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GERMS OR RATIONS? BERIBERI AND THE JAPANESE LABOR EXPERIMENT IN COLONIAL FIJI AND QUEENSLAND

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In the early 1890s, the Colonial Sugar Refinery Company (CSR) introduced Japanese men to their sugar plantations in Fiji and Queensland because management believed they would prove to be superior workers to other “coloured” labor. In Fiji, an outbreak of beriberi killed many of the Japanese. The medical establishment attributed this to an infective agent, instead of diet, so there was fear the disease could spread. CSR quickly abandoned the costly “experiment” in Fiji. In Queensland, however, the company successfully controlled a beriberi outbreak by altering the rations, though for fear of contaminated food rather than for balanced diet. By 1912, political and economic factors, not disease, brought about the cessation of Japanese immigration for the sugar industry. Had the Western medical profession not been so wedded to the powerful paradigm of disease transmitted by bacterial infection and accepted the growing body of data on dietary deficiency, the Japanese “experiment” might have succeeded and, in so doing, created a very different society in modern Fiji.

IN THE SECOND HALF of the nineteenth century, the British colonies of Fiji and Queensland shared a common problem. Both were suited to sugarcane growing but lacked tractable labor in sufficient numbers to establish the industry. Planters, sugar milling and growing companies, as well as the respective governments sought to overcome this by importing workers in the 1860s and 1870s. Though the early history of the sugar industry generally reflects poorly on the care planters gave to the health of these workers, by the 1890s there was more awareness of health considerations, if only to protect their investment and to obviate the possibility of workers’ home governments and communities, supported by the humanitarian lobby, opposing the migration of labor.¹ For these reasons, planters and governments feared what they per-

ceived to be epidemic diseases, communicated by organisms in or introduced into the environment.

The Search for Plantation Labor

By 1892, sugarcane plantations were dominant components of these colonial economies. Operating in both was the powerful Australia-based Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR). This company utilized Melanesian indentured labor, mainly from the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands, in Queensland and Fiji under the aegis of the respective colonial governments, though, in Fiji by the mid-1880s, Indians formed the bulk of the company's labor.² From the inception of the Melanesian labor trade in the 1860s, missionary and humanitarian circles as well as the British Colonial Office had been critical of the abuses attendant upon it. Indeed, this tainted record had led the first substantive governor of Fiji, Arthur Gordon, to introduce indentured laborers from British India in 1879 because the stateless Melanesian islands, excepting French New Caledonia, lay outside the control of any of the Western powers, making policing of both labor recruiters and the Melanesians difficult and often legally questionable.³

In Australia, the gold rushes of the 1850s–1870s and the development of the pastoral industry stimulated an influx of migrants from the British Isles, outstripping earlier convict labor, so that by the 1890s there was no longer a shortage of workers. More strident than humanitarian criticism, the growing agitation of European unionism and popular feeling against “cheap coloured labour” induced the Queensland government to plan to abandon importing Melanesians (Kanakas) in 1893.⁴ In March the year before, businessman Robert Philp had suggested to the director of CSR, Edward Knox, that Japanese be tried as workers in their plantations and mills in Queensland and Fiji.⁵ Although interested, Knox was cautious in regard to Queensland, saying that there was “little likelihood of our going in for them [Japanese] while we can get Kanakas as we could only stir up feelings against allowing the importation of coloured labour at all.”⁶

Robert Philp, along with his friend James Burns, were the founders of Burns, Philp and Company with extensive merchant, trading, and shipping interests in Australia and the southwest Pacific. The company owned and organized recruiting ships to bring back Melanesians for the planters, including CSR. As agents, Burns Philp had much business to gain in organizing the transportation and victualing of Japanese immigrants to Queensland.⁷ Knox, whose knowledge of the sugar industry spanned the tropical world, held a high opinion of Japanese as plantation workers, particularly in Hawai'i, and by late 1892 he thought it worthwhile to introduce them to Fiji too as an

“experiment,” believing that they would prove more productive than the Indian “coolies” and settle as tenant families on CSR land.⁸ In Queensland, the government had postponed the cessation of Melanesian recruiting in 1893 because of an economic depression. Early that year Knox acted on Philp’s suggestion, introducing around sixty Japanese laborers. Knox seems to have planned to employ these men as mill workers rather than field hands, but he cautioned his manager at the Victoria mill not to be too hasty in replacing European workers in the mill to avoid antagonizing the increasingly powerful white workers.⁹

Unlike the Melanesians and the Indians, the Japanese came under “the ordinary laws . . . relating to contracts”¹⁰ of the Masters and Servants acts without penal clauses, so neither colonial government had direct involvement as sponsor. Contractual clauses guaranteeing a return passage at the completion of their terms assuaged government worries about the workers’ being left destitute or ill, though the Fijian government planned to regularize this through future legislation.¹¹

CSR went to considerable effort to fulfill its contractual obligations with the Japanese. The staple of the daily ration was Japanese rice (2 lb.), along with dried or salted fish (0.25 lb.) and a total of 1 lb. of foodstuffs imported from Japan, such as tea (0.25 oz.), miso (bean paste), shoyu (soy sauce made from soy beans), and preserved plums, as well as 0.5 lb. of locally obtained fresh meat or fish.¹² Aware of the hygienic habits of the Japanese, the company provided special Japanese baths, took advice from the Japanese inspectors who came with the laborers, and built accommodation as recommended by the Japanese Immigration Society. A percentage of the men’s wages was regularly remitted to Japan as agreed. The company provided clothing and medicine and paid about thirty shillings a month for a term of three years, renewable for another two years with a 25 percent increase in wages.¹³ Although the overall cost was 75 percent more than Indian labor,¹⁴ Knox believed Japanese industry and intelligence would soon prove “cheaper in the long run.”¹⁵

The first group arrived in Queensland in mid-1893 and proved sufficiently satisfactory for CSR to continue replacing those returning to Japan with new intakes until the early 1910s.¹⁶ In Fiji, the first workers arrived on 22 April 1894 to the approbation of the *Fiji Times*, which shared Knox’s opinion, describing them as “more desirable than the . . . coolies thrust upon us.”¹⁷ Knox’s plan for Japanese immigrant families was frustrated, however, as only men came, problems in Hawai’i having caused the Japanese Immigration Society to cease sending women overseas for a time.

From Knox’s perspective and certainly that of the Japanese, the experiment soon became a disaster in Fiji. At the end of May 1894, the first cases

of beriberi began to appear. By early February 1895, when the 223 survivors from the original 305 workers were shipped home, over 89 percent had been diagnosed with the disease and almost 21 percent had died of it. Another 38 perished on the voyage home, bringing the mortality rate to about a third of those who had landed in Fiji in April 1894.¹⁸

Beriberi: Effects and Cause

Beriberi has a range of symptoms, including initial lassitude, tenderness of the calf muscles, increasing loss of sensation, and bouts of shortness of breath. In adults, beriberi has two forms, dry (neuritic) and wet (edematoses). The dry form is characterized by wasting of the lower extremities, with cardiac involvement more pronounced as the edema spreads from these extremities and reaches the heart. The wet form manifests dropsical distension (edema). In both, the patient becomes polyneuritic, paralyzed and helpless with death usually from heart failure following, if appropriate treatment does not intervene. Many of the Japanese, who were mostly between 18 and 30 years old, exhibited the dry form.

Early in the twentieth century, medical and chemical research by Westerners saw the causal factor of beriberi finally being identified as a deficiency in vitamin B₁, or thiamine, in 1926.¹⁹ Like all the B group of vitamins, thiamine cannot be stored in the body, so deprivation will manifest in symptoms within days or weeks depending on variables such as general constitution and work regime. Though widely distributed in foodstuffs, thiamine is relatively low in most. It is virtually absent in oils and fats while the content in green vegetables, fruits, and seafood is relatively low. The best source is dried brewer's yeast. Other good sources are dried baker's yeast, pork (especially liver), cereal germ, whole grains and products made from them, as well as nuts and dried legumes. Red meat has a small amount, but proportionately potatoes are between four to nine times higher in thiamine content depending on method of preparation. Potatoes generally have a higher content than both yams (*Dioscorea* species) and *kumala*, sweet potatoes (*Ipomoea batatas*). Corned beef or even tinned stewing steak has only the slightest trace because of the preserving and canning process.

In cereal grains such as rice, thiamine is not distributed evenly. It is low in the endosperm (the starchy interior), quite high in the germ or embryo (outer layer), and highest in the scutellum or bran (thin layers surrounding the endosperm and the germ). Thiamine is largely lost in milling or polishing the brown rice to produce white rice, lacking the germ removed with the bran. Yet, for many consumers, white rice is more aesthetically pleasing. Removal of the germ also improves the keeping quality because the unsatur-

ated oils in the germ of the brown rice can become rancid and is more attractive to weevils. All forms of rice lose some thiamine with long storage, with white or polished rice losing about a third after four months of storage in tropical conditions. As thiamine is water soluble, lengthy washing or cooking in more liquid than can be absorbed, as well as excessive cooking, also lead to loss of the vitamin by as much as 80 percent.²⁰ Thus, where polished rice dominated as a staple the likelihood of beriberi was high.

Western Medical Science: Captured by Infection

These facts, however, were totally unknown to medical science in the 1890s, although considerable study of the disease had been done. Throughout the tropical world, particularly Asia, as well as in some European countries, “epidemics” of beriberi had afflicted large numbers for centuries. It was first recorded in the Chinese *Neiching*, the oldest extant medical treatise, said to date from 2697 B.C. It was commonly found among occupants of ships, labor enclaves, garrisons, and other institutions such as navies, armies, and prisons but could occur elsewhere. In Japan, for example, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, beriberi (*kakke*) outbreaks occurred in most areas, more commonly in the cities, though not among the wealthy. Between 1859 and 1880, Dutch researchers in the East Indies, such as G. F. Pop, Van Kappen, Van Overbeck de Meijer, and Van Leent had deduced from observation that the disease was linked somehow to food intake. Van Leent thought that the rations of the native crew of the Dutch East India fleet were deficient in both proteins and fat. Acting on this theory, by 1880 the fleet command ordered all crew onto the European ration of less rice and more meat as well as the addition of bread, beans, peas, and potatoes, resulting in a remarkable decrease in beriberi.²¹

The Dutch work was not widely known. A new and extremely powerful paradigm had captured Western science in the late nineteenth century, overshadowing the significance of the Dutch dietary regime in the prevention of beriberi. As Robert Williams has pointed out, Louis Pasteur’s work from 1864 gave rise to an interest in bacterial infection as the cause of disease. James Lister’s use of antiseptics in surgery was one dramatic application of this and it explained Semmelweis’s previous discovery that childbed fever could be stopped by the scrubbing of the attendants’ hands with chlorine to rid them of contamination from earlier autopsy operations. Pasteur’s work from 1870 to 1890 on silkworm disease, anthrax in cattle, chicken cholera, and rabies in humans all pointed to an infective agent. Robert Koch then went on to isolate the respective bacilli causing a number of diseases, including tuberculosis and Asiatic cholera.

Although productive of much benefit for humanity, the concept of infection as the cause of disease proved a cul-de-sac for relief from beriberi. Medical researchers, including the great Koch himself when studying beriberi “epidemics” among Asian laborers in German New Guinea, tried vainly to find an infective organism for it. Several claimed to have found it, but one person’s findings usually contradicted another’s. Many researchers attributed the cause to a toxin, located in food. Treatment for the disease continued to be symptomatic and of no value, except when a diet change inadvertently increased the thiamine intake.

A prominent Japanese doctor, Takaki Kanehiro, who had studied in both Japan and England, where he became a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, carried out extensive research on the Japanese navy in the 1880s and redirected attention to diet as the pivotal factor in the disease, focusing particularly on the staple, rice. Though he did not discover the vitamin connection he attributed beriberi to the nitrogen-carbon ratio in food and when he increased the ratio of proteins to carbohydrates the huge number of beriberi cases fell dramatically. As surgeon-general of the navy he brought about a changed diet that reduced the rice ration, but included meat, wheat flour, beans, shoyu, and increased vegetables. The meat, wheat flour, beans, and shoyu together provided sufficient thiamine. His findings, however, were slow to be adopted beyond the military forces. The West had only a synoptic version of his persuasive research published in the *Sei-i-kwai* medical journal in the 1880s and very few medical researchers knew of this. In 1906, however, Takaki lectured in London on beriberi and these lectures appeared in the *Lancet*, through which his work became more accessible to Western medical workers. As Williams observes, if Takaki’s work had been published fully in English in the 1880s, it would probably have been far more influential in directing studies to diet rather than to an infective agent in the environment twenty years earlier than was the case.²²

Beriberi in Fiji

The Japanese laborers in Fiji and Queensland had seen beriberi at home but, being young, healthy men, they passed quarantine and medical inspections on their arrival and soon were working hard. The bulk of their rations had been purchased in Japan, enough for six months, after which time local food could be assimilated into the diet, providing the inspectors and the employer agreed.²³ The ordinary rice for laborers in Japan at this time was usually pounded by hand to remove the husk, and so much of the tissue holding the thiamine remained.²⁴ The purchasing agents of Burns Philp acting on CSR’s behalf, however, bought a polished white rice; their reasoning had

been, in Knox's words, "that the polished white rice was sent because it was thought that the rice ordinarily used by labourers in Japan would not keep in Fiji."²⁵

This hulled and polished white rice probably originated from the mills of Saigon or Rangoon, where mechanized polishing reduced the likelihood of the rice going rancid and attracting weevils.²⁶ The agents also sent a sample of twenty bags of somewhat less expensive, brown but hulled rice. As the Japanese inspectors, Shoda and Hatta, commented to the manager in July 1894, "they [the laborers] have never eaten such good rice before" and even the cleaned but unpolished rice was of better quality than the usual.²⁷ Since the unpolished rice kept relatively well and cost £7 13s. a ton compared to £8 10s. a ton for the white rice,²⁸ CSR instructed Burns Philp that future orders from Japan be of "ordinary rice used by the labouring classes of Japan" for three months' rations. What had not traveled well, however, were the "condiments." It seems CSR discarded the shoyu and miso as "unfit for food" and with them a small, but useful, addition of thiamine.²⁹

Given the turnaround time between Japan and Fiji, this order took three months to fill and arrived in Fiji in mid-September 1894, when seven men had already died. As the original supply was for six months, it seems almost certain that the men continued to consume that supply until mid-November at least, when Knox was discussing how the three months' supply on hand should be utilized if the Japanese were repatriated.³⁰ By then the disease was well entrenched. So debilitated were most of the Japanese that they may not have been able to ingest even ideal rice in the usual form. The remedies administered, such as quinine, iron, strychnine, arsenic, belladonna, digitalis, and, after meals, hydrochloric acid, cannot have stimulated or maintained appetite.³¹ Today, thirteen to thirty times the normal intake of thiamine is prescribed daily for two weeks for rapid recovery, then reduced to about seven times the normal requirement for some weeks more. Thus, even if diet had been improved, such dosages were either unavailable or unprescribed under existing medical regimes; recovery would have been very slow, providing potentially fatal bacterial or viral complications such as pneumonia or dysentery did not intervene.³²

Through ignorance CSR, as well as the laborers themselves, cut off other avenues that may have compensated in part for the thiamine-deficient rice. When, in July 1894, the laborers wanted potatoes Knox reminded their managers at Nausori and Labasa that the contract stated "vegetables *or* potatoes" (author's emphasis) daily, directing them to purchase sweet potatoes or yams, which were cheaper. As the thiamine content in potatoes is much greater than in yams and higher than in sweet potatoes, and as the ration was usually yams, this choice reduced the potential intake of the vitamin.³³

Moreover, the ration stipulated “fresh meat or fish,” but CSR, at least for the first month or two, issued beef boiled in 6-lb. tins, tinned mutton, and salted beef from Sydney—all of which would have had no measurable thiamine.³⁴ When, by July 1894, a contractor was supplying fresh meat, Knox ordered it reduced because the laborers themselves preferred “dried fish to fresh meat” and the company could “supply the former at about 2d a pound . . . very much cheaper than before.”³⁵ Many of the Japanese refused to eat meat at all.³⁶ The dried fish, however, had only the slightest trace of thiamine. So all the potential sources of thiamine in the laborers’ diet were simply non-existent or, like shoyu and miso, too minute by themselves.

The company came tantalizingly close to finding the source of the problem. In April–May 1894, the manager at Rarawai, Ba, obtained supplies of Rangoon (or “Ballam”) rice to feed the newly arrived Japanese, quite apart from the rice that came with them. Knox, acting on advice from Bowden, Burns Philp’s agent in Queensland, instructed him to stop feeding them this as “they always get sick if given other than Japanese rice.”³⁷ Yet the “Japanese rice” being rationed had the same qualities as the Rangoon rice and is likely to have originated from a similar source. Several of the men at Rarawai were “laid up” with sickness after only a week or so on the Rangoon rice, but whether this illness was early beriberi or not is uncertain. It seems that a supply of fresh meat may have alleviated the disease for a time, but by late July sickness had returned and beriberi developed.³⁸

In Fiji, “[t]he first known occurrence of beriberi in its epidemic form” had a particularly tragic aspect.³⁹ Its severity resulted in a paper presented to the colony’s Legislative Council. The first report was by Dr. Charles Hirsch, the medical officer for the Rewa district, where fifty of the Japanese worked at CSR’s Nausori plantations on the eastern side of Viti Levu; and the other by Dr. Noble Joynt, officer for Labasa district, where about two hundred Japanese went to Wailevu and about fifty to Ba, both on the western side of the same island. The council paper opened with a preamble by the chief medical officer, Dr. B. Glanville Corney—a comprehensive summary of the history and state of knowledge of the disease. Corney highlighted its supposed infectious nature, describing how it was “introduced” into various areas of the world including New Caledonia where immigrants from Tonkin and Annam (Vietnam) were the supposed source.

Yet Corney had one tremendous advantage over most of his medical colleagues in the West. On a visit to Fiji in 1889 by the Japanese navy’s training squadron, the medical officer of the HIMJS *Hiyeyi*, a Dr. Sasaki, gave Corney a copy of the Annual Report of the Health of the Imperial Navy for 1887. This report contained tables and information by Takaki on his dietary innovations for the navy. Though Corney does not appear to have obtained details

of Takaki's later work between 1888 and 1891, written up in English and Japanese in *Sei-i-kwai*, until during or soon after the Fiji outbreak, he certainly knew of Takaki's emphasis on diet and also mentions the dietary focus of earlier researchers. Corney discusses in detail Takaki's later work on nitrogen-carbon ratio to 1891 in his preamble, reproducing one of the tables from *Sei-i-kwai*. He lauds the "enormous gain in human life and health, the value of the labour thus saved to the [naval] service by the improved diet" and speaks of the "phenomenal result" of the diet, not only in relation to beriberi, but also to other diseases.⁴⁰

Corney, in spite of all this hard data from the entire population of the Japanese navy of over fifty-three hundred, remained a prisoner of the paradigm of an infective agent in the environment, even in the face of conflicting research, for he went on to state that

we may not assume that a deficiency of nitrogen to make good the natural bodily waste is the sole or active cause of . . . Beriberi. . . . [T]he diet question is one that mainly determines the susceptibility of persons to an invasion by a specific poison. That poison, as might be expected, has been made to reveal its bacterium. . . . [Yet] Manson regards some of these discoveries rather sceptically and—himself the soundest and most eminent of English tropical pathologists—admits that he has always failed to find a distinctive micro-organism of Beriberi.

Although conceding that the Fiji Japanese workers' ration "was inferior in nitrogenous material to the proportion insisted on by Takaki," Corney describes "residence . . . in an infected place" as an essential factor in producing beriberi. To counteract this, he advised sufferers be removed to a place free of the infection, in a "cool and dry climate," and one free from malaria, which somehow also predisposed people to beriberi. Though Fiji was free of malaria many Indians were thought to have brought it with them and it might reassert itself. As well, strict hygiene, such as the boiling of soiled clothing, had to be observed, and accommodation had to be spacious, well-ventilated, and drained. Around living areas, the soil (and night soil) had to be treated with corrosive sublimate. Corney also recommended the Takaki diet as well as the treatments with drugs believed to relieve symptoms.⁴¹ One of the doctors involved, Joynt, after discussing the drug "tonics" and regimes for his Labasa patients, commented that he believed "[g]ood nourishing nitrogenous food . . . to be as efficacious as any drug treatment."⁴²

In time, much of Corney's recommendation was carried out. By November, Knox had obtained "a treatise on the disease" along with corrosive sub-

climate, as well as twenty bags of whole wheat, and dispatched these to Fiji.⁴³ Although the government was not obliged by law to supply free medical care to CSR, alarm over the outbreak convinced it “to assist the company in its present difficulties” with medical attention on payment of a fee. In October, the doctors had advised returning the men to a cold climate. Meanwhile, the government agreed to allow the sick to be moved to isolation on the quarantine island of Nukulau. Concerned the disease would spread, government doctors recommended elaborate hygiene measures to prevent the “microbe disease” from infecting the Nukulau compound.⁴⁴ In the Fijian language newspaper, *Na Mata*, the government’s commissioner for native affairs even warned Fijians of the dangers of contracting beriberi from clothes sold by the Japanese.⁴⁵

Earlier, Knox had considered the possibility of bringing in a Japanese doctor, but, as the steamer turnaround time was so great, he decided to return the men to their homeland once the difficulties of transportation during the Sino-Japanese war had lessened. Meanwhile, CSR’s Fiji manager sought in vain for “a suitable man” to care for the Japanese in Nukulau. The government could not provide a doctor there, so the company abandoned the plan to move the sick to Nukulau, continuing to have the government doctors care for them at the plantation hospitals of Nausori and Labasa.⁴⁶ Burns Philp could not arrange a steamer to Japan earlier than 4 February 1895.⁴⁷ Thereafter, the company was not concerned with the fate of the 223 survivors sent home, but the government regretfully noted the deaths on board ship.⁴⁸

The Japanese in Queensland

In Queensland, the Japanese laborers had a happier medical history. The first group arrived in June 1893 with six months’ stores, but the rice had not kept well, which suggests it was not white polished rice. Whatever the reason, the company found alternative rations. Knox’s experience with Rangoon rice at Ba, Fiji, caused him to advise the Victoria mill’s manager not to use it and to get the rice from Japan.⁴⁹ After the Fiji experiment had failed, Knox, always with an eye to economy, had ordered the remaining rations sent across to Victoria mill in July 1895, by which time they were over seven months old. These rations were probably only the Japanese condiments, of little use in Fiji among the Indians, because a shipment of rice arrived for Victoria the same month via Burns Philp.

Beriberi, however, appeared among the Japanese at the Victoria mill in April 1896, one man dying. The records are silent as to their specific diet at the time, but Knox’s reaction was swift and very different from the Fiji epi-

sode. He ordered the immediate and permanent reduction of the rice ration, the stoppage of the condiments and dried fish, and replacement with fresh meat, flour, and potatoes. Within a month, the disease had abated.⁵⁰

Where had Knox obtained his information? One of CSR's chemists had just returned from the Hawaiian Islands and informed him that there the disease "had almost entirely been stamped out by adopting the above measures." Some in the Hawaiian medical establishment had stumbled on a cure—but their reasoning was not based necessarily on deficiency or an infectious bacterium. Some believed that the "half-decayed dried fish and condiments" produced the disease⁵¹—a variant on the toxin theory, sometimes attributed to a poison in the rice.⁵² Fortunately for the Japanese who came to work on the Hawaiian plantations from 1885, the contract conditions not only allowed them to purchase their own food, but also to cultivate a half-acre to grow food. From 1886 until the turn of the century, they had their own doctors from Japan, men more likely to be familiar with Takaki's emerging research. It seems when Japanese and other immigrant Asian labor such as the Chinese and Filipinos economized—mainly in order to remit money home—that their frugal diet induced beriberi. Once these immigrants adopted the local diet, and this included rice, beriberi became rare, though it continued to appear in newcomers—so plantation managers often issued rations rather than money for food to make sure the laborers were adequately nourished.⁵³

In Queensland, there were no more cases of beriberi among the Japanese, so Knox's regime had succeeded. In Fiji, the medical officers could congratulate themselves on preventing the spread of the "infection" by their measures.⁵⁴ It seems the odd case of disease thought to be beriberi had appeared among the Indians before 1894 and perhaps after, but never in such numbers as with the Japanese.⁵⁵ This was due, of course, to diet and not an infective agent. Most of the Indians in Fiji were from flour-producing areas of the United Provinces and the Punjab. They consumed "sharps," largely unrefined flour, which is quite thiamine rich, and did not have rice as their staple, though the Madras minority did. Once these people had the smallest plot of land they grew their own food, including rice and pulses, and thus were able to eat an adequate amount of thiamine.⁵⁶ No confirmed cases of beriberi had been reported among the Melanesians, including the Fijians, before the epidemic,⁵⁷ though it is possible that any deaths from beriberi may have been attributed to other diseases. The Fijian diet of root vegetables, including the staple *dalo* (*Colocasia esculenta*)—higher in thiamine than potatoes and yams—as well as various nuts, coconuts, and occasional shellfish and pork, provided an adequate amount of the vitamin.⁵⁸

Knox continued the Japanese "experiment" in Queensland until 1912. In

1901, the former Australian colonies had joined in a federation. For the new state of Queensland, the price was the phasing out of “coloured” labor demanded by the federal government’s “White Australia” policy. The Melanese were deported. This loss was not as economically painful to the industry as its critics predicted, mainly because the plantation system had been replaced in 1893 by small, often family-based farms feeding in to centralized mills. Most of these were under the aegis of the Queensland state government, some under that of big companies, such as CSR.⁵⁹ Knox’s colleague, Robert Philp, twice became Queensland premier and indicated in 1900 that his government was not averse to the number of Japanese remaining the same following federation. They were (and remained) the backbone of the pearl shell industry in the remote but strategically important Torres Strait—because few white men would do the dangerous work at the pay offered. As long as the total number employed in Queensland—about thirty-two hundred in 1898—remained stable, the nascent federal government turned a blind eye in order to support the pearl shell industry. So CSR managed to keep their eighty to a hundred Japanese workers on at their mills, replacing them with equal numbers when individual contracts expired. Knox was very pleased with their work as mill workers and solved the problem of their employment in the slack season, when the mills were not crushing cane, by employing them as contract timber getters and cutters.⁶⁰ Although the Japanese were highly efficient and Knox preferred them to white men, they were not “cheap” labor as the whites-only labor unions claimed.⁶¹ They were earning between thirty and thirty-four shillings a week exclusive of overtime in 1909—wages equal to and sometimes better than those of white men.⁶² In 1911, a leading labor union, the Amalgamated Workers’ Association, took industrial action to demand a uniform eight-hour workday and minimum pay of thirty shillings a week. CSR charged its striking white workers under the Masters and Servants acts, but the courts ruled these acts did not apply to white workers. Because of the threat of industrial action and “as the wages of the coloured labor have now reached a high standard,” CSR found the Japanese experiment less attractive. By 1912, the company ceased placing the remaining Japanese under indenture and, for the sugar industry, the immigration from Japan ended.⁶³

Consequences

In Fiji, without competition from a white laboring class, much of the sugar economy continued to depend on Asians. Almost half of Fiji’s population today is descended from indentured Indians. Had Knox’s “experiment” had a positive outcome, as both CSR and other planters hoped, they may have

come to prefer the Japanese whom they believed to be cleaner, “ingenious, industrious and peaceable,” and better workers than those from India.⁶⁴ As the pioneer historian of the Indians in Fiji, Kenneth Gillion has commented, “Fiji might have had a society as diverse as that of Hawaii” if not for the beriberi epidemic.⁶⁵

Yet it was not the disease as such that determined this outcome, but Western colonial medical beliefs about its causation. Even CSR director Edward Knox, the epitome of the logical capitalist who had applied a practical solution to the Queensland outbreak in 1895, somewhat paradoxically continued to believe the disease stemmed from an infection, demanding two years later that the Japanese be medically examined before departure for Queensland “so as to avoid any risk of introducing Beri Beri.”⁶⁶ He was following standard Western medical orthodoxy, rather than the demonstrable results of his diet regime for the Japanese in Queensland. Knox did not repeat the migration experiment in Fiji—it had cost CSR about £4,000 as well as considerable time and effort. It had cost a third of the Japanese their lives, an outcome that appealed neither to the colonial government nor to other planters who feared the spread of the disease among what they perceived to be the vulnerable Indian and Melanesian workforce.⁶⁷

History, perforce, focuses more with what happened, not with what might have happened; but, in the case of beriberi, the potent medical paradigm of attribution of a disease to an infective agent in the environment, rather than to a simple dietary deficiency, certainly had a profound influence in shaping the composition of Fiji’s society.

NOTES

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1. See generally Clive Moore, Jacqueline Leckie, and Doug Munro, eds., *Labour in the South Pacific* (Townsville, 1990), passim.

2. Margaret Willson, Clive Moore, and Doug Munro, "Asian Workers in the Pacific," in Moore, Leckie, and Munro, *Labour in the South Pacific*, 100.
3. Kenneth Gillion, *Fiji's Indian Migrants* (Melbourne, 1962), 1–18.
4. Ross Fitzgerald, *A History of Queensland from the Dreaming to 1915* (St. Lucia and Brisbane, 1982), 252; Kay Saunders, "The Workers' Paradox: Indentured Labour in the Queensland Sugar Industry to 1920," in *Indentured Labour in the British Empire, 1834–1920*, ed. Kay Saunders (London and Canberra, 1984), 213–259.
5. Noel Butlin Archives of Business and Labour, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia: Colonial Sugar Refinery Company archives (hereafter CSR), Letters outward from Head Office to Victoria (hereafter Victoria), 142/1551, Knox to Farquahar, 9 Mar. 1892; 142/1552, Roth to Manager, 26 July 1893.
6. CSR, Victoria, 142/1551, Knox to Farquahar, 23 Nov. 1892.
7. Fitzgerald, *A History*, 255–256; CSR, Victoria, 142/1552, Roth to Manager, 9 Aug. 1893; CSR, Letters outward from Head Office to Nausori (hereafter Nausori), 142/2208, Knox(?) to Manager, 24 Jan. 1894; National Archives of Fiji, Suva: Colonial Secretary's Office (hereafter CSO), 3694/93, Gemmell-Smith to Colonial Secy., 29 Dec. 1893.
8. CSO 3167/93, Minute, 23 Sept., 4 Oct. 1892 and encls.; CSR, Victoria, 142/1552, Roth to Manager, 26 July, Nov. 1893; Nausori, 142/2208, Knox to Manager, 24 Jan., 14 June, 19 July 1894; CSR, Letters outward to Labasa (hereafter Labasa), 142/2053, Knox to Manager, 20 July 1894; CSR, Letters outwards to Rarawai (hereafter Rarawai), 142/2611, 13 Sept. 1893, 17 Aug. 1894. Re settlement, see Michael Moynagh, *Brown or White: A History of the Fiji Sugar Industry 1873–1973* (Canberra, 1981), 81, 85–89.
9. Fitzgerald, *A History*, 151, 321; CSR, Letters outward, General, 142/1051, Dixon to Manager, Victoria mill, 8 Feb. 1893; Victoria, 142/1551, Knox to Farquahar, 9 Mar. 1893; 142/1552, Roth to Manager, 9 Aug., 7 Sept., 13 Dec. 1893; 142/1558, Knox to Manager, 11 June 1903.
10. CSO 3167/93, Minute, 4 Oct. 1892.
11. CSO 3694/93, Minute, 9 Jan. 1894; CSO 54/94, Minute, 3, 5 Jan. 1894; CSO 483/93, Minute, 26 Jan. 1894.
12. Epidemic of Beriberi, Council Paper No. 1 of 1896, Legislative Council of Fiji, 40; CSO 54/94, Gemmell-Smith to Act. CS, 30 Dec. 1893, encl.
13. CSR, Letters outwards, General, 142/1051, Dixon to Manager, Victoria, 8 Feb. 1893; Victoria, 142/1551, Knox to Farquahar, 9 Mar. 1893; 142/1552, Roth to Manager, 19 Oct., 28 Dec. 1893; 142/1555, Knox to Manager, 22 Apr. 1897; Rarawai, 142/2611, Knox to Manager, 17 Aug. 1894; Epidemic of Beriberi, 17, 27, 36. There were minor variations in the respective contracts for Fiji and Queensland, with the men in Queensland being paid slightly more.

14. CSR, Labasa, 142/2053, Knox to Manager, 27 June 1894.
15. CSR, Rarawai, 142/2611, Knox to Manager, 13 Sept. 1893.
16. CSR, Victoria, 142/1552–142/1555; 142/1557–142/1566.
17. *Fiji Times*, 28 Apr. 1894.
18. Epidemic of Beriberi, 13, 17, 27; Indian Immigration Report, Council Paper No. 24 of 1895, Legislative Council of Fiji; CSR, Nausori, 142/2208, Knox to Manager, 18 Apr., 18 May 1894. One source claims the number of arrivals to have been 310, one of whom died of drowning, with nine others unaccounted for in the medical report that gives statistics for 300 only. It may be that the two accompanying inspectors were not included in the total. (CSO 2858/94, ? to Magistrate, 25 July 1894.) Kenneth Gillion states that 87 of 305 died from beriberi and other diseases in Fiji. (Gillion, *Fiji's Indian Migrants*, 79n.)
19. Robert R. Williams, *Toward the Conquest of Beriberi* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), *passim*.
20. Lawrence J. Machlin, ed., *Handbook of Vitamins*, 2d ed. rev. and exp. (New York, 1991), 251–267; Heimo Scherz and Friedrich Senser, comps., *Food Composition and Nutrition Tables* (Stuttgart, London, and Tokyo, 1994), xviii; B. Holland et al., eds., *The Composition of Foods* (London, 1995), 139, 171, 179, 227, 267, 271; Marcus Krupp, Milton J. Chatton, and Lawrence M. Tierney Jr., *Common Medical Diagnosis and Treatment 1986* (Los Altos, Calif., 1986), 802–815; Winifred R. Vinacke, “The Effects of Storage, Washing and Cooking on the Thiamine Content of Rice,” *Journal of Home Economics*, Oct. 1951, 641. The recommended adult intake is around 1.4 milligrams daily. Composition for some food is as follows: Per 100 grams, boiled brown rice has 0.14 milligrams, white rice 0.01, sharps (or chapatti) flour 0.36, unsalted boiled potato 0.18 or if baked in flesh and skin 0.37, unsalted boiled yam 0.14, salted boiled sweet potato 0.07, and for a cup of coconut, 0.05. (Scherz and Senser, *Food Composition*, 27, 31, 227, 267, 271, 227.)
21. Williams, *Toward*, 1–35. The Japanese army and later the navy under Surgeon-General Y. Saneyoshi included barley in the ration and further reduced the rice. (*Ibid.*, 22–23.)
22. Williams, *Toward*, 18–26; Epidemic of Beriberi.
23. Epidemic of Beriberi, 40.
24. Williams, *Toward*, 13.
25. CSR, Nausori, 142/2208, Knox to Manager, 5 July 1894.
26. Williams, *Toward*, 13, 27.
27. CSR, Letters outward, General, 142/489, Roth to Burns Philp, 26 July 1894.
28. CSR, Nausori, 142/2208, Knox to Manager, 15 June 1894.

29. CSR, Nausori, 142/2208, Knox to Manager, 4 July 1894; Letters outward, General, 142/489, Roth to Burns Philp, 26 July 1894.
30. CSR, Nausori, 142/2208, Knox to Manager, 14 Sept. 1894; Labasa, 142/2053, Knox to Manager, 19 Nov. 1894.
31. Epidemic of Beriberi, 21, 34.
32. Krupp, Chatton, and Tierney, *Common Medical Diagnosis*, 815.
33. CSR, Nausori, 142/2208, Knox to Manager, 19 July, 16 Aug. 1894; Labasa, 142/2053, Knox to Manager, 20 July 1894.
34. CSR, Nausori, 142/2208, Knox to Manager, 4 Apr. 1894.
35. CSR, Rarawai, 142/2611, Knox to Manager, 20 July, 17 Sept. 1894.
36. Epidemic of Beriberi, 36.
37. CSR, Rarawai, 142/2611, Knox to Manager, 31 May 1894.
38. CSR, Rarawai, 142/2611, Knox to Manager, 31 May, 15 June, 20, 26 July, 10, 17 Aug. 1894; Victoria, 142/1553, Knox to Manager, 5 Sept. 1894.
39. Epidemic of Beriberi, 1.
40. *Ibid.*, 6.
41. *Ibid.*, 7–9.
42. *Ibid.*, 34.
43. CSR, Labasa, 142/2053, Knox to Manager, 19 Nov. 1894.
44. CSO 4609/94, Minute, JS to Chief Medical Officer, 14 Dec. 1894 and encls.
45. CSO 4609/94, Hirsch to Chief Medical Officer, 23 Dec. 1894; Pound to Colonial Secy., 29 Dec. 1895; Minute, 1 Jan. 1895.
46. CSR, Fiji, Staff movements, Manager to General Manager, 26 Dec. 1894.
47. CSR, Nausori, 142/2208, Knox to Manager, 15 Oct. 1894; 142/2209, Knox to Manager, 16 Nov., 12 Dec. 1894; CSO 4609/94, Minute, JS, 14 Dec. 1894.
48. Epidemic of Beriberi, 27.
49. CSR, Victoria, 142/1552, Knox to Manager, 28 June, 9 Aug. 1893, 18 Jan. 1894; 142/1553, Knox to Manager, 5 Sept. 1894.

50. CSR, Victoria, 142/1554, Knox to Manager, 22, 27, 29 Apr., 27 May 1896; 142/1555, Knox to Manager, 28 Sept. 1897.
51. CSR, Victoria, 142/1554, Knox to Manager, 27, 29 Apr. 1896.
52. Board of Health Report, Hawaii, 1890, cited in Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu, 1985), 104–105; Charles B. Cooper, “Beriberi and Some Clinical Aspects from Personal Observation,” *Hawaiian Medical Association: Transactions of the Annual Meeting*, 1905, 107, 112; Williams, *Toward*, 13–15.
53. Report of the Board of Immigration, Hawaii, Honolulu, 1886, 227, 257–258; Rodman Miller, “Plantation Doctor,” *Hawaiian Medical Journal* 54 (1995), 788–792; Karol Hara-guchi, comp. and ann., ed. Linda K. Menton, *Rice in Hawaii: A Guide to Historical Sources* (Honolulu, 1987), xv; Beechert, *Working*, 68.
54. Epidemic of Beriberi, 12.
55. *Ibid.*, 11.
56. Moynagh, *Brown or White*, 85–91; Gillion, *Fiji’s Indian Migrants*, passim.
57. Epidemic of Beriberi, 7, 11; *Fiji Times*, 2 Mar. 1943.
58. Scherz and Senser, *Food Composition*, 649.
59. Fitzgerald, *A History*, 186–187; Saunders, “The Workers’ Paradox,” 214–238.
60. Fitzgerald, *A History*, 188, 255–256, 314; Jeremy Beckett, *Torres Strait Islanders: Custom and Colonialism* (Cambridge, 1987), 37; CSR, Victoria, 142/1558–142/1565.
61. Fitzgerald, *A History*, 329–300; Saunders, “The Workers’ Paradox,” 238.
62. CSR, Victoria, 142/1563, Knox to Manager, 10 June 1909; see also 142/1564, 31 Mar. 1910; and Saunders, “The Workers’ Paradox,” 238.
63. CSR, Victoria, 142/1565, Knox to Manager, 3 July 1911; 142/1566, Knox to Manager, 12 Dec. 1912.
64. *Fiji Times*, 28 Apr. 1894.
65. Gillion, *Fiji’s Indian Migrants*, 79.
66. CSR, Victoria, 142/1555, Knox to Manager, 7 Jan. 1897.
67. CSR, Labasa, 142/2053, Knox to Manager, 6 Nov. 1894; Epidemic of Beriberi, 7, 12.

IMAGINING THE SOUTH SEAS: THOUGHTS ON THE SEXUAL POLITICS OF PARADISE IN SAMOA

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Controversy generated by criticism of research Margaret Mead conducted nearly three-quarters of a century ago reminds us that modern ethnography came of age with fieldwork conducted on the sexual lives of Pacific Islanders. The Samoa debate suggests that an exotic eroticism continues to inform representations of women in anthropological writings and popular culture, and that Samoa is a candidate for sexual paradise on earth. This article explores the image-making of paradise by examining book covers and photographs associated with Margaret Mead's and Derek Freeman's narratives of Samoa. As cultural artifacts, book covers and photographs offer an intriguing way of investigating issues of ethnographic representation and the problem of who "owns" the bodies of Pacific Islander women.

Are we Samoans now to be known as a nation of sex-starved, suicidal rapists? I much prefer my previous reputation as a free-loving orgiast.

—Lelei Lelaulu (1983)

Introduction: Whose Samoa?

WHILE WRITING EARLIER DRAFTS of this article, I sipped Snapple's latest addition to "natural" fruit-flavored drinks. The "Samoan Splash Island Cocktail" contains—besides banana, orange, and strawberry juices—purée of *cupuacu*, a Brazilian melon that "looks like a coconut." Writing this article also inspired me to look for an old LP recording of Martin Denny from my undergraduate days. I listened to Denny's Exotica combo perform "Quiet

Village” and “Love Dance,” a mélange of “imitated ornate birdcalls amid vibes, gongs, drums, [and] conch shells” (Lanza 1995:70) with “unintelligible ‘tribal’ chants” (Swezey and King 1990:1). This was musical paradise on Waikiki at Henry Kaiser’s Hawaiian Village Shell Bar and Don the Beachcomber’s Bora Bora Lounge in the 1950s.¹

While listening, I examined the label of my drink. Above the Snapple logo rises a moonlit sea. A dolphin jumps, leaving a glittering, petal-like fan in its wake. In the background rises a volcanic mountain misted in dark silver—elusive, mysterious, foreboding. Beneath the logo, a single-masted rowboat is drawn up on a deserted beach next to a crackling fire. A creature hidden high in the fronds of a palm tree peers down at the scene. What do these strange yellow eyes see?

Pleasure and danger in paradise are juxtaposed in the label’s images, not unlike the hardback cover of Derek Freeman’s book on the “fateful hoaxing of Margaret Mead” (1999). Freeman’s photo on the dust jacket views the Manuan islands of Ofu and Olosenga through the foreground perspective of three palm trees and waves breaking over a coral reef on Ta’ū, the island of Mead’s fieldwork. Both the juice label and the book cover convey a generic brand of paradise. These two images represent an essentialized geography of escape that suggests a human presence, yet remains strangely uninhabited. Moreover, this exotic landscape promises adventure with a suggestion of danger. We can only speculate about why the boat and the fire appear abandoned in the Snapple label image. And we can only speculate about the dark secrets to be revealed in a book about a “fateful” trajectory of sex and deception concerning a famous woman anthropologist and her research in the South Seas idylls of Samoa.

I have been thinking about Samoa and its contested ethnographic representations for several years. Like many of my colleagues, I too was asked my opinion about the much-publicized appearance of Freeman’s first book (1983) that criticized Mead’s depiction of female adolescent sexuality immortalized in *Coming of Age in Samoa*, originally published in 1928 (hereafter referred to as *Coming of Age*). Like many of my colleagues, I too had to return to a text that I hadn’t read in years. Had Mead, according to Freeman (1999:161), “constructed her misinformed account of ‘free love-making’” from “fundamentally flawed fieldwork”? Was Mead “duped” or “lied to” by her informants? Were Mead’s research findings “preposterously false” and a “confused travesty” (Freeman 1983:228, 288)? Did Samoan girls and unmarried women assert their sexuality? Or were they puritanical maidens thoroughly converted to Christian values of chastity and domesticity? Were Samoan women victimized by men’s sexual aggression? Was Margaret Mead’s “chatty and feminine” narrative of the “rustling-of-the-wind-in-the-palm-trees”

(Evans-Pritchard 1962:96) image of Samoa “science or science fiction” (Worsley 1957)? Whose ethnographic version of Samoa is “correct”? Do these contrary views represent “paradigms in collision” as Freeman asserts (1992)?

Such questions are linked with a host of interesting issues concerning ethnographic representation, the production of anthropological knowledge, and the gender politics of ethnographic authority. Indeed, having spent several years examining these issues with regard to the Yanomami—an Amazonian people framed by the ethnographic paradigm of violence (Tiffany and Adams 1994, 1995)—I knew that, as a longtime student of Samoa, I would eventually return to what is commonly called the “Mead-Freeman controversy.”

Like my colleagues, I followed the reviews, rejoinders, newspaper articles, and editorials that appeared in popular and academic publications about *Margaret Mead and Samoa* (Freeman 1983), first announced on the front page of the *New York Times* (E. McDowell 1983). Not surprisingly, the media were quick to seize upon the Western imagination of the South Seas. Articles with evocative titles like “Bursting the South Sea Bubble” (Leo 1983), “Samoa: A Paradise Lost?” (Bernstein 1983), “In Search of the Real Samoa” (Begley, Carey, and Robinson 1983), and “Tropical Storm” (Sterba 1983) suggested that the golden beaches of paradise constituted a partial truth. By contrast, articles and reviews of Freeman’s book written by women journalists and anthropologists (including myself) argued that the “Angry Storm over the South Seas of Margaret Mead” (Howard 1983) was more than Western myth-making of paradise and that *Coming of Age* had significant implications for understanding issues of gender and women’s sexual lives (see, for example, N. McDowell 1984; Nardi 1984; Scheper-Hughes 1984; Tiffany 1984, 1985).

The ongoing debate, sustained by Freeman’s subsequent articles and paperback reissues of his first book in 1984 and 1996, suggested that I reconsider the constructed images of pleasure and danger in paradise. This reconsideration became more pressing when I began my second research visit to the Margaret Mead Archives at the Library of Congress, just as Freeman’s latest work on Mead’s “fateful hoaxing” began to appear in bookstores.

More than seven decades after the publication of *Coming of Age*, and nearly two decades since the publication of Freeman’s initial challenge, the academic literature concerning the erotic zones of Samoan Islanders continues to grow. This literature, which resumed in the late 1980s after a brief hiatus following an avalanche of commentaries and reviews of *Margaret Mead and Samoa*, had increased substantially during the 1990s.

Much of this recent work sought to reassess the Samoa controversy by returning to Mead’s ethnography. Some scholars addressed issues of sexuality and aggression, variously based on ethnographic fieldwork in the islands,

or by research on Mead's published and unpublished materials (Côté 1994; Feinberg 1988; Grant 1995; Holmes 1987; Mageo 1988; Orans 1996; Shankman 1994, 1996). Others addressed the controversy in terms of language and writing style (Lutkehaus 1995; Marshall 1993), challenged Freeman's assertions regarding the historical or methodological importance of Mead's book in the anthropological literature (Hays 1997), or responded with detailed commentaries and criticisms of Freeman's assertions (Côté 1998a, 1998b, 2000; Shankman 1998). Still others have been concerned with issues of colonialism and the changing contexts of anthropological constructions of Samoan sexual behavior (Leacock 1987, 1992; Mageo 1994, 1998). This resurgence of interest in the Mead-Freeman controversy has also coincided with feminist reassessments of the lives and ethnographic writings of other women anthropologists, notably Ruth Benedict (Babcock 1995; Caffrey 1989), Elsie Clews Parsons (Deacon 1997), Camilla Wedgwood (Lutkehaus 1986), and Zora Neale Hurston (Hernandez 1995), among others (see also Nichols 1996).²

This article is an exploratory discussion, necessarily incomplete, in which I examine images associated with Mead's and Freeman's ethnographic representations of Samoa. I suggest that both narratives may be interpreted as artifacts of the same paradise, an earthly utopia that is both a site of pleasure and danger.

Producing the Text

The West has a long history of imposing its constructions of eroticism on the South Seas. Geographically located in Polynesia, the Western imagination of the South Seas encompasses a social, geographic, and ideological space in which males undertake the quest of erotic mastery and self-discovery—recurrent themes in Western romantic literature and incorporated into the colonial experience of possessing distant worlds.

Romance awaits the explorer of this far-flung island domain, which promises escape from the troubled realities of more-familiar realms. Fantasies may be fearlessly enacted under the full moon and whispering palm trees as bare-breasted nymphs await their lovers or adventurous heroes cast upon golden shores. The South Seas child-woman of an eroticized landscape provides for Western men exciting escape from the routine of civilized existence and the predictability of their domestic and routinized lives. One need only mention the famous novelists—Jack London, Herman Melville, Joseph Conrad, Robert Louis Stevenson, and James Michener—and footnote lesser-known authors, such as Charles Nordhoff and James Hall, Louis Becke,

Beatrice Grimshaw, and Pierre Loti—to evoke the imagery of tropical abundance, seductive Pacific Islander women, and the thrill of male adventure.

The South Seas romance also informs the anthropological enterprise. Indeed, *Coming of Age* was not the first ethnographic text to challenge Western notions of sexuality and to be marketed with racy titles and endorsements from well-known experts of the day. Malinowski's provocatively titled *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (1927) was published a year before Mead's book, and *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia* (Malinowski 1929) was published a year later. Malinowski's latter book included a preface by Havelock Ellis, the internationally recognized authority on the psychology of human sexuality (see also Weiner 1987).

Havelock Ellis's enthusiastic comments about *Coming of Age* were printed on a "bright red band" that adorned its cover: "That stunt helped the sales materially," publisher William Morrow wrote to Mead on 11 January 1929 (LOC: MMP, Box I2). Mead's original typed manuscript, "The Adolescent Girl in Samoa," was subsequently retitled (LOC: MMP, Box N1), while the introduction and concluding chapters were rewritten at the urging of her publisher (LOC: MMP, Box I2: Mead to Morrow, letters dated 25 January and 21 February 1928).

Mead's abstract of her proposed concluding chapter for *Coming of Age*, based on Morrow's "criticism and encouragement" of an earlier draft, was sent to her publisher with a cover letter dated 25 January 1928 (LOC: MMP, Box I2). The abstract makes it clear that her Samoan research had to be placed in a context of what Pacific Islander adolescents could tell Americans about themselves. Accordingly, the research problem was:

an experiment to find out whether the difficulties of our adolescent girls are due to the physiological changes which take place at puberty or to the civilization in which they grow up.

When this is answered in the negative, two questions still interest us: What are the differences between the Samoan civilization and the American civilization which produce these differences in behaviour? What significance have these results for us? (LOC: MMP, Box I2)

In short, the bodies and behavior of Samoan girls are of interest in helping us understand ourselves. Morrow's suggestions of making the book accessible to a popular audience encouraged Mead to consider the social and sexual agency of American women in the 1920s through the lens of "the other" (see also Mead 1965:122–126). Mead's hometown newspaper, the *Doyles-*

town Daily Intelligencer, promoted this theme in a front-page article that described Mead's proposed work in Samoa on the "Primitive Flapper" (LOC: MMP, Box I2). This was an oxymoron, as Samoan girls—while missionized and constrained by status considerations to varying degrees—were neither white, middle-class, nor "civilized."³

Prior to her fieldwork, Mead had recognized the importance of relating her Samoan research to the current media focus on issues of female "delinquency" and "rebelliousness."⁴ She was also aware of the necessity to present the results of her research to a "commercial publisher." Innovative marketing techniques, directed towards a growing urban population eager for consumer goods, were well established in American society by the 1920s. Mead's publisher merchandised *Coming of Age* to an audience receptive to eroticized images of paradise in the South Seas. The book also appealed to the important market segment of flappers, assertive "New Women" who sought to create independent lives that were not centered on men (see Cott 1994; Rapp and Ross 1986; Woloch 2000:275–306).

Before sailing to Hawai'i for research in the Admiralty Islands, Mead rewrote the last two chapters of *Coming of Age* in 1928 and asked Franz Boas to write a preface (Mead 1965:125). Convinced that the book could be effectively marketed to a popular audience, William Morrow later wrote to Mead that he had committed a "substantial" publicity budget of "nearly \$1,500.00 in various forms of advertising and promotion" and that the book had sold 3,144 copies in the United States as of 31 December 1928 (LOC: MMP, Box I2: Morrow to Mead, letter dated 11 January 1929). Noting the book's "splendid review" in the *New York Times* (dated 4 November 1928), Morrow outlined his publicity strategy in a postscript: "We are starting a new campaign for the book partly by circulars, and partly by special work with the book stores. We have gone into the matter very carefully, and we think that we are likely to get better returns from the plans we have made than we should get by general advertising in newspapers and periodicals." He went on to praise Mead and her work: "The basis of our success is the book itself. You wrote something that people could understand and enjoy, and you did it superbly" (LOC: MMP, Box I2: Morrow to Mead, letter dated 11 January 1929). In Mead's view, rewriting the last two chapters of *Coming of Age* had taught her an important lesson. Such writing had to "make the life of a remote island people meaningful to an American audience" (Mead 1965:125–126).

Discovering Paradise

Marketing paradise and the sexual lives of Polynesian girls was a success. Producing a book cover to convey the theme of an exotic eroticism was im-

portant for selling an image of a South Seas paradise that also challenged Western notions about female nature and the sexual lives of American women. Consider, for example, Freeman's description of paradise on the dust jacket of the 1928 edition of *Coming of Age* (Figure 1): "It shows, by the alluring light of a fuller than full moon, a bare-breasted Samoan girl, inflamed with sexual desire, hurrying with her lover, to what Mead, in her pseudo-poetic language (1928c:14) calls a 'tryst' beneath the palm trees. It is exquisitely true to the preposterous fantasies by which she had been hoaxed, and romantic bilge of the first water" (Freeman 1991:118). Freeman's rhetoric attempts to demolish the notion of a South Seas utopia by questioning the legitimacy of Mead as an ethnographer and as a writer. However, he does so within the ideological context of a paradise familiar to a Western audience. Thus, the idea of paradise remains a possibility, even if, as Freeman asserts, the social reality of paradise in Samoa is "romantic bilge."

Moreover, significant details of the scene on the dust jacket are missing from Freeman's account. This Polynesian girl, with hair that flows over her back, is faceless. She has neither eyes, nose, nor mouth. Wearing a pandanus skirt and a hibiscus behind her left ear, she runs hand-in-hand with her faceless lover. It is important to note that it is *she* who leads him towards the palm trees on the moonlit beach.⁵

The generic figures on the 1928 cover highlight the evocative image of Polynesia as sexual playground. Specific facial features and details of dress are irrelevant for shaping the image of a South Seas Eden for Western tastes. The book jacket, combined with Mead's narrative, derives from a view that paradise is, in fact, a geographical space inhabited by women in grass skirts who assert their sexuality and independence, not unlike American "New Women" of the 1920s (Tiffany 1998, 2001).⁶

Freeman's polemical assertions of informants' hoodwinking, combined with his denigration of Mead's mental state as a "chronic state of cognitive delusion" (Freeman 1991:117), deny a pleasurable version of paradise in Samoa. Rather, Freeman posits with a kind of missionary zeal a misogynist view of Samoan women as Christian prudes who are all too often the victims of men's brutal sexual aggression. This menacing narrative of paradise is rhetorically linked by repeated references to Mead's body and brain (Freeman 1983:70, 287; 1991:117-118). This dangerous and dark view of paradise not only denies Pacific Islander women the right to claim their bodies and their minds, but it also provides a forum for derogating the woman ethnographer's physical appearance and mental capacity. In other words, women's words and minds are suspect.

By contrast, Mead's narrative legitimizes voice and agency on behalf of her female informants while asserting her own rightful claim to conduct

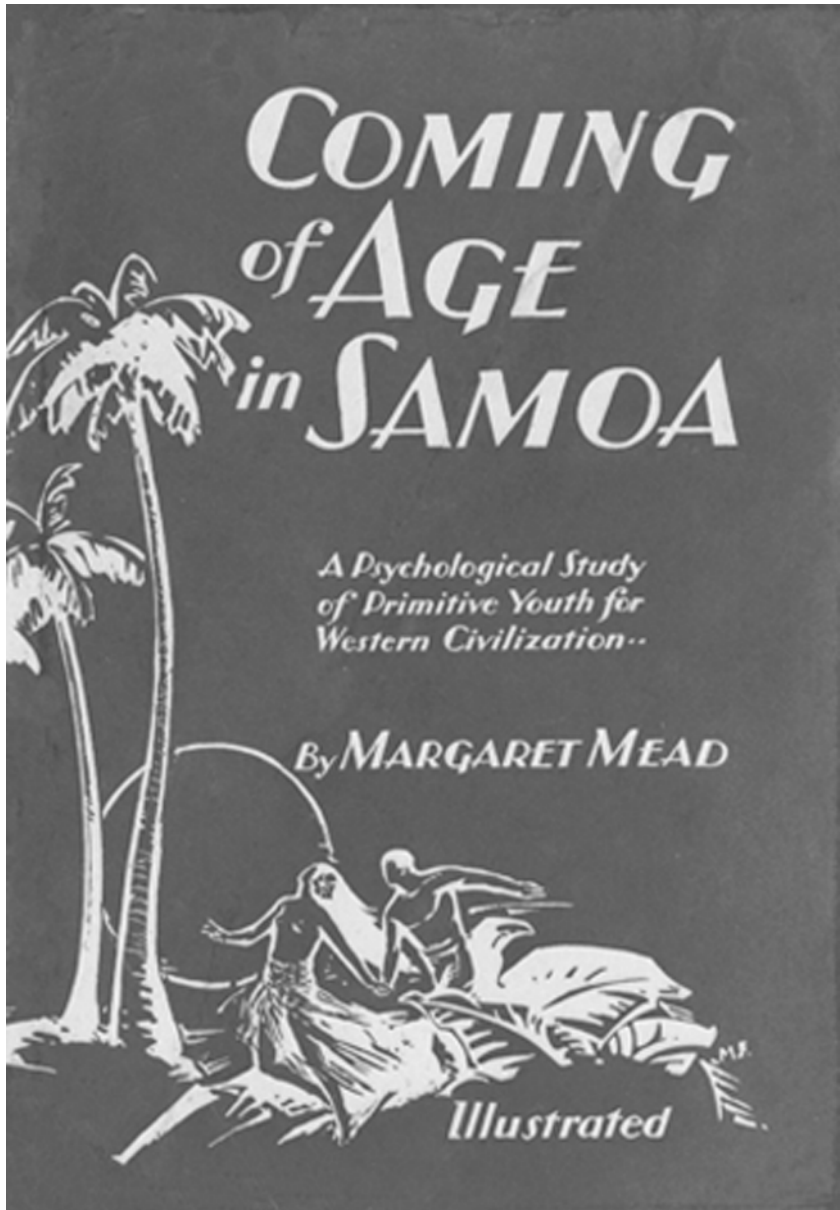


FIGURE 1. Cover of the first edition of *Coming of Age in Samoa*, by Margaret Mead, published in 1928 by William Morrow and Company. (Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. Jacket cover reproduced from the Margaret Mead Archives, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Courtesy of the Institute for Intercultural Studies, Inc., New York)

anthropological research. Mead, of course, was aware of the “current day-dreams in the Western world” of paradise and the positioning of this dream world in the Pacific of her time:

In the Twenties there were people who wanted to go to the South Seas Islands as a personal escape from their post-war world, from a dull and empty routine, from the denial of spontaneity, and the trampling of individual passions. . . . They wanted to go to the South Sea Islands and never come back, and the fiction of the period emphasized that one did not come back; the divine, sensuous inactivity was too alluring. (Mead 1940:336–337)

Mead’s narrative and its evocative dust jacket clearly located paradise in Samoa. Islander youth in the South Seas—in opposition to their American counterparts—enjoyed “freedom in sex, lack of economic responsibility, and lack of any pressure to make choices” (Mead 1939:x).

This essentialist portrayal of Samoan adolescents does not countenance danger; whereas, Freeman’s forbidding view of paradise cannot allow pleasure. Both narratives are cast in a static, one-dimensional social geography that resists an understanding of the complexities and paradoxes that comprise a human reality. Essentialist portrayals of Pacific Islander women’s bodies and lives disallow examination of the dynamics of gender, rank, and ethnicity, and also ignore the ways in which women’s bodies are appropriated for Western consumption as the exoticized and eroticized other (see, for example, Alexander and Mohanty 1997; di Leonardo 1998; Manderson and Jolly 1997; Stoler 1991).

The paperbound cover of the 1949 Mentor edition of *Coming of Age* reinforces the promise of Polynesian sexuality with its color drawing of a dancing couple (Figure 2). An artistic rendering of green, homogenized vegetation—the stock-in-trade marker of paradise South Seas-style—provides a background that highlights their bodies. This cover captures the erotic flavor that frequently accompanies a *siva* (dance). A *siva* may be danced and interpreted on many levels of eroticism, depending on the dancers’ age and social status, as well as the social context in which the *siva* is performed. The dance of a *taupou* (ceremonial maiden) with two or more men can be especially provocative. The male dancers’ assertive, almost aggressive and charging style contrasts with the languid and modestly sedate steps and arm movements of the *taupou*.

The woman portrayed on the Mentor cover, however, is not a *taupou*. She lacks the elaborately decorated headdress of human hair, the pandanus skirt, barkcloth, and other ornamentation associated with this elite status.⁷ The

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A Study of Adolescence and Sex in Primitive Society

COMING OF AGE IN SAMOA

MARGARET MEAD



A Mentor Book

FIGURE 2. Cover of the Mentor paperback edition of *Coming of Age in Samoa*, by Margaret Mead, published in 1949 by arrangement with William Morrow and Company. (Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.)

woman's facial features appear more Asian than Polynesian. By contrast, the male dancer's features suggest a generic, Caucasian-like look that is impossible to situate in a specific island group or culture. His face, framed by a leafy crown worn along the hairline, is reminiscent of Robert Flaherty's principal Samoan actor in his documentary film, *Moana of the South Seas*.⁸ "As he weaves his arms in intricate pattern, he keeps his eyes fastened on the girl, whose slight, rhythmic motion is so alluring" (Froelick 1925:392).

His partner, her hair pulled back in a chignon hair style like that of Moana's love interest, the beautiful *taupou* Fa'angase, and with eyes nearly closed, appears fully engaged with the movements of her dance. The woman's right arm conveniently covers the nipples of her bare breasts. Like the maiden on the 1928 cover of Mead's book, this dancer also seems to take the initiative by engaging in an erotically charged gesture as her right buttock and hip nearly touch her partner's left hip.

The dancers who decorate the Mentor book cover wear simple, sarong-like garments that tie at the waist and hang to the knees (*lavalava*). The lack of complex dress suggests that female sexuality in Samoa is not associated with elite status and the social decorum demanded of ceremonial maidens, but rather with the common woman, an image consistent with Mead's narrative.

Relocating Paradise

Images of women's overt sexuality, depicted on covers for the 1928 hardbound edition and the 1949 Mentor paperbound reprint edition, dramatically shifted with publication of the Morrow Quill paperback cover of the 1961 reprint edition of *Coming of Age*. A charcoal drawing of the head and bare shoulders of an exotic-looking young woman commands the viewer's attention (Figure 3). A small tropical flower nestles in her long, dark hair. Her downcast eyes suggest modesty; her full lips, slightly parted, convey sensuality. The woman is alone and refuses to look directly at her audience. She is enticing but problematic, her thoughts a secret to the viewer. This is not a woman of full-bodied Polynesian grace with the insouciant demeanor of a Gauguin painting. Rather, this small-boned, light-skinned woman appears as a generic combination of Asian and Polynesian features, leavened with a Hollywood hint of Bali and *South Pacific*. Indeed, the *South Pacific*-Balinese connection with paradise in Samoa becomes more explicit in the cover of the Laurel paperbound edition of *Coming of Age* published by Dell in 1968 (Figure 4).

The Dell Laurel edition cover depicts an updated version of the South Seas "wood nymph"—in this case a small-boned, light-skinned, and slightly Asian-looking woman with pouting red lips and a silky mane of dark hair carefully draped over one bare shoulder. A large white tropical flower nestles

Coming of Age in Samoa Margaret Mead

with a new preface by the author



FIGURE 3. Cover of the Morrow Quill paperback reprint edition of *Coming of Age in Samoa*, by Margaret Mead, published in 1961 by William Morrow and Company. (Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.)

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The classic study of primitive youth

COMING OF AGE IN SAMOA

MARGARET MEAD

with a new preface by the author



FIGURE 4. Cover of the Dell Laurel Paperback reprint edition of *Coming of Age in Samoa*, by Margaret Mead, published in 1968 by arrangement with William Morrow and Company. (Reprinted by permission of Dell Publishing, a division of Random House)

in her hair; a red sarong covers her breasts. Surrounded by tropical-looking vegetation, complete with the jarring presence of temperate-climate daisies in the background, she coyly looks up at the viewer. This is the classic *National Geographic Magazine* pose of the South Seas siren who inhabits a timeless, remote world (see also Lutz and Collins 1993:197–200; Nordström 1991: 273–274, 1992).

The visual message of the Dell Laurel cover is clear: This wood nymph suggests the possibility of intimacy and the appeal of a sexually compliant child-woman living in a primitive Eden (Nordström 1992; Tiffany 2001). Whereas the tropical world depicted on the Dell Laurel cover may be interpreted as Eden in Samoa, the woman situated in this paradisaical landscape is not Samoan. Indeed, what is remarkable about the covers of the 1961 Morrow Quill edition and the 1968 Dell Laurel edition of *Coming of Age* is the absence of the Samoan woman from paradise.

Interestingly, an earlier version of the Dell Laurel cover raised controversy. Barbara E. Adams, director of subsidiary rights for William Morrow and Company, requested Mead's approval of a proposed Dell cover described as "quite restrained in Gauguin style and colors" (LOC: MMP, Box I2: Adams to Mead, letter dated 3 April 1967). In a letter to Ross Claiborne, editor of Dell Publishing Company, Karen Graff (Mead's administrative assistant) wrote on behalf of Mead who had criticized the cover: "The girl does not look like a Polynesian; her arms are too thin. She is wearing a *Tahitian* style garment. Samoans do not wear this large red colored design. There is no flower like the one in her hair in Polynesia. The cover must be based on a real Samoan photograph, or they must not use a drawing at all. This is really incredibly bad, and cheap" (emphasis in original). Mead continued: "The girl is far too old. This book is about very young girls. If the artist would look up the first edition of *Coming of Age in Samoa*, published by Morrow in 1928, he would find models of both male and female types. And the posture must be right." Graff goes on to write that Mead "suggests that if Laurel would stick to printing and pretty colors, or palm trees and NO people, they would keep out of these difficulties" (emphasis in original). Mead was also concerned about how the proposed design could affect sales, noting that "[t]his cover would make it impossible to use the book in college courses, and this represents an enormous part of the paperback sale" (LOC: MMP, Box I2: Mead to Claiborne, letter dated 12 June 1967). It is not clear from the correspondence if Mead subsequently approved the cover published on the 1968 Dell Laurel edition.

From Samoa to Bali-Ha'i

Motifs of sensuality, culture, and race are interconnected in the 1961 and 1968 covers of *Coming of Age*, reflecting a recentering of the South Seas

idylls to Bali. Mead herself was aware of this geographic shifting and the growing industries of media and tourism when she wrote: "It has twice been my accidental fortune to make ethnological expeditions to islands which . . . have also been current daydreams in the Western world—the South Sea Islands [i.e., Samoa] in 1925, and Bali in 1935" (Mead 1940:336). Noting the efforts of steamship companies to promote Bali as a tourist destination in the 1930s, Mead wrote of their efforts "to make Bali the lineal descendant of the Tahiti of the romantic Twenties, with the slim figure of a high-breasted, scantily clothed girl as the symbol" (ibid.: 337).

In the postwar Pacific, the paradise of *South Pacific* fame was located in Bali-Ha'i, the forbidden island immortalized by James Michener and Rodgers and Hammerstein.⁹ Transformed in the Western imagination as the quintessential paradise, the dream world of Bali-Ha'i is the island of Bali (Vickers 1989).

Rodgers and Hammerstein's musical *South Pacific* was based on two short stories, "Our Heroine" and "Fo' Dolla," from James Michener's (1947) Pulitzer Prize-winning collection, *Tales of the South Pacific* (Green 1963: 129–136; 1980:217–218). "Fo' Dolla" features the memorable Bloody Mary, as well as the love affair between Lieutenant Joe Cable and Liat—Bloody Mary's nubile, teen-aged daughter. "Our Heroine" is the story of Nurse Ensign Nellie Forbush and the French planter Emile De Becque, who sired eight daughters by Javanese, Tonkinese, and Polynesian women. Michener, describing himself as "only a paper-work sailor, traveling from island to island" in the war years (1947:2), set both stories in the Melanesian islands of the New Hebrides (Vanuatu). At the time of the American military occupation, there were approximately 1,250 Europeans, 1,200 Vietnamese plantation laborers, and some 40,000 indigenous Melanesians in the archipelago (Lindstrom 1996:1).

The dust jacket of the first edition of Michener's *Tales of the South Pacific* depicts a large, volcanic island misted in deep shadow. There is no sign of human habitation on this forbidding landscape, possibly the pestilential and superstition-ridden island of "Vanicoro" that sheltered Bali-Ha'i from view (Michener 1947:147–148). The only confirmation of human presence in this scene is located off-island; it is a large military vessel that plies through a dark and menacing sea. The cover does not provide a glimpse of Bali-Ha'i to the casual viewer. "Like most lovely things," Michener writes in "Fo' Dolla," "one had to seek it out and even to know what one was seeking before it could be found" (ibid.:148).

Disappointed by the cheap paper, dark colors, and shabby binding of the first edition, Michener described it as "an ugly, monstrous book, a disgrace to a self-respecting company and a humiliation to its author" (1992:279; see also Hayes 1984:74–77). By contrast, the Pocket Books edition of *Tales of the*

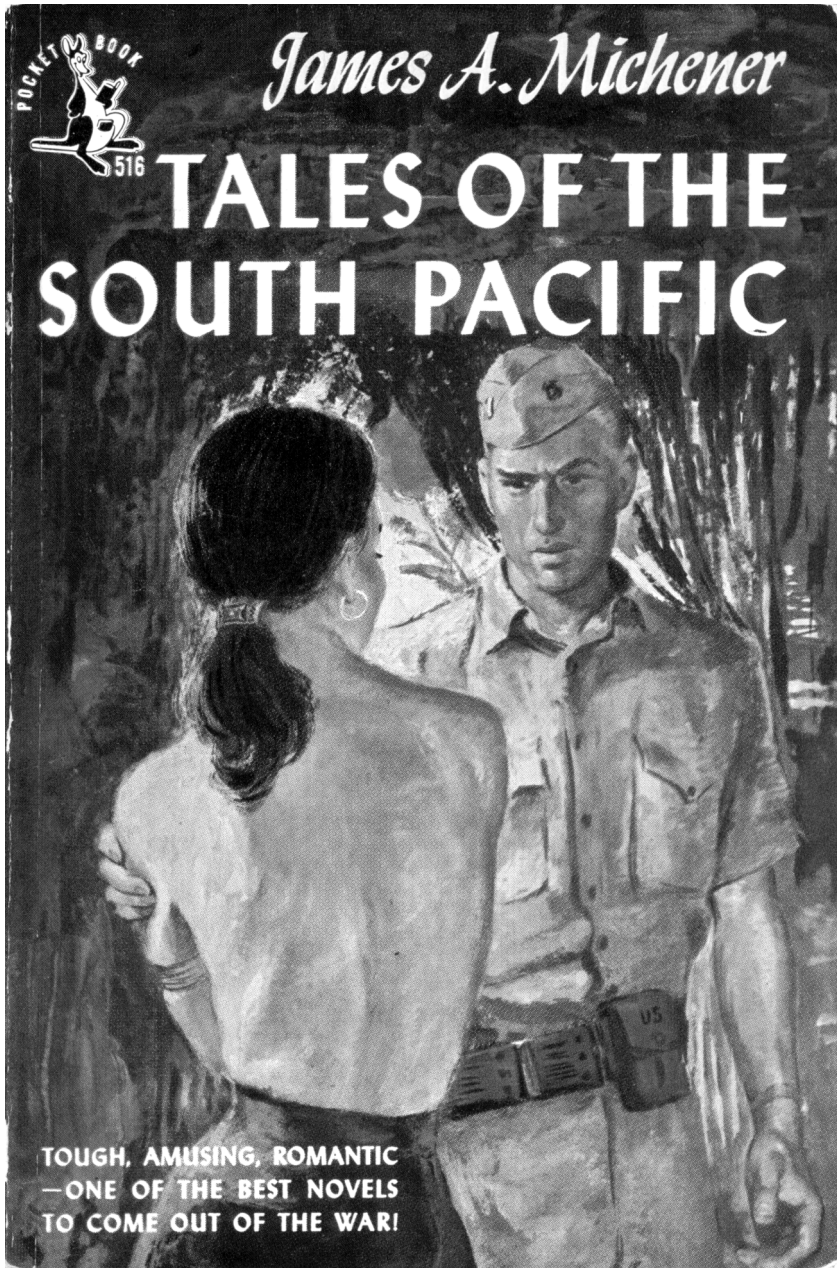


FIGURE 5. Cover of 1947 Pocket Books edition of *Tales of the South Pacific*, by James Michener. (Reprinted by permission of Pocket Books, a division of Simon & Schuster)

South Pacific, published in April 1947, captures the image of war and sex on its cover (Figure 5).¹⁰ The American in uniform, perhaps Lieutenant Cable, assesses the light-skinned, partially nude woman (Liat?) who stands before him. Her side profile suggests that her eyes are averted, arms crossed across her naked breasts in a suggestion of modesty or protection against the man's frank gaze. The woman's dark hair is pulled back with a pin at the nape of her neck; she wears gold hoop earrings. The viewer is encouraged to observe the woman's bare back and to consider the possibilities of what the man who looks at the woman is privileged to see.

Bali-Ha'i is described as "an island of the sea, a jewel of the vast ocean. It was small. Like a jewel, it could be perceived in one loving glance" (Michener 1947:147).¹¹ This description could also be applied to the woman on the cover of the Pocket Books edition. In "Fo' Dolla'," "Liat was the very spirit of Bali-ha'i."¹² For Lieutenant Cable, "Liat and the tall peaks of Vanicoro would become great, indefatigable beacons in the jungle night and cool mirrors in the jungle heat" (ibid.:155). The feminized landscape of Bali-Ha'i is a jewel, just as the woman's seductive body is a jewel, symbolized on the cover by her hairpin.

Bali-Ha'i is also a recentered place noteworthy for the absence of Pacific Islander women—like the covers of Freeman's books and Michener's *Tales of the South Pacific*. As Jolly notes in her discussion of *South Pacific*, "the erotics of the exotic here work through a series of displacements and fugitive transformations" (1997:112). Lieutenant Cable does not find paradise with an indigenous Pacific Islander woman, but rather with the daughter of a Southeast Asian (Tonkinese) migrant woman who is a black-market entrepreneur and procurer, occupations usually associated with men. The shifting of paradise from Polynesia to Bali-Ha'i displaces Polynesian women and ignores Melanesian women, the latter rarely equated with an imagined landscape of idyllic worlds (Mesenhöller 1989). Eventually, the relocation of paradise to Bali is reflected in the Asian features of the young woman from Bali-Ha'i who also adorns the 1961 Morrow Quill cover of *Coming of Age*. Polynesian women no longer inhabit paradise in this postwar image of Samoa.

The Other Side of Paradise

The dust jacket of the hardback copy of Freeman's *Margaret Mead and Samoa* contains no photograph or drawing of a human figure, thereby avoiding contentious issues of representing the bodies of Pacific Islander women.¹³ Thus, the cover of Freeman's book gives the appearance of solidity and neutrality, academic qualities associated with masculinity and a prestigious university press.¹⁴ The front and back covers are consistent with the author's

purpose of questioning ethnographic research, based on the experiences and words of Samoan girls and conducted by a woman, as suspect. The author's assertions of Mead's naïveté and her deception by female informants are highlighted on the back cover. It contains five lengthy testimonials, all from men, representing the fields of physical anthropology, zoology, ethology, and evolutionary biology. There is no Pacific specialist among them.¹⁵ Their words are testimonies to the "hard," masculine work of science, in contrast to Mead's purported gullibility and her narrative spun from girlish deceptions—the stuff of pseudoscience. This testimonial message of (masculine) rationality overcoming (feminine) emotion is reinforced on the back cover of Freeman's latest book as well (1999).

By comparison, the cover of the 1984 Penguin paperback edition of *Margaret Mead and Samoa* shifts from the disembodied neutrality of the 1983 hardcover dust jacket by highlighting Mead and dismissing Pacific Islander women. The cover shows a cropped head-and-shoulder photograph of a young Margaret Mead set against a Polynesian barkcloth design. Mead's face is solemn and serious, while her eyes look unflinchingly at the viewer. An unattributed reproduction of the original, full-length photograph (Figure 6) used in the 1984 cover of Freeman's book appeared in a favorable review by Edmund Leach titled "The Shangri-La That Never Was" (Leach 1983). The photo was also prominently reproduced in George Marcus's less-favorable review (1983), titled "One Man's Mead," published in the *New York Times Book Review*.

The photograph in Figure 6 suggests that the "Shangri-La" dream world of Samoa has been transformed into a domesticated enclave of colonial control. Mead's feminine clothes—a long-sleeved dress, neck scarf, anklets and dainty, strapped shoes—are sharply juxtaposed with an ornately-tied barkcloth belt worn by Pacific Islanders of rank. The belt, symbolizing the elaborate complex of chiefly ceremonialism and status, appears to dwarf the petite female body that holds the barkcloth. This effect is accentuated as the front part of the belt cascades several inches below Mead's dress and nearly reaches her ankles.

At first glance, the photograph suggests a simplistic portrait of Mead as a woman and as an ethnographer. This image fits Freeman's representation of Mead as too young, too naïve, too small, and too fragile to engage in a man's heavy-duty work of studying the physically and culturally robust Samoans. Alternately, the picture can be interpreted as a woman asserting her authority to engage in a masculine enterprise by traveling to a remote island world, by conducting ethnographic fieldwork on her own, and by publishing her research. The barkcloth belt authenticates the wearer's presence in Polynesia and her legitimacy as an observer of Samoan social life.



FIGURE 6. Unattributed photograph of Margaret Mead wearing a barkcloth belt. (Reprinted by permission of *New York Times Pictures*)

Freeman's *Margaret Mead and the Heretic* (1996), a retitled paperback reprint of his 1983 book, continues the displacement of indigenous Pacific Islander women from paradise. This Viking Penguin reprint contains a new foreword and was published at the same time that *Heretic*, David Williamson's play about Mead and Freeman, was staged in Sydney, Australia (Freeman 1996:vi; see also Monaghan 1996 and Thomson 1996). The 1996 book title, like the play, portrays a contest between Mead and the heretical Freeman. The cover appears to highlight the connection between Mead and her "fantastic" tale of paradise in Samoa. Mead's face is superimposed on Freeman's personal photograph of the islands of Ofu and Olosega, as seen across the beach from the island of Ta'ū, the site of Mead's fieldwork. The photographic artifice of blending Mead's body into the geography of paradise constitutes a dangerous co-opting of anthropological narrative. Mead has now merged into the landscape, her ethnographic authority erased and her voice silenced.

The appropriation of Mead's body and voice continues on the back cover of *Margaret Mead and the Heretic*. The back cover text contains a quotation from Fa'apua'a Fa'amū, Mead's cherished friend and informant, who is derogated as a prankster and liar. The text on the back cover is highlighted against a shroud-like background of deep black—like a death notice—suggesting the demise of Mead and her Samoan research. Three years later, the dust jacket of Freeman's 1999 "fateful hoaxing" narrative depicts a beach scene similar to the 1996 retitled reprint. Once again, Pacific Islanders are notable for their absence in this cover image. Mead has also disappeared from the cover, suggesting an erasure of the ethnographer's presence and her fieldwork in Samoa. Only the physical landscape of paradise remains: palm trees on a sandy beach, the coral reef, and islands in the distance. The cover confirms the book's premise of an unoccupied and derelict paradise. Mead, like the girls and women of Samoa, has been rendered invisible.

Concluding Thoughts on Paradise and Mead's Subversive Narrative

The success of *Coming of Age* and Mead's subsequent efforts to popularize and promote her work secured her public status and, at the same time, made problematic her academic stature in the eyes of her male colleagues. Unlike many other women ethnographers of her day, Margaret Mead is an exception to the erasure of women's ethnographic writing from the canon of ethnographic literature (Behar 1995). Freeman, a self-described "heretic," has undertaken a self-imposed quest to remove Mead and her "spellbinding text" from the canon (Freeman 1991:118).

Freeman's narrative of sexual violence in Samoa, accompanied by its subtext of biological determinism, suggests the legitimacy of male sexual aggres-

sion and female oppression. In his story, women's sexual agency cannot exist in a "paradise" that acknowledges a social structure politically controlled by men. By contrast, Mead's story of "love under the palm trees" (Kuper 1983), with its subtext of female assertion and nascent feminism, legitimizes women's control over their bodies and their ability to subvert or challenge the structures of male power.

In the course of this article, I have considered Mead's and Freeman's texts as enterprises to construct alternate versions of paradise. Freeman's tales of sex and lies bespeak the menacing, alter-representation of Samoa. Images on book covers reinforce Freeman's appropriation of the pleasure of paradise for men by derogating Mead's authority to write about the lives and experiences of Samoan girls and women.

Islander women are dismissed in the course of Freeman's narrative of sex and deception. This dismissal is also reproduced on the covers of his books. Paradise, as a site of pleasure, is now derelict: There are no Polynesian lovers on moonlit beaches. In Freeman's construction of the other side of paradise, Samoan women are useful, like the "sleeping beauties" and "wood nymphs" of Western image-making, but only when they serve the interests of men.

Problematic issues about who "owns" indigenous women's bodies, and who is privileged to interpret them, inform constructions of paradise. While dust jacket images of *Coming of Age* market eroticized bodies, Mead's book has a different story to tell. Mead highlighted the social and sexual agency of Samoan girls and women rather than male-entitling images of compliant South Seas sirens. *Coming of Age*—whether graced with a generic Polynesian or Asian woman on its cover—both supported and subverted its book cover images of pleasure in paradise. Mead's text spoke to Samoa as a Polynesian Eden; and she also suggested that both Pacific Islander and Western women claim the right to think and talk about their own bodies, their erotic feelings, and their emotions.

The politics of sexual paradise in Samoa returns us to the issue of ethnographic authority. The deserted island beach on the Snapple "Samoan Splash" label fits the book-cover images of Freeman's narratives. These images deny the presence of Pacific Islander women. They are displaced, just as Freeman has attempted to reduce their ethnographer by imposing Mead's face on an empty, palm tree-studded beach of the island where she lived and worked. Mead's body, like the bodies of her Samoan informants, are history: They have been conflated with the unoccupied landscape of paradise. Such a geography of the South Seas has no place for either Polynesian women or the ethnographer who wrote about them and attempted to speak for them in her book. Yet, *Coming of Age in Samoa* will, I believe, survive Freeman's efforts to edit women out of their own lives. Mead's and Freeman's narratives,

however, cannot exist on their own in this dialectic of pleasure and danger; both have been cast upon the golden shores of a South Seas island in the Western imagination.

NOTES

I am indebted to Mary Wolfskill, Head, Reference and Reader Service Section of the Manuscript Division at the Library of Congress, for her generous assistance with my research on the Margaret Mead Papers. I also wish to thank the Manuscript Division's cheerful staff for helping me get through the long work days on the archives. Patricia Francis, Researcher and Consultant to the Margaret Mead Digital Imaging Project at the Library of Congress, provided significant help by locating and researching various topics both during and after my second visit in October 1998. I am grateful to the Institute for Intercultural Studies in New York for permission to quote from the Margaret Mead Papers at the Library of Congress. Funding provided by the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs at the University of Wisconsin–Whitewater made possible my research trips to the Library of Congress in 1998 and 1999. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers of this article for their comments, as well as those of Kathleen J. Adams and Walter W. Tiffany, which helped me improve a final draft.

Professor Derek Freeman died in 2001 as this article went to press.

1. "Quiet Village" and "Love Dance" were released in 1957 on a Liberty LP album titled *Exotica*, available on compact disk (Denny 1990). James Michener was a fan of Denny's music and contributed liner notes to Denny's 1958 album, *Hypnotique*, also available on compact disk (Smith 1996:3–4).

2. Historian Lois Banner is completing a biography of Margaret Mead, to be published in 2002.

3. The "Primitive Flapper" article, based on an interview Mead gave to the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, was published in 22 October 1925 [?] by the local newspaper in Doylestown, Pennsylvania, where both Margaret Mead and James Michener graduated from high school (LOC: MMP, Box I2; Hayes 1984:24–30; Howard 1984:33–36). The full name of the newspaper and the year of publication is missing from the copy of the article in the Mead Papers at the Library of Congress. I have assumed that the year was 1925, since the article suggests that Mead's interview in Honolulu was conducted shortly before her departure for Samoa.

4. Mead's interview with the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* noted that female "delinquency" was a "popular subject": "If I can determine whether qualities which sometimes work for her delinquency are common to all young girls of certain ages—even in the so-called primitive communities—and can learn the reasons for conditions as they are found, I shall have gone a long way in making clear the proper method of handling them in juvenile courts, schools, churches, Y.W.C.A.s and similar organizations" (LOC: MMP, Box I2: "Dr. Mead Explained South Sea Research in Honolulu Interview Recently Published There: The Primitive Flapper," *Doylestown Daily Intelligence*, 22 October [1925]).

5. This cover is reproduced in one of Freeman's articles (1991:113) and his recent book (1999: facing p. 149). Evidence that this particular cover was used for the first edition, and

continued to be used for some time, comes from two sources. First, the dust jacket was reproduced for an abridged and undated version of the Armed Forces Overseas Edition of *Coming of Age* (LOC: MMP, Box I316). Second, Mead refers to the first edition's cover in her 1967 letter to Ross Claiborne, editor at Dell, in which she criticized a proposed cover drawing for a reprint edition of *Coming of Age* (LOC: MMP, Box I2: Mead to Claiborne, letter dated 12 June 1967), discussed below.

6. Mead's role in selecting or approving the cover for the first edition of *Coming of Age* is unclear. Her published comments on the first edition are sparse: "It went to press, I read proof, and saw a small printer's dummy of the table of contents, chapter one, and the jacket. This done, I sailed for Hawaii, glad to be on my way to the field in the Admiralty Islands" (Mead 1965:125).

The printer's prepublication copy of the first edition with its dust jacket depicting lovers on the beach under a full moon is stored in the Mead Papers at the Library of Congress (LOC: MMP, Box I316). Besides its cover, this copy contains only the title and copyright pages, the table of contents, the first four pages of the introduction, and copies of twelve captioned photographs taken during her fieldwork.

There is scattered evidence in Mead's later correspondence with her editors and publishers that her approval of covers for reprint editions was important (LOC: MMP, Box I2). A book's cover can be a contentious issue between authors and publishers, as it was for Mead in one documented instance in which she vetoed the proposed cover of a Dell Laurel 1967 reprint edition (discussed below).

7. When I worked in Western and American Samoa in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, the formal dress of a *taupou* often consisted of a short velveteen skirt and modest top of velvet or cotton worked with sequins, rather than barkcloth and finely woven pandanus mats. Some ceremonial maidens did not bother to wear the elaborate hair headdress (*tuiga*) when they prepared *kava* or danced in public events. Occasionally, I have known women without *taupou* titles who were commissioned to prepare *kava* or dance at public events when a suitable ceremonial maiden was unavailable.

8. Robert and Frances Flaherty and their three small children arrived in Safune village on Savai'i in 1923. They lived there for nearly two years, and filmed most of what was to become *Moana of the South Seas* during the last four months of their stay. *Asia Magazine* editor Louis Froelick depicts the youthful Ta'avale, who plays Moana, the Samoan romantic lead, in fulsome terms: "He is eighteen, wonderful in his full-grown youth. His powerful shoulders and legs are as smooth and graceful as a girl's. He has the torso of a Greek" (Froelick 1925:320). The Mentor cover of the male dancer captures the essence of the handsome Moana, effusively described by Froelick in the article's subtitle as "One of Seven Immortals in a Radiant Land of Morning Light." Eight full-page photos of Samoans filmed in *Moana*, taken by Frances Hubbard Flaherty (1925), follow Froelick's article. For further discussion of the photography of the Flahertys and Margaret Mead, see Nordström (1995:31–35).

9. *South Pacific* opened on Broadway in April 1949 and closed in January 1954 after 1,925 performances (Green 1963:174). The 1958 film version of *South Pacific* was filmed in Hawai'i (see also Beidler 1993).

10. By early 1948, the hardcover edition had sold about 25,000 copies and Pocket Books planned to print 150,000 copies of a twenty-five-cent paperback edition (Hayes 1984:77).

Macmillan published an Armed Services edition in April 1947. The Pocket Books edition, first published in April 1947, omitted five stories, including “Our Heroine,” from the original hardcover edition published by Macmillan.

11. Rodman suggests that Bali-Ha'i is a “composite” of the forty-nine Pacific islands Michener visited during his wartime assignments (Rodman 1996:158 n. 1; see also Hayes 1984:61–62). The volcanic island of Ambae—like Bali-Ha'i—was a “‘forbidden island’ to U.S. Navy personnel during World War II, a prohibition that may have originated in Ambae’s designation as ‘Leper’s Island’ on Navy charts” (Rodman 1996:159 n. 1). On a clear day, the clouds that crown the volcano of Ambae are visible from the island of Espiritu Santo, where Michener wrote *Tales of the South Pacific* (William Rodman, pers. com., 1998).

The island of Vanicoro, “a large and brooding island, miasmic with malaria” and cannibalism, sheltered Bali-Ha'i. In Michener’s story “Fo’ Dolla,” the attraction of Bali-Ha'i was its large population of women, whom the French authorities had relocated to the island prior to occupation by American military forces (1947:147). “The French, with Gallic foresight and knowledge in these things, had housed on this haven of the seas all young women from the islands. Every girl, no matter how ugly or what her color, who might normally be raped by Americans was hidden on Bali-ha'i” (ibid.:148). Consider too that the song “Bali Ha'i” was pivotal in establishing the symbolic linkage of woman-as-island-in-paradise. According to music critic Stanley Green, the song “supplies a theme for the islands and reveals their hypnotic power. . . . The haunting sound of the first three notes is almost all that is needed to establish the spellbinding appeal of the South Seas paradise, and the words perfectly match its mystical quality” (1963:136). Rodgers was said to have composed the complete music for the song’s lyrics in five minutes while attending a dinner party (ibid.).

12. In “Fo’ Dolla,” Michener describes Bali-Ha'i as “green like something ever youthful, and it seemed to curve itself like a woman into the rough shadows formed by the volcanoes on the greater island of Vanicoro” (1947:147–148).

13. The Modern Library edition of *Coming of Age*, published in 1953 by Random House, also avoided the problem of representing female bodies by using the stylized drawing of a Polynesian-looking design on the dust jacket.

14. See Minton 1983 for further discussion of this book’s publication history.

15. Indeed, the back cover of the 1984 paperback edition of *Margaret Mead and Samoa* attempts to broaden the book’s appeal with an excerpt from a review published in *Fortune* magazine, noting that “Freeman’s *debunking* of Margaret Mead is of interest to us all” (emphasis added).

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LEGAL DISCRETION IN A TERRITORIAL JUSTICE SYSTEM: THE CASE OF THE TERRITORY OF GUAM

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A sociologist examines the place of customs and tradition in the definition of “legal discretion” in the Territory of Guam, a dependency of the United States, utilizing the concept of double-institutionalism as the basis for such definition in the resolution of the dialectic between custom and law. The contemporary resolutions between customary practices and constitutional law in Guam are described and evaluated using both written and interview material. The findings suggest the internal politics of a state is the synthesis of this dialectic between custom and law. The absence of constitutional bases in law in any political state necessarily deformalizes the synthesis of the primacy of law for settling disputes.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH into the relationship between custom and law has tended to split the two into separate conceptual entities, custom more the subject of anthropological examinations and law of legal and sociological studies. Either custom or law, of course, may still be doubly-institutionalized into social or political activity as legal administration (Bohannon 1965), by formalization of customary practices under law (Nonet and Selznick 1978) or by self-definition. Either way, somehow the law is differentiated from custom in some concrete and definable way: “Whereas custom continues to adhere in, and only in, these institutions which it governs (and which in turn govern it), law is specifically recreated, by agents of society, in a narrower and recognizable context—that is, in the context of the institutions that are legal in character and, to some degree at least, discrete from all the others” (Bohannon 1965:34)

However, a criticism of this very double-institutionalism of the law states

that “[n]o contemporary institution functions with the kind of autonomy that permits us to postulate a significant dialectic between law and custom” (Diamond, in Black and Mileski 1973:320). As will be illustrated below, the microstates of Micronesia may indeed provide that very dialectic between custom and law in the construction, practice, and application of their own traditions and laws to which both of these views, traditional and legal, might be evaluated.

Micronesia is home to five political entities: two republics, a federation of island states, a commonwealth, and an unincorporated territory under control of the United States. These microstates are home to micropolitics (De Smith 1970) and they share a similar imperialistic or colonial history (Kaplan and Pease 1993; Farrell 1991; Smith 1991; Ridgell 1988; Alkire 1977; Hass 1940) as well as legal history, at least for the most part (Tamanaha 1993; Kluge 1991; Ghai 1988; Sack 1982; Nufer 1978). They are likewise similar in the level of formalization expressed in their legal systems, laws, and judicial procedures for social control (Ntummy 1993; Nader 1978; Nonet and Selznick 1978; Black 1976; Schwartz and Miller 1964).

This research looks at the microstate and micropolitics of the Territory of Guam, a dependency of the United States, seeking to define the “dialectic between law and custom” that presumably does not exist by either custom or law alone.

The Relationship between Custom and Law

The relationship between custom and law is generally considered dichotomously. This conceptual split between custom and law is not absolute, for both can be seen on a continuum for defining moral and conventional behavior from the least to most formal and from more to less repressive. Constitutionalism, stipulating itself as a supreme formal construction of the law, suggests a possibility of also formalizing custom in a legal or formal way: “The uniformity of custom, of outlook, that he sees spread about him seems convincing enough, and conceals him from the fact that it is after all a historical accident. He accepts without more ado the equivalence of human nature and his own cultural standards” (Benedict 1934:6). This equivalence is equivocal, however. What is found in custom is not always translated into law. In the United States, for instance, the common law is based more in precedence over statute. Constitutionally, the *explicit* allowance for tradition and custom (or the common law), often relating to issues of property, creates the constitutional issue: “The customary and the legal orders are historically, not logically related. They touch coincidentally; one does not imply the other. Custom, as most anthropologists agree, is characteristic of primitive society.

. . . In the words of Jeremy Bentham, 'Property and law are born together and die together'" (Diamond, in Black and Mileski 1973:320–321, 322).

Consequently it is the relations of economics and politics as expressed in law, first in the constitution of a given state and then elsewhere in its legal codes, that are important to define. The character of a traditional or customary culture may in fact be explicitly formalized in its constitution and laws.

Such a contention is nothing new to sociologists, of course. As Weber proposed, "Law, convention, and custom belong to the same continuum with imperceptible transitions leading from one to another" (1978:319). Such imperceptible transitions may be socially definable, however. Durkheim took note of the transition from mechanical to organic law (or from repressive culture to enlightened law) in the social organization responsible for the enforcement of the law itself. He says that "the functioning of repressive justice tends to remain more or less diffuse. In very different social systems, it does not function through the means of a social magistracy, but the whole society participates in a rather large measure" (Durkheim 1933:76). This functional view of defining the law is mirrored as well by Sorokin, who notes that "moral phenomena can be divided into two main classes: *the moral or ethical* in the narrow sense of the term, and the *juridical (or legal)*" (1937:481; emphasis in original).

In making the transition from a study of the law to more of a study of who enforces the law (or how it can be enforced), such functionalism creates something of an "action" theory of the law and how it is used within a social context. For instance, both Roman and Anglo-Saxon law

require a specific, not generally widespread, specialist study for their realisation in daily use and further development, and this is not only in the sense of knowing the current norms in respect of their content, but beyond that also in respect of experience and capacity for judgment as to the operative potential of the concepts, the behavioral and argumentation possibilities in legal dispute and the practical chances of achieving certain legal effects, in short: a control of precisely the open, alternative producing, aspects of a normative structure which are not also stabilised in the validity of law [custom]. (Luhmann 1972:140)

The action theory that functionalism suggests essentially equates law enforcement with legal reasoning, at least at the level being discussed here. As Unger notes, "Legal reasoning . . . is purposive when the decision about how to apply a rule depends on a judgment of how most effectively to achieve the purposes ascribed to the rule" (1976:194). That decision must be culturally,

socially, economically, and politically supportable as well, which suggests that each constitution for each state has something of a unique history and, finally, interpretation:

The legal order emerged with modern European liberal society. The distinction between politics or administration, on one side, and adjudication, on the other, became the cornerstone of constitutionalism and a guiding principle of political thought. In the liberal state, there is a separate body of legal norms, a system of specialized legal institutions, a well-defined tradition of legal doctrine, and a legal profession with its own relatively unique outlook, interests, and ideals. It is important to understand that a legal order operates against a backdrop of customary and bureaucratic law and that differences among the types of law always remain fluid. (Unger 1976:54)

Thus, the same law may not be interpreted or enforced in quite the same way by different individuals, agencies, or states. “It is sometimes said that the question is not whether it is morally justifiable to enforce morality as such, but only *which* morality may be enforced,” suggests Hart (1963:20; emphasis in original). This diversity again raises the issue of the status of legal reasoning in the attempt to define and ultimately enforce the law itself: “The difference between legal principles and legal rules is a logical distinction. Both sets of standards point to particular decisions about legal obligation in particular circumstances, but they differ in the character of the direction they give. Rules are applicable in an all-or-nothing fashion” (Dworkin, in Dworkin 1977:45).

A constitution, being the first guiding and organizing principle of a state, is thus both a cause as well as a product of the legal behavior found in that state. A constitution is a dialectical document (doubly-institutionalized or not) that provides guidance by existence as well as by establishing precedence: “When is a constitution a statute? The important logical difference here is when a rule which exists in its own right (constituted by assumptions of its own bindingness) and a rule which exists because it is valid under a higher rule” (Detmold 1984:226). For the Territory of Guam, what I wish to focus on is the dialectic between culture and laws and how each might be expressed by the other. Three elements are considered crucial to this analysis: (1) social behavior, (2) the law, and (3) the legal discretion found in the territory. In the areas of social behavior, law, policing, and judicial discretion and reasoning, it is my intent to provide the foundations for understanding territorial legal behavior in Guam as culturally manifested and vice versa.

Descriptive Strategies

Certain descriptive strategies will govern my presentation of the evidence. Although not testable hypotheses, these descriptive guidelines are as follows:

1. What is the relationship between culture and law on Guam in reference to the definition of, reasoning behind (or precedence), and application of law? This hypothesis can be negated (as is dialectically required) as: What is the relationship between culture and law on Guam in reference to the definition of, reasoning behind, and application of traditional law? This suggests another way of addressing this relationship dialectically, which is:
2. Can law, formally constructed under the law itself and legal reasoning, support and organize politically traditional custom and practices? Again, this presumes its negation: Can politically manifested customs and traditions both support and organize a formally constructed body of law, again under the law itself and legal reasoning?

Each of these two dialectic and descriptive strategies frames the analysis of the evidence evaluated here. Earlier literature suggests these strategies: “No contemporary institution functions with the kind of autonomy that permits us to postulate a significant dialectic between law and custom” (Diamond, in Black and Mileski 1973:320). The microstate of Guam provides the evidence of this significant dialectic between law and custom in the construction, practice, and application of its own culture in traditionally supported laws and legal administration.

Data Collection and Methodology

The data collection and methodology used in this research focus on three separate elements: (1) establishing a behavioral component of social behavior on Guam, at least as regards the formal reporting of criminal activity that may require legal sanction; (2) the legal foundations for the government and legal administration of the territory, a detailed analysis of legal precedents found; and (3) evidence to suggest the use of police and legal discretion practiced in the territory, provided by informal interviews that “flesh out” the synthesis between social control behavior and legal administration.

Official Views of Social Behavior

It is the intent of this research to analyze reported crime and clearances, that is, crimes for which an arrest is made, by the Guam Police Department during the years 1970 to 1995. These reports and clearances will then be compared to the subsequent activity of the Superior Court of Guam, evaluating the link between crimes reported and prosecutions engaged in to provide a general measure of how prosecutors and the courts appear to support and legitimate these arrests. Finally, administrative attempts to control discretion will be assessed for the police, prosecutors, and courts using the three criteria noted previously.

The Uniform Crime Reports for Guam—compiled and published by Sablan and Shewman (1977), the Department of Public Safety (1980–1983), and the Guam Police Department (1984–1995)—provide a primary data source for the analysis central to this research. Comparisons with mainland jurisdictions using the Uniform Crime Reports published by the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1994–1996) were obtained from Lennon (1997). When comparisons are made, clearance rates are drawn from the FBI's Group II, composed of 136 cities with populations between 100,000 to 249,000 (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1995:199).

Prosecution numbers and rates are provided through the Superior Court of Guam (1979–1981, 1983–1985), whose activities are also documented elsewhere, at least as to level if not offense (Economic Research Center 1991–1994). The figures will be used to assess the link between arrests and prosecutions on Guam from 1989 to 1995.

Analysis of Law and Legal Foundations for the Territory

The second foundation for this research lies in the laws and legal codes of the Territory of Guam. This foundation is then supported by the few existing abstracts or manuals that attempt to explain their import (i.e., Ntuny 1993). The legal analysis is further supported by commentary provided in articles found in law reviews and other secondary sources. The Micronesian Area Research Center at the University of Guam was an invaluable asset in gathering much of this documentary material. Additional documentary collections important for this research were found at the Bureau of Planning, Ricardo J. Bordallo Governor's Complex, and at the Territorial Law Library, both in Hagatna.

What we hope to discover are similarities and differences between the sources for precedent in legal administration in Guam. Such an analysis may shed light on the formal and legal nature the government of Guam attempts

to support, with the additional benefit of illustrating social and institutional “traditions” in such precedent.

Interview Material

The third foundation for this research rests on 290 selected interviews conducted on an informal basis during the period 1994–1997. These interviews were selected from a total pool of over 900 interviews from 600 individuals covering more than 600 hours of material collected from 1993 to 2000.¹ About 16 percent of the interviews were recorded; in the remainder only field notes were made. Individuals interviewed were selected through a snowball technique where one interviewee would suggest another. Guam’s population is not large, so finding interviewees with direct experience or control concerning the questions raised in this research was not difficult. It is this narrative material around which the findings concerning the ideas of tradition and legal discretion have likewise been built, especially in reference to traditional (or customary) practices within Guam’s legal system.

For the sake of space, the interview material is not quoted here extensively. The interviews did, however, guide the selection of published materials cited and quoted. Much appreciation is due to these sources, who found missing books and publications as well as providing a sound basis upon which the selection was made. In many cases, initial disagreement between sources was resolvable by seeking out the appropriate written record.

The synthesis of custom and law is illustrated in each of the definitions of social behavior, law, and discretion in any political state, micro or otherwise. What does this synthesis, elaborated by the multiple-method approach suggested here, tell us about the synthesis between custom and law in the Territory of Guam?

Findings: Defining Island Crime

There is no reason to suspect that crime in the Territory of Guam fails either to fulfill a solidarity-producing function (Durkheim 1938) or to become routinized over time in reporting or clearance behaviors (Erikson 1966; Becker 1970; Brown 1988; Davis 1979; Farmer 1984). Likewise, crime definition in the territory is based on U.S. law (McCormick, in Ntunmy 1993:518–539), so Guam is likely to follow U.S. patterns for reporting and legally responding to crime generally in the official record (see Figure 1).

The official response by the police to reported crime in the territory is also likely to be the result of both law and discretion (Barker and Carter 1986; Walker 1993; Williams 1984; Wilson 1978). Response will also be influenced

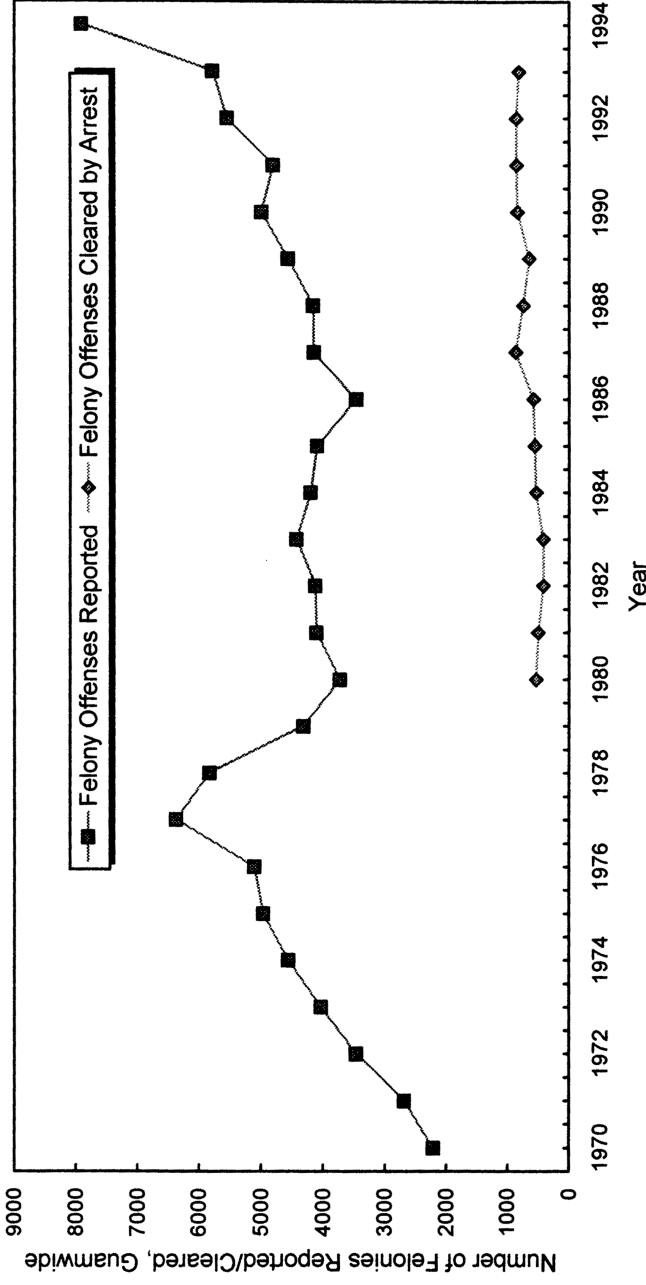


FIGURE 1. Felony offenses on Guam reported and cleared by arrest, 1970–1993. (Compiled by author from information in Department of Public Safety 1980–1983 and Guam Police Department 1984–1988, 1994–1995)

by factors such as the number of uniformed police personnel, police training, matériel and staff support, and visibility issues as well (Wilson 1978).

The “nuts and bolts” of crime definition and reporting needs to be further described and explained to establish that the territorial response to crime is comparable to that of other U.S. jurisdictions. If crime in a U.S. territory is defined differently than in other U.S. jurisdictions, it is unlikely that any comparisons should be attempted in the first place.

The Guam Police Department follows standard operating procedures for counting reported crimes (Guam Police Department 1993–1995). Promulgated by the FBI under the Uniform Crime Reporting Program (UCR) (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1994–1996), these standard reporting procedures permit comparison among differing state and territorial jurisdictions and are crime- versus person-based. In other words, a “crime” is being counted and not criminals; one person may indeed be responsible for a number of reported crimes.

The Territory of Guam, along with the Territory of the U.S. Virgin Islands, remains (and has always been) classified by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the category “Rural Counties, 25,000 and Over in Population” (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1996:180). Reviewing the social, geographic, and economic elements of these two U.S. possessions, this classification would seem appropriate. Aside from the fact of isolation, however, it is altogether possible that these two territories may be misidentified as rural in character. Both have large urban concentrations, significant tourist or visitor populations, and all of the criminal behavior these two factors suggest. Both territories are also home to purportedly large drug-transshipment operations.

While rural counties tend to be more self-sufficient (or isolated) than their suburban counterparts and may have similar criminal reporting behavior borne of such isolation and self-sufficiency (Erickson and Empey 1963; Gove, Hughes, and Geerken 1985; Osgood et al. 1989), isolation alone cannot be proposed as the sole factor for the classification of these two U.S. dependencies. These two territories may exhibit criminal-reporting behaviors more similar to those of small but isolated urban areas; indications from this review are that this is possible if not equally likely.

In the Uniform Crime Report for 1990, the Guam Police Department (1990) performed a comparison of crimes reported on Guam to those reported in certain mainland cities, primarily suburban or, indeed, urban in definition. These cities included Reno, Nevada; Ontario, California; Pomona, California; New Haven, Connecticut; Scottsdale, Arizona; Lansing, Michigan; Paterson, New Jersey; Fort Lauderdale, Florida; Irving, Texas; and Honolulu, Hawai'i. The reported crime of these cities and Guam appears comparable. But was the comparison itself worthwhile?

As noted in the previous section on data collection, I selected twenty-seven cities to serve as comparisons for criminal-reporting behavior in the territories of Guam and the U.S. Virgin Islands. In Table 1, these crime statistics are illustrated as summarized and rank-ordered relationships across several crime categories. Both Guam and the U.S. Virgin Islands compare more closely with these jurisdictions than with those with which they are usually compared.

This is not to say that police authorities in the territories understand their own crime-reporting patterns, however. It is interesting to note that of the twenty-seven cities selected for comparison in Table 1, not one is repeated from the 1990 Guam Police Department comparison (or the FBI's). Such misidentification is more likely to occur in jurisdictions where interaction with other police authorities is minimal and sporadic in character. It is suggested here, although the data are lacking for any true support, that police authorities in the U.S. Virgin Islands are equally likely to misidentify their own crime-reporting pattern.

The findings here suggest that crime-reporting behavior in the territories of Guam and the U.S. Virgin Islands is far more similar to that of relatively isolated (if small) cities than with rural, suburban, or urban areas. It is altogether possible, when we also consider Maui, Hawai'i, that these jurisdictions present a "special case" that needs further consideration in FBI computations and comparisons.

Island crime reporting, especially on small islands with varied populations, economics, and politics, is thus a special experience not well-suited for classification as urban, suburban, or rural. Of course, any such island jurisdiction must reach a certain minimum population (perhaps 100,000) for crime-reporting statistics to be meaningful, but nevertheless above this population density these statistics do become meaningful. Likewise, relative isolation is a factor. Staten Island in New York is an island of over 100,000 population but it is intimately connected to a large population nearby by bridges, proximity, and perhaps personal as well as spatial ties.

Though Guam and the U.S. Virgin Islands are territories and the jurisdiction of Maui County, Hawai'i, is not, each is relatively small in area, has substantial populations of both local and visitor inhabitants, and has politics and an economy that are ultimately tourist-based. These three island-based police, judicial, population, and spatial jurisdictions provide "special cases" of crime reporting not found elsewhere on the American crime-reporting scene and should be separately identified in any crime-reporting scheme.

Island crime is a "different" thing. It is first of all local and second, isolated from everyone else at both the offender and police levels. All comparisons start and end pretty much "locally," that is, in the local jurisdiction in

TABLE 1. Rank Order Comparison by General Crime Categories, 1995

Rank Order	Population	Violent Crime	Property Crime	Per 1000 Violent Crime	Per 1000 Non-Violent Crime
1	Tallahassee, FL	U.S. Virgin Islands	Tallahassee, FL	U.S. Virgin Islands	Myrtle Beach, SC
2	Myrtle Beach, SC	Tallahassee, FL	Myrtle Beach, SC	Lima, OH	Tallahassee, FL
3	Huntsville, AL	Lima, OH	Huntsville, AL	Myrtle Beach, SC	Monroe, LA
4	Springfield, MO	Myrtle Beach, SC	Springfield, MO	Tallahassee, FL	Savannah, GA
5	Savannah, GA	Stoux Falls, SD	Savannah, GA	Monroe, LA	Athens, GA
6	Syracuse, NY	Syracuse, NY	Syracuse, NY	Savannah, GA	Tyler, TX
7	Monroe, LA	Savannah, GA	Tyler, TX	Laredo, TX	Laredo, TX
8	Tyler, TX	Monroe, LA	Monroe, LA	Athens, GA	Panama City, FL
9	Laredo, TX	Huntsville, AL	Laredo, TX	Tyler, TX	Burlington, VT
10	Stoux Falls, SD	Laredo, TX	Laredo, TX	Panama City, FL	Bellingham, WA
11	Athens, GA	Tyler, TX	Boise, ID	Redding, CA	Territory of Guam
12	Panama City, FL	Redding, CA	Panama City, FL	Huntsville, AL	U.S. Virgin Islands
13	Boise, ID	Athens, GA	Bellingham, WA	Jackson, MI	Redding, CA
14	Redding, CA	Panama City, FL	Burlington, VT	Stoux Falls, SD	Boise, ID
15	Bellingham, WA	Springfield, MO	Territory of Guam	Boise, ID	Huntsville, AL
16	U.S. Virgin Islands	Jackson, MI	Stoux Falls, SD	Joplin, MO	Springfield, MO
17	Territory of Guam	Boise, ID	Redding, CA	Bellingham, WA	Joplin, MO
18	Burlington, VT	Joplin, MO	U.S. Virgin Islands	Territory of Guam	Stoux Falls, SD
19	Lima, OH	Bellingham, WA	Lima, OH	Springfield, MO	Jacksonville, NC
20	Jackson, MI	Territory of Guam	Fargo-Moorhead, ND	Syracuse, NY	Lima, OH
21	Joplin, MO	Jacksonville, NC	Jacksonville, NC	Jamestown, NY	Jackson, MI
22	Jacksonville, NC	Jamestown, NY	Joplin, MO	Jacksonville, NC	Fargo-Moorhead, ND
23	Fargo-Moorhead, ND	St. Cloud, MN	Jackson, MI	St. Cloud, MN	Jamestown, NY
24	St. Cloud, MN	Burlington, VT	St. Cloud, MN	Burlington, VT	Eau Claire, WI
25	Jamestown, NY	Eau Claire, WI	Jamestown, NY	Eau Claire, WI	Syracuse, NY
26	Eau Claire, WI	Fargo-Moorhead, ND	Eau Claire, WI	Fargo-Moorhead, ND	St. Cloud, MN
27	Wausau, WI	Wausau, WI	Wausau, WI	Wausau, WI	Wausau, WI

Source: Lennson 1997, compiled by the author from information in Federal Bureau of Investigation 1994, 1995, 1996.

which the crime occurs. It is identified locally, cleared locally, adjudicated locally, and the convicted imprisoned locally. No other U.S. jurisdictions are so localized in character. The problem is that the issues suggested in crime reporting for an island “locally” (in Guam, the U.S. Virgin Islands, or Maui) are not compared with other such “locally’s” (these three are, in fact, unique to U.S. experience). As a result, comparing island criminal-behavior reports with other, “normal” U.S. reporting areas denies the uniqueness of island living and may obscure criminal-reporting relationships in both local and comparative contexts. Such comparisons do not reflect the local and isolated character of island criminal behavior.

Island crime (at least when the total population, both inhabitant and tourist, is under 250,000) must be considered a special case outside rural, suburban, or urban classifications. It must be addressed differently than it is today. It is not solely rural, suburban, or urban in character, but of the three it “patterns” more as isolated urban areas do. Island crime is more urban than rural in its reporting characteristics or pattern. The “state” jurisdiction of Maui, Hawai‘i, is misidentified even as the territorial experience is also misidentified thereby.

Each of these three jurisdictions would be better placed as urban areas for both reporting and comparison purposes. Rather than have the isolation of island societies be the sole defining factor, the population density and economic realities of these island communities require urban comparison. Isolated urban areas act urban in their crime-reporting characteristics. They do not act rural. These three jurisdictions should be reclassified to permit more appropriate definition and comparison of island crime. Consequently, the comparison suggested here in Table 1 is more appropriate than that that the FBI, territorial police departments, or others have suggested. Island crime is something unique to the American criminal-reporting experience, but it is not foreign.

Findings: Law and Legal Organization in the Territory of Guam

When describing or defining legal behavior in most U.S. jurisdictions, some issues are immediately presumed—for instance, applicability of the U.S. Constitution, trial by jury, grand jury indictments. But such matters cannot be presumed for the Territory of Guam. Each of these elements, along with search and seizure or evidentiary requirements in court, and even the general applicability of federal law (DeBenedittis 1993), has had to be politically and legally determined in the territory: “Section 22 of the Organic Act initiated the creation of a civil legal system on Guam [in 1950]. . . . The Organic Act omitted mention of trials by jury and rights to grand jury indictment,

which did not exist under the navy. It took a few years to establish jury trials and grand jury indictments in both federal and local courts on Guam⁷ (Rogers 1995:228–229). Presumptions of immediate integration of territorial law with other U.S. legal systems should thus be avoided with either the federal or state systems. While present in many facets, one cannot presume the existence of some of the most basic legal precedents or protections, or further to presume their applicability, in the territory. The Organic Act of 1950 is a complicated and incomplete document, but it must be seen as the ultimate legal precedent for any legal behavior found on-island (see Table 2). The U.S. Constitution is only advisory; it does not provide the foundation for legal activity or serve as an immediate precedent to the application of law. Any such constitutional advisement tends to be created, constructed and politically hard-won.

As already suggested, the U.S. Constitution does not entirely apply to U.S. territories (Office of the Solicitor, U.S. Department of Interior 1993; McCormick, in Ntummy 1993:518–539). Federal protections along with U.S. citizenship for the 150,000 people on Guam is granted only through sections contained within the Organic Act of 1950 (United States Congress 1950). Both the history of the island and Guam's laws in and of themselves have created a distinctive legal structure fairly unique in American jurisprudence. Local construction of precedence differs from that established from the federal government, for instance. The assumption of the applicability of federal law and precedent that other states share is not an assumption that should be made in a territory (Liebowitz 1975, 1979, 1986, 1989).

The law in the Territory of Guam has numerous military holdovers from its prewar and postwar naval administrations (Edwards 1957). Its prewar and postwar law is also based upon California precedent (Robinson 1933a, 1933b; Government of Guam 1947a-e) with, however, a strong military law element remaining evident. Even after passage of the Organic Act in 1950, Guam law is an amalgam of federal, military, state (primarily California), and local legislation (Bohn 1951–1952, 1953a, 1953b). Further expansion and definition of the law has occurred sporadically, first in 1970 (Bohn 1970a, 1970b, 1970d) and again during the commonwealth debates held in the territory during the late 1980s.

Each of these changes in law required modifications to regulation and, ultimately, policy. Such modifications are evident in the revisions to regulatory statutes made in the early 1950s (Bohn 1952), 1960s (Bohn 1960; Government of Guam 1960), 1970s (Bohn 1970c), 1980s (Aguon 1983; Bohn 1981–1982; University of Guam 1984–1996), and on to the 1990s (Office of the Attorney General 1991). An important facet of this regulatory support for the law to keep in mind, especially when I attempt to define discretion in

TABLE 2. Ranking of Precedence for Sources of Law for Micronesian States

		Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas			Guam	
Rank	Republic of the Marshall Islands	Republic of Palau	Federated States of Micronesia	U.S. View	Guam Code Annotated	
1st	RMI Constitution	RP Constitution	FSM Constitution	Organic Act of 1950	Organic Act of 1950	
2d	Legislation	Republic of Palau National Code	State Constitutions	Treaty of Paris (1898)	Treaty of Paris (1898)	
3d	Treaties and compacts	Initiative	National legislation	U.S. Constitution	U.S. Constitution	U.S. Constitution
4th	Custom	Custom	State and local legislation	U.S. laws	Guam laws	Guam laws
5th	Common law (restatements)	Common law (restatements)	Treaties	Guam laws	Executive Orders of governor	
6th			Customary law	Custom (unrecognized)	U.S. Supreme Court decisions applicable to Guam	
7th			Trust Territory law	Common law (no common law)	Guam Supreme Court, decisions of other courts	
8th			Common law (restatements)	Common law (restatements)	Superior Court (Guam) decisions	

Source: Compiled from Zorn, McCormick, and Ottley, in Ntumy 1993.

the territorial justice system, below, is that these modifications usually did not rescind previous statutes. Previous regulations remained in force and the modifications were merely added to existing law and statute.

The debates that examined the territorial relationship with the federal government throughout the 1980s likewise focused on the character, or source, of the rule of law applied in the territory. At this time the applicability of federal law was publicly debated, but now in opposition to self-governance issues (Alvarez-Cristobal 1990; Zafren 1986; Guam Law Revision Commission 1979; Eichner 1978; Rogers 1988, 1995). The conclusion of these political debates remains unclear even today. Although political status issues were voted on at least twice in popular and special elections, in 1982 and 1987, none of the options gathered the required majority to permit the continuance of negotiations with the federal government (Guam Commission on Self-Determination 1989). As a political fact, however, after these elections a commonwealth relationship is the only one being pursued by territorial political leaders.

This confusion regarding territorial law and political status is no less evident on the federal side of the coin. The Territory of Guam has never been an important federal concern, legally or otherwise, and hearings before the U.S. Congress have illustrated more a common ignorance than anything else (House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs 1975; Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs 1976; Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources 1978; Venture Development Management Resources 1980). The ignorance of federal officials, either executive or legislative, regarding the local situation of Guam is nearly total, which makes any application of federal jurisdiction under law or by the judiciary difficult.

Where the applicability of law and political self-governance issues agree, there is no problem. Where they do not agree, local concerns are usually determined to be more important to uphold. The problem illustrated here is that federal and local concerns are not so easily identifiable as separate entities. Local law is based on federal and state constructions just as federal law is enforced primarily through local political actors and institutions. Each federal or territorial law is somehow supported by the other at the structural or procedural level. The problem is that neither holds precedence.

A look at the establishment of the Guam Supreme Court illustrates this interdependence of policy, law, and political institutions. In 1996, the legislature and governor created the Supreme Court of Guam under local law. Almost immediately, justices of the new Supreme Court and existing Superior Court judges started fighting over administrative and judicial primacy and precedence. The newness of the Supreme Court of Guam is not its only weakness. It will hear appeals based not on constitutional law but on that of

the Organic Act of 1950, and the Organic Act changes far more often than the constitution owing to administrative and judicial law decisions. The Supreme Court is unlikely to have a lasting impact on the justice behavior already found on-island. Supreme courts do best when there is a “supreme” law (Becker 1970), but their impact is indeterminate when there isn’t. Openness in such a new situation is impossible to define.

Other forms of precedence are administrative, in Circuit Court decisions made applicable to the territory. The federal Department of the Interior’s decisions often have more of an impact than the Circuit Court’s. On average only one case from Guam is decided by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals every three years. This does not presuppose importance, but a nonlocal case is unlikely to have the same impact as a local one.

So appellate applicability of any Circuit Court case to local concerns is not as simple there as in a state jurisdiction. The U.S. view of Guam precedent is ranked or stratified differently than the view illustrated under territorial law (see McCormick, in Ntummy 1993; and Table 2). Many appellate findings are expressly inapplicable to the Territory of Guam, but no one knows which ones until the local courts decide. In essence, “Appeals are always heard twice, both on the way up and back on the way down” (interview, 97/1/5, A49). In stateside jurisdictions, appeals generally only need the way up.

Added to this uncertainty, the new Supreme Court must contend with an active territorial legislature that changes local law more often than other jurisdictions do (Victor 1969). Such changes are continual and often substantive. In many ways, these legislative changes to local law have served as the appellate system from 1950 to 1996, a role the legislature is unlikely to relinquish. Judicial appeals will play out on a political field where there are far more experienced players at work. Changes in a law under appeal will often be made before the appeal is completed, making the whole appellate process somewhat questionable in effect.

Such a lack of applicable findings, newness of the territorial appellate court, and uncertain openness of any procedures found there do not suggest a legitimating function for the court, at least not for some years. Until such time that there is a “supreme law” for the territory, it is not altogether certain what the role of a supreme court will be. Since constitutional issues are not immediately applicable, checks and balances between the executive and judicial branches are not immediately assumed nor even necessary. The Organic Act of 1950 does not presuppose interaction between branches.

Although the constitutional bases for behavior differ, the organizational structures of both law enforcement and the courts of the territory follow, with some local quirks, those of most other U.S. jurisdictions. There is a

Guam Police Department and a Superior Court of Guam, which serves as the initial venue for all judicial actions, civil and criminal (Superior Court of Guam 1985; Sanchez 1991). While the territorial Supreme Court is a new addition to this simple organization (with the organizational politics of precedence and administrative power now being debated), this addition simply completes the enforcement-to-court picture. In this picture, however, we must realize that changes in both personnel and structure are continually underway. Some organizational and political participants were important once but are no longer important, yet may be important again tomorrow as territorial politics requires.

To define discretion in a legal system as appropriate or inappropriate requires a standard set of rules. Appropriateness is determined, finally, by the legitimacy of the system's supports. If, as in the Territory of Guam, the law practiced is undefined, and thus perhaps uncontrollable, the foundations for legitimacy of the whole territorial justice system must be considered suspect.

Findings: Territorial Discretion

The definition of discretion at any level—police, prosecutorial, judicial, and certainly when considered interdependently—provides an important measure of the legitimacy of the whole justice system. For the purposes of this research discretion will be defined for each of the institutional players of the territorial justice system and then comprehensively for the system as a whole. It is important to note here that I am constructing a procedural model of discretion over these institutional actors. My attention is focused on the transfer points between justice professionals within the executive and judicial branches, from initial report to arrest to possible prosecution and finally to possible conviction. Sablan and Shewman (1977) suggest that the transfer from police to prosecution to courts failed far later in the process on Guam than elsewhere, at the prosecution level rather than before it. In short, prosecutions occurred on Guam that normally would have been dealt with informally at the police level in other jurisdictions (Wilson 1978). This model was developed to “tease” out this relationship.

For my purposes, discretion needs to be defined at the transfer points between public-police, police-prosecutor, and prosecutor-judge. Elements of structural discretion at the police-police, prosecutor-prosecutor, and judge-judge steps are assumed present and active but not concentrated on here, except as these actors define and explain the behavior of their professional and structural allies. Instead I will focus on how these structural and institutional actors exercise their discretion in the transfer of the accused from one

institutional actor to another. It is within this transfer that the legitimating aspects of these justice professionals may be evaluated.

No one denies the importance of defining police discretion at the street level, especially in the decision to arrest (Barker and Carter 1986; Walker 1993; Williams 1984; Wilson 1978). The personal nature of justice between police officer and alleged perpetrator is assumed. What is more important for my purposes is how such personal application of power, at least through statute and regulation, is presumably controlled: "The fact that so many arrests are made, and that they are made as much as possible on the basis of a fixed, not variable standard of behavior, is primarily the result of departmental policies. It is the administrators who devise these policies, manipulate the rewards and sanctions that get them carried out, and reflect on their justification. The patrolmen are primarily 'doing their job'" (Wilson 1978: 179). The issue for defining the control of police discretion in Guam, then, becomes the existence of a "fixed" police code of conduct supported by an administrative structure empowered to uphold and enforce it.

Defining the next stage of purely executive discretion, at the prosecutorial level, two kinds of discretion factor into the decision-making process: charging and procedural. In other U.S. jurisdictions, charging discretion has been found most important for determining modifications to prosecutorial charges and subsequent judicial activity in the courts: "Consequently, according to David Neubauer, the most frequent form of concession granted involves the charging decision" (Dow 1981:129). But procedural discretion is no less important, if harder to discern as a measurable issue.

Prosecutors often aid police by giving advice concerning preparation and issuance of arrest and search warrants. After the arrest, the prosecutor has the burden of establishing at the preliminary hearing or grand jury investigation that the accused is likely to have committed the crime charged. Prior to the trial, detailed preparation of the evidence, making the decision as to what crime(s) to levy against the accused, and consultation with police, witnesses, and defense counsel are indispensable. . . . Finally, although judges have the constitutional or statutory authority to establish the amount of bail, in many jurisdictions the "recommendation" of the prosecutor is usually followed. (Dow 1981:85)

There is a method by which such procedural discretion may be measured, however, and that is in the number of "dismissals" found in any particular system. Such dismissals can be defined as the prosecutorial attempt to modify police behavior (especially with the procedural discretion mentioned previ-

ously): “A variety of procedures exists whereby prosecutors can control police behavior. Prosecutors may simply refuse to litigate particular cases. Dismissing cases sends a signal to the police that questionable arrest tactics and evidence gathering will not be tolerated” (Dow 1981:129). This is no less true of the judiciary. Judges as well as prosecutors can dismiss cases over real or imagined procedural irregularities by police or prosecutors before or after their filing in court. Again, my emphasis remains on the appropriate application of such discretionary judicial power. The rules for such applications should be clear and explicit: “It is clear enough . . . that judges from all three cultures [Hawai‘i, Hong Kong, and the Philippines] *expect* that the existence of clear, directly relevant precedent *should at least be stated to be an important, influential factor in judicial decision-making*” (Becker 1970:48; emphasis in original). If such precedent is not present, the appropriateness of any decision to dismiss a case is unclear.

In this brief discussion of the literature, discretion is dealt with first by a supervisory attempt at control, for “possibly the most important check of discretionary action is simply the normal supervision of subordinates by superiors” (Davis 1979:143). This supervision must be further supported by regulatory and bureaucratic delineation of responsibility, of course. The rules for supervision must be clear and explicit for the police officer and police administration, prosecutor and prosecutorial administration, judges and administrative structure of the court concerned. Supervision without explicit rules is apparently no supervision at all.

Because supervision is so clearly desirable, somewhat surprising is the complete absence of supervisory power over some of the most vital discretionary power in our legal system, such as the power to prosecute or not to prosecute. The American system . . . usually leaves the city and county prosecutors largely unsupervised, with the result that the enormous power to prosecute or not to prosecute is typically (1) unchecked by higher authorities, (2) secretly exercised, (3) often influenced by political or other considerations extraneous to justice, and (4) without findings, without reasoned opinions, and without a system of open precedents. (Davis 1979:144)

In defining these checks to discretionary behavior (or lack of) on the part of the police, Attorney General’s Office, and the Superior Court of Guam, I will identify the factors important in determining (1) unsupervised discretion, (2) secrecy in behavior, and (3) political influence in decision-making. The importance of this operational foundation permits the definition of the relative legitimacy or illegitimacy of the territorial justice system. The pres-

ence of a strong supervisory administration, open and public discussions of discretion at any justice level, and lack of political manipulation of the legal system are each and all measures of the relative legitimacy of any given justice system. The relative formality of any of these factors is seen as promoting judicial legitimacy. These elements will be used to frame the evidence for interpreting the official record. Exactly what does the model for procedural discretion for Guam suggest?

Unsupervised Discretion

The lack of clear and established precedent makes the definition of legal behavior in the territory a difficult task (see Table 2). Statutes are rarely rescinded even when superseded by new law. Precedent under local law is a different constructive process than that assumed under federal law, making the application of either a political event. Consequently, while the rule of law is supposedly removed from political debate after legislation is passed, the opposite effect is found under territorial institutions, where it is in the application of law that political debate begins.

Comparing routine police behavior found on the mainland United States with that in a territorial jurisdiction that does not support such routines may be misleading at best. If the numbers of reports, prosecutions, and convictions do not mean the same thing their comparison is troublesome. Data for the Territory of Guam appear, at least initially, to be comparable with those of mainland jurisdictions through the clearance level. At the prosecutorial, dismissal, and conviction levels, all comparisons should cease. The territorial routine is not the mainland one after an arrest is made, primarily differing because of three factors: regulatory nonexistence as governmental entities, an internal bureaucratic structure that can be legally avoided, and a lack of concrete standards to define discretion.

As a regulatory, bureaucratic, and legal entity, the Guam Police Department is intimately concerned in local politics. There is no separate professional code of ethics, extended training outside the department, or mandated bureaucratic isolation from political leaders. But then again, neither the Attorney General's Office nor the Superior Court of Guam exists outside of these political parameters either. They are executive and judicial creatures of the Organic Act of 1950 without the firm constitutional foundation provided to other U.S. jurisdictions (United States Congress 1950; McCormick, in Ntummy 1993:518–539; Rogers 1988, 1995). Checks and balances between the executive (police and prosecutors) and the judiciary (judges) are therefore incomplete, nonsupervisory in character, and often nonexistent. Such nonsupervision between the branches of government promotes cor-

ruption (Barker and Roebuck 1973; Barker and Thomas 1986; Guthertz and Singh 1986).

Each of these governmental agencies is governed by an internal set of regulations, often quite elaborate and lengthy. Not one of these manuals, however, even suggests oversight by other than immediate supervisors. Internal affairs units (for the police) or ethics boards (for prosecutors and judges) are easily and legally evaded in the Territory of Guam, if they exist at all. Such localized supervision and control is thus left to the personalities of the persons involved rather than supported by (institutionalized and de-personalized) bureaucratic offices. In short, what is political is legal and legal is political, a situation to which I will return presently.

Consequently, discretion is for the most part undefined and undefinable in the Territory of Guam under current operating procedures. If discretion cannot be defined apart from nondiscretionary behavior, the situation suggests a lack of the standards through which the administration of any justice entity could conceivably control its members (Henderson 1994). Without such standards there can be no control, and the exercise of discretion may exceed any limits generally understood as appropriate.

Secrecy in Behavior

A quick perusal of the Uniform Crime Reports published by the Guam Police Department provides an interesting evolutionary pattern. From the fairly complete and critical analyses of the 1970s (Sablan and Shewman 1977), to the less critical but still relatively complete versions published between 1980 and 1987 (ethnic, village, sex, and age categories in the reports are relatively complete and presented in detail), we end up with the sanitized versions of the post-1987 era. Ethnic and village distinctions are missing entirely (“The mayors didn’t like it”; interview, 95/11/16, P4). Age and sex characteristics are presented only as summed across other categories, and other material on victims and offenders is abstracted or missing entirely.²

Additionally, in 1995 a police chief announced that police officers may not talk to the press except through official channels. Likewise, other officials informed their employees not to talk to the press, including the territory’s attorney general, the chief justice of the Superior Court, the president of the local university, the chief administrator of the local hospital, and other agency heads. The personnel of all these agencies have been informed that “unapproved” releases of information are grounds for immediate dismissal. While not entirely successful in stopping the flow of information, the gag orders have added a sense of conspiracy to conversation on Guam.

Prosecutions are difficult to determine in number, type, or seriousness. The Attorney General's Office and the Superior Court of Guam do not keep careful records; in fact, the *Annual Report of the Superior Court* ceased publication in 1985. Although not written to make data collection or analysis simple (many of the categories are cross-listed, added and illustrated), the reports can still be mined for information as has been done here for 1984. After 1985, only the number of filings has been released. The number of dispositions, dismissals, or convictions is absent and apparently unattainable or no longer collected.

Conspiracy theorists might intimate from this state of affairs a deliberate attempt to misinform the public regarding justice activities. But these changes have occurred regardless of the numerous political changes in party and administration, heads of agency, and supervisory control evident for the territory over this period. A better, and more supportable, contention is that the silence is structural in character rather than deliberately motivated. If one of these institutional actors is embarrassed or releases information, all would suffer public scrutiny. This is not to say that these little "releases" are unknown, only that they appear few and far between.

For instance, in 1977 the Territorial Crime Commission noted the following relationship between felony arrests and subsequent prosecution in the local courts.

Another important factor in judging the performance of the Attorney General's Office would be the percent dismissals. For all defendants disposed of in the U.S. District Courts in FY 1974, except in the case where civil rights were removed in the state court, approximately 14% of the defendants were dismissed. On Guam, limiting it to only Part I [felony] offenses, 75% of the defendants were dismissed. Forty percent of the defendants whose prosecution was begun were dismissed. Again, even adjusting for the difference in years and the difference in type of court, it would still seem likely that such large differences could be accounted for. (Sablan and Shewman 1977:114)

In 1996, these problems of nonprosecution were again important, and an embarrassment, for the courts. Of 189 arrests made in March of 1991, only 61 cases reached the court at all, and of those, only 10 defendants were convicted and received any prison time whatsoever (Sterne 1996c:1). As Sterne notes: "Thirty-four people . . . were arrested in connection with burglary and theft. Of those, five people went to court, and two people served a total of 19 days in prison" (Sterne 1996c:1). Evidence from the interviews recorded

for this research support this pattern as well. “What, you think because they’re arrested that means anything?” noted one commentator (interview, 95/6/6, P77).

It is clear that a breakdown of communication between the Guam Police Department, the Attorney General’s Office, and the Superior Court of Guam is chronic and fairly complete (Superior Court of Guam 1985, 1984). Arrests in the territory do not presume, and in fact do not even suggest, subsequent prosecution. The silence and secrecy surrounding this judicial collapse only further fuel the discontent local inhabitants feel toward their justice system. As one noted, “If they’re doing such a good job, why doesn’t anybody know about it? I don’t even know, and I should if we were doing so good” (interview, 96/11/21, P107). Secrets on a small island are hard to keep.

Political Influence in Decision Making

Two committees oversee and attempt to influence legal behavior on Guam. A committee of legislative, executive, and judicial members called the Judicial Council generally oversees all justice activity in the territory, from the police to the appellate court. Another committee, the Civil Service Commission, covers directly or indirectly all personnel concerned with “justice work” (which has led to some fascinating reinstatements).

The chief of police is a governor-appointed position (with legislative approval required, however), and this individual then chooses his or her senior staff. Political influence and interference is immediate, constant, and chronic in the organization as well as the behavior of the police (Guthertz and Singh 1986), leading to repeated serious charges of police corruption (Sterne 1996a). The three hundred officers and staff of the Guam Police Department (the average for the study period) are neither afforded the organizational distance necessary to foster professionalism nor granted the training necessary to legitimize their use of discretion of power in arrest. The police officer of the Guam Police Department, by default, is required to apply personal elements of power without organizational support or its control (Barker and Carter 1986; Barker and Roebuck 1973; Brown 1988; Farmer 1984; Walker 1993; Williams 1984).

The territory’s attorney general is another position appointed by the governor with approval of the legislature. The office is subject to the same elements of political interference found in the Police Department. Attorneys in the Attorney General’s Office are generally retained only for a year even if initially signed to a three-year contract. Since 1981 the office has retained more than seventy-five attorneys, with the shortest duration being six hours (the attorney got off a plane, then back on) and the longest unbroken stretch

being twenty-three months. Attorneys do not specialize within the office and they are shifted around repeatedly between criminal and civil cases as workloads dictate (Cepeda 1993; Tamanaha 1993).

These attorneys general, in negotiation with the Police Department, determine which charges are filed, at what level of offense (felony or misdemeanor), and the tactics for any subsequent prosecution. They likewise oversee parolees along with the Parole Board. The local quirk here is that it is the character of the director of each division—whether the police chief, attorney general, the presiding judge, or ultimately the governor—that defines justice in the territory. Each of these offices, and the individuals who hold them, are immediately and directly involved in the island politics that surround them.

The Police Department and the Attorney General's Office provide the executive elements to justice within the territory (the Department of Corrections, the last executive department so responsible, requires its own analysis and will not be addressed here). Both organizations are instance- or case-driven rather than outcome-directed in organization, application of legitimate power, and finally in their possible manipulation by and interference from political leaders (Sterne 1996b). The executive departments are truly executive in character; the character of the governor changes the character of justice attempted (if not fulfilled) by these two departments. Political interference remains the most important issue still to be resolved, but this is not solely an executive problem.

The Superior Court of the Territory of Guam in some ways mirrors the top-down organizational structure of the police, if with the additional (and distancing) element of limited judicial tenure. Judges must stand for election every eight years for retention, but not for selection or placement as they too are appointed by the governor and approved by the legislature. This limited tenure relatively isolates the judges from immediate, if not chronic, political interference (Sanchez 1991). The presiding judge oversees several judges (six in 1996) whose division of labor is organized on a case-by-case basis into "courts." Consequently, the criminal courts for felony and misdemeanor categories or the civil courts categorized by "divisions" (domestic, juvenile special proceedings, adoption, juvenile delinquent, small claims, special proceedings, land registration, traffic court, probate, and so on) are determined not by a specific court venue but by the judge presiding and the specific filing submitted (Superior Court of Guam 1980, 1981, 1983–1985). The case rather than the court determines its legal "division." As part of its powers the Superior Court also oversees diversionary probation programs (Sanchez 1991).

None of the personal nature of discretion outlined above occurs outside the law. Both territorial law and precedent supports, requires, and legitimates

such personal application of the law and the political manipulation suggested above (for analogues, see Davis 1979 and Table 1). For instance, the Judicial Council is mirrored by a Department of Law (another committee with similar responsibilities but a different mix of members), a Governor's Supervisory Council, and even a citizen's group or two. All have similar responsibilities and each affects the application of law within the territory. The Civil Service Commission likewise influences, modifies, or changes the personnel relationships within all of these organizations, professional or not, and is an additional political player in the process.

All of the political manipulation of justice in the Territory of Guam is legally *required* in both law and regulation. Each of these mutually responsible bureaucracies is properly fulfilling its legal mandate, even as the consequence is "deformalization" of the law (as in Muller 1991). As a result, overlapping oversight not only of the agencies involved but also of one another (each board is required to oversee the other boards, an interesting arrangement) makes the application of any legal behavior in the territory immensely complicated. Whether defined as a legacy of U.S. imperialism (Eichner 1978; Pomeroy 1969; Ridgell 1988; Rogers 1988; Smith 1991), a cultural holdover, or an interpretation of the law itself (Aguon 1983; Carano and Sanchez 1964; De Smith 1970; Rogers 1995), the fact remains that the justice applied in the Territory of Guam remains over-, not under-, politicized.

Conclusions

A constitution is merely a document that synthesizes the initial relationship between custom and law by providing a singular precedent for defining a state, micro or otherwise (Diamond, in Black and Mileski 1973:320; Bohannon 1965). Within that state and its constitution, any number of syntheses are made possible by that initial synthesis. The relationships between executive, legislative, and judicial branches are not fixed permanently in a constitution, and certainly the relationships within and between these branches of government evolve and change over time (Unger 1976). Quite possibly the only thing a constitution provides a political state is a final arena for debate, controversy, and a narrowing down of the political choices possible or available.

Unlike other Micronesian jurisdictions, the Territory of Guam has no constitution whatsoever. Instead, the Organic Act of 1950 establishes the sources of law applicable to Guam as those in force on 1 August 1950, except as amended by the Organic Act or modified or repealed by the Congress of the United States or the Legislature of Guam. These sources of law are the Treaty of Paris, the U.S. Constitution, U.S. laws, custom, and the common law (McCormick, in Ntumu 1993:519). If the law was really that clear, this

ranking would be far more important than it now appears. Referring back to Table 2, we see two sets of applicable precedent, each different from the other, and apparently unresolvable both by custom and under law (Rogers 1995, 1988; DeBenedittis 1993; Liebowitz 1975, 1986, 1989; Pomeroy 1969).

In opposition to other microstates in the region, the U.S. Territory of Guam is unique in that it supports neither an indigenous nor Westernized constitutional basis for its law or politics (Liebowitz 1986). The territory necessarily abrogates the application of the U.S. Constitution even as it provides no local substitute (Rogers 1995). What does apply—as a matter of law, procedure, and precedent—is an elaborate mixture of interlocking, conflicting, and responsible regulations. Bureaucratically the territory is a study in chaos and crisis management. Political or administrative boards and committees often have overlapping responsibilities and tasks and no applicable final construction of primacy.

The resolution between custom and law on Guam, then, is performed organizationally but without the traditions found elsewhere being imposed. We can call this situation “law without tradition,” which interestingly enough has as its consequence “law without law.” Without primacy established local and federal law often contradict one another, and there is no arbiter of tradition to reinforce either. Without tradition or constitution, the Territory of Guam aimlessly disputes organizational structure without examining legal or political purpose (Liebowitz 1986, 1989). By definition, there can be no legal reasoning if the law is not explicit and the “higher law” is undefinable along with the “lesser laws” that presumably enact it.

I have illustrated here the way Guam resolves the custom and law dichotomy: the double-institutionalism of custom and law is not resolved in only one fashion (Bohannon 1965). The social and political resolution or synthesis are each a current and living legal and social system actively supporting both custom and law in local venues, either under constitutionally established law or in spite of it.

Custom, like politics, reinforces legal application and power through the use of legal reasoning by the individuals who enforce the law. Oftentimes then, the politics of a state are both correctly and incorrectly defined as “hold-overs” from a customary, or more primitive, time. If defining the law separately from custom is at least possible, defining politics separately from custom is not. Even in presumably strong legal states with a long history of law and constitutionalism, law remains a part of the social system and local politics. “Separated from the social and economic fabric by which it [the constitution] is, in part, conditioned and which, in turn, it helps to condition, it has no reality” (Beard [1935] 1965:12). Custom supports politics, politics support the law, and law ultimately supports both and in turn is supported by them.

The dichotomy between custom and law is a lived phenomenon in the microstates found in Micronesia, and is resolved locally in Guam in the many different ways as illustrated here. The dichotomy is likewise manifested in both custom and law in the politics practiced on Guam, as in this observation by Walzer: "Politics, moreover, establishes its own bonds of commonality. In a world of independent states, political power is a local commodity . . . that gets distributed. But it is a good that can only be distributed by taking people in, where all the senses of that latter phrase are relevant: they must be physically admitted and politically received" (1983:29). The dichotomy then is not a legal problem to be resolved but a political reality that is lived (Crocombe and Ali 1983). Establishing a singular and unitary view (Benedict 1934) of both custom and law is difficult.

Consequently, the dichotomy between culture and law may be an academic issue rather than a real one. Reflected with varied intensity in much of the literature (Durkheim 1933; Sorokin 1937; Luhmann 1972; Dworkin 1977), this dichotomy might serve more as a scholastic curiosity of classification (evolutionary or not; see Black 1976, 1989) far more than a reality that is lived. The dichotomy between custom and law as an ideal type (Weber 1978), rather than as a political reality, is better used to compare constitutions between states than in describing the political and legal realities within states. Law separated from politics might be an appropriate venue for study by legal scholars of whatever discipline, but law separated from custom and politics is meaningless within a local political state. Certainly this is so in Micronesia. Bohannon and Diamond illustrate two sides of the same coin even if they disagree with one another as to which side they pertain to. Custom and law are inextricably linked, and lived, within their local area of influence but can only be compared with other states as a matter of law, not custom.

So the unity of custom and law, at least internally, might be true of other states as well. The United States can build walls using constitutional tenets just as effectively as Micronesian states have in terms of citizenship requirements and naturalization restrictions, for instance. The U.S. Constitution is a lived phenomenon, just as it is in Micronesia. If we begin from the premise that constitutions establish the legal handling of disputes (Nader 1978), this should not presume that this legality is the only, or best, way of resolving such disputes. Other avenues might be equally effective and not at all primitive in application.

Constitutions allocate the power to define disputes to a legally constructed "magistracy" (Durkheim 1933) or to customary practices and practitioners. Either has the effect of including or excluding matters for concern. The disputes are ultimately handled nonetheless. So as constitutionality might pro-

vide a comparative analysis between states, it remains but a reflection of the politics entertained there. Even if doubly-institutionalized, such constitutionality does not negate the existence of political solutions performed locally for local concerns. This is no more true in the political states of Micronesia than it is for other, larger, less “primitive” venues. The synthesis of custom and law has always been, and remains, the purview of political action and power regardless of the political state examined.

If the law, regulations, and standards applied in a jurisdiction do not permit the definition of discretion, the control of discretion is impossible as well. The behavior exhibited throughout the whole of the justice system on Guam—from police officer to prosecutor to Superior Court judge, and now on to Supreme Court judge—indicates a justice system in search of itself. The extremely high number of dismissals serves only to provide a reflection of the collapse of this system. It cannot be determined if these dismissals are more a police, prosecutorial, or judicial problem. The high number of dismissals is ultimately an indication of failure for them all both separately and together. The model of procedural discretion used here not only points out difficulties in procedural justice but in structural justice as well.

The justice system of Guam is held accountable for its actions at whatever level by the local inhabitants. System personnel are universally seen as incompetent, untrained, inefficient, and politically motivated (Sterne 1996c). The system’s legitimacy is perceived as low and legitimate only in the ideal rather than the real, if at all. “It should be better and maybe someday it will be, but it’s also all we got right now” (interview, 96/10/5, A88). The crisis management and continual organizational collapse of the Guam Police Department and Attorney General’s Office are a local reality and entirely ignored by federal authorities.

Where the justice system is not held accountable at all, apparently, is exactly by those federal authorities entrusted with its supervision. Territorial status has not promoted federal intervention, save in one or two cases (DeBenedittis 1993). Compliance with federal law is more an exception in the territory than the rule, and even extreme cases of noncompliance have not been dealt with by federal authorities. For example, the applicability of the Voting Rights Act to the territory has not generated any federal concern: “An amendment to the Organic Act in 1966 (P.L. 89–552) allowed the legislature to decide if elections were at large or by district. Elections remained at large until the 1978 and 1980 elections (Fifteenth and Sixteenth Legislatures), which were by districts, and then—to assure Chamorro political control in face of a rising Filipino population—switched back in 1982 to at large, making electoral districting a controversial issue” (Rogers 1995:228). Equal opportunity, civil rights, the right to grand jury indictment, and the right to a

jury trial have been, at different times, a problem too: “Section 22 of the Organic Act initiated the creation of a civil legal system on Guam [in 1950]. . . . The Organic Act omitted mention of trials by jury and rights to grand jury indictment, which did not exist under the navy. It took a few years to establish jury trials and grand jury indictments in both federal and local courts on Guam” (Rogers 1995:228–229). The source of problems involving discretion in the territory follow a pattern suggested by the existence of the Organic Act of 1950. Guam is a territory, governed by the Organic Act, and many of the problems with legally or politically defined justice arise from this simple fact. Territorial justice is not constitutional justice, it is organic justice.

So if, as the findings suggest, we conclude that the territorial justice system is neither customary nor legal in character, this ambiguity was created and supported by federal authorities in the construction of territorial law under the Organic Act. There is no final construction of the law other than this congressional creation. The result is a justice system steeped in political interference and inefficiency that cannot exist if only supported on-island. The federal government is just as responsible for territorial inadequacies as the territorial government it created.

What the lack of constitutional protection means for the inhabitants of Guam is the misidentification of political self-determination for the self-determination of but one ethnic group (the Chamorro, or indigenous people, of the island). Composed of only about 40 percent of the island’s people—and this population is declining rapidly—the Chamorro nevertheless are the only true political actors within the territory. Everyone else has been effectively disenfranchised, disempowered, and uninvolved in territorial decision making. Lack of legal protections has immediate and meaningful political effects. The political ambiguity of the territorial government has numerous deep roots.

The policy implications for supporting an ambiguous territorial justice system should now be clear—the delegitimation of any and all governmental activity performed in the territory whether federal or territorial in character. The failure of the “hands-off” policy of the federal government has only generalized the effects of what could have remained, given active federal intervention, a local problem. It is no longer solely a local problem but one equally shared by both federal and territorial governments.

While there are numerous legal ways out of the ambiguity dilemma illustrated by the Territory of Guam, only one political method is being seriously considered, and that is the assumption of commonwealth status. But other available choices could likewise solve the dilemma and should be placed on the table for consideration. For example, Guam may declare independence

with or without U.S. assistance (the example of East Timor provides a recent example); the Organic Act of 1950 could be repealed, allowing the accession of Guam into another existing U.S. state jurisdiction (i.e., Hawai'i; see Omicinski 1997);³ Guam could be included in the already existing Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas; or Guam could be added to the Federated States of Micronesia as its fifth state.⁴ These alternatives have been evaluated locally over the past twenty years and found wanting for one reason or other, such as lack of population, national security concerns, loss of U.S. citizenship, or simple prejudice.

The chronic lack of legal finality for the territorial government must be dealt with, and any one of these choices would solve the legitimacy issues regarding justice in the territory raised here. But only a singular commonwealth, one constituted by Guam alone, is currently being considered seriously. For legitimacy issues, however, any of these choices is preferable over continuing the status quo.

Legitimacy requires a "final say" in both custom and law before this "final say" can filter down through judicial and executive departments to the people involved. Without this final construction the synthesis of territorial justice must be considered ambiguous both in definition and application. When there is no conventional standard of either custom or law, there can be no legitimacy. The Territory of Guam illustrates this point well.

NOTES

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1. Interviews included members of the Guam Police Department, Agana and Tiyan, Guam, March 1994–January 2000; staff at Sanctuary, Inc., Mangilao, Guam, February 1995–January 1996; individuals at the Archdiocese of Agana, January 1996; individuals of the Superior Court of Guam and the Office of the Attorney General, Agana, January 1995–January 2000; and staff of the Department of Public Health, Mangilao, January 1996.

2. The Guam Uniform Crime Report has been composed by the same individual and office throughout this period. The changes in reporting practices were ordered through the police chiefs in answer to concerns far removed from data integrity or replication issues. As an individual outside the department noted, "When they're in doubt, they'll rip it out or make it up" (interview, 95/8/12, A4). This situation is apparently of the "rip it out" variety.

3. This was suggested recently by U.S. Senator Slade Gorton and immediately rejected by territorial representatives in Washington (Omicinski 1997).

4. Interestingly enough, using the stated and published policy documents released by the Government of Guam, the assumption of status as a fifth state in the Federated States of

Micronesia would seem to be the best political choice. Strong prejudices are apparent, however, and such a choice is politically impossible to raise on Guam, much less fulfill. Nevertheless, it should be examined as an alternative, as joining the Federated States fulfills both local and federal mandates not only adequately, but well.

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BOOK REVIEW FORUM

John Lynch, *Pacific Languages: An Introduction*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998. Pp. xix, 359, preface, tables, figures, maps, appendices, notes, references, index. US\$35 paperback.

Review: BYRON W. BENDER
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THIS BOOK IS ONE OF A KIND in its coverage (Oceanic, Papuan, and Australian languages) and the level of its intended audience (nonlinguists who want or need to know something about the languages of this region, as well as linguists). It may strike one as strange to omit the large non-Oceanic portion of the Austronesian family (the languages of Indonesia, the Philippines, Taiwan, Madagascar, and parts of mainland Southeast Asia) while including all the languages of Papua New Guinea and Australia, but this is quite understandable from a “down under” point of view and has the happy effect of not relegating Oceanic languages to the margins of Austronesian discussions centering on the Western languages, where they are often to be found. It also permits the author to concentrate on what he is most familiar with, the languages of Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia (broadly conceived), and Australia. He admits to an Oceanic bias in his treatment of language structures in part 2, pointing out that good general surveys of Papuan and Australian languages already exist (Foley 1986 and Dixon 1980).

Lynch, to strike his intended level—giving the general reader “a feel for what these languages are like” while at the same time offering linguists “something to get their teeth into”—devotes a preliminary chapter to basic concepts of linguistics, including topics such as transitivity and voice; person, number,

and gender; alienable/inalienable possession; genetic relationship; reconstructing a protolanguage; and methods of subgrouping. This formal introduction is done succinctly and well. The discussion is rich with examples from Oceanic languages, and this pattern continues throughout the volume—there is something of linguistics that can be learned on practically every page, and with a minimum of pain. If one has picked up the book out of an interest in “Pacific languages,” one’s curiosity is satisfied while at the same time one finds oneself looking at each topic through the eyes of a linguist.

Part 1 (chapters 2–4) focuses on the geography and history of the region, and includes a discussion of the dialect-language distinction based on mutual intelligibility (tempered by social identity), the difficulty of counting languages where dialect chains are involved, problems associated with language names, and something of the history of the documentation of these languages. A set of maps helps orient the reader to places and languages mentioned. The position of the Oceanic group of languages is shown within the Austronesian family, and the assumed historical migrations of various subgroups are traced. There is discussion of how the vocabulary reconstructed for the Proto-Oceanic language can be used in reconstructing culture history. With respect to the remainder of the region, an attempt is also made to answer the following question, “If both New Guinea and Australia have been settled for about the same length of time, why do we find such incredible genetic diversity among Papuan languages, whereas Australian languages all seem to belong to just a single family?”

Part 2 looks at the range of structures to be found—chapter 5 outlines the sound systems, and chapters 6–8 give grammatical overviews, respectively, of Oceanic, Papuan, and Australian languages. Topics receiving special treatment include vowel systems, consonant systems, prosodic features; problems faced in developing orthographies, spelling controversies; full and partial reduplication; pronouns and subject markers, articles and demonstratives; classifier systems; verb structure, derivation of transitive and applicative verbs; the passive, causative, and reciprocal; nominal (verbless) sentences; accusative and ergative languages; negation; prepositions versus postpositions; noun class (gender) systems; serial verb constructions; and switch reference. One must conclude that this is an area truly rich in its linguistic diversity.

Part 3, “The Social and Cultural Context,” addresses topics that are of widest interest. Chapter 9 on “Languages in Contact” examines peaceful contact between settled societies brought about by the pressures of exogamy (finding a spouse outside the group) and the need for trade, both between coastal and inland villagers and in the ritualized trading complexes over longer distances that have been documented by anthropologists. Also considered are the contacts brought about by conquest, colonization, and con-

version. The focus is on the linguistic effects of all such contacts. These may be lexical, as with the adoption of a whole set of terms associated with a cultural complex such as kava drinking; semantic, as when a term originally limited to kava comes to refer to any intoxicating beverage; phonological, as when new words bring new sounds; or grammatical, as when Oceanic languages that earlier were VO languages (having verbs that precede their objects) became OV languages through extensive contact with Papuan languages that generally follow the latter order.

Three case studies are presented: (1) how borrowed words in Rotuman can be sorted out from native words based on how their sounds compare with those of the parent language held in common with the donor language(s), (2) the far-reaching effects of word taboo in societies where a person's name, or words sounding like it, cannot be uttered for a period of time after their death, and (3) a situation in which contact between two languages has been so extensive as to raise the mixed-language question, "How much can Language A be influenced by Language B and still remain Language A?"

Chapter 10 is an excellent study of "Pidgins, Creoles, and Koines" that, among other things, sets forth the story of Melanesian Pidgin and its three varieties, the Tok Pisin of Papua New Guinea, the Pijin of the Solomons, and the Bislama of Vanuatu. Also treated in this chapter are the pidgins of the Motu Traders, and Fiji Hindi.

Chapter 11, "Language, Society, and Culture in the Pacific," revisits some ancient bugaboos having to do with whether these languages are in any sense primitive. Topics include vocabulary size as well as specialization, classification, and abstraction. The chapter furthers this discussion with instances showing the richness of language in island societies, treating topics that include counting systems, kinship terms, language and gender, respect language, language and socialization, language in the national context, language and education, literacy, the media, and finally, the interrelated topics of language ecology: shift, survival, death, and revival. In this latter connection, the near death of New Zealand Māori and measures to revive it receive special attention. Also, it is noted that "the Hawaiian language was, and probably still is, in far greater danger than Māori of totally disappearing, but intensive efforts there are also beginning to see the decline arrested" (p. 269).

Part 3 closes with a brief concluding chapter, "Ideas about Pacific Languages," that continues the theme of "shift, survival, death, and revival." The author opens by quoting his family doctor who, when told the author's occupation, spoke of seeing, when he visited the university library, "rows and rows of dictionaries and grammars of languages spoken by just a few hundred speakers. 'Fascinating', he said, 'fascinating . . . but bloody useless!'" There follows a frank, if inconclusive, discussion of the precarious situation

in which many of these languages exist today, seen by some “as not being really serious subjects of study: They do not have a ‘literature’, they are not used in education, they have no real place in the national—let alone the international—domain” (p. 272). The author seems to conclude by saying it is the speakers of these languages who “will, of course, have the final say (or perhaps the last laugh) by choosing the course of action that seems most sensible and practical from their perspective.” After noting that it is its linguistic diversity that “has always been one of the intriguing features of this region for both Pacific Islanders and outsiders alike,” he closes with the following sentence: “As long as Pacific Islanders recognize that their languages are both their past and their future, the unity in diversity so characteristic of the Pacific will continue to make this region unique” (p. 277).

There follow four pages of suggestions for further reading, four appendices (the sources for data cited on each language, phonetic symbols, sample phonemic systems, and a glossary of technical terms), then the notes, references, and an index. The last appendix, with its brief and clear definitions for each term, will be of further help to the nonlinguist reader. The index is made more compact by the exclusion of redundancies such as the authors listed in the references, languages listed in the first appendix or on maps 3 to 11, names of Papuan language families that appear only in table 4, the terms in the glossary, and languages such as English and French when they are used to illustrate a point of grammar.

I find little to be critical of in this work. I think I detected a small problem with typography on p. 71, a bibliographic citation on p. 48 (Lynch 1997 should probably be Lynch 1998), and “mother’s sister’s daughter” included among cross-cousins on p. 254. But such instances are rare indeed. Overall, the book is well designed conceptually and in execution. The author has also been extremely attentive to details. Most importantly, he has exercised consistently good judgment in deciding how much to include and what has to be omitted in a treatment as broad scale as this one. The result is a volume that can serve not only as a source of information for anyone interested in the languages of the Pacific, but as an excellent introduction to linguistics for anyone who has some fluency in one or more of these languages, or for a class that includes such individuals among its members.

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1986 *The Papuan Languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Review: RICHARD MCGINN
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Pacific Languages: An Introduction is an extremely valuable reference book that belongs in the library of every professional linguist. At the same time, it is accessible to students and educated laymen looking for linguistic and cultural information. The book introduces the reader to a quarter of the world's languages—those occupying the islands of the Pacific basin, New Guinea, and the continent of Australia—at a level of generality suitable for nonspecialists and students entering the field. Copious examples of phonological and grammatical systems are drawn from each of the three areas to display the diversity of languages, language types, and language families for which the Pacific is—or should be—famous. In addition, cultural information is provided in separate chapters, and another chapter is devoted to language contact: both (inferred) ancient contact among indigenous language groups and recent historical contacts resulting from European incursions.

The book is well laid-out, coherently organized, and extremely well proofed. The first chapter introduces a set of linguistic principles, and the rest is divided into three parts. Part 1, "Geography and History," has separate chapters devoted to each of the three geographic areas (Oceania, Australia, and New Guinea). Part 2, "Structure," opens with an introductory chapter on the sound systems of representative languages from each of the three geographic areas, followed by separate chapters devoted to the morphology and syntax of selected languages from each geographic area. Part 3, "The Social and Cultural Context," has separate chapters devoted to "Language in Contact," "Pidgins, Creoles, and Koines," and "Language, Society, and Culture in the Pacific Context." The book concludes with a six-page essay titled "Ideas about Pacific Language" dealing with historical and cultural factors that must be considered in relation to the issue of language death. Four appendices provide data sources, phonetic symbols used in the book, sample phoneme systems drawn from representative languages, and a useful glossary of technical terms.

Readership

The book can be used as a linguistics textbook or as a reference guide to Pacific-area languages. As a textbook it can introduce linguistic concepts to nonspecialists. For example, the first chapter is devoted entirely to general linguistics (including historical linguistics); and throughout the book, technical terms are highlighted when they first appear, to alert the reader that a definition is available in the glossary. As a reference guidebook it contains a

large sampling of analyses of (fragments of) the phonologies and grammars of specific languages, followed by carefully crafted generalizations relating to typology, areal features, or genetic affiliation. This reference tool will be welcomed by nonspecialists desiring to know about particular languages and cultures (for example, archaeologists, anthropologists, government bureaucrats, missionaries). It will also be welcomed by linguistic specialists who desire to become linguistic explorers. As a student of Austronesian languages of island Southeast Asia, I have found in this book a rich source of information about related Oceanic languages; and I was pleased to explore the linguistics of New Guinea and Australia in the bargain.

Scope of Pacific Languages

It is difficult to conceptualize the scope of the book in part because printed maps of the area are deceiving. To gain a proper picture it is necessary to obtain a round globe and tip it so the observer is facing the southern Pacific Ocean. The hemisphere that comes into view is the vast area covered in this book. It is called simply “the Pacific.” Invisible are the Americas in the east and Asia in the west including Taiwan, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia (and these are excluded from the book). Visible on the western horizon lie the eastern tips of Australia and New Guinea. Occupying the center and filling almost all of this half-world are the waters joining New Zealand in the south, Hawai’i in the north, and Easter Island in the east—the Polynesian triangle. This whole hemisphere is included in the book, but there is more as well, since all of New Guinea and Australia are included, as are Palau and Chamorro areas on the western fringes of the Pacific.

This experiment exposes one of the difficulties of characterizing the scope of the book. The author is himself inconsistent. He defines “the Pacific” on p. 23 as including New Guinea; elsewhere in the book, however (e.g., pp. 268, 275), he contrasts New Guinean languages with “Pacific languages.” When classifying Fijian he equivocates between the text (p. 30) and the list of languages (p. 28); in the text Fijian languages are labeled Melanesian but in the list they are independent and coordinate with Polynesian. The term “Melanesia” itself is problematic. As a purely geographical term it is perhaps unobjectionable and can refer to New Guinea and the surrounding archipelagoes (Solomons, New Caledonia, Vanuatu). Yet it remains linguistically disjointed, since most of New Guinea contains 955-plus Papuan languages of loose or uncertain affiliations, while the nearby archipelagoes contain 196 Austronesian languages in the Oceanic subgroup; moreover, the term “Papuan” is just as applicable to Indonesian-controlled West Irian as it is to independent Papua (formerly part of Australia). This disjointedness between

Austronesian-speaking Melanesia and Papuan-speaking Melanesia contrasts sharply with the geographic-linguistic congruence of the other major areas: Polynesia and Micronesia contain closely related languages (Austronesian, Oceanic subgroup), and Australia contains Australian languages, all assumed to be genetically related. To make sense of the linguistic geography, the non-specialist reader might be helped by a distinction between Austronesian-Melanesia and Papuan-Melanesia.

Not surprisingly, the issues of linguistic typology are disjointed along the same lines. While no one person can claim to be a “specialist” in all four major subareas covered (or five if my suggestion is followed), “Melanesia” again sticks out as *terra incognita linguistica*. Taken as a whole the book treats a quarter of all the world’s languages. Yet the distribution of these roughly 1,400 languages is highly uneven; a whopping 83 percent (1,151 languages) are spoken in “Melanesia” (minus Fijian)—in contrast to a “mere” 200 languages of Australia, 16 languages of Micronesia, and 22 languages of Fiji and Polynesia. In comparison to New Guinea languages, much is known about the other areas. For example, as the author points out, all Australian languages appear to be related, although subgrouping remains problematic; therefore, work on one Australian language can be expected to throw light on the others. This is even more true in the case of Micronesian and Polynesian languages, whose major internal relationships are for all practical purposes perfectly well known, leaving linguists free to work on advanced comparative problems such as reconstructing suprasegmental structure and semantic vocabulary sets, establishing external relationships “up” the Proto-Austronesian tree, and accounting for problematic cases variously labeled “mixed” or “aberrant” Oceanic languages. In this field, linguistics has achieved a high degree of sophistication that is theoretically important (Blust 1997).

Descriptive Techniques

To maintain a suitable level of generality for the description of the linguistic and cultural diversity of this area in fewer than three hundred pages (plus notes, bibliography, and four appendices) is the author’s singular challenge. The high degree of success achieved is the book’s greatest strength, based on dozens of descriptions of individual languages supported by appropriate references to the best scholarship available, including a number of the author’s own original contributions in the Oceanic field (e.g., his 1978 study of Lenakel). To describe Australian languages the author summarizes work from R. M. W. Dixon and others; for New Guinea languages he relies on the technique of contrasting them with typical Oceanic language structures. This approach seems successful, as is his treatment of studies by Bill Foley and

Bruce Biggs, and of language surveys by S. A. Wurm and Shiro Hattori. The author is highly effective in his use of quotations from the scholarly literature and above all in his maintenance of appropriate levels of both detail and generalization suitable for an introductory text.

Theoretical Issues

In this section I shall note some peculiarities of description that I found interesting from the point of view of linguistic theory.

Morpho-syntax

1. “Nominal Sentences.” This term refers to an important phenomenon found throughout the Pacific whereby languages typically can license a sentence without a verb, as in (John tall/a policeman/in Chicago) = (John is tall/a policeman/in Chicago). Although somewhat misleading, the term “nominal sentence” is inspired by the semantic definition of a Noun as “a person, place, or thing” applied here to the predicate. Although there is the advantage of avoiding a negative designation such as “verbless sentence,” the label is to some degree unmotivated since these predicates can be AP and PP as well as NP. This can be seen more clearly given a theory of syntactic features where N and P share the feature [+ Noun], and N and A share the feature [– Verb]; but there is no feature designation apart from [+ Verb, – Noun] (= non-verb) that designates all three and therefore would support “verbless predicate” as a coherent concept.
2. “Verb Complex” and Avoidance of the Terms “Verb Phrase” and “Active/Passive.” These choices have important consequences for the descriptions of individual languages. Since at least Chomsky (1965) many linguists have assumed the validity of all three phenomena as part of “universal grammar,” so it is interesting to consider why Lynch might have decided to employ only the one and dispense with the other two. Let me discuss the phenomena one by one.
 - a. The term “verb complex” refers to the head V and its associated auxiliary particles or inflections (depending on the language) typically expressing obligatory or optional syntactic categories (again depending on the language). Thus, the “verb complex” is equivalent to the “verb phrase” in traditional grammars of English (e.g., John *might have been running* late). In contrast, Chomsky (1965) analyzed such examples into a Subject (John), AUX node (*might have been + -ing*), and a verb phrase (VP = run late)—and his

recent theories are merely refinements of this analysis. The interesting question, then, is: What are the consequences that follow from the approach adopted by Lynch? Theoretically they are obvious: Chomsky's VP disappears of necessity, and with it the possibility of a passive transformation (which resulted in a "passive" structure lacking a well-defined VP based on an "active" prototype possessing a well-defined VP). Personally, I must confess that I find Lynch's approach highly attractive when applied to languages I am relatively more familiar with, namely Austronesian languages, which are well known to present serious unsolved problems for linguistic theory with respect to the universality of "Subjects" and "VPs," among others. I am far less comfortable with the implicit assumption that the AUX + VP analysis is never correct and therefore is unsuitable across-the-board for Papuan and Australian languages. I can think of no reason to expect that an Austronesian-friendly analysis would automatically apply to non-Austronesian languages. (To make that leap one would have to assume that an Austronesian-friendly analysis is actually "correct" universally, for all languages.) Of course, Lynch should not be accused of believing any such thing, but at the same time I think he is stuck with having implied as much, if only for the convenience of having a single framework.

- b. Grammatical Categories. Students of linguistic theory will find much in the book to support the existence of universal grammatical categories whose realizations differ morphologically from language to language. Categories typically found in the verb complex (either as affixes or particles) include: Person and Number (including subject- and object-agreement), Tense and Aspect, and Mood. Categories associated with the noun are Number and Gender (rarely Case, which is more often expressed with particles and prepositions). Number can be associated with elaborate quantification systems, sometimes interacting with Gender. Whether singly or in combination with Number categories, Gender can produce noun classifier systems of dizzying complexity in many Pacific languages.
- c. Argument Structure. This is described in terms of the relationship between the verb and a single "special" noun (= subject if the sentence is intransitive). If the sentence is transitive the "special" noun is either the agent or the object, indicated as such by an element in the verb complex and by characteristic marking on the noun (most often distinctive absence of marking). Within this approach

two broad patterns of syntactic organization are distinguished, namely Accusative and Ergative, each with exemplars scattered all over the Pacific basin, Australia, and New Guinea.

Phonology

1. Students of phonological theory will be interested in Māori's three stress placement rules, which seem to depend upon prior application of syllabification rules (p. 81). This suprasegmental nugget is all too rare in the book; as the author notes (p. 88 and *passim*), many linguists fail to mention stress at all in their descriptions of Pacific languages. Fortunately this situation will likely change very soon, at least for the Oceanic subgroup of languages, since the author himself has recently published a reconstruction of Proto-Oceanic stress in the June 2000 issue of *Oceanic Linguistics*.
2. On pp. 77–78 there is an interesting case for (historical) umlaut by metathesis in Rotuman.
3. As for consonant systems, in the Oceanic group there are North Malakula languages with apico-labial consonants (p. 81); but the Papuan language Rotokas has a total of only six consonant phonemes (p. 88). As for vowels, the Oceanic language Xârâcùù has 34 vowel contrasts (p. 77), whereas a few central Australian languages have only two phonemic vowels (p. 91).

Future Editions

In this section I provide specific criticisms that, if accepted, would improve future editions of the book.

POc Phoneme System

Probably the most important scientific finding in Pacific linguistics is that all the languages of Polynesia, Micronesia, Fiji, and parts of Melanesia form a subgroup of Austronesian, and hence can be traced back to Taiwan and the south of China in a migration beginning roughly 3500 B.C. and ending around A.D. 1000 after virtually every habitable island of the Pacific had been colonized. The author duly emphasizes this finding and draws out many of its implications, but he fails to characterize the linguistic achievement by displaying the reconstructed POc phoneme system; he is satisfied (on pp. 46–54) with tree diagrams and migration route maps linking Oceanic languages

with the root ancestor language, Proto-Austronesian. While this omission makes for uniformity of treatment vis-à-vis Australia and New Guinea (where such information is simply lacking), it makes no sense here; but this is easily corrected. For future editions I recommend adding another page displaying the phonological innovations that define the Oceanic subgroup, a hypothesis of enormous theoretical importance, linking as it does a large number of languages spanning more than a hemisphere in area under a scientifically sound linguistic hypothesis. This fact should be brought home forcefully and contrasted with the state of the art vis-à-vis Australian and New Guinean languages.

Culture Loss

Several subsections are devoted to cultural issues, for example, Oceanic languages: 3.4 “Reconstructing Culture”; 9.1.3 “Conquest, Colonization, and Conversion”; and 11.6 “Shift, Survival, Death, Revival.” These sections should be rewritten in light of a new synthesis that has become available through the writings of Jared Diamond (*The Third Chimpanzee* [1992] and *Guns, Germs, and Steel* [1997]—this last the recipient of a Pulitzer Prize). Diamond’s works, which devote several key chapters to human settlement and cultural evolution in all the areas covered in the book under review, provide a sweeping and highly satisfying answer to the question, Why did Europeans end up with more technology and other goods (“cargo”) than Pacific Islanders and many other peoples of the world?

This same question is also faced by the author of the book under review, which appeared at about the same time as Diamond’s second book. From now on, I believe, Diamond’s synthesis must be taken into account in future introductory linguistics texts, including future editions of *Pacific Languages*. For example, in section 3.4 Lynch correctly notes the loss of rice and millet as food crops unsuitable for cultivation in the Pacific basin, but he does not mention the puzzling (and more famous) cases of culture loss evidenced by the mysterious ruins of Ponape, by the giant stone statues of Easter Island, and by the extinction of many flora and fauna as the direct result of human settlement and activities before European contact. Equally important, the role played by European germs originating from domesticated animals (such as smallpox from cows)—which, when introduced during European voyages of exploration into areas that lacked partial immunity to these diseases, led to the decimation of populations and made them easy prey to conquest, colonization, and conversion—can no longer be ignored in future discussions of cultural change in the Pacific.

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The goal of this welcome new book by John Lynch, *Pacific Languages*, is to introduce readers to Oceanic, Papuan, and Australian languages spoken today by the indigenous people of the islands of the Pacific and Australia. The book is divided into three parts: geography and history, structure, and social and cultural context. Some basic pieces of knowledge about these languages that are scattered across resources are here located in one place. The book is written to be accessible to the nonlinguist, and successfully so. This means it can be used as a text in undergraduate courses on language and on Pacific societies, and I expect to use it for that purpose.

Part I on “Geography and History” is a very readable introduction to how many languages there are in the area, where they are, how they are and are not related to each other, and how evidence from languages combines with other kinds of information to provide accounts of the early colonization of the islands of the Pacific. In this section we see just how different the major groupings of Oceanic, Papuan, and Australian languages are from each other as groupings. Oceanic languages comprise the main subset of Austronesian languages spoken in the Pacific. These languages are thought to be descended from a single parent language and to be related to other Austronesian languages spoken in island Southeast Asia and the Southeast Asia mainland. Papuan languages, on the other hand, refer to non-Austronesian languages spoken primarily in interior New Guinea. They are not all descended from a

common parent and comprise at least sixty different language families. Finally, Australian languages are all thought to be related to each other, that is, to share a common ancestor, but such relations to languages outside Australia cannot be determined using comparative linguistic methods.

In part 2, language is displayed in all its marvelous, amazing diversity. Lynch concentrates in this section on grammatical features of languages that are widespread in each area, but not necessarily so common in other parts of the world, and that have been of theoretical interest to linguists over the past few decades. Thus, linguistic features one may have heard of, such as “ergativity” and “switch reference,” that don’t occur in English but do occur in Pacific languages are explained and illustrated. The resources in appendices at the end of the book also make it very easy for the reader to do further library research on topics or languages of interest.

The aspects of language structure for each given subarea—Oceanic, Papuan, and Australian—are presented in a sequence from smaller to larger units of structure. Thus, we start with sounds, build to units of meaning that combine into words, then move into phrase structures that combine words. This sequential ordering of aspects of language structure is a common pedagogical strategy in introducing linguistic analysis to the novice. But it does mean that the reader will not come away with a strong sense of “the sentence” (or its spoken equivalent) or of variety in language-specific sentence level processes in Pacific languages.

Part 3, on the social and cultural context, deals with two broad topics. The first topic is how languages come in contact with one another and what the consequences of such contact are for the linguistic structures of the languages involved in the contact. In chapter 9, “Language in Contact,” Lynch considers types of contact among speakers of different local languages and how aspects of the structure of one language can come to be taken up by another language. This is very useful material, and it provides a kind of analysis we need much more of in efforts to consider the very long-term cultural, material, and biological consequences of contacts among Pacific peoples heretofore treated as relatively isolated entities.

In chapter 10, “Pidgins, Creoles, and Koinés,” Lynch focuses on the “mixed” languages that have emerged in the Pacific as a consequence of contact between indigenous Pacific people and European colonizers, particularly in Melanesia. Although he surveys a range of such varieties, Lynch focuses on what he refers to as Melanesian Pidgin, which he sees as encompassing Tok Pisin, spoken in Papua New Guinea; Pijin, spoken in the Solomon Islands; and Bislama, spoken in Vanuatu. I am accustomed to the idea that these varieties all have in common an English lexicon or vocabulary with Austronesian language grammatical properties. They also share properties

by virtue of being languages of wider communication (LWC) and therefore second languages for many, although first languages for some. But Lynch really talks about the three varieties as one language rather than separate languages, in spite of their having emerged through geographically and historically separated processes, without fully explaining why, a provocative move.

Chapter 11, "Language, Society, and Culture in the Pacific," develops the second topic in this section, that of the way in which the lexicons or vocabularies of Pacific languages reveal some of the kinds of ideas that are culturally elaborated in Pacific societies. Although this material is very interesting, I object to a treatment of language and culture that limits discussion to vocabularies. Such an approach leaves out the entire tradition of looking at language ethnographically, which means looking at language use.

I refer here to the linguistic anthropological tradition developed initially by Franz Boas in the United States and given impetus by Dell Hymes's theoretical development of the ethnography of communication in the nineteen-sixties. Linguistic anthropologists are interested theoretically in the characterization of the organization of language meaning above the level of the sentence, or in discourse structure and the role of language in the organization of face-to-face interaction. They are also interested in how specific linguistic forms play a role in the constitution of social and cultural realities, including culturally specific realities. For example, considerable work has been done in the Pacific on what are referred to as affect markers, elements of meaning that convey emotional state, and on the role these markers play in Pacific people's construction of culturally specific selves. Actually a remarkably coherent body of work in this tradition has been produced by linguistic anthropologists working in the Pacific. In fact, those who work in the Pacific have probably made *the* most substantial contribution to the tradition of ethnographic studies of language made by people working in a specific cultural area. Some important examples of such work include the edited volume by Karen Watson-Gegeo and Geoff White on *Disentangling* (1990), ethnographic studies of the Kaluli in New Guinea by Bambi Schieffelin, *The Give and Take of Everyday Life* (1990), and Steve Feld, *Sound and Sentiment* (1982), and the linguistic ethnographic study of village-level politics in Samoa by Sandro Duranti, *From Grammar to Politics* (1994).

Research in this ethnographic tradition has coherence in part because linguistic anthropologists bring a shared theoretical and methodological tradition with them to the Pacific. But there is also coherence because of some very general cultural and social organizational similarities these communities have and because people in these communities have responded to re-

searchers in some similar ways. Work in this tradition is typically village-based, or oriented toward residential communities almost exclusively lived in by indigenous people, rather than about urban or national communities or processes that are a consequence of colonialism. In all this the work would be viewed as somewhat conservative by current standards. This body of work also focuses on the tape-recording, transcription, and translation of multiple instances of socially occurring bounded speech events or genres of discourse that are viewed as evidence of the role of language in constituting local cultural realities.

What does any of this have to do with the people, primarily in Melanesia and Polynesia, who have been the focus of the work? It means that village-level social organization is robust enough that the village can be a focus. It means that the people were friendly enough to outsiders that the researchers have been welcomed into their local communities, trusted, and given access to people's local daily lives with tape recorders. Finally, it means that the people live or lived in communities with a shared local public sphere, because it is in the public spheres, rather than in the private, that one encounters speech activities that are organized into bounded events and discourse genres. These qualities of social life simply do not exist in all parts of the world.

Perhaps even more interesting is the fact that those working in this ethnographic tradition in the Pacific are commonly disposed toward conceptualizing the role of language in social life as collaborative, as used by co-interactants to jointly and mutually construct social realities together—rather than in the more prevalent linguistic tradition of viewing language and speech as resources of an individual. The prevalence of such a conceptualization is due not just to its import in linguistic anthropology, but also to its consistency with culturally local Melanesian and Polynesian ways of talking about human activity. Again, such a conceptualization is not universal among the world's cultures.

My point, then, is that this linguistic anthropological tradition of Pacific research on language is an areal tradition, although perhaps not in the typical senses in which scholars talk about areal traditions. In its richness and strength, such research on language use should not go unrepresented in a volume such as Lynch's that provides a general introduction to work on languages in the Pacific region.

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Response: JOHN LYNCH
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My aim in writing *Pacific Languages: An Introduction* was, as the reviewers have pointed out, to introduce the languages of the Pacific to nonspecialists—in particular, to nonlinguists who nevertheless have an interest (scholarly or otherwise) in the Pacific region. The book in fact began as an in-house text at the University of the South Pacific (USP) for an undergraduate course in the structure of Pacific languages; and it thus focused fairly heavily on (a) phonology and grammar and (b) the languages of Polynesia, Micronesia, and eastern Melanesia, where the countries belonging to USP are located. This published version added Australia, incorporated more on Papuan languages, reduced the emphasis on linguistic structure, and introduced topics in the areas of language and society and language and culture.

Having taught linguistics in the Pacific for the last thirty years, I have found that many students have inherited a neocolonial attitude toward their own languages. Particularly if their language is not written, or not often written, there is the view that it is not a “real” language, that it doesn’t have a grammar, and so on. There is also the view that, if the orthography or structure of a Pacific language deviates from the patterns of English (or French in some areas), then the language is somehow “defective.” These attitudes are reinforced by the views of some expatriates living in the Pacific: Tourist brochures advertising Vanuatu, for example, often say that there are three languages spoken in the country (English, French, and Bislama) as well as many “local dialects”—a bit of a put-down for the approximately one hundred distinct *languages* spoken there. Such attitudes are also reinforced by educators in some countries, who for years thought that Pacific languages were too “primitive” to be used as classroom languages (see, e.g., Lynch 1996)—though this situation seems to be changing.

Academics in other disciplines also have their misconceptions about Pacific

languages (just as, I am sure, linguists misunderstand concepts in disciplines like archaeology or anthropology). We Pacific linguists often get asked questions such as “What is the oldest language in the Pacific?” or “Isn’t Tongan a purer form of Polynesian than (say) Hawaiian?”—questions that show a basic misunderstanding of the processes of language change and evolution (and which are rather worrying reminders of the artificially high prestige accorded to Latin in the western European scholastic tradition or the “don’t split infinitives” lobby in English grammar).

Apart from presenting basic information on the languages of the Pacific, then, one of my aims was to try to correct some of these misconceptions about these languages. In what follows, I will try to address some of the criticisms raised by the three reviewers, in the context of these aims.

What’s in a Name?

Two reviewers raise issues of nomenclature that are worth discussion here, since they impinge on the way in which nonlinguists interpret the writings of linguists on the languages of this region.

First is the question of what constitutes “the Pacific.” Byron Bender notes that the exclusion of Austronesian languages spoken in insular and mainland Southeast Asia (and Madagascar) “may strike one as strange . . . but . . . understandable from a ‘down under’ point of view.” For most of us “down under,” there is a clear difference between the Pacific and Southeast Asia, with the island of New Guinea at the westward boundary of the Pacific. For the purposes of this book, I was trying to provide a perspective on this region. To include the remaining (western) Austronesian languages in any detail would have necessarily involved some discussion of mainland Southeast Asian non-Austronesian languages, as well as venturing across the Indian Ocean to Austronesian-speaking Madagascar. (I do not, by the way, think that Dick McGinn is correct when he says that I inconsistently exclude New Guinea from “the Pacific”: on the pages he cites, I was simply giving Papua New Guinea as an example of one Pacific country.)

Next, we come to the terms “Melanesia(n),” “Polynesia(n),” and “Micronesia(n)” and the inconsistencies in their usage as pointed out by Dick McGinn. As geographical—and perhaps even broadly cultural—terms, there is probably reasonable consensus as to what these refer to, though Melanesia could be a little more heterogeneous than the others (do Timor and neighboring islands belong?). The question McGinn raises regarding Fiji is one that has exercised other minds: Is it part of Melanesia or of Polynesia? Is it a “border zone”? And, perhaps, does it really matter?

As linguistic terms, however, these are less satisfactory, particularly the

term “Melanesian.” If all one means by “Melanesian languages” is “the languages of Melanesia,” there is no problem. But the difficulty with such terms is that they take unto themselves a certain semantic independence, with a meaning often extending beyond what was originally intended. So while the rather bland “languages of Melanesia” means (to most of us) nothing more than a collection of languages in a certain geographical area, the somewhat more positive term “Melanesian languages” can imply something much more—specifically, it can, in the minds of some people at least, imply some kind of genetic unity.

Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth. First, this region includes both Papuan languages (about which more below) and Austronesian languages. Second, the Papuan languages belong to a number of apparently unrelated families. And third, while the vast majority of the Austronesian languages in Melanesia belong to the Oceanic subgroup of that family, some do not. All first-order branches of Oceanic are represented in Melanesia: Although “Polynesian” and “Micronesian” are valid genetic labels (though not exactly coterminous with their geographical senses), “Melanesian” is not.

“Papuan” is also a term that causes problems. Its geographical sense is itself ambiguous: It can refer to the southern half of Papua New Guinea (the former Territory of Papua) and also, quite separately, to the western half of the island of New Guinea—the Indonesian province referred to variously as West Irian, Irian Jaya, West Papua, or just Papua. Its linguistic sense is more precise, though only rather loosely connected with its geographical sense, which is why many writers eschew its use. Linguistically, Papuan languages are those spoken in Melanesia that are not members of the Austronesian family; most of these are on the island of New Guinea, with the remainder being spoken on nearby islands. Once again, the term’s drawbacks are that it is positive sounding—as if these languages formed a genetic unity, which they do not. The alternative, “non-Austronesian,” is often used, though as a negative term it has less appeal (and, of course, could be rather too inclusive).

Dick McGinn suggests that “the nonspecialist reader . . . might be helped by a distinction between Austronesian-Melanesia and Papuan-Melanesia.” This is rather more difficult than it seems. While most of the interior and the far west of New Guinea is Papuan-speaking and the extreme east of Melanesia (Vanuatu and New Caledonia) is Austronesian-speaking, it is more difficult to “draw lines” elsewhere in Melanesia. In many areas in Papua New Guinea especially, Papuan languages are spoken cheek-by-jowl with Austronesian languages—in some cases, even in the same village. And while one can very broadly characterize Papuan languages as interior and Austronesian languages as coastal/insular, a significant proportion of both types of languages do not fit this characterization.

Melanesian Pidgin/Creole: One Language?

Susan Philips wonders why I talk about the three varieties of Melanesian Pidgin—Tok Pisin, Pijin, and Bislama—as being one language rather than separate languages, “in spite of their having emerged through geographically and historically separated processes.”¹ Once again, we have a problem of nomenclature, or of classification (rather similar to the Fijian or Hindi/Urdu situations described on p. 26).

If we take the view that the geopolitical situation plays a part in defining a language or dialect, then the fact that these three varieties are spoken in three different countries (Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu) lends weight to the view that they should be treated as different languages. Philips is also at least partly correct in speaking of their historical differences: From about the beginning of the twentieth century until perhaps the 1970s (when Pacific Islanders began moving around the region in largish numbers and radio stations started broadcasting to other countries), each of these varieties was isolated from the others. The influence of substrate languages may have been different (perhaps especially in Papua New Guinea), and the influence of colonial languages (e.g., French in Vanuatu but not in the other two) and of colonial attitudes was also not uniform.

On the other hand, underlying these differences is a period of common historical development through much of the nineteenth century. Crowley attacks this question and notes that speakers of the three varieties of the language “recognize a linguistic unity that excludes other pidgin varieties found in the Pacific and in Australia” (1990:7). He goes on to say that “these three varieties can also be considered to be fairly readily mutually intelligible, this of course being one of the major tests of separate language status.” The major differences seem to be lexical,² with only fairly minor structural differences. Indeed, as English exerts more and more lexical influence on these varieties, it is possible that the lexical differences between them are getting less rather than greater.

Perhaps this is the place to put in a plea for a name change. Linguists generally refer to the language as “Melanesian Pidgin,” despite the fact that for many thousands of speakers it is their first language (and thus not a pidgin in the technical sense at all). The term “pidgin” also has unfortunate pejorative overtones.

Sins of Omission

To try to cover the 1,400 or so languages of this region in about 350 pages works out at one-quarter of a page per language! Obviously, hard choices had

to be made about what should have been included and what omitted or referred to only marginally, especially since the cost factor was also important. Two reviewers are not totally happy with my decisions here.

Susan Philips points out two areas in which I omitted material that, in her view, ought to have been included. These are sentence-level (and perhaps I could add also discourse-level) structures, and language use (or the ethnography of language). I fully accept these criticisms, and note that I would also have liked to have been able to say more on language and education (especially the teaching of Pacific languages), bilingualism/multilingualism, literacy, and a number of other topics.

Dick McGinn chides me for not providing some treatment of the Proto-Oceanic phoneme system and the phonological innovations that define the Oceanic subgroup. Perhaps I could remedy this here by showing the derivation of the Proto-Oceanic (POc) phonemes from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP), the language ancestral to all Austronesian languages except those of Taiwan (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002):

PMP		p, b	—	t	d, r	s, Z	j	k, g	
POc	oral grade	p	p ^w	t	r	s	c	k	
	nasal grade	b	b ^w	d	dr		j	g	

PMP	m	—	n	ñ	ŋ	w	y	l	q	h	R
POc	m	m ^w	n	ñ	ŋ	w	y	l	q	ø	R

PMP	i, -uy(-)	e, -aw	-ay	a	u
POc	i	o	e	a	u

A Final Word

To attempt to include a discussion of phonological and grammatical structure, as well as issues relating to linguistic (pre)history, language and culture, and language in society as they refer to some 1,400 languages spread pretty much around one-third of the globe, was perhaps too ambitious. Susan Philips in particular has highlighted some of the gaps in some of these areas. Perhaps the way forward might be for someone to write a similar book focusing largely

on the social and cultural aspects of Pacific languages, to provide a kind of balance to the more structural and historical bias of this one.

NOTES

1. Indeed, a case can be made for including Broken, spoken in the Torres Strait, under this umbrella as well—see Keesing 1988:8; Lee 1998, and Shnukal 1988:3.

2. And, unfortunately and preventably, also orthographic.

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REVIEWS

Robert L. Welsch, editor and annotator, *An American Anthropologist in Melanesia: A. B. Lewis and the Joseph N. Field South Pacific Expedition, 1909–1913*. Volume 1, *Field Diaries*, pp. xxi, 632, maps, photographs, references, index; volume 2, *Appendices*, pp. 287, bibliography. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998. US\$125 cloth.

Reviewed by Nick Stanley, University of Central England

THIS IS A FEAST of a book with many courses and a highly varied fare, and like all such offerings deserves to be savored, one course at a time, to avoid surfeit. The interplay of elements provides a sensuous experience. But this is no quick meal. The reader needs to invest time and energy to appreciate its true worth.

At face value the work is fairly straightforward. The editor has had access to the collection made by Field Museum anthropologist and curator Alfred Buell Lewis (1867–1940) during his extensive field research, mainly in New Guinea in the four years leading up to the First World War. The advantages that Welsch has enjoyed include Lewis's artifact collection, field notes, diaries, drawings, and photographs. As Welsch puts it: "A. B. Lewis's most tangible legacy to the anthropology of Melanesia is his collection of 14,385 objects and his 1,561 surviving photographs from the field. Together with his diaries, field notes, and other documentation, these objects and images provide the only comprehensive museum collection from Melanesia in the United States and one of the most systematic collections from the region before the Great War" (p. 573). Put simply, this is one of the world's great collections of Pacific art and the premier single collection from Melanesia.

What Welsch has done is to bring together all the elements into a narrative that takes the reader along the same journey that Lewis himself undertook in those four arduous years. Welsch's contextual depth is astonishing. The "Who Was Whom in Melanesia 1909–1913" not only lists but gives considerable biographical detail of a host of men and women that Lewis dealt with during his sojourn. As Lewis was exploring the interstices of major European colonial possessions just before they were to be transformed by the European war, we get highly privileged views of the workings of the Dutch, German, and British colonial administrations and the considerable impact they had on Lewis's process of making collections. The simmering disgust that the German administration displayed toward Field Museum personnel became a major problem for Lewis, and he was virtually ostracized in German New Guinea, the main site of his operation.

But Lewis has a dogged determination and, despite frequent lengthy bouts of malaria and a near-fatal attack of blackwater fever, he pressed on, bargaining virtually every day for four years. His tenacity, curiosity, and sheer stamina cannot but be admired. Over the period he develops an eye for continuity and change in local, domestic artifacts in the villages and the trading patterns between them, particularly on the coast to the west of the Sepik River. There is a somewhat manic quality to this collecting—it becomes Lewis's very *raison d'être* that draws him ever forward to new feats of endurance. It also reduces him to extremes of poor health. As one reads through the diary entries, the increasingly laconic tone is a testament to the sheer exhaustion that he feels, especially during the last few months. But it is an obsession that will not release him from its grasp. Certainly Lewis raises interesting questions for a psychology of collecting.

The chief joy in this work, however, is to be found at another level. What we experience in this account is a complex interweave of elements that constitute an anthropology of collecting. There is more than a surface resemblance between *An American Anthropologist in Melanesia* and Michael O'Hanlon's *Paradise*. Admittedly, this work has a historical focus while O'Hanlon's account is contemporary, but both are distinct in the attention paid to the very process of collecting itself. Their jointly edited *Hunting the Gatherers* adds to this approach.

Lewis's apologia for collecting is unremarkable. On the one side there is a standard "salvage ethnology" justification: "Specimens are getting scarce in these islands, now, and unless we get the things soon, there will be nothing left." But in the same letter to the director of Field Museum in 1911 he adds another rationale for his collecting strategy: "The specimens from these islands may not be as showy as those from New Guinea, but they are rare and worth much more than they cost" (p. 375). This distinction is a crucial

one for Lewis. While Lewis has always in his mind's eye the exhibition that he was to mount in 1921 in the Field Museum, and for this he needed "showy" items, he was also intent on making a representative collection wherever he went, irrespective of its aesthetic appeal. For Lewis this was to be a scientific collection, one that would provide a snapshot of the life of Melanesians in the villages, in the bush, and on the coast. Welsch has been able to draw on this systematic approach in his parallel fieldwork expedition in 1993–1994 in the West Sepik. Welsch assembled a further two thousand items and interviewed current inhabitants of the villages visited by Lewis, bringing back to the field copies of Lewis's photographs to help upgrade the documentation. While Welsch's research falls outside this work, it would have been fascinating to have had some of the linkages between the two projects further amplified.

It is Lewis's dealings in everyday collecting that give some tantalizing glimpses into the forming of his collection. Some local people flatly refused to sell: "In afternoon tried again to buy some of the good plank and carved figures in Orokola, but all refused to sell, as they said they were made by their fathers, who were now dead, and no one could now make so good ones. One figure esp. had the best modeled face I had seen in New Guinea" (p. 475). The wistfulness is clear in Lewis's account. Other locals could be persuaded with heavy pressure:

I now asked to buy one of the crocodiles. They said they would not sell one. I finally spread out a dozen large knives and two hatchets on the floor, and said I would give that for one, only I was to pick it out. After some talk they seemed to agree to it, and let me go up to the platform (about 8 ft. from the floor) and look at the figures. I then found that all the best masks had been removed. I selected the crocodile I wanted, and the men agreed to its sale. Two rather inferior masks I also succeeded in buying. Another crocodile they would not sell. (P. 279)

Of course, some locals could be very enthusiastic traders, as Lewis discovered to his cost: "The men were quite bold, almost impudent, in the way in which they pressed their things upon one. They were also given to thieving, and stole my note book of specimens, which I had carelessly left in my pocket when I left the ship" (p. 312). Others were happily making objects that Lewis might like. Local interpreters could provide an added complication: "my interpreters lied so much I could believe hardly anything they said, as if they had an idea I would value a thing more if it came from a certain place. They always said it came from there" (p. 268). There were other

complications as well. He was not always a sole trader as this account exemplifies: “Immediately on going ashore a brisk trade sprung up, the natives being very anxious for tobacco, and myself, Dr Klug, and the captain’s representative, all interested in buying specimens, while many of the police boys wanted kundus [hand drums in Pidgin]” (p. 166). Furthermore, the ships carrying Lewis might also be involved in conscription, and the captain might have stripped a village of decorative artifacts in a previous visit. Welsch also draws attention to the crucial and largely unexplored role that Chinese traders played throughout Melanesia, living in villages with local wives.

A final, but highly significant, feature is apparent that restricted Lewis’s collecting mania—the necessity to pack items safely for onward transit. As he confesses at the end of one trip: “I have no hopes of being able to get anything more. I have had so much trouble trying to pack up what I have, that I am not very anxious to get more anyway” (p. 298). But he got round this apparent obstacle by commissioning traders and missionaries to make and forward collections directly to Chicago. At least thirteen hundred of the fourteen thousand objects were acquired in this way, particularly in the last year of his travels.

What do we get from Lewis’s adventure? We hear, not always fortissimo, his interrelationship with local people. On the whole, he is fairly scrupulous not to overstep the bounds of hospitality in his desire to see everything. We see him in relation to colonial personnel, and he does not live in their pockets. He is always ready to go to villages, however remote, if the chance to view a sing-sing is available. He seems happier with missionaries with their ambiguous relationship to colonial authority. But he seems most happy with his own company.

The mystery is how such a significant four years’ worth of work should have had, until the publication of this book, so little impact on postcolonial anthropology. Welsch addresses this topic in an essay at the end of the first volume. The burden of his argument is that Lewis’s work appeared at precisely the time that a new (or, as Welsch would argue, not so new) approach became fashionable. Welsch maintains that narrow village-based fieldwork, championed by Malinowski among others, has averted our gaze from regional and historical studies. The argument is conducted in a spirited fashion. But Lewis’s failure to produce little more than a catalogue to the Field collection during his life has farther banished him to the footnotes of anthropological history. This is a great shame, as this monograph demonstrates. This book completes the work that Lewis failed to do himself—to link material culture with an analysis of change and exchange. This restores Lewis to a proper place in the pantheon not only of anthropology but also museology.

Jane Samson, *Imperial Benevolence: Making British Authority in the Pacific Islands*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998. Pp. 256. US\$35 cloth.

Reviewed by Sally Engle Merry, Wellesley College

Unlike many books on colonial history, *Imperial Benevolence* explores the humanitarian side of British authority in the Pacific in the era leading up to colonialism. The book argues that there was a close link between a humanitarian mission and imperialism in the Pacific in the seventy-five years before the cession of Fiji in 1874. During this period, which is often ignored in histories of colonialism, imperialism was reluctant and ambivalent. This study focuses on the role of captains of the Royal Navy, individuals who typically were assigned the task of establishing the supremacy of British influence without taking on unwelcome responsibilities or upsetting other European or American powers. Samson argues that these naval officers had a sense of imperial mission and that their humanitarian endeavors were crucial to making a legitimate British authority in the Pacific. Thus, the book provides a valuable antidote to the idea that British imperial power was focused on exploitation alone. Instead, it shows that many of the people entrusted with carrying out the imperial mission were concerned with humanitarian goals. Some were devout Christians who applauded the work of missionaries. Many viewed the Pacific Islanders as savage but redeemable under the influence of civilization and Christianity. Officers commonly saw their role as protecting islanders, often refusing to retaliate for injuries to British residents.

Imperial Benevolence is full of the complexities of Pacific history. The Royal Navy captains are sometimes but not always supportive of British missionaries. They usually view the white settlers with suspicion, lumping together traders, ex-convicts, escaped seamen, and beachcombers as uniformly troublemakers. They insist on protecting islanders even when the islanders have attacked white men. This is not a two-sided story of European–Pacific Islander interaction but one in which there are multiple groups of Europeans with very different ideas of their missions and situations. Class differences run deeply through the European community. Officers are increasingly members of the aristocracy in Britain or connected to it. They respect the upwardly mobile missionaries while disdaining the lower-status whites living in beach communities. The islanders are outside this class system altogether, viewed as savages or sometimes as analogous to the ancestors of the British people.

The islanders have less voice in the book, partly because the naval officers

failed to pay attention to them. Rather than considering how the islanders were navigating complex new situations, the naval officers saw them as child-like objects of their protective concern, in need of civilization and Christianity. They attributed islander attacks on white settlers and missionaries to retaliation for injuries done to them by Europeans rather than as responses to indigenous politics. The officers seem not to have understood that the indigenous rulers were actively manipulating the British gunships. Nor did they see that islanders might have interpreted British actions—such as destroying villages in retaliation for attacks on Europeans—in ways other than they did. The officers were demonstrating the power of the British navy, but sometimes they also laid bare the ease with which islanders could escape unscathed into the mountains.

Samson provides rich documentation of the views of British naval captains. The book is a happy combination of British naval history and Pacific Islands history so that the actions of the officers, while presented in their own terms, are contextualized within the events in the region. The author clearly shows the challenges the officers faced trying to carry out such an ambiguous mandate, often with little instruction from their superiors. The policy of protection and benevolence without British control constantly put captains in an irreconcilable dilemma since they were to act but not to foster any territorial expansion. *Imperial Benevolence* examines their general approaches to this dilemma. They developed a disdain for the white beachcomber communities, where convicts, traders, and deserters often lived with islander women. Samson acknowledges that the racial mixing was a tense issue but does not spend much time on the way discomfort about this racial/gender system might have contributed to the officers' disdain. The creation of these racially liminal communities, with no clear loyalties, added to the complexity of the British naval surveillance. It seems likely that understandings of appropriate and inappropriate sexual relations contributed significantly to officers' views (see Stoler 1997).

The sandalwood trade compounded the critique of indigenous whites, particularly in Melanesia. Here, officers frequently complained about the sandalwood traders' exploitative tactics and sought to defend the islanders from their abuse. As the labor trade known as "blackbirding" developed in the 1860s and 1870s, the naval captains saw this as yet another evil wreaked upon innocent and unsuspecting Pacific Islanders by rapacious white men (p. 117). Samson notes that the navy had played a heroic role in the termination of the African slave trade and retained a sense of duty to protect the vulnerable, particularly from slaverylike practices such as blackbirding. These humanitarian naval officers believed that "only naval vigilance stood between civilization and anarchy in the South Pacific" (p. 106). Yet, Samson notes that

the Pacific Islanders in the labor trade were often eager to travel and acquire new goods, and that only some of the recruiters, only during some time periods, engaged in the abuses for which all were blamed.

Law and order was always a thorny issue. Whether the naval captains had jurisdiction over the British residents scattered across the Pacific and whether they had the right to convict and punish those islanders who injured the British was a constant dilemma for these captains. Some held trials, others did not. Efforts to impose British justice with its forms and its apparatus of hanging sometimes repelled the islanders rather than impressing them. The officers' legal authority did not extend to the indigenous peoples, for the British refused to sign any treaties with local leaders between the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 and the cession of Fiji, despite several requests for protectorate status (p. 110). Samson points out the ambiguity of the concepts of "protectorate" and "cession" during this period and notes that the less-ambiguous term "annexation" was rarely mentioned. It appears that the British naval captains created floating centers of British law and order, constantly feeling out the nature and extent of their power as they moved through the islands. They also worked to make kings in some areas, such as Tonga and Fiji, on the theory that if a ruler is ceremonially treated as a king and supported by a gunship, he may become one. The final chapter describes some of the complexity of the cession of Fiji in 1874, an event that marks the end of this ambivalent period of imperial influence without imperial control and is clearly the product of British imperial king-making.

My reading of Hawaiian history suggests that the British naval officers were more protective toward the islanders and less sympathetic to the demands of the white settler communities than American officers during the same period (see Merry 2000). Time and again they refused to retaliate for injuries or to accept requests for British protection and support. But how typical were these officers? The book focuses on the writings of ten to fifteen officers, yet Samson notes that between the beginning of regular island patrols in 1829 and the cession of Fiji in 1874 there were at least forty-nine men who commanded vessels in the South Pacific islands (p. 131). Were all these men equally humanitarian? Samson says the humanitarian impulse in Britain was fading at the end of this period and a new group of officers was taking over (p. 131). Perhaps those she discusses were typical, or perhaps they were the most prominent and widely read. Indeed, several became members of Parliament after their service in the Pacific and several wrote important treatises on the region. Clearly they were a powerful group, but they might have been the minority of officers.

In sum, this is a fascinating and important book. It makes a persuasive case for a new understanding of the role of the British navy in the Pacific

and, as such, contributes to refocusing Pacific history away from simple two-sided readings of the events into more complex intersections (see Thomas 1997). Moreover, it covers an important period between the initial explorations of the eighteenth century and the establishment of colonial control in the last quarter of the nineteenth. This book will be of interest to anthropologists, historians, students of naval history, and scholars of colonialism and postcolonialism as well as those interested in Pacific history. The writing is clear and precise and the book is full of details and careful documentation. Indeed, the book is a pleasure to read. It offers a new and fascinating perspective on the history of imperial projects in the Pacific.

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VISUAL MEDIA REVIEWS

Taking Pictures. 1996. Video, 56 min., color. Written, produced, and directed by Les McLaren and Annie Stivan. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films (32 Court St., Brooklyn, NY 11201; fax: 718-488-8642; <info@frif.com>; <http://www.frif.com>).

Reviewed by Nancy Lutkehaus, University of Southern California

TAKING PICTURES BEGINS with the visually haunting and compelling footage of fearful and awestruck highland New Guineans seeing white men—Australian gold miners—for the first time in the early 1930s. This black-and-white footage, with its grainy and dreamlike quality, is immediately juxtaposed with sharp color footage of present-day Papua New Guineans at an outdoor market in Port Moresby. The connecting link is that both sets of images of New Guineans were taken by Australians. In the sixty or so years that have transpired between the two incidents, Papua New Guinea (PNG) has become independent from Australia, filmmakers have become more self-conscious and reflexive about their practice, and Papua New Guineans have become savvy about cameras and television. “*Rambo*,” the children at the market call out in response to the interviewer’s question of what is their favorite film, while a young woman with them, shy at being filmed, laughs and turns away from the camera.

This seemingly benign interaction is suddenly interrupted by the voice of an irate man addressing the filmmaker, Les McLaren, in Tok Pisin and demanding to see McLaren’s “license” to film. We hear McLaren respond that he has a permit but that he is not carrying it with him. “No,” the man replies, “show me your permit to film us. You take these pictures home with you and

you portray us as ignorant, as if we were worthless. . . . Turn the camera off or I'll smash it"—and suddenly the screen goes blank.

The next thing we see is the film's title, *Taking Pictures*, and we quickly realize the double entendre implied.

The film that follows is a reflection upon both meanings of the title. It presents us with a brief overview and visual history of the corpus of films made by a small group of Australian filmmakers who have worked in Papua New Guinea since the early 1970s making documentary films about the indigenous cultures and the processes of cultural change they have undergone. It is also a film about filmmaking, about, as the liner notes to the video state, "the issues and pitfalls of filming across a cultural boundary." Through interviews with the filmmakers and the voice-over commentary of McLaren himself, the film also comments on the issue of documentary filmmaking as a practice that entails the taking of one group's image for the edification and enjoyment of another.

Both the film history and the references to issues concerning representation are punctuated and made more complex by the inclusion of the voices and work of indigenous Papua New Guinean filmmakers who, like their Australian counterparts, feel strongly about the value of film, especially documentary film, as a means of preserving the past—as well as a present that is rapidly changing.

In addition to Les McLaren, the seven other Australian filmmakers interviewed in the film include Gary Kildea (*Trobriand Cricket, Ileksen*), Dennis O'Rourke (*Ileksen, Yumi Yet, Shark Callers of Kontu, Cannibal Tours*), Chris Owen (*The Red Bowmen, Gogodala, Malangan Labadama, Man Without Pigs, Amb Kor*), Steve McMillan (*Kama Wosi, Pikizjaa*), Ian Dunlop (*Toward Baruya Manhood, Baruya Muka*), and the husband and wife team Bob Connolly and Robin Anderson (*First Contact, Joe Leahy's Neighbors, Black Harvest*).

The Papua New Guinea filmmakers interviewed are Martin Maden (*Stolat, Tin Pis Run*) and Kumain Kolain (*Sinnia*), while Chris Owen discusses the film he made in collaboration with PNG historian John Waiko (*Man Without Pigs*).

The film begins with McLaren's reflections on the period of the early 1970s when he, along with Kildea, O'Rourke, McMillan and Owen, first went up to New Guinea. It was, he says, "a period of social and cultural experimentation and a time of optimism." New Guinea was on the verge of independence, which came in 1975, and McLaren and his fellow Australian filmmakers were "naïve and idealistic . . . questions about representation didn't exist."

As Gary Kildea goes on to say, he and his cohorts saw themselves as "agents

of antiracism” fueled by “‘60s ideology and the idea of the equivalence of all cultures.” Filmmaking and learning to make documentaries were “tied up with learning about other people and [learning] new ways of looking at other people.” Voicing a similar sentiment, O’Rourke says that their films helped to reveal that the poetry and thoughts of Papua New Guineans were as complex and sophisticated as those of Westerners.

O’Rourke also points out that in the early 1970s film was still a very new phenomenon for most New Guinea villagers. It was exciting for them when he and Kildea would come to screen movies at night by setting up a makeshift movie theater on the beach or a village ceremonial ground. More specifically, documentary film was a way to help shape people’s understanding of the notion of a national identity. In films like *Yumi Yet* and *Ileksen* “hundreds of people,” O’Rourke says, “were seeing themselves on film for the first time.” The films they made were also meant to help people see themselves in the context of being members of a larger social entity—of being Papua New Guineans as well as villagers or residents of a particular province or region.

In addition to the theme of political education that characterizes their early films, a second theme that runs through these filmmakers’ work is that of cultural heritage. Films such as *Malangan Labadama*, *The Red Bowmen*, *Amb Kor*, *Kama Wosi*, the Baruya films, and *Shark Callers of Kontu* were a means of preserving a record of these cultures and aspects of their unique cultural practices for future generations. There was a sense, as Chris Owen points out while discussing *The Red Bowmen*, that the events being filmed were on the verge of being lost forever in the face of dislocation and other factors contributing to cultural change.

With *Shark Callers of Kontu*, however, filmmaker Dennis O’Rourke describes a new twist in his experience of trying to make a traditional ethnographic film. On the one hand, he was unsuccessful in filming the central activity—men catching sharks by means of calling them with the aid of magic and then capturing them bare-handed—until he was willing to jettison his modern technology (a rubber motor-powered dingy) and risk ruining his expensive movie camera by paddling out to sea in a dugout canoe. On the other hand, his film became more than simply a record of the traditional practice of Kontu fishermen catching sharks. Instead, the film focused on the conflict he saw dramatized before him between the traditional Kontu way of life, symbolized by the practice of the shark callers, and the new desires and experiences inspired by Christianity, alcohol, and money.

Thus, *Shark Callers of Kontu* is also representative of a third theme depicted by these Australian filmmakers, that of the impact of colonialism and cultural change on indigenous PNG cultures. In different ways this theme is

central to *Trobriand Cricket*, *First Contact*, *Joe Leahy's Neighbors*, *Black Harvest*, *Cowboy and Maria in Town*, and *Cannibal Tours*. Kildea, in reflecting upon *Trobriand Cricket* and its long-lasting success among Western audiences, suggests that perhaps the film "assuages our guilt about colonialism in the past" with its message of cultural resilience and resistance to colonial domination. Speaking also about the Western reception of the film *Black Harvest*, Bob Connolly speaks scornfully of the ethnocentrism of Hollywood, represented by the members of the Academy of Motion Pictures, who, when confronted with the chilling footage of the resurgence of tribal fighting in *Black Harvest*, had the gall to question its authenticity. What hubris, Connolly suggests, to believe that it would have been possible to stage the fighting and the resulting deaths.

The notion of cultural resistance and resilience central to *Trobriand Cricket* is a fourth theme, also explored by several other films such as *Gogodala*, Owen's film about the revival of traditional arts among the Gogodala people, and *A Man Without Pigs*, made in collaboration with historian John Waiko. The occasion of making this film in Waiko's home village prompted the staging of a traditional dance that had not been performed for several generations. The process of preparing for the dance and the event itself was used by Waiko as an opportunity to engage villagers in a discussion of their past and a dialogue about the future, especially about environmental concerns regarding logging in the area.

Finally, with O'Rourke's well-known *Cannibal Tours*, a degree of reflexivity about the filmmaking process enters directly into the subject matter of the film. In focusing on "adventure tourism" in the Sepik area, O'Rourke talks with villagers in an attempt to present their perspectives on tourism and on being the subject of the touristic gaze (Lutkehaus 1989; Silverman n.d.). He also states that the film questions not only the voyeurism of the tourist and the film viewer, but also of himself as the man behind the camera filming both the tourists and the villagers (MacCannell 1990).

The wonderful footage of Martin Maden and his colleagues Pingau Nau and Bike Johnston filming their documentary *Stolat* while studying filmmaking in France is a hilarious and touching commentary on the aspiring filmmakers' realization of what an intrusion into the lives of others filmmaking can be, as well as an appreciation of the trust and goodwill inherent in those who agree to be filmed. Indeed, this footage and the interview with Baruya filmmaker Kumain Kolain about the fear he and his Baruya elders felt upon first seeing Ian Dunlop's footage of their initiation ceremonies provide *Taking Pictures* with much-needed insight into the reactions of some of the subjects of the Australians' films to being filmed, and on the personal dynamics of the filmmaking process itself.

The film ends with O'Rourke's discussion of *Cannibal Tours*. McLaren then returns with his voice-over narration to tell us that he sympathizes with the irate man at the market we heard at the beginning of the film because, he says, there are problems and dilemmas involved with making films about others. But, he continues, "there is still reason to be optimistic about the power of film to capture moments and stories about the complex encounter between other cultures."

What we have just seen in the preceding clips and interviews, the film seems to imply, is the argument for continuing to "take pictures," despite the sticky issues of representation—of the power relations inherent in who is holding the camera versus who is on the other side having their picture taken, of how to insure that images of others do not do them injustice, that images that are supposed to be restricted do not reach audiences they should not, and so forth.

As an anthropologist who uses many of the films McLaren discusses in *Taking Pictures* in the courses I teach, as well as someone who is involved in training visual anthropologists who aspire to become documentary filmmakers, it would be difficult for me to say that I do not agree with McLaren's final comment. Moreover, I think that these particular films represent some of the most interesting films we have to date about one country at a very important moment in its history of transformation from colony to independent state.

One strength of *Taking Pictures* is that it led me to reflect upon the particular bit of film history McLaren has identified by focusing on the work of this group of Australian filmmakers. While other films were made about Papua New Guinea during the same period, these Australian films are by far the most outstanding, both in terms of content and style. There was a fortunate conjuncture between the coming of age of this group of young filmmakers, several of whom, such as Kildea, O'Rourke and McMillan, went on to make documentaries in other parts of the world, and the coming of age of Papua New Guinea as a new nation. Both the world of documentary film viewers and the people of Papua New Guinea are fortunate to have this fine corpus of films.

It is also invaluable to hear indigenous PNG filmmakers talk about their experiences making films and about what they consider to be the importance of filmmaking, as well as fascinating to see clips from some of their work, which is otherwise difficult to come by. The fact that they are present in the film also serves implicitly to suggest that the "taking of pictures" has not been unidirectional and that the value of film as a cultural record is also recognized by Papua New Guineans as well as by outsiders.

Because this is primarily a film about making films, with tantalizing clips

of the films being presented (sometimes without identifying titles), prior knowledge of the films being discussed by the filmmakers is advantageous. Thus, the ideal audience for the film includes students and scholars of visual anthropology or documentary film interested in the history of ethnographic film, Melanesian and Pacific scholars already familiar with the films, or individuals interested in a brief introductory overview of the films and some insight into the filmmakers who made them.

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BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLANDS PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, JANUARY–JUNE 2001

THIS LIST of significant 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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