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CONTENTS

Articles

Book Review Forum

Reviews

Books Noted

PATRONAGE AND BUREAUCRACY
IN THE HAWAIIAN KINGDOM, 1840–1893

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The government of the Hawaiian monarchy operated as a patrimonial system until constitutional change in 1887 restricted the power of the king to control executive, legislative, and judicial institutions. Ministers, governors, senior officials, legislators, and judges owed their positions to royal favor and influence, thus continuing for Hawaiian and foreign "service gentry" the practices of the pre-1840 kingdom by valuing loyalty higher than efficiency or selection by competition. At a second level, patronage by governors and senior officials expanded the ranks of those executives who ran public finance, land administration, internal trade, education, police, and the judiciary. The records of the Ministry of the Interior, which undertook most government business and worked through island governors, testify to the widespread prevalence of appointments through influence and the gradual formation of a more permanent set of civil servants who bridged the period between monarchy and provisional government in the early 1890s. Royal patronage became departmental patronage open to new forms of political manipulation.

Introduction: Constitutional Monarchy or Patrimonial State?

ONE OF THE MORE INTRIGUING QUESTIONS about the Hawaiian monarchy's transition from the political dominance of a ruling lineage to forms of constitutional prescription defining the limits to monarchical rule involves the ways in which local government functions were carried out. While senior appointments at the level of island governors, cabinet ministers, and others close to the royal household are well documented, the origins of the Hawaiian "civil service," including police and the judiciary, at the levels of municipal and district administration have not been pursued in any detail. Indeed, the term "civil service" does not feature in the indexes to most standard texts on Hawai'i's political history.

The question is important, moreover, for understanding the changing functions of the royal lineage in the circumstances of pressures for "reform" of Kamehameha I's legacy of autocratic centralization in favor of corporate representation of chiefs, nobility, foreign settlers, and, to a lesser extent, Hawaiian commoners. It would be agreed that both Hawaiians and foreigners were incorporated into Hawaiian government in advisory and executive capacities at critical periods of political change such as the rejection of the *kapu* system in 1819 by Ka'ahumanu, as regent and former favorite wife of the deceased king, or the definition of settler rights and monarchical privilege through external treaties and constitutional prescriptions in the 1830s and early 1840s. The most notable early examples were missionaries headed by Hiram Bingham, when Ka'ahumanu used conversion to the new religion from 1825 to legitimize the authority of the royal lineage in combination with leading *ali'i* (chiefs, nobles) in the face of opposition from the beach community of settlers and seamen; and secondly, the reassertion by Kamehameha III after 1839 of royal privilege in combination with *haole* (foreign) advisers at the period of law making and constitutional construction from 1840 to 1845.[1] In both cases the new definition of Hawaiian government according to the precepts of the Decalogue or imported notions of cabinet and representative government created officeholders owing their place to the favor of the paramount.[2] What is less certain, however, is that Hawaiians in general, outside the immediate circle of ministers and officials in Honolulu, were displaced by *haole* executives until much later in the 1870s and 1880s, as civil service departments expanded; and, even then, there is a case for arguing that education or efficiency were not the sole criteria for recruitment and employment in Hawaiian administration, but, rather, included older principles of kin dependency and above all loyalty to a superior in rank.

In short, for much of the period of consolidated government throughout the Hawaiian Islands to 1887, the administration could be more accurately described as that of a "patrimonial state," rather than a "constitutional monarchy." "Patrimonialism" or "inheritance from the ancestors" has its roots, moreover, in the appointments and structure of government following Kamehameha's conquests in 1795, rather than in the activities and advice of foreigners. Such an interpretation, however, has not found much favor in the orthodox histories of Hawai'i. Consequently, historians have had some difficulty characterizing the "Hawaiian Kingdom" before 1887 or the revolution of 1893, except in terms of a concentration of power at the center.[3] The historiographical consensus focuses on a shift of that power from native Hawaiian to *haole* hands, mainly through the mechanisms of land redistribution and the gradual assertion of resident-foreigner control over government through constitutional changes that altered the balance between royal

executive and an elected legislature and made separation of the judiciary from the executive possible. The backing of United States settlers for such changes is a constant but not entirely conclusive factor until the demise of the monarchy. There are considerable differences of emphasis within this economic and political explanation for the subversion and eventual sub-ordination of a small Polynesian state to external interests. The key topics are seen as a shift in the ownership of land as a major resource, control of external and internal trade and investment, tensions between ethnic groups, the high politics of local party formation, and foreign relations. But because of this emphasis on externalities, rather than internal administration, some of the principal characteristics of the kingdom in its transformation from "feu-dalism" through prescriptive constitutions to a measure of responsibility of the executive to a legislature have been obscured on the way in favor of a "hegemonic" interpretation of foreign influence over the Kamehameha lin-eage and its successors. Somehow the "kingship" that was such "a very real element in the government," in the opinion of the constitutional historian T. M. Spaulding, was written out of government by a mix of militant republi-canism and vested economic interests, assisted by tactical errors on the part of the last monarch.[4]

The factor of foreign advice and overt pressure is not disputed here, nor is its central location in Honolulu. There is fair agreement that the kingdom that emerged under the dominance of the Kamehameha lineage in the 1830s was initially dependent on the administrative abilities of Dr. G. P. Judd, Lorrin Andrews, R. C. Wyllie, and others. The published sources have made much of these early advisers, especially Wyllie, first foreign minister and setter of trends in style and etiquette; Andrews, longtime resident and a client of the monarchy who had left the mission to become judge and assistant to Gov-ernor Kekūanaōʻa of Oʻahu; and John Ricord, straight off a vessel and into the post of attorney general as the only lawyer in the islands. There were many such—some fourteen foreigners as judges, harbor masters, customs officers, sheriffs, and constables by 1844 and perhaps some forty-eight by 1851.[5] A case can be made that to all appearances foreigners ran the elemen-tary form of royal cabinet that was created in the early 1840s, though not the small appointed and elected houses of Hawaiian nobles and delegates beholden to Kamehameha III. Foreign advice was valuable, but too much should not be made of the status of foreigners; like the missionaries before them, they were subordinate to the close-knit hierarchy of royals and their affines who commanded the resources and labor of land and population.

The basis for this argument lies in the social and political structure of the Hawaiian hierarchy of royals, chiefs, and officers of state as well as their values, which laid considerable emphasis on the loyalties of kin and asso-

ciates at the highest levels of government. This structure and its underlying ideology of intimate trust between the highest grades of leaders by ascription and their executives, incorporated into the ranks of titled offices by gift of royals and chiefs, continued and was adapted to the requirements of an emergent "bureaucracy," which had little in common with foreign conceptions of recruitment, promotion on merit, and prescribed status and duties.

The argument is supported by the more recent revision of Hawaiian political structure and public offices presented by Terry Young.[6] According to this view, the king, following Kamehameha's conquests, retained absolute power to allocate offices to near relatives and land management to stewards *(konohiki),* who in turn supervised chiefs and commoners who had usehold of *ahupua'a* and *'ili* lots. The monarchy appointed its own officials from near relatives and high chiefs kept near to the king as a precaution against defection. The extended network of royal supporters drawn from cousins, siblings, and titled clients—the *kaukauali'i*—survived under Ka'ahumanu and Liholiho in ways that replace the older stereotype of "feudal absolutism" with a more subtle interpretation of the roles of a stratum of officials, personal attendants, and those who sought a leader in the context of loyalty and correct behavior. According to this analysis, high chiefs throughout the group depended on a family support system, including those incorporated by achievement and marriage. Such clientage through a *ho'opili* or a *haku* relationship of close personal friendship was tempered by deference on the part of those who "stepped up to serve" as *kaukau.* Royal patronage cemented together Hawaiian government in the transition period from centralization by force to a measure of constitutional bargaining between the royal lineage and its chiefly constituents. "Far more than mere genetics, the organizing principle of ancestry and its processual component *ho'opili* imbued the aforementioned chiefly servers [*kaukau, konohiki, kahu*] with an empowering *mana* offered by politically influenced roles in the Kamehameha circle of power."[7] I take this statement to mean, in short, that the monarchy was underwritten by a "service gentry" not so different in origins and function from other examples in Indian and African hierarchies.[8]

This interpretation, moreover, can be extended to the early missionaries who worked through a patronage system centered, in Hiram Bingham's terms, on the "natural powers" of the "royal family circle, and its honored connections" of extended kin, by using the cautious friendship of Liholiho (Kamehameha II) and the warmer response of the influential Ka'ahumanu as principal royal executive till 1832.[9] They had little but Christian precepts to offer in return until the arrival of a mission press gave the royals a monopoly over the distribution of printed tracts and access to a new technology. Arms, a schooner, and the visits of British naval vessels were manifests of the distant

patronage of the British monarchy and also served to raise the status of the Hawaiian hierarchy. Boki, a chief of Maui and governor of Oʻahu who accompanied Liholiho to England, interpreted this attention in terms of his own idea of government, acknowledging King George IV "as my landlord and myself as tenant (or him as superior and I inferior)."[10] Too much should not be made of this deferential civility to a distant monarch, any more than the vague "protection" offered by Vancouver's treaty with Kamehameha I. Lord Byron's visit on HMS *Blonde* to bring back the bodies of Liholiho and his spouse as well as a British consul reinforced the point of friendship without commitment. But some of Byron's advice on the value of allegiance, a system of leases under chiefly authority, centralization of taxes and port duties, and justice by king in council did not go unheeded, because the views of this British aristocrat were not so far removed from those of Hawaiian aristocracy.

Thus, from within the structure of Hawaiian government as centralized by Kamehameha and his successors, there were strong patrimonial elements in the selection of executive officers of state, codified in the 1840 constitution and the Acts of 1845–1847 and endorsed by the advice of foreigners who were co-opted into this structure.[11] The first constitution begins with a list of the king's prerogatives based on the general principle of royal protection in return for loyalty and "correct deportment" *(pono):* the preservation of dynastic succession, power to manage all lands, direction of all executive means of government, reserve of royals' private lands and lands taken for nonpayment of taxes or fines, and conduct of treaty relations and external commerce. Executive officers consisted of a premier as a "special counselor" (an echo of the former *kuhina nui*) and four governors of the islands to supervise tax gatherers, a house of nobles, and a representative body to discuss legislation, judicial officers, and law enforcers.

As John Ricord noted in his preface to the 1846 edition of the constitution, little had been changed by an 1839 bill of rights: the constitution was still patrimonial because "engrafted on the ancient form of government."[12] The political principles underlying the code of civil laws and the constitution framed by the Rev. William Richards and the converted and educated Hawaiians David Malo, John ʻĪʻī, Timothy Haʻalilio, and Boaz Mahune, who were close to royalty, enshrined the hierarchy of older and new service roles, because government centered on the king, "whose executive functions are assigned to the management of five ministers, dependent solely upon him, but controllable by a majority of ministerial voices." This slight ambiguity says more about Ricord's struggle to reconcile a form of absolutism with legal prescription than the ways in which the king raised up his officials to office and employed them. In practice there was no ministerial veto over the king or his executive before 1887. In theory, too, the judiciary was indepen-

dent, but in practice it was responsible to the king as chief judge of a supreme court. Departments of state were not outlined in detail but left to ministers to invent and run. Governors, however, as royal appointments by king in council were accountable to the minister of the Interior under the Acts of Kamehameha III from 1845; and all ministers were ex-officio members of the Privy Council of selected nobles and accountable only to the king and the premier.

Little attention has been paid to the ways in which officers of state were appointed from the 1840s on, in favor of accounts of high politics and relations with the United States and other foreign powers. Although advisers managed, the king ruled; this pattern of patrimonial domination continued well into the 1870s and 1880s, and was entrenched by constitutional revision.[13] In a group of scattered islands, moreover, the cohesion of the kingdom depended on the ways in which power was delegated, who exercised it, and what royal prerogatives kept subordinate ministers of departments, governors, and lesser officials in check. A patrimonial system could not operate without delegation, especially in the important areas of finance and justice. But it could not survive disloyalty and administration in the name of locally vested interests any more than it could survive advancement of foreigner interests at the expense of royal authority. Certain features changed. Governors were not formally styled as subordinate to a *mōʻī* (paramount chief); nor were they necessarily related or *kaukaualiʻi* in the older sense of the term. But they were in the most fundamental sense the executive arm of the monarchy for accessing island resources and, therefore, were royals or close clients of royals, the first line of defense of privilege based on descent.

Furthermore, the formal responsibility of governors to a minister, and especially to the ministers of Interior and Finance, simply came to reflect the greatest change of all, namely the expansion of resources in tax, land, and labor, dealt with for the most part by one department and gradually subdivided among new executive officials controlled on the outer islands and on Oʻahu by the governors.[14] Tax and other offices were filled by commissions to individuals awarded by king in council; and as such they were a formalization of the older tradition of offices in the gift of the *mōʻī* to loyal followers and not any importation of British or American practices, however familiar the titles "assessor," "collector," "marshal," "sheriff," "magistrate," or "circuit judge" may have sounded to nineteenth-century ears. Control of resources underlay this proliferation of offices; and Hawaiian bureaucracy began with a reform of royal indebtedness by a "Treasury Board" in May 1842, appointed by king and legislators, consisting of the two faithful servants, Dr. Judd and John Īʻī, who restored solvency by extending, inventing, and imposing new taxes on Hawaiians and foreigners.[15] These resources were col-

lected through the Ministry of the Interior. Of the five executive departments set up under ministers by the Acts of 1845–1847, Interior and Finance shared the management of taxation and land divisions beginning in the 1840s. Their functions were defined under Kamehameha's second act of 1846 together with a Board of Commissioners to Quiet Titles (Land Commision).[16] Such measures opened up a rich source of rewards in estates for chiefs and former landlords *(konohiki)* as well as land transfers by sale and lease to foreigners, accompanied by a wide definition of "government" lands. The division created many new jobs for recording and carrying out land and title transactions, surveys, and boundaries; and these legal formalities tapped new resources in the form of fees and rents. The roots of Hawai'i's civil service, therefore, lay first within the tradition of patrimonialism as adapted by the royal lineage from the end of the eighteenth century to cover incorporation of resident foreigners and Hawaiians as advisers and senior officials holding ministerial and other appointments; and, second, in the proliferation of posts required to manage new sources of state revenue, which, in turn, created a second layer of functionaries as clients of senior officials.

The Ministry of the Interior

The evidence for the interpretation outlined above rests mainly on the records of the Interior, which handled more government business than any other department and dealt directly with island governors. Correspondence and letterbooks provide numerous examples of patronage appointments for both Hawaiians and *haole* who worked for a department that accumulated more duties and spent more money than any other branch of ministerial government. Such detail is ignored in the standard works; and no claim is made here for a complete or systematic treatment of Hawai'i's nascent civil service. Anyone relying on the formal lists of the civil establishment compiled relatively late in the *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual* from 1875 could be forgiven for thinking Hawaiian government was O'ahu government. Nothing is included on the administration of the outer islands; governors themselves are not listed before 1877. The officials of the Interior department were not listed until 1880 in the *Almanac's* "Register and Directory" of the civil and military establishment; and from then on there is an annual civil list and not just lists of court, cabinet, legislators, nobles, and foreign diplomats.

The budgets for posts listed in financial records, however, illustrate the full scope of the Interior (Figure 1). In addition to the salaries of the minister and his staff of clerks and messengers, the department paid the four governors and their clerks, the marshal and four sheriffs of the islands, jailers, surveyors, postmaster and mail carriers, vaccinators, printers, the police, and

the Honolulu Fire Department. Responsibility for "public improvements" also brought under the minister of the Interior a further dozen or so superintendents and road supervisors and sundry contractors. In short, from 1846 the Interior department was the main channel for official communications with the districts and municipality of Oʻahu and the other islands in a mix of central and local government functions. It handled through its agents every kind of receipt, paper permission, and anything on which an impost might be charged; and it supervised and appointed the agents who were responsible for assessing and collecting such charges. It undertook public works of every kind. In time the Interior developed a ramage structure subdivided into ancillary departments and bureaus responsible for most of the state controls exercised over water, forestry, immigration, and the post office until these were split off in the 1890s. Expenditure within this vast domain of developing bureaucracy accounted for nearly half of total appropriations for most of the period (Figure 2).

Even more than the Finance department, the Interior was the supervisor and collector of the kingdom's revenue; and it spent the most on a wide variety of offices and capital projects. The earliest lists of appropriations in the 1840s indicate that funding went mainly toward salaries within departmental budgets. The Interior was the biggest spender because of its appointment of local government executives, headed by island governors whose salaries ranged from $1,000 (for the main island) down to $500 for the governor of Kauaʻi.[17] But it was not a spendthrift department in its early years, and it did not overrun its allocations. It is worth noting that it was D. L. Gregg, the American minister to Hawaiʻi, who congratulated the Interior on improved finances in 1861 and who put up the idea of a loan from England, Belgium, or Holland to take the Treasury out of reach of commodity or currency speculators, an idea accepted all too readily as ambition for public spending grew (see Figure 1).[18]

A summary analysis of the department shows that, in addition to the minister, its strength in central office personnel grew from three in the 1850s to twelve in the 1880s, including a chief clerk and three of four junior clerks. But other senior officials responsible for conveyancing, registration, surveying, the post office, public works, and water supplies are listed as Interior functionaries in the budget, reflecting the department's management of the Mahele land division and implementation of investment in infrastructure. The "head office" view of senior personnel in the *Almanacs* presents a selective and limited list of personnel and omits the direct links between the department and executive officials administering taxation, licenses, and patents and, through the offices of the island governors, the marshal and sheriffs responsible for forts, prisons, judiciary, and other functions later allocated to the attorney general's office. The positions of marshal and sheriffs fitted
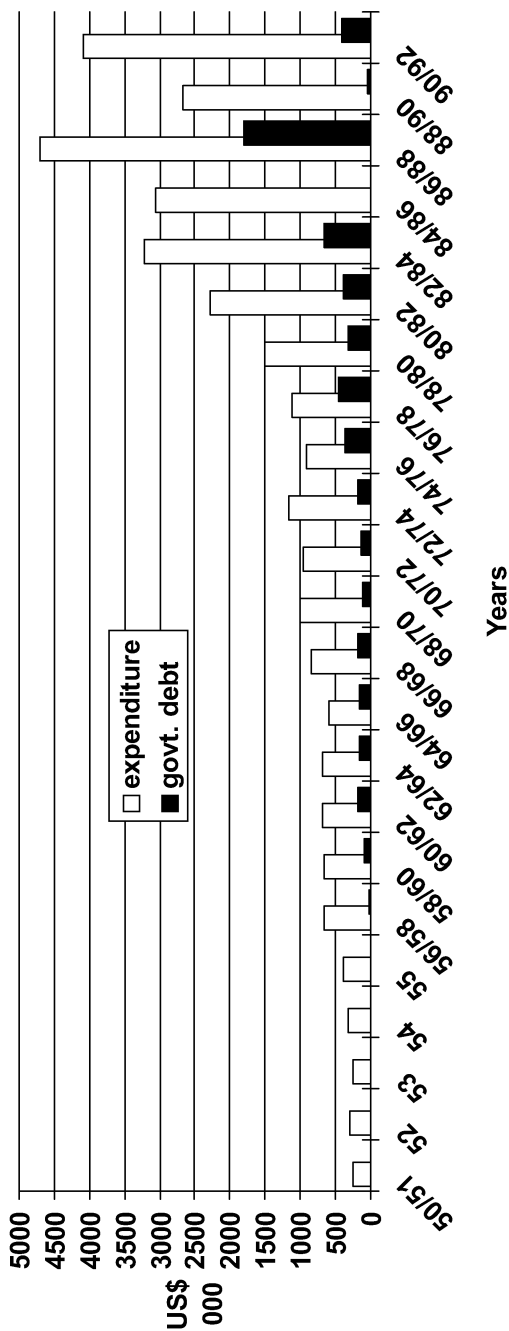
FIGURE 1. **Hawaiian government expenditure, 1850–1892. It should be noted that "government debt" in terms of the issue of Exchequer notes and external borrowing is reported in a mix of fiscal and biennial years. Servicing charges are not reported separately. Nevertheless, the main trend is clear, especially after the Loan Acts of 1874 and 1876.** (*Sources: Reports of the Minister of Finance, 1850–1890* [Hawai'i State Archives; Rhodes House, Oxford]. See, too, Theodore Morgan, *Hawaii: A Century of Economic Change, 1778–1876* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948], appendixes, 230–231; Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom 1854–1874: Twenty Critical Years* [Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1953], 192)
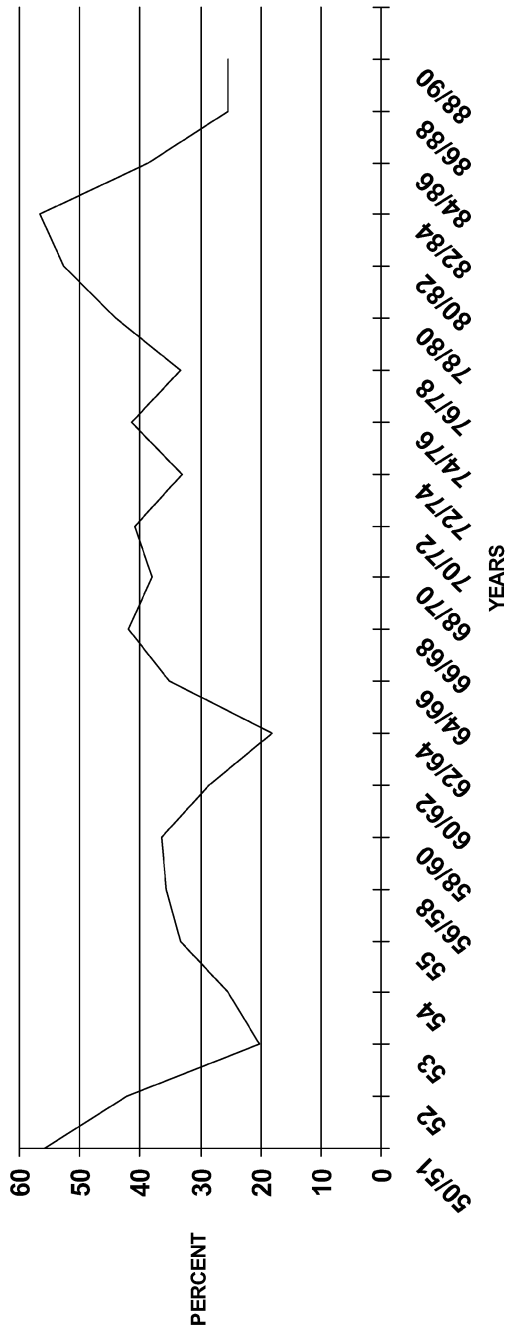
FIGURE 2. Ministry of the Interior expenditure as a percentage of total expenditure, 1850–1890. (*Source: Reports of the Minister of Finance, 1850–1890*)

awkwardly into the Interior hierarchy. There had been a "high sheriff" as early as 1843 until the office was taken over in 1847 by the marshal, the most long-appointed of whom was W. C. Parke, who left a valuable memorandum on the scope of his job. Marshals ran the prisons; but prisons (usually the forts) came under the Interior. Any petitions from prisoners ("the lowest persons and scum of the earth," as they humbly termed themselves when appealing for better conditions in 1855) went directly to the minister and were never reviewed by a judge.[19] The department also supervised sheriffs, who had the functions of a prefect of police. The department, therefore, ran the Honolulu police court, which had an unusually large jurisdiction, acting in all municipal and civil cases and as a grand jury for Oʻahu. Outside of Honolulu, governors appointed police, and the sheriff had little authority except at Hilo, where he doubled as chief of police; this anomaly continued till the police department came under the attorney general's office in 1888.

For other reasons, too, the Interior handled much business normally associated with other departments, because the early years of constitutional monarchy were marked by a lack of precise demarcation between ministerial responsibilities or, indeed, between ministers who occupied a succession of posts and often held several at the same time. Kamehameha III used his trusted *kauk.wauliʻi* John Young (Keoni Ana) or his own brother, Prince Lot Kamehameha, to head the Interior. Young acted as governor of Maui and prime minister while holding this office, and Prince Lot acted as minister of Finance.[20] It was also the case that the immediate links between the Interior and officers on Oʻahu and the islands, especially the governors, gave it primacy over other branches of government. These links were carried out through executives appointed by and responsible to the minister of the Interior because of the requirement laid down in Kamehameha III's first act that governors report first to the Interior on finance, education, justice, and all other matters they dealt with.

Monarchs and Ministers

For their part, senior *haole* ministers such as Dr. G. P. Judd were safely protected in office, so long as they found favor with royalty, given their ability to manage revenue. Safe from the political dangers inherent in any system of responsible cabinet government (such as the one that had emerged only gradually and recently in the United Kingdom), Judd moved from Foreign Affairs to the Ministries of Interior and Finance. He made his first annual report in 1845 to show that he had reduced a $60,000 debt to a reasonably balanced account at $64,045 in revenue and an expenditure appropriation of $70,537, which got the monarchy out of crisis though not completely out of

deficit. But he made the report to the king, not the legislature, because he was principal among the king's servants and a client subject to dismissal in favor of others. Ministers of the Interior, like their colleagues in other departments, did not remain in office for long unless they were close to the monarchy by blood or friendship. John Young took over the department from Judd in 1846, serving as premier till 1855 and continuing till 1857 in a term that accumulated many of the multifarious duties assigned to his officials. This trend was continued from 1857 to 1863 by Prince Lot Kamehameha, who occasionally ran other departments as well. They were followed by short-term clients, G. M. Robertson (1863–1864) and C. G. Hopkins (1864–1865). A longer ministerial term under F. W. Hutchinson introduced a more bureaucratic insistence on record keeping and a more stable corps of civil servants owing their appointment to the minister, from 1865 to 1873. Thereafter, there was a quick succession of ministers—E. O. Hall, H. A. Widemann, W. L. Green, W. Moehonua, J. Mott-Smith—until S. G. Wilder (1878–1880). This pattern of quick turnover reflecting royal idiosyncrasy and cabinet instability continued and contrasts strongly with the longevity of the departmental senior clerks, superintendents, and commissioners of government bodies. There were eleven Interior ministers in ten years through the 1880s (W. M. Gibson served as minister twice) before a constitutional change in 1887 and the ministries of L. A. Thurston, C. N. Spencer, C. T. Gulick, and G. N. Wilcox began to politicize the department and set the scene for the revolution of 1893.

While in office, however, ministers mingled freely with royalty and frequently met the island nobles and governors as they moved between executive office, selection as legislators, and membership in the Privy Council. As a group they could be termed a "service gentry." Paul Kanoa, as minister of Finance in 1842 (though not officially listed), or the Hon. J. M. Kapena worked in residence with Kamehameha III. Inadequately housed along with other ministries in two government bungalows in the 1840s and 1850s close to the king's palace bungalow, armory, and courthouse (both used for legislative meetings), the Interior fought for space less effectively than it fought for resources. It did not find better quarters until the construction of Aliʻiōlani Hale as the main government building, between 1872 and 1874, thus taking priority over, but not exceeding in extravagance, the royal ʻIolani Palace constructed from 1879 to 1882 at a cost of $350,000.

Evidence of appointments at senior levels suggests the Kamehamehas and their successors retained much of the power of patrimonial selection until the 1880s. Under Kamehameha III the king personally nominated and commissioned the head of the government press, the marshal of the Hawaiian Islands (as principal law enforcement officer), the chief justice, the attorney general, ambassadors, heads of boards and commissions, and sundry military

officers. The Hawaiian historian Samuel M. Kamakau had a poor opinion of appointments in the 1850s and regretted that the powers of the governor—the *ali'i kia'āina*—had been spread among other officials.[21] But this view is too sweeping and may reflect Kamakau's experience of bureaucracy as it administered his own publications. The king could also intervene directly in the business of a department. When in 1886 a shortfall was recorded in the accounts of the waterworks and the post office, Kalākaua proposed a wholesale dismissal of all officials in these sections of the Interior. In fact the damage caused by embezzlement was limited by the sudden departure of the assistant postmaster general, I. B. Peterson (a *haole*), who was replaced by a Hawaiian. If the king trusted an envoy, he promoted him at will, as, for example, when Curtis P. Iaukea, former collector general of customs, chamberlain, and governor of O'ahu became ambassador to Britain in 1887.[22] Similarly, Luther 'Aholo, who served as clerk to the governor of Maui, rose to the legislature and became minister of the Interior in 1886–1887, under Kalākaua's favor, as did Paul Kanoa (junior), who became governor of Kaua'i from 1881 to 1886, member of the House of Nobles from 1882 to 1892, privy councillor from 1883 to 1888, and minister of Finance in 1886 and 1887. Those whom kings put down could also be raised from the dust, as was the case with the part-Tahitian Charles B. Wilson, a clever man who superintended the public water supply in the 1880s and was a close friend of Lili'uokalani, who immediately promoted him to the position of marshal on her accession.[23]

All kings, therefore, created ministers—rather than accepting nominations through a legislature or embryonic party system—and none more frequently than David Kalākaua (1876–1887), who commissioned some thirty-seven in all, eleven of whom were Hawaiians or part-Hawaiians. Other forms of patronage were less in the public interest: for example, his support for the Italian confidence man Celso Moreno in his bid for steamer and cable lines and an opium concession.[24] These bids for subsidy came to nothing, but Kalākaua made Moreno minister of Foreign Affairs until he was forced out by the diplomatic community's lack of recognition.

At this level of royal promotion, successful ministers usually staffed their own departments or accepted what they found, as a second level of patronage that secured appointments for the handful of clerks who executed daily business and who came to have considerable expertise and influence. In 1846, for example, G. M. Robertson began his long career in Hawaiian government by writing to John Young for a post in the Interior as a clerk, because the premier had the power to make such appointments "according to your own wish," though he hoped Judd would also consent.[25] In June 1847 Robertson renewed his clerkship for ten years at a salary of $1,300 a year, an appointment confirmed by Young and Judd under ministerial seal. In 1848 he threat-

ened to resign if his salary was not increased to $2,000, equal to the treasurer or the minister of Education, and got his way. Such correspondence from a useful ministerial client has survived in miscellaneous files, rather than in the carefully transcribed and copied files for departmental sections, largely because of its semi-informal nature, in the absence of any system of selection by competition or examination. It shows that other chief clerks entered service in the same way as Robertson—by personal appointment through the minister of the day—but they did so less frequently, as old hands stayed in the top jobs. By the 1880s J. A. Hassinger could fairly be said to have become a permanent principal secretary (as chief clerk) with an annual salary of $3,000, or half that of the minister, and lasted for fifteen years between 1880 and 1894, as ministers came and went and the monarchy was dissolved.

The outward letterbooks of Interior correspondence from the 1840s reveal a different and less personal style, confirming or disallowing agents and governors' decisions, offering advice, citing legal precedents, and giving directions on how to hear cases according to rules of evidence. Indeed, a surprisingly large amount of Interior work covered legal and court business normally handled by a Crown prosecution service or an attorney general's department. Otherwise outward letters take the form of directives aimed at controlling the rising tide of land divisions and sales, when decisions were handed down by the king in privy council. One formal reply to begging letters became standard. However precariously the government itself might live on credit, the department refused to grant loans to Hawaiians starting up a business.

One can gain some idea of what Hawaiian officers thought of the Interior department as an instrument of government from the suggested plan of reorganization sent in by the noble and sometime judge Z. Kaumaea to the king in November 1848. He envisaged a whole departmental section devoted to royal and noble genealogies (complete with victories and defeats) to maintain the credentials of those in high office, a section to manage the property of the kingdom, emphasis on loyalty as a qualification for office, and a department on constitutional problems—in all a revealing document on the difficulties of reconciling patrimonialism with constitutional prescriptions.[26]

Governors

As in the case of ministers, patronage was exercised at the first level by appointment of nobles to governorships, the Privy Council, and cabinet office with charge of departments, along with *haole* clients of the king. According to the 1840 constitution, governors were appointed by the king for Maui and Kaua'i with the approval of both houses—in fact by the nobles. But in 1845 Kamehameha III removed Young from Maui and made him premier "be-

cause he was a favorite and the choice of the king" and simply nominated his replacement, J. Kaneoha, on his own initiative.[27] In effect such a practice simply continued consolidation of power by the Kamehameha lineage in the 1820s and 1830s, when a number of the immediate descendants of the paramount chiefs of Maui and Kaua'i were appointed as governors. For Hawai'i island royals were a more usual choice, beginning with Kuakini, brother of Ka'ahumanu, and continuing through a line of close relatives throughout the period. Following Boki's governorship of O'ahu (1819–1830), the patriarch Mataio Kekūanaō'a stayed in office as governor for some thirty years, as the husband of a daughter of Kamehameha I and himself father of two kings (Lot and Liholiho). He was followed for a period of twenty years by Prince John Dominis, who also governed Maui in the early 1880s. But these royal appointments and pluralities disguised the functions of a number of deputies and acting governors who in many ways are the successors to the *kaukauali'i* (Table 1).

As nobles and officers of the Crown, the island governors corresponded with all departments, but especially with the Interior. Second-level patronage, rather than competition by applicants, secured posts for their subordinate officials who carried out the functions the governorships were intended to service, especially in revenue collection and general supervision of Crown and government lands. They were not well furbished to do this; and there were constant appeals for paper, ink, furniture, and copies of statutes. J. M. Kapena, as assistant to Acting Governor Kapeau on Hawai'i, complained in 1851 he was ashamed of his office and his inability to carry out repairs and feed and clothe the soldiers of the fort when appropriations did not come to hand.[28]

Reliable secondary appointments, therefore, were vital to the main function of governors and ministers in charge of internal affairs and finance, namely, assessment and collection of numerous direct taxes (poll tax, schools, road labor, animals) and licenses. In 1848 Governor Kekūanaō'a on O'ahu appointed his own deputy, John 'Ī'ī, and suggested a relative, Namauli, to assist him.[29] It was normal in the 1840s for a governor to appoint tax officers (as Leleiohoku did for Hawai'i in November 1845) simply by sending in a list of names with their areas of collection or assessment. Theirs was the first line of access to resources on the part of the monarchical state, including forced labor of prisoners, set to work cutting coral for roads, and others forced to pay their road tax by labor. In return, they were expected to protect commoners' rights, ensure access to a judicial system and elementary education (in return for a special tax), and supervise road construction, the main form of public works.

In general, a governor did not make up the accounts for returns of public works. These accounts were meticulously made out and forwarded through the governor to the Interior department and to Finance by the overseers for

TABLE 1. **Governors of the Hawaiian Islands**

	O'ahu		Maui		Hawai'i		Kaua'i
1836–66	Mataiao Kekūanaō'a[a]	1845	Kekauonohi, John Young	1820–45	Kuakini	1845	Keali'iahonu
1855	N. Kahulanui, deputy	1848–50	J. Kaneoha	1845–46	W. P. Leleiohoku	1850s–1872	P. Kanoa
1866–86	Prince J. O. Dominis[b]	1851–74	P. Nahaolelua[c]	1851–54	G. L. Kapeau,	1875–80	J. E. Bush
1886–87	C. P. Iaukea	1875–76	J. Kapena		J. Kapena (assistant)	1881	F. W. Beckley
		1877–78	W. L. Moehonua	1856–74	Ruth Ke'elikōlani	1881–86	P. Kanoa Jr.
		1879–86	Prince Dominis	1876–78	S. Kipi	1887	Lanihau
		1886	R. Hoapili	1880	Likelike[d]		
		1887	R. H. Baker	1881–84	Kekaulike		
				1885–86	Pomaikelani		
				1887	Ululani		

Sources: Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands*, 6; Hawai'i State Archives, Interior, Misc. boxes and letterbooks; card index of personal names; *The Hawaiian Almanac and Register* (1875–1893).

Note: This list must be regarded as tentative so far as some of the dates are concerned. In 1892, after formal abolition of governorships, there was a return to titular governors: A. S. Cleghorn (spouse of Princess Likelike), governor of O'ahu; T. W. Everett (a former sheriff), governor of Maui; J. T. Baker, governor of Hawai'i; W. H. Rice, governor of Kaua'i.

[a]A patriarch married to a daughter of Kamehameha I and father of two kings, Lot Kamehameha and Alexander Liholiho, as well as father of Ruth Ke'elikōlani. He frequently used deputies such as John Ī'ī and N. Kahulanui.

[b]Prince consort (1832–1891) to Lili'uokalani.

[c]Also an agriculturalist in wheat and rice and an investor in milling. Used assistants such as J. Y. Kaneoha and Luther 'Aholo.

[d]Princess Miriam Likelike, a sister of David Kalākaua.

each district. But he was responsible for sending in audited lists of taxes. The outward letterbook of Governor Kekūanaōʻa records in detail the business of keeping up the fort, the prison, and prisoners; numbers and salaries of tax collectors, magistrates, judges, and their clerks; payments made to the attendants of the king on tour; and taxes, provisions, and gifts to the king's servants *(hulu manu).*[30] Other governors were sometimes more casual in this administration of revenue. Acting Governor Kapeau did not hesitate to cover immediate expenditure directly out of tax collections to pay for judges, the police, jails, an official vessel, and a mountain road, which he balanced out neatly at $753 for a quarter of 1850.[31] Governor Nahaolelua of Hawaiʻi simply reported in December 1855 that "quite a bit of money was received," leaving it to his assistants to forward vouchers. From about 1858, however, governors had to send in quarterly reports of revenue and other matters both to Finance and to the Interior, leaving these two departments to settle returns. And in 1860 the marshal was required to send in vouchers as a check against lists of tax returns. In order to budget more accurately, Gregg as Finance minister insisted on estimates of returns through the Interior from this date, though there was still some confusion about which minister and/or governor could have the last say in approving appointments of tax officials. Licenses to trade were invariably very detailed, though it is remarkable the returns were sent to Interior and not to Finance for audit. In the 1850s a new responsibility was added—management of licenses to growers of the stimulant *awa,* sold to Hawaiians who held certificates as "*awa* drinkers." Governors also handled for the department "letters patents" (a form of extortion demanded for publications or inventions, monopolies, and concessions of various kinds), the auction of liquor licenses, and a lucrative collection of "bonds" from anyone opening a business.[32] There was always a brisk turnover in the sale of certificates of nationality, because these were essential to foreign residents undertaking business or agricultural ventures.

Departmental Patronage and Governors

Much of the special power of the Interior flowed from the ways in which executives were chosen and appointed by king and ministers. The Interior department received numerous solicitations from Hawaiians and Europeans for minor and senior posts, couched in a culturally determined code: fulsome, flattering, and obsequious in the Hawaiian letters; short and to the point (and mostly indifferent to references backing qualifications) in the case of foreigners. The governors were the first line of inquiry for acceptance or rejection of such applications.

It became usual for governors to exercise their judgment on filling local

offices by sending in notice of their choice to the Interior. Or, as Governor Kekūanaōʻa of Oʻahu put it to Kamehameha, "because that is the King's pre-rogative to know."[33] But that was usually after an appointment had been made on other grounds. More typically, a correspondent writing to Governor Kanoa in 1840 identified a best friend ("favorite chum" [*punahele*]) of the governor of Oʻahu for whom a job had to be found on Kauaʻi.[34] From the outset of their careers the two nobles Kapena and Kanoa, who rose to become gov-ernors of Maui and Kauaʻi and were appointed by Kamehameha III as "com-panions in the administration of our Chiefs," seem to have had a special under-standing about finding jobs for Hawaiians.[35] While writing to his fellow noble the governor of Kauaʻi in 1853 concerning the commissioning of tax collec-tors, John Kapena put in a good word for a friend and client, Kuokoa (an officer at Wailua), who had been convicted by a local Hawaiian justice and needed a change of location.[36]

Such posts were keenly sought after for salaries and to avoid labor taxes from which officials were exempt, and it was not unknown for a supplicant to ask to be assessor and collector at the same time (though this was illegal). In Judd's correspondence for 1845, appointment notes are listed with assigned areas and specification of duties, though no salaries are mentioned at this date, and officials may have received a commission instead. Later collectors were paid through the Finance department—a very high salary of $6,000 for a collector general, which was more than the salary of a cabinet minister, while his clerk got as much as a minister. Collectors and assessors got about $400 each.

Occasionally a bold applicant might go over the governor's head, as when a certain Opuni petitioned Kamehameha III and Kekāuluohi—the *kuhina nui* —on 2 June 1845, for the tax district of ʻEwa on Oʻahu to replace an ineffi-cient tax official who worked that district while living in Honolulu. There were also petitions directly to the premier for removal of unpopular tax collectors (on grounds of adultery, drinking too much *awa,* or favoring Catholics when allocating less arduous labor tax work). On Maui Governor Paul Nahaolelua was accused by a disappointed applicant of "appointing those who are closely related to him as Tax Collectors."[37] Governors could also turn a blind eye to abuses. There is some evidence that George L. Kapeau, as acting governor of Hawaiʻi from 1846, tolerated tax extortion and fines from commoners, while richer land owners were exempted, and arbitrary remission of taxes was made by *konohiki* overseers.[38]

Such evidence is suggestive rather than conclusive proof of a more general pattern of partiality toward kin and friends or deference toward property owners and social peers. It was within a governor's powers to allow exemptions of taxes on compassionate grounds, and it may well have been tempting to

make such exemptions for friends and relatives. Consolidated lists of internal taxes display very poor levels of collection of poll taxes in relation to population compared with property taxes.[39] But an overlenient or partial governor ran the risk of a challenge from other disgruntled taxpayers at this form of favoritism, as the governor of Maui found in 1857, though a departmental inquiry upheld his decision to allow exemptions. More rarely there was evidence of outright tax embezzlement, which came to light on Hawai'i, for example, in 1860.[40] All that can be said, perhaps, is that official clients of royals and ministers were not immune from conflicts of duty and loyalty toward their patron-employers, on the one hand, and their local constituency of friends and relatives, on the other, before stricter methods of accounting curtailed this largesse.

Governors also made free with lesser appointments, such as vaccinators and census officers, whose work was defined in a circular titled "Positions As Prescribed by the King," that were reserved for native Hawaiians only.[41] As a result of gubernatorial generosity in finding jobs, some districts clearly had too many officials, such as district 5 on Hawai'i with 104 constables, 76 school agents, and 72 teachers, all exempt from labor days—a constant source of complaint from the less fortunate. Such prescribed roles are evidence of an emergent bureaucracy at work using the government press and with a bias toward Hawaiians. But they should not disguise the fact that the actual appointments by selection were patrimonial. Consequently, there were sometimes tensions concerning the ethnic origins of applicants that did not necessarily work in Hawaiians' favor. In 1857 Governor Paul Kanoa of Kaua'i took issue with the appointment of two *haole* tax assessors by Lot Kamehameha, when he had already appointed six Hawaiians on the island. But he had to yield to the prince and employ the Hawaiians plus the two foreigners H. A. Widemann and G. Wundenberg, who were particularly in favor with the court at this period.[42] Ultimately, Widemann superseded the governor by becoming minister of the Interior in 1874. Governor Kekūanaō'a made appointments more cautiously by not omitting to issue commissions (as Kanoa had done) and by sending in his list for approval first. Ruth Ke'elikōlani as governor of Hawai'i island had no hesitation in moving judges from one district to another and suggesting appointments of tax collectors while Lot was minister, but then she had more influence as the prince's half-sister. In general, through the 1880s governors continued to send in lists of assessors and collectors who were all Hawaiians (including a relative of the minister J. E. Bush).[43]

Beyond the routine of executive administration, a governor was also a patron and adviser to commoners in social matters. Governors approved a list of ministers of religion permitted to conduct marriages (Mormons were excluded). Their approval was required for petitions for divorce, usually on

grounds of adultery or violence, which produced a steady flow of recorded marital misery reported to the Interior and accepted on the governor's recommendation. Divorces were expensive—$17 to $20 plus a fee for official notification. A governor could also interfere with minor court cases or settle matters of disputed inheritance in conjunction with another noble. Such decisions were final, where the litigants had no other recourse to law.

Judiciary and Law Officers

Normally one would expect the judiciary to have been distinct from the Interior department. But in judicial matters there was at first under the 1840s constitution a very vague line between executive and courts. A defendant, Kauwahi, wrote successfully to premier John Young, on 17 June 1845, requesting the supreme court (consisting of Young and the king) not to refer a case to lower courts, where magistrates on Oʻahu were "relatives and friends" of the governor who was prosecuting him. When in 1848 a judge appointed by the governor of Hawaiʻi punished the workers of B. Pitman (who had opposed his appointment), Young arbitrarily rescinded his judgments.[44] In 1868 a minister interfered with a court ruling on Molokaʻi where judge Charles Kala had summoned D. Walsh, an agent of the Board of Health (and in charge of the leper station). Kala was admonished for attempting to try an official on a trivial charge. If a sheriff dismissed a police officer (as happened in April 1855), even the deputy to the governor of Oʻahu (one N. Kahulanui) could step in to delay the dismissal until reasons had been given.

The early period of occlusion of functions between governors and the judiciary produced other anomalies, especially when judges appeared before the Land Commission at the beginning of the Mahele. Complaints were made to William Lee as the commission's president in 1848 that Z. Kaauwai acted as counsel for a friend and sat as a judge as well.[45] Problems also arose from the quasi-judicial functions of the governor when a judge was the appointee of a different patron. For example, Nahaolelua as governor of Maui sought permission to dismiss and bring to trial judge Kaauwai because of "erroneous" decisions in court. He hesitated to do this, however, because he had heard that the judge had been appointed by the minister of Public Instruction, the Hon. Limaikaika, until Keoni Ana, his own patron, agreed.[46]

But, in general, governors worked comfortably with island judges, whom they had to keep supplied with copies of laws. Hawaiians or part-Hawaiians in the 1840s and early 1850s filled the posts of circuit judges, magistrates, and assessors (nineteen posts in all for Hawaiʻi). Service with the judiciary, moreover, was a step toward executive or legislative office. John Kapena, when a circuit judge on Hawaiʻi, began his distinguished career by being appointed

deputy and assistant by Governor G. L. Kapeau, which he gratefully accepted to raise his income. Mobility of officeholders between executive functions in the outer islands and the central administration or the legislature was both a career inducement and a drain on local resources. Petitions in 1860 protested at the practice of schoolteachers, judges, and other officials standing for election to the legislature, which took away much-needed services; the protestors were backed by the governor of Maui. But the practice, which safeguarded an official majority in the lower house of the legislature, did not end.

Noblesse Oblige

Governors were persons of high social status as well as administrative standing. Ruth Keʻelikōlani, a noble and chieftainess in her own right who became governor of Hawaiʻi, brought to the notice of Prince Lot an alleged insult to her dignity on the part of a police constable who excluded her from a meeting and had him reprimanded.[47] Hawaiian attitudes, however, remained fairly constant in their respect for governors. On Kauaʻi in 1872 a petition urging provision of a pension for Governor Kanoa received 131 signatures from those who felt that "some high born Chief" should be appointed, more specifically Prince Lunalilo or David Kalākaua. A more delicate situation arose on Maui, where, during the election of a new monarch in 1872, Governor Nahaolelua was excluded from meetings (largely in favor of Lunalilo) on the grounds he was a Kalākaua or Dominis supporter until he attended a second electoral meeting and kept his preferences to himself.[48]

Governors were also the channel for petitions to king and ministers, as one in 1845, for example, asking for lighter taxation and "no foreigners" as senior officials.[49] But it became more difficult to discriminate against *haole*, who were important as a source of tax revenue. Providing they took oaths of allegiance to the Hawaiian monarchy, foreigners had no difficulty obtaining licenses, lands, and jobs. Other forms of petition infrequently made out a case for support for Hawaiians in business. In 1851 Kamehameha was asked to assist in the formation of a Hawaiian company *(hui)* with a loan of $550 and two officials to help run it, on the condition that the money would be paid back in due course, or "our lives will be forfeited."[50] Some of the nobility and royals were not above petitioning also. Princess Liliʻuokalani and others successfully requested Bush in 1882 to remove the Hon. J. Moanauli from a water commission at Kona, Oʻahu, because he was an interested party to the case, having caused a stream to be closed.

Finally, governors were in charge of the forts, their armament, and their militias. In 1861, for example, Governor Kekūanaōʻa of Oʻahu reported directly to Prince Lot in Honolulu, as comander in chief, on his selection of

a hundred police recruits and a hundred volunteer soldiers. Kapena in his meteoric career was made a (temporary) brigadier general as governor of O'ahu in 1878. In general, this pattern of employing civil officials in military roles was entrenched by royals' predilection for military pomp. When Prince Dominis became governor of O'ahu, he took over control of the military as adjutant general. The institution of military titles is a feature of the Kalākaua regime along with the creation of princes (Leleiohoku was made captain of a guards cavalry company); and much was spent on decorations, arms, and accoutrements—band, flags, and salutes (priced at $33,365 in the financial returns for 1883). A royal staff was added to the king's entourage in the 1880s, and majors added to the governor of O'ahu's staff. Dominis was made commander in chief of armed forces by Kalākaua in 1886, resigning the governorship of O'ahu, to which the king appointed Curtis P. Iaukea, and the Hon. R. Hoapili (formerly royal chamberlain) was made governor of Maui.

While the royals embellished themselves with new titles and founded orders of chivalry, the civil servants looked for new ways to expand their own fiefs. By 1854 G. M. Robertson as a clerk to the Interior understood thoroughly how the system worked. As senior assistant and client to Young, he had no difficulty in exercising his own patronage by looking favorably on a request from S. M. Keonekapu written in Hawaiian to "Robikana" that posts of surveyor or vaccinator be found for friends on Maui. Direct application through the department's clerks as well as indirect requests through the island governors were made for positions like auctioneers, mail carriers, road supervisors, enumerators, and jailers, as government expanded its reach. The obituary columns were closely watched for vacancies not advertised in any other way. In 1859 J. H. Ka'auwaepa'a, on learning of the death of J. Pi'ikoi, privy councillor, immediately applied for his sinecure as clerk of the Honolulu market. More unusual applicants sought to run the penitentiary at Lahaina in 1851. Although solicitations for employment on behalf of friends were usually from Hawaiians, it was not unknown for a Hawaiian to ask for the appointment of an American resident, as J. H. Napela did for his friend John Boardman in June 1857.

Some of the department's appointments merged with normal contracting for the services of builders, roadmakers, and shipbuilders. At this level of public employment, the department did business with local firms, usually for a fixed fee, but also on a long-term basis at an annual retainer ($300 a year was not unusual) with a proviso the contractor remain sober. But no tenders were called for, and the work was not allocated on a competitive basis. As public works expanded, the governors were called on to appoint road supervisors more frequently; and Kapena as governor of Maui was still doing this in 1876, when he was commissioned by the king as a member of the

House of Nobles and continued his governorship. Other arrangements for what look like personal appointments were dignified by a formal contract. In October 1846 there was an open-ended agreement between the Interior minister and the king, on the one hand, and S. P. Kalama, on the other, to enter government service as a writer, surveyor, or overseer (or any other work) for $20 a month and further increments. In 1862 applicants began to produce references, as in the case of John S. Low, who applied directly to Gregg for the position of registrar of public accounts. But such formality was not always observed. In 1873 it was still possible for an ambitious young Hawaiian, D. S. Kupahu, to apply to the minister of the Interior, E. O. Hall, "as a friend," to become road overseer and agent for all government contracts in Kohala. Once one was in the ranks of officialdom, mobility of all grades was common. A tax assessor whose post came to an end applied in 1875 to the minister—a fellow Hawaiian—for work in the office for shipping "Polynesian" labor.[51] Such applications expanded in number under Kalākaua; and there was frequently a debate within the Interior and with legislators acting as patrons regarding who exactly should be a land agent or a road supervisor, if colleagues of the minister refused an applicant. When a minister was on tour, he was more vulnerable to this kind of petition. An offer of accommodation was made to Moehonua in 1875 by D. S. Kupahu ("we being true Hawaiians") in return for permission to purchase some government land.[52] Thus, too, was S. K. Kaʻai ("younger kin") appointed by Moehonua in August 1875 as overseer of government lands and road supervisor in North Kona, where he began taking out leases on his own behalf. If sponsored mobility among officials was common, so too were pluralities in officeholding. A constant feature of the 1880s is the frequency with which senior officials from the Interior, including the minister, doubled as land commissioners; appraisers of lands; commissioners of private ways, water rights, fences, and boundaries; and, not least, inspectors of stallions, as the plethora of measures to squeeze revenue from the market in property rights expanded.

Governors as *Konohiki:* Land and Cattle

A major source of access to resources had always been through land management; and this did not change, as new mechanisms were developed in the course of the great land divisions of the 1840s and 1850s. For nobles and governors, land was managed by agents or landlords—*konohiki*—with responsibility for providing livestock for feasts. Before the division of estates, some *konohiki* continued to control forced labor, particularly that of women, "the same as in ancient times," to provide mats, tapa cloth, and fishing lines, which conflicted with laws requiring women to keep house.[53] Similarly, prisoners

at Hilo were used as labor on coffee and taro lands managed by landlords for the government at Waihaka in 1848.[54] The same delegation of economic functions to loyal subordinates from chiefly lineages runs through the correspondence of Boaz Mahune and Governor Kanoa in obedience to Kamehameha III's orders in September 1840 to group together tenants—"persons who plant by the acre at Wailuku"—under a royal overseer to teach them plantation work and to punish them if necessary. The growing industry of cattle ranching required a different technique. Permits for use of government land on Maui were issued by Kamehameha III in return for one-tenth of the cattle reared, which became a standard tribute or rent. In 1845 the royal plantation experiment at Wailuku was ended, and Mahune was made overseer of a royal herd, tended by client commoners for a tenth of reproduction and returns from slaughtering.[55] This cattle culling and management had come about, as Assistant Governor Kaneoha reminded the king in 1850, as a result of Vancouver's gift of cattle "to your father and my father."[56] How were they to be shared out between their family interests and the heirs of John Young—"the close companion of your father" *(ka hoapili o ko Makuakane)*? In the end they were counted, rounded up, branded, and divided equally. This duty of care on the part of a client official for the assets of royalty continued; and Governor Kanoa on Kauaʻi took personal charge of contracting labor to run Prince Lot's herd of cattle.[57] The prince extended his interests into growing wheat for milling on Maui in 1857—a part-official and part-private enterprise superintended by Governor Nahaolelua. The governor also undertook management of cattle pounds in the 1850s to lessen conflicts between cultivators and uncontrolled livestock. To these sources were added commissions on land sales, a quarter interest in allocation of *kuleana* lots to commoners, income from the sale of captured wild cattle, and a tax from Hawaiian seamen going abroad.

The land divisions of the 1850s and early 1860s added considerably to the duties of governors, created new posts, and opened ways for land acquisition by officials. Agreed by Kamehameha III and organized through the Interior, the initial share-out was intended to divide lands among government (after allocation of royal lands), chiefs, and commoners.[58] In effect, a Privy Council committee consisting of Young, Judd, Piʻikoi, and Kekūanāoʻa began the process in 1847 and 1848, leaving the complex verification of titles and survey to the Land Commission of 1848–1850 and its successor agencies. In general, titles in perpetuity were refused to Hawaiian applicants until the first division of chiefs' and royal estates "for the reason that one chief has lived after the example of another by way of Konohikis (landlords) in the form of relatives and they are doing away with the idea of living promiscuously."[59] This somewhat arcane reason indicated a political change in the mobility and

hierarchy of chiefs, in the sense that many wished to end a roving supervision of royal and *ahupua'a* lands in favor of a permanent allocation of estates held personally and not administered through clients as landlords ("as companions by birth"). So untitled applicants had to wait; and no foreigner could be granted land in fee simple until taking an oath of allegiance that could only be administered on O'ahu.

There are some early notices of sales, however, for example, to G. M. Moore in 1847—100 acres at $1 per acre. An exception seems to have been made, too, for a Hawaiian, 'Atoni, who was awarded "the Uluwalu Lands" in March 1849 by the king in privy council in fee simple as a reward for doing government business.[60] A hard line had to be taken, however, with an island governor, Kanoa, when Young leased land (on which Kanoa had planted sugarcane) on the grounds it belonged to the government.[61] But by the early 1850s there is a detectable sale of estates from chiefs to foreigners reported to the Interior through the governors, at prices ranging from $2 to $5 an acre, subject to survey and award of title. Similarly, the Hon. S. M. Kamakau purchased lands from the government at Kalihi, O'ahu, for the high price of $6 an acre at this date. Governor Kanoa bought ten acres at $3 per acre in December 1850 and then a further fifty acres at $2 an acre at Hilo. As correspondence on the subject expanded, it is clear that many title sales during this early phase of the Mahele were to Hawaiians, as the basis for the formation of a landed elite of nobles and officials. Many had difficulty funding their investments. Governor Kapeau fell into arrears over payment for lands bought in 1855 (585 acres on Hawai'i) and had to be reminded twice in 1857 and 1858 of his debts before settling.

A report of the minister of the Interior in 1850 included for the first time a section on the Land Commission, which from 1848 to 1850 handled 10,360 claims. At this date awards were few, because of the need for surveys—only 697, of which 54 were titles in fee simple. But land sales had already begun. From 1847 to 1850, some 247 sales were made, disposing of 27,292 acres in fee simple for $57,086 (or about $2 per acre). Outward letters from the department listed dozens and dozens of titles arising from the preliminary division between chiefs and government in which rights of commoners were generally "reserved" but had to be defended and defined before the Land Commission for fees. In all, as is well known, during the height of the land division, from 1846 to 1865, some half a million acres of public (government) land were sold off for wetland farming, homesteading, truck gardening, and ranching at an average price of $1.11 per acre.[62] To benefit the new gentry, a land tax was suspended between 1852 and 1859, when it was reintroduced by a government desperate for revenue.[63] After 1865 sale of "Crown" lands —the royals' share of some three-quarter million acres—was curtailed. This

curtailment did not prevent royals acquiring more: David Kalākaua acquired a lease of lands on Hawaiʻi for $500 a year in 1886.[64]

By 1868 much of this land business was handled routinely by the clerk of the Interior, Widemann, and through the governors, especially Nahaolelua on Maui.[65] Much, too, was delegated in the case of boundaries to locally appointed commissioners of private ways and water rights and to agents concerned with leases of commoners' lands. A governor's supervision of royal and government estates became vital when the practice of sending land agents and surveyors was adopted in the late 1850s. Governors' duties now included inspection and advice on suitability of land for cultivation or grazing. Any would-be purchasers had to apply first to the agent for an evaluation reported to the governor. Later, in 1870, official "appraisers" of lands were approved and appointed by Hutchinson; L. ʻAholo gained experience in this function before becoming water commissioner and then clerk to the governor of Maui. In the case of Prince Lot's lands on Hawaiʻi, Ruth Keʻelikōlani took a special interest in the work of these officials who held a coveted appointment and who could determine the area and price of land sales and leases. In 1858 Kamehameha gave her detailed instructions on how to appoint land agents for Kona and Kaʻū districts, and left it to her to choose them. She also advised on lease of royal lands in Kohala, suggesting suitable tenants, though more usually his agent, William Uepa, forwarded rents for the king's estates at Lahaina and Honokōwai.[66] In 1870 there was a shift in responsibility. Ruth Keʻelikōlani clashed with the minister, Hutchinson, over her appointment of government land agents on Hawaiʻi whom Hutchinson dismissed: "and I know that you have already made up your mind to give this work to one of your foreigners."[67] Hutchinson's reasons were simply that her agents had never forwarded any reports on disbursements and land values, and he politely denied her allegations of *haole* patronage. But by 1873 all such business on Hawaiʻi was handled by the *haole* R. A. Lyman, as lieutenant governor, an indication of the way in which royals as governors of that island were undermined by the Interior department.

Clearly, behind the general concentration of ownership of fertile lands in Hawaiian and foreign hands, there lies an important history of administrative management that still remains to be accounted for in detail. Island governors and their nominated officials were central in changes of ownership, control, and investment. But the work of a governor as supervisor of lands became more difficult to handle, especially where *haole* ranchers surrounded a block of government lands and encroached, as in South Kona in the mid-1870s, obliging the land agent and the governor to impound trespassing stock.[68] L. Kaina, for his part, earned the praise of Gulick, clerk to the Interior, in January 1870 for his work as agent for government lands on Hawaiʻi and especially for his generous attention to the needs of *haole* purchasers. But

after 1875 land claims were referred increasingly to the courts, where agents or appraisers and governors had more difficulty influencing and settling conflicts of interest.[69] The work, moreover, took up a governor's time, when it could not be left to subordinates. In 1877 Governor Moehonua of Maui was appointed as agent for government lands for Maui, Moloka'i, and Lāna'i, leaving all routine business to his assistant, Luther 'Aholo. In the mid-1870s long lists of allocations of *kuleana* land lots to commoners with valid claims were handled by the Interior with serial numbers well into the six or seven thousands, for a registration fee of $5 each.[70]

Patronage and Bureaucracy

From about 1870, during Hutchinson's ministry, one can detect both an expansion of posts for *haole* and Hawaiians and a willingness to take tighter control over appointments made by governors' patronage. In the departmental letterbook for 1872–1875, more *haole* officials were appointed as agents and auctioneers (for example, N. H. Greenwell on Hawai'i, who delivered royal patents awarding land titles and collected dues for a commission of 5 percent), responsible directly to the minister of the Interior.[71] At a more senior level, however, Hawaiians were still favored. In 1874 the post of commissioner of boundaries was awarded to L. Kaina to separate "Crown," government, and *konohiki* lands at Puna district on Hawai'i in cooperation with W. Kaloi (as government representative), with responsibility to the king and cabinet. This post entailed determining the value and price of lands to be sold. The Hon. S. Kipi was appointed as an appraiser along with the Hon. R. A. Lyman (deputy governor of Hawai'i) and J. Nāwahī at same date in an effort to establish the unimproved value of all government lands. A delicate case arose concerning W. M. Gibson's claim to a lease of all government lands on Lāna'i in 1873, which Lot Kamehameha had agreed to when minister of the Interior and then reversed when he became king. Governor Nahaolelua was ordered to handle this case and reported that the lands (also in the names of Kamehameha V, Queen Emma, and other royals) were small lots occupied by many commoners, though Gibson pointed out that they were also leased by a company *(hui)* registered in the name of the governor, but no fees had been paid. The king and cabinet decided to lease three blocks to Gibson, the king's friend and future minister, partitioning the island in effect, and left Nahaolelua to arrange rents and boundaries. On O'ahu, too, in the mid-1870s the allocation and ownership of *konohiki* lands formerly in the charge of royal landlords resulted in a partition organized at the highest level by nobles representing the Crown, Princess Ke'elikōlani, and "various parties"—*haole*s or Hawaiians prepared to lease from royal titleholders.[72]

So, although correspondence on land and other matters became more

legalistic in tone, access to resources on the part of the Hawaiian elite continued to be controlled directly by king and ministers. Within the Interior department the ministers Hutchinson, Hall, Widemann, and Green (1873–1876) were in office too short a time to do more than keep pace with the need to find executive officials suggested by governors. But much of the older informality concerning appointments continued under Kalākaua with Moehonua as minister, when patronage swung in favor of Hawaiians again. The governor of Maui could choose his own deputy and resisted Hutchinson's attempts to foist H. Dickenson on him in 1871, when his own choice was David Kamaiapili. But applications for the position of circuit judge to Hutchinson from Hawaiians who did not have English were not sanctioned, though the usual begging letters for tax jobs were not rejected for this reason. There was a bigger clash between Hutchinson and Circuit Judge J. Nakila, Maui, when his judgments were rescinded. In the sensitive area of land administration, race was not necessarily a deciding factor, though it was ever-present. The Hawaiian A. Kaiwi suggested D. Māmaki for the Board of Appraisal of lands on Maui in 1874, because he was "honest and acceptable to foreigners," in a job that had been done formerly by a *haole,* and the *haole* minister gave his consent.[73] But to some extent battle lines in the civil service were being drawn. When an assistant to a deputy sheriff (a post earning $20 a month) was dismissed by a *haole* in 1874, he wrote at once to a noble legislator for a job as a road overseer in Kohala, adding a postscript: "Take notice of us Hawaiians or you will make a mistake and entertain the foreigner" *(Eike ia kona Hawaii oikipa hewa oka haole).*[74] A departmental list of executive officials in 1876 distinguishing between those with an understanding of Hawaiian and English from those with a working knowledge of only one language indicates that the law officers (marshal, sheriffs, deputy sheriffs) had considerable linguistic ability; overseers had Hawaiian only; while twenty-three district judges were in the main Hawaiian with only three *haole* (and none bilingual).[75] Circuit judges and clerks were all *haole* and sometimes insensitive to the problems faced by a governor and assistants lacking the latest laws in Hawaiian editions.[76] The Kalākaua regime appears to have reversed Hutchinson's preferences for Europeans. W. Martin, a part-Hawaiian, sent his congratulations to the minister H. A. P. Carter in October 1880, because there had been so many appointments "agreeable to the people of the Nation."[77] At this period, too, some Hawaiian business applications begin to appear in departmental files as multiple partnerships under license—some in "co-partnership" with government for provisioning and handling government stores. But they are few in number compared with business applications from Chinese in the 1880s. Many more Hawaiians moved into auctioneering than into retailing.

Through the early 1880s to 1887, the governors carried out the same

system of appointments as before of judges, magistrates, and tax officials, even while Lorrin Thurston was Interior minister. There was a small contest of wills between the two systems of patronage by governor or minister in October 1887, when S. E. Kaiue, clerk to the governor of Maui, asked Thurston to call a halt to lease of lands to W. M. Gibson on Lāna'i, where only three blocks were left to its Hawaiian inhabitants. Kaiue intervened to save these by permanent lease in the face of Gibson's claim to own the whole island by appealing to the minister, "as you are in the position of a kind of father over the rich as well as the poor." In other words, Thurston was asked to exercise a patrimonial discretion on behalf of the commoners.[78] Thurston was not deaf to such appeals. He received favorably a request in 1888 from J. G. Hoapili, who had been dismissed as district magistrate (for another Hawaiian) and found him a position. In the past such requests would have come through an island governor, but by the late 1870s and 1880s ministers handled departmental patronage directly.

It is clear, too, that in the case of royal governorships (on Hawai'i and O'ahu), there is much less correspondence through the department, reflecting the busy life of a key local official. Rather, the bulk of business was transferred to superintendents of public works or to land valuers and was usually in English only by about 1880. There are many Hawaiian correspondents in the outward letterbooks, but few are written to more than once or twice as road supervisors or commissioners of private ways, compared with W. H. Rickard, a road supervisor, or L. Severance, sheriff of Hawai'i. So important did the post of road supervision become that supervisors in chief were appointed from 1885, and they were invariably *haole*. The bulk of district judges were Hawaiian. But at the highest levels successors to governorships from among the royals did not have the time or the capacity to match the work of their predecessors or those who had risen to become experienced professionals, such as Kapeau, 'Aholo, Kapena, or Kanoa. By 1882 Paul Kanoa (junior), governor of Kaua'i and an old hand in island business for thirty years, simply drew his salary and made a few recommendations for filling posts, while his contemporary J. M. Kapena moved on to become postmaster general.

The practice of appointing royals to govern Hawai'i island continued into the late 1880s and spread to Kaua'i. But time was running out for sinecures among the *kama'āina*. Princess Ululani found to her surprise she could not appoint the Hon. J. G. Hoapili as her chief magistrate, because a change of law gave this right to the chief justice.[79] A governor's power to appoint a road supervisor passed to the road boards, while the appointment of deputy sheriffs lay in the hands of the sheriff. Ululani came too late to exercise much patronage. L. A. Thurston informed her that the office of governor had just

been abolished by the legislature, and all records were delivered up to island sheriffs under the law of 8 December 1887.[80] The first casualties of the constitution crisis of 1887, some of the governors were the last to appreciate fully what had taken place. In fact, it took two acts to make sure of their abolition. The first was passed, like the second, over Kalākaua's veto in December 1887. It was largely the result of representations from the attorney general, Clarence W. Ashford, and his report to the new legislature following the "bayonet revolution," condemning governors' selection of the Hawaiian islands' two hundred police and their refusal to accept their removal or reform by sheriffs or the marshal.[81] A second act followed in August 1888 repeating much in the first. Even so, governorships enjoyed a brief revival in the twilight of the monarchy for titular royals and their consorts, and for friends of Lili'uokalani such as Everett, Baker and Rice—a sheriff, a politician, and a rancher/scholar who had come to the end of their careers (see Table 1 note).

In truth many jobs were left for Hawaiians as commissioners, police, and judges, virtually all the jailers' positions, and as poundmasters as well as cabinet officers and privy councillors; while for the royals there was a pile of honorifics without much power. Yet it was difficult for Hawaiians, unless they were nobles, to provide the necessary financial surety for senior supervisory posts. The road boards were nearly all *haole*-manned, unless a Hawaiian could be found willing to pay a bond of $600 to become chairman. Moreover, by 1892 the queen could not alter the list of circuit judges as approved by cabinet ministers, and the last link between royal executive and the judiciary disappeared. Hawaiian posts remained numerous (just how many is difficult to say in the absence of a full civil list designating ethnicity). But the patronage power to favor such appointments for Hawaiians was on the way out.

The Interior department, however, continued unshaken through the revolution of 1893, hardly missing a license or failing to collect a tax. Like some tropical plant the Interior burgeoned offshoots in the 1880s—a bureau of public works and an office of government lands, water, electricity, survey, immigration, patents, forests, parks, and nurseries—which remained firmly fixed to the main stem. More remarkably, hardly any of the nine or so bureau and board heads were displaced by the provisional government of 1893–1894, though there was one new senior post, perhaps as a sign of the times, under the Interior: Dr. A. McWayne was appointed as the first physician to the insane asylum.

Conclusion

It may be, as J. C. Ching has argued, that Hawaiian loyalties to the monarchy were on the wane anyway by the late 1880s, as so few of the eight thousand

or so Hawaiians in Honolulu turned out for national celebrations or elections, except to enjoy free handouts of gin and salt salmon, and fewer still gave any backing to radicals such as Robert Wilcox or, indeed, to Queen Liliʻuokalani in her trials of strength with cabinet and conspirators.[82] But that argument is another way of recognizing, as others have done in more detail, that Oʻahu politics were fissile, party loyalties were ephemeral, and government was in the hands of factions too weak to determine issues without outside support by the end of the 1880s. Even those seemingly loyal to the monarchy, such as Gibson and Dole, were self-promoting clients and brokers for other interest groups. In the end Ching defines Hawaiian government as "an oligarchy and aristocracy with monarchical trappings," which seems a long way of saying that it was a quasi-patrimonial state, legitimized by constitutional provisions in 1840, 1854, 1864, and 1887.

Defined in this way the Hawaiian kingdom has numerous counterparts in other Pacific, African, and Asian hierarchies in which the primary loyalties of both related and unrelated officials were to the person of a ruler who could define their functions at will, as opposed to a "rational-legal" bureaucracy of a Weberian type.[83] In practice, patrimonialism does not exclude elements of "defined" bureaucratic practice; and the emergence of Hawaiian civil service practices amply illustrates this prescriptive allocation of office within the hierarchy of royals and officials owing primary allegiance to the king. Nor does it necessarily detract from criteria of "efficiency" or "good government," though it does raise questions about the interests being served by such a regime. Again, in practice, the records of the Hawaiian state, and particularly those the Ministry of the Interior from 1846 to 1893, do not show great corruption or inefficiency compared with island states taken over by colonial powers or the independent kingdom of Tonga. What they do show is the operation of patronage at all levels of government; and it can be argued that in time and without other corrective mechanisms patron-client loyalties worked in favor of the royals and the wider group of "service gentry," as I have defined the successors to the *kaukaualiʻi,* and some *haole* interests, rather than for the Hawaiian population as a whole. This would seem to be particularly true for the administration of land redistribution, if it can be shown by more detailed research than is at present available that the service gentry benefited in the early stages of the Mahele at the expense of commoners' later claims. It also has a bearing on the incidence of taxation, direct and indirect, levied internally and on external trade, in relation to landed wealth and levels of income in the nineteenth century. I think it can be concluded for this area of public finance that clientage as exercised through island governors, their assessors, and collectors may have spared the poorer population from the rigors of the numerous imposts applied, if the low levels of tax collection are taken into account. The important area of police and

judiciary, however, requires detailed attention, if later charges of partiality by post-1887 attorney generals are to be sustained. Indeed, the whole topic of crime and policing under the monarchy would seem to be a rich and un-tapped source of Hawaiian social history.

The main conclusion, however, from this survey of the expansion of local government through the Ministry of the Interior, is that the patrimonial monarchy preferred loyal servants with education in order to access resources, and offered a measure of status and financial security in return. Loyalty and not simply race was the chief criterion for appointments, followed closely by a measure of education and competence. Loyal officials were well rewarded. Ministerial salaries more than doubled in the period covered to some $6,000 a year, while chief clerks in the end were paid more than island governors. Taken together with high levels of recruitment and investment in infrastruc-ture, the maintenance of royals especially during the Kalākaua regime, and expensive representation abroad, the main result of patronage could be said to have been extravagance at the highest levels.[84] Racial differences played little part in this bonanza. And it may be correct to conclude as Young has done that the "traditional server-superior relationship" was simply exploited by new men in the service of the *mōʻī.*[85] Demography may also have played a part, though it remains to be demonstrated that the Hawaiian elite declined in numbers at a differential rate, in proportion to Hawaiians as a whole.[86] Nevertheless, it is true the royal lineage had fewer talented representatives to draw on by the end of the 1880s and spent more time creating successors as "princes" of the line. But their demise was more because of loss of patron-age in 1887 through abolition of governorships and allocation of judicial and police appointments to other departments, plus loss of control over the leg-islature and a smaller proportion of "civil list" allocations to royals.

The analysis presented above parts company, therefore, with Young's asser-tion of a *haole* takeover in ways that "circumvented the traditional server-superior relationship" and replaced the traditional *kaukaualiʻi.*[87] While Young's claim may be literally true in terms of kinship relations and titles, function-ally it can be argued that in the absence of responsible cabinet government in Hawaiʻi, service relationships continued very much according to older pat-rimonial principles. At the second level of clientage, moreover, as this essay has tried to indicate, governors and other departmental officials recruited by nomination from among friends and relatives, and the practice spread quite comfortably to incorporate *haole* executives as well as Hawaiian. Gradually, however, well-paid officials at the level of senior clerks in the Interior depart-ment came to exhibit features of a "civil service" that outlasted ministers and politicians. Whether this took place in other departments is a topic open to further research. Yet the patrimonialism of the monarchy was not immedi-

ately replaced by a political "spoils" system, however much the embryonic political parties supporting constitutional reform may have expected this.[88]

NOTES

1. For an overview, see Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778–1854: Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 1938); Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands* (reprint, Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1981); Stephenie Seto Levin, "The Overthrow of the *Kapu* System in Hawaii," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 77, 4 (1968): 402–430; Char Miller, "Rumors and the Language of Social Change in Early-Nineteenth-Century Hawaii," *Pacific Studies* 12, 3 (1989): 1–28.

2. Bingham, *A Residence,* 162–163; Miller, "Rumors," 13–16, 20.

3. Norman Meller, "Hawaii: A Study of Centralization" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1955), chap. 5, 193–198; Carol Santoki Dodd, "Power through Centralization: Race, Politics, and Education in Hawaii, 1840–1970" (Ph.D. diss., University of Hawai'i, 1980), chap. 1.

4. This in no way detracts from our debt to Ralph Kuykendall's first volume, which is largely about the interaction of foreign factors with a "feudalistic" government and society: *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778–1854: Foundation and Transformation,* 29, 43, 51–52. See, too, T. M. Spaulding, *Cabinet Government in Hawaii, 1887–1893* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Occasional Papers No. 2, 1924), 18, for the importance of kingship; Patrick V. Kirch and Marshall Sahlins, *Anahulu: The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawaii,* vol. 1: *Historical Ethnography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 2–3, 45, 101.

5. Dodd, "Power through Centralization," chap. 1; and more generally Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1968).

6. Kanalu G. Terry Young, *Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past* (New York: Garland, 1998), xi, 11–15, 44.

7. Ibid., 58.

8. For a comparative analysis of patrimonial governments under colonial rule, see Colin Newbury, "Patrons, Clients and Empire: The Subordination of Indigenous Hierarchies in Asia and Africa," *Journal of World History* 11, 2 (2000): 227–263.

9. Bingham, *A Residence,* 87.

10. Cited in Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778–1854,* 79.

11. For the 1840 constitution, see *Translation of the Constitution and Laws of the Hawaiian Islands: Statute Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III* (Honolulu, 1846).

12. Ibid., 3.

13. This would seem to be the main conclusion of Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854–1874: Twenty Critical Years* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1953), esp. chap. 4.

14. The bulk of the material on which this argument rests derives from the Hawai'i State Archives (HSA), Department of the Interior, Misc. and Letterbooks, 1840–1893; files of the Ministry of Finance; and printed reports for the same period. Especially useful is the *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual* (compiled by Thomas G. Thrum) from 1875. I am also indebted to the archivists of the HSA for pointing out to me the utility of a file-card system of many of the officials who surface in documents and in particular the "Hawaiian Chiefs Bibliographical Abstract." But there is no formal list of officials, and then only at senior levels, until the 1870s.

15. Taxation is discussed in Theodore Morgan, *Hawaii: A Century of Economic Change, 1778–1876* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948), 108–111.

16. Kamehameha III's second act of 1846 gave the minister of the Interior (also the premier) responsibility for the press, commerce, public works, the governors, naturalization, fisheries and interisland trade, the land office, all stamp duties, licenses, and public contracts. The act also specifies that governors' responsibilities for tax collection were to be discharged under the minister of Finance, but in practice governors reported to both ministers.

17. HSA, Finance, Letterbooks, 1848–1881; printed *Reports of the Minister of Finance.*

18. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 147, Gregg to Interior, 1 August 1861. For Gregg's opinions on what he considered to be a somewhat timid set of ministers wholly beholden to the king in the 1850s, see Pauline King, ed., *The Diaries of David Lawrence Gregg: An American Diplomat in Hawaii, 1853–1858* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1982), 184.

19. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 145, W. C. Parke memorandum, n.d.; and prisoners' petition to Kamehameha, 21 June 1855.

20. John Young, 1810–1857, as is well known, was the son of John Young ('Olohana), 1742–1835, by his second wife, Melie Kuamo'o. As *kuhina nui* in 1845 and a careful administrator, he exemplified in every way the incorporation of European descendants into Hawaiian politics.

21. Samuel M. Kamakau, *The Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools, 1961), 414.

22. Curtis Piehu Iaukea et al., *By Royal Command* (Honolulu: Hui Hanai, 1988). This book provides a good example of how a clerk to the chamberlain's office and a loyal *kahu* could rise to higher things as land agent, governor of O'ahu, and royal secretary. See, too, Jacob Adler and Gwynn Barrett, eds., *The Diaries of Walter Murray Gibson, 1886, 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1973), 31.

23. It is tempting to equate him with C. B. Wilson, temporary British consul at the period of French occupation of Tahiti in 1842. Possibly he was a son (and, therefore, a grandson of Charles Wilson, London Missionary Society missionary). For his antecedents, see Patrick O'Reilly and Raoul Teissier, *Tahitiens: Répertoire biographique de la Polynésie française,* 2d ed. (Paris: Société des Océanistes, 1975), 605.

24. Daws, *Shoal of Time,* 215.

25. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 141, Robertson to Young, 14 April 1846.

26. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 142, Kaumaea to Kamehameha III, November 1848. An act of 1880 did set up a board to "perpetuate the genealogy of the chiefs of Hawaii" but was repealed in 1887.

27. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* 399.

28. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 144, Kapeau to Young, 3 July 1851.

29. HSA, Interior, Letterbook 5, Kekūanaō'a to 'Ī'ī, 3 April 1848.

30. HSA, Interior, Letterbook 5, part 2.

31. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 144, Kapeau to Young, ?September 1850.

32. When the historian Samuel Kamakau wished to have his "Hawaiian History" published in the newspaper *Kuokoa,* he had to apply to Hutchinson, in September 1868, for this privilege and to pay a patent fee.

33. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 141, Kekūanaō'a to Kamehameha, 13 September 1861.

34. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 141, Konia to Kanoa, 13 March 1840.

35. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 141, Kapena to Kanoa, 5 June 1840. Kanoa was also elected to the legislature in 1842 and was secretary to the House of Nobles.

36. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 144.

37. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 147, Mahoe to Lot Kamehameha, 8 September 1857. Nahaolelua may have been demoted for a time but turned up again on Maui signing himself as "money collector" in 1866 for issuing licenses "at 10 per cent per dollar as my remuneration." HSA, Interior, Misc., box 147, Nahaolelua to Widemann, 12 October 1866. He must have been reinstated and was governor of Maui in the early 1870s and minister of Finance in 1874.

38. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 141, Kapeau to Keoni Ana, 15 January 1847.

39. Morgan, *Hawaii: A Century of Economic Change,* 108–110.

40. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 147, acting governor to S. Spencer, 9 July 1860. There was also a case of embezzlement of education funds in 1848 that Kapena tried and for which he fined the official $515.

41. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 147.

42. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 147, Kanoa to Lot, 11 August 1857. It was stated that Wundenberg "belonged" [*sic*] to the minister of Foreign Affairs, R. C. Worles, at this time. Widemann became clerk to the governor of Maui in 1865.

43. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 152, Kanoa to Bush, 29 May 1882.

44. HSA, Letterbook 2, Young to Hoaai, 16 February 1848.

45. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 143.

46. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 144, Nahaolelua to Ana, 23 October 1851.

47. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 147, Keʻelikōlani to Lot Kamehameha, 8 June 1857.

48. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 150, Nahaolelua to Dominis, 18 December 1872.

49. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 141, Petition to Kamehameha III, 1 April 1845 (three hundred signatures of Maui chiefs and commoners).

50. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 144, Petition, 7 May 1851.

51. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 150, C. K. Kapule to W. L. Moehonua, 22 January 1875.

52. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 150, Kupahu to Moehonua, 30 April 1875.

53. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 143, Kamakau (tax assessor) to Young, 14 April 1848.

54. HSA, Interior, Letterbook, vol. 2, Ana and Judd to Dr. Petham, 20 April 1848.

55. When Kamehameha III died, he left a herd of 494 head of cattle and other livestock. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 145, Davies to Webster, 24 March 1855.

56. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 144, Kaneoha to Kamehameha III, 6 April 1850.

57. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 145, Kanoa to Prince Lot Kamehameha, 30 September 1856.

58. Preliminary results of the Mahele in 1855 show that gross distribution of 4,126,000 acres allocated 36 percent to government, 39 percent to *aliʻi* (including *konohiki* lands), 24 percent to royals ("Crown"), and only 0.7 percent to *makaʻāinana* (commoners) at that date. U.S. Senate, 57th Congress, 2d Session, Subcommittee on Pacific Islands and Puerto Rico, *Report on General Conditions in Hawaii: Part I* (Washington, D.C., 1902), 86. The Mahele is still one of the more difficult areas of Hawaiian history for identifying those who benefited initially. The standard work, Jon J. Chinen, *The Great Mahele: Hawaii's Land*

Division of 1848 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1958), 1–31, is too slight in content; the useful volume by Robert H. Horwitz and others, *Public Land Policy in Hawaii: An Historical Analysis* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 1969), is strong on economic geography but lacks history. See, too, Kirch and Sahlins, *Anahulu,* vol. 1, 167–169.

59. HSA, Interior, Letterbook, vol. 2, Young to Kekalei, 19 February 1847.

60. HSA, Interior, Letterbook, vol. 2, Kalama to 'Atoni, 10 March 1849.

61. HSA, Interior, Letterbook, vol. 2, Ana to Kanoa, 16 October 1847.

62. Horwitz, *Public Land Policy,* table 24.

63. Morgan, *Hawaii: A Century of Economic Change,* 200.

64. HSA, Letterbook, vol. 28, f. 301. By 1893 "Crown" and government held just half of land owned in titles or lease (3,654,344 acres); Americans and Europeans held 28.8 percent, and native Hawaiians 10.1 percent of private lands. James Blount, *Report of the Commissioner to the Hawaiian Islands,* U.S. Congress, House Executive Document 47 (Washington, D.C., 1893), 606. At the coup of 1893, the Provisional Government expropriated the Crown lands.

65. For example, HSA, Interior, Letterbook, vol. 8, contains numerous cases of approval of titles and registration of sales with names of owners.

66. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 147, Ke'elikōlani to Lot, 23 January 1862.

67. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 149, Ke'elikōlani to Hutchinson, 20 April 1870; Interior, Letterbook, vol. 10, Hutchinson to Ke'elikōlani, 24 May 1870.

68. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 150, Ku'ikahi to Gulick, 15 June 1876.

69. HSA, Interior, Letterbook, vol. 13, Gulick to G. C. Harris, 23 September 1875, encl. lists of land grants on O'ahu for the 1850s and early 1860s (a mix of Hawaiians and *haole*) with boundary conflicts unresolved after patents granted.

70. For example, ibid., Letterbook, vol. 15, ff. 130–134.

71. HSA, Interior, Letterbook, vol. 12, Gulick to Greenwell, 24 May 1873.

72. HSA, Interior, Letterbook, vol. 15.

73. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 150, Kaiwi to Green, 20 August 1874.

74. Ibid., Paakiki to Moehonua, 11 November 1874.

75. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 151.

76. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 153, Kalaukoa to Thurston, 29 February 1888.

77. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 151, Martin to Carter, 7 October 1880.

78. HSA, Interior, Misc., box 153, Kaiue to Thurston, 7 October 1887. For a portrait of Gibson, see Daws, *Shoal of Time,* 220. Gibson was a typical political broker and confidence man elected from Lahaina to the legislature in 1878, then promoted to the premiership and head of foreign affairs by Kalākaua in 1882; in short, he was a royal client who held all posts, some at the same time, and a profligate spender. The evidence does not support the view, however, that he and Kalākaua "purged the civil service of all but sycophants": Daws, *Shoal of Time,* 240. While this may be true for ministers, the senior ranks of the Interior saw greater continuity and promotion in office as posts expanded in the 1880s.

79. HSA, Interior, Letterbook, vol. 34, Interior to Hoapili, 24 January 1888.

80. Ibid., Interior to Ululani, 24 January 1888, and to Dominis, whose records were transferred to J. L. Kaulukou, Marshal of the Kingdom.

81. "As two of the four present Governors are women, and as the remaining two are gentlemen unfamiliar with the needs and methods of a true police government" [*sic*]. *Biennial Report of the Attorney-General to the Legislative Assembly of 1888* (Honolulu, 1888), 2–3; and see, too, "Marshal's Report," 16–17.

82. J. C. Ching, "A History and Criticism of Political Speaking in the Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874–1991" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1962), 21–32, and for general conduct of elections, use of tax receipts for voting, and pressure from the King's Guards.

83. Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation,* trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (London, 1947), 342–354.

84. Interesting proof of accumulation by royals can be found in Finance department records of spending on coronations and funerals and in HSA, Interior, Misc., box 147, which contains long inventories of the estate of Kamehameha IV.

85. Young, *Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past,* 112.

86. Ibid., 127. Young accepts uncritically the thesis of population "collapse" from very high levels put forward in David Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989); see for reviews *Pacific Studies* 13, 3 (1990): 255–301; and Andrew F. Bushnell, " 'The Horror' Reconsidered: An Evaluation of the Historical Evidence for Population Decline in Hawai'i, 1778–1803," *Pacific Studies* 16, 3 (1993): 115–161.

87. Young, *Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past,* 112.

88. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874–1893: The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1967), 402, has a section "Reform and Patronage," which broaches this important topic.

"QUIXOTIC AND UTOPIAN": AMERICAN ADVENTURERS IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC, 1897–1898

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The islands of the Pacific have long attracted escapists and adventurers from abroad. Mostly they have gone to Polynesia, and the bulk of scholarly commentary on the topic is concerned with that region. Even so, others have been tempted by Melanesia. Two such expeditions were those of the *Percy Edwards* and the *Sophia Sutherland,* which left San Francisco for New Guinea and the Solomons, respectively, in 1897. They involved 116 fortune seekers and were very well publicized at the time but have hitherto escaped the notice of historians. Yet, although they were total failures, they are not without considerable significance. This article tells the story of the two ventures. It also examines their wider significance by locating them within the tradition of Pacific escapism and by relating them to features of the society from which they derived. A discussion of myth and a survey of publicity cohabit with descriptions of individual behavior and experience.

BY THE END of the eighteenth century, the waters and islands of the Pacific, except for the highlands of New Guinea, had been stripped of the geographical mystery that for two and a half centuries had lured adventurers from Europe. Captain Cook had seen to that. Yet a Siren enchantment persisted. A century later the region still retained the power to excite the imagination of dreamers and optimists (if the two may be distinguished), along with the ambitions of opportunists, and to draw them hence to indulge escapist hopes of finding satisfactions not available in their home countries. Such was the case with the two parties of fortune seekers, numbering 116 men in all, that, quite independently of each other, left San Francisco for the southwest Pacific in 1897. Although hitherto unnoticed in the historical literature—one might reasonably have expected to find them in a popular book such as *Rascals in*

Paradise—they fit into an imaginative context that not only has been well frequented but also is well studied. The attention of commentators has particularly, and quite properly given the volume of traffic they attracted, been directed to the islands of Polynesia.[1] The filibustering expeditions of the *Percy Edwards* and the *Sophia Sutherland,* however, indicate that variations on familiar themes may also involve less familiar territory.

In *A Dream of Islands* Gavan Daws has described how five notable visitors to the South Seas, including Herman Melville and Paul Gauguin, looked for fulfillment and for an understanding of their inner selves. Daws comments that "[i]t is unquestionably in Polynesia that the great oceanic pull is felt most strongly, away from continents, from civilization, toward ease, voluptuousness, warm beauty of place and people." Of his subjects, he says: "Whatever they want, whether it is dominion over others or liberation from a civilized self, whether they surrender to the South Seas or impose civilised controls on themselves and their islands, it is here that they come into their kingdom."[2] Running through the tradition of imaginative infatuation with Polynesia, dating from Bougainville's account of his visit to Tahiti in 1768, is a note of eroticism mingled with descriptions of a socially and physically congenial environment.[3] In such a place individual exotic intruders would not only be safe but could live their dreams within a setting of indigenous compliance (the need for an armed overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 notwithstanding). A vast sojourner literature is evidence of that. While retaining its particular allure (indeed, it does so yet), Polynesia by the late nineteenth century had also been drawn within the range of a more prosaic body of European understanding by *palagi* (foreign) commerce, Christianity, and colonization, which were already well established there. Apt to stimulate fancy but occupied by institutional artifacts from a pervasive European culture, Polynesia might still attract explorers of the mind and of the emotions; but argonauts of a more robust sort, like those of 1897, needed to look elsewhere. That is, to the less hospitable Melanesian islands of New Guinea, the Solomons, and the New Hebrides.

There, endemic malaria and the well-marked indigenous hostility to strangers forced visitors to consult their stamina and their mortality rather than indulge their more delicate sensibilities. There, in the 1890s, missionaries were still largely a novelty, and commerce was commonly carried on from the decks of ships by well-armed Australian traders. The hands of the colonial regimes lay very lightly indeed. There, to cite a widely publicized incident that occurred in the Solomons in 1896, the Austrian explorer Baron Foullon Von Norbeck and three of his party were killed by local inhabitants for trespassing on Mount Tatuve on the island of Guadalcanal. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported the story in detail under the heading "Slain by South

Sea Cannibals."[4] These southwestern islands lay beyond the pale of gentle romantic fancy and were seemingly neglected by familiar authorities. It was in their direction that dreamers and malcontents, ignorant of the prevailing conditions of life, might more appropriately, and with fewer misgivings, look for the chance to impose an order of their own, to do their business in their own way. If there was a quarter of the Pacific in which anything might still be possible, it was in Melanesia. A New Guinea setting, for instance, seems in the last quarter of the nineteenth century to have licensed a more than usual degree of inventiveness in travelers' tales; it was suitable for *voyages imaginaires* involving men with tails, giant tigers, and rivers with sands of gold. But it was not just armchair adventurers who viewed Melanesia as a *terra nullius,* a kind of no man's land awaiting the whim of whomsoever sought to subjugate it.[5] A similar assurance prevailed among the expeditions to be considered here.

Nor were these expeditions without swashbuckling precedents. The unbalanced Spaniard Pedro de Quiros founded a knightly Order of the Holy Ghost during a brief visit to what is now Vanuatu in 1606; the carpetbagging Charles St. Julian, scheming to create a Hawaiian empire that extended to the Solomon Islands, in 1859 created the Order of Arossi, with himself as Grand Commander; in 1876 the buccaneering Italian museum collector Luigi D'Albertis plundered villages along the Fly River by firing rockets into them to scare away the inhabitants; and between 1879 and 1882 the French swindler Marquis de Rays dispatched a thousand soon-to-be-disillusioned people from Europe to New Ireland to found there the tragically ill-conceived Free Colony of Port Breton.[6] More pertinently, late in 1896, the usually staid *San Francisco Chronicle* gave extensive coverage to reports from New York about an American named John Fletcher Hobbs who had formerly been involved in the Australia-based labor-recruiting trade and who in 1890 had purportedly become "king of a cannibal island" called Ilika, said to be in the New Hebrides. The occasion of this publicity was Hobbs's marriage to Ella Collins, the daughter of a New York tailor. Prosaically, he then took his new "queen"—as she was dubbed by the *Chronicle*—to live not in Ilika (a playful rendering of Malekula) but in Newberg, South Carolina.[7] As if to affirm the "otherness" of the Pacific, in October the *Chronicle* also published a long description of a sea monster caught by an officer of the *Navarro,* a ship engaged in the Clipperton Island guano trade.[8]

The *Percy Edwards*

About the same time an item similar to the Ilika story in its invocation of exotic royalty and its vision of power and enrichment, but one that was to

have markedly more serious consequences, appeared in William Randolph Hearst's distinctly unstaid *San Francisco Examiner.* In a style typical of the sensationalist "yellow press," of which it was a prime example, the *Examiner* told how, early in 1896, an American vessel, the *Big Bonanza,* under one Captain Adolf Bergman, was becalmed in New Guinea waters near the St. John or Hermit Islands of the Admiralty group when it was "besieged" by "thousands of women clamor[ing] for husbands." The islands had been named Los Eremitanos ("Hermits") by the Spanish voyager Francisco Antonio Mourelle, who had charted them in 1781 but had not landed there. The Frenchman d'Entrecasteaux described them in 1792. The origin of the name St. John remains enigmatic and occurs in none of the sailing directories.[9]

According to the *Examiner*'s dramatically illustrated report headed "A South Sea Island of Many Women and No Men," allegedly emanating from Adolf Bergman and said first to have been published in Sydney (where extensive research has failed to uncover it), warfare with neighboring islands had killed many of the men, even though the women had fought alongside them, led by their warrior queen and current ruler, Piea Waar. Sometime later, with women already outnumbering men by ten to one, most of the remaining men had been taken away by recruiters to work on plantations in South America, leaving "nearly two thousand women . . . and only a hundred old men." Formerly, "the natives [who] are of the same race as those [of] the Solomon group [were] even fiercer than the Bushmen who a few weeks ago slaughtered Baron von Norbeck and several of the crew of the Austrian training ship *Albatross* on Guadalcanar Island." But, the *Examiner* went on, such was no longer the case.

Despite the lack of equivocation in its telling, the story was thoroughly fictitious. Only the islands, a small cluster, are real. South American recruiting never touched Melanesia, and the description of the women is a richly exotic imaginative indulgence. It mingles Amazonian mythology with the promise of unlimited primal satisfactions for lucky males. Its feasibility, though, is putatively attested by quotations from various presumed authorities.[10] Thus, the highly colored narrative of an itinerant British official, H. H. Romilly, is drawn on to illustrate New Guinea savagery. And—borrowing from Polynesia —Herman Melville's account in *Typee* of the approach of the appropriately named vessel *Dolly* to Nukuhiva in the Marquesas is cited to confirm the likelihood of Bergman's story of his reception at St. John: "We sailed right into the midst of these swimming nymphs," wrote Melville, "and they boarded us at every quarter. . . . All of them at length succeeded in getting up the ship's side where they clung dripping with the brine and glowing from the bath, their jet-black tresses streaming over their shoulders, and half enveloping their otherwise naked forms. . . . The ship taken, we could not do otherwise

than yield ourselves prisoners, and for the whole period that she remained in the bay, the *Dolly* as well as her crew were completely in the hands of the mermaids."[11]

The conflation of this soft-porn romantic Polynesian stereotype with hints of the more severe Melanesian model imparted a titillating appeal to the St. John Islands. Piea Waar was said to be "a very remarkable woman." "Tall, muscular and of a commanding presence, she would attract attention anywhere. As she is the absolute monarch of all she surveys . . . she would be a great prize for the lucky man who might win her dusky heart and not bloodless hand. [Besides,] since the disappearance of all the men on the islands her nature has become greatly softened."

"Any young men looking for an easy, indolent life" could "do no better than accept" the hospitality of "the dusky queen's domain." For their part, the women were charmingly devoid of jealousy, and "like the Samoans and Gilbert islanders, they have well-rounded forms and are of a temperament that is fostered by the warm sun of the tropics." Moreover,

> They had nothing to say about the suffrage question, nor did they discuss the temperance problem. Not even the most worldly wise wished to exact a promise that her chosen one would stay home o'night and not run around to the other islands, talking politics. They promised not to gossip if only someone would marry them right away.
>
> "I had," said Bergman, "a hard time preventing that army of women from carrying off my entire crew. The only way I could escape was to promise to return with a shipload of gay young beaux, who would permit themselves to be petted and fed on coconuts and yams until the end of their days." . . . [Indeed] it would really be a paying proposition for a company of benevolent Christians to charter a vessel and send to St. John's a consignment of the unemployed to become husbands for the lovely women of the sea-girt isles. For every husband delivered the Queen would be willing to exchange a ton of coconuts or anything else that might be preferred. There is in this proposition a magnificent opportunity to make a fortune that should not be overlooked.[12]

Nor was it. A week later, the *Examiner* enthusiastically publicized a plan proposed by one L. J. Reinhart, a native of New Mexico, to found a colonization company to take over the St. John Islands "and there set up a happy little republic, free from strife, and want, and care, and with all the comforts that man could desire!" The twenty-eight-year-old, a carpenter by trade but unable

FIGURE 1. **"Queen Piea Waar of St. John's." This is a fanciful, romanticized image showing a purportedly Melanesian dignitary adorned with an assortment of items of Polynesian provenance.** (*San Francisco Examiner,* 22 November 1896)

to get regular work, was looking to a form of utopian socialism as an escape from painful economic straits. Reinhart suggested that "fifty or sixty sturdy young men like himself" should purchase $25 shares in the company, which would then buy a schooner to transport them all to the St. John Islands:

> There are plenty to be had that will answer our purpose for less than $1000. Provisioning the vessel will be a small matter, and with the surplus we can purchase implements to develop the soil of the islands for our living. The islands are productive and we can get plenty to eat and plenty to wear out of them, and that is all we can get here with the hardest kind of labour. There we can marry; here we cannot. The native women are clamouring for husbands, and why should not we accept the inducements they have to offer and settle on their islands.
>
> There we could support a wife; here we cannot. Their dress is simple and they have no ambition to outshine each other in gaudy feathers, like the women here. Their country is fertile. The women want us, and why should we not accept such a paradise when it is offered, and accept a comfortable and easy life instead of one of drudgery and false hopes and ambitions?[13]

Already, so the *Chronicle* reported, ten men had decided to join a Reinhart expedition. Of them four were waiters and the others laborers, a cook, an upholsterer, and a boardinghouse keeper. Six of them resided at a boarding-house at 675 Mission Street. According to the same report: "The natives of the island have been always known as cannibals and the sailors mentioned this as a reason why the offer was reluctantly declined. But the visitors were assured by them that their days of human flesh eating were over. Men were too scarce to be sacrificed in any such vulgar way."[14]

Spectacular as they were, the attractions of what the newspapers, begin-ning with the *Chronicle* on 20 November 1896, quickly styled "the Adamless Eden" soon had to be played down by Reinhart and his backers in favor of the more mundane benefits offered by his scheme. In the same issue of the *Chronicle,* Reinhart reportedly declared that his enterprise derived not from the report of the husbandless women but from

> dissatisfaction with the condition of the labor world and the desire to lead a peaceful existence without having to struggle day and night for bread and butter. He wants to form a republic on co-operative lines. He says as it is in the South Seas the islands support the natives with very little work. By combining forces and pooling resources this

> proposed band can have all the comforts of life with little labor. . . .
> On first landing they will build a fort and then take possession of
> the tillable ground. With them they will take seeds and fruit trees
> and Reinhart says that in a few years they ought to be exporting
> great quantities of South Sea Island products.

In a public lecture on his scheme Reinhart declared: "It requires an ordinary
carpenter eleven years to make $4779, but down in the islands there would
be liberty and great chances. There is good timber, fishing is splendid and
general opportunities are unequaled."[15]

Steadied by such claims, the venture thus retained its momentum while
changing its character. As with modern advertising, it seems that sex was use-
ful for attracting attention but that decisions to act were determined by more
substantial considerations. Accordingly, the scheme was not discredited by
the arrival of the *Big Bonanza* on 29 December 1896, carrying a load of coal
from Nanaimo in Canada, with the news that the original story was untrue.
Adolf Bergman was no longer with the vessel. His brother Alex was now in
command. Two of his old crew, though, were still aboard, although only one
of them spoke English. He said that "the *Big Bonanza* did not stop at the St.
John islands at all. She merely passed close by. A crowd of natives—all men
—put off in boats and boarded the bark, begging, stealing and trading as the
opportunity offered. No women came, nor did Capt. Bergman or any of his
men go ashore."[16] Yet even this statement is open to doubt. According to the
New York *Maritime Register,* which reported the *Big Bonanza*'s movements,
it is unlikely that the vessel went south of the equator from the time it reached
Nagasaki from Philadelphia on 15 February 1896 until it put into San Fran-
cisco eleven months later.[17] Could the crewman have been mistaken in his
geography?

Significantly, the *Examiner* did not deign to publish the crewman's dis-
avowal. Like the other newspapers, though, it did continue to follow the de-
velopment of the scheme closely, but in tones that remained exultantly en-
thusiastic, treating the affair as a rollicking and worthwhile adventure, one
destined to provide "husbands for the dusky belles" of the "Adamless Eden
of the South Seas."[18] It displayed none of the reserve or irony that occasion-
ally crept into the more matter-of-fact reports of its competitors. It was, for
instance, not the *Examiner* that reminded its readers of the fate of the Mar-
quis de Rays's adventure, or likened the enterprise's prospects to those of the
failed New Australia expedition that left Sydney in 1893 to found a commu-
nist settlement in Paraguay, or referred to the schemers as "lotus eaters," or
spoke of "another utopia in the South Seas where every mother's son is to be
a monarch, subject only to his own whims!"[19] Instead, in benign contrast, it
likened them to "Altrurians," the admirable folk featured in a recently pub-

lished and widely read utopian romance by William Dean Howells; they were people who lived in conditions of true and harmonious equality.[20] Undeterred by any unflattering comments, be they hostile or jocular, Reinhart's followers, it seems, were not even unsettled by the opinion of J. Rhodes, once a Sydney-based bêche-de-mer trader aboard the American brig *James Burney,* that the waters they proposed venturing into were home to "the most treacherous beings existing!"[21] Given the widely attested readiness of nineteenth-century migrants to take extreme risks, such insouciance may, though, be viewed as merely reckless rather than unreasonable. In addition to those just mentioned, other cases in point—among many—are those of the Scottish Highlanders who went to Nova Scotia in 1817 and on to New Zealand in 1853, and the company of Germans led by Elizabeth Nietzsche (sister of the philosopher) who settled in a Paraguayan wilderness in 1886.[22]

In any case, Reinhart's scheme had taken a firmer and ostensibly less Münchhausen-like shape by 21 January 1897, when what he called the United Brotherhood of the South Seas was formally incorporated for the purpose of setting up "a co-operative colony." He was chairman of an eleven-strong board of trustees, and forty-six prospective colonists had already paid $50 a share to join. Moreover, arrangements had been made to buy a thirty-one-year-old, 189-ton former whaling vessel, the barquentine *Percy Edwards,* that had been laid up in Oakland Creek for the past two years. The *Examiner* ran a lengthy account of these proceedings under the heading "Yo! Ho! for the Manless Isle and Its Languishing Maidens." Reinhart, meanwhile, had also announced two notable changes. The destination was no longer to be the St. John Islands but the Solomons, specifically Bougainville, and possibly New Guinea; and a more conventional purpose was stated: commercial development, unrelieved by any touch of erotic exoticism. "In two years or so," he said, "we expect to have established such conditions as will allow of our returning to San Francisco to marry women of our own nationality!"[23] Even so, despite the semblance of pragmatism—which extended to taking an abundant supply of firearms—the assumptions on which Reinhart was operating were naive to the point of negligence, not least in expecting that whatever political authorities they might encounter in the Pacific would welcome the Brotherhood. In January 1897 he stated loftily: "At my earliest opportunity I will pay an official visit to the Governors of [British] New Guinea, Fiji and Matupit [i.e., German New Guinea],with whom I will enter into treaties that will, if conceded, be decidedly to our advantage."[24] The British and German consuls in San Francisco, whom he later consulted, were less complacent and stressed that the implementing of any settlement scheme would require the consent of the colonial authorities, who were already firmly established in the parts of the Pacific toward which Reinhart was heading.[25]

By late February the *Percy Edwards* was ready to depart. A sworn affida-

vit presented to, and duly certified by, the British consul, J. W. Warburton, affirmed the legality of the operation but did not allay the consul's doubts about the venture proving successful. The document, dated 24 February 1897, stated:

> L. J. Reinhart, President, and E. A. Coe, Secretary, of the United Brotherhood of the South Seas, a Corporation, being duly sworn, each for himself, says: That they are officers, as aforesaid, of the United Brotherhood of the South Sea Islands, a Corporation, and as such are familiar with the facts stated herein; that the United Brotherhood of the South Sea Islands was organized for the purpose of colonizing some suitable island of the South Seas, and establishing a trade with the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands. To carry out this plan the Corporation has purchased a ship of 189 tons, and provisions suitable for the undertaking, and have a supply of seeds and farming utensils.
>
> The members of the Corporation now number ninety-eight men, the majority of whom are citizens of the United States, and have each been chosen with a view of selecting only men of good character and habits. The money subscribed for the use of the Corporation and the paid-up stock represents about 10,000 dollars, which has been invested by the Corporation in fitting out the ship and buying supplies for the expedition.
>
> The Corporation is incorporated under the laws of the State of California for the sum of 20,000 dollars, and each member of the said Corporation holds a certificate of stock from the said Corporation.[26]

Within that month the price of a share, and with it a place on the vessel, had risen to $125, and all available places had been taken. On 25 February 1897, crowded with 101 men aged between twenty-one and sixty-three, but with an average age of about thirty-six, many of them originally from the Midwest and of German descent, the *Percy Edwards* sailed from San Francisco, clearing for Fiji. It was well supplied with tools, seeds, and machinery, and every man was armed.[27]

Launched during a period of severe economic downturn in California, as elsewhere in the nation, the time was right for such an enterprise. Reinhart claimed to have received 1,800 inquiries from men interested in going with him, and a constant theme among those he attracted was the desire to find an easier and more prosperous life and a gentler economic system than that which was available to them in America.[28] Such was the burden of thirty-six letters published in the *Examiner* under the heading "Why They'd Sail with

Reinhart." It was left to the more critical *Chronicle* to quote the entirely prag-
matic reason of a less visionary man: "I was out of work but I had $100. I put
that into the company. Even if we find no place satisfactory for a colony, we
shall have a voyage of six months. I could not live here six months for my
$100. So it's economy to make the trip."[29] And the *Call* was disdainful of the
whole business: "It is the strangest voyage that ever was planned. . . . There
is a disorder and vagueness about it that is inspiring in these days of business
and hard common sense. The men seem for the most part to be boys that
have cavorted about with unsuccess, and prefer a beautiful uncertainty to a
plain and prosaic reality."[30]

Such views were encouraged by variations in the stated destinations. On
leaving San Francisco, Reinhart announced that Funafuti in the Ellice (or
Tuvalu) group was the favored spot. Eighteen days later at Honolulu, the cap-
tain, thirty-two-year-old Julius Peterson, who had been aboard the *Hesperian*
when she was wrecked off Maui in 1886, mentioned an island in the Fiji group
as a possibility and the likelihood of a visit to the New Hebrides.[31]

For their part, the colonizers still seemed happy enough at that point. They
had an extensive library; by day they played cards, checkers, and chess; and
each evening the musicians among them put on a concert.[32] After leaving
Honolulu on March 15, they attempted unsuccessfully to land at Fanning
Island to effect repairs, then carried on to Fiji to obtain firm advice on where
best to settle. Meanwhile, the predictions of those who had said that the party
lacked leadership and a common purpose strong enough to hold it together
were beginning to come true. Reinhart was replaced as president by a man
named W. M. Shaw, and Captain Peterson was said to have assumed the
power of a czar, which was scarcely surprising when drunkenness and brawl-
ing had become rife and when people with luxuries were refusing to share
them with their fellows. When the vessel anchored at Levuka in Fiji on April
11, disillusion and dissension were complete.[33]

Nor was the mood improved after a deputation went to Suva to call on
the acting governor, Sir Henry Berkeley, four days later. Berkeley spelled out
the implications of what Reinhart had already been told in San Francisco.
That is, the islands of the South Seas were nearly all under the protection of
France or Britain or Germany, and nowhere would they be permitted to set
up a colony on the lines envisaged in the Brotherhood's prospectus. In the
southern Solomons, for instance, a resident commissioner had just been ap-
pointed and regulations were being drawn up to raise revenue, control land
sales, and maintain law and order. German-controlled Bougainville would,
likewise, be closed to them. Moreover, went on Berkeley, since they were
working men without capital to buy land, there was little scope for them any-
where in the region and certainly not in the Solomons, where "the country

was quite unsettled and the climate malarial." "The best place for settlement," he admitted, "was Fiji but even there . . . the conditions were not favourable for a white working man. The people who worked here were the black races. The white man could not labour in the field [in the sun]. He could be employed as mechanic, carpenter or bricklayer, but the demand was limited and the big mills had their regular staff." Possibly, he suggested, there were better opportunities to be had in New Zealand. There, he thought, the government was willing to assist respectable working men such as themselves.[34] To reinforce the point, two days later, a naval officer from HMS *Lizard,* which had been sent from Sydney to intercept the *Percy Edwards,* delivered a letter to the colonists, informing them that they were prohibited from settling anywhere in the British domains without permission from the high commissioner.[35]

With that rebuff, news of which reached San Francisco a month later, the expedition broke up. Existing divisions had also been augmented by a sharp split over whether to engage in the labor-recruiting trade, and there was increasing dismay at the fate of the Austrians on Guadalcanal.[36] Meanwhile, the voyage of the *Percy Edwards* had not gone unnoticed in London. In July the Foreign Office firmly stated that no colonizing expeditions would be permitted to settle in British territories.[37]

After the *Lizard*'s visit, eight men quickly set out for home independently, most of them via Auckland or Sydney. The first two, one a stowaway, completed the trip on July 29, when the steamer *Alameda* arrived in San Francisco from Auckland. Forty-four, though, chose to stay and try their luck in Fiji, mostly as agriculturalists on land owned by established interests (Humphrey Berkeley and J. Crocker, respectively). Some were on a banana-growing project at Viria on the Rewa River, and others were on a coconut plantation at Savusavu Bay on Vanua Levu. Reinhart found work near Levuka, building a bridge. The rest of the Brotherhood, forty-nine in number, left Fiji in the *Percy Edwards* on May 25, bound for New Zealand. Four days out the ship ran into a storm that sprung the main mast and forced a change of course to the nearest port. This port was Noumea in French-ruled New Caledonia, which was reached on June 4. There, the remnant agreed to sell the *Percy Edwards.* By the end of July most of them had departed for Sydney. The main exceptions were sixteen men who, accepting an offer of assistance from the governor, Paul Feillet, a keen promoter of settlement in the colony, took up 250 hectares of land at Poum at the northern tip of the island. There they styled themselves the "Lafayette Colony of New Caledonia." "Such," concluded the U.S. consular agent at Noumea in his exhaustive report on the whole affair, "is the short and epic history of this Quixotic and Utopian adventure, began under such romantic and imaginative auspices to end in so prosaic . . . a manner!"[38]

Beyond that, little more is recorded of the Brotherhood. Presumably, most of its members eventually made their way back to the United States; two of them were reported drowned in Fiji in August 1897. James R. Drigg, first mate of the *Percy Edwards,* was "a destitute seaman" in Apia in March 1898 when the U.S. consul returned him to San Francisco aboard the *Alameda.* The Lafayette Colony did not last. The *Percy Edwards* was sold at auction in Noumea on 17 July 1897 for Fr 5,000, about US$1,000. Renamed *La Jeanette,* it was lost in the New Hebrides in 1899.[39]

The *Sophia Sutherland*

Despite the well-publicized collapse of the *Percy Edwards* expedition—notably more so in the *Call* and the *Chronicle* than in Hearst's *Examiner*—other adventurers were not deterred from seeking their fortunes in the islands toward which the Brotherhood had ventured. Even as woebegone and bitter "Altrurians" were struggling back to San Francisco, complaining about having been swindled, another party was preparing to leave. From the start, though, there were no idealistic pretensions about this one. It was unequivocally profit-seeking, yet no less quixotic. Indeed—as would be revealed—it was fraudulently so.

On 7 August 1897, appended to a long item about the *Percy Edwards,* the *San Francisco Chronicle* announced that the *Sophia Sutherland,* under the command of the "irrepressible Captain Alexander McLean," was preparing to set out "ostensibly on a trading cruise" on behalf of "the newly formed South Sea Commercial Company." Not mentioned was the fact that the expedition had been organized by one Niels Peter Sorensen, a thirty-nine-year-old Dane who had once spent three years (1867–1870) in the U.S. navy but who had only recently been released from prison in Queensland after serving eight years of a ten-year sentence for crimes of violence and robbery committed during a trading visit to the Solomon Islands in 1885.[40] In mid-1897 Sorensen arrived in San Francisco planning to raise money for a pearling operation in the Solomons. Apparently sensing the rising gold fever, he quickly turned his scheme into a primarily mining venture, powerfully representing the Solomons as a mineral treasure trove par excellence.[41]

This change was not without some authority. Findlay's sailing *Directory,* which Sorensen had read in prison, reported an abundance of copper on Rennell and Bellona (although that was a geological impossibility since the islands were constructed of pure coral). Besides, a legend of gold deposits had been attached to the Solomon group since its discovery by Spanish explorers in the sixteenth century.[42] Early in 1897, in Sydney, Sorensen had been one of several rival speculators proposing schemes for mining on Rennell.[43] Later that year, in San Francisco, he promised a "solid cliff of pure copper"

on Rennell and inexhaustible reefs of quartz gold on Guadalcanal. His assured manner and the characteristic abundance of detail with which he presented it plus the pearl on his finger and the gold samples he displayed gave a sheen of veracity to his tale. Even so, it is extraordinary that he succeeded not only in finding sponsors—eight businessmen, including E. B. Pond, a former mayor of San Francisco—to invest $16,000 in the scheme, registered as the South Sea Commercial Company, but also in inducing fourteen men to come with him, especially McLean.[44] After all, the Klondike gold rush had just begun, on July 15, when a group of prospectors staggered off the steamer *Excelsior* at San Francisco, "carrying bulging suit cases, carpet valises, leather saddlebags, even cartons of jelly jars—all full of gold." Ten days later the steamer *Umatilla,* licensed to carry 290 passengers, sailed from San Francisco with 471 aboard, including the young Jack London, bound for Alaska.[45] As for McLean, a sailor renowned for his exploits as a seal hunter and his indifference to the law, he was one of the most formidable and swashbuckling figures on the Pacific seaboard. He was destined to find literary fame as the model, imaginatively enhanced, for Wolf Larsen, the flawed superman in Jack London's novel *The Sea Wolf* (1904), although not as explicitly as claimed by the *Advertiser,* which promoted the identification in 1905 when reporting an illegal sealing voyage that McLean had made to the Bering Sea in the *Carmencita.*[46]

The *Sophia Sutherland*, which was also the vessel that London had sailed in on what was to be for him an inspirational seal hunt in 1893, departed San Francisco for its South Seas El Dorado on 4 September 1897. It had a complement of fifteen, including a mining engineer, who were expecting to return "in three years . . . with more gold than the luckiest miners of the Klondike." Not surprisingly, therefore, like Reinhart they ignored the efforts of the British consul, who, following recent instructions from the Foreign Office, tried to dissuade them from going.[47]

The vessel reached Apia on October 9. There the U.S. consul, William Churchill, and a trading captain named John Strasburg, both of whom knew Sorensen's nefarious reputation well, warned McLean to be wary of him. But the die was already cast. After calling briefly at Suva (October 25–29) to allow McLean to consult British officials about conditions in the Solomons, the *Sophia Sutherland* reached Tulagi in the Solomons on November 8.[48] There, after he, too, had warned McLean not to trust Sorensen, Charles Woodford, the resident commissioner, issued prospecting licenses. For nearly two and a half months, during which time McLean prudently refused to allow Sorensen to take the steam launch and go off pearling or trading by himself, the *Sophia Sutherland* visited various spots on Nggela, Guadalcanal, Makira, and Rennell. As it happened, rich sites allegedly once well known to

Sorensen were no longer recognizable. That on Rennell, he said, must have disappeared in an earthquake. No less predictably, of sixteen quartz samples tested when the ship returned to Tulagi in mid-January 1898, only one showed a trace of gold.[49] To save Sorensen from the threateningly homicidal anger of his companions, at this point McLean put him ashore on Gavutu, leaving money with Woodford to pay his fare on the six-weekly steamer *Titus,* which was leaving shortly for Sydney.[50]

For two more months the *Sophia Sutherland* explored rock formations in the Solomons, until March 19. Then, with nearly everyone suffering severely from malaria, McLean turned for the Golden Gate, via Samoa. Even so, four hopefuls decided to stay behind, preferring to make their own ways home. Perhaps they were wise to do so. After battling headwinds and an outbreak of scurvy, which killed four men and incapacitated all on board except McLean, the *Sophia Sutherland* put into Apia on May 11. From there news of the debacle reached San Francisco on June 2. After two months in Apia and with a crew that now contained only one of the original complement, on July 9 McLean put to sea once more. He reached San Francisco on August 31.[51] Among the crew, reported the *Chronicle,* "were H. Sickles and J. Sutherland, two members of the *Percy Edwards* expedition. They were in full sympathy with the folks of the *Sophia Sutherland* as they, too, had left home to follow a phantom, not Sorenson [*sic*] gold mines, but an equally visionary Adamless Eden."[52]

Sorensen, meanwhile, had arrived at San Francisco on June 19, talking still —but now to more skeptical hearers—of the mineral wealth of the Solomons. He also claimed to have been cruelly mistreated and then abandoned by McLean and, hinting at a just retribution, told of how from the deck of the *Titus* he had last seen the *Sophia Sutherland* lying damaged near Oscar Svensen's station at Marau Sound on Guadalcanal. (In fact, the vessel had been heaved down for careening.) Prudently, Sorensen left town a few days before McLean's return.[53]

But that is not quite the end of Sorensen's story. In July 1908, taking his place in an enduring succession of fabulists, he turned up in New York promoting a scheme to recover a mythically vast amount of gold from the *General Grant.* This was a Britain-bound ship from Australia that had sunk in the Auckland Islands, south of New Zealand, in 1866. (The twenty-fourth in the disreputable—and seemingly inextinguishable—line of *General Grant* schemers was, incidentally, convicted of fraud by a New Zealand court in February 1998.)[54] Unfortunately for Sorensen in 1908, his nemesis was at hand in the form of the former consul William Churchill, who was at that time an assistant editor on the staff of the *New York Sun* newspaper. Churchill supplied information for an article recounting something of Sorensen's ad-

ventures in the Pacific and denouncing him as a fraud. Sorensen replied with a $100,000 libel claim. When the case eventually came to court in March 1911, his past was raked over in detail and reported on at length in the *Sun.*

In these proceedings McLean at last had his revenge. He was then living in Canada and was reluctant to enter the United States, where he was wanted by police on account of his unauthorized voyage from San Francisco in the *Carmencita* in 1904. Accordingly, he gave evidence by deposition on behalf of the *Sun,* affirming Sorensen's record of chicanery. In the course of his deposition, he also rebutted strenuous efforts to identify him as a real-life model for the vicious Wolf Larsen. After a hearing that lasted a week, the jury declined to uphold Sorensen's claim. New York proved to be no more obliging to him than the South Seas had been.[55]

Sorensen was likewise unsuccessful with another *General Grant* scheme in New Zealand in 1912. He also failed in a series of attempts from 1912 to 1930 to profit from his alleged ownership of Mono or Treasury Islands in the Solomons, which he claimed to have bought during his trading expedition in 1885.[56]

Aftermath—and Reflections

Sorensen, the incorrigible opportunist, died in penury in Brooklyn, New York, on 3 February 1935, at the age of eighty-seven. He had at least achieved longevity. "Sea Wolf" McLean drowned while drunk in Vancouver in 1914. Churchill, a Yale graduate, acquired a reputation as a Pacific scholar and died of tuberculosis in New York in 1920. As for Reinhart, the utopian socialist, at last report in May 1897, he was seen hard at work pulling on a cross-cut saw, with a Fijian on the other end.[57] After that he vanished from the historical record. The term, though, that had helped publicize his *Percy Edwards* expedition had not been entirely forgotten. In 1908 the *New York World* headed its report of an Independence Day function at the normally women-only Martha Washington Hotel to which 125 men had been invited with the dramatic announcement, "Men Actually Enter an Adamless Eden."[58]

After 1898, despite the incursions of a few scientific expeditions and some literary travelers, such as Jack London, and a trickle of missionaries and the annexation of eastern Samoa, American awareness of the Pacific declined. It was not until August 1942, when U.S. marines landed on Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands in the war against Japan, that the south Pacific again attracted any appreciable degree of public attention in the United States.[59] Subsequently, that, too, has faded in intensity. Still, the romantic view of the "South Pacific" lingers in the consciousness of many through the Broadway musical of that name, notwithstanding the contretemps roused by Derek Freeman's assault in 1984 on the utopian account of life in Samoa published by Margaret

Mead in 1928—and quite unbeholden to the publicity once accorded the voyages of the *Percy Edwards* and the *Sophia Sutherland.*[60]

Flawed in conception and futile in execution, and having no discernible impact on the Pacific Islands, those voyages are, nonetheless, significant in ways that extend well beyond their own inherent measure of human interest. They are footnotes that illuminate various other histories. For instance, within America's overall involvement with the Pacific, they are dramatic episodes in the still inadequately chronicled tale of the shipping links that from the 1840s through to the 1960s connected San Francisco firmly to Sydney and Auckland. They also reflect something of the spirit of dissatisfaction and protest that arose in late-nineteenth-century America in reaction to the abuses of the new industrial order. This reaction had already found persuasive literary expression in popular utopian novels such as Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backwards* (1888) and Howell's *A Traveller from Altruria* (1894), and in blueprints for social reform such as Henry George's *Poverty and Progress* (1879). Indeed, George's book had grown out of his own experiences in the San Francisco area. There he saw the extremes of poverty and wealth side by side. From that disparity arose frustrations that could drive Edenless Adams to buy into ill-conceived schemes such as those of Reinhart and Sorensen. The appeal of such schemes was especially strong in the late 1890s, when the lofty and widely influential illusion of Manifest Destiny was fostering other, officially sanctioned, adventures in American expansion—in the Caribbean, the Philippines, Guam, Samoa, and Hawai'i.[61]

APPENDIX: MEMBERS OF EXPEDITIONS

Percy Edwards

Departed San Francisco

Anderson, Edwin
Anderson, Martin
Ayres, Harry
Barrome, T. O. (F?)
Bartlett, Louis
Belt, Eli
Benecke, H.
Berger, Emil
Bernhardt, E. H.
Black, R. G.
Blussom, August
Boehme, B. G.

Bolitho, Henry
Brenan (Brunnan?), W. H.
Bryan, Ross
Cobb, B. S.
Coe, E. A.
Cole, Frank
Conway, T.
Dawson, Thomas
Drescher, H.
Driggs, James R.
Early, J. T.

Ehlert, E. H.
Enfield, W. E.
Farren, John
Finch, Frank
Garrick, A.
Gleason, Charles
Goodman, Gills
Haack, John
Henrys, Charles
Hintz, R. F.
Hohnsbein, F.
Holbeck, George

Holt, George
Hornung, Henry
Huff, W. F. (R?)
Jelka, Antone
Johnsen (Johnson?),
    Arthur
Kendall, William
Killgore, P. B.
Klaiber, John
Landgreen, Edward
Landrath, F.
Larsen, Chris
Lentz, Emile
Lukowich, S.
McInerney, John
McKenzie, David
Mammen (Hammen?),
    A. S.
Marquardt, Henry
Marshall, S. S.
Melvin, William
Meyers, P. A.
Miller, Arthur
Miner, A. H.
Mitchell, John D.

Mittman, Edward
Mounts, L. F.
Nelson, Frank
Newman, Fred
Norwood, Frank
Olsen, Charles
Olsen, John
Olsen, Julius
Neilsen, Peter
Petersen, Charles
Petersen, Julius
Porter, Frank
Pretchel (Pritchel?),
    Nic
Rapp, Henry
Reinhart, L. J.
Rivers, Edward W.
Rothermel, Dr. Julius
Rubin, F.
Rummel, Frank
    (Patrick?)
Ryan, Frank
Scheible, George
Schiellrup, Sophus
Schmidt, William

Shaw, W. M.
Sheen, William
Sickles, George W.
Simon, William
Smythe, F. W.
Snyder, A. F.
Sordenberg (Soren-
    berg? Soderberg?),
    Victor
Sorenson (Sorensen?),
    Charles
Spanning, George
Stade, H. A.
Steier, John
Sutherland, J. M.
Taylor, H. S.
Taylor, Thomas
Turner, George
Wilcox (Willcocks?),
    George
Williams, F.
Williamson, P.
Young, Harry R.
Ziepser, Arnold

Subscribed to the expedition but did not embark

Comber, W.
Harrison, F. A.
Marner, A. S.

Sources: *San Francisco Chronicle,* 12 June 1897; see also note 38.

Sophia Sutherland

Departed San Francisco

Berge (Borge?)
Cunath (Kunath?), E.
De Witt, Arthur

Gingg, H. C.
Goldsmith, J.
Greenwood

Headburg
Higgins
Kohn (Cohen?), Al

| Lampe | Nicholson, Joseph | Smadeke |
| McLean, Alexander | Olsen | Sorensen, N. P. |

Returned to San Francisco

Higgins
McLean, Alexander
Plus a new crew recruited in Samoa, which included H. [*sic*] Sickles and
    J. Sutherland, from the *Percy Edwards*

Source: *San Francisco Chronicle,* 28 July 1898, 12.

NOTES

  1. James A. Michener and A. Grove Day, *Rascals in Paradise* (New York, 1957). Neil Rennie ignores Melanesia, in *Far-Fetched Facts: The Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas* (Oxford, 1995).

  2. Gavan Daws, *A Dream of Islands: Voyages of Self Discovery in the South Seas* (New York, 1980), xii–xiii.

  3. O. H. K. Spate, *The Pacific since Magellan,* vol. 3: *Paradise Lost and Found* (Sydney, 1988), 95–98, 237–263.

  4. *San Francisco Chronicle,* 23 October 1896; *San Francisco Call,* 23 October 1896.

  5. Gavin Souter, *New Guinea: The Last Unknown* (Sydney, 1963), 3–13, 24; Nigel Krauth, ed., *New Guinea Images in Australian Literature* (St. Lucia, 1982), 1–11; Sidney Spencer Broomfield, *Kachalola: Or, The Early Life and Adventures of Sidney Spencer Broomfield* (London, 1930), 231–300, 306–307. For further comments on this characterization of Melanesia, see Donald Denoon, "Black Mischief: The Trouble with African Analogies," *Journal of Pacific History* 34, no. 3 (1999): 284–285.

  6. O. H. K. Spate, *The Pacific since Magellan,* vol. 1: *The Spanish Lake* (Canberra, 1979), 136–137; Marion Nothling, "Charles St. Julian: Alternative Diplomacy in Polynesia," in *More Pacific Islands Portraits,* ed. Deryck Scarr (Canberra, 1978), 28; also *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* 10 May 1884; Souter, *New Guinea,* 9–10, 30–43.

  7. *San Francisco Chronicle,* 18 July, 6 September, 31 December 1896. In 1897, in a reverse variation of this story, the *New York Herald, Boston Herald,* and *San Francisco*

Bulletin all reported the fiction of "a Maori princess named Tono Maroanu, who is searching for an Anglo-Saxon husband." *New Zealand Herald,* 21 November 1997 ("100 Years Ago").

  8. *San Francisco Chronicle,* 11 October 1896.

  9. Alexander G. Findlay, *A Directory for the Navigation of the South Pacific* (London, 1863), 640; Andrew Sharp, *The Discovery of the Pacific Islands* (Oxford, 1960), 147. Ruy Lopez de Villalobos probably saw the Hermits in 1545 and named them La Caimana. The name of his ship, *San Juan,* may be the origin of St. John. Sharp, *Discovery,* 31.

10. Guy Cadogan Rothery, *The Amazons in Antiquity and Modern Times* (London, 1910). A hint of exotic possibilities in the wider neighborhood of the Admiralties is conveyed in the title of a book by an Italian traveler about Enggano, an island off the southwest coast of Sumatra, where women's important social role bordered on creating a "matriarchal society." E. Modigliani, *L'Isola delle Donne: Viaggio ad Engaro* (Milan, 1894). See also H. E. Maude, *Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862–1864* (Canberra, 1981).

11. Herman Melville, *Typee: Narrative of a Four Months Residence among the Natives of a Valley of the Marquesas Islands* (New York, 1846), chap. 2, quoted in the *San Francisco Examiner,* 15 November 1896 (Sunday magazine), 21.

12. *San Francisco Examiner,* 15 November 1896 (Sunday magazine), 21. For Romilly, see *San Francisco Examiner,* 22 November 1896, and his books *The Western Pacific and New Guinea* (London, 1877), *From My Verandah in New Guinea* (London, 1889), and *Letters from the Western Pacific and Mashonaland* (London, 1893). For South American labor recruiting, see Maude, *Slavers in Paradise.*

13. *San Francisco Examiner,* 22 November 1896.

14. *San Francisco Chronicle,* 20 November 1896.

15. *San Francisco Call,* 18 December 1896.

16. *San Francisco Chronicle,* 30 December 1896; *Hawaiian Star,* 2 February 1897.

17. *New York Maritime Register,* October 1895–January 1897. Examined at Historic Documents Department, San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, Calif.

18. *San Francisco Examiner,* 22 January 1897.

19. *San Francisco Call,* 18 December 1896, 22 January 1897, 24 February 1897; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 24 January 1897. For New Australia, see Gavan Souter, *A Peculiar People* (Sydney, 1968).

20. *San Francisco Examiner,* 24 January 1897. William Dean Howells, *A Traveller from Altruria* (New York, 1894).

21. *San Francisco Chronicle,* 21 February 1897.

22. Neil Robinson, *To the Ends of the Earth* (Auckland, 1997); Ben MacIntyre, *Forgotten Fatherland* (London, 1993).

23. *San Francisco Examiner,* 24 January 1897. *San Francisco Call,* 24 February 1897, contains a detailed description of the *Percy Edwards.*

24. *San Francisco Examiner,* 24 January 1897.

25. *San Francisco Call,* 25 February 1897.

26. Warburton to Salisbury, 25 February 1897, CO 225/53(2). The reference is to the Colonial Office (CO) series for the Western Pacific, Public Record Office, Kew, consulted on microfilm reel 2332 (item 26), National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.

27. *San Francisco Call,* 24, 25, 26 February 1897; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 24, 25, 26 February 1897. There are conflicting reports about the number of those aboard the *Percy Edwards.* Both the *Call* and the *Chronicle* of 26 February 1897 put the figure at ninety-nine, but a detailed list later issued by A. L. Atwood, the attorney for the Brotherhood, contains 101 names. *San Francisco Chronicle,* 12 June 1897.

28. *San Francisco Call,* 25 February 1897; *San Francisco Examiner,* 21 February 1897.

29. *San Francisco Examiner,* 21 February 1897; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 26 February 1897.

30. *San Francisco Call,* 25 February 1897.

31. *San Francisco Call,* 26 February 1897; *Hawaiian Star,* 15 March 1897.

32. *Hawaiian Star,* 15 March 1897; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* 16 March 1897.

33. *San Francisco Call,* 1 September 1897; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 3 June 1897.

34. *Fiji Times,* 24 April 1897.

35. *San Francisco Call,* 31 July, 27 August 1897; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 12 June 1897; Bridge to Western Pacific High Commission, 5 and 13 May 1897, 176/1897 and 186/1897, Inwards Correspondence General (now listed as series 40), Records of the Western Pacific High Commission (WPHC), Public Record Office, Kew, consulted on microfilm at the University of Auckland Library.

36. *San Francisco Examiner,* 2 August 1897; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 2 August 1897.

37. Foreign Office to CO, 10 June and 9 July 1897, CO 225/54(i).

38. For an extensive account of the expedition's arrival in Fiji and a list containing the names, locations, and intended destinations of its individual members, according to a letter written on May 16, see *San Francisco Chronicle,* 12 June 1897. For a later and more accurate statement of their whereabouts, see the report on the expedition and its fate by the

U.S. agent at Noumea: S. Reichenbach to J. Sherman, 29 June 1897, U.S. Consular Despatches: Noumea, T91, U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C. For the expedition's arrival in Noumea, see *La Calédonie* and *La France Australe,* 5, 6 June 1897. Other details in this paragraph, deriving from letters and interviews with returning members of the Brotherhood, are drawn from the following: *San Francisco Examiner,* 31 July, 2 August 1897; *San Francisco Call,* 30, 31 July, 27 August, 1 September 1897; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 30 July, 2, 8 August 1897. For Feillet, see Denis Marion, *Encyclopédie de la Nouvelle-Calédonie,* vol. 5 (Histoire 1884–1894) (Noumea, 1984), 22–34.

39. Reichenbach to Auditor, 8 September 1897, U.S. Consular Despatches: Noumea, T91, U.S. National Archives; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 7 August 1897; L. W. Osborn to Dept. of State, 23 March 1898, U.S. Consular Despatches: Apia, T27, U.S. National Archives; *La Bulletin du Commerce de la Nouvelle Calédonie,* 16 December 1899.

40. "Serensen [*sic*], Nelson P.," Box 249, RG24, Records of Bureau of Naval Personnel, U.S. National Archives; *Brisbane Courier,* 2, 3, 8, 10 April 1886; E. Grey to U.S. Ambassador, 19 November 1915, MP32/16, Inwards Correspondence General, WPHC. For a comprehensive account of Sorensen's career, see Hugh Laracy, "Niels Peter Sorensen: The Story of a Criminal Adventurer," *Journal of Pacific History* 35 (2000): 147–162.

41. *San Francisco Chronicle,* 2 June 1898.

42. Alexander G. Findlay, *A Directory for the Navigation of the Pacific Ocean* (London). The first edition (1851) is silent on the matter, but subsequent editions (1863, 1875, 1877, 1884) all state, "It is said that copper ore is abundant on them." The origin of the story is unknown, but, contrary to Kuschel, it clearly predates 1885. Rolf Kuschel, "Early Contacts between Bellona and Rennell Islands and the Outside World," *Journal of Pacific History* 23 (1988): 197.

43. Inwards Correspondence General, 12/1897, 87/1897, 90/1897, 91/1897, WPHC; Foreign Office to CO, 12 February 1897, CO 225/53(2).

44. Woodford, "Report on Solomon Islands, January 1897–March 1898," enclosed in WPHC to CO, 28 September 1898, CO 225/55(1); Woodford to Escott, 2 September 1912, enclosed in WPHC to CO, 22 November 1912, CO 225/106(2); *San Francisco Chronicle,* 5 September 1897, 28 July, 1 September 1898; *San Francisco Examiner,* 1 September 1898; *New York Sun,* 16 July 1908, 29 March 1911.

45. Joyce Milton, *The Yellow Kids: Foreign Correspondents in the Heyday of Yellow Journalism* (New York, 1989), 173; Franklin Walker, *Jack London and the Klondike: The Genesis of an American Writer* (San Marino, Calif., 1966), 49.

46. *San Francisco Examiner,* 15 June, 6, 7, 11 September 1905; Earle Labor et al., *The Letters of Jack London* (Stanford, Calif., 1989), vol. 2, p. 492. For more subtle accounts of Larsen, see Carolyn Johnston, *Jack London—An American Radical?* (Westport, Conn., 1984), 83–85; Peter Murray, *The Vagabond Fleet: A Chronicle of the North Pacific Sealing Schooner Trade* (Victoria, B.C., 1988), 142–143; Andrew Sinclair, *Jack: A Biography of Jack London* (New York, 1977), 94–95; Franklin Walker, "Afterword," in Jack London, *The Seawolf and Selected Stories* (New York, 1964), 344–345. London knew McLean only by

reputation, and McLean firmly rejected any close identification of himself with the character of Larsen.

47. Warburton to Salisbury, 14 September 1897, CO 225/54(1); *San Francisco Chronicle,* 5 September 1897.

48. Deposition of Alexander McLean, 11 March 1911, pp. 14–19, *Sorensen* v. *Sun,* New York Supreme Court, index reference 5917 (1911). Note: the records of this case are indexed under "Sorenson" [*sic*]. *New York Sun,* 29 March 1911; *Fiji Times,* 27, 30 October 1897. Joske to WPHC, 26 October 1897, 503/1897, see also 504/1897, Inwards Correspondence General, WPHC. Joseph Theroux, "William Churchill: A Fractured Life," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 29 (1995): 97–123. William Churchill, "Samoan Letters" (TS), New York Public Library, deals with matters of philology rather than with his experiences in the Pacific.

49. Woodford, "Report on Solomon Islands"; Woodford to WPHC, 14 July 1913, CO 225/119(2); *San Francisco Call,* 1 September 1898; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 2 June 1898.

50. Woodford to WPHC, 14 July 1913, CO 225/119(2); *New York Sun,* 29 March 1911.

51. *San Francisco Examiner,* 1 September 1898; *San Francisco Call,* 2 June 1898; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 2 June, 28 July, 1 September 1898.

52. *San Francisco Chronicle,* 1 September 1898.

53. *San Francisco Call,* 21 June 1898; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 1 September 1898; Deposition of Alexander McLean, pp. 107–110.

54. Keith Eunson, *The Wreck of the General Grant* (Wellington, 1974); *Sunday Star-Times,* 29 January 1995, 22 February 1998.

55. Deposition of Alexander McLean; *New York Sun,* 29 March 1911.

56. Eunson, *Wreck of the General Grant,* 141–143; Inwards Correspondence General, 1479/13, 1972/13, 494/14, 2596/14, 2275/15, 32/16, 421/16, 1837/25, 202/30, WPHC; Escott to CO, 22 November 1912, CO 225/119(2); Woodford to External Affairs, 2 September 1912, A1/1, 12/21196, Australian Archives.

57. Peter Saunders, aka Peter Sorenson [*sic*], 8 February 1935, age ninety, death certificate no. 4002, Brooklyn, N.Y.; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 7 August 1897.

58. *New York World,* 5 July 1908; *New York Herald,* 4, 5 July 1908.

59. For discussion of some of these American contacts with the Pacific, see A. Grove Day, *Pacific Islands Literature: One Hundred Basic Books* (Honolulu, 1971), and *Mad about Islands: Novelists of a Vanished Age* (Honolulu, 1987); Hugh Laracy, "Maine, Massachusetts, and the Marists: American Catholic Missionaries in the South Pacific," *Catholic Historical Review* 85 (1999): 566–590. For an account of a latter-day (1959–1961) American attempt "to establish a model community on a beautiful Pacific island," see Lillian Otter-

man, *Clinker Islands: A Complete History of the Galapagos Archipelago* (Bradenton, Fla., 1993), 211–230.

60. Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York, 1928); Derek Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth* (London, 1984); Derek Freeman, *The Fateful Hoaxing of Margaret Mead: A Historical Analysis of Her Samoan Research* (Boulder, Colo., 1999).

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WHERE HAS ROTUMAN CULTURE GONE?
AND WHAT IS IT DOING THERE?

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This article explores the now-problematic concept of "culture" and related terms in the context of a diffuse transnational Rotuman population, more than three-fourths of whom live abroad in Fiji, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States, and Europe. We begin by reflecting on prevailing criticisms of the culture concept, then present data in historical perspective on Rotuman communities in five different locations: Rotuma, Fiji, Australia, New Zealand, and Hawai'i. In presenting these data we examine the patterning effects of four key variables, including (1) macrosocietal attitudes, (2) the nature of the migration flow, (3) the size of communities, and (4) differential socialization experiences. We conclude with reflections on the conceptual modifications needed to understand the contemporary Rotuman experience.

Anthropological "culture" is not what it used to be. And once the representational challenge is seen to be the portrayal and under-standing of local/global historical encounters, co-productions, dom-inations, and resistances, then one needs to focus on hybrid, cosmopolitan experiences as much as on rooted, native ones.
> —James Clifford (1992:101)

Introduction

IT WAS MUCH EASIER to talk and write about culture when people stayed put. The people who occupied the Samoan archipelago enacted customs that exemplified Samoan culture, the Maori in New Zealand followed ances-

tral traditions that were aspects of Maori culture, the Hawaiians organized themselves according to Hawaiian culture. Or so it seemed. Of course anthropologists recognized that people moved about and that when they did so, culture diffused. In the 1930s the concept of "acculturation" was introduced in recognition of the complexities that occurred when peoples of different cultures intermingled. But most people stayed within their home territories and perpetuated the ways of their ancestors, albeit with various additions and modifications. Although our ethnographic accounts made reality seem somewhat neater than it was, they made enough sense to give us confidence that culture was not only a useful concept but one that was vital for any satisfactory understanding of humanity. Indeed, we came to see it as the defining feature of our discipline.

When people stayed put—when "culture" was confined to a well-defined space—it was easy to think of culture in terms like "systemic" and "holistic," presumably because the patterning of any given activity was modeled after other activities, and sets of activities were functionally linked to one another. The continuous interactions of people in face-to-face communities reinforced the salience of models for acting, thinking, and emoting. But what happens when large numbers of people migrate to environments dominated by alternative cultural models? Under these circumstances people must learn new ways of acting and thinking or reformulate those that derive from their "home" community. They must select which aspects of their culture to preserve and value, and which to discard or place in a mental holding compartment, to be reactivated when visiting the home community or re-creating remembered aspects of it with other expatriates. The models that constitute culture often become fragmented, transformed in ways that would be unrecognizable to one's ancestors (or relatives back "home"). Thus, the full and encompassing cultural experience of a home community is often replaced by a radically simplified schema of "traditional culture," based on a few activities like dance and truncated rituals, or selected symbolic elements like special foods or dress.

In this article we explore the now-problematic concept of "culture" in the context of a diffuse international Rotuman population, more than three-fourths of whom live abroad in Fiji, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States, and Europe. How is Rotuman culture manifested in overseas enclaves? In what ways does the experience of Rotumans abroad affect their (and our) notion of Rotuman culture? What processes reinforce or curtail cultural activity and cultural identity? These and related questions inspired us to investigate Rotuman enclaves abroad. In the course of our research, we have been forced to reconsider the concept of culture as it applies to such phenomena.

What Use Is Culture Anyway?

In an admirably cogent article reviewing postmodern assaults on the culture concept, Robert Brightman notes that "recent objections to culture receive both absolutist and historical phrasings, the former holding that the culture concept has been flawed from its inception and the latter that culture—viable enough as a device in earlier historical moments—can no longer engage a world in which social identities, practices and ideologies are increasingly incongruent and volatile" (1995:509). Brightman lists a range of criticisms attacking the reification, localism, holism, legalism, boundedness, totalization, coherence, discreteness, homogeneity, objectivism, idealism, and ahistoricism associated with "culture" in much anthropological writing (ibid.:511–526). Many objections are based on the attribution of regulatory functions to the concept, without due regard for problems of conflict, inconsistency, misunderstandings, contradictions, and the like. Thus, critics like Rosaldo (1989) argue for a view of social life that recognizes the contested nature of social "reality," which raises issues of relative power or "hegemony" (Gramsci 1971) within and between social groups. Alternative conceptualizations suggested as replacements for culture include "praxis" or "practice" (Bourdieu 1977), "ethnoscapes" (Appadurai 1990), "discourse" (Abu-Lughod 1991), and various terms emphasizing human agency.

As Brightman points out, recent critiques have tended to "foreground conceptual stability . . . at the expense of lability, presupposing that there existed in the past and into the present *a* culture constuct with *a* determinate definition, now discredited" (1995:527). He rightly criticizes arguments that ignore the writings of theorists such as Sapir, who employed a concept of culture that was historical and accorded considerable agency to its participants (ibid.:538); Malinowski, who saw cultural reality as a seething mixture of conflicting principles rather than a consistent logical scheme (ibid.:533); and Radin, who argued eloquently for recognition of individual agency and historicism (ibid.:534).

Following Brightman, the issue is, in our estimation, not whether it is necessary to substitute another term for culture in order to understand contemporary Rotuman social life, but what semantic qualities *any* analytical concept should have to be useful. We choose to use the culture concept in large measure because Rotumans have adopted it as a way of reflecting on their social circumstances. Its utility for them informs our own usage, though we embed it in a somewhat different discursive milieu.

We see "culture" as a construct based on metaphorical associations and/ or analogies. Indeed, one could argue that its very viability is based on its capacity to assume a multitude of metaphorical forms. In its earliest anthro-

pological incarnation evolutionary metaphors dominated (Tylor 1871:1). Subsequently, when communities were, to all appearances, still confined to definite localities, organic metaphors emphasizing holism, coherence, and integration seemed to make sense. More recently metaphors of "symbolic webs" (Geertz) and "cognitive grammars" (Goodenough) came into vogue, continuing the holistic emphasis. The key question at the moment, as we perceive it, is what kinds of metaphor would be suitable today, when localized, bounded communities are no longer the norm and concepts are needed to handle movement, rapid change and interchange, conflict, and contestation.

Historical Background of the Home Island

Rotuma is a small island some 465 kilometers north of Fiji, with which it has been politically linked since cession to Great Britain in 1881. As with many Pacific islands, local food production formed the basis of trade with visiting European vessels, especially whalers. Rotumans also eagerly signed aboard as crew, quickly earning and maintaining a reputation as responsible, hardworking sailors; they traveled to every part of the globe (see Howard 1995). Beginning in the 1870s a lively commerce developed in coconut oil, and later, copra.

Following cession, Rotuma was closed as a port of entry. Rotuman engagement with the world continued but took place through Fiji, with gradually increasing numbers of Rotumans moving there and settling (see below). Rotuma's special connection with Fiji has contributed to the island's prosperity in a number of ways: (1) by permitting in-country access to wider education and employment opportunities; (2) by supplying government support to the island's infrastructure and providing jobs (approximately one hundred government employees today); and especially (3) by allowing ease of interaction among Rotumans in Fiji and on the home island. On the one hand, free access to in-country travel has facilitated an increasingly consumer-affluent lifestyle on the island; on the other, it has facilitated the provisioning of Fiji Rotumans with important cultural resources like pandanus mats and foods from home. The ease of travel affords people from both sides opportunities to visit each other repeatedly and to experience variant lifestyles (see Rensel 1993). It also facilitates the sharing of information, which becomes the basis for a common discourse (discussed below).

Since migrant family members abroad are an important source of cash and valued commodities, people on Rotuma are motivated to maintain family ties with them, sometimes at the expense of relatives at home. The boundaries of the Rotuman community are thus extended outward to incorporate enclaves abroad. Recently, migrants from several different locations have been arranging family reunions on Rotuma. This expanded sense of commu-

nity involves more than kinship, however. Migrants sometimes raise funds or donate equipment for special projects on Rotuma (e.g., for schools or the hospital). Organized visits between various migrant enclaves (Fiji to New Zealand, New Zealand to Fiji/Rotuma, Fiji/Rotuma to Australia) are becoming increasingly common and are also the basis for fund-raising drives.

Although Rotuma's economy has become increasingly dependent on imported goods and services, virtually every household on the island has access to both garden lands and reef resources (fish, shellfish, and edible seaweed); these resources along with animal husbandry make self-sufficiency possible for nearly every family. And despite the acceleration of change, social life on the island remains vibrant, rich, and absorbing. In our recent visits we have found community activity as intense as ever, with frequent gatherings, sports competitions, and feasts. During one particular month we documented twenty-five festive events in just one district. Furthermore, political intrigues over titles and control of land and other resources as well as controversies over issues like tourism keep people engaged in community affairs. In fact, life on Rotuma is sufficiently comfortable and interesting that many successful, cosmopolitan migrants are returning to live on the island following retirement.

If one ignores the flow of population to and from the island (Howard and Rensel 1994), one might characterize the culture of Rotuma as an evolving system of customs, beliefs, and shared symbols. In other words, social cohesion on the island appears to be sufficient for the conceptualization of culture being attacked by critics to retain some currency, both for anthropologists and for Rotumans who live there. However, the extent of the Rotuman diaspora requires reconsideration of the culture concept.

Rotumans in Fiji: The Development of Ethnic Consciousness

When Howard first began fieldwork in 1959–1960, approximately 3,000 Rotumans were on Rotuma and about 1,500 others lived in Fiji. Birth rates were high, the death rate had declined dramatically following the introduction of wonder drugs in the early 1950s (Howard 1979), and the overall Rotuman population was expanding rapidly. Out-migration was not a new strategy for coping with the resultant pressure on the island's resources—Rotumans began emigrating as soon as opportunities presented themselves (Howard 1995)—but the pace of the outflow was accelerating. According to the 1996 census, there were 2,580 Rotumans on the island while 7,147 were residing in Fiji. We estimate that perhaps an additional 1,000 to 2,000 Rotumans have moved abroad and settled in Australia, New Zealand, other Pacific islands, North America, and Europe.

One consequence of out-migration has been the genesis of an ethnic con-

sciousness among Rotumans (Howard 1977). As they increasingly came into regularized contact with others (Fijians, Fiji Indians, Europeans, and so on), Rotumans were transformed from an ethnic aggregate to an ethnic community, that is, an interactive network based on their common heritage. This shift was accompanied by the development of ethnic consciousness—a recognition that one's ethnicity is a significant factor in ordering social relations within the broader society. As Howard described it:

> Ethnic consciousness may develop on an individual level in response to a number of circumstances: these include overt discrimination by others, a sense of superiority or inferiority, or status ambiguities that can be resolved by giving primacy to ethnicity. Collectively, ethnic consciousness emerges as a result of repeated messages circulated throughout networks of kinsmen, friends, and neighbors to the effect that other identity criteria are less significant for structuring interpersonal relations than ethnic differences. The redundancy of these messages serves to structure both social interaction among ethnic cohorts and an ideology of "we-ness," the sharing of a common social fate. The structural manifestations of these messages are the extension of close personal bonds characteristic of kinship and friendship to all who are members of the same ethnic category and the restricting of one's personal relationships to people within that category. That one member of the category is shamed, offended, or honored implies shame, anger, and honor for all vis-à-vis nonmembers. To the extent that nonmembers of an ethnic category view members as interchangeable, the redundancy of the relevance of ethnicity is likely to be reinforced. For example, when the message that an individual lost his job or was abused because of his ethnicity circulates through a network of people of the same category, indignation and emotional solidarity are more likely to be engendered than if other identity variables are acknowledged to have played a part. The notion of sharing a common fate, if accepted by members of an ethnic category, takes on the character of an ideology by which people interpret their relationships within and without the network of ethnic cohorts. (1977:165–166)

Howard found that ethnic consciousness varied markedly in four Rotuman enclaves in Fiji (Levuka, Lautoka, Suva, Vatukoula) and identified three types of variables that appeared to pattern those differences: demographic, social structural, and cultural. A critical mass had to be present for Rotuman ethnicity to become salient, and the larger the size of the enclave in relation

to the overall population, the more visible the group became. Residence patterns also affected ethnic consciousness insofar as scattered housing resulted in less visibility than concentrated housing. Howard also hypothesized that growth through immigration tends to increase ethnic consciousness because of the continual need to socialize newcomers, a process frequently requiring the explication of boundary mechanisms (1977:188–189).

Social structural variables include those imposed on ethnic communities by the dominant society (discussed below) and such factors as job distribution (the more jobs are concentrated in particular sectors of the economy, the greater the tendency for members of an ethnic community to identify with one another) and leadership legitimated along ethnic lines.

Cultural variables are multitudinous and include the degree to which a group's customs and beliefs are compatible with other groups' customs and beliefs, cultural formulations of group differences (e.g., in racial, linguistic, or behavioral terms), the degree to which kinship is extended, the value placed on belonging to a cohesive community, and so on.

One process involved in the development of ethnic consciousness was the objectification of Rotuman culture (Howard 1963). As Rotumans were exposed to higher forms of Western education, they learned to think about their heritage in abstract terms (in terms of laws, social organization, beliefs, and so forth). Among these terms was the concept of culture. "Rotuman culture" thus became an object of thought, analysis, discussion, and debate. This new phenomenon required both the ability to distance oneself from one's cultural experience and the ability to make meaningful comparisons with other cultures. The result has been the development of a cultural consciousness that parallels ethnic consciousness. Cultural consciousness, in turn, is a significant component of cultural identity, that is, thinking about oneself as a member of a category (or community) based on shared cultural attributes.

Diaspora and the Development of Cultural Consciousness

The focus of our most recent research is on Rotuman migrants further afield, in Australia, New Zealand, and Hawai'i. Our main concern is with conditions and processes that shape cultural identity in these various settings. We have paid special attention to migrant adjustment to these environments, since the types of adaptation made by migrants condition their conceptions of themselves singly and collectively.

We see cultural identity, in part, as an expression of power differentials in society, insofar as people may either have identity thrust upon them or be positioned to choose among various possibilities. The institutionalization of

ethnic categories also plays a significant role. For example, in colonial Fiji, ethnic (i.e., racial) categories were institutionalized, depriving people of choice, while in contemporary Australia "Rotuman" is a largely unknown category, thus offering migrants a number of options for self-identification.

We have identified four variables that influence the salience of identity issues among Rotuman migrants as well as their attitudes toward, and the emotional tone they associate with, identity choices. These include (1) macrosocietal attitudes, (2) the nature of the migration flow, (3) the size of the migrant community, and (4) socialization experiences. We examine each of these variables in the contexts of Fiji, Australia, New Zealand, and Hawai'i. We then discuss the behavioral and material expressions of identity that characterize Rotumanness in these communities.

Macrosocietal Attitudes

Fiji

In Fiji, during the colonial period, racialism was institutionalized. Initially, the major categories were European and Fijian; soon after, the categories Indian, Chinese, Polynesian, and Rotuman were added (and for census purposes the category of "other"). Interbreeding between Europeans and other ethnic groups disrupted the "purity" of these distinctions and resulted in the category of "half-caste" (see Legislative Council, Fiji, 1911). Initially "half-caste" was a pariah category, emblematic of the breakdown of a proper hierarchy in which Europeans were distinguished conceptually as "civilized," while the rest, to varying degrees, were considered "uncivilized." By the mid-1930s attitudes had changed, and the term "half-caste" gave way to the label "part-European," which had distinctly positive connotations. Part-Europeans were placed immediately below Europeans in the reformulated hierarchy, with their European "blood" now considered a definite advantage. Part-Europeans were given preferential treatment and granted privileges sometimes overlapping with those of Europeans.

For Rotumans, interbreeding with Europeans began early in the 1820s, when a substantial number of renegade sailors took up residence on the island. This interbreeding is acknowledged in the 1936 Fiji census, in which the issue of race is discussed. Concerning Rotumans the report states:

> The people of Rotuma are Polynesian stock, but are, nevertheless, somewhat of a mixture. During the last century the Island was not infrequently visited by Whalers, and it is known that at least three Europeans either settled ashore or deserted their vessels and re-

mained on the Island. The men had large families who, intermarry-
ing with inhabitants, were absorbed into the race.

Tradition says that at some time or another, either a Chinese or
Japanese vessel was wrecked on the Island or perhaps arrived and
stayed there. The definitely Mongolian features which are observ-
able in many Rotumans may thus be accounted for.

The race to-day is a mixture of Polynesian, European and Mon-
golian, and it is in some cases extremely difficult to distinguish be-
tween a European-Rotuman and a so-called full blooded Rotuman.
(Legislative Council, Fiji, 1936:11)

This confounding of racial categories gave Rotumans, if not a relatively priv-
ileged place in the hierarchy of non-European ethnic groups, at least some
latitude for proving their worth, which they did through education and hard
work, soon acquiring a reputation for responsibility and honesty. By 1960
Rotumans were well overrepresented in professional, management, and
supervisory positions (Howard 1966, 1970). One could therefore be proud
of being Rotuman in Fiji, and Rotuman identity there coalesced into a dis-
tinctly positive self-identification.

Australia

The first Rotumans migrated to Australia as sailors and as participants in the
Torres Islands pearl-diving industry (descendants of these early migrants have
been identified in northern Australia and on Thursday Island; see Shnukal
1992). A more recent stream began in the 1950s and has accelerated in
recent years. Over this time span Rotumans have encountered a shift in pol-
icies and attitudes toward non-European ethnicities. During the post–World
War II years Australian immigration policy was exclusionist—the so-called
White Australia policy prevailed. The category of "Rotuman" was essentially
unknown; to respond "Rotuman" when asked one's ethnicity by white Aus-
tralians required explanation and was generally avoided. One could say
"Fijian," use the somewhat more acceptable categories of "Pacific Islander"
or "Polynesian," or, if light-skinned enough (and especially if one had a
European-sounding last name), one could pass as an "Aussie." For the most
part, however, it was best to avoid ethnic categorization whenever possible.

With the demise of the White Australia policy and its replacement by a
commitment to making Australia a "multicultural" society, the position of
Rotuman migrants has changed. It is now "in" to be ethnic. Multiculturalism
encourages an emphasis on distinctiveness as opposed to identification with
the unmarked, connotatively bland concept of "Aussie." Rotumans have there-

fore been encouraged to reevaluate their ethnic identity, to organize into groups based on their Rotuman heritage, and to give public cultural performances of various kinds. They are still confronted with the fact that to most white Australians Rotuma is unknown, and in most encounters they identify themselves as from Fiji or Polynesia. Nevertheless, the climate is much more favorable than previously for a positive Rotuman self-identification.

New Zealand

The situation for Rotumans in New Zealand is affected by the social visibility of the indigenous Maori population. The initial division between Pakeha (white European) and Maori remains the anchor of New Zealand ethnic distinctions, although the substantial migration of other Polynesians (particularly Cook Islanders, Samoans, and Niueans) following World War II has made the situation more complex. As in Australia, "Rotuman" is a largely unknown category, and migrants generally identify themselves as from Fiji or Polynesia. But the connotations associated with being Polynesian in New Zealand are complicated by the ambivalent feelings so frequently expressed by Pakehas. The association of Maoris and Samoans in many people's minds with violence and presumed irresponsibility offsets proclaimed liberal commitments to a society in which race is of no consequence. Rotumans find that the Polynesian component of their identity can be problematic at times and contextually variable.

Hawai'i

The people of Hawai'i take pride in the state's multiculturalism and celebrate its diversity. Exceptionally high rates of intermarriage between ethnic groups have created a blend of cultures into which Rotuman immigrants fit quite comfortably. The indigenous Hawaiians, despite recent activism aimed at restoring rights denied them by forced annexation to the United States, have readily incorporated outsiders into their communities, and significant Samoan and Tongan immigration has expanded the Polynesian component of the population. Although Rotuma is unknown to most people in the state, the category "Polynesian" is well known and, in the current political climate, a positive designation. Since a number of Rotuman immigrants have married ethnic Hawaiians, they have, until recently, been all but invisible as an ethnic group.

The Nature of Migration

We have found that the nature of the migration stream—who migrates, when, and for what purpose—also plays an important role in shaping mi-

grant experience and, ultimately, the denotation and connotation of cultural identity. It makes a difference whether migrants are male or female; whether they migrate to take jobs and, if so, in what sector of the economy; whether they enter the country legally or illegally; whether they come as individuals, as spouses of residents, or as families. Likewise, a mass migration within a very short time frame has a different effect than trickle migration over a long span. In the case of Rotumans, their mostly chain migration from Rotuma to Fiji and thence to Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere has important implications.

Fiji

As a result of political affiliation, there have been no barriers to migration between Rotuma and the rest of Fiji. Rotumans began migrating to Fiji for education and jobs soon after cession was formalized, and by 1936 nearly 10 percent of Rotumans lived in Fiji. Today the figure is closer to 75 percent. The flow is not one-way or permanent, however. Individuals of both genders and all ages go back and forth frequently, staying with family members while schooling, getting help while seeking employment, participating in sports or church events, or helping out relatives in various ways while simply enjoying a holiday (see Kaurasi 1991). According to our 1989 survey of 999 adults residing on Rotuma, 953 had been away from the island at least once, and 57 (6 percent) reported having traveled away from Rotuma more than ten times. Some stays are extended; 169 (17 percent) of those surveyed had been employed while away, and many of them had married and had children before returning with their families to live on Rotuma.

Transportation improvements in recent years have increased opportunities for travel. An airport was opened on Rotuma in 1981, and weekly (or biweekly) flights to and from Suva are often fully booked. Rotumans (especially those with less money and more time) often prefer to book passage on one of the copra or supply boats that call at the island about once a month. The flow of people between Rotuma and Fiji continues to intensify.

Australia

Rotuman migration to Australia has followed two trajectories, distinguished by gender. The majority of Rotuman women there married Australian men. Many met their husbands in Fiji before emigrating; others came to Australia for schooling or work and met their husbands there. In her study of Rotuman migrants in the Sydney area, Seforosa Michael estimates that "70–80% of all migration to Australia has been the result of marriage to non-Rotuman spouses, most of whom were Australian citizens" (1991:8–9). The Australian

men working in Fiji mostly occupied managerial positions with firms and banks or served in professional capacities. They were generally of middle-class background, and on returning to Australia, they brought their wives into middle-class Australian society, to which the women appear to have adapted successfully. These women and their children seem well adjusted to mainstream Aussie culture and do not consider themselves members of a disadvantaged ethnic group.

The circumstances of Rotuman male migration to Australia have been somewhat different. Many of the older migrants came as sailors and jumped ship. Some were caught and sent home in disgrace, but others married Australian women and settled down. Most eventually legalized their status, although some did not do so for many years, placing them meanwhile in a tenuous social position. Compared to Rotuman women in Australia, Rotuman men span a broader range in the occupational structure, ranging from unskilled workers to positions of management. On the whole, however, our research suggests that they aspire to middle-class living standards, which many if not most have achieved.

Gender differences have had the effect of putting women in a more secure position than the men vis-à-vis Australian society, and it is not surprising that, to date, women have played a dominant role in organizing Rotuman enclaves. They seem to be more secure in asserting Rotuman cultural ethnicity and less constrained in its public display.

New Zealand

In many respects Rotuman migration to New Zealand parallels the Australian experience. An additional factor in this instance was the presence of the New Zealand air force in Suva until Fiji gained independence in 1970. A number of Rotuman women married airmen—some officers, others enlisted men of varied backgrounds. Most melted into the social circles of their husbands, and those who could took advantage of their part-European identification possibility, which served them well in Pakeha society.

In 1994, with the assistance of Rev. Jione Langi, who was pastor at large for the Fiji Wesleyans in New Zealand and himself a Rotuman, we were able to identify 125 families that included at least one person of Rotuman extraction. Langi also helped provide information regarding occupation, year of immigration to New Zealand, and spouse's ethnicity if married. Of the 74 Rotuman women for whom we have marital information, 40 were married to or had been married to white New Zealanders (Pakeha), 15 to Rotuman or part-Rotuman men, 16 to other Polynesians (including Fijians or part-Fijians), 2 to Indians, and 1 to a Chinese man. Of the 36 Rotuman men in

our survey, 14 were married to Pakeha women, 10 to Rotumans, and 12 to other Polynesians. A higher proportion of women thus married Pakeha spouses (55 percent compared to 39 percent of men). Rotumans married to Rotumans or part-Rotumans account for only 23 percent of the New Zealand couples we identified, which, along with the Australian data, suggests that for Rotumans intermarriage and migration are strongly correlated.

As in Australia, Rotumans in New Zealand have largely been integrated into the urban middle class. This position is reflected in our data on occupation, which show a preponderance of both men and women, and their spouses, in managerial/supervisory, professional, or white-collar occupations (75.0 percent of Rotuman women, 70.6 percent of their spouses; 55.9 percent of Rotuman men, 85.7 percent of their spouses).

Our information on year of immigration indicates that Rotuman migration to New Zealand began in the 1950s and reached a peak during the 1970s and 1980s, when New Zealand immigration policy was more lax than it is now. For those on whom we have such data ($N = 70$), 20.0 percent arrived before 1970, 35.7 percent came in the 1970s, 38.6 percent came in the 1980s, and only 5.7 percent immigrated during the first four years of the 1990s.

Hawai‘i

Two main sources account for the majority of Rotumans who have settled in Hawai‘i. One derives from the stream of students who have attended Brigham Young University at Lā‘ie since the mid-1960s, the other from the cable ship *Enterprise,* which docked in Hawai‘i for a lengthy period during the 1970s. Most of the former were female; all of the latter were male. Several female students stayed on after completing their education, often taking part-time or full-time employment at the Polynesian Cultural Center. Those who stayed generally married men associated with the Mormon complex known to them either as fellow students or as workmates. A number of men from the cable ship married local women, mostly of Hawaiian ancestry, and obtained their green cards. Subsequently some of these families emigrated to the U.S. mainland, leaving a limited number of Rotuman individuals behind.

As a result of this two-pronged stream, the women who have emigrated are better educated than the men, although the men have done well occupationally, earning a reputation for diligence and reliability in skilled or semi-skilled jobs. Whereas the women tended to congregate in or near Lā‘ie and thus knew one another, the men scattered around O‘ahu and were mostly absorbed into their wives' communities. It was not until 1994 that a Rotuman community developed, and it required an external stimulus (see below).

Rotumans in Fiji, Australia, New Zealand, and Hawai‘i have few of the

problems associated with ethnic underclasses. All the evidence at our disposal indicates that encounters with the police are rare, that incidents of violence are few and far between, that unemployment rates are relatively low, and that in general the standard of living for Rotuman migrants approximates that of the white middle class in each location. All these factors reinforce a positive self-, ethnic, and cultural identity.

Size of Community

The size of enclaves is significant insofar as a critical mass is required for organized interactions such as weddings, funerals, and various kinds of cultural performances. When a critical mass is absent, migrants generally adopt ritual practices of their host communities and forgo many of the customs associated with life crisis events in their home societies. However, there also seems to be a point at which ethnic communities grow too large—a threshold after which fissioning occurs, factional disputes multiply, and group integrity becomes problematic. In other words, there appears to be an optimal population range for maintaining the cohesiveness of an ethnic community (although this range no doubt varies between ethnic groups based on a variety of culturally based practices and attitudes). The organizational experience of Rotumans in Fiji, Australia, New Zealand, and Hawai‘i is suggestive.

Fiji

In Suva and Lautoka, the urban centers with the largest Rotuman enclaves, the migrants have organized themselves along the lines of districts on Rotuma (the island is divided into seven relatively autonomous districts, each headed by a titled chief). In fact, there are splits within some of these groups reflecting intradistrict disputes on the home island. These district-based organizations are cross-cut by kinship and to some extent by religious affiliation, but they indicate the importance of place on Rotuma as a locus of identity-defining experience. Except for migrant families relatively isolated in rural settings, the size of Rotuman enclaves in Fiji makes it possible to generate groupings of sufficient size to support virtually any cultural practice and thus to reinforce one's sense of identity as a Rotuman. In the larger cities, however, the frequency of intracommunity conflict sometimes leads people to downplay their Rotuman identity in favor of other options.

Australia

By far the largest Rotuman enclave in Australia, consisting of over one hundred families in which at least one person is of Rotuman extraction, is in

Sydney, where migrants have organized around churches. Rotuman Wesleyans initially joined a Polynesian congregation established by Rev. Jione Langi, who was assigned by the Fiji Methodist Church to serve migrants from Fiji in Sydney before he was posted to New Zealand. When the various Polynesian enclaves grew large enough, they split off, each establishing its own church and supporting its own minister. Soon after its inception, the Rotuman congregation divided over the issue of language. Whereas a core group of cultural conservatives insisted that all services be conducted in the Rotuman language exclusively, others requested that English be used as well. The latter group started their own congregation, without benefit of an ordained minister. Catholic migrants in the Sydney area have organized into a social group that meets periodically; only recently (October 1999) was the first Catholic mass conducted entirely in the Rotuman language.

Other Rotuman enclaves have developed in Brisbane and Melbourne, but they are smaller in size. The Melbourne community, which we have visited twice, consists of around twenty families who have organized in a way that is not church-based. It is still small enough to be inclusive, but personal frictions foreshadow an imminent split should the group increase in size.

New Zealand

The largest concentration of Rotuman migrants in New Zealand is in Auckland, with smaller but nevertheless vital communities in and around Napier and Wellington. In the 1970s a first attempt was made to organize the growing Rotuman enclave in Auckland, but the effort was ill-fated and short-lived; a second attempt met with failure in the 1980s. Factional strife reportedly broke out, leading to disenchantment and bad feelings. Then, following the appointment of Rev. Jione Langi to Wellington in 1985, a gradual process of reincorporation took place. Based on his experience with the Rotuman community in Sydney, Langi made an effort to identify Rotuman families in New Zealand and to organize them. In 1992 he was appointed "pastor at large" to the Fiji Methodist community in New Zealand and relocated to Auckland. He established the Rotuman New Zealand Fellowship as a formal organization with a written constitution, dues, and biannual meetings. The fellowship has hosted Rotuman groups traveling to New Zealand, organized a Christmas sojourn to Fiji and Rotuma, and held fund-raising drives for various purposes. It is nonsectarian in character and divided into three chapters based on regions within New Zealand (Auckland, Wellington, and Waikato/Bay of Plenty).[1]

Despite Langi's charismatic leadership, disputes threaten the integrity of the fellowship. Following a trouble-plagued group trip to Rotuma in 1993, during which limited transportation required some families to remain in Fiji,

several members protested and dropped out of the fellowship, threatening group cohesion. After Langi was reassigned to Fiji, most of the protestors returned to the group, and the fellowship presently appears to be strong and active, with well-attended biannual meetings.

Hawai'i

As indicated above, the number of Rotumans in Hawai'i is relatively small, and the men, in particular, are scattered and were initially absorbed into their wives' communities. Rotumans were thus all but invisible ethnically until 1994, when we returned from a field trip to Fiji, Australia, and New Zealand. While we were abroad, several Rotumans, on learning that we were from Hawai'i, had given us the addresses of their relatives here. When we returned to Honolulu, we invited them all to a party at our place, making it clear it was a Rotuman event (we invited them to bring Rotuman delicacies and offered to show home videos of the island and play Rotuman music cassettes). Several of our guests had been unaware of one another's presence in Hawai'i and met for the first time on that occasion.

The party was a great success, and we collectively decided to meet again a few weeks later at Munue Tavo's house, which had a large yard that facilitated Polynesian-style interactions. His wife, Phyllis, is Hawaiian and quickly became a facilitator for the incipient community. Several other gatherings were arranged in quick succession, and soon we decided to form an association with regular membership, dues, and scheduled activities. Munue was elected president and served in that capacity for two years until he and Phyllis moved to Alaska. The "Tefui Club"—the Rotuma Association of Hawai'i— gained impetus when club member Vilsoni Hereniko launched his book, titled *Woven Gods,* about clowning on Rotuma. On that occasion the Tefui Club performed traditional ceremonies and a group dance in front of a large audience of non-Rotumans. The event required many weeks of dance practice; the pooling of resources; and much labor to prepare an earth oven for roasting a pig and taro, *fekei* (Rotuman pudding), *tefui* (Rotuman-style garlands), and *titi* (ti-leaf and flower skirts). Since then the club has performed a number of times in public and has become known within the Polynesian community.

The solidarity of the group was considerably enhanced when Elisapeti Inia, a retired schoolteacher and respected Rotuman elder, visited for a time in 1996. Drawing on her fund of genealogical knowledge, Mrs. Inia was able to show people precisely how were related to one another, so an association that was initiated on the basis of shared ethnicity evolved into a kin-based community with much stronger ties. The solidarity of the group has

been further enhanced by a series of campouts over holiday weekends, some-
times involving thirteen or fourteen tents and perhaps fifty or sixty individ-
uals sharing a common kitchen shelter. Activities have included singing and
dancing, playing cards, teaching crafts, fishing, hunting for crabs on the beach,
roasting marshmallows, volleyball, horseshoes, and an enormous amount of
teasing, laughing, and horsing around.

Initially the children of mixed marriages were only marginally involved,
but they became progressively interested in their "Rotuman side" and now
regularly participate in dances and do school projects on Rotuma.[2] The total
number of Rotuman individuals composing the core of this community is
about seventeen or eighteen, but with their spouses and children, students at
Brigham Young University–Hawai'i who irregularly participate, and occa-
sional visitors, the group swells to a maximum of about sixty individuals.

Our assessment regarding group dynamics is that competent, assertive
leadership is required to organize Rotuman enclaves; that the desire to orga-
nize is generally strong; but that the larger the group, the greater the proba-
bility of personality clashes. Suspicion over the management of group finances
is an important, but not the only, trigger for overt expressions of discontent.
When we discussed aspects of group identity with migrant Rotumans, they
usually began with the positive imagery of themselves as hard-working, honest,
and reliable, but several people added that within their own groups Rotumans
can be backbiting, touchy, and difficult to lead. The tensions associated with
such negative imagery are more likely to manifest themselves when group
size exceeds an unspecified threshold.

Generational and Socialization Experiences

Where people are born and brought up and by whom plays an important
role in shaping migrant identity. Rotumans raised on Rotuma are generally
brought up within an extended family, with the entire local community play-
ing a part. They absorb the subtleties of language and local lore, participate
in rituals and ceremonies until they are second nature, and develop a fine-
grained knowledge of people's histories and networks of relationship. All of
this information, this mastery of that which is Rotuman, generates a sense of
self and an ethnic identity saturated with cultural content.

Rotumans raised in Fiji can absorb much of this content as well, although
the choice of disassociation is more accessible, and the intensity of socializa-
tion is mitigated by a wider variety of experiences, especially in conjunction
with peers of other backgrounds. The offspring of emigrants growing up in
Australia, New Zealand, and Hawai'i are mostly children of parents from
different cultural backgrounds. Their experience of Rotumanness depends

heavily on the choices their parents make with regard to language use, involvement with other Rotumans in the area, and frequency of visits to the island. To a certain extent these are influenced in turn by the size of the Rotuman community. Thus, even more so than in Fiji, there is variation in how much second-generation Rotuman migrants to Australia, New Zealand, and Hawai'i know of their history and connections. And unless they have visited Rotuma and spent some time there, their Rotuman identity, if they profess it, is likely to be more a matter of conscious decision and less a matter of internalized content. Visits to Rotuma are regarded as increasingly important to Rotuman parents abroad. They are eager to have their children experience the island's culture, get to know their relatives, see the land in which they have rights, and so forth. In recent years a number of group excursions have been organized for travel to Rotuma from enclaves abroad, and in return Rotumans from Rotuma and Fiji have organized visits to Australia and New Zealand, where they have been hosted by Rotuman communities.

Expressions of Identity

One of the questions guiding our recent research concerned which aspects of Rotuman culture are privileged in its reconstitution abroad. We were interested in how important certain artifacts might be, like fine mats *(apei)* and special garlands *(tefui)*—essentials at ceremonies conducted on Rotuma. Likewise, we wanted to know which, if any, activities were singled out for preservation as symbolic of group identity.

In general, we found the ability to engage in discourse about topics implicating Rotuma and Rotuman culture to be of central importance. When we've asked, "What is most important to maintaining Rotuman culture?" the first thing mentioned by most migrants (particularly those of the older generation who grew up on the island) is preservation of the Rotuman language. The language, in turn, is key for tuning in to Rotuman sayings (see Inia 1998) and the type of banter that is at the heart of intimacy and social life on Rotuma.

Independent of language, the ability to discuss genealogical connections as well as politics, events, and personalities on Rotuma identifies individuals as active members in the Rotuman community. Control of information about Rotuma or about Rotumans in Fiji or elsewhere is a valuable asset. Videotapes have become a hot cultural commodity, allowing migrants to experience key events vicariously or to remember and relive them. Watching videotapes together is an active rather than passive process, as people focus on identifying persons and talking kinship, localities, and recent history while watching. Since November 1996, a Rotuma Web site we constructed also allows those

with Internet access to share news, consult historical documents, discuss issues on-line, and locate one another (see Howard 1999).[3]

Migrants, their spouses, and their children are increasingly interested in acquiring books and other writings about Rotuma. Some have told us about going to local libraries in search of relevant literature. By seeking out and incorporating such information, they are engaging in the process of objectifying Rotuman culture and history as well as enhancing opportunities for participating in discourse about it.

Of all the activities fostered by migrant organizations, however, none is more important to cultural identity than Rotuman dance. Dance performances contribute to formation of Rotuman cultural identity in three fundamental ways:

1. They provide opportunities for Rotumans to interact with each other, especially during practices, in characteristically Rotuman ways (with much joking and banter) and thus create a venue for consolidating relationships.
2. The lyrics of dances characteristically objectify and idealize Rotuma and its culture. They place heavy emphasis on such notions as the beauty of the island, the bounty of food, gardening and fishing, and Rotuman values of hard work and generosity.
3. Dance engages people in performing publicly as representatives of Rotuman culture and thus encourages identification of performers as Rotumans.

Cultural artifacts also play a role in promoting identity, depending on availability. Rotuman fine mats are available in Fiji, for example, although they are mostly made on the home island and are very costly. Still, they are presented at most ceremonies, along with *tefui* garlands, and are highly prized as cultural emblems. In Australia, New Zealand, and Hawai'i, however, there are not enough mats to maintain such prestations consistently, so they have largely been withdrawn from circulation or may be used for display only, rather than exchange. Other, more accessible items have come to signify Rotuman (or more generally, Polynesian) identity abroad. Dressing for special events in island-style clothes, eating island foods, and decorating homes with shell leis, woven fans, and photographs or paintings of scenes from Rotuma are all ways of making public or quasi-public statements about cultural identity.

In general, ceremonies abroad are more contracted in time than on Rotuma and more perfunctory in performance. Much ritual on Rotuma focuses on chiefs, who in turn give lengthy speeches. Since chieftainship is

not recognized abroad (except in rare cases when district chiefs visit), significant parts of ritual are omitted, while European cultural practices are often added. There are also restrictions on when ceremonies can be held abroad, since most people work during the week and attend church services on Sunday. That leaves Saturday as prime time for community events. Indeed, expression of Rotuman cultural identity may be thought of as a distinctly weekend phenomenon in some migrant communities.

The Culture Concept Revisited

Ever since Boas pluralized the concept of culture, it is distinctiveness, in one form or another, that gives it meaning. Like others, Rotumans use the concept to emphasize the distinctiveness of certain aspects of experience (such as language, dance, and rituals) that have become icons for an imagined community (Anderson 1983) and that distinguish it from other communities (Fijian, Samoan, Maori, Hawaiian, American, Australian, and so on). The chosen features provide a way for the geographically dispersed, increasingly diffuse community to define itself as Rotuman and to instantiate notions of Rotumanness. But everywhere a Rotuman community exists, the island of Rotuma remains a central place with special significance for people's identities.

The key process that binds a community is communication, and we would place communication at the core of the culture concept. The content of cultural communication is varied, but one can constructively think of it as informed by an array of models for acting, talking, thinking, and emoting (see Shore 1996:56–67 for a comprehensive categorization of genres of cultural models).

In the relatively isolated, confined island communities before Western intrusion, the available cultural arrays were limited, interconnected, and highly patterned. Community members inculcated behavioral patterns and beliefs through a process of enculturation that was informal, continuous, and largely unconscious. Choices were framed within well-defined parameters. Granted such conditions, a concept of culture that was holistic and systemic and that emphasized coherence made sense.

The breakdown of barriers between previously distinct societies, the accelerated movement of peoples around the globe, and the spread of global capitalism and its associated media productions have changed all that. As pointed out above, one consequence of increased exposure has been the objectification of culture by people who have been formally educated or have become worldly in their outlook. When culture is objectified, it becomes possible to disassemble it into component parts; it becomes modular in nature (see Shore 1996 for an account of American culture as modular). It strikes

us that Rotuman culture has been modularized by Rotuman migrants in Australia, New Zealand, and Hawai'i insofar as it is fragmented into segments like language, dance, church services, customs related to weddings, and so on, and is confined in action to special time frames (such as Saturdays or Sunday church.)

In diasporic communities, where there is concern for the perpetuation of a culture, and indeed, at times, its re-creation, we would like to draw attention to a phenomenon we refer to as "cultural bonding." We conceive of cultural bonding as a communicative process whereby individuals rein-force notions of sameness (we-ness) by choosing to stress certain cultural attributes from a broader array. Such shared attributes might include talking the same language (sharing an accent, using the same metaphors, and so on), mimicking one another's body language, agreeing with one another's opinions (or negotiating the bases for disagreement on a common foundation of agreement), or mutually choosing to participate in specific ceremonies or dance forms.[4]

Social bonding is a process that occurs in all communities, even in stable, historically continuous societies. In the ebb and flow of social life, there are times when people emphasize their sameness and other times when they emphasize their distinctiveness. A threat from a common enemy, for example, stimulates an emphasis on commonly shared cultural symbols, while internal competition for resources stimulates the selection of disparate cultural attributes (a process that might be labeled "cultural disassociation").

What distinguishes the processes of cultural bonding and disassociation in ethnically heterogeneous environments (e.g., cosmopolitan urban areas) is that people can choose whether or not to associate with others on the basis of a vast array of cultural models available in the workplace, public arenas, and mass media. Whereas these processes in so-called traditional communities were largely unconsciously patterned, in heterogeneous settings they are more a matter of conscious choice. Formation of an ethnic community in such an environment involves the conscious selection of cultural attributes perceived as unique to the ethnic group, elements that distinguish it from other ethnic groups. In cities like Sydney, Melbourne, or Auckland people consciously choose to associate with others *as* Rotumans and consciously select objectified cultural aspects they identify as Rotuman—aspects that reinforce their social bonds.[5]

One does not have to be ethnically Rotuman to participate in—to be a member of—a Rotuman community. Indeed, some of the most active members of Rotuman communities abroad are the Caucasian and Hawaiian spouses of Rotumans. As long as they engage in the process of cultural bonding by participating in prescribed activities (e.g., dances, feasts, meet-

ings), they are welcomed. It is the commitment to cultural sharing rather than ethnicity that determines membership.[6]

Given this perspective, we find using the culture concept in reference to bounded groups problematic; it does not seem useful to refer to people as "members of a culture." Likewise, we see problems with the notion of culture as consisting of a particular array of cognitive or symbolic representations. We recognize that there is considerable overlap between communities with regard to most of the elements (concepts, beliefs, models for action) we have heretofore assigned to culture and that in the contemporary world the vast majority of people are exposed to an enormously expanded repertoire of possibilities compared to that experienced by their ancestors. In light of these circumstances, we prefer to think of people as "*doing* culture" rather than "*having* culture." Metaphorically speaking, this conception suggests a notion of culture as an activity rather than as a thing or a patterned repertoire of things. People form communities by doing culture, that is, by agreeing, overtly or tacitly, to emphasize a selected segment of their total personal repertoires of models for acting and communicating. They maintain communities through cultural bonding and by filtering out cultural materials that they experience as disruptive. Thus, we would shift the emphasis in the culture concept from being to doing, from noun to verb (although we're not quite ready to substitute a term like "culturizing" for culture).[7]

Although people everywhere have developed cultural consciousness and talk about "our culture" in the process of doing culture, there is a distinction between their rhetorical use of the term and its analytical use by anthropologists. An anecdote from our experience illustrates the point. One Saturday we were attending a gathering of the Tefui Club. For the first couple of hours, we sat on a mat under a tree on Kailua Beach, talking story, bantering, and acting in ways that are characteristically Rotuman. The scene could have taken place on any beach in Rotuma, and from our standpoint the club members were doing Rotuman culture par excellence. As the afternoon wore on, however, one of the members looked disconcerted and asked, "Aren't we going to do any Rotuman culture today?" She was referring to singing Rotuman songs, doing Rotuman crafts, or performing some other activity consciously identified as Rotuman.

For club members the repertoire constituting Rotuman culture involves the conscious selection of signature activities and icons, whereas for us, as anthropologists, it incorporates much that is unconscious and unlabeled. We would therefore qualify Appadurai's comment that in the contemporary world of transnational transfer, "culture becomes less what Bourdieu would have called a habitus (a tacit realm of reproducible practices and dispositions) and more an arena of conscious choice, justification and representa-

tion" (Appadurai 1990:18, cited in Brightman 1995:524). While it is true that for people in diasporic communities doing culture has largely become a matter of conscious selection—of heightened cultural awareness—for anthropologists who analyze the phenomenon of doing culture in such communities, the unconscious patterning identified by ethnographers since Boas (whether referred to as habitus, latent culture, or some other term) remains and must remain a focus of attention.

To answer the question posed by our title, Rotuman culture has been reconstituted in a number of places where communities, formed through the process of cultural bonding, have come into being. The communities have evolved differently in different contexts, but they all have been formed on the basis of a commitment to conscious, objectified notions of Rotuman language, customs, and beliefs—modules they identify as distinctively Rotuman. The island of Rotuma remains central for all emigrant enclaves precisely because it is the one place where the doing of Rotuman culture is continuous. Overarching these localized communities is an emergent global Rotuman community—discontinuous in time and space—that is being nurtured by enhanced communication via e-mail, the Internet, and a Rotuma Web site, but that is another story (see Howard 1999).

NOTES

1. Initially there was a fourth chapter on the South Island, centered on Christchurch, but following some moves and defections, the size of the community fell below critical mass, and it has been inactive for the past few years.

2. See, for example, the project by high-school student Hillary Morris concerning the making of *fekei ulu* (breadfruit pudding) now posted on our Rotuma Web site (http://www.hawaii.edu/oceanic/rotuma/os/fekeiulu.htm).

3. A majority of Rotumans now live in urban areas and have Internet access, either directly or through work, relatives, or friends. Our Web site contains a register where people can enter an e-mail address as well as other personal information. As of June 2001

the register included nearly five hundred Rotumans with e-mail addresses. We have been informed that many of the people who access the Web site print out news and other features and share them with others without direct access.

4. The process of cultural bonding accounts for shared patterns of behavior and emoting that are neither cognitive nor inherent in public symbolic stimuli. Thus, in the process of interacting on a regular basis, people who engage in cultural bonding come to emulate one another's gestures, fears, expressiveness, and so on. Over time they learn to respond to similar stimuli in similar ways.

5. Cultural bonding supplements what has been considered the main process underlying a community's culture—the process of enculturation. Childhood enculturation in particular—the passing on of fundamental knowledge, beliefs, and behaviors from one generation to the next—has been taken for granted in stable, historically continuous communities. Under diasporic conditions, however, the degree of enculturation to "homeland cultures" is problematic. In some families abroad the language of the homeland is spoken, traditional knowledge and beliefs are passed down, and children learn at least a significant portion of the homeland's cultural repertoire. In other families very little such information is transmitted. The process of cultural bonding nevertheless allows individuals at various stages of development—from childhood to maturity—to choose to learn what is needed to be a vibrant participant in a self-defined Rotuman community.

6. What distinguishes "culture," so defined, from "ethnic group" is the emphasis in the latter on the bonding principle of genealogy, or "blood." People may identify themselves as members of the same ethnic group but share little else in common culturally.

7. An emphasis on culture as doing brings it more in line with praxis approaches and diminishes the distinction between idealistic and materialistic perspectives. Thus, economic and political practices, which are responses to material contingencies and are shaped by cognitive models for action, are ways of doing culture in specified circumstances. However, we prefer to emphasize the communication aspects of the culture concept for understanding the phenomena discussed in this article.

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BOOK REVIEW FORUM

James F. Weiner, *The Lost Drum: The Myth of Sexuality in Papua New Guinea and Beyond.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995. Pp. xxi, 199, illus., bib., index. US$49.95 cloth; $19.95 paperback.

Review: Eric Kline Silverman
DePauw University

The Tropics of Psychoanalysis in Melanesian Mythology

Understanding the imaginary and experiential dimensions of another lifeworld is no trivial feat. Since the 1980s, James Weiner has steadily advanced this elusive goal of cultural anthropology. *The Lost Drum* is his latest tour de force. Topically, the book analyzes mythic images of the body across Papua New Guinea. More importantly, *The Lost Drum (TLD)* combines stunning literary elegance and daunting erudition to offer four theoretical innovations. First, it broaches the analytic divide between subjectivity and formalism that has beset the development of mythic analysis. Second, *TLD* is the first sustained engagement in anthropology with the thought of Jacques Lacan, and thus expands beyond the neo-Freudian assumptions of psychoanalytic anthropology. Third, Weiner synthesizes two important concepts in Melanesian studies: symbolic obviation and "partible" personhood. Finally, *TLD* explores the relationship between embodiment and language.

Structuralist Cognition

Towards unpacking the intricate ideas in *TLD* and offering provocations, I begin with structuralism. Lévi-Strauss views myth to be emblematic of the

originary mode of human thought (1955), or $F_x(a) : F_y(b) \simeq F_x(b) : F_{a-1}(y)$. The four binary elements of the formula, each comprising "term" and "function," do not represent the unfolding of narrative episodes that, along with indigenous glosses, are merely secondary elaborations. Instead, the formula models relationships of symmetry and opposition among noncontiguous mythemes. These mythemes code for an underlying conundrum of social life that the final operation mediates through an inversion of "term" and "function" *and* an additional nonlinear "helicoidal step" (Maranda and Maranda 1971:26). For Lévi-Strauss (e.g., 1976, 1988), this recursion is a vital attribute of "transcendental deduction" or pure thought (see Mosko 1991). It allows myth to admit and resolve what "the native mind" knows but cannot state directly: the failure of social order.

Like structuralism, *TLD* also seeks to uncover a universal logic of myth and human thought. But *TLD* refuses to tether the recursive dimension of myth to psychosocial restoration, or to privilege form over content and poetic resonance. Instead, *TLD* embraces a more dynamic view of cultural mentation: the concept of obviation.

Modes of Thought

One premise of *TLD* is that culture, as initially theorized by Wagner (1978, 1986), consists of two symbolic orders. Conventional symbolization such as kinship "sediments" (p. 33) the systematic knowledge of a community and thereby forms a stable "ground" for the collective construction of a lifeworld. Conventional symbols consist of habitual, hence unambiguous signifiers that point to straightforward signifieds. By contrast, differentiating or nonconventional symbols are tropes that assert unusual and often paradoxical relations of sameness and difference between signifier and signified, thus deconventionalizing the taken-for-granted notions of a conventional universe. Tropes are also reflexive: They reveal the process of metaphor itself.

All cultures assign one symbolic mode to innate reality and the other to human artifice. The former motivates the latter. Yet not all cultures identify these realms in the same way. In the West, randomness and individuality are the givens that motivate collective action. Legitimate intellectual enterprises create the moral rules of society and forge ever-clearer, pragmatic knowledge of the external world. But in Melanesia, our human contrivances *are* part of the givens and flows of reality: the collective motivates differentiation. Myth, then, and other elaborate intellectual constructs, counterinvents the conventional through tropes. Since these metaphors differ from everyday language —they are akin to a Batesonian meta-language—myth can neither simply express nor resolve paradoxes of social life.
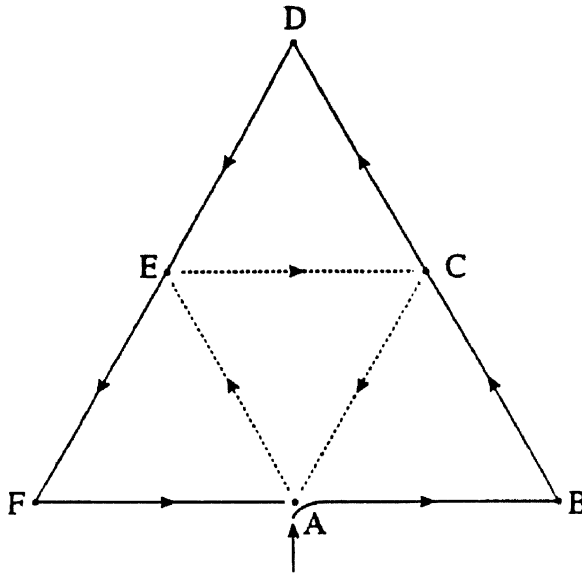
FIGURE 1. **Obviation triangle.** (Weiner, *The Lost Drum,* 39)

TLD, I am suggesting, is a powerful response to structuralism. Yet it modestly seems hesitant about engaging other theories of myth, meaning, belief, and thought in anthropology (e.g., Tambiah 1990; Horton 1993). I wonder how Weiner would answer the debate between Sahlins and Obeyesekere—all the more so since *TLD* concerns the creation of cultural meaning (including the "structure of the conjuncture" that frames the Lake Kutubu oil fields) *and* psychoanalysis.

Obviation

Obviation, like structuralism, applies a universal logic to myth based on binary oppositions, substitutions, and transformations (see Weiner 1988). Yet obviation follows carefully the narrative whereas structuralism breaks it into "unchained signifiers" (p. 152) and, despite Lévi-Strauss's remonstrations to the contrary, reduces meaning to an essential message. In *TLD,* mythic signification is metaphoric: self-reflexive and polysemic.

A myth narrative alternates between episodes of convention and differentiation (Figure 1). (Hence the categories of everyday life comprise only one-half of the mythic vocabulary.) Each modality highlights and "motivates"

the other as in art, figure is to ground. The facilitating modality (ACE) begins the tale and usually corresponds, in the context of the myth (chapter 2; cf. Parmentier 1990), to convention. The motivating modality (BDF) is the differentiating series of images that obviates, "effaces" (p. 39), and "moves against' the conventions of ACE. Each episode asserts some metaphoric concordance that mediates between (1) antecedent and subsequent episodes, and (2) opposite vertices of one or more internal triangles. Moreover, a facilitating triangle can become everted as the motivating triangle of a second tale, and vice versa. As a result, there are four orders of mythic meaning.

First, myth illuminates, inverts, and, ultimately, dissolves the distinction between convention and differentiation. The innate and artifice are revealed to be arbitrary and interdependent. Second, the triangular structures of obviation refuse to yield a secure denouement. Instead, myth folds back on itself to collapse the premises of the opening episode through the "negation of a negation." This recursion, akin to tropic reflexivity, highlights the *limits* of conventional and nonconventional ways of imagining the world. Myth outlines the *contours* of culture rather than illuminates its *core* premises or therapeutically answers its *central* problems. Third, myths "uncover the concealments of conventional thought and action" (p. xvi). Finally, mythic meaning is nonrepresentational or fractal (see also Wagner 1991; Strathern 1991). The embedded triangular structure of obviation, where the entire myth is mirrored by any semiotic path, eschews a center-periphery, or essence-epiphenomenal, model of meaning, social life, and, we will see, psychoanalysis (see below). The recursive logic of metaphor engenders a resolutely prismatic body of interpretation and signification.

Despite the global pattern of obviation and its refusal to anchor myth to a specific problem of social order, *TLD* nonetheless sees myth as exemplifying the culture-specific parameters that "frame" or "ground" a localized social life. Obviation in *TLD* is thus akin to a semiotic theory of psychoanalytic agency since it seeks to "recover" the unstated background or "resistance" that "motivates" meaning (pp. 37–38), and to model future interpretive possibilities for any tale. Yet the epistemic status of the obviational triangles remains perplexing since the Batesonian, *Naven*ized goal of *TLD* is to escape Whitehead's fallacy of misplaced concreteness in regard to cultural, mythic, and psychoanalytic interpretations.

A Heideggerian Pause

Building on Weiner's extraordinary *The Empty Place* (1991; see also 1992, 1993a), *TLD* employs the contrastive modalities of obviation to elicit a Heideggerian "total life world."[1] This use of Continental philosophy refreshingly

seeks to distance anthropology from analytic traditions that privilege mind over body, caloric pragmatism over the experiential poetry of human life, and Lévi-Straussian essences (1973:58) over phenomenology. One can provocatively situate *TLD* in the famous debate, all but ignored by anthropologists, between Lévi-Strauss and Sartre (see also Abel 1966; Levin 1968–1969), initiated by *The Savage Mind* (Lévi-Strauss 1966).

The central existential affirmation of *TLD* is that Melanesian ontologies deny the distinction between language and reality that is vital to our own conventional worldview. As in the Sepik, for an apt comparison, creation and beingness are toponymic. Names cannot simply point to objects since they form a constituent part of sensory phenomena: Names *are* bodies. The metaphoric flourish of mythic and quotidian poetics corresponds to the actual contours of the world and the "sound-shape of objects" (p. 174). As words and myths halt, stall, and enable other chains of signifiers with substancelike qualities of adhesion, smoothness, and miscibility, so flow the various movements of the Melanesian lifeworld: temporal, spatial, procreative, aquatic, social, sonorous, and so forth. Human life becomes meaningful and real through actions that pause, shape, and encompass these flows.[2] Similarly, as we have seen, *TLD* contends that "the function of bodies of language such as myth is more to cut off or obviate explanatory expansion than to facilitate it" (p. 19).

But these linguistic and bodily processes are not restricted to Melanesia. Rather, orality is the first "form-producing" power of the body, and thus speech is a bodily act on the world (p. 176). Here, *TLD* echoes both the middle Sepik and Genesis (Paul 1977), no less than Lacan.

The Myth of Freudian Signifieds

Structuralism and mainstream anthropology assume the existence of a stable self. By contrast, *TLD* argues along with Strathern and Wagner that the self is fundamentally mutable and incomplete, containing "not some inviolable self-identity but the deposited or introjected traces, both semiological and imagistic, of the others who constitute that person" (p. 13). But *TLD* expands beyond this framework by applying a Lacanian view of language and psychoanalysis to the interpretation of Melanesian myth, sociality, and cosmology. This is the most innovative and controversial aspect of the book. It poses a decisive challenge to psychoanalytic anthropology, which, according to *TLD,* assumes that one can "excavate," to invoke Freud, a unitary and immutable, hence final, kernel of meaning from myth and ritual. But a Lacanian approach to cultural interpretation, like obviation, sees all meanings to be unstable, relational, linguistic, and prismatic.

For Lacanians, the unconscious is linguistic. True selfhood involves a series of developments. External symbolic orders, especially language, rupture pre-linguistic mother-child symbiosis. The child becomes a desiring Subject at the moment of awareness that what was formerly fused to the body and self has now been withdrawn. As a result, the child gains a specular image of its bodily self by gazing at others, who reflect an ideal sense of its self. The body, and self, are thus split (not in a Kleinian sense) and relational. Through language, though, the child labels its loss (absence becomes a presence) and seeks to regain wholeness by "reaching out" to cultural goals and moral expectations (Trawick 1990, 1992), including, in Melanesia, myth. (Could myth, then, be a Winnicottian "transitional object" that arises in a linguistic "potential space"?) As a result, all dimensions of the self, "down" to its innermost id-like parts (to invoke Freud's topographic metaphor of the psyche that, according to the logic of *TLD,* ignores the very recursive property of metaphor itself), are defined by language, loss or detachment, and relationality.

From a Lacanian perspective, then, as opposed to a Freudian one, sociality is primary. Through language and loss, too, the self is an inherent plurality that paradoxically engenders wholeness. The self is not a unified whole for which moments of fragmentation are potentially pathological. The momentum of human life would therefore "stop," writes Trawick, if our yearning for wholeness was ever fulfilled—if there was "perfect" culture.[3] This way, *TLD* hints at a potent theory of human motivation that is not reduced to materialist trivialities or Freudian psychic drives. Yet, and this is crucial, the sense of wholeness that we aspire to regain is illusory since it was, and remains, defined through detachment. In this regard, *TLD* views culture and human life to be essentially tragic since we can never actualize our most basic psychodynamic and cultural desires. Yet, as I discuss shortly, the view of cultural tragedy in *TLD* lacks an evocative sense of pathos.

TLD synthesizes Lacan's view of the self and language, and the metaphoric self-reflexive properties of obviation, to suggest that the psychoanalytic analysis of culture and myth can never reduce meaning to stable psychic phenomenon such as Oedipality, anality, and Margaret Mead's "womb envy." Since the psyche in this view is introjected sociality, myth and ritual are not projections. Likewise, there is no such thing as an unmediated penis or womb, breast or feces, birth or death—there are only the ever-mediated meanings we attach to these bodily notions that are, again, relational and linguistic, that is to say, social and forever unfolding in a chain of metaphoric or obviational signification. To end a cultural analysis by "arriving" at some psychic phenomenon is a fallacy: It wrongly reduces a relational concept to a singularity, prematurely terminates signification, and neglects the role of language. The Oedipus complex, for example, is no "signified" denoted by myth. Rather, the

Oedipus complex is a metaphoric signifier itself that unfurls into its own world of meaning.

The Lacanian framework of *TLD* brilliantly ties Melanesian selfhood, gender, and social life—which, as we learned from Strathern, are largely constituted through the detachment, circulation, and incorporation of bodily symbols—to universal psychodynamic processes. Likewise, *TLD* offers an equally ingenious explanation for why esoteric "bodies" of language such as myth in Melanesia are replete with images of feeding, sexuality, birth, excretion, and orificial engulfment (see also Weiner 1995). Since the self introjects relationships, "objects, desires, and drives that constitute our experience of the world into the image of the body" (p. 124), the "ways in which bodies of discourse relate to each other thus take the same form as processes of bodily detachment, encompassment, insemination, swallowing, and so forth" (p. 26).

A Derridean Dehiscence

Weiner's synthesis of Lacan and obviation, his emphasis on the *margins* of bodies of discourse, bears relationship to Derrida's midrashic approach to textual indeterminacy and meaning.[4] Like deconstruction, too, and especially Derrida's notion of *différance* (1978), a central thesis of *TLD* is that myth and language are self-referential and recursive yet entail no final signified or terminus to signification. The relationship between conventional and differentiating metaphors upsets any notion of stable meaning, static codes, and, as per Lacan, stable selves. While there is an essential structure to meaning that arises from the binary construction of metaphor (i.e., obviation), there lacks an essential meaning that surfaces to eclipse indigenous exegesis and our own glosses. The possibility of a Derridean anthropology, conjoined to a Lacanian framework, is an intriguing dehiscence of *TLD*.

Sometimes a Drum Is Just a Cigar?

In an insightfully whimsical essay, Doniger ponders the utility of "applied psychoanalysis" for Hindu India where myth and cosmology can hardly be said to sublimate sexuality (1993)! Melanesian myth evidences a similar repertoire of what Doniger calls "manifest latency." Flutes and bullroarers, the Foi drum itself, seem so manifestly tied to taboo desires that the very idea of repression or "latent" meaning seems almost absurd. To some extent, *TLD* concurs by interpreting bodily imagery in terms of language, epistemology, sociocosmological flows, and the relational self rather than "Freudian symbolism." Here, the social is not the psyche write large but just the opposite: The psyche is introjected sociality. Likewise, the prevailing oppositions in

psychoanalytic anthropology between culture/individual and public/private are illusory, matters again of scale rather than kind.[5]

Similarly, *TLD* refutes the Freudian assumption that corporeality, bodily exuviae, and carnality "project" invariant and stable cross-cultural meanings (see also Weiner 1993b). The importance Melanesians ascribe to somatic emissions results from the role of bodily margins as a metaphor for social rather than erotic intercourse. Sex and shit are relational and localized constructs born of specific forms of sociality rather than nonlinguistic or even prelinguistic psychic drives. Ironically, then, the Lacanian orientation of *TLD* parallels Lévi-Strauss's anti-Freudian analysis of oral and anal images in South American mythology (1988), excepting, of course, the use of the canonic formula and the nature/culture dichotomy.

In short, I am uneasy with the excision of Freudian imagery from cultural analysis (see Obeyesekere 1990).[6] For example, I agree with Weiner (and Strathern) that the important diacritics of Melanesian gender are often androgynous and fluid. But Melanesian men, at least in the Sepik, frequently define themselves in terms of motherhood and "her" nurturing-parturient capacities to a much greater extent that women define themselves through idioms of fatherhood and masculinity. In cosmogonic myth and ritual, manhood is more "partible" than femininity. To some degree, *TLD* admits as much when it suggests that Foi men, lacking uterine "success in corporeal regeneration," instead "manipulate the bodies of words and signifying objects, and the discursive forms which shape them" (p. 158).

For example, the role of mud and excrement in cosmogonic myth and ritual often appears to betoken male envy of female parturition (Dundes 1962). But *TLD* suggests that womb envy, feces, parturition, and so forth are not unitary symbols or projections. They are complex metaphors that must be situated in a social life where the body has particular, perhaps even purely localized, meanings. Yet the body issues any number of substances. Why, then, does cosmogony so often emphasize certain substances over others?

Likewise, in the myth of "The Lost Drum" itself (pp. 113–115), Weiner's analysis seemed to elude all the classic Freudian imbroglios: incest, generational succession, sibling rivalry, autoeroticism, and Oedipality.[7] (Similarly, several salient dimensions of psychosocial and bodily development are lacking in *TLD*, e.g., weaning, punishment, toilet training, bathing, eroticism, and the subtle ethos and kinesthetic interactions between mother-child and father-child, which often engender in Melanesia adult ambivalence, e.g., Whiting 1941.) Similarly, Weiner's use of the phrase "dirty money" (p. 154) evoked for me the Freudian explanation for the filthiness of lucre (in Melanesia, see Epstein 1979; Clark 1995). Several pages later, in fact, we read a Foi myth that traces the origin of petroleum to a gold coin that was dropped from an

airplane into Lake Kutubu, ingested by a European, and subsequently evac-uated. In *TLD,* though, the equation shit equals money is an insufficient psychoanalytic interpretation. We need to discern how shit, food, the body, substances, viscosity, orifices, and so forth, form a semiotic system in their own right that, again, is not a projection of fixed psychic phenomena but an introjected image of social process.

Doubtless, Weiner would similarly deconstruct Dundes's argument that the shape and sound of the bullroarer, which *TLD* mentions in direct asso-ciation with the anal insemination rites of Marind-amin male initiation, is a masculine idiom of parturition in the guise of a "flatulent penis" (Dundes 1976). Still, the bullroarer so commonly occurs in this ritual context around the world that one may be loathe to abandon entirely the notion of some universal psychoanalytic desire that shapes (not determines) culture. True, *TLD* responds by claiming that, although feces and finance are similarly linked in New York and New Guinea, the role of consumption, flow, alimentation, and bodily desire differ so significantly that the Freudian explanation is naive. For us, oil is a metaphor of the body; for the Foi, it is a metonym. The life of the mind reflects the life of the social body. That oil resembles feces is pointless unless we know the significance of defecation and orificial move-ment in the broader flows of the cosmos. But these flows traverse, as it were, a psychoanalytic topography of remarkable cross-cultural similarity.

Bodies Moral and Grotesque

TLD often and rightly focuses on mythic juxtapositions of bodily orifices and protrusions (e.g., a snake who births itself), which suggest that "the organs of [Melanesian] men and women are always both penile and uterine in our terms" (p. 27). But I detect another recurrent mythic image: a primal, in-satiable, consumptive, and parturient maw, the precise somatic icon of Bakhtin's carnivalesque. For Bakhtin (1984), culture is a multisensory con-versation between antithetical images of morality and embodiment. The "moral" body encloses sexuality, feeding, and excretion with rules that care-fully preserve gendered and morphological distinctions. Conversely, the car-nivalesque or "grotesque" body accents the concupiscent excrescences and orifices of the "lower bodily stratum." This hypertrophic body "swallows the world and is itself swallowed by the world" (Bakhtin 1984:317). The dialogi-cality of these two bodies captures the "contradictory, double-face fullness of life" (ibid.:62; Lipset 1997; Silverman 2001). And this is what is missing from *TLD:* a sense for the ambivalence and folly of the human predicament, which I trace as much to Freud as to Bakhtin.

Like structuralism and obviation, dialogism is dualistic. Yet it lacks a third

mediating or triangulating operation. The symbolics of dialogism is forever in conversation. Like Lacan, Bakhtin understood the "psyche as an irreferential locus of a psychorhetorical struggle" (Daelemans and Maranhao 1990: 236). Like obviation, dialogism emphasizes unfinalizability rather than closure, and polyphony rather than monologism. But the polyphony of dialogism is rather more cacophonous than that of *TLD.* It comments on the contrary dimensions of humanity through emotional intensity and discordant discourse rather than semiotic chains. Dialogism foregrounds woe, laughter, self-mockery, and taboo. In *TLD* there is no sense of moral dialogue within and between selves, genders, and visions of order. We read myths that people presumably invest with passionate belief yet we lack a sense for their passions and pathos. With Bakhtin, myth is not only good to think with—it is good to express, but never to resolve, the eternally unresolvable dimensions of human existence.

Conclusion

TLD seeks to unify theoretically the psychosocial development of language, self, and body awareness; the structure of mythic thought; and the existential dimensions of Melanesian cosmology. This is a grand conceptual undertaking, worthy of being heir to Leenhardt's *Do Kamo* (1979). Its analytic sophistication, philosophical implications, and imaginative scholarship are far-ranging and warrant careful consideration. *TLD* should encourage Melanesianists finally to explore obviation—it may even compel those who obdurately shun psychoanalysis for reasons both trite and cliché to broaden their theoretical purview. Indeed, Weiner's Lacanian perspective is one of the most ambitious theoretical efforts in the history of psychoanalytic anthropology. Despite my endorsement of Bakhtin and what may seem like a retrograde Freudianism, I believe that TLD holds tantalizing possibilities for the development of anthropology and several Pacific debates, from Cook to the Trobriand Oedipus complex, from Sepik art to, further afield, the Balinese cockfight. All told, *TLD* shifts Weiner to the forefront of conceptual originality in Melanesian studies, anthropology, and social thought.

NOTES

1. Yet Weiner's use of Heidegger has generated some debate (Mimica 1993; Weiner 1993b; Gell 1995).

2. Relatedly, chapter 1 suggests that arboreal idioms for human reproduction are common in Melanesia because the self and the lexical properties of myth, like vegetative "dehiscence and caducity," are undiminished when they "drop off" bodily parts.

3. Enigmatically, *TLD* elides Trawick's wonderful analysis of Tamil Nadu social life, where she usefully contrasts a Lacanian approach to anthropology with other current paradigms.

4. Derrida also hints at a bodily theory of language and meaning through his recent *Circumfessions* and, previously, the circumcised glanslike *Glas.*

5. It is surprising to read no discussion of Obeyesekere 1981.

6. In a sense, I seek a rapprochement between Juillerat 1997 and Weiner 1997.

7. For Lacan, the Oedipus complex references not a father figure per se but, rather, the rupturing symbolic-moral-jural order of language and signification that names and creates the self (see Trawick 1992:144). Feminist responses to this oft-dubbed phallocentric view include Rubin 1975, Gallop 1982, and Doane and Hodges 1992.

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I enjoyed reading *The Lost Drum* very much. The book takes as its subject matter the myths of a number of New Guinea societies including the Foi (where Weiner conducted fieldwork), the Yafar, the Marind-anim, and the Gimi. The enjoyment of reading the book had to do with the insights provided by a close reading of these myths in their cultural and Melanesian context. The myths themselves are challenging, coming as they do from a tradition in which what matters in stories seems far different from those things that are foregrounded by traditional Western techniques of narrative analysis (such as those that have descended from Aristotle to Western secondary schools).

In order to describe what matters in these myths, scholars seem to be forced to adopt what seem to be equally exotic techniques of reading, such as the obviation analysis that Weiner adopted from his mentor, Roy Wagner. Weiner also has to interpret the symbolism—a local, or Melanesian, symbolism, of course—of a number of Melanesian "forms of life," ranging from the everyday string bag and the ceremonial *kundu* drum to the "spectacular" Marind-anim rituals and cannibalism. It should not be minimized that a large part of the enjoyment of such a book comes from its presentation of these myths and these forms of life, in themselves and in their close relationships, as things worthy of an extended humanistic essay. There is a sense of insight in the book that comes from the skilled deployment of contextualizing clues in the course of Weiner's hermeneutic readings. Many of these contextualizing clues come from the corpus of Melanesian ethnography; some come from an analysis of Western phenomena such as paintings by da Vinci and Dali; and some come from theorists such as Lacan.

The "proof of the pudding" of the deployment of any or all of these is in the sense that they enlarge our understanding of specific Melanesian cultural products such as myths (and "art"). In short *The Lost Drum* is an experiment, or "essay," in hermeneutic reading of Melanesian texts and cultural productions; such multidisciplinary hermeneutical studies are an increasingly common genre of contemporary intellectual life, of which an example from a very different cultural area might be a work of anthropologically informed history and art history such as A. David Napier's *Masks, Transformation, and Paradox* (1986).

Weiner attempts to make integral to his interpretive practice a set of perspectives he has learned from a study of both Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis. He claims that what I am calling his hermeneutic approach is closer to psychoanalysis as practiced by Freud and in his works—which often use cultural materials such as myths and paintings to illuminate psychoanalytic dynamics—than it is to psychological anthropology as it has been practiced in the United States and elsewhere, which Weiner argues has uncritically taken as given a series of disciplinary boundaries among levels of analysis (p. 5). (These boundaries include those that are functions of a distinction between the social and the individual, a distinction that may have had to be maintained by psychological anthropology in the first place because of its need to defend its existence in an antipsychological, sociologizing era.) I think it is implicit that Weiner's concern, which as he states has been characteristic of psychoanalysis more than of much psychoanalytic anthropology, is with what Lacan called "the symbolic" and "the imaginary," as exemplified in cultural products such as myth, rather than with "the real" (in a sense), which could be seen as the goal of the sort of psychoanalytic anthropology he does not do. For example, the latter could be seen as concerning itself largely with such issues as the interiorities of individuals possessing biographies and life cycles, and with how social institutions such as initiations change these interiorities; these are not Weiner's issues.

Weiner criticizes "conventional" psychological anthropology for largely epistemological reasons, such as its dependence on conventional disciplinary levels of analysis. Many of his points are insightful and worth addressing by the field, but their brief and somewhat glancing exposition in chapter 1 has the unfortunate effect of seeming like a broad-brush dismissal of a whole school of thought, a throwing-the-baby-out-with-the-bathwater dismissal that does not seem to me to be fair to the latter's best moments and potential. I am not sure that all "conventional" psychological anthropology, of the sort that looks at individuals and life cycles, lays a claim to achieve "the real," and its distinction from what Weiner does may in fact be that it privileges a different type of data, that is, what is possibly miscalled "clinical" data (Poole 1982:141), which might better be thought of as homely personal accounts

and reminiscences (albeit generated by the anthropologist with certain questions in mind; see Levy 1973).

One hopes that Weiner is not overconcerned with establishing the validity of his type of hermeneutic approach, focusing on myth and ritual, as against all other possible or past types of psychoanalytic approaches, as if the former had to vanquish or supersede the latter rather than simply find a new niche and flourish. In fact he does not spend much time outside his first chapter in engaging other forms of psychoanalytic anthropology. To his credit, he concentrates on the performance of his own (a fruitful one, but why curse other people's fig trees?). I confess that I may have overinterpreted a few remarks of his, simply because I have a personal bias that anthropologists engage in too many of the wrong kind of internecine battles, and that it would be better for all of us (in our increasingly marginalized situation with respect to other, more-prominent disciplines) if we resolved to, so to speak, let a hundred flowers bloom—or, to use an analogy from a different politics, if we learned to hang together to avoid hanging separately.

But there is a further problem with Weiner's own analogy of his hermeneutic project with the analyses Freud and Lacan themselves made of cultural material. By making that analogy Weiner is being unfair to himself. The question is, is the flow of illumination one-way or both ways? That is to say, a truly dialogic anthropology (see Knauft 1996) would be one in which Western interpretive theories do not dominate the Melanesian cultural products they are used to illuminate, but rather one in which the psychoanalytic perspective and the Melanesian material are shown to engage in a dialogue, or dialectic, or "reproductive gift exchange" (to use, out of context, a phrase of Gell's [1992]). But this is of course not at all Freud's project, nor Lacan's. Freud was explicit that he was not writing as a classicist or art theorist when he used Oedipus and da Vinci to illuminate psychoanalytic "truths" about patients and, ultimately, about a universal human nature; and Lacan's goal and practice followed in Freud's footsteps in subordinating cultural analysis to general truths. This is precisely what someone in Weiner's position must not do, and in fact he does not. He is concerned preeminently with the Melanesian material and with a Melanesianist analysis of that material, an analysis that is Melanesianist before it is psychoanalytic.

That is to say that James Weiner, like Marilyn Strathern and Roy Wagner, whose works he explicitly uses, engages in the construction of an imagined Melanesia of a particular type. The Melanesia that lives in these authors' works is a network of tropes, and interpretations of tropes, which purport to give insight into a peculiarly Melanesian way of thinking and feeling, of conceiving the world (and human relationships within it)—to use Foucault's term, an episteme (1970). This episteme can be understood partly by its "internal"

relations within itself and partly by its contrast with a Western one (which is itself partly defined by the contrast). Anthropological outsiders attempt to bring this traditional Melanesian episteme into view by constructing it (in the sense that vision constructs, rather than reflects, the world we see) out of "traditional" cultural discourses, including myths. It is not assumed that this "Melanesianness" can be fully understood, only interpreted (viz. Lacan 1991:73, cited by Weiner [p. 180]). In that sense its construction is intended as experimental (the original meaning of "essay") rather than as a total system or a total truth. Weiner clearly views his psychoanalytic anthropology as a dialogue, or dialectic, between psychoanalytic perspectives and this project of constructing/elucidating a Melanesianness: "I want to widen the scope of such a new psychoanalytic anthropology by creating, in the context of the current formulations of Melanesian sociality, a meeting ground between Sigmund Freud, Jacques Lacan . . . and Marilyn Strathern and Roy Wagner" (p. 5). I will return to the question of on whose ground this meeting is taking place.

Weiner's use of "obviation analysis," a form of myth analysis developed by his mentor Roy Wagner, may seem to be in itself an application of universalistic theory but is, I would argue, another part of this construction of a Melanesianist perspective. To an unsympathetic observer such as I. C. Jarvie (1993), obviation theory, as it is used by Weiner and Wagner to analyze myths, seems like an occult formulation yielding what look like even more occult triangles. But obviation, as Weiner and Wagner view it, is not a method for torturing truth out of myths spread out on a triangular rack; rather, obviation is a method for divining the figure and ground implicit in a myth's narrative movement. As a methodology it forces attention to narrative sequence, to relationships within the narrative, and to the narrative's cultural background. In this way it contrasts itself to the early Lévi-Strauss's version of the structural study of myth (1963), which in its pure programmatic form (which was not, in my opinion, strictly followed by him in his later practice) arguably obviates (in a different sense) narrative and cultural context in the interests of a hidden binary structure of oppositions. In Weiner's work, obviation analysis seems to be used to show that a myth begins by foregrounding the non-conventional and proceeds to generate the conventional through the inner dynamics of its narrative movement—an interesting storytelling procedure, by the way, which guarantees a listener's attention by the myth's startling outset, and at the end provides a putative quotidian beginning (an "origin") as a signal of its narrative finishing.

I believe that there is an interesting relationship between Wagner's concept of obviation and the dialectic of concealment and revelation that Marilyn Strathern, for one, has identified as a Melanesian logic or "analysis." Strathern

(1988), following Biersack (1982) and others, sees exchange and ritual in a number of Melanesian domains (birth, initiation, ceremonial exchange, the growth of young people) as concerned with a bringing forth of what is hidden: hiddenness enables things to grow and develop in secret; revelation enables their social use and relationship to be established and transacted. This is also of course a logic implicit in Mountain Ok and Sepik versions, at least, of ritual initiation (Barth 1987; Tuzin 1980). Wagner's concept of obviation is, I believe, related by a "family resemblance" to this Melanesian logic. Wagner defines his concept of obviation as the expansion of point metaphor to frame metaphor that can work from macrocosm to microcosm or from microcosm to macrocosm (1986:31–32). In addition, Weiner uses obviation in *The Lost Drum* to describe shifts in mythic narrative from background to foreground and foreground to background, or from implicit to explicit and explicit to implicit.

Both the Wagnerian definition and the Weinerian practice can be summarized as, among other things, a playing with frames (see also Bateson 1972; Goffman 1974). Weiner's use of obviation, like that of Wagner before him, would seem to be in harmony with a view of Melanesian aesthetics as being one that prizes reframing via sudden perspective shifts, initiatory recontextualization of all one's previous experience, and ritual as revelation of what had been hidden (cf. Strathern 1988). Although Wagner makes universal claims for obviation analysis, it seems to have been taken up almost exclusively by Melanesianists, and perhaps its consonance with a particular view of Melanesian aesthetics is part of the reason for this. Weiner's use of the concept and technique of obviation analysis in this book makes this, I believe, visible; and therefore I consider Weiner's use of obviation analysis as part of (or at least consistent with) his "Melanesianist" project of showing how a purportedly indigenously Melanesian episteme constructs as well as expresses itself in myth and ritual.

So how do Lacan, and Freud, fit into this project? I asked earlier whether Lacan and Freud are used, selectively, to illuminate a construction/"invention" of an indigenous episteme or whether their universal claims at some point subordinate Melanesianness to a universal psychoanalytic perspective. As I indicated above, the answer is the former, that Weiner has constructed/selected a Melanesianist version of Lacan. The alternative would have been to delineate a Lacanian Melanesia, but Weiner makes this impossible for himself, wisely, by making a Strathernian and Wagnerian view of Melanesia analytically prior to his invocation of Lacan (and of psychoanalysis in general). Future Melanesianists, and above all, Melanesians, are of course free to reinvent Strathern and Wagner, or critique whether their perspectives actually bound a culture area. But my point is that Strathern and Wagner are

rightly primary in Weiner's analysis, because they are scholars who developed their analysis of what I call the Melanesian episteme in direct dialectical engagement with the regional ethnographic literature. The metaphor thus is hosts and guests: While Melanesians are the ultimate hosts here, in the analytic practice of *The Lost Drum* it is fair to say that Strathern and Wagner are the hosts, Lacan and Freud the guests, and that because of this Lacan does not have the run of the whole house. Lacan goes where Strathern and Wagner allow him to, and this is part of why the book has a feeling of ethnographic solidity rather than of yet another application (or free association) of Lacan to whatnot (a genre that I am sure Weiner has run across, at least in anthropology's junior sibling disciplines). I am still concerned that the prestige of Lacan as (to use a possibly ironic phrase) a name of a father of theory will obscure for some readers the centrality of Melanesian, or at least Melanesianist, concerns and epistemes to a study of this kind.

Weiner does succeed, in sum, in generating a fruitful dialogue between his chosen analytic perspectives and the Melanesian discourses and ways of thinking he describes with loving and detailed attention in *The Lost Drum.* Dialogue is a form of relationship, as both Bakhtin (1981) and recent Melanesian studies remind us, and relationship serves to validate the existence of both parties. I came away from this book with an image of Western and New Guinean versions of intellectual capital as valuables displayed alongside each other, to each other's benefit.

What haunts me most, though, is the final myth of the Foi about the origin of petroleum, and what that myth shows about a recent transformation of their sense of themselves. I have written about the incorporation of gold in the retellings of the origin myth of the Sawiyanoo people of Ama, East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea (Guddemi 1996). Jorgensen has similarly noted Telefol myths of gold (1996). Like the earlier myths of the Foi about petroleum, these myths show that the new, valuable material that outsiders are searching for or finding on their territory is actually ancestral substance, intrinsic not only to the ancestral land but also to the constitution (in substance and history) of the mythifying people themselves. Such a mythic view engages the roots of money and external wealth, and the outsiders who are seeking after them, in reciprocity relationships with the local people themselves. As I noted in my paper on the subject, this figures wealth as wealth *for them* (Guddemi 1996). But in the recent myth of the origins of petroleum, the Foi have poignantly achieved a deeper understanding of the social relations intrinsic to wealth items sought by contemporary outsiders. They have understood that, after all, these relations are no social relations at all, at least for them.

Previously, in a number of myths, the Foi analogized petroleum to *kara'o,*

an oil from tree sap used for body decoration and traditionally traded to neighboring groups. But in the new myth the petroleum comes from Westerners and goes back to them. A white man flew over Lake Kutubu in an airplane and dropped a gold coin, which was eaten by a catfish. Another white man returned and ate the catfish (which Kutubu people had sold to him), swallowed the gold coin, and had diarrhea in the lake. The diarrhea is the origin of petroleum, transformed from the gold coin by the body of the white man (pp. 163–164). Weiner further elaborates that for the Foi "shit is an all-inclusive term for those things produced which have no inscriptive value or cannot carry or sustain a power relation" (p. 167). But white man's shit is something else again. It evidently has all sorts of inscriptive values, yet not ones that seriously include local peoples such as the Foi. It carries and sustains power relations, on a scale unimaginable not only to the Foi; but these are not power relations that the Foi can use to promote their own power or prestige. The Foi are waking up to a bitter accuracy of perception, as evidenced by this newest myth, which shows the modern economy of resource extraction as a closed circle of outsider self-production and self-consumption.

Perhaps only someone steeped in the profoundly relational traditional Melanesian episteme can appreciate the revolution in Foi thought that it took to conceive of this most recent myth. (Would we ever let Foi thought, such as that in this myth, catalyze a revolution in *our* episteme? Does dialogic anthropology really go both ways? For whom?) *The Lost Drum,* read closely and patiently, could be used to help enable, step by step, its sympathetic reader to achieve such a steeping in a different relational world, such an encounter with a different and profoundly human way of thinking and conceiving selves and others. Insofar as Weiner has made this possible, the book will have done its job.

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James Weiner's *The Lost Drum,* which analyzes representations of male identity in a selection of lowland Melanesian myths, is nothing less than a tour de force. I think that it is just to say that Weiner has moved understanding of the precapitalist logic of masculinity more than a few steps forward. His framework for doing so draws upon Lacanian psychoanalysis and relational concepts of personhood that have been advanced by M. Strathern (1988) and R. Wagner (1991). I want to be absolutely clear that I stand and applaud his luminous achievement: The points I want to raise about the book nonetheless diverge from its avowed methodology, which I find overly static and somewhat tangential.

To begin, I would trace the book's intellectual genealogy back to the canonical Durkheimian contrast between mechanical and organic solidarity (1933). Recall that it is in the course of a discussion of punishment in chapter 2 in *The Division of Labor* that the very dichotomy is introduced. Durkheim more or less recognized that each type of solidarity was not only composed of a different kind of link between individual and society but yielded a very different logic of embodiment: If the one was to sustain body as separate from the other in the face of likeness, the second was to sustain body as part of the other in the face of difference. Legal sanction amid the former type of solidarity was therefore supposed to require repressive, corporeal punishment while the latter was supposed to call for acts of restitution. Society, that is to say, constitutes the body.

However wrong Durkheim turned out to be about the relationship of solidarity to punishment, I think he was clearly right that a solidarity based on likeness yields a different problematic for the body than does a solidarity based on difference. Marilyn Strathern's brilliant insights in *Gender of the Gift* (1988) gained (unacknowledged) theoretical leverage from this crucial distinction and ran with it. When the logic of the body is one of same and cross-sex relationships, for example, of likenesses, rather than boundedness,

creating gender identity demands simplifications—simplifications that Melanesian men found in ritual warfare, leadership, or ceremonial exchange.

The Lost Drum starts with a discussion of Yangis rites performed by the Wama and Yafar peoples of the West Sepik. Weiner observes masked figures engaging in acts of detachment and discarding that create life rather than subtract from it. Here we have, in other words, an initial illustration of the problem of sustaining a differentiation of self from other in the face of mechanical solidarity (see also Meeker, Barlow, and Lipset 1986). And analytically, Weiner's metaphor for unraveling these images is none other than "substitution."[1]

The subsequent stories that comprise *The Lost Drum* are astonishing. In "The Origin of the Kutubu People," for example, the action begins with the disappearance of a mother. Reasonably enough, she is replaced by a house, a garden, and by animals. She has a son and a daughter. When the daughter goes off to copulate with a tree, her brother inserts a sharp flint into the bark that cuts her groin as she rubs against it. As a result, men conclude, women came to have vaginas. Weiner makes two points from this frictional tale: (1) it shows that the phallus has a kind of priority over female sexual powers and (2) it shows up "the contours of male signification more generally" (p. 43). Weiner goes on to diagram "the substitutions" in this and other stories. But I would like to know the extent to which such a cosmology of female genitalia is subscribed to by men and women alike (cf. Barlow and Lipset 1997). And if not, how not?

Weiner recognizes that the Melanesian phallus "is" an absence displaced by a signifier: for example, pearl shells, flutes, and bullroarers in the lovely Foi myth "The Origin of Flowers and Crotons." In a couple of Marind-anim tales, a man's penis becomes trapped inside a woman during intercourse. The problem raised in the story is of male disengagement from copulation, as Weiner says it is. Discontinuity, detachment, which is to say head-hunting, castration, and other forms of bodily dismemberment, *therefore* become a source of agency for Marind-anim men. Disjunctive acts—death, but not coitus—create initiates. The phallus is, to be sure, an absence that is displaced by a signifier. But what is missing? And who or what is being covered up?

The inability of Melanesian men to create and/or sustain their own symbolics—in which the self finds a sexually unambiguous embodiment—is legendary in the ethnography of this region. Metaphors for men who are inextricably linked to the other have been singled out and analyzed in article after article and monograph after monograph going all the way back to the conundrum of the *kula* valuables that could only be owned when given away that Malinowski introduced us to in *The Argonauts* (1922). But underlying this ubiquitous image of masculine dependency is a less obvious, but no less

remarkable, unrelated, or salient dynamic, namely that, qua discourse, worldly agency may be said to arise from people and objects in a determining relationship with various capacities and creativity of womanhood, be they sexual, reproductive, or maternal. Men, women, or things who would seek after control in social life, or who would be understood to possess it, therefore must mimic, co-opt, or facilitate "her." The main point is not just of male dependency but that men and women both find themselves caught in a web cast by a single gynomorphic image. The main question is therefore how to best characterize or conceptualize their relationship to this image. I think that Weiner's favored metaphors, such as substitution, obviation, or the Lacanian mirror, are far too disembodied and static to be of much service.

Weiner next turns to Gimi materials that present a hint. Here, men's and women's myths actually engage one another: Children literally "fetch" them back and forth. In a women's myth, the first man is pregnant with his own penis and creates the first menses. A men's story accounts for the origin of flutes. For Weiner, the two stories limit "the range of obviative expansion in other myths" (p. 107). The Foi tales he then recounts, "The Milk Bamboo" and "The Lost Drum," are also men's and women's stories, respectively. The one is about a lost group of women who eventually turn into marsupials while the other one concerns a man whose elder brother's drum is stolen. The former "provides a 'female shell' over the 'male' myth" (p. 120). It asserts that women's autonomy, or what Weiner calls their "domestic capacity," bounds or defines male embodiment as contingent upon hand drums. A hollow form gives voice that fills or conceals what is otherwise empty, with sadness and anger rather than food or babies. Here, a relationship is made possible by "the holography of mythic language itself, by the manner in which it creates a space of meaning by folding signification back upon itself" (p. 118). Weiner's metaphor for the relationship between these gendered discourses is "containment."

The stories about the disappeared women and the lost drum, as well as the two additional Foi myths Weiner goes on to recount, all feature containment: the containment of men by the icon of feminine capacity, the string bag. Hungry boys demand to be given food from a string bag and a headless man stuffs another child he has kidnaped into it. The string bag "anticipates and prevents [the] . . . alienation" of Foi men, an alienation that is not shared by Foi women (p. 128). This Ortnerian (1974) dynamic is no place more strikingly expressed in the book than in the final group of stories about the origins of palm oil and petroleum. Here, palm oil trees are seen as arising from drops of menstrual blood left by an adulterous woman who is beaten and left to sink in a bog, where today petroleum is found. "The owners of these places can be expected to be very possessive of their oil, just as men

are possessive of their oil, just as men are possessive of their women. But if the local men continue to be jealous of the oil and fight each other, the oil will run away just as a woman does . . . because the oil is like a woman" (p. 162).

Weiner clearly recognizes that processes of reproduction from which men see themselves as estranged is a crucial problematic in masculine discourse in precapitalist Melanesia. Yet he veers away from theorizing this problematic. For him embodiment, and culture at large, are rather like images first perceived in a Lacanian mirror, fragmented, unstable, an incomplete, narcissistic mode of representation. It is an external reflection of endogenous flaws and conflicts whose origin must be denied. Wealth objects mirror the body. For Lacan, upon looking at herself in a mirror, what an infant sees lacks integration and completeness. Against this background of contingency, vulnerability, and incompetence, culture offers a means of achieving agency.

But embodiment in precapitalist Melanesia is a shifting problematic of male and female that consists of multiple facets and moments. As such, it shall benefit from multiple methodologies. But one point might be that we ought not stray too far from the social. The emptiness, losses, detachments, and so on, the tropes of separation that continually draw our attention, are exquisitely and dynamically gendered relationships. This is the direction that Weiner seems to acknowledge in the course of *The Lost Drum.* But the metaphors inspired by the Lacanian imaginary throw up something of a roadblock for him, precisely because they eschew the irreducibility of the social. Here, I think, Bakhtin's view of language and society would be of some use.

Recall that for Bakhtin, language and society never begin; they are given. A mirror presents Bakhtin not with an image of that which must be otherwise denied but a sinister image of loneliness: ghostly and void (Todorov 1984: 95). The mirror is no source of awareness. Only the other is. Meaning, of necessity, presumes a relationship between self and other, a relationship he calls dialogical. There are of course numerous kinds of dialogue. But one frequently overlooked kind need not require a physical interlocutor. In his Dostoevsky book, Bakhtin distinguishes a form of dialogue he calls "hidden," in which the present speaker responds to a second speaker who is absent: "The second speaker is present invisibly, his words are not there, but deep traces left by these words have a determining influence on all the present and visible words of the first speaker (Bakhtin 1984:197).

There are other aspects of dialogicality that are not straightforward but nevertheless have relatively interesting significance for the study of gender in Melanesia. One is that they tend toward ambivalence. Dialogical relationships encompass multiple voices that may be contradictory, heretical, or satirical. Although they may be constrained by political inequities, state terror, economic injustices, and the like, they remain, as Bakhtin would say, un-

merged or unfinalized. The teleological influence of Durkheim, while so important for Melanesian gender studies, has diverted theoretical concern from the representation of ambivalent as well as transitional voices (cf. Tsing 1993; Ong 1987).

Some Melanesian objects—drums, string bags, canoes, and the like—certainly mirror the body. And, conversely, some Melanesian bodies certainly mirror these kinds of objects. But more specifically, I would say that both objects and bodies respond to the mother's body, answering its absence, not authoritatively or even very persuasively but ever so conditionally (see Barlow and Lipset 1997; Lipset 1997). After all, the phallus need not be construed like a hollow drum. It is seen as empty because of what Bakhtin would call "the hidden dialogue" with the feminine with which it is deeply preoccupied. "This is a conversation, although only one person is speaking, and it is a conversation of the most intense kind, for each present, uttered word responds and reacts with its every fiber to the invisible speaker" (Bakhtin 1984:197). In the thoroughly anthropomorphic world, which is the precapitalist world of the Melanesians, the phallus answers the creativity of woman's towering absence. However loud the voice of male percussion fills the air, drums inevitably get lost. No doubt this is a kind of dialogicality, unfinalized and ambivalent as it is, which Bakhtin might have found most appealing.

NOTE

1. According to this hermeneutic which Bateson, borrowing I believe from Radcliffe-Brown, called identification in *Naven* (1936), actors become replaced by other actors and/or objects.

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Response: JAMES F. WEINER
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The Body of Myth in Melanesia and Beyond

I want to thank all of the reviewers not only for their generous endorsement
of *The Lost Drum*'s task and their positive assessment of its success, but for
the skillful way in which they have poised the Sepik aesthetic, Sepik myth,
and its alternative readings of gender against those more southerly Papuan
groups upon which I focused in my book. I must say, before anything else,
that I do not think it accidental that the panel is composed of reviewers who
have all worked in the Sepik River area of Papua New Guinea. In the coastal
areas of Papua New Guinea, and Melanesia in general, we find that mythic
discourse has a foundational role in the constitution of their social systems,

and every ethnographer of the region has had to take seriously the task of situating what I term "mythopoiesis" at the center of their social analytic.

One could say that it is virtually impossible to describe such systems without reference to the myths that provide a "charter," in some form or another, for those systems. The term I use, "mythopoiesis," literally means a bringing into being through myth. And although in *The Lost Drum* and elsewhere (e.g., Weiner 1994, 1988) I have argued against applying the "charter model" indiscriminately as a generalized explanation of myth's social function, it is hard to deny that it serves this purpose in a variety of ways in societies of the Sepik River, both upland and lowland, in Papua New Guinea.

And yet I feel that the issue of "myth as charter" still needs a more sophisticated examination. What *is* similar in Sepik and Foi myth is the manner in which they serve as narrative "containers" for secret names, the knowledge of which configures a variety of social, cosmological, and political statuses in the two areas. Harrison notes for the Manambu of the middle Sepik that each subclan must "constantly affirm its mythological rights by keeping, or trying to keep, a collective homonymy in existence between the actors in its myth and its own living members" (1990:56). In Foi, while the narrative content of myths circulates freely, the secret names of the actors, which figures in knowledge of magic, are known to only a few adepts. For the Foi and Manambu, myth serves as a form of what the Foi call "tree leaf talk"—allusive and metaphorical language that conceals its true or essential content. These names found a world, in the sense that they bring it into being as an onomastically constituted terrain, but I think that the manner in which their containing myths serve as "charters" for that world is at best a product of a certain specifically Western view of myth.

Myth is both a novelistic or narrative body of language as well as a specific form of verbal behavior. Any bringing into being it is responsible for is subject to the interpretive, transformative properties of language itself. A myth is told, above all, to an audience, and the telling and hearing of myth constitutes its interpretive intrusion into social and linguistic convention.

All three reviewers thus raise the issue of dialogism, and Lipset and Silverman specifically invoke Bakhtin's dialogism, as against the Lacanian dialectic I employ in *The Lost Drum.* A comparison of Bakhtin's and Lacan's theories of the self and language would itself be fascinating, and would deserve a thorough excavation. Anthropologically, a dialogue between Lipset's recent monograph, *Mangrove Man,* and *The Lost Drum,* where this contrast can be explicated in its Melanesian dimension, is something that deserves more treatment that I can give it in this brief rejoinder.

Let me now turn to the substantive themes of the myths in *The Lost Drum:* Melanesian (and Western) gender and sexuality. David Lipset is quite

right to call *The Lost Drum* an excavation of New Guinea *masculinity,* and I am sure that when I think I am talking about gender, some Melanesianists might retort that I am talking about men, and what is more, doing so from an androcentric position. In this comment, by his request to learn how certain Foi "cosmologies of genitalia" are subscribed to by men and women alike, and in the general way in which he elsewhere enlists dialogism on behalf of the hidden maternal schema in Murik (Lipset 1997), he obliquely raises the issue of what we might delicately term *The Lost Drum*'s "feminist" credentials. Having engaged in a debate with Bernard Juillerat about the relative merits of alternative psychoanalyses, I would have been eager to do the same with, say, Gillian Gillison, whose own psychoanalytically oriented analysis of New Guinea myth (1993) ranks as one of the best recent analyses of New Guinea cultural imagery. This exchange may very well have brought feminist anthropological themes more explicitly into play around the issue of New Guinea gender.

In the absence of such dialogue, however, we must, as Lipset so astutely manages in his own analysis, make the maternal and conjugal exchanges appear through other mechanisms, both imaginal and analytic. And, as Lipset implies, why should this represent an inferior or bogus form of relationality? If we are, as Marilyn Strathern maintains, obliged to compare not statuses, but modes of relationships, then it is just this "masculinist" construction of gender *relations,* as opposed to the construction of the feminine, which has to be poised against its feminist counterpart. In juxtaposing what I identified as male and female myths in Foi, I demonstrated a particular way of making that dialogue visible, but this technique also expects that alternative juxtapositions might reveal different dimensions of this exchange.

From my point of view, the biggest difference between Bakhtin's dialogicity and Lacan's relationality revolves around the avowed "unfinalizability" of the former and the Freudian focus on the technique of "concluding" in the latter. It is true that in an important empirical sense, dialogue is forever unfinished, as is the ceaseless flow of words and objects between persons. But myth, ritual, and the novel are importantly bounded things, with ostensive beginnings and endings. They serve to close off and make possible a perspectivalizing rupture between the unfinalizable everyday and interpretive closure. This is the point of Wagner's suggestion that in Melanesia, myth belongs to the nonconventional.

But let us not belabor the point. Obviously, any living system of narrative praxis, including the mythopoietic worlds of the Murik and the Foi, must allow for the open-endedness engendered by the creativity of language, as well as the caption points of interpretive perspective and narrative bounding. More important is that both dialogism and Lacanian psychoanalysis rep-

resent alternatives to the psychologism that dominated earlier analyses of the Melanesian psyche.

Here I dispute Guddemi's criticism: It is not enough to merely maintain that all alternative analytical frameworks are worthy. We must also use them to critique all the others and keep ourselves on our intellectual mettle, ready to convince others why we maintain the perspectives we maintain. I am all in favor of working towards a plurality of interpretational perspectives, as long as we continue to commit ourselves to defending those we think are better and more efficacious than others and to thus forcing each other to defend what we view as their analytical merits.

In the case of the psychological anthropology I discard at the beginning of *The Lost Drum,* Guddemi I think misunderstands the notion of "the real" in Lacan's own triadic schema of "symbolic," "imaginary," and "real" (see, for example, Lacan 1977). "The real" does not ontologically precede either the domain of body image ("the imaginary") or language ("the symbolic") but is a residue or effect of them—"the Real is that which escapes symbolization," Lacan says (ibid.). It is, in Wagnerian fashion, a *by-product* of the human focus on symbol-making rather than a consciously constructed *product.* It is what, in being left out of symbolic consciousness, subsequently intrudes itself into it as if from the outside.

Therefore, the alleged advantage of the "clinical" techniques of an earlier psychological anthropology cannot be assigned to their preoccupation with empirically observable behavior, however important that analytical moment is in a total anthropological account. What an interpretive psychoanalysis (surely a redundant description) seeks is an account of the sedimented history of relational traumas and their subsequent concealments that impels an agent to "act out" repressed and hidden significances in a particular form.

All this is another way of addressing the point that Silverman quite properly demands that I treat, and which is raised by the "myth as charter" question: How then does myth make "the real" emerge? And what aspect of that "reality" is made visible in the conjunctural appropriation by myths of other myths and other bodies of discourse? Let me return to the continuities between Sepik and Foi myth, on the one hand, and between my mythopoietic task and what Sahlins terms "mytho-praxis" on the other.

Instead of radically dissociating structure and event, both Wagner and Sahlins find a contrast *within* the domain of mythic language between cosmological and historical accounts themselves. A myth, and its telling, is all by itself an "event" in Wagner's terms because it uses nonconventional imagery to impinge upon conventional "structures." An argument could be made that those who continue to posit myth as a form of historical consciousness, and then attempt to collapse historical and mythic narrative (e.g., Hill 1988), preserve a narrow and somewhat straw-man model of myth.

But what if myth was more like art or literature than it was the analogue to historical narrative? Would not the continued pairing of myth and history preserve the "charter" theory of myth even as it would appear to critique the "charter" qualities of historical narrative? In Foi and Manambu, the social function of myth as containers of secret and important names is only partially related to its overt narrative content (and this relationship must be established through various interpretational methods). Perhaps there is an ethnographic contrast here between South American and Melanesian myths that needs comparative treatment before the myths, and their respective analytic methodologies, can begin to speak to and critique each other.

Phillip Guddemi raises the very important point concerning the degree to which obviation models a particularly Melanesian, as well as Melanesianist, aesthetic. I believe that there are two responses to this issue. One is that at the end of *Symbols That Stand for Themselves* (1986), Wagner used the triadic obviational sequence to model a broad development of the Western episteme from medieval to modern. Without doubt, the force of Wagner's cultural interpretation of the West was somewhat diluted by the fact that he did not use his own analysis to directly critique or inspect other competing (and classic) versions of this transformation, for example, those of Weber, Marx, Heidegger, Sennett, or many others. Nevertheless, it is the case that Wagner has not published any of his previous attempts to apply the obviational model on myths from other areas.[1]

The other answer accepts the wisdom of Guddemi's estimation—that obviational analysis grew out of Wagner's most intimate familiarity with the shape and narrative content of Daribi myth and the crucial place of myth in an overall Daribi linguistic praxis. It was a similar situating of Foi mythopraxis and mythopoiesis in their total world of language-mediated relationality, as well as the very real structural, thematic, and historical continuities among local bodies of myth in that whole region of Papua New Guinea, that made obviational analysis so critical in my own confrontation with the Foi mythic corpus.

In *The Lost Drum*, one of the major themes I tried to bring out was that obviational analysis showed that there were "bodies" of discourse that had a shape and "thematic" corporeality to them, just as did the literal body parts and substitutes that they primarily dealt with. An important characteristic of the Foi mythic corpus was that such themes and sequences repeated themselves in different myths. A certain myth could be expanded by the addition of one of these sequences, taken as a whole thing. Because the linear spacing of events in each of these set sequences always "stands for" or creates a nonlinear image, these sequences had to alter the significance of myths they entered into in a holistic way—they could not just then be the narrative accretion of further characters and actions. In other words, an obviational view of

myth (and other bodies of language) obliges us to first consider how such juxtaposition of bodies and organs of mythic discourse alters the final turning point of the myth. We then go back and retrace the linear sequence of events that shows this altered corporeal shape of the myth's image, its final product. This, if anything, is the structuralist principle that "founds" obviational analysis. Thus, Lévi-Strauss acknowledged this thematic, holistic way that myths combined in South American myth as well (1976, 1988).

Foi mythic discourse foregrounds not its linear, semantic features but these corporeal, incorporative functions. The subsequent application of such an analytic structure to other mythic traditions would then represent what Marilyn Strathern would call the attempt to fashion a "Melanesian" analytic of Western society. And its perceived utility would rest on how well it succeeded in convincing other anthropologists that such an exercise was the whole point of doing anthropology. If one is inclined to see *The Lost Drum* in an important sense as part 2 of *The Heart of the Pearl Shell* (Weiner 1988), it could then be said that *The Lost Drum* expands the "Foi aesthetic" I develop in that first book to other New Guinea bodies of myth.

The third volume I have planned on myth will then have to try to extend this analytical framework beyond Melanesia. In that volume I will attempt to apply obviational analysis to the Tukana myth of Monmaneki (from volume 3 of Lévi-Strauss's *Mythologiques* [the original analysis met with mixed reactions when first presented at a conference of Melanesianists and Amazonianists in 1995]), the Wawilak myth of the Yolngu of northeast Arnhem Land, and the original Niebelungun mythology that was the basis of Richard Wagner's *Ring,* surely the most important effort in the recent history of the West to enlist myth on behalf of the constitution of the Western polity.

Finally, to return to the "problem" of South American and Melanesian mythology I mentioned above, it would have to address the allochronicity (after Fabian) that the juxtaposition of South American and the Melanesian mythopraxis makes visible. It is undeniable that historically, South American peoples have been using their myths to "explain" the significance of the Europeans for a far longer time than have Melanesians. Following on from Peter Lawrence's (1964) and F. E. Williams's (1977) groundbreaking studies earlier in the twentieth century, contemporary ethnographers such as Andrew Lattas, Andrew Strathern, Roy Wagner, and myself have begun to pay serious attention to the more recently created myths of the colonial conjuncture in Papua New Guinea.

Given the very different notions of Melanesian language and its corporeality that contrast with Western uses of language, the examination of this process as it occurs might suggest something more than just a Melanesian attempt to fashion or appropriate Western historicity for itself. Such an exam-

ination might well have to focus on the kinds of time and temporality that the different myth analytics—structuralism, historicism, obviation—make visible in areas that are distinguished primarily by their different relations to colonialism. A comparison of the major approaches to myth from these areas might provide a fruitful cross-cultural contrast between both regions and the theories that they call forth as part of our analytic and descriptive endeavors as anthropologists.

NOTES

My thanks to Roy Wagner and Marilyn Strathern for commenting on earlier drafts of this exchange.

1. One of the early drafts of *Lethal Speech* included an obviational analysis of the Tshimshian "Story of Asdiwal," which Wagner considered one of Lévi-Strauss's most successful and penetrating structural analyses of a single myth. However, this analysis was removed from the final published version (Wagner 1978). I am grateful to Roy Wagner for allowing me to relate some of these hitherto unknown details of the intellectual genesis of one of his most important works.

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REVIEWS

William W. Donner and James G. Flanagan, eds., *Social Organization and Cultural Aesthetics: Essays in Honor of William H. Davenport.* New York: University Press of America, 1997. Pp. v, 151, illus., bib. US$56.50 cloth; $30.50 paperback.

Reviewed by Stuart Kirsch, University of Michigan

Like Smoke from the Pines

THE RUGGED HIGHLANDS of Santa Cruz in the Solomon Islands were once dominated by a broad and pure stand of kauri pines, with trees soaring to more than one hundred feet in height, the tallest on the island. Kauri, a member of the genus *Agathis,* once grew extensively throughout New Zealand; the Maori used the trees for building canoes. As a soft pine, it was also in demand for European shipbuilding at the turn of the century and was exported to Australia in great volume. When supplies of the wood in New Zealand were exhausted, the last remaining stands of notable size were in the mountains of Santa Cruz and nearby Vanikoro.

William Davenport, now professor emeritus at the University of Pennsylvania, tells a story about the kauri pines of Santa Cruz that illustrates his approach to ethnographic problems, a fitting way to introduce this fine collection of essays executed in his honor by his former students. While surveying the deserted western side of the bay on Santa Cruz, Davenport counted at least fifty former village sites. Although he was unable to determine how many of these villages had been inhabited simultaneously, information needed to calculate the population size, the evidence clearly indicated that the aban-

doned villages resulted from the large-scale depopulation associated with early contact. The case of Santa Cruz was cited by W. H. R. Rivers in his studies of depopulation in Melanesia, which he ascribed to a "sickness of the soul." When Davenport inquired among the villagers along the east bay as to the fate of their neighbors, they told him that their ancestors, using sorcery, were responsible for their demise. Davenport wanted to know the technique involved and they explained that it had been done with kauri smoke. Apparently one burned a piece of kauri gum or resin and the smoke drifted across the bay, killing the people there.

Kauri pines produce copious quantities of resin, which the people of Santa Cruz used for illumination before kerosene became available on their island. Even when Davenport visited the island in the 1950s, people still collected and burned kauri gum when their supplies of kerosene dwindled. Davenport was therefore puzzled by the apparent contradiction, that kauri smoke was considered harmful to people living across the bay but safe to use in their own homes, although no local explanation was forthcoming. After the stands of kauri on Vanikoro were harvested by an Australian timber company, the people of Santa Cruz gave the firm permission to cut down the trees on their own mountains. They were afraid of the place, which was cold, wet, and miserable. It was associated with ghosts and considered evil. At the end of a day's labor in the mountains of Santa Cruz, one of the workers reported to Davenport an observation about the kauri: Wherever the pine grows, it kills all of the neighboring plants and trees. Nothing else can grow there.

Davenport immediately grasped the significance of this remark; it was the exclusive colonization of the mountain top by kauri pines that led the people of Santa Cruz to identify the tree as the source of the "black magic" responsible for the depopulation of the west bay. From the perspective of the tropics, the phenomenon of a stand of trees composed of a single species is most unusual, if not unnatural. The trees are thought to poison their neighbors, creating an environment in which only they can survive. Thus kauri pines are an apt metaphor for the early colonial period on Santa Cruz, during which only the communities of the east bay survived the epidemics of contact. The example provides insight into a tropical view of biodiversity, in which homogeneity is regarded as unnatural and trees are cast as agents in the elimination of other tree species. (From a temperate perspective, stands of a single tree species are relatively common, from the pine barrens in New Jersey to the redwoods of northern California.) These understandings were implicated in the way that people from Santa Cruz accounted for local changes in social diversity during the early colonial period.

This explanation failed to satisfy Davenport entirely. Why was the smoke regarded as harmless in one context, yet dangerous in another? Obviously

the smoke was not efficacious in and of itself; what was needed was a catalyst to activate its negative properties. Davenport subsequently found an informant who provided the missing information: Ignited kauri resin was taken outside where the smoke was bespelled, whereby it acquired its deadly power as it moved across the bay. The resulting theory of magic suggests that the properties of an object, in this case the power of the kauri to kill neighboring trees, are transferred from one domain to another—from trees to people—by means of a spell. The case also shows how the powers of agency are extended to the nonhuman world, an assumption that is common throughout Melanesia. Finally, the case suggests the inappropriateness of the nature/ culture dichotomy, for the Santa Cruz understanding of the kauri pine as a predator against its neighbors, while an observation about environmental conditions, is no less a cultural construct than their views on sorcery.

This anecdote illustrates Davenport's careful attention to ethnographic detail and concern for the material conditions of life. It suggests that local knowledge of the environment may provide the vocabulary for indigenous analysis of events, in this case their interpretation of the postcontact population decline. It implies that we may encounter alternative understandings of scientific principles like biodiversity when seen from a tropical rather than a temperate point of view. Finally, Davenport's investigations on Santa Cruz demonstrate that the answers to ethnographic queries may be found in the most unlikely of places, like smoke from the pines.

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At the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association in 1992, a group of William Davenport's students gathered to present papers on kinship and art, the major themes of his research. An introduction by the editors of the resulting volume, *Social Organization and Cultural Aesthetics: Essays in Honor of William H. Davenport,* describes his remarkably rich career, which has included research in Jamaica, Hawai'i, the Solomon Islands, and Sarawak (Malaysia). Davenport is a member of the last generation of anthropologists to be authorities in all of the subfields of the discipline and has published in archaeology and linguistics in addition to social and cultural anthropology. His major contributions include the application of game theory to Jamaican fishing practices, a pioneering analysis of nonunilinear descent groups, an influential account of red-feather money in Santa Cruz, historical research on kinship and the "culture revolution" in Hawai'i, and studies of Hawaiian sculpture and the art of the Pacific and Southeast Asia. He was also the curator of numerous museum exhibitions on the material culture of these regions. This slim but elegant volume addresses many of the themes that have preoccu-

pied Davenport throughout his career, revealing his influence on a generation of students working in Hawai'i (Modell), the Solomon Islands (Donner), Papua New Guinea (Flanagan, Kahn, Zimmer-Tamakoshi), Indonesia (Just), and in museums (Kahn and Welsh).

Several of the chapters take up issues of gender and transformation. In an innovative comparison of early nineteen-century missionaries and contemporary social workers in Hawai'i, Judith Modell describes the persistence of a style of female sexuality in which a marked category of difference has become a mode of resistance. She concludes that while female social workers and their historical predecessors, missionary women, possess radically different ideas about gender roles, they share the common agenda of transforming women as a means to change Hawaiian society.

Writing about the Gende of the Highlands of Papua New Guinea, Laura Zimmer-Tamakoshi examines how women, through their repayment of their brideprice and participation in other forms of exchange, may accumulate power and respect during their life course. Her essay is one of the clearest accounts of the relatively widespread pattern in which women gain influence with maturity, countering stereotypes of Highlands women perpetuated by scholarship on male beliefs about pollution, the threat posed to residential groups by in-marrying women, and the patrilineal bias of these societies. Flanagan writes about the Wovan, a Highlands fringe society, and their practices of sister (or brother-sister) exchange marriage. While primarily concerned with the male point of view, he observes that women hold veto power over their own and consequently their brothers' marriages, maintaining the balance of power in a system that otherwise favors men. Like Annette Weiner, who was also influenced by Davenport, Flanagan emphasizes the importance of brother-sister relations for patrilineal as well as matrilineal societies.

William Donner is also interested in questions of social organization, and in particular the decline of research and debate on the subject within anthropology during the last two decades. He observes that earlier studies of kinship were hobbled by their lack of attention to history, agency, power, and gender, all primary concerns of the discipline today. Donner also suggests that this research suffered from a surfeit of reflexivity, which emerged in lengthy, quarrelsome, and overly complex terminological debates, concluding, "Like troublesome cars which are easier to junk than fix, many anthropologists found it easier to abandon studying kinship and social organization rather than try to fix them" (p. 79). Donner encourages anthropologists to revisit kinship and social organization, particularly the integration of smaller, face-to-face societies within the larger world system, illustrating the significance of this work with reference to transformations and continuities of identity and practice on Sikaiana, a Polynesian outlier in the Solomon Islands, and in Sikaiana communities located in the outskirts of the capital city of Honiara.

Peter Just addresses issues of change among the Dou Donggo of Sumbawa, in eastern Indonesia, with similar soul-searching. His essay examines wedding receptions in which both guests and hosts dress in Western attire, with the bride in whiteface and makeup and the groom in sunglasses (otherwise worn only by soldiers and police). The entire community is subjected to a prolonged harangue about self-discipline by a schoolteacher speaking in Bahasa Indonesia, which fewer than a quarter of the guests understand, and gifts of money are central to the affair. Just's initial discomfort with this display of the worst of what the West has to offer eventually gives way to a powerful analysis of historical transformation, in which he suggests that the new elements of Dou Donggo wedding ritual acknowledge as well as critique the group's position in an expanding field of social action, which has been prompted by their increasing population size, inability to maintain self-sufficiency in food production, and increasing participation in, and identification with, the state.

Finally, both Miriam Kahn and Peter Welsh address issues of representation in museums. Kahn, writing about carved aqueduct figures from Wamira, in southeastern Papua New Guinea, argues convincingly that the *kokoitau* carvings act as temporary chiefs. The figures briefly unite otherwise fragmented communities during intervals in which they must cooperate in the irrigation of new land, giving their fields precious fallow time. She also makes the point that objects like the *kokoitau,* when displayed in museums, are cut off from their social context and are thus rendered relatively powerless. Welsh also raises questions about the audience response to objects displayed in museums. Reviewing the recent literature on ethnographic representation in museums, he rejects assumptions about the purely didactic influence of museums, arguing that museum professionals should embrace the various paradoxes associated with the display of ethnographic objects that have been removed from their context, a perspective consistent with Kahn's treatment of the *kokoitau,* as well as the social and affective experiences of museum visitors.

The ethnographic range of these essays, from eastern Polynesia through Melanesia and Southeast Asia, reflects the geographic breadth of Davenport's career. The subject matter follows his longstanding interest in social organization, gender, aesthetics, and museum practices. Finally, the essays exhibit, both implicitly and explicitly, Davenport's influence on the contributors' scholarship, including their shared attention to detailed ethnographic knowledge and the material conditions of life.

As the contributors to this volume make abundantly clear, Bill Davenport was a gifted teacher and a generous mentor. As one of his last students prior to his retirement, I would like to close this review with a personal remembrance to complement the account of his ethnographic inquiries on Santa Cruz. I remember sitting in a lecture hall one afternoon with my fellow students, a full hour after the class should have ended. Through Davenport's

lecture, we had been able to see the taro grow, watch canoes being made, and view initiates as they decorated themselves in ritual attire. Finally, he noticed that the sun had set and chastised us for not interrupting him. We all smiled sheepishly, for none of us wanted to travel back to the streets of Philadelphia from Oceania, where we had magically been transported. I would like to thank Bill on behalf of all of his students for leading us on a journey from which we have never really returned.

Verena Keck, ed., *Common Worlds and Single Lives: Constituting Knowledge in Pacific Societies.* Explorations in Anthropology. Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998. Pp. vi, 417, bib., index. US$22.50 paperback.

Reviewed by Paige West, Rutgers University

Culture, Agency, and Knowledge in the Pacific

The contributors to *Common Worlds and Single Lives: Constituting Knowledge in Pacific Societies* cover a broad range of contemporary anthropological issues using the analytic frame of understanding knowledge and how it is and has been constituted in the Pacific. The volume is the product of a session held at the Conference of the European Society for Oceanists, in Basel, in 1994. Editor Verena Keck divides the volume's sixteen chapters into seven parts, with an introductory chapter that serves as a theoretical frame for the papers.

In her introduction, Keck discusses current and historic anthropological conceptualizations of "culture," "ethnicity," "agency," and "knowledge." In this excellent essay she draws out some of the current analytic threads concerning these conceptualizations and demonstrates their importance to anthropologists working in the Pacific. By confirming the relationship between these anthropological ideas and local constructions and experiences of identity, personhood, history, change over time, Christianity, modernity, and "the other," and the incorporation of "new" knowledge into already existing systems, Keck substantiates why the papers in the volume hang together as a coherent whole, in a way that is not the case in many edited volumes.

The volume's prologue is an essay by Raymond Firth. Firth begins the essay by laying out some philosophical issues surrounding the discussion of knowledge. He then argues that all inquiry into knowledge in Oceania must face two major questions: First, how is knowledge transmitted, and second, how is knowledge distributed? Next, he discusses the relationships between knowledge and perception and knowledge and identity using linguistic data

from Polynesia. Finally, he raises a series of questions about the quality of information concerning knowledge when it is presented by ethnographers, concluding that Oceanic ethnography is neither fact nor fiction but rather something more complex altogether (p. 50).

The second part of the volume, "Embodied Personhood," contains ethnographic papers by Borut Telban and Andree Grau, and an ethnohistoric paper by Christina Toren. Telban writes about the collective and personal identity among Ambonwari villagers in Papua New Guinea. He relates the Ambonwari conception of *kay,* which he describes as "way, habit, manner, ritual, being" (p. 55), to concrete social practices including hunting, fishing, following taboos, and healing. He stresses the bodily nature of *kay* while demonstrating the "other aspects of human existence, such as custom, past, mythology, society, individuality and so on" that are part of how people in Ambonwari conceptualize personal and collective identity (p. 65). Grau looks at dance among the Tiwi of northern Australia as both a cultural and biological form of knowledge. He shows that Tiwi knowledge of dance is intimately connected to Tiwi knowledge of kinship and that "the kinship dances were truly kinship in action" (p. 88). Toren, building upon an earlier paper in which she argued that social relations in Fiji are not fundamentally hierarchical but rather "constituted in terms of complementary and opposing concepts of equality and hierarchy" (p. 95), examines precolonial notions of self in relation to the power of the ancestors as manifest in the materiality of land fertility and the actions of the living.

The third section of the volume, "Changing Life Histories," includes ethnographic papers by Andrew Strathern and Lisette Josephides. Strathern is concerned with "life history" as a genre of ethnographic inquiry that may work to ground the sometimes-abstract anthropological discussions of self or personhood in concrete "embodied contexts of time and change" (p. 119). He argues and then demonstrates, using life history narratives from Papua New Guinea, that local personal narratives of life experiences can and do tell us much about culture, personal identity, change over time, and local knowledge. Josephides is concerned with how social groups acknowledge the actions of members and others within the conventions of their shared culture (p. 137). Using "stories" or "portraits" she demonstrates how Kewa of the southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea create their own cultural lives.

The fourth, and perhaps most interesting, section of the volume, "Local Recasting of Christianity," includes ethnographic papers by Anna Paini and Monique Jeudy-Ballini. Paini explores change in the discourses and practices of Christianity in a village on Lifu, in the Loyalty Islands. She argues, after a "thick" ethnographic section, that "Lifuans' religion should be considered as an indigenous strategy for thinking about the world and defining oneself within

that world" (p. 193). She then demonstrates how religion, in the complex form that it has taken in this place, serves as a nexus for culture, identity, history, change, and modernity. Jeudy-Ballini, in her chapter on the relationships between whites and the Sulka of East New Britain Province in Papua New Guinea, shows that the process of the appropriation of representations of "the other" is a dual process in which both white missionaries and the Sulka are implicated.

The fifth section of the volume, "Experiences Outside Worlds," includes a historical paper by Ronald Adams and ethnographic papers by Brigit Obrist van Eeuwijk and Beatriz Moral. Adams is concerned with Tannese labor recruitment in the second half of the nineteenth century. Beginning with precontact Tannese ideas about otherness and the outside world and moving through post-European contact, Adams traces the relationship between journeys or voyages taken by Tannese with the emergence of new local forms of identification and new local forms of political and social consciousness. Obrist van Eeuwijk is concerned with the relationship between Kwanga traditional interpretations of fertility and procreation and interpretations engendered by modern health care. She shows that the Kwanga, of the East Sepik Province in Papua New Guinea, practice medical "pluralism" employing traditional and "Western" medical cures when they seem appropriate and at the same time maintain a notion of "*kastom*" to acknowledge a difference between traditional and nontraditional knowledge. In demonstrating this she suggests that while medical pluralism is one way of understanding medical choices among the Kwanga, wider political forces—not always directly related to medicine—shape human experiences of reproduction and procreation. Moral examines the status of Chuukese women within the frame of the traditional and the modern. She argues that over time women's power has been weakened, there has been an increased control over women's sexuality, and women have become less protected. She does not argue that these changes are an "evil" of modernization but rather that the current status of women is a "hybrid born from past and present" (p. 281).

The sixth section of the volume, "Appropriating New Forms of Knowledge," contains ethnographic papers by Pierre Lemonnier, Milan Stanek and Florence Weiss, Eroc Vembrix, and Ingjerd Hoem. Lemonnier argues that among the Ankave-Anga, of the Gulf Province of Papua New Guinea, local political forms and offices are "still evolving" and that these forms, as knowledge enacted through particular cultural behaviors, are locally generated and imported from elsewhere. Stanek and Weiss analyze the strategies employed by Iatmul migrants who have moved to Rabaul, New Britain. Using the life story of one successful entrepreneur, they raise questions about knowledge and adaptation and the relationship between "culture" and social

change. Vembrix, in a paper on the ideology of "development" among the Tiwi of Melville Island, discusses how the creation of a new township was tied to local and external politics: Knowledge about both was merged with both cultural understandings and the desires of the local Tiwi leadership and then expressed in the form of political action. Hoem discusses the use of a new cultural form—popular theatre—in Tokelau, which works to order local ideas about change and ideology, which come from overseas. She shows that performance is related to knowledge and political action.

The volume's epilogue is an essay by Marilyn Strathern, titled "The New Modernities." Strathern's essay, while standing as a separate paper, draws together many of the themes brought out by the other papers in the volume. She discusses the anthropology of individual inventiveness and the relationship between social hybridity, individual action, and knowledge. This lengthy volume is quite good: The threads that Keck draws out in her introductory essay can be seen moving through the entire volume and then in the end M. Strathern ties them together in a way that forces the reader to ask new questions.

Paul Sillitoe, *An Introduction to the Anthropology of Melanesia: Culture and Tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Pp. xxiii, 254, illus., bib., index. US$22.95 paperback.

Reviewed by Roger Ivar Lohmann, Western Oregon University

Designed for use in courses introducing peoples and cultures of Melanesia, this text offers a neat package that samples fourteen different societies, each paired with theoretical topics within ethnology. Chapters average fifteen richly illustrated pages each, and are for the most part clearly written and accessible for an audience that has no familiarity with Melanesia. The case studies are drawn only from Papua New Guinea and Irian Jaya, which somewhat limits the book's scope as an introduction to greater Melanesia. However, I commend Sillitoe's general accomplishment here, which succeeds in giving a sense of both cultural variation and continuities within the region.

The first chapter gives geographic, human biological, and linguistic backgrounds, concluding with a discussion of the peopling of the region. The remaining chapters provide an ethnographic tour of different Melanesian societies; each stop made serves to illustrate a different element of social life. The first pair of these chapters (2 and 3) considers lowland and mountain peoples from the perspective of ecological anthropology, ethnoscience, and caloric-energy approaches to foraging, horticulture, and pig raising. Psychological

anthropological approaches, including enculturation and the life cycle, provide the axis for a discussion of Manus Island in chapter 4.

Sillitoe then explores economic themes in a series of chapters, including the Massim *kula* ring (chapter 5) and Highlands exchanges (chapter 6). Pointing out the difficulty of fit with economic anthropological theories, he emphasizes the social and political nature of these exchanges. Moving more explicitly to political anthropology, the next chapter depicts the big-man system on Bougainville.

Chapter 8, on technology, is set in the eastern Highlands. At the end of a section titled "Stone Tools" is the only and brief mention of netted string bags as "perhaps the artifact more than any other that characterizes Melanesian culture" (p. 118). This important subject is reduced to a misplaced tack-on, and as string bags are women's tools, those interested in material culture and women will be disappointed. Chapter 9, on gender relations among the Melpa, is probably the weakest in the book. Rather than focusing on gender per se, there is a large section on women, followed by a long digression into descent-group structures. When gender relations are briefly covered, the focus is limited to mechanisms that keep men, though dominant, from mistreating women, giving the chapter a sugar-coated taste.

Chapter 10, on dispute settlement among the Kapauku, presents several cases and discusses the limitations of applying Western legal concepts in "stateless" societies. Here Sillitoe broaches the important Melanesian concept of compensation and the principles of equivalence and payback. The following chapter covers the importance of sorcery and witchcraft with the Dobu as the case study. He presents the classic African-derived distinction of the two terms based on intent of the magician, but though he cites Michele Stephen, Sillitoe neglects to mention her updated definition based on Melanesian patterns, in which social acceptability of the practice forms the basis for classification. Warfare and cannibalism are next considered, illustrated by Yali ethnography. Here he discusses the ways in which Melanesian fighting has qualities of both warfare and feuding.

In the last three chapters, Sillitoe discusses religion: first, initiation rites among the Iatmul, in which he provides a helpful diagram of van Gennep's and Turner's versions of rites of passage; second, religious healing and medical anthropology among the Orokaiva; and finally, a thorough discussion of models of myth, using the Baktaman as the case study.

While this book has many virtues and is useful as it is, it will dissatisfy many readers on several counts. I mention a few issues that stood out for me, in the hope that this valuable teaching tool will be improved and appear in a second edition.

Sillitoe is directing this book at Western university students, which is

fine. In so doing, however, he frequently compares Melanesian peoples to "us" and the way "we" live. I found this usage disconcerting as I read, realizing that in attempting to relate to a European audience, this approach also excludes the Melanesian (or for that matter, any non-Western) reader. This book serves as an excellent survey; it will be much improved by speaking to interested students everywhere.

Sillitoe, aware of the expectations of his presumed audience, makes a point to describe Melanesian polities with their great-men, big-men, or chiefs as "stateless"—not having what "we" have. This tends to reify the ideal types of stateless versus state as a binary pair with nothing in between. It tempts the reader to see "statelessness" as a problem in which what did not exist in pre-contact Melanesia is to be explained as a lack, as opposed to accounting for what political systems did exist. A more-refined consideration of the range of human political systems, and how they can develop from one into another, would easily correct this.

Sillitoe presents a mainly "before contact" view of these peoples, quite literally in the case of the many excellent photographs, all of which show people in traditional dress. Readers are bound to walk away with the impression that there has been little impact on people's lives from government, capitalism, missions, revitalization movements, and so on. He uses the ethnographic present tense to represent "the time around which the anthropologist conducted fieldwork and produced the ethnography in question" (p. xx). But he does this in a context in which it is unclear who the anthropologist is and what time period is being discussed—and the ethnographies considered were recorded decades apart. We usually do not find out which ethnographies are being used as sources until reaching the bibliographies at the end of the chapters, so it is difficult for the reader to orient oneself. The minimized use of references in the text saves little space but greatly reduces this book's usefulness as a general resource. References to the positions of "some writers" without explaining who they are prevents interested students from proceeding to examine threads that interest them.

Sillitoe sometimes misses opportunities to clarify important theoretical issues in anthropology, or weakly outlines controversial points. For example, in discussing the difficulty of classifying different physical types within Melanesia, he does not relate this to the weaknesses and strengths of using ideal racial types in general. At other times, his theoretical discussions are rich and relate the Melanesian material to various quandaries and accomplishments of theoretical ethnology in general. In particular, his discussions of exchange and myth offer forays into a variety of theoretical approaches that bring the ethnography alive as more than simply a collection of facts about groups of people.

Where it succeeds, this book provides an excellent sampling of both Melanesian peoples and the theoretical concerns that anthropologists have brought with them to these islands. This book covers an incredible amount of ground with admirable conciseness, giving it tremendous appeal for anyone desiring a quick overview of precontact Melanesian life. I can recommend it for use in courses on Melanesia, and indeed I plan to use it myself, as a foundation for discussions that can be enriched with lectures and more in-depth readings.

BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLANDS PUBLICATIONS:
SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, SEPTEMBER–DECEMBER 2000

THIS LIST of significant new publications relating to the Pacific Islands was selected from new acquisitions lists received from Brigham Young University–Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, University of Auckland, East-West Center, University of the South Pacific, National Library of Australia, Melanesian Studies Resource Center of the University of California–San Diego, and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community Library. Other libraries are invited to send contributions to the Books Noted Editor for future issues. Listings reflect the extent of information provided by each institution.

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