants resided. After costly negotiations, they had obtained some plants and, following a mutually amicable exchange, set off to carry their prize home. Because of the danger of being seen and thwarted by enemies, they rested by day and traveled by night. These sacred plants that they bore gave their new owners fresh life, understanding, wisdom, and power. So a song in praise of the plants and the brave men who journeyed through danger was made. It was modeled on the *nemongo* that the previous owners held with their plants. The current chant had been handed on by the new owners down to Imbuni Mulyia's generation. Images used, place names, rhythms, and patterns of sound echoed those of the place from which the *lepe wai* (bog iris) had come, as well as the shaping influences of the new owners.

The field diary entry made for 19 January 1972, when I first heard the *sangai nemongo titi pingi,* caught my sense that a new dimension had entered my struggles to record and decipher Enga traditions. That entry ended with the words, "This opened up a whole new door [for me] just when I was feeling that I really was not getting any direction to my work." It was in response to Busa's tape that Imbuni Mulyia recorded his *nemongo.* Others followed as I trekked around. Kepai became my teacher, too, in response to that search for "men of knowledge" to chant and explain to me the meanings of the *nemongo.* Despite severe difficulties in translating symbolic language, dense images, and allusions, these epic chants drew me. I knew then that the Enga had their Homers and that the masters of the plants who traveled through dangers to gain new sources of power, growth, and wealth for their people were other Ulysseses who braved odysseys in the high valleys. And, too, as I went on foot through drenched and muddy pathways along valleys and terraces in search of "men of knowledge," I had these images and chants in my mind's eye. I recalled, too, Frodo's quest for the ring in Tolkien's epic and the quests of Campbell's heroes "with a thousand faces."

In the years to come, working with Enga university students I encountered that same heartbreak that showed through Waka Busa's tears the night he first heard his father's chant. These students, like Waka, had chosen another road--that of Western learning and schooling in the colonial age. Even though the chants moved them to tears with their haunting beauty, the students could not unlock them or turn them into English because they had not been initiated into the language of the *sangai* rituals. These tapes, along with the others I recorded, are stored in the Enga provincial museum waiting for a modern poet to bring them to life for his contemporaries.

Despite hints and shadows of meaning I could catch, with much diligent help from a number of English-speaking Enga, there is a real sense in which I stand on one side of an impassable gulf. From the other side come the haunting songs of the *sangai nemongo titi pingi*, in which I catch glimpses of the hero-ancestors journeying through dangers with their flaring torches.

* * * *

It now seems a long journey, sometimes hardly sensed, that brought me to that edge, facing and barely understanding those carriers and masters of the sacred plants. As I moved among those "men of knowledge" who shared their wisdom and teaching with me between July 1971 and January 1973, was I on the "frontier," or on the "periphery" away from the "center" and the "metropole"? The answer is as simple and brief as it is ambiguous. I came out of a center of international scholarship and liberal academic learning in America into those deep valleys at the end of the colonial era. I saw myself, insofar as I could be critically self-aware, in the midst of an absorbing venture, as being out on the fringe, a long way from home. I was intensely aware of the differences in life and culture, and struggling to make sense of a whole new world of experience and knowledge.

Now living in my own country, a little more than fifteen years older and perhaps a little wiser, I sometimes sense that, if categories like "center," "periphery," and "frontier" make any sense, then going to Enga and being there was more like being at a center rather than on a periphery.

* * * *

To unravel this paradox may take me more years than I will be given. This discourse on paradox is all too easily misconstrued. On the surface,

it sounds like a hankering after a primitive golden age of innocence that has passed us by and that some romantics desire greatly, while some utopians believe it will break in on us after a great storm.

Perhaps it is so, For me, now, in this age when a fragile and turbulent world is threatened with extinction, an image of what I am seeking to say comes from a *tindi pii* (an explanatory legend) chanted around the fire in a mission guesthouse on 8 August 1972 at Pesalakosa, a Lutheran station on the northwestern edge of Enga country in valleys near the Sepik River. The teller was Saka. That was his baptismal name. His body was crippled by leprosy contracted in recent years. He was a significant elder in his local church community. Saka's name means "new, green, flourishing." It signified the new life he embraced through his baptism.

He was a famed chanter of *tindi pii* and responded warmly to an invitation to tell and have me record a tale. His audience, by that fire, before which he lay as if asleep while the chant flowed forth like a rising melody, was close family, the American missionary, the Enga bishop of the church, and me. Philip, Pangia's son, later helped me translate the story and I have used it many times as a way of unlocking some elements in the Enga worldview to others. Here the sinews of the legend will suffice, because its substance and detail are not an immediate concern.

Saka told of Pandakusa:

> Pandakusa was born of an earthly mother and unknown father. He grew strong and tall; moved from his mother's house and made his own gardens across the terrace, close to the house he built for himself. On a hunting expedition in the high forest, he met a beautiful woman whom he loved and whom he saw as being an embodied sky spirit. On his return home with his beloved and great crop of animals from his hunt, he met in his mother's house another woman, her guest. When Pandakusa looked on her, he became afraid because he saw her as the embodiment of a forest spirit, a dangerous person. Though he tried to reconcile the tension between himself and these two women and his mother by gifts of food, his anger and fear broke out when his mother and her guest sought to seize him. In his terror and rage, he ran from her house to his to snatch up his weapons. When he returned, mother and guest were gone. Running back to his own house, he found his beloved had disappeared too. He searched far and wide for all the women, but thought they were drowned in a nearby river. When he recov-

> ered from his days of grief and mourning, he saw again that tracks led to the trunk of a huge tree which pointed to a high mountain. Gathering his possessions, he climbed the trunk of this tree by a vine and crossed over into the place where sky beings dwelt on the roof of this high mountain. A search led him to his beloved, who invited him to participate with her brothers in an exchange which, if he did well, would signify his acceptance among her people. This he achieved next day. As they were dancing, a hush came as guests arrived led by an old man with white decorations painted over his body. This man beckoned Pandakusa to come to him in the center of the dancing ground. He then revealed to the young man that he was a sky being and Pandakusa's father. He also revealed that his son had been tested in the tension of his relationships with the two women guests and his mother. He informed his son that he had erred by favoring one guest and rejecting the other. He must now go through rituals of reconciliation with each, which he did. On completion of those tasks, Pandakusa became a culture hero and founder of a people and their exchange cycle. Then he joined his father and the women and traveled higher into the mountain to become a sky being.

A legend from a golden age of healing and reconciliation told by a leper who puts Christian overtones upon the founding myth of his people? Maybe that is what it is.

* * * *

It could also have a more universal sense to it. In the closing months of my fieldwork at the end of 1972, some of the mission officials, upon whose land we had lived while in Enga, asked me to communicate some of the discoveries I had made while listening to those "men of knowledge." I used Saka's *tindi pii* as the medium and told them that it expressed in narrative form some fundamental Enga values. To me these are as follows (Lacey 1973) :

- A person does not live in isolation as a single individual. His life, identity, and way of acting flow from the heritage that has come through generations of ancestors. He and his ancestors share in a common life.
- A person lives in a community that is made up not only of men and

women who are now alive and present, but also spirits, all of whom are alive. One needs to seek to relate to all these persons and beings in a balanced way.

• Living is a continual, changing, dynamic pattern of relationships between persons, some people, some spirits; all living. The good life is nurtured and maintained by working towards appropriate relationships with others.

Values such as these, which focus upon interdependence and the quest for balanced relationships and which perceive humans as living their lives out in a cosmos not simply of other persons, have significance for the quest for peace and justice in our troubled times.

More recently, as part of a community seeking to build structures and develop programs that enhance the possibilities for justice and a balanced world order, I have worked with people who have kept alive that original vision embodied in Saka's *tindi pii.* Joanna Macy, in her workshops on despair and personal power in the nuclear age, drew upon aspects of Buddhist tradition to propose the embracing of the values of *karuna* (compassion for our fellow beings in the cosmos) and insight into the interrelatedness of all life and reality *(prajna).* One medium she used for her teaching was a Tibetan Buddhist legend about the coming of the Kingdom of Shambhala (Bodian 1985; Macy 1983). At another workshop, conducted by Elise Boulding, the Quaker peace scholar and feminist historian, the focus was upon imaging a future without weapons (Boulding 1981). As I engaged with others in tasks of imaging such a future, the world of Pandakusa woven in Saka's *tindi pii* broke in. It became clear to me, and those with whom I explored that world, that some convergence was possible between that Enga world and the one we sought to bring about.

* * * *

Issues about center and periphery now become a little clearer. In those exchanges between me and "men of knowledge" in the early 1970s, I sensed that I came as a man from the center of my world and the colonial world to encounter and be taught by these men from across that gulf of difference. We were on a frontier; they were people at the end of the road to whom the benefits of "modernization" trickled down from centers of power. On the eve of independence some Enga sang about that sense of frustration and dependence that was developing for them as people distant from the emerging national capital.

Oh, Moresby,
You are far away
Behind the Blue Mountains--
Where the mighty Waghi River flows--
Through the giant valleys.
Oh, how unfortunate we are,
We sent letters to you--
But Waghi River sweeps them away,
All--all the letters we sent to you.
Here, helpless, we stay behind.

(Talyaga 1975:3)

They sang, too, of the ambiguities of a new age brought by red men who broke into their valley as travelers from that distant land, Australia *(Sali).*

For so long,
The Red men have lived in *Sali.*
But now they have travelled up,
Through the forests,
The Red men have walked,
Over the valleys and gorges.
The men of *Sali* have come,
To get us out of the forests,
They have cut their way through,
To deliver us out of the forests,
Sing about the men of *Sali,*
Who have broken the forests--for us,
Yes, do praise them.

(Talyaga 1975:9)

Perhaps their song in praise of these red men echoed their *sangai* praise chants that commemorated those hero-ancestors who brought great power and wealth with the sacred plants and songs and who had returned home from dangerous journeys into an enemy world beyond their clan lands.

My search with others for pathways to peace and justice carries echoes from encounters with Enga wisdom. In these times, the news from those valleys is often ugly. The people are torn apart by violence and war and riven by frustrations (Lacey 1987). These echoes of wisdom and insight into a world of better possibilities come from an ancient cen-

ter and that wisdom shares a congruence with other worldviews, alternative to our own. So perhaps if it were possible to thread a bridge across the gulf between different worlds, we may bring into being the conditions for human beings to recover creative capacities for "inventing our history," as Jean-Marie Domenach puts it.[4] In that way, we might build conditions for a future with hope.

So, if history is a way of musing upon oneself (Hillman 1983:46), then these musings of mine upon my practice of history with the Enga have reverberations that are more than simply personal.

## NOTES

The field research in Enga Province, located to the west of Mount Hagen in the Central Highlands of Papua New Guinea, in 1971-1973 and 1974 was funded by grants from the University of Wisconsin, the University of Papua New Guinea, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation. The paper from which this article is derived was read at the Pacific History Association Conference held at John XXIII College, Australian National University, Canberra, in December 1987. This foray into autobiography has arisen from two sources in my recent research. One is investigation with a small group of fellow Australians into life history and changing religious perceptions, which has focused on taped interviews and conversations, and in which I have been interviewed by some of the participants. The second is my participation with a small number of Pacific Islanders and expatriates in a workshop on movement dynamics through time coordinated by Professor Murray Chapman and Dr. John Waiko and held at the East-West Center, University of Hawaii, in January 1986. Both these experiences have confirmed for me the view espoused by Jerome Bruner that there is a reciprocal relationship between life as lived and life as narrative: that "narrative imitates life, life imitates narrative" (1987: 13). So a distilling and telling of fragments of my experience with the Enga fashions and refines my growth as historian, and person. Not to be too pretentious or place too heavy a burden upon the fragments that follow, they are an attempt to interpret what happened to my historical understanding and craft in those encounters.

1. This changing relationship with Kepai and what he taught are explored in R. Lacey, "Coming to Know Kepai: Conversational Narratives and the Use of Oral Sources in Papua New Guinea," *Social Analysis,* no. 4 (September 1980): 74-88.

2. Reflections on Pangia's teaching are explored in R. Lacey, "A Question of Origins: An Exploration of Some Oral Traditions of the Enga of New Guinea," *Journal of Pacific History* 9 (1974): 39-54; and "Traditions of Origin and Migration: Some Enga Evidence," in *Oral Tradition in Melanesia,* ed. D. Denoon and R. Lacey (Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea/Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1981), 45-56.

3. A number of the articles in *Oral Tradition in Melanesia* (see note 2) explore these issues, in particular the introduction by Donald Denoon and the papers by John Waiko and Anthony Ruhan. The phrase comes from D. Denoon, *People's History (Inaugural Address)* (Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea, 1973). See also J. R. W. Smail, "An Autonomous History of South-East Asia," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 2, no. 2 (1961): 72-102.

4. The full text of Domenach's statement is: "Development is not a matter of dressing in other people's clothes and imitating their way of life but of using the instrument of technology to achieve an honourable style of existence. It is not a matter of escaping from one's society and one's history but rather of creating a society capable of inventing a history" (in A. Amarshi, K. Good, and R. Mortimer, *Development and Dependency: The Political Economy* of *Papua* New *Guinea* [Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1979], 60).

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## REVIEWS

Jens Poulsen, *Early Tongan Prehistory: The Lapita Period on Tongatapu and Its Relationships.* 2 vols. Terra Australis 12. Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, 1987. Vol. 1: pp. xxiv, 307, text, references, appendixes; vol. 2: pp. x, 205, 111 tables, 77 figures, 79 plates. A$33.00 set, paper.

*Reviewed by Janet Davidson, National Museum of New Zealand*

Few people have struggled through the ordeal of writing a Ph.D. thesis and then been willing to spend a further ten years completely rewriting it for publication in the light of criticisms of the original work. Jens Poulsen did this, and the result is both a major "contribution to the prehistory of the Tongan Islands" (the title of the original thesis) and an important assessment of the methodology adopted.

The fieldwork took place in 1963-1964 and the thesis was submitted three years later (Poulsen 1967). On the basis of his excavations in six pottery-bearing midden sites and a small number of radiocarbon dates, Poulsen developed a chronology for Tongan ceramics in which pottery manufacture and use appeared to have lasted from first settlement, about three thousand years ago, almost to European contact. On the basis of another excavation in the same part of Tongatapu where Poulsen had worked, and a few more radiocarbon dates, Groube (1971) proposed a drastic revision of the Tongan sequence. Groube argued that some of Poulsen's radiocarbon dates actually dated unrecognized recent disturbances in the predominantly early deposits. Groube's description

of Poulsen's excavation methods as rapid and arbitrary cast doubt on the contexts not merely of the radiocarbon samples, but of the finds themselves.

Poulsen accepted the reinterpretation of his radiocarbon dates (although one remains anomalous) and undertook a major revision of his entire work. Thus, although this publication largely follows the structure of the original thesis, most of it has been completely rewritten. Some of the original appendixes have been retained and some new ones have been substituted or added. In the course of the revision, stratigraphy and features have been reconsidered in the light of the original field drawings (which must have been very detailed); problems of disturbance have been explored through the study of joining pottery fragments; aspects of the pottery analysis have been revised. All assumptions are scrutinized, and the possibility of disturbance is constantly considered. At times the point is labored, but this is understandable, and the final result is a much more confident statement about the culture and economy of the Lapita period in Tonga.

The revision was largely completed by the late 1970s. Unfortunately, there was then a very long delay before publication. Although there have been minor updates in that time, the comparative sections do not take account of some important work that has appeared more recently. This weakens the force of some of the discussion.

The publication follows the normal path of an excavation report. The sites and excavations are described. There are chapters on pottery analysis, the nature of Tongan pottery, and its external relationships. Two further chapters explore material culture and technology, and habitat and economy.

The excavations yielded a large quantity of predominantly small potsherds, restricting opportunities for actual vessel reconstruction. The analysis is an attribute study of more than seven thousand rims and decorated sherds, of which the rims proved more sensitive chronological indicators. The publication demonstrates quite clearly that despite the amount of disturbance of the deposits, and the method of excavation by arbitrary levels, a useful ceramic sequence based on statistical trends has been established. Indeed, other workers have long recognized the validity of Poulsen's sequence. It is fascinating to see just how effectively the statistical trends seem to resist disruption by stratigraphic disturbance. The strength of Poulsen's analysis is in his development of a ceramic sequence suitable for assemblages of small potsherds. His treatment of vessel form, the decoration of whole pots, and the technology of pottery production is limited.

Poulsen's mastery of his own pottery data has enabled him to write an impressive chapter on the external relationships of the Tongan pottery, using whatever information was available from other published excavations. He focuses on the paradox of regional divergence in pottery development in western Polynesia and Fiji despite a common trend towards simplification, and identifies an interesting parallel between Tongatapu and Futuna.

The much smaller numbers of other artifact categories mean that their chronological position within the sequence covered by the excavations is less secure. Once again, possible sources of error and confusion are exhaustively canvassed. Despite the problems of disturbance and the relatively small samples, some suggestions about differential activities within the sites can be made on the basis of artifact distribution. The excavations yielded a wealth of artifacts of many categories, notably adzes and personal ornaments. All are described and illustrated in detail and comparisons are sought both west and east of Tonga.

The final chapter describes the content of shell samples and the relatively small amount of bone recovered. The evolution of the lagoon at Tongatapu and the effects of human exploitation of shellfish are discussed, and the question of changing patterns of settlement and subsistence is reviewed.

There is no concluding chapter. Important comments about the position of the Tongan Lapita within a wider framework can be found in various places throughout the volume, and it is a pity that the author did not feel able to take the final step and make the major statement about Lapita that seems almost possible from the strong base of this rich Tongan material. Perhaps the problem is that any such statement written in the late 1970s would seem inadequate in the late 1980s, and there is now too much new material to take into account.

The thesis-like form of the publication has resulted in some awkward features. Cross-references in the text are to numbered sections and subsections of chapters, but these numbers do not appear in the text: their location must be discovered by consulting the table of contents. Figure and plate series are separately numbered but interspersed, and again a particular figure or plate must be found by consulting the list of contents. The editorial standard is quite high. There are few typographical errors and, considering the enormous amount of detail, relatively few slips of the type where *oven p* in the text appears as *oven q* on the relevant figure.

When Poulsen's thesis first became available to archaeologists working in Tonga and adjoining regions, problems over dating and uncer-

tainty over the extent of the disturbance led to its being undervalued. Twenty years later its merits are much more obvious. It has not been superseded by other detailed studies, published or in thesis form. The wealth of material and the detailed description of context and method, which were features of the original work, are enhanced by the honest and painstaking reassessment of assumptions and conclusions. There will always be some critics who will quarrel with the excavation strategy, but most will admit that the end result of the study is not merely acceptable, but a notable contribution to Lapita studies and to Polynesian prehistory.

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*Reviewed by Phyllis S. Herda, Victoria University of Wellington*

In *Early Tonga As the Explorers Saw It, 1616-1810,* Ferdon has provided a useful compilation of European texts that were based on observations made during the period specified. Although one wishes that the author had occasionally strayed out of his temporal designation in order to enrich his data (especially to include the journals of European explorers Dumont d'Urville and William Waldegrave), the wisdom of his decision can be appreciated in the perspective gained from the observations recorded before the advent of sustained missionary contact and, perhaps more significantly, before the rise of the revolutionary **Tāufa'āhau** to political prominence. Other scholars would do well to remember the dynamic nature of all cultures and societies, whether before or after European contact, as well as the possibility of attributing greater historical depth to more recent events and customs.

Ferdon's depiction of life in pre-1810 Tonga would, however, have

been improved by a more detailed critique of his primary sources. While he is quick to point out the "vagaries of oral tradition" (pp. 182, 184), which in his opinion make it unreliable as a historical source, he is not so critical of the European texts that are, by and large, accepted unquestionably as truthful and accurate accounts. This is especially unfortunate when obvious errors are present in the texts. For example, Mariner's assertion that an "oldest son" ranked higher than an "oldest daughter" (p. 39) is contrary to what is known about Tongan society (see, for example, Kaeppler 1971, Rogers 1977, Bott 1981) and probably represents an error on Mariner's or his editor's part. However, if Ferdon is indirectly suggesting that the accepted notions of Tongan ranking are a post-eighteenth-century innovation, then more explication by him is warranted.

In addition, Ferdon often treats omissions from these early European records as absolute proof that a custom, myth, or institution was not present in Tonga at that time and that its subsequent appearance must represent transformation or a diffusionary influence (see, for example, pp. 29, 55, 194-196, 261). While an omission from a visitor's description may, indeed, indicate such a phenomenon it is conceivable, and more probable, that it simply represents an omission by the particular author, many of whom spent a very limited period in the archipelago.

The volume is divided into ten chapters (plus an epilogue) and covers topics such as dwellings, social organization and government, *kava* ritual, religion, life cycle, recreation, food procurement and preparation, trade and transportation, and warfare. While certainly comprehensive, Ferdon's categorization (as in his earlier work, *Tahiti As the Explorers Saw It, 1767-1797* [Tucson, 1981]) reflects a European construction of the universe that can often obstruct or distort the indigenous point of view. For example, the prominence of Tongan women in terms of kinship rank and public authority, while acknowledged in passing, is not given the attention it deserves. Such an arrangement does, by and large, accurately reproduce the early Europeans' conception of Tongan society, but there seems little value in perpetuating such errors and biases. Informed comment by Ferdon on such discrepancies would have been welcome.

A case in point is Ferdon's treatment of marriage and divorce. Although acknowledging that "all early descriptions of weddings are of those of the chiefly class" (p. 134), Ferdon ethnocentrically assumes that "the simple pattern revealed probably applied to marriages at all levels of Tongan society," which is simply not the case. In traditional Tongan society only the chiefly class "married" in the sense of the union being

ritually marked and acknowledged by society at large. The *tu'a* (common people) were said to have just lived together with the implication that they were like animals rather than "chiefly" human beings. Similarly, "divorce" (pp. 136-137) is a culturally loaded term suggesting a formal dissolution of a union. No such ritual marked the end of a Tongan marriage as it was not conceived of as a monogamous or lifelong institution.

An unfortunate and unnecessary shortcoming of the work is the overall omission of macrons and occasional deletion of glottals from many of the Tongan words, as well as misspellings that more careful proofreading could have avoided.

Despite these reservations, *Early Tonga As the Explorers Saw It, 1616-1810* represents an informative summary of what Europeans encountered during their stays on Tonga. The volume will be especially welcomed by those who do not wish to wade through the voluminous publications on which it is based. The book is well written and contains fourteen reproductions of illustrations from the explorer publications. Ferdon's referencing is meticulous and provides the reader with enough information to allow easy data location in his sources. In addition, his identification and discussion of plants identified by the Europeans (pp. 205-207) is informed and instructive. So is his hypothesis on the timing of yam planting and the *'inasi* (first fruits) cermony--a question that has stumped many a scholar.

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*Reviewed by Larry V. Shumway, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah*

It is not often a reviewer has the opportunity to do a second review of a book and to cover the same ground with a perspective enlarged by the first.[1] *Tongan Music*, by Richard Moyle, is a book that bears looking at a second time because it covers so much and because it is very timely, coming as it does when traditional culture the world over is under increasing pressure from outside modernizing influences. Moyle brings to his subject a background in anthropology and music. His field research in Tonga spanned some twenty years and was augmented by other research in the music of surrounding islands.

*Tongan Music* is a welcome addition to the field of ethnomusicology because it deals so well and in so much detail with one of the great but unheralded music traditions of the world. It is a handsome book, done in a large format, with a number of pertinent photographs, figures, and, most importantly, notations. The text is enriched by the inclusion of Tongan musical terminology and also musicians' extended comments in Tongan with side-by-side translations into English, a glossary, and a list of prominent performing groups. One of its strengths is that it seeks to cover every facet of Tongan music, from pre-Western contact to the present, from children's game songs where music is peripheral all the way to the large forms where it is central. The book effectively describes the various genres, sometimes with a good deal of historical background, their performance contexts, and something of their visual appearance. The text is fleshed out with notations, charts, figures, and pictures. This mass of detail makes the book an essential reference work for those interested in any aspect of musical sound in Tongan culture.

While I hold a very positive view of the book, there are several points that merit discussion and critique, noting beforehand that implied criticism comes as much as anything from a personal point of view of what should be included in a book dealing with music. The first drawback of the book, as seen by this reviewer, is the seeming ambivalence towards the "sound' of the music, as may be exemplified by the absence of a discography of present recordings of traditional music and the thinness of the material in chapter 2 ("Musical Ethnography") that, though ostensibly dealing with musical sound, misses most of the important things--sonority, harmony, musical structure. One is led to wonder about the relative importance given to the actual sound of the music itself, within the culture as well as by researchers. While the book covers a vast amount of material dealing with music, there is much less substantive, analytical material on the actual sound of the music itself than one would hope for in a book dealing with music.

Perhaps part of the problem of ambivalence towards "sound," partic-

ularly in the large forms, arises from the conceptual framework the author uses in translating the word *faiva* as "dance."[2] There really is no conceptual equivalent for *faiva* in English, though the term "multi-media performance," stripped of its high-tech connotations, would come somewhat close. Simply stated, in Western categories of thought, movement with music equals dance and music without movement equals music. In the former, movement dominates our perceptions and in the latter we focus on the music. Thus, for the Westerner it becomes difficult to define exactly, for example, the *lakalaka* where three components--poetry, music, and dance--combine to make an aesthetic impact. To call it dance immediately focuses our attention on the overall visual effects and relegates the poetry and music to a secondary status. Is the *lakalaka* merely a dance accompanied by choral music produced by the dancers, or is it choral music accompanied by dance, or is it poetry set to choral music and accompanied by dance? I believe the latter is closer to the native view and that for Tongans a performance of fine dancing to so-so music is less palatable than one with fine singing accompanying so-so dancing. But the importance of each of the three elements in the whole cannot be overemphasized. To do full justice to a description of *faiva* one would have to deal in detail with all three components, which would understandably be beyond the scope of the book. In a book on music, however, one had hoped that the music component would have received more in-depth coverage.

The reason for harping on the importance of the musical "sound" here is that it is the conception and perfection of the "sound" of a performance, as much as anything else, that carries the Tongans to the heights of aesthetic experience. In their words, the music must "make the blood surge, and the heart glad." Since such ephemeral things as sound are difficult to describe in words, this is the point where a discography and extended musical description and analysis would become important. The ideal, of course, would be to have an accompanying tape to augment the notated musical examples. But perhaps that is too much to ask at this time.

The above critique is not to fault the author's research, which appears to be excellent, but rather to wish he had taken a different tack. His problem, however, was to describe a national music for an audience unfamiliar with its sound and who lack the recordings to fill in the gap. This is a hard task at best, for with only the printed word it is difficult to convey any sense of the grandeur or compelling nature of the music. Moyle met this problem by giving the book a heavy historical slant with

a wealth of material from early Western observers of the Tongan scene. By combining written history with modern oral tradition he has attempted to reconstruct for us a fair view of musical life in Tonga before European contact as well as during the inevitable acculturation process that followed. Each chapter begins with a historical treatment of its subject, often quite extensive and detailed. He has done a thoroughly commendable job of combing through literature related in any way to Tonga for musical references that shed light on its music from the time of the coming of the Europeans in the late eighteenth century. Devoting so much space to history, however, did leave less room for other things.

A third point of critique is the relative space allotted to the discussion of the various musical genres. Moyle has touched on almost every type of music to be found in Tonga, thus making the book a veritable encyclopedia. However, he has devoted about equal space to each genre, which works out to a comparatively inordinate amount of detail for some forms where music is only peripheral as compared to others where music is central. This can be confusing because such equal space does not convey the relative importance of each genre in the culture. Coupled with the heavy historical treatment this may give an unbalanced view of what is really important in present Tongan musical life. For example, he discusses in detail traditional musical instruments, most of which find little or no use any more, and music used in fables and children's game songs, which are surely peripheral genres by any measure.

By contrast, there is comparatively less discussion of the music of the larger forms--the *lakalaka,* ***māʻuluʻulu,*** and *hiva kakala*--where musical sonority, harmony, and structure figure so prominently. Hymn singing, which touches the lives of all Tongans, is mentioned only in passing and patronage choirs are not mentioned at all. These genres in particular are where the majesty, power, and sophistication of the Tongan musical sensibilities are to be heard and felt. This and the centrality of these forms to present-day Tongan musical life would seem to argue for a comparatively more lengthy discussion, especially, as much as words can convey, of the musical sound.

In conclusion, *Tongan Music* is an important addition to the growing number of books dealing with traditional musical cultures. The above critique is to be seen not as criticizing a fine and much needed work, but rather as a discussion of points of view and also of directions for future research and writing.

## NOTES

1. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 97, no. 2 (June 1988): 210-212.

2. Chapter 3 is entitled "*Faiva* (Dances)" and deals with all the large forms.

John Charlot, *The Kamapua'a Literature: The Classical Traditions of the Hawaiian Pig God as a Body of Literature.* Monograph Series, no. 6. Lā'ie, Hawai'i: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University-Hawai'i Campus, 1987. Pp. x, 165, index. US$8.00 paper.

*Reviewed by Renate von Gizycki, Institut Für Völkerkunde, Göttingen University, Göttingen, West Germany*

In this monographic essay on the Kamapua'a literature John Charlot, a theologian lecturing on Hawaiian and Polynesian literature and religious culture at the University of Hawai'i, presents a concise, yet comprehensive analysis of "The Classical Traditions of the Hawaiian Pig God as a Body of Literature." This book should be read and evaluated against the background of the author's earlier publications, all concerned with the understanding of Hawaiian culture and written in "the spirit of perceiving"--not just observing--its phenomena.

In this essay Charlot's primary focus is not on Kamapua'a, the ancient pig god unique to Hawai'i, as a powerful and destructive folk figure about whom many tales are told till today, but rather on the type of literature characteristic of Polynesian traditions in which a group of works is united by a common protagonist (such as the Samoan Pili, the Polynesian Maui, and the Hawaiian Pele). He concentrates on the question of stages of literary (logical) development, for him recognizable, and he wants to show how widespread older literary elements are utilized and collected into narrative complexes. Further, he discusses the redactional composition of such larger complexes, which reveal a sequence of creation to him, reflecting in "stylistic changes--from archaic to modern--and in degrees of fixity and consistency of a given tradition" (p. 83). With carefully selected and documented material from published as well as personally communicated sources and oral traditions and stories, the author develops his arguments.

The earliest level of the Kamapua'a literature is based on traditional Hawaiian perception, and rural cults and practices related to pigs, many of these very ancient. Kamapua'a appears as a pig and a god, full

of personality and power, a typical folk hero--a loner, rebel, trickster, and women-chaser; he is "a shaper of the local landscape and shaped himself by the character of his land" (p. 3), an eccentric local god whose fame and influence spread from his place of origin at Kaliuwaʻa to other regions. As he makes his way, he is first given a human *kino* (body), then is endowed with many bodies, which can be related to a human family, to the elements, to plants and animals.

Stories about this attractive folk hero multiply and are gathered into local collections; ritual practices are developed. Priests and chiefs, worried about his growing influence and power, attempt to assimulate him by applying literary motifs and genres of their own class to these stories and by emphasizing his human characteristics; eventually he is even given a genealogy that connects him with the family of a famous chief. The priests of the established cults of the traditional high gods finally place Kamapuaʻa into their theological framework, and in *The Kumulipo* creation chant he becomes integrated into "a total scheme of cosmic, human, and cultural development" (p. 4).

A dangerous and disruptive folk figure is thus brought under the control of the traditional social and religious authorities: "From a loner, Kamapuaʻa can be turned into an affectionate family man; from a rebel against chiefs, into a chief solicitous of his people's welfare; from a boisterous, mischievous god, into a powerful defender of the oppressed and an upholder of the forces of fertility" (p. 4).

For Charlot the Kamapuaʻa literature is "indeed a prime example of the mutual cultural influence exercised by the different classes of Hawaiian society on each other" (p. 4). This brief survey of the Kamapuaʻa literature, meant to be a "useful guide for the reader," naturally had to simplify different developmental stages; for example, some of them were practiced simultaneously. Furthermore, social classes could adopt or imitate each other's literature, combining characteristics of many levels of society, literary forms, and developmental stages. Kamapuaʻa texts provide indeed a fertile ground for social and cultural research on the Hawaiian Islands.

For his detailed, multilayered analysis Charlot refers to three pan-Hawaiian literary complexes in the Hawaiian language, composed by joining previously existing local literary units in a redactional framework: (1) Kaʼao No Kamapuaʻa, collected by Abraham Fornander (1860-1870); (2) He Moʻolelo No Kamapuaʻa, by G. W. Kahiolo (1861), recently (1978) republished and translated from a Hawaiian language newspaper by students of the Hawaiian Studies Program at the University of Hawaiʻi in a project under Charlot's guidance; and (3)

Ka Leo O Ka Lahui (1891), referred to as "Anonymous" and possibly dependent on Kahiolo.

Within these large complexes a number of differing views are expressed, on the level of smaller literary units as well as in chants and stories, or local complexes; preferences of the final redactors--rooted in temperament or ideology--will certainly have further influenced the material they received and selected. For Charlot the effort involved in each redaction demonstrates the literary and religious value of Kamapua'a; it is therefore regrettable that so little is known about the redactors' biographies. There was no orthodoxy in Hawaiian thinking, but an appreciation and expression of "the richness and mysterious depth of their subject" (p. 5). Each hermeneutical reinterpretation thus reveals the actual importance of this figure for an understanding of the Hawaiian situation of today: "Kamapua'a touches those who study him in our own times of struggle. . . . In the words of Kalāhikiola Nali'ielua: 'This text has *mana*' " (p. 85).

Specialists in the Hawaiian language may discuss in more detail the arguments used by Charlot in demonstrating the classical Kamapua'a literature to be "a body of works closely interrelated by such shared elements as specialized vocabulary, motifs, themes, characters, and smaller literary forms" (p. 83). For the scholar of Polynesian arts and literature, his structural analysis of stages of literary development offers valuable insight into the nature and dynamics of storytelling, and oral tradition in general; no single isolated story will any longer suffice as a source for far-reaching conclusions. "A study of such a body of literature is important for understanding the individual works within it, the process of its creation, its place within culture, and Polynesian thought in the broadest sense" (p. 1). Charlot shows how an intellectual development also corresponds to the literary one as the unruly pig god is increasingly made respectable. A need may have been felt to rationalize Hawaiian mythological traditions in the face of the new Western scientific theories --as the editors/translators of the Kahiolo text assume; a number of scholars have in more recent times theorized about this figure, and Hawaiian speculations "to make sense of Kamapua'a" seem to continue.

Charlot's monograph, although presenting his argument with ample evidence, is a concise and readable text; the specialist and the student will find all the necessary information and sources for research in the appendixes and notes, which make up the second half of the book (pp. 87-165), including a bibliography with an impressive list of Polynesian scholars, altogether a sound basis for further work on the subject.

Charlot's work, however, is by no means purely academic. In his

introduction he not only acknowledges the cooperation of his colleagues, among them Samuel H. Elbert, and the students in his courses, but thanks "all the members of the Hawaiian community who shared their knowledge with me, especially **Kalāhikiola Nāli'ielua,** John Ka'imikaua, Emma de Fries, and the guides for our classes at Kaliuwa'a" (p. ix), highly respected, learned Hawaiians and spiritual leaders. (He uses names whenever he has the permission to do so.) He is fully aware of the problems Western scholars experience in their attempt to understand Polynesian cultures, problems that he primarily attributes to our academic division of what to them is an organic unity.

Charlot's book on the Kamapua'a literature should itself be seen within a developmental context, forming a developing body of knowledge in Hawaiian religious and cultural studies and appreciation. He begins with methodological studies on "The Application of Form and Redaction Criticism to Hawaiian Literature" (*Journal of the Polynesian Society* 86 [December 1977]), also a basis for the study under review. The author, combining scholarly and artistic interest with sensitivity for contemporary discussions of Hawaiian awareness and worldview, then addresses a wider readership with his book *Chanting the Universe, Hawaiian Religious Culture* (Honolulu and Hong Kong, 1983). The value of chants and songs as sources of information for historical studies is demonstrated and exemplified in a monograph, *The Hawaiian Poetry of Religion and Politics* (**Lā'ie,** 1985), investigating "Some Religio-Political Concepts in Postcontact Literature," related to *aloha* ***'āina*** (love for the land). The republication of *He Moolelo No Kamapua'a* (collected by G. W. Kahiolo) by his former students apparently also belongs to this complex; within a new, more scholarly redactional framework the Kamapua'a literature has now reached an intellectual stage that--hopefully--(like for instance Pili in Samoan writing) will one day challenge modern creative writers (like Albert Wendt in Samoa). Within a novelistic work of synthesis, Kamapua'a--emerging from his underground existence--may then experience a literary, political, and spiritual rebirth in many new forms and bodies, not only as a symbol but as a powerful protagonist of Hawaiian identity. "Hawaiian religious history is in as continual movement as the sea" (*Chanting the Universe,* p. 35).

A. Grove Day, *Mad About Islands: Novelists of a Vanished Pacific.* Honolulu: Mutual Publishing Co., 1987. Pp. x, 291, bibliography, index. US$13.95 hardbound. US$9.95 paper.

*Reviewed by Steven Goldsberry, University of Hawaii at Manoa*

If Marvin Bell wasn't the first to say it, we remember it his way:

> Everyone knows how many times
> a critic reads a book:
> less than once.

*Mad About Islands* makes statements that would make any critic, or any reader, want to read it over and over. It's a book of elegant design and the brightest of academic strategies. Author A. Grove Day has turned out an instant classic, a compelling and comprehensive survey of the literature of Oceania that should be included on every "must read' list of Pacific books.

The subtitle, "Novelists of a Vanished Pacific," suggests the focus of his study to be past island societies, historical and mythical, but his analyses extend to more contemporary delights, like detective fiction (recalling the old Charlie Chan stories and such obscure wonders as William Huntsberry's *Oscar Mooney's Head* and Max Long's *The Lava Flow Murders*) and the modern giants Michener and Mailer (stating the caveat on *The Naked and the Dead* that it is "a Marxist allegory hewing to the party line of the era").

The book is often beautifully written. It's clear that Day himself is "mad" about islands. His prose and the quotes he selects from his favorite authors reveal not only impeccable taste and a first-rate scholarship sharpened by decades of life and work in the Pacific, but also a profound love for this "ocean created when a mass of the earth was torn from it to form the primordial moon."

Day sets the scene in the first three chapters, giving us a brief overview of the history of Western exploration and subsequent literary interest in the region. Then he devotes chapters to major figures: Melville, Twain, Stevenson, Becke, London, Maugham, Nordoff and Hall, Frisbie, Michener. He concludes with a series of short reviews of worthy but lesser known books, and a useful but rather basic bibliography.

Perhaps the best thing a critic can do for a book as good as *Mad About Islands* is to quote liberally from it. Herein is a selection of some of the more interesting passages.

> James Albert Michener once, in a reflective essay, termed himself a "nesomaniac"--that is, a person mad about islands.

The Pacific was almost the last place left on earth where a writer could set a story in which almost anything was likely to happen.

Jean Jacques Rousseau can be praised or blamed for seeking the Golden Age among savages. In 1749 the Academy of Dijon offered a prize for an essay on the effect of the progress of civilization on morals. Sentimental and perverse, Rousseau took the negative side and tried to show that primitive societies were, paradoxically, more moral and happy. Primitive men, he argued, were on the whole freer than any others, because the equality intended by God was spoiled by social organization. The greatest advantage of primitive life, though, was that the physical and moral aspects of sex were not at war, so that neither love nor jealousy troubled the innocent pagan. Speaking of Rousseau's idea, one writer said, "It was hardly worthwhile for natural men to fight each other over natural women."

The South Sea myth is highly specific. Each of us has his own Bali-ha'i. Solitude becomes more precious as our population explodes. The dream comprises natural beauty and a perfect climate--there are breakers on the reef and shady nooks by the lagoon, and it is always afternoon. Food is virtually free; no need to punch a time clock or run to the supermarket . . . no telephones, no crowded freeways, no smog, no strikes. Most of all, the refuge-hunters expect complete sexual license, without remorse or alimony. The little brown beauty, a Gauguin girl come to life, is always bringing the tray of fruit to her beloved white stranger. Do not all these desires, unsatisfied for most Westerners, reveal some anguishing lacks in Western society?

The expectations of the newcomers in the South Seas are voiced in a passage in a novel by Robert Louis Stevenson: "Precipitous shores, spired mountaintops, and deep shade of hanging forests, the unresting surf upon the reef, and the unending peace of the lagoon; sun, moon, and stars of an imperial brightness; man moving in these scenes scarce fallen, and woman lovelier than Eve; the primal curse abrogated, the bed made ready for the stranger, life set to perpetual music, and the guest welcomed,

> the boat urged, and the long night beguiled with poetry and choral song."
>
> An atoll could be detected many miles away, for its quiet inner lagoon would reflect itself on the clouds like a giant mirror.
>
> Mana [the spiritual power of Polynesian chiefs] was something like an electric charge. It could be passed on, and it could be dangerous if uncontrolled. Somebody with a lesser amount of mana should not get too close to one with more of this power, or the weaker one might be injured.
>
> Magellan made more raids ashore [on Guam]. . . . The Chamorro people tried to fight the strange beings who had appeared from afar. Their only weapon was a bone-tipped lance. Lead bullets and cannon balls of stone sent them skipping over their beach and into the reaches of their jungle. Arrows were unknown to them. The soldiers noted that when a Chamorro was hit by an arrow, he pulled it out and examined it in wonderment. The natives tried to propitiate the invaders by offering gifts of coconuts, pigs, and chickens.
>
> The beings whose leaders wore shining metal carapaces and visored headgear and who arrived offshore in giant canoes with wings might well, it would seem, have dropped to their island from the moon.

The spirit of Day's book is best summed up in Mark Twain's prose poem about Hawaii:

> No alien land in all the world has any deep strong charm for me but that one, no other land could so longingly and so beseechingly haunt me, sleeping and waking, through half a lifetime, as that one has done. Other things leave me, but it abides; other things change, but it remains the same. For me its balmy airs are always blowing, its summer seas flashing in the sun; the pulsing of its surfbeat is in my ear; I can see its garlanded crags, its leaping cascades, its plumy palms drowsing by the shore, its remote summits floating like islands above the cloud wrack; I can feel the spirit of its woodland solitudes, I can hear the

> splash of its brooks; in my nostrils still lives the breath of flowers that perished twenty years ago.

There are, however, in addition to these literary harmonies, a few sour notes. The chapter on Michener, for example, seems to focus a bit self-servingly on the collaborator for *Rascals in Paradise.* And here is a sentence of such convoluted obfuscation that it defies interpretation: "The recital of a series of wondrous events performed by a being who cannot fail, however, and the subordination of ordinary people to magical power makes the reader feel a lack of literary motivation for all these achievements."

But generally speaking, *Mad About Islands* is a thoughtful, engaging, and readable study of Pacific literature. For armchair nesomaniacs perusing its pages in the confines of a landlocked library, it's the next best thing to being there. What Albert Bigelow Paine said in his biography of Mark Twain could refer to A. Grove Day: "He told of the curious island habits for his hearers' amusement, but at the close the poetry of his memories once more possessed him." Read his book more than once.

James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict.* Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986; distributed outside N.Z. by Oxford University Press. Pp. 396, maps, glossary, bibliography, index. US$29.95.

*Reviewed by Keith Sinclair, University of Auckland*

James Belich's book tells a remarkable story. During the Anglo-Maori wars of the mid-1840s and the years 1860-1872, the Maoris won a string of victories against the British army, and sometimes naval detachments, scarcely paralleled in any other war between European and so-called primitive peoples. In some of the battles crack regiments suffered heavy casualties. The Maoris were heavily outnumbered and outgunned. They were only part-time soldiers, for periodically they had to return to their villages and cultivations. Yet they fought off and often defeated a large British army of about twelve thousand men, with a total mobilization of eighteen thousand men. These were professional, full-time soldiers. There was only one settler commando in New Zealand, at Wairau in 1843, when a posse tried to punish a Maori general and chief, Te Rauparaha. So many of them were killed that they never tried again.

Nor did many New Zealand-born Europeans fight against the Maoris--very few of them were of military age--though there were probably some in the Armed Constabulary in the late 1860s. This was a war between the imperial forces and some, but not all, Maori tribes. Some tribes, notably the Arawa, helped the British or remained neutral.

Belich's explanation for the Maoris' successes is partly that their military engineering was in advance of anything known to the British. They built what Belich calls "modem *pa*" (forts), which featured systems of trenchs and antiartillery bunkers *(rua)* very like those used during World War I. In several battles the Maoris endured and survived artillery barrages of a weight and intensity comparable to those during that modem war, Secondly, the Maoris proved to be expert guerrilla fighters and they produced several brilliant guerrilla leaders, such as Te Kooti and Titokowaru.

Belich rightly calls his book "a revisionist study." He reassesses or reinterprets the significance of numerous people and events. Hone Heke, in the northern war of the 1840s, was not, we learn, trying to overturn the Treaty of Waitangi or to expel the settlers, but to regulate European contact and to preserve Maori local independence. The much-ridiculed General Duncan Cameron turns out to have been an excellent and perceptive commander. Titokowaru, a warrior scarcely mentioned in recent histories, was, we are told, a much more formidable enemy than Te Kooti. At the battle of Te Ngutu o te Manu, he virtually destroyed the government's sole remaining fighting force. Those units who were not defeated either mutinied or went home. Titokowaru had conquered southern Taranaki, but his victory evaporated when his men deserted him, apparently because of his liaison with the wife of another chief.

Dr. Belich takes much pleasure in being revisionist, but it must be said that his remarks are not always quite original. For instance, the importance of Maori *rua* and other earthworks was emphasized in James Cowan's two-volume *The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period* in 1922-1923. Belich stresses the one-sidedness of the evidence available to us, but Cowan knew many of the Maoris who had fought against the British and had heard the Maori oral evidence too.

Sometimes Belich seems to me to set up those he criticizes. For instance, he quotes me as writing that "throughout the wars the Maoris adopted no comprehensive or co-ordinated strategy" (p. 17; from Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* [Harmondsworth, Eng., 19801,133) --which still seems to me to he true in the sense that I intended. They did not, for instance, coordinate attacks on the settlements. And Belich mentions that Te Kooti and Titokowaru did not coordinate their simul-

taneous campaigns. He similarly criticizes Anne Parsonson for writing, "To the grenade, the rifle, and the Armstrong gun, the sap and the redoubt, they had no ultimate answer" (p. 17; from *The Oxford History of New Zealand,* ed. W. H. Oliver and B. R. Williams [Wellington, 19811,158). Surely she was correct.

On occasion Belich concedes that he goes beyond the evidence. For instance, he confesses that, at one crucial point, no one was privy to Titokowaru's thoughts, but claims that "circumstantial evidence indicates overwhelmingly" what his strategic objective was.

In a section on the Victorian interpretation of racial conflict Belich shows that the British consistently exaggerated the numbers of the Maori enemy and of their losses in battle. British victories were exaggerated or even invented. For instance, one Maori *pa* taken by storm with "heavy" Maori casualties was, in fact, almost unoccupied. The British simply could not believe that they could be beaten by a non-European enemy. They believed that the Maoris lacked the higher mental faculties. One writer, an army doctor, wrote that they could produce "not one good example of invention"! Consequently the British simply refused to see or believe that the Maoris had strategic skill and field-engineering innovation. Thus the "dominant interpretation" of the wars had racist overtones.

*The New Zealand Wars* is one of the most impressive books on New Zealand history to appear in thirty years. It is very well written, witty, lucid. It includes excellent pen-portraits of the principal characters, Maori and European. It is an absorbing story and analysis that will have a wide appeal among people who do not habitually read military history.

John Connell, *New Caledonia or Kanaky? The Political History of a French Colony*. Pacific Research Monograph, no. 16. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, The Australian National University, 1987. Pp. 493. A$25.00.

*Reviewed by Alan Clark, University of Canterbuy, Christchurch, New Zealand*

In Paris on 26 June 1988 the broad lines of the institutional and developmental future for New Caledonia were laid down. If what has come to be known as the Matignon Agreement is definitively accepted, the people of New Caledonia will determine its destiny by means of a self-

determination referendum in ten years' time, in 1998. For the first time, such an agreement was signed by delegations representative of all three parties to New Caledonia's future: the French government of Michel Rocard; the Melanesian pro-independence minority alliance, the FLNKS; and the majority, predominantly European party determined to remain French, the RPCR. The prospects for achieving a durable settlement in New Caledonia thus appear unusually positive. Yet the joint declaration that headed the Matignon Agreement began by affirming the central experience of New Caledonian society: "The communities in New Caledonia have suffered too much from several decades of lack of understanding and of violence." It is the history of those "several decades"--from annexation in 1853 to 1986--that John Connell recounts in impressively comprehensive fashion in *New Caledonia or Kanaky? The Political History of a French Colony*.

In so doing Connell renders a double service. Firstly, his work effectively supplies an invaluable, expanded update of the earlier standard reference work by Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *The French Pacific Islands* (University of California Press, 1971). While adopting a somewhat narrower scope than Thompson and Adloff, the first half of Connell's narrative nevertheless offers authoritative coverage of the principal features and developments in New Caledonia's difficult history. From indigenous settlement and European discovery to the emergence of Melanesian nationalism in the late 1960s, the political, demographic, social, and economic dimensions of French colonization are traced firmly and informatively.

Much of the tale is necessarily familiar from having being told else where: the French penal colony, land settlement policies, Melanesian insurrection (in 1878 and 1917 especially), nickel mining, agriculture, Asian and subsequently Polynesian immigration, the Second World War, the rise of the Union calédonienne (UC), and, incessantly, disputes over land. Familiar, but not redundant: Connell's new synthesis springs from detailed knowledge of the burgeoning range of secondary literature in French and English, much of which has been published only during the last decade and a half.

For the most part Connell's exposition is lucid (although concision is not a strong point: the argument too often progresses in a semirepetitive spiral fashion), moderate, and balanced. His occasional recourse to pan-Melanesian relativism is invariably informative, breaking out as it does of the habitual Melanesian/European binary contrasts within New Caledonia to draw parallels with aspects of Melanesian social experience elsewhere in the South Pacific. The account is relatively light on

political developments before 1945. With the exception of some reference to the work of Governor Feillet, no thoroughgoing analysis of colonial administrative policies is attempted. Territorial or French metropolitan policies in the century following annexation tend to be reduced to generalized assertions of their neglect or paucity. The two pages given to education (pp. 166-168) are similarly inadequate, and (to anticipate remarks to come) partial, being slanted towards Melanesian dissatisfaction with a Eurocentric system. Of Caldoche or Polynesian attitudes to that same externally imposed education system nothing is said.

Again, chapters 8 and 9 on the Melanesian economy and land questions are excellent--as far as they go. Connell's deeply informative account is refreshingly frank, open-ended (albeit usually nonquantitative), and directly reflective of Melanesian confusions and contradictions concerning economic activity, in particular regarding participation in the capitalist system (pp. 190-191). These chapters paint an important composite picture of the traditionalist constraints operating --"to a greater extent than in the vast majority of Melanesian environments outside New Caledonia where opportunities have often been fewer" (p. 190)--on modern Melanesian evolution in diverse fields: formal educational attainment, coffee and other cash-crop agricultural production, commerce, employment in the urban setting. His claim that "in every area of economic life in the rural areas of New Caledonia *coutume* retains more validity, if not necessarily being more important, than the dictates of capitalism" contains a distinction vital to the territory's developmental future (p. 186). But non-Melanesian (for example, European or Wallisian) attitudes and experience regarding land and the economy are either assumed or neglected, or allowed only the most conventional of unsubstantiated (and derogatory) generalizations. Thus of the French who migrated to New Caledonia between 1971 and 1976: "These new European migrants, unlike earlier settlers, had come primarily for high incomes, had no intention of making a commitment to New Caledonia and had little time for the local population" (p. 219). This and similar assertions are riddled with moral and social assumptions that, while often plausible, require argument and substantiation.

On a more general level, Connell's account is infused with the double regret that on the one hand Melanesian culture has deteriorated while on the other Melanesian participation in the territory's European economy has been slow and inequitable. The intrinsic incompatibility--if not outright contradiction--that this position involves is nowhere questioned. Such reservations should not be taken to detract substantially from the value of the account. The first half of *New Caledonia or*

*Kanaky?* offers the fullest, most representative, and informative account of New Caledonian history currently available in English or in French. It is an account that will doubtless serve for some years ahead as the indispensable initial source book for students of New Caledonia. A substantial analytical index would have greatly enhanced the book's usefulness in this regard.

The books declared intention is "to elucidate the events of the past few years in the context of the social, economic and political history of New Caledonia" (p. xiii). In consequence, having established the historical context, Connell devotes the books second half to "elucidating" the evolution over the last twenty years of Melanesian nationalism in New Caledonia, from the UC to the FLNKS, "the strongest independence movement that has ever existed in the South Pacific" (p. 445). The outcome is the most exhaustive account available of modern New Caledonian politics. The results of the most important elections (from 1950 to 1985) are presented in commendable detail, in both tabular and textual form. The origins, policies, and tactics of the territory's abundant political parties--parties often both ephemeral and minuscule--are thoroughly recorded (although the painfully microscopic scale of reproduction of a chart showing the evolution of the parties between 1950 and 1985 is unfortunate [p. 271]). Used in conjunction with the generous bibliography (pp. 465-493), this account will surely prove to be of durable reference value.

At the same time this second half of *New Caledonia or Kanaky?* functions more successfully as an account of, rather than as accounting for, modem Caledonian politics. When the linear chronological, events- and institutions-based approach makes way for evaluation and assessment the presentation often becomes more partisan, and consequently less persuasive. In part this may be seen as the combined product of the lack of historical perspective with the inherent difficulty of maintaining intellectual detachment in an intensely contentious domain. Connell makes much the same point in his preface, admitting, "This account is certainly not wholly academic" (p. xv).

However, to the inherent difficulties of the undertaking have been added methodological, stylistic, and conceptual shortcomings that must remain the author's responsibility. The complex political developments of recent years are too frequently not clearly dated: it is for example impossible to be sure from Connell's account of even the month in which important 1983 France-Caledonian round-table discussions took place at Nainville-les-Roches (pp. 309-310). Precise dating of the many incidents of violence in the 1980s is similarly often lacking. The confu-

sion is compounded by an unwarranted reliance on slack sources: leaving aside the question of their intrinsic reliability, to quote what *Pacific Islands Monthly* claimed the French newsweekly *Le Point* had to say seems a doubtful and unnecessarily oblique procedure to adopt (p. 319). Generally speaking the serious daily and periodical press of metropolitan France is heavily underrepresented. Detailed as Connell's account is, it has its gaps: there is for instance no mention of the Fabius/Lemoine proposals generated in Paris in the critical days between the disruption by the FLNKS of the 1984 Territorial Assembly elections and the appointment (on 1 December 1984) of Edgar Pisani as special government delegate to New Caledonia.

Stylistically too the account frequently irritates and distracts. Sentences such as "Collectively the department and territories are administered by the DOM-TOMS" (p. 381) and "[South Pacific colonies'] possible future strategic significance became insignificant" (p. 378) are perhaps no worse than uninformative and ungainly. "Already historically divided by geography and language, European contact brought new divisions of religion, language and culture" is a classic example of ruptured grammar (p. 414). Emotive overwriting and partisan journalese are more serious since they attempt to foster conviction in the absence of more dispassionate argument. Thus: "past history" (p. 426); "the historic indigenous population" (p. 411); the costs of France's strategic nuclear defense policy are referred to as "the costs of the nuclear warfare [program]" (p. 407); the pressure on an independent Kanaky to modernize and develop is described as "insidious" (p. 405); the "Thio picnic" organized in February 1985 by elements of the New Caledonian extreme Right is "notorious" (p. 347); the RPCR mayor of Nouméa, Roger Laroque, is referred to as "outspoken" when in the same context the FLNKS leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou is not, in spite of his having "made passing reference to the use [by the FLNKS] of force" (p. 308). Connell's pro-Kanak, anticolonialist presentational slant is insistent; this list of illustrations is far from being an exhaustive one.

The broad conceptual model that underlies most of the discussion is the well-worn binary one of authentic indigenous nationalism versus illegitimate immigrant colonialism. Up to the fertile final two chapters that transcend it, this model imposes certain constraints. It leads Connell for example to pay minimal attention to French metropolitan perspectives (other than those of hard-headed economic or strategic interest), and in particular consistently to underestimate democratic constitutional considerations that have prevented France from decolonizing New Caledonia as expeditiously as it might otherwise have done.

The communiqué published after the 1983 talks at Nainville-les-Roches was interpreted and exploited by the FLNKS in a truncated form. The communiqué certainly affirmed that the Melanesians as first occupants of New Caledonia had an "innate and active right to independence." No subsequent French government, liberal-conservative or socialist, has revoked that right. But the communiqué went on to state that the Melanesians' right must be exercised "within the framework of the self-determination provided for and defined by the Constitution of the French Republic, self-determination open equally for historic reasons to other ethnic groups whose legitimacy is recognized by the representatives of the Kanak people" (pp. 307-308). Connell quotes all of this essential text, but then effectively adopts without question the selective interpretation placed on it by the FLNKS. Yet it might well be argued that it has been the repeatedly demonstrated determination of the FLNKS since 1984 to flout both constitutional procedures and democratic elections that has allowed successive Paris administrations to rely on the bedrock principle that none of them are able to flout: namely, no electoral majority, no self-determined independence. Interpreted in very different political lights, that principle lay behind the self-determination referendum of September 1987; it remains the driving force of the 1988 Matignon Agreement. Seen in this constitutional perspective, France's "opposition to decolonization" appears to be more coherent and consistent than merely--and emotively--"intransigent" (p. 402). The consequences in the last two years of the overthrow of constitutional democracy by the Melanesian minority in Fiji have not diminished that coherence.

The final two chapters are among the best in the book. In them Connell examines, speculatively but with wide-ranging and sober lucidity, the prospects for New Caledonia, and in particular for the future shape of the territory's economy. He concludes that a viable form of Kanak independence in balanced material self-reliance is most unlikely to be achieved. Neocolonialist dependency looms, probably within the French sphere of interest. The essential differences from the present situation may be difficult to detect. "There are good reasons to be extremely cautious about predictions of imminent, or even eventual, independence in New Caledonia," he concludes (p. 441).

To be a moral supporter of a nationalist movement that today has little and diminishing chance of realizing its political objectives is a difficult and contradictory undertaking. In *New Caledonia or Kanaky?* John Connell manages that undertaking with authority and energy. "This account will please few," Connell writes in his preface (p. xv).

"Wholly academic" or not, books aren't as simple as that. His "account" of New Caledonia is as authoritatively enlightening and as provocatively stimulating as any yet published.

Michael T. Skully, *Financial Institutions and Markets in the South Pacific.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987. Pp. xvi, 379. US$45.00.

*Reviewed by Te'o I. J. Fairbairn, East-West Center, Honolulu*

The financial sectors of Pacific island countries have grown rapidly in recent years and many, notably the larger countries, now have well-developed and relatively diversified financial institutions and services. Yet up-to-date information on existing financial structures and their evolution has been sparse, restricted largely to what is available from formal development planning documents, official statements, and the occasional academic analysis. This book, which is the fourth in a series on Asia-Pacific finance markets prepared by Mr. Skully, goes a long way in filling the existing gap.

Skully examines the range of finance institutions and markets operating in five Pacific island countries--New Caledonia, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa. (Papua New Guinea and Fiji were included in an earlier study.) Why these countries were selected is not clear but, doubtless, it is due to the fact that their financial sectors are relatively diversified and, hence, interesting analytically. Additionally, the financial sectors of these countries reveal many contrasting features that allow useful comparisons. The differences are particularly evident between New Caledonia and the other countries--a difference that largely reflects New Caledonia's dependent political status and in some degree heavy reliance on a mineral product.

Each country study follows a similar format. First, there is an introduction to the country and its financial sector, followed by an examination of the development and operation of financial institutions as well as local money and foreign-exchange markets. An analysis of financial institutions is then undertaken, ending with a "speculative" section on future development. The core component--and one that takes up most of the discussion--is concerned with financial institutions and market arrangements.

For each country, the discussion focuses on the leading financial institutions such as central bank authorities, commercial and development banks, and other official agencies including pension-fund schemes.

Considerable information is provided on these institutional facilities, including statistical data on the value of assets and liabilities, funding, and staff. The presentation is most valuable in providing detailed information that, so far as I am aware, has not been uncovered elsewhere.

Other financial arrangements are discussed in somewhat less detail and include: general insurance, life insurance, credit unions, cooperative societies, offshore financial centers (where they exist), and several other facilities, some of which are unique to an individual country. Also examined in less detail are financial market facilities; these are shown to be relatively undeveloped among the five countries and relate mainly to foreign-exchange dealings and interbank lending.

The study shows that all five countries have achieved a fair measure of diversification in their financial structures. All have in place a central monetary authority of some description, at least one commercial bank, and a development bank. These facilities are complemented by a varied array of nonbank financial intermediaries including general and life insurance institutions, finance companies, cooperative savings and lending groups, credit unions, and related arrangements. Several countries have established international finance facilities, of which those in Vanuatu are the best known.

An intercountry comparison reveals that the main difference in the financial structures of the countries under review lies in the nonbank sphere. Regarding this sphere, it is somewhat surprising to find that New Caledonia--the largest of the group--is the least diversified. Conspicuously absent are cooperative financial arrangements, credit unions, commodity marketing agencies, and national housing authorities--nearly all of which are found in each of the other four countries. It is not clear what conclusions can be drawn from this characteristic of New Caledonia's nonbank sector, but one suspects that it reflects a failure to encourage a more broad-based participation in the territory's financial sector.

New Caledonia's case illustrates the importance of political factors in the development process. According to Skully, uncertainty over the future political status of the territory has weakened the motive to invest in the local economy with the result that the commercial banks find themselves persistently facing "an inadequate supply of lending proposals" (p. 56). The fact thatsurplus funds tend to be invested in Paris money markets means, therefore, that the territory's banking system is playing a less effective role than it could in promoting economic development.

Skully's detailed treatment of Vanuatu's offshore international fi-

nance center (IFC) is particularly valuable. Although it was established by the British administration in 1970 when Vanuatu was still a colony, it remains Vanuatu's "best known but least understood" financial facility (p. 251). It may be a surprise to some of us to learn that Vanuatu's IFC is both more complex and more substantial than might be expected. As many as seven different institutional arrangements can be distinguished: trusts, exempt corporations, shipping registration, exempt banks, exempt insurance, trust companies, and investment companies.

Many of the above institutional groups operate under highly complex legal arrangements. And as for their business dealings, the mind boggles at the scale of financial resources associated with some of these institutions. For example, the value of assets of the 640-odd companies registered under the IFC is an estimated US$5 billion (p. 253), while the turnover of exempt banks is assessed at US$50 million per day. For the average Pacific islander such amounts seem almost beyond comprehension.

In his appraisal of the financial institutions and markets of the five countries, Skully points to several major weaknesses. One that appears to be common to these countries is the relative neglect of the rural sectors on the part of the commercial banks. The urban bias is strong and it is not uncommon to find rural communities that are entirely untouched by the banking system, usually leaving them dependent only on the financial services provided by a local government representative or a post office agent or both. Many such communities are large enough to justify bank servicing of one kind or another; commercial banks need to be more creative in such circumstances.

Another major problem is the low rate of commercial bank lending to indigenous populations. For example, in the Solomon Islands, commercial bank lending to indigenous groups amounts to a low 10 percent (in 1983) of their total lending activities (p. 78). One reason for this is the relatively small size of the average loan, but one wonders how much this outcome again reflects the urban, and possibly big business and expatriate, bias of existing commercial bank structures.

Other common problems of major importance highlighted by Skully are a failure to establish an adequate national network of saving facilities to encourage personal savings and to accelerate training so as to reduce the dependence on expatriate executives. Also notable are inadequacies in interest rate policies; for example, the common practice of maintaining interest rates on saving deposits at levels significantly below the inflation rate.

All in all, the study succeeds admirably in achieving its essential aims

and, in style of presentation, is lucid and easy to read. Any deficiencies are therefore merely minor blotches that do not detract from the value of the work.

Certainly, Skully's observations on some of the policy implications of his findings are revealing, but arguably could have been carried further. One area that could have been treated in greater depth is the relationship between the leading financial institutions and government monetary and fiscal policy formation. Major questions arise, for example, on the role of the banking system in influencing the money supply, the rate of investment (via its lending activities), and, ultimately, the balance of payments and aggregate level of economic activity. A more detailed evaluation of the various techniques and measures that government can bring to bear on the financial system as means of implementing official financial policy would also have been useful.

Skully refers to Western Samoa's "well-developed" informal financial market, particularly in rural areas, which includes "family and relatives, friends, rotating co-operatives, traders and money lenders" (p. 296). However, apart from this information, no attempt is made to elaborate on the nature and significance of such a market. Nor is there an indication of whether it thrives in other countries under review. Since informal markets appear to be important segments of the financial sector of many Pacific island countries, its virtual omission from the study gives a somewhat incomplete picture of the overall financial situation.

Certain statements and definitions are somewhat lacking in accuracy. In relation to Western Samoa, which this reviewer knows best, it is not correct to describe a *matai* as a "traditional ruler" (p. 192)--"traditional chief" would do. It is stated on the same page that Western Samoa's head, of state is elected from among four paramount chiefs; to be true this assertion has to be qualified by the condition that "so long as the paramount chief was, at the time, a member of the Council of Deputies." A statement is made on cocoa growing in Western Samoa, suggesting that it is a new cash crop (p. 291); in fact cocoa has been grown commercially in that country for decades. Perhaps a closer familiarity with Western Samoa would have averted these ambiguities.

The odd spelling error has been allowed to slip through. The word "sense" should read "*sene*" (the Samoan counterpart of a cent; p. 330); "secretary" should read "secrecy" (p. 256); and "Sturt" (Inder--our legendary man-about-the-Pacific) should be "Stuart" (p. 60).

Finally, one feels that an additional chapter could have been useful in synthesizing the results. Such a final chapter would highlight the lessons

from the collective experience, identify major themes, and, in general, tie up any loose ends. However, as it stands, the study is a strong one and another feather in Skully's cap. As a basic reference, the book will have considerable value to researchers, businesspersons, and others with an interest in the financial and development experience of the Pacific islands.

Iwao Ushijima and Ken-ichi Sudo, eds., *Cultural Uniformity and Diversity in Micronesia.* Senri Ethnological Studies, no. 21. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1987. Pp. 423, maps, figures, photographs, biographical notes. ¥4300.

*Reviewed by William H. Alkire, University of Victoria, Victoria, B. C., Canada*

Since 1978 the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka has periodically published the results of Japanese ethnological research in its Senri Ethnological Studies series. Two of the twenty-one volumes that have appeared deal with Micronesia (the one under review and no. 17, published in 1984), and they clearly demonstrate that Japanese ethnologists have resumed an active program of field research in this area of the Pacific.

*Cultural Uniformity and Diversity in Micronesia* contains, in English, fourteen articles based on recent Micronesian research, an introductory chapter summarizing and categorizing the contributions, and a concluding historical essay providing an overview of Japanese ethnological work in Micronesia from 1884 to 1986. The volume somewhat unexpectedly (given its title) also contains one additional article on Samoa. The editors have grouped the substantive contributions within six sections, labeled chapters.

Chapter 1 includes four essays on Micronesian culture history--two based on archaeology and two dealing with linguistics. The common theme of the archaeological essays concerns prehistoric linkages between eastern Polynesia and Micronesia. In the first, Eikichi Ishikawa (in part, utilizing archaeological data) identifies two subsistence "complexes" in Oceania, one based on breadfruit cultivation and preservation and the other on taro production. His "breadfruit complex" is distributed throughout Micronesia and Polynesia, but absent in Melanesia. This leads him to look again at a "northern migration route" theory for the settlement of Polynesia by way of Micronesia, a thesis first proposed

by Peter Buck in *Vikings of the Sunrise* (New York, 1938, 42-51). In recent years that theory has been largely abandoned because of contrary "Melanesian oriented" linguistic evidence. In the second archaeological essay, Jun Takayama and Hiroaki Takasugi see close links between Micronesia and eastern Polynesia, based on similarities in fishing lures. These writers, however, imply the ties are temporally shallow.

The two linguistic articles are something of a study in contrasting methodologies. Osamu Sakiyama reaches a number of sweeping conclusions concerning what he calls a "secondary regional protolanguage" based on evidence of similarities in a rather restricted word list. On the basis of his evidence he concludes that the Micronesian worldview, which in early times was "open and wide-ranging," became more limited and closed, thereby reflecting decreased interisland sailing patterns. This conclusion, although interesting and provocative, might be questioned given the limited evidence presented in its support. By way of contrast, Hiroshi Sugita's comparison of aspectual systems of Trukese, Ponapean, and Woleaian is meticulous in its scholarship and reserved in its generalizing conclusions.

The book's second chapter includes two essays concerning "structural flexibility in matrilineal societies." The first, by Ken-ichi Sudo, discusses nurturing practices on Satawal, pointing out that a father and his matrilineal descent group play an important role in the nurturing of his child until that individual reaches adulthood, when responsibilities shift to the child's mother's brother. This conclusion offers further evidence for a degree of reciprocity between matrilineal groups via patrilateral connections in the Carolines. Sudo sees relevance between his conclusions and Mabuchi's hypotheses concerning contrasting "Indonesian and Oceanian" structural types in Oceania. In the next essay, Toshimitsu Kawai considers "paternal nurturing" on Truk, linking it to issues of cross-sibling solidarity, a topic much discussed in recent Oceanic literature (for example, Mac Marshall, ed., *Siblingship in Oceania* [Honolulu, 1981]).

Two of the essays in chapter 3 (entitled "Socio-Cultural Aspects of Chieftainship") deal with Micronesia. The third is the aforementioned article by Matori Yamamoto on Western Samoa. Akitoshi Shimizu provides a most comprehensive analysis of the various actors, relationships, and phases associated with Ponapean feasts. He emphasizes that feasts both parallel and integrate a variety of social and political activities on that island. Iwao Ushijima, in his essay, is concerned with the dynamics of Yapese political structure. On Yap a chiefs authority derives from the

land he "speaks for" and is exercised via shifting communication networks. He proposes that the frequent traditional wars reported on Yap altered such communication networks and resulted in reorganized alliances.

"Folk Knowledge on Coral Islands" is the somewhat ambiguous label that links the four essays of chapter 4. In the first, Shuzo Ishimori examines the symbolic meaning of song styles on Satawal and finds they can be classified according to a trichotomy labeled "sacred, profane, or play." Tomoya Akimichi, in his essay, finds that the food classes of Satawal can also be expressed as a tripartite scheme, that is, vegetable staples, marine animal protein, and coconuts. Shigenobu Sugito turns his attention to house construction and architectural knowledge on Elato. As well as a typology of buildings and a description of construction methods, he emphasizes the restricted nature of much specialized knowledge in traditional times within this society. The final article of the chapter examines the symbolic meanings of a Ulithian folktale, classified by Kazuhiko Komatsu as of the *vagina dentata* type. Komatsu postulates morphological similarities between this tale and the *yamauba* (great mother) tales of Japan. This parallel leads him to make reference to both Jungian and symbolic anthropological interpretations.

Chapter 5 contains two articles on the role of Christianity in Micronesian acculturation. In the first Machiko Aoyagi discusses the Modekngei religion of Belau (Palau), a regionally well-known revitalization cult. She details how the cult "drove out" some local spirits but incorporated others along with Christian elements. Kazuyoshi Nakayama's paper is a historical study of the spread of Christianity on Ponape from its introduction in 1852. He notes that missionary success in part followed from their understanding of the traditional political structure, an understanding that facilitated the "grafting" of the new to the old. Apparently it was a process where neither traditional chiefs nor traditional clan gods were displaced.

The final chapter of the book reviews the contribution Japanese anthropologists have made to our knowledge of Micronesia. Their familiarity with the region began with a visit by Tsuenori Suzuki to the Marshalls in 1884, peaked during the prewar period with the research of Ken-ichi Sugiura on Palau and Ponape between 1937 and 1941, and slowly reemerged following the war with the work of the authors represented in this volume.

Overall, I believe this volume makes a significant contribution to the anthropological literature on Micronesia not only through the substan-

tive content of its individual essays, but in two other ways as well. First, it apprises the non-Japanese-reading anthropological community of the important and wide-ranging interests of their Japanese colleagues. This sample of their work should stimulate greater interest in and awareness of their contributions. Second, it is valuable to note that the orientation and conclusions found in many of these essays are strikingly parallel to many of those utilized and reached in the English-language literature. Specifically, I cite the central conclusions of the volume (as summarized in pages 1-6) on such issues as matrilineality, cross-sibling sets, and specialized or technical knowledge. Although several of the individual authors list the English-language work in their bibliographies, few actually cite that work in the course of their analyses. It is difficult to judge, therefore, how many of their conclusions were influenced by or derivative of those earlier ones. The editors, however, appear to credit the volume's authors with a degree of originality (for example, pp. 2-3), that a comprehensive review of the extant literature might question. If "independent invention" rather than "diffusion" accounts for such similarities it speaks well of contemporary anthropological field methods and analysis.

Finally, one should note that the volume is an attractive one with numerous line drawings, charts, tables, maps, and illustrations that significantly contribute to ease of reading and comprehension. Only a small number of the essays are marred by lapses in proofreading that allowed typographical, spelling, and grammatical errors (and a few malapropisms) to slip through. Only the volume's introduction is significantly flawed in this regard.

Tsuguyoshi Suzuki and Ryutaro Ohtsuka, eds., *Human Ecology of Health and Survival in Asia and the South Pacific.* Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1987; distributed by Columbia University Press. Pp. 226. US$24.50 paper.

*Reviewed by Jim Bindon, University of Alabama*

This volume contains the proceedings of the International Symposium on the Comparative Human Ecology of Health and Survival Strategy in Asia and the South Pacific held in Tokyo in March 1986. Suzuki states in the preface that one of the principal aims of the symposium was to establish the validity of human ecology as an academic discipline within Japan. Toward that end researchers from a number of disciplines were

brought together to share their work. The papers focus on various aspects of health, broadly defined, in several Asian countries, Indonesia, and Melanesia.

In the introduction, Suzuki recounts the history of human ecology in Japan from the founding of the department within the School of Health Sciences at the University of Tokyo in 1965. In this section he explains how human ecology came to be a population-focused study of health within the field of public health. He then takes up three key concepts within human ecology: the demarcation of human populations, the relationship of health and ecosystem, and population survival.

Population boundaries are emphasized by Suzuki, and by several other authors, but no clear definition of population is achieved, and the concept of population is used to variously describe residents of a single village, groups of villages, multiethnic settlements on large islands, nations, and groups of nations. Since population is singled out as a key concept by the editors, I would have expected more uniformity, or at least comments about the different uses of the term. The question of population boundaries is one that has perplexed physical anthropologists for many decades. Models of population structure have been developed to facilitate the study of demographic genetics (Jorde 1980; Relethford 1985; Mascie-Taylor, Lasker, and Boyce 1987) and these generally focus on the lack of isolation of groups. To suggest that population can be treated as a static entity is misleading, since even in the case of relatively remote island populations migration plays an important role. I would suggest that more work needs to be done on the concept of population by these human ecologists.

A second key notion is the health of a population with regard to the ecosystem. The human ecologists in this volume use the term “health” in the same way that the concept of fitness is used by anthropologists specializing in human adaptation, and they fall into some of the same traps (see Baker 1984; Lasker 1969; Mazess 1975). Health is viewed as influencing the survival of populations--therefore it operates through the agencies of fertility and mortality. However, some of the authors interpret health in the Western biomedical sense, and discuss various disease states under this heading, without reference to the ecological connotations of health. Again, nowhere do the editors comment on this duality of definition and it does not seem that all of the authors are aware of the different usages of the concept of health.

The final key concept within human ecology is that of population survival strategies. Suzuki argues that perceptions of the future shape decisions about such things as retaining a traditional life-style or adopting

modem ways. This is clearly an unusual view, and it comes about as the result of a very skewed set of data. These statements are based on observations of a limited series of circumstances, especially relating to migration--a survival strategy that has frequently been volitional in the recent history of man. In addition to migration, survival strategies also include diet, subsistence activity, and economic behavior. If you are beginning to get the feeling that human ecology is an extremely general discipline you are correct--at least with regard to this collection.

The editors have divided the body of the text into two sections: (1) six chapters labeled survival of human populations and (2) seven chapters categorized as health and survival in transition. It is not clear why this division has been made, since most chapters in both sections deal with populations that are experiencing some degree of development. There is no attempt to link chapters together, and since each chapter has its own references section, the volume has the ambience of a journal. Since there is little continuity, a comprehensive review would have to examine each chapter. To avoid the tedium that such an approach would entail, I have chosen four selections to review, with an eye toward Oceanic populations. Three of the chapters deal with Melanesians, and the fourth is an interesting presentation on Indonesians in the Banda Arc.

Coeditor Ohtsuka reports on his research among Gidra-speaking villages on the Oriomo Plateau of Papua New Guinea. He has been working with the Gidra speakers since the early 1970s and has compiled a variety of demographic and nutritional measurements on thirteen villages. In this chapter, Ohtsuka is primarily concerned with demographic adaptive mechanisms used by the Gidra. He emphasizes inter-village heterogeneity in terms of both dietary and demographic strategies. Prior to World War II the inland villages were the best habitats due to the availability of game such as the wallaby and the low levels of malaria. After the war, the Gidra began to come into much greater contact with the outside world, with ensuing change of diet, decrease in infant mortality, and out-migration. Ohtsuka provides a clear discussion of the results of these changes. While almost all of the findings presented here have been published previously, this is a useful synthesis and summary of his work on the Gidra.

Takeo Funabiki writes about production and consumption in Malekula, Vanuatu. This chapter provides a description of the interaction of life cycle changes with production and consumption among the tiny group of Mbotgote families (total population is eighty-one) who live in the inland forests of Malekula. There are interesting changes in both the subsistence activities and dietary habits throughout the lifetime of a

Mbotgote man or woman. However, this chapter would greatly benefit by some theoretical grounding or reference to comparative works. As it is, this anecdote contributes interesting details about Mbotgote foodways, but the reader is left on his or her own to provide context.

Andrew Strathern has written about changes in health status as a result of outside contact among residents of the Western Highlands Province (WHP) in Papua New Guinea. He begins by briefly summarizing his other publications on traditional and introduced medical practices in the area, stressing the disruption of both medicines and ritual practices. He then discusses the influences of development on diet and health. His position is very clear: development is bad. Presenting no dietary data at all, he concludes that development has produced nutritional stress on the population. He cautions against believing without cause that development brings improved nutrition, but he falls into the complementary trap of arguing against dietary change without having the facts necessary for such a judgment. In the section on health, incomplete hospital statistics lead him to further arguments about the negative side of development. He discusses the relative incidence of falciparum and vivax malaria, without having the appropriate data for the calculation of incidence statistics--in particular, there is no total population to provide a denominator, and there is no indication of how new cases were distinguished from previously diagnosed ones. To be sure, development has introduced health problems into the WHP, but the evidence presented here is anecdotal while giving the appearance of being quantitative. Diabetes is discussed twice, but there is no documentation that there is *any* diabetes present in the area. While the evidence for development with caution and education probably exists in the WHP, it has not been clearly presented in this chapter.

Perhaps the best chapter in the volume is the carefully presented argument by R. F. Ellen about the long-term influence of environmental perturbations on an interisland trade network in the Banda Arc of Indonesia. He considers a wide variety of both man-made and natural environmental alterations such as seismic activity, seasonality, introduction of new organisms, pollution, deforestation, and others. Ellen demonstrates that for an assortment of reasons the central areas of the Banda network have continued to be important nexuses through centuries of environmental upheaval.

This collection of articles probably worked well as a symposium because there was time and opportunity for discussion of the extremely diverse approaches to human ecology. It fails as a book because that discussion has been stripped from the text and the editors do not provide

any commentary or transition from one isolated paper to the next, While the developments within human ecology in Japan continue to be interesting and innovative, this volume does not live up to expectations.

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*Reviewed by Terence E. Hays, Rhode Island College*

Lajos Biró, Hungarian naturalist and ethnographer, spent six years (1896-1902) in the Madang area at a critical time in the history of German New Guinea. He traveled widely and made huge collections of artifacts; his "catalogues" of these (Biró 1899, 1901) were, until now, the only written product of these sojourns generally available to the scholarly community, But a virtual treasure trove of diaries, photographs, and other publications (in Hungarian) have survived and we are all indebted to Vargyas for bringing some of these to light and our attention.

In his foreword, Tibor Bodrogi introduces this new Occasional Papers series as a venue for publication of materials, such as field notes and genealogies, "usually left out of other journals and periodicals" (p. 8). A selection of Biró's writings and photographs has been chosen by Vargyas "to illustrate an epoch in the colonial history of Papua New Guinea" (p. 8), and this they do magnificently.

Though he was not formally affiliated with the Neu Guinea Compagnie or the government, Biró's long-term residence at Friedrich-Wilhelmshafen and his participation in the European community there gave him intimate knowledge of the colonial bureaucracy on a day-to-day basis. Vargyas provides long excerpts (in English) from Biró's Hungarian writings that are invaluable in their detailed and candid portrayals of company and government employees, club and social life, domestic servants, and Chinese and Malay workers on the German tobacco plantations.

Of special interest is a section on "Papuan Wives and European Husbands" (pp. 41-53), consisting of translated extracts from a series of articles Biró published in a Hungarian periodical in 1923. Following the advice of his Neu Guinea Compagnie associates, who were required to be unmarried but established "marriages of convenience," Biró himself took *three* "wives" in the region. His affectionate descriptions (and photographs) of them and of his negotiations with their relatives are fascinating and perhaps unique in the literature.

Also of extraordinary value is Biró's previously unpublished account of a punitive expedition that he accompanied to the Bismarck Archipelago. The photographs of Vitu village before and after shelling by a German man-of-war, as well as of "prisoners-of-war," are both poignant and priceless historical documents. Biró also describes other European lashes with native populations, including incidents that have been conspicuously missing" from published accounts such as those concerning the Lauterbach expedition of 1896 (p. 71).

Vargyas has reproduced here sixty-nine photographs from the large Biró collection of glass negatives in the Archives of the Ethnographical Museum. The contrast is poor in some of these, but all provide superb documentation to accompany the text, and many have detailed captions written by Biró himself.

It is obvious from the samples provided in this slim volume that Biró's writings and collections would repay detailed study by any scholar concerned with the colonial period in Papua New Guinea. The Ethnographical Institute and Vargyas are to be congratulated on such an auspicious beginning for this new series.

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Louise Lincoln, *Assemblage of Spirits: Idea and Image in New Ireland,* With essays by Tibor Bodrogi, Brenda Clay, Michael Gunn, Dieter Heintze, Louise Lincoln, and Roy Wagner. New York: George Braziller, in association with The Minneapolis Institute of Art, 1987, Pp. 168, 45 figures (20 b/w, 25 color), 49 color plates. Paperbound, US$17.95 (plus $2.50 postage and handling U.S., $10.00 overseas, from: Museum Shop, The Minneapolis Institute of Art, *2400* Third Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn. 55404).

*Reviewed by Phillip Lewis, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago*

This work is a catalogue published in conjunction with the exhibition "An Assemblage of Spirits: Idea and Image in New Ireland," which opened at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts in October 1987, and has traveled to the Brooklyn Museum; the Kimbell Museum, Fort Worth; and the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.

The format and contents of the catalogue illustrate problems in the study of New Ireland art, which are rooted in the nature of the area's art, culture, and society, and in ways in which anthropologists have attempted to study them. New Ireland is typically Melanesian, being comprised of many groups differing linguistically and culturally. There is disagreement about how many language groups are found on New Ireland, from twelve to seventeen. The linguistic variation leads to problems in the names of *malanggans,* and masks, of the various ceremonies. Melanesian Pidgin English leads to additional confusion. Is the word *tatanua* Pidgin, or a generic Melanesian name? In the Notsi area, this reviewer was told that the Notsi word for *tatanua was nit titili.* The word *nit,* he was also told, meant "mask" (thus *nit kulegula,* the name given to a complicated large ceremonial mask, apparently parallel in usage to the *murua* masks in the Nelik linguistic area). And *wanis* (often mentioned in the exhibition and catalogue) could conceivably be a variation on the word *nit* and mean, generically, "masks."

Can this kind of confusion be clarified? Probably not until sophisticated linguistic research is done (a kind of research perhaps still possible to pursue, even among acculturated New Irelanders). A further step could be to attempt to get beyond the bewildering profusion of reported names armed with good linguistic formulations.

Another confusing factor in understanding New Ireland cultures and societies stems from the differing kinds of anthropology pursued in the area from German colonial times to recent times, especially when considering the earlier (mostly German) *ethnological* approaches, compared to later (Australian and American) *social anthropological* methodologies. Differing styles of anthropological study have often been noncomparable, and very difficult to link in historical sequences.

In spite of these difficulties, the catalogue--comprised of essays by writers of widely differing theoretical and methodological orientations --comes across well, in the sense that the various authors display commendable caution and confine their reports to what they have seen in the areas in which they have worked. However, the other side of this is that the catalogue does not present a comprehensive overview of New Ireland art, but instead explores a number of aspects of the art.

Lincoln's introduction (pp. 13-16) delimits the northern *malanggan* area from areas of other art styles on New Ireland, the central *uli* (hermaphroditic ancestor figure) area and the southern chalk figure area, also saying that all the pieces in the exhibition are, in one way or another, related to the *malanggan* practices of the north. Several of her interpretations, however, are speculative and not proven in the literature. These are: (1) the linking of birds, snakes, and fish with cosmic references to earth, air, and sea; (2) that an image of a bird and snake struggling suggests transition or mediation between the two forms; and (3) the transformation, reversal, and ambiguity of fish with broad lateral fins interpreted as a bird with fishlike head, and the inversion of an image of a bird holding a human head in its mouth as an inverted variant of a man holding a bird's head (as a mouth dance-ornament).

Bodrogi's essay, "New Ireland Art in Cultural Context" (pp. 17-32), shows command of the German literature. He died in 1986, and the catalogue is dedicated to his memory. Bodrogi mentions the various studies done in the area and says,

> Because this work was done in various areas, at various times, and in different ways, it is doubtful whether cultural patterns can be established within a given area. Any analysis of the art . . . remains necessarily incomplete. It is clear, how-

> ever, that the complex of rites carried out at the time of death are central to the social and aesthetic life of the community.
>
> (Pp. 17-18)

Bodrogi lists various kinds of *malanggan* sculpture: fishes, poles, friezes, animal representations, masks, ritual ornaments. By doing this he follows the German literature in listing *as malanggans* those objects made in *malanggan* style, such as masks and ritual ornaments, although these are not, strictly speaking, *malanggans.* This reviewer would reserve the term for the images displayed in the *malanggan* ceremonies, in display houses.

Lincoln's essay, "Art and Money in New Ireland: History, Economy, and Cultural Production" (pp. 33-41), includes an excellent historical sketch of early contacts between Europeans and New Irelanders, including the statement that "trade goods such as metal and cloth could not have been uncommon in certain coastal areas of New Ireland by the middle of the nineteenth century" (p. 35). This statement could help dispel the idea that there were "stone-carved" artifacts, especially since most New Ireland art was collected in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century when metal tools were widely used.

Heintze's essay, "On Trying to Understand Some Malagans" (pp. 42-55), is excellent reporting of yet another variant of the New Ireland *malanggan* culture as seen from the vicinity of Fesoa. He has much to say about "families" of *malanggans,* that is, hierarchies of named *malanggans,* with attendant stories.

Heintze suggests the possibility that, as early as 1900, objects were made for sale to satisfy the demands of the European art market.

Heintze ends his essay on a note of caution:

> I have deliberately refrained from more speculative considerations. For several decades far-reaching historical questions have dominated the study of malagan art without producing more than a few (admittedly interesting) hints. Though it is tempting to consider some formal characteristics, such as the subtle play of symmetries or the ingenuity of the malagan "ars combinatoria," an ordering of motifs by their iconographic function can never be done in an *a priori* manner. This fact demonstrates the limits of all secondary studies. (P. 53)

Wagner's essay, "Figure-Ground Reversal among the Barok" (pp. 56-62), presents a different approach to New Ireland art. While everyone

else struggles with problems of context and meaning of the art objects found in museums, Wagner treats us to a discussion of meaning and context *outside* the art, that is, certain ways of thinking and conceptualization among the Barok. He does describe the ceremony of the *kaba* tree, the root-table or "*wurzel-tisch*" mentioned in Krämer.

Clay's essay, "A Line of *Tatanua*" (pp. 63-73), is an excellent description of *tatanua* masking in social context. From this reviewer's observation of museum collections from New Ireland, *tatanua* masks are the most represented item by far. There are many more *tatunua* masks from New Ireland in world collections than any other kind of mask from the area.

Gunn's essay, "The Transfer of Malagan Ownership on Tabar" (pp. 74-83), is a discussion of part of the social context of *malanggan* in what is the most fully functioning system of *malanggans* left in New Ireland. None of the other writers, and I must include myself also, have seen *malanggans* being made and used in such profusion as in the Tabar Islands. Gunn says:

> Tabar is often mentioned as the place of origin of the malagan, and indeed the islands are a strong reservoir of malagan ceremonial life. The rights to at least twenty-one major traditions are held by more than one hundred malagan-owning matrilineal kin groupings on Tabar. The sculptural output in the past has been tremendous, particularly during the period between 1880 and 1920, when examples of Tabar malagan art reached major museum collections throughout the world. A far greater proportion of Tabar artworks must have remained on Tabar, for a large number of malagan items are burned after the ceremony to forestall their use in sorcery. Many more items were placed with the dead in caves above the sea, to rot mingling with the corpse. (P. 74)

I have argued that the Tabar Islands are not necessarily the origin place of *malanggan* activities due to their isolation from the mainland. I can further argue that there may be a renascence of interest in *malanggan* in New Ireland in general, but in the Tabar Islands it started on a richer base and has thus multiplied to greater heights.

In Gunn's list of the uses and functions of *malanggan* on Tabar, he lists seven different forms of obligations the patron must meet, ranging from the usually mentioned memorial rites to other usages such as validating land-use transactions, reactivating graveyards, establishing new

subclans, and ratifying social contracts (to settle arguments between clans). To this reviewer, these other *uses* for *malanggan* are startling, not having been observed on the mainland. Gunn's analysis, however, may have been influenced by his working with a much fuller and richer ceremonial environment. Also, he has been working in a different language and subculture area, the Tabar Islands, so the meanings and details are somewhat different.

At any rate, we have little more choice than to accept his statements at face value, and recognize that Gunn has found and has been working in a very rich social ceremonial environment where many relationships of *malanggans* and the social context may be seen.

The catalogue is a good value for the price, and the essays contribute various interesting and original ideas about New Ireland art. The authors have mostly confined their offerings to what they have seen in New Ireland and have held speculation and unwarranted generalization to a minimum. The catalogue portion of the work is a complete listing of every object in the exhibition, with each of the forty-nine illustrated in color. This catalogue portion is very informative in its own right, and approaches being a good substitute for seeing the exhibition itself.

There are several unusual kinds of objects in the exhibition, especially canoe prow ornaments and architectural panels. As the catalogue states, "Canoe prows are the earliest documented type of New Ireland sculpture, appearing in Tasman's well-known drawing of 1643, yet surviving examples are few" (p. 90). (And, this reviewer would add, often not recognized as canoe ornaments.) Catalogue entry no. 1, a canoe prow ornament from New Ireland, loaned by the Peabody Museum at Salem, has a (collection? acquisition?) date of 1867. Catalogue entry no. 3, listed as a canoe prow, was acquired by the Field Museum by purchase, in 1905. No. 2, called a boat prow ornament, loaned by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg, was acquired from the Museum Godeffroy in 1886, and depicts a man standing in the open mouth of a great fish and holding his hands up behind his ears. The caption is cautious about calling this a canoe prow ornament, and suggests it may have been part of a "soul boat," that is, a *malanggan* in the form of a canoe. Shark catching is suggested also, presumably because the shark fisherman listens for a certain distinctive sound, the clatter of floating debris, under which fish congregate, to which sharks are attracted. The fish whose head is depicted seems not, to this reviewer, to be a shark, but is either another species or a supernatural fish.

Another class of art objects not often represented in New Ireland col-

lections is that of architectural wall panels, of which three different examples are included in the exhibition. Catalogue no. 4, called a wall panel, loaned by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, was collected by the Deutsche Marine-Expedition in 1908. The panel is flat, and the images depicted on it are done in two dimensions, with lines formed of thin rattan, and painted flat areas. Marianne George, who has worked in the Barok language area, writes (pp. 91-93) that the three female figures represent *dawan* (Barok, Patpatar languages) or *davar* (Mandak language), the name given to young girls who are secluded for long periods of time, fattened up and painted, and displayed to young men, a kind of female initiatory rite. George says that the panels were exhibited "in the manner of a malagan within the mortuary festivals" (p. 91). Although George said that the girls were secluded in tiny huts, this reviewer wonders if the panels were part of a house in which the girls were secluded.

Two-dimensional representations are extremely rare; low or high painted relief sculpture is much more usual.

No. 5, a set of nine architectural panels, painted relief carvings, collected in 1907-1909 by the Marine-Expedition and loaned by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, are explained by a reference to Bühler, who in 1948 suggested that such panels formed the inner wall of a *malanggan* display house.

No. 6 is a set of two architectural panels. The catalogue entry suggests they were used in the same way as no. 5, as inner walls of a *malanggan* display house. The panels, acquired in 1900, were loaned by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.

Several other exceptionally fine objects should also be mentioned. No. 27, a standing figure from Tatau Island in the Tabar group is a vertical *malanggan* figure. It was collected by Captain Farrell for the Australian Museum in 1887, and is thus a very early piece. At the bottom of the object is a man, in hocker position, knees to elbows, with a disproportionally large head, with black aerial tree-root mustaches. At the genital area of this figure is an upside-down head with arms that also are in hocker position, elbows to the knees of the bigger figure. Atop the large head is a bird, head facing downwards, and atop the tail feathers is a third human head, in turn surmounted by a bird. No. 25, acquired by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, in 1879, is another fantastic and surrealistic image. It is 176 cm. high and depicts a man whose face is executed in naturalistic style, with pierced ears, and large, upstanding feather or foliage decorative forms. A smaller fantastic figure, with the head of a bird but the body and legs of a quadrupedal animal,

crouches on the man's chest. The lower half of the image is a flat, low relief carved plane, with snakes bordering it. The base ends in a peg, Another object, no. 34, from the Australian Museum, collected by Mrs. Farrell in 1892, is a huge (164 cm. high), massive human head with fish and birds atop the head and a bunch of betel nut hanging from the mouth. The photograph in the catalogue does not convey the size of the head; in the exhibition hall, it dominates the room.

Three objects from the collections of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts are included in the exhibition: no. 40, horizontal frieze depicting birds and snake; no. 28, standing figure with panpipes, acquired from the Museum für Völkerkunde, Dresden; and no. 48, vertical pole. All are very fine examples of New Ireland art and testify to the seriousness and enterprise of the Institute in acquisition of the very highest quality objects for their African, Oceanic, and American holdings.

Roy Wagner, *Asiwinarong: Ethos, Image, and Social Power among the Usen Barok of New Ireland.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986. Pp. xxiv, 238. US$30.00 cloth.

*Reviewed by Brenda Johnson Clay, University of Kentucky*

Papua New Guinea's New Ireland Province is undoubtedly best known in the Western world for its intricate and beguiling *malanggan* carvings, thousands of which are currently housed in European, American, and Australian museums. Yet these compelling ceremonial sculptures have seemed resistant to satisfactory anthropological interpretation, Does such resistance indicate the need for more thorough research or reflect the intervention of too many years of colonial presence? *Asiwinarong,* Roy Wagner's study of the Usen Barok, a culture outside the traditional *malanggan* area of northern New Ireland, may well tell us something of significance about the apparent enigma of these artistic creations.

Some two thousand Barok live in south-central New Ireland, about six hundred of whom speak the Usen dialect and inhabit five villages along the east coast. In 1979-1980 Wagner lived in Bakan village as part of a comparative anthropological effort to explore cultural meanings in ceremonial and daily contexts in New Ireland, along with myself among the Northern Mandak and Marianne George in the west coast Barok village of Kokola. *Asiwinarong* is a study of Usen Barok culture in terms of ethos, in a Batesonian sense, as "a collectively held and collectively felt

motivation and code for conduct, expression, and experience of social and ritual life" (p. 79). Wagner is concerned with the elicitation of Barok ethos, particularly through the "relational protocols" of inter- and intra-moiety interactions and through the iconic and nonverbal images of the *taun* (men's enclosure) and mortuary feasting. The author focuses attention first on dialectical interactions between the matrilineal moieties, Wagner's discussion of joking, avoidance, and respect relationships is particularly adept. Here we come to understand these relationships not as the results of interdictions meant to ease tensions created by kinship categorization, but through the elicitation of relationship and the immediacy of its contingencies, "by challenges that force it into consciousness and set up its renegotiation" (p. 54).

Usen Barok culture emerges in Wagner's book not through discussions of verbally explicated institutions but through cogent considerations of a variety of interrelated consensual images. The latter are not glossable through verbal exegesis, but instead both evoke and contain multiple meanings. Such images are not only visual, but include verbal, trophic, or metaphorical forms that also resist verbal parsing. Wagner explains: "An anthropologist who might set out to get the *real* gloss would be horribly frustrated, because the cultural convention exists at the level of the *image,* not at that of its verbalized gloss" (p. xv). Barok images must be experienced to be understood. Perceptively Wagner shows that social power revolves not around an image's "meaning" but around control over the image and its social effects. The intransigence of cultural forms to verbal exegesis and the nonconsensual nature of cultural meaning have been subjects of some discussion in Melanesian studies (Barth 1975; Keesing 1987; Lewis 1980).

"Power," a compounding of the usual sense of political ascendancy with the term's more esoteric reference, is a common thread running through the diverse *kastams* (cultures) of New Ireland. As Wagner notes for the Usen Barok, "all significant or worthwhile things are grounded in power" (p. 216). Power is confronted here through intriguing discussions of the *tadak* (clan place-spirits), *pidiks* (the "mystery" of power and social cults organized around such mysteries), and finally in its most public form, in the iconic images of the Barok *taun,* men's house and enclosure, and the feasts that actualize social power. Far beyond their northern New Ireland contemporaries, the Usen Barok have honed the visually and ritually expressive power of the men's house and ceremonial feasting to a precision of imagery. The absence of the artistic intricacies of *malanggan* systems are perhaps answered here in the elaboration of the forms and protocol of mortuary ceremonial. Developing and

applying ideas figuring in his earlier works, *Lethal Speech* (Ithaca, 1978) and *The Invention of Culture* (Chicago, 1981), as well as instancing theoretical concepts discussed in *Symbols That Stand for Themselves* (Chicago, 1986), Wagner takes the reader through a succession of Usen mortuary feasts. Here Barok ethos is elicited through actional, visual, and verbal images that are meaningful in their interrelationships rather than in a separate referential sense. In the initial parts of this sequence, which deal with an individual's death, the *taun* and its contained feasting figure as central images whose elicitational power is finally exhausted in the movement from "closed" to "open" feasts, These *taun*-centered feasts are concerned with nurturance and containment in inter- and intra-moiety relationships. In contrast, the final large-scale mortuary celebration, the *kaba,* moves out of the *taun* and again, through visual and verbal imagery and feasting actions, "obviates" or nullifies the social meanings elicited in the earlier mortuary feasts. The *kaba* is about *orong* (big-man, clan leader) successorship. In one dramatic image a potential successor stands on the overturned, uprooted *kaba* tree, and intones, *"Asiwinarong! Asiwinarong!"* (the need of an *orong*) (p. 210). Wagner's analysis of sequences in Barok mortuary feasting involves another example of his "obviation sequence," "a sequence of dialectically related images that returns to, and negates, its own beginning point" (p. 211). In the unfolding of successive mortuary images the Barok are engaged not simply in iconic revelation but also in "a *resolution* of the social dynamic" (p. 217).

New Ireland contains myriad cultural variations from village to village, with subtle regional shadings among the generalities of matrilineality, power, and mortuary feasting. Roy Wagner's discussion of cultural meaning among the Usen Barok in terms of ethos, image, and social power provides insights not only into this relatively unknown part of New Ireland, but also into other areas of Melanesia and beyond. Too often the anthropologist's desire to explicate cultural meaning in definitive terms ends in a failure to comprehend the production and nature of meaning itself. *Asiwinarong* does not delimit Usen Barok culture to structural, functional, or overly determined systematic forms of anthropological exegesis, but rather opens communication between the anthropological search for explanation and cultures whose consensuality lies in images rather than verbal interpretation. It is within this area of unglossable but evocative images that the "true meanings" of New Ireland's splendid *malanggans* might be sought. Wagner's remarkable study of the Usen Barok demonstrates that the ongoing production and renegotiation of cultural meaning lies in social relationships and com-

monly held images that elicit and contain interpretation. *Asiwinarong* offers provocative insights into recently stated anthropological concerns about the consensuality and nature of cultural meaning.

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*Reviewed by David Turner, University of Toronto*

The problem is that Fred Myers is not quite sure whether to believe the Pintupi, an Aboriginal people of the Western Desert of Australia with whom he has worked. "The Pintupi interpret their society as the continuation of a preordained cosmic order," he writes (p. 219). Yet Myers himself interprets "the Dreaming" as "a projection into symbolic space of various social processes" (p. 47). The meaning of the Dreaming, he later reiterates, "should be sought within a particular form of social life rather than in ahistorical concerns" (pp. 69-70). The Pintupi, on the other hand, insist that "the Ideal comes first" (p. 69). The book claims to have demonstrated "the essential foundation of Pintupi transcendentalism in the lived world of their daily experience" (p. 286), yet it shows us that the lived world of Pintupi daily experience is demonstrably variable: "immediate," "negotiable," "political." The Dreaming, by contrast, is described as "eternal," "timeless," in theory unchanging. The problem can be seen as a strictly logical one without reference to ethnography: A constant, if it occupies the ontological status of an "Ideal" may be variable in its practice, but variable practice cannot be *represented* by a constant, Ideal or otherwise.

The problem of whom to believe occurs again in the domain of "kinship" (chapter 7). The Pintupi appear to insist (as do other Australian

Aboriginal people) that at some level "all individuals" are "incorporated" into "a system on kinship" (p. 180); they appear to insist that "Everyone" belongs to one of the subsections (p. 183). In other words everyone is *in* a priori. Myers, though, tells us that "the larger regional system . . . is *built out of* egocentric or dyadic links among individuals" (p. 159; emphasis added). In other words, relations appear in this view to extend from the individual *out* in an expanding, and variable, manner.

The problem is crucial: Myers claims to be proceeding from the Pintupi's own frame of reference. The problem is difficult to resolve: In the context of the book, it is of course only Fred Myers that is actually talking; certain critical information is lacking. For instance, who is the "everyone," the "all," to whom Myers and presumably the Pintupi are referring? Are "kinship" terms and "subsection" names applied literally to "everyone," to "all," in the universe, or only to a certain range of people? The text is unclear, the data ambiguous.

The problem, I think, is not entirely due to real ambiguities in Pintupi culture. Behind the discussion is, I think, the materialist (in the Marvin Harris/Marxist sense) presupposition that ideology is superstructure, reflecting society's real base in relations of (re)production. Saying that base and superstructure interact dialectically such that ideology becomes a temporary factor in material production (and social reproduction), as Myers and others do, remains within the parameters of the paradigm. What is overlooked by remaining within these parameters is the different epistemological status of certain *kinds* of ideas, some of which we may consider ideologies in this sense and some not. The Dreaming is, in my view, of the "not" variety. I think the Pintupi share the same view.

Another presupposition behind the discussion is, I think, the extensionist one that kinship relations expand outward from E/ego to encompass and enfold others. Indeed there is also the extensionist presupposition that something called kinship is apparent in all societies. To say that such relations are not built from "blocks'‘--that is, not built from descent groups as in the Pintupi case, as Myers does--again remains within the parameters of the paradigm. What is overlooked by remaining within these parameters is that, in the case of Australian Aboriginal studies at least, the Dreaming may *be* kinship--the relationships we call "kinship" relations may already be "out there," prebuilt, awaiting real individuals to express or discover and work them.

In short, the general problem is that this book remains trapped within, not only materialist, but Western materialist, assumptions,

despite the best of intentions and efforts by the author to escape them. Myers's dialectic, for instance, sees "self" → "other" as "resolved" in Pintupi society through a "relatedness" established by the Law of the Dreaming. If "resolved," then why does "personal autonomy" remain the overwhelming concern of the Pintupi, as Myers insists throughout? It is insufficient to say that one becomes autonomous only through sustaining relations with others (p. 110). This is to end in obfuscation, if not contradiction. The way out, I believe, is to realize that the Pintupi are on a different tack--to realize that the author (and he is by no means alone) is trapped within a one-dimensional dialectic that begins with "self' opposed to "other" and which can only (successfully) end in "sharing," "caring," and "equality." The way out, I believe, is to see "transcendence" not as a dimension leading one positively out of opposition into "synthesis," as Myers does, but as a dimension leading one negatively away from opposition in a completely different direction. In this direction, "differentiation" is not only not the problem it is for Myers, but is a positive and integral aspect of the end result. Call that end result "complementarity," "interdependence," even "federation," but do not confuse it with "sharing," "caring," "equality," or "cooperation."

This said, there are real ambiguities within Pintupi society as a result of combining what I have called "locality incorporative" aspects appropriate to economic development with "kinline-confederational" aspects appropriate to peaceful coexistence. In the former mode, I have argued, autonomy and self-sufficiency are driving forces; in the latter, they are not. Ambiguities reflecting a tension between these two modes are admirably documented by Myers. With the Pintupi we seem to be at the very limits of what it means to be Australian in the Aboriginal sense. There *is* an element of coresidentiality in their society; there *is* a sense in which the unity of the regional coresidential network of interpersonal relations is significant as such; relations *are* more negotiable and "extendable," boundaries more flexible; the individual *is* relatively more autonomous; bilaterality and situation (conception site) *do* outweigh "lineality" and "descent" in the transmission of "ownership" rights; relations through cross-sex links *are* emphasized, again, over "lineal descent" relations. I can only agree that

> In the Western Desert, there are no enduring corporations of this sort. Only the Dreaming remains as a control, a structure beyond individuals and binding them to itself, but it is, correspondingly, felt more intensely as an imperative here than elsewhere in Australia. Although individuals in other parts of Aus-

> tralia appear more constrained by membership in a group and political alliances of the past, they are freer in the invention of song, dance, and innovation. Western Desert people are known throughout Australia for their conservatism and the strength of their adherence to the Law. (P. 297)

I have reviewed the book in terms of what it claims to be: not so much an ethnography as a dialogue between experience and theory--not only those of the author but also those of his subject, the Pintupi. As such the book represents an important contribution to our continuing dialogue with each other as anthropologists and with the Aboriginal people instructing us.

J. C. Altman, *Hunter-Gatherers Today: An Aboriginal Economy in North Australia.* Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1987. Pp. xv, 251. A$29.95.

*Reviewed by Elspeth A. Young, University College, University of New South Wales, Australian Defence Force Academy, Campbell, ACT, Australia*

Jon Altman's study of the contemporary economy of the Momega people, a small group of Aboriginal outstation dwellers in the vicinity of Maningrida in Arnhem Land, is unique in a number of ways. By combining the analytical approaches of an economist with the participant observation and interviewing techniques of an anthropologist, he presents a picture of Momega life today that is illuminating in both social and economic terms. Moreover, his analysis is not restricted to the local micro-economy, but is set firmly within the broader political and administrative framework that impinges directly upon it. By placing the details of his case study in the wider context, Altman offers interesting conclusions both on a noncapitalist hunter-gatherer economy and on how its current practitioners have adapted and adopted elements stemming from the capitalistic cash economy.

A basic aim of the study is to examine the resilience of the Momega economy, and to suggest why its survival is so strong. Altman combines two theoretical models of economic transformation, the opportunity and response model and the articulation model, both of which he feels to be of some relevance to the Momega situation but neither of which alone can explain the processes that have occurred. Themes arising from

these two approaches are related to the structure of the book, with the first part presenting evidence for opportunity and response and the second part considering articulation. After a brief introduction Altman opens his discussion of the economy with an analysis of Momega diets, of basic importance because that analysis reveals the relative importance of subsistence and market foods in the sustenance of the group. The almost universal adoption of purchased carbohydrates, clearly reflecting the low return for labor when such commodities are obtained from subsistence sources, is an obvious example of the operation of opportunity and response in this context. Social accounts and expenditure patterns are then presented and the section ends with a study of time allocation, which again highlights the opportunity and response theme. Thereafter the analysis is concerned more closely with the articulation theme and its relevance in a number of spheres--the Momega production system; sharing subsistence produce; distribution in the cash domain; consumption; and ceremonial activities, both in terms of their interaction with market exchange and their economic impact on the community. Each of these components exhibits some example of articulation, such as the substitution of market goods for traditional artifacts in ceremonial exchange and the distribution of cash along lines similar to those established for the sharing of subsistence resources.

Two important aspects of the book should be stressed. First, the careful use of theoretical approaches and existing evidence relevant to each topic under discussion undoubtedly enhances the value of the study. Through this Altman successfully integrates his work with a wide range of earlier investigations and highlights a number of assumptions contradicted by his findings. Such contradictions in part stem from the different approaches taken. Altman's period of fieldwork at Momega--twelve months from October 1979 to October 1980--was considerably longer than those undertaken by many other commentators on hunter-gatherer economic issues. Second, his detailed presentation of data on a variety of economic activities--work expenditure, foods consumed, time allocation, and cash expenditure, to name only a few--provides an unusually rigorous analysis of such aspects. This undoubtedly enables a more detailed level of assessment than normal. While, as Altman acknowledges, the accuracy of the data must at times be questioned, these tables certainly inject an impression of precision normally lacking in such studies. Hopefully those who now interpret the findings will note Altman's caveats and will not overemphasize an exactitude that is not always justified.

Although Altman is generally careful to qualify his statements on the

basis of his information, there are some points worth stressing further, Momega is a small community of between forty-five and fifty people and only ten to twelve households. Consequently some of the data suffer in disaggregation. In particular, information classified on a gender-age basis, as in figures 13 and 14 (p. 110), must be interpreted carefully because the numbers involved are so small. Similarly, while the discussion of Chayanov's rule relating work effort to dependency ratios (pp. 113-115) is interesting, the fact that the data apply to only twelve households must create doubt about the general findings. Although Altman is clearly well aware of this and makes appropriate reference at times, he does on occasion make broad statements that, if taken out of context, might make his study appear to be more representative than it actually is.

Another issue that receives less attention than warranted is women's activities, in terms of subsistence, ceremonial involvement, and other spheres of community life. While Altman's long period of residence in a very small community would have allowed him to gain a clearer understanding of these matters than many other male researchers, it is still unclear to what extent women's interests and activities are downplayed. For example, the products of gathering, predominantly a woman's activity, are more likely to be consumed before returning to camp than is game obtained from hunting; similarly fishing, a very important woman's activity in other parts of Arnhem Land, may well produce far more food than eventually appears at the family hearth. Thus the subsistence contribution of women may well be greater than estimated. Similarly it is possible that ceremonial interests, about which women may well have been reluctant to talk, are greater than it appeared.

Qualifications such as these do not seriously detract from the worth of this study. It is a valuable piece of work, which will doubtless be referred to by other practitioners in this field for some time to come. It is hoped that a similarly detailed analysis might one day be completed for an Australian desert community, about which our understanding of economic matters is still sadly lacking.

Ronald M. Berndt and Catherine H. Berndt, *End of an Era: Aboriginal Labour in the Northern Territory.* Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1987. Pp. xxi, 310, maps, tables, diagrams, photographs, index. A$29.95.

*Reviewed by Kenneth Maddock, Macquarie University*

Ronald and Catherine Berndt studied Aboriginal labor on the huge pastoral properties of the Australian Investment Agency (Vesteys) in northern Australia between 1944 and 1946. It was exacting work for two young anthropologists who had only just begun their careers. The cattle industry needed Aborigines, whom it employed in large numbers but treated badly. Just how badly is shown by the chapter the Berndts devote to conditions in the Australian Army camps where many Aborigines were employed during World War II. They were properly fed, worked limited hours, received wages, and were given adequate medical attention. The contrast with the pastoral properties was so striking that many Aborigines must have begun to realize that life could hold out more, much more, than they had been given to think.

The research on which the Berndts embarked had been conceived by E. W. P. Chinnery and A. P. Elkin, to both of whom *End of an Era* is dedicated. Chinnery, who had worked in New Guinea, was director of the Native Affairs Branch, Northern Territory Administration, and an adviser to the Commonwealth government. Elkin, professor of anthropology at Sydney University and editor of *Oceania,* was already accepted by the Australian public as *the* authority on Aborigines and had been urging his reformist views on governments and missions alike. At a high level, then, the backing existed for research into the pastoral industry, but the Berndts themselves were usually anything but welcome among the white people on whom they had to depend during their studies in the outback. These people would mostly have been ignorant or contemptuous of the new directions in Australian policy toward the native population that had been formed by 1939; unfortunately, war broke out, and the new directions became a casualty. They were not to be implemented for some years after peace returned.

*End of an Era* deals with six pastoral properties (Birrundudu, Limbunya, Manbulloo, Waterloo, Wave Hill, Willeroo) as well as the army camps and camps set up by buffalo shooters. Food, wages, housing, and other vital aspects of life are covered. A statistical chapter pulls together many of the data on which the earlier, more descriptive chapters depend. Much of the account suffers from repetition, but this is no literary work. As chapter follows chapter, a powerful cumulative effect is achieved. One can readily imagine some Zola of the outback quarrying the Berndts for raw material for a harrowing novel.

It is dismaying to think that so timely and necessary an account had to wait until 1987 for publication. The Berndts discuss the reasons for this, and also explain why they have considerably amplified and revised their original report on “Native Labour and Welfare in the Northern

Territory," which ran to 294 pages plus tables. Completed in 1946, it was never publicly distributed, and of the half dozen copies that were made, it seems that only one or two are still in existence. Luckily the contents of the report were made known in quarters where they could do some good. For example, improved legal conditions for Aborigines resulted from a conference of pastoralists and government officials held in Alice Springs in January 1947. A copy of the report was before the meeting. More than twenty years, however, would elapse before Aboriginal workers became entitled to the same wages as others doing the same jobs.

One can be glad to have the present account, yet be sorry that the original (with its unparalleled value as a document) is so scarce as not to exist for the purposes of the many scholars and others who might wish to consult it. One must also regret that the Berndts have left their readers a little in the dark about the changes they made for publication. Quite a few pages are written from a much more recent perspective and refer to developments since 1946, but no real attempt seems to have been made to refer to what has happened in the labor force and been done by scholars in the last twenty years, or to deal with fluctuations in the climate of opinion affecting Aborigines. It might have been better to reprint the original report, perhaps with annotations, and to have had a separate study examining, more analytically and theoretically, the end of one era and the dawn of another.

Ronald and Catherine Berndt were virtually unknown when they began their work on the pastoral properties. Their many younger colleagues in Australian anthropology today would be fascinated to be presented with the copious material that is barely hinted at here: the correspondence with Vesteys and with Elkin, and their memories or diary entries of "scenes or events which we witnessed personally or in which we were personally involved," but which they have chastely omitted from the present account, The Berndts are so important a part of our history that it is not merely voyeuristic to want to know these things.

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