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PACIFIC STUDIES

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WORKING WRONGLY AND SEEKING THE STRAIGHT: REMEDIAL REMEDIES ON ENEWETAK ATOLL

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Classical approaches to righting wrongs among Pacific societies have been couched in terms of normative models of authority, and particularly in relation to societies with positions of ascribed authority, chiefs, and those with acquired authority like Melanesian center persons ("big-men"). In this article, I contend that typological approaches to the analysis of perceived wrongdoing are of limited utility in the assessment of how wrongdoing is culturally fashioned and socially redressed. Instead, I suggest that constructions of wrongdoing are culturally relative. Moreover, ideas and feelings about just and unjust action within the community are also relative and depend upon varied logical scenarios that community members use to construct and project their social identities. Specific cases from Ujelang and Enewetak Atolls in the Republic of the Marshall Islands are considered in relation to contested issues such as land and chieftainship, the moral value of monogamy versus polygamy, and the symbolic use and social valuation of alcohol and suicide. These cases demonstrate that differently positioned social actors rationalize their ideas about wrongdoing and injustice in a variety of ways as they develop and maintain empowered senses of identity within the community.

Enewetak and Ujelang Atolls, westernmost outliers of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, are the primary residence locations for the Enewetak-Ujelang community. The small, but rapidly growing, community is strongly egalitarian in relation to nearby Pohnpei or even to the central sections of the Rālik and Ratak chains of the Marshall Islands. Nevertheless, its members possess a strict sense of hierarchy supported by respect for authority and moral obligation to family, clan, and community. Their sense of solidarity, constantly threatened by growth and social differentiation, is mani-

fest in claims that "the people of Ujelang-Enewetak are really just one big family: all are really one." The way in which these crosscutting egalitarian and hierarchical sensibilities are interrelated in the search for recognition and justice by those who feel they have been wronged forms the focus of this article. Internal as well as external manifestations of interpersonal and intergroup relationships shall be considered.[1]

The complex colonial history of Ujelang and Enewetak Atolls in many respects makes these locations ideal settings for the exploration of transnational and intercultural apologia. Local residents claim that in the nineteenth century German colonizers "purchased" Ujelang Atoll from inebriated chiefs for use as a copra plantation. Descendants of these former Ujelang residents contend that their forebears found it difficult to work their land for minimal compensation under the plantation supervisors, and many left for Pohnpei, the Marshall Islands, and even Fiji. Outside laborers were recruited, including Enewetak people, and the marriage relationships they established with Ujelang people are now used to lend historical grounding to current claims of unity between the two neighboring atoll groups. Ujelang was eventually abandoned as a copra plantation before World War II, when the Japanese administered much of Micronesia. It was used by Japan as a "weather station" during the war but remained uninhabited after U.S. Navy personnel swept the atoll near the war's end.

Enewetak was developed as a Japanese military base during World War II and, along with Kwajalein, became the site of a major Allied-Japanese battle in February 1944. While over 20 percent of the Enewetak population was killed during the battle, these traumatic experiences were soon overshadowed by experiences of exile and famine as the community was relocated to Ujelang Atoll (in December 1947) to allow the United States to conduct nuclear tests on their home atoll. Even the relocation was differently experienced by various members of the community, since before the war a group of Ujelang people had migrated from Jaluij to Enewetak and married into the community. For them, the move to Ujelang was as much homecoming as it was exile. The community remained on Ujelang for over thirty years. In 1976 an agreement that returned Enewetak to its primordial owners was signed and in 1980, after a substantial cleanup effort, the community returned home. Ownership of Ujelang was also given to the Ujelang-Enewetak people in partial compensation for hardship and the loss of use of parts of Enewetak Atoll.[2]

This brief historical overview of interactions with Japan and the United States sets the stage for an understanding of local ideas about transcultural apologies and compensations. These larger-order ideas about social justice, however, cannot be appreciated without first understanding the strategies

employed by local people in their day-to-day lives to create moral order in conditions where people feel they have been wronged.

Local Contexts of Apology for Perceived Wrongdoing

Any discussion of the moral order in the Marshall Islands has implications in terms of local formulations of personhood and the embeddedness of different sorts of social persona in local notions of rank. The socially negotiated character of personhood has been well explored in various writings about the Pacific (i.e., White and Kirkpatrick 1985; Lutz 1988; Shore 1987, 1990, 1991; Black 1978, 1983).[3] A Marshall Islands persona, it has been noted, is "not so much an autonomous self . . . as part of a larger community of selves" (Marshall 1996:249; Carucci 1987b, 1995). But local formulations of personhood are an integral part of local ideas about rank and chieftainship as well. In the ideal formulation, persons in positions of power in the Marshall Islands frequently talk about legitimate and correct modes of acting. Through their exemplary actions, the most empowered persons also instantiate and give evidence of ideal and proper actions. Through this combination of proper action and "straight" or "suitable" talk, highly regarded chiefs and others in positions of power gain the right to judge, using command-form utterances (i.e., *kwon, komin:* "you") without offense to direct the actions of others. Those who are lower ranked accept these proclamations, even if they do not always adhere to their seniors' statements. A person's rank and concomitant acts of authority are legitimized in terms of age, generation, gender, clan, and claim to chiefly identity but most critically in terms of one's claim as an insider rather than an outsider. Colonially inspired positions have been refashioned into meaningful local statuses, and their occupants frequently use their positions to make claims to power. On Enewetak and Ujelang, these newly fashioned statuses are concentrated in the domains of religion, governance, and locally implemented programs to ease atoll repatriation. While it is common for any power claim to be contested, claims made by those holding new statuses are almost certain to be brought into question (Carucci 1997a:205–210).

The local strategies for righting wrongs on Enewetak, as formerly on Ujelang, must be understood in relation to these parameters. Nevertheless, it is also important to keep the quest for locally meaningful actions in the foreground and resist the temptation to generalize too quickly on purely institutional or functional grounds. At a recent conference of Pacific scholars where islanders' strategies for dealing with injustice were being discussed, the varied cultural scenarios for dealing with feelings of injustice were ultimately divided into the all-too-classical "Melanesian" and "Polynesian" ap-

proaches to such matters. While it is clear that issues of justice are closely related to cultural conceptions of identity, personhood, and rank—to notions of who has a right to speak and who speaks for whom—grandiose European divisions into Melanesian and Polynesian styles of "righting wrongs" seem to me to lead us astray. Indeed, the Enewetak-Ujelang community defies the seemingly clear-cut distinctions between these "Melanesian" and "Polynesian" modes of dealing with injustice, since in this small, outer-atoll context there is a dual value placed on both hierarchical authority and egalitarian approaches to social justice.[4] Therefore, while persons of rank (and particularly chiefs) speak with unequal voices, disempowered persons also have a number of strategies to extract retribution for wrongs that they are dealt. Lacking a system of formal law, structurally disempowered persons adopt strategies of public display to make their overlooked injustices visible to others in the community. While these strategies do not always bring about immediate redress of perceived injustice, the actions do place their pleas within the public arena. Should an internal dispute continue, local residents may use other strategies to gain a hearing by cosmic authorities like God or the ancestors. The depiction of these strategies, given below, illustrates that grand-level typifications, like the differences between Melanesian and Polynesian models of justice, contribute little to the analysis of social action. Instead, given the dual value Enewetak and Ujelang people place on stellar activity and hierarchy, on the one hand, and on humility, sharing, and an egalitarian ethic, on the other, social actors consistently manipulate the cultural symbols available to them in order to create meaningful and empowered positions for themselves in a variety of social settings.[5]

What, then, are the particular structural features of the Enewetak and Ujelang community that make it seem to anthropologists as if it mediates the distinctions between Melanesian and Polynesian modes of dealing with injustice? Most apparently, in contrast to highly ranked societies like Hawai'i during the dawning days of European colonialism, the Enewetak and Ujelang community is relatively small in scale. The community has shown a rapid growth from 139 immediately after World War II to around 440 persons in 1977, to the current population of over 1,200 persons. Even at 1,200 the group retains fragments of its small-scale, outer-island flavor. A core component of community identity that is integrally intertwined with its small scale is a strongly egalitarian ethic. Enewetak and Ujelang people constantly appeal to this ethic to bring into question the absolute authority of "inside others," that is, those who share identity as local people ("people of Enewetak") yet differ from others by their claims to positions of rank. While this ethic is itself threatened by the group's expanding size, it still forms an important component of the way in which Enewetak and Ujelang people

distinguish themselves from many other atoll groups in the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia.

In contradistinction to this ethic of egalitarianism, yet coexisting with it, is the authority of chiefs and elders (both male and female). Inherently chiefs are ranked higher than those who "exist (or remain) on other pathways" of social relationship (as local people describe their so-called lines of kinship), and, along with chiefs, those who are older serve as the voices of justice. Chiefs, in particular, are the mediators of an ultimate authority that, like themselves, has a noncorporeal, superhuman source. Indeed, current-day chiefs are empowered from above by relationship pathways that lead to ancient god-chiefs who are represented as stars in the heavens (Carucci 1980, 1988, 1997a, 1997b). This pathway to the deities gives chiefs their "outsider/insider" rank. As outside arbitrators, chiefs should ensure just outcomes to earthly disputes. But when wrongdoing is left unattended by chiefs and elders, Marshallese believe that those who created the damage will be sanctioned by noncorporeal beings, usually ancestor spirits, ancient gods, or God. When disputes arise in which people feel wronged, it is a family head's job to mediate the disagreement if the disputants are all within the same family, but for more far-ranging controversies the chief intercedes and, ultimately, decides who is right. As head of an extended family or clan, the mother's older brother *(wūllepa-)* is placed at a necessary distance to be able to weigh fairly controversies within that family. As head of an intermarried series of clans or extended families, a chief's high-ranked position places him or her in a position to posit fair outcomes to community disputes. As beings with paths of connection to the heavens, primordial chiefs, far more empowered than their earthly descendants, provide logistical guidance for seafarers and moral guidance for the community as a whole (cf. Lutz 1988 for Ifaluk). The presence of these absolute authorities, in the ideal, separates the dispute resolution strategies of Ujelang and Enewetak people, at least in a relative sense, from approaches to adjudication that are often associated with "typical" Melanesian societies.

A second significant way in which Ujelang and Enewetak differ from the classically described Melanesian methods of situating wrongdoing relates to the presence of absolute "others"—groups out there who are inherently unlike "us." Ujelang and Enewetak people's very strong sense of community identity is vested in equally stringent distinctions between "us" and "them." Indeed, during the move from trust territory status to free association, the Ujelang-Enewetak community made a strong appeal to the United Nations to maintain its long-standing independence from the Marshall Islands and, at the same time, remain independent from Pohnpei state in the Federated States of Micronesia. While an increasing rate of intermarriage with

Marshall Islanders has had effects on this ideology of entirely independent atoll identity, it is still an idea that is frequently and vigorously supported in local discussions of "us" versus "them."

But "we" and "they" are also manipulated at internal levels within the community as a mechanism to ensure normative conformity. Clans are units with absolute criteria of membership, and it is not surprising that they are the locus of insider-outsider types of arguments. Even within bilateral extended families, which have flexible boundaries, inclusion and exclusion are negotiated using the criterion of moral and just demeanor. Personal actions are critical to interpersonal relations on Ujelang (cf. Flinn 1996), and parents, like others in positions of power, constantly classify recalcitrants as outsiders as a method of bringing their actions within the norm. While this strategy points to the extremely high value placed on the persuasive power of public and communal judgments of one's person, it also indexes the communal nature of personal identity. A wide array of linguistic and social devices are used by those in positions of power on behalf of communal others to bring pressure on people to alter courses of action judged to be undesirable. Their logic usually operates along the lines seen in this attempt by the head of a group of women to reorient the actions of two young inebriates: "We [endeared, four or more] mothers of yours beseech the two of you to stop drinking. All this fighting, it is bad. Do the two of you think you are Chuukese? If you want to be Chuuk people, go on, move there to Chuuk. But do not make trouble here; it is bad. Go home and sleep." On the opposite side, the lack of a strong ideology of individuality means that persons are not constrained by concomitant requirements for consistent action across contexts. Today's troublesome inebriate can be tomorrow's ideal community citizen. In the above statement, the boundaries between "us" and "them" are manipulated to override consistency of the "I" or "you" in order to create a desire for actions acceptable within the local community.

The above features certainly seem to align Ujelang and Enewetak with the classic depictions of Polynesian social orders (Goldman 1957; Sahlins 1968), where persons who claim rights to culturally empowered identities have substantial authority over the less empowered. Yet, even though these similarities may be legitimate in a grand-classificatory sense, the classifications often distort as much as they clarify. In particular, the top-down authority model only makes sense in the ideal, as it is being discussed. It never works so smoothly in daily life. Subsequent sections of this work concentrate on some of the cultural sites where contradictory elements of the ideology come into conflict in practice. In particular, I shall focus on social actors who are situationally disempowered and whose displays of disenfranchisement make apparent the weight of psychological disaffection that results

from social and structural constraints. Frequent difficulties in the righting of wrongs occur in such instances. Ultimately empowered, superhuman entities like God legislate correctness rather simply by bringing misery to certain segments of the community, by making misguided humans ill, or by killing them. In ancient times, local residents claim that chiefs, the earthly representatives of these deities, acted with similar caprice. Indeed, one particularly capricious leader, a warrior called Maankolo (the one in front with hair standing on end), received this moniker as a result of his unpredictability (Carucci 1985). Given multiple sources for feelings of injustice, those who are structurally disadvantaged must bring attention to their sense of disenfranchisement. They must make their cause public and then attempt to align the community's empathic sentiments with symbolic renderings of their sense of abuse.

Chiefs, Counter-chiefs, and Claims of the Community

Claims of priority between chiefly lines are vested in the relationship between older and younger siblings. The tools of contestation include the ability to establish the shortest, most highly ranked pathway to the original ruling chiefs of Enewetak. No less important, however, are issues of demeanor and practice (cf. Flinn 1996). Using a bilateral logic of relationships through extended families and given multiple linkages through land, all Ujelang and Enewetak people claim to be chiefs (cf. Howard and Rensel 1996), and they support their claims with stories that link them to one or more of the primordial Enewetak and Ujelang chiefs. These contested accounts are not only symbolic mechanisms of personal empowerment, they are strategies that test the compassion and generosity of today's standing chiefs.

The return to Enewetak after thirty years of exile created a major arena of discord in relation to land (an equally frequent topic of disagreement throughout the Marshall Islands). On account of its shortage and its new importance in relation to nuclear compensation payments, land has become doubly important.[6] Moreover, disputes over land cannot be unilaterally negotiated, since multiple parties are continually contesting the potency of their linkages through land. Nearly every sand spit on Enewetak has a plethora of histories to establish and legitimize different claims to the location, but some locations are of particular importance. Other than the stories of those who currently use such locations, these are tales of disenfranchisement that incorporate historical discussions of injustice. The dispute over the windward end of Enewetak islet indicates that this location is of particular importance, since local people have rewritten their stories of disenfranchisement into a discussion about true and false chiefs. Like the gold-plated portrayals of

their noncorporeal primordial ancestors, true chiefs should be "truly moral": compassionate, generous, and able to judge correctly between right and wrong. Current-day chiefs, often accused of self-interest, are always measured against this (unattainable) ideal.

The Jittōk-en (windward end) land dispute has been an ongoing point of discussion since 1978, when the community first agreed on a set of land boundaries before their repatriation on Enewetak. It is particularly volatile because the center of the American village on Enewetak islet was constructed here. Many buildings remain, and, on the easternmost tip, the complex known as "the lab" (the former Marine Biological Laboratory or, earlier, the U.S. Coast Guard facility and navy boat ramp) houses the representative residues of Americana (centrally generated power, air conditioning, running water, flush toilets, paneled trailer living quarters with televisions [VCRs], and a well-stocked supply of imported food). Those with legitimized use rights to this land parcel, in theory, also have rights to the flotsam that accumulated after the war. Numerous firefights have erupted over this land parcel since 1978, and the issue is far from resolved. In between recurring arguments over the windward end of the islet, the only solution that can coexist with the counterbalancing need for a display of community solidarity is silence. The silence represents a lingering respect for chiefs, yet the dispute over this parcel is a commonly noted reason that people of the current day claim that today's Enewetak chiefs are no longer deserving of respect.

There are two major accounts of the windwardmost land parcel. The first is that of the Enewetak chiefly line; the second, the community view. Numerous minor variants of these two stories also exist. All accounts agree on certain points: the owner of this land parcel, Neoj, was the last representative of her line.[7] As she neared death, she made certain statements about her desired disposition of the land. The living community must honor her wishes in order to maintain proper balance in the social and noncorporeal universe. Indeed, if the atoll's residents cannot settle the dispute in a just or correct way, it is thought that the deities will decide the dispute between the reigning chiefly line and the local people.

One core firefight in this dispute came in 1982 when the aged younger brother of the feeble Enewetak chief made the argument the central issue at an atollwide council meeting. In his rendition, Neoj did not specifically allocate the disposition of the Jittōk-en land parcel, because she wanted it to return to the larger extended family of which her soon-to-be extinct line was a part. Neoj was related to the two old chiefs and their offspring through this larger extended family. Indeed, the two were the only living elders of that line in 1982.

The community, allied against them, contended that Neoj had specifi-

cally given the land parcel to one of her adopted children. With the exception of a couple of atoll residents, every Enewetak person can trace a relationship pathway to Neoj's adopted child. This account, in other words, was a way to legitimize common atoll rights to the church, council house, school grounds, and dispensary as well as to the other buildings and building materials on this parcel. When "the lab" reverted to local control, it too would be communally held. The old chief's version placed total control over the land and its products in the hands of the Enewetak chiefs and their close relatives.

In many respects, the argument over the Jittōk-en land parcel has been a referendum on the whole notion of chieftainship. At the same time, it is part of the larger attempt of Enewetak people to represent the 1980 repatriation as a definitive point of rupture between the old and the new. When traders and missionaries first arrived on Enewetak, space was made for them on the Enewetak chief's centrally located land parcel, Lojitak. In those days, the chief is said to have been held in high regard, and, at the same time, he is said to have been considerate and generous toward those who lived under his guidance. During the later years on Ujelang, the centrality of the chiefs came into question. The respected Enjepe chief Ebream died in the mid-1960s, and by the time people were repatriated on Enewetak, the Enewetak chief, Ioanej, was losing his effectiveness. The abilities of the offspring of the two chiefs were continually questioned in 1982. As the chief's younger brother brought the issue up, in part he was asserting his own rights and ability to assume the chiefly position when Ioanej died. Yet, Ioanej's two oldest sons also supported his younger brother's position, and their actions were seen by the community as a way to gain access to goods for the family's own use. Otherwise, these goods would be divided in a relatively equal way among community members.

In a sense, the outcomes of the dispute might have been irrelevant. If the chiefs proved themselves generous, as good chiefs should, they would provide community access to the lands on which they lived (as their fathers and grandfathers had) and distribute the goods throughout the community in an equitable manner. In 1982, however, arguments centered on the contents and use of one warehouse: did access and use fall to the whole community, or was it to be reserved for the chiefs?

Ultimately, the chiefs simply appropriated the land for themselves. They increased their use of the land, built new dwellings on it, and buried some members of their families on the land as well. Each act was a local representational strategy to lay claim to the land (see Carucci 1992 for a related case). The dispute became very heated, additional council meetings were called, and many members of the community spoke about their understandings of

the matter. Stories about the chieftainship began to circulate with greater frequency, particularly a story that contended that today's chiefs were illegitimately empowered. According to this story, a renowned nineteenth-century Enewetak figure, using his superior knowledge of "clothed person's talk," had misled German authorities into believing he was the chief and had also convinced them (or become convinced by the Germans) that the chieftainship itself passed along a path of males rather than females. By this account, the entire twentieth-century line of chiefs and the very principle of passing the chieftainship along a male pathway were incorrect. The descent line should be female, it should come from the renowned nineteenth-century figure's mother's older sister, and, most important, following this true (but hidden) chiefly line, one of the most generous and kind respected elders on the atoll should be chief today.

In spite of this heated rhetoric and other grumbling about the conduct of the chiefs during this time, the community disowned neither the principle of patrilateral pathways nor the chieftainship itself. This fact, I believe, points up how deeply ingrained the ideology of hierarchy, prototypically invested in divine chiefs, actually is. Indeed, atoll residents talked about what might happen if they abandoned these chiefs, and, despite claims of their false empowerment, many still feared superhuman punishment if these chiefs were just abandoned. Therefore, while people no longer felt that the chiefs had the personal power of living gods, as did ancient chiefs, they feared that if they just "tossed them out," these predecessors, along with God, might become so upset as to cause harm to the community.

Instead, people decided to wait, claiming that if they had been treated unjustly, God and the ancestors would respond. Some claimed that the spirit of Neoj would appear to straighten out the injustice, but it was God who made the first statement. God's decision was delivered in the form of a typhoon in December 1982 that, at 135 knots, created substantial destruction on Enewetak. In particular, the eastern section of Jittōk-en, including all of the disputed land parcel, was demolished (not surprising, inasmuch as the eastern tip of the islet is only four or five feet above the water at high tide). For local people who disagreed with the chiefly family, the typhoon represented God's selective admonishment of the chiefs for their deleterious actions and improper claims.

With Age Comes Rank: Alcohol and the Assertion of Injustice

While inherent rank is a feature of the ideology of chieftainship, rank is also present in the way that Ujelang and Enewetak people conceive of age. With age comes rank, and the most common cases in which ordinary people feel

wronged arise as a result of the application of rules that differentially distribute power in accord with age. In the prototypical case, the younger, lower-ranked member must obey the dictates of any older sibling or any member of an older generation. The theory is not fully as simplistic as it might appear. In some sense even high-ranked chiefs and respected elders, like Ioanej, lose power as they become "senile" *(ppāl).* Overt trappings of respect remain, but those who are younger often do not act in accord with the professed desires of these truly aged persons. The discrepancy, however, also has to do with the control of knowledge. At the most general level of ideology, a largely linear relationship exists between increasing experience and increasing knowledge. Young children are, with frequency, said to be "crazy," and as they become enculturated humans, their craziness is replaced with knowledge and experience. Only in truly old age, when one loses control of the vast array of types of knowledge he or she can bring to bear on community affairs, is a person once again referred to with frequency as "crazy."

Cultural categories commonly classify human experience in less than perfectly adequate ways, and Marshallese culture is no different in this regard. Young children become very accepting of the admonishments of their slightly older sibling caretakers, but on both sides of the child-adult boundary, issues of unjust treatment are encountered. Mature, unmarried youth and young married adults alike find themselves so near the liminal boundaries of their social category that expectations and practices do not come into easy alignment. Feelings of injustice are the result, and youthful adults (or adult-like youth) must adopt some form of action to bring the abuse of one's person to the attention of the community as a whole. The ego-altering attractions of alcohol provide one common route to recognition, while suicide, I believe, provides a much more adamant expressive avenue to gain the community's attention.

For drinkers, the socially inebriated self, really an alter ego who adopts moral strategies and practical actions typical of aggressive young male warriors, is able to lobby in behalf of the abused.[8] Statements about feelings of moral injustice that a young man (typically) would hesitate to make about his older sibling and would not dare say to his mother's older brother are common topics of discussion among age mates in a drinking circle. In public drinking establishments in Majuro (government center of the Marshall Islands), fights often erupt among drinking groups when the stage management and audience separation techniques used in daily life break down (Goffman 1959: ch. 3), that is, when younger siblings and younger-generation clan mates come into direct conflict with their "elders." On Ujelang and Enewetak, however, small-scale drinking groups comprising age mates fre-

quently drink in isolated spots in the bush, in uninhabited houses, or in the houses of single males. Since the drinking circles are carefully selected, internal fights are infrequent. Indeed, while they are formally prohibited, such gatherings are considered by many to be harmless, and they are likely to be psychologically beneficial. Nevertheless, inebriates frequently become more bold, and as they move into the community to confront those who they feel have done them wrong, they begin to incur the wrath of their elders. Nevertheless, the wrath is tinged with ambivalence (toward the person, if not the drink), because the person involved is not entirely responsible for his or her own actions (Marshall 1979, 1981; Carucci 1987a). As an inebriated soul begins to use an ever more aggressive manner, his or her actions become a central community concern.

One particularly notorious encounter occurred on Ujelang in 1977 between a favored grandson of the Jittōk-en chief and his mother's older brother (by adoption), at that time the Ujelang magistrate and one of the most empowered figures in the community. While I did not hear the initial admonishment, the young man (whom I shall call Jahnsten) was offended when the magistrate denounced him in a public setting for engaging in polygamy.[9] In addition to his wife of long standing, Jahnsten was cohabiting with his wife's attractive younger sister. He had built her a separate house on the old chief's land parcel and, in conversations with me, said that he wanted to marry her.[10] His plans, however, were complicated by the fact that the magistrate was the Jittōk-en chief's adopted son, and Jahnsten's recently pubescent paramour was the magistrate's adopted daughter (genealogically, his sister's daughter). If Jahnsten planned to marry the girl, he could not avoid asking for the magistrate's blessing.

Jahnsten was a renowned drinker, a trait that local people claim he "took from" his father (a highly respected in-married man from Sapwuahfik [Ngatik] who had "killed himself" by alcoholic overindulgence). Within a couple of weeks of the public shaming, Jahnsten excused himself from a drinking circle, where he and a group of age mates and one older man had been sharing a home-brewed batch of "yeast," and approached the magistrate's house. The public accusations of bigamy and the young man's paramour had been the topics of discussion in the drinking circle that inspired the young man to "walk about for a while." Some of those in the drinking circle claim that Jahnsten left the group because he intended to ask the magistrate about marrying his daughter (sister's daughter). Others say that he wanted to discuss the shaming incident with the magistrate.

Whatever the case, soon after his arrival at the magistrate's house, loud shouts could be heard reverberating through the village, and community members rushed quickly to the magistrate's lanai. My adopted father and I

ran from a nearby cookhouse and were among the first to arrive. Within minutes, nearly half of the community encircled the house. Two mature men held Jahnsten, while another respected elder attempted to calm the magistrate, occasionally grabbing his arm as he moved toward his daughter's lover. The magistrate denounced Jahnsten's drunken state and told him to leave his house and land. Jahnsten screamed back, filing his complaints that the magistrate had lied and that those lies had been improperly recorded in the community's collective memory.

As the shouts abated slightly, the adult monitors relaxed their grip on Jahnsten and, using his considerable strength and notable size, he broke loose, grabbed a sizable boulder, and hurled it at the magistrate. The bulky elder dodged and turned his back, and the large rock glanced off of his shoulder. Suddenly, women began shrieking in the loud wails that accompany a death. The two men seized Jahnsten by the arms again, and two of his sister's daughters rushed forward, wailing and sobbing to beg him to return to his own house. After a few minutes of shouting, during which he reasserted his claims of abuse, Jahnsten allowed himself to be led from the scene, toward his own house.

In this instance, both parties felt wronged, but the magistrate freely voiced his opinions in public while Jahnsten, though both married and respected among his peers, could only use the drinking circle as a forum to express his discontent. Not yet satisfied with his peers' agreement that he had suffered abuse, Jahnsten ventured into the village to find a more public arena in which to announce his dissatisfaction. Here, he did not argue with the magistrate about polygamy or his desire to marry the daughter but, instead, focused on the fact that the magistrate had "lied" by not presenting the community with the facts of the case (that is, that he hoped and planned to marry the young woman [honorably], not just to court her without permission).[11]

While used with greater frequency by unmarried youth, alcohol provides one of the only avenues available to the structurally disempowered to display their disenfranchisements (see Carucci 1990 for a related argument). Marshall notes that alcohol is commonly used as a disinhibitor in a variety of societies (1981), but it is the way in which Ujelang and Enewetak people culturally contour inebriation that is of particular interest. On Enewetak, inebriation is given certain social performative shapes, and those who become inebriated are able to speak with (partially) embodied voices from which they can make appeals to common understandings of just treatment. The partial dissociation of the inebriate's persona from his or her everyday self gives a person license to bring to light injustices that arise in a small-scale society in which all deserve to be heard, yet it is taken for granted that

people have different rights as a result of their rank. While the liminality of the performance allows for the confrontation of hierarchy, the residual connections between the persona of the inebriate and his or her everyday self also remain important, for it is these residual ties that allow claims of having been wronged to be tracked and assessed by other members of the community.

Just as the qualities of disinhibition only provide the clay from which the social and moral characteristics of the inebriate are fashioned by Enewetak and Ujelang people, so the liminal nature of the performances does not adequately account for the negotiated outcomes. Therefore, while the above scenario fits Victor Turner's idea of a "social drama," Turner's analytic frame automatically forces the observer to see the drama from the level of the system (1974). The drama moves through four stages: a breach of norms, a buildup phase leading to a crisis, redress, and "the realignment of social relations when a new equilibrium is achieved" (Myerhoff 1978:149). While it is tempting, even useful, to be drawn into this social relational model, in fact the way in which the issues of justice are negotiated as well as the outcomes for the participants are far more semiotically nuanced. The contours of Jahnsten's life have been altered as a result of the social drama described above (see note 11). Generic equilibrium has not been the outcome, but rather an ongoing negotiated discourse about the position of polygamy in the community. While the postmissionization "norm" is now monogamy, stories of historically viable Marshallese polygamy abound. In Foucault's terms (1988–1990), the entire delegitimation of once acceptable sexual practices that took place in Europe and the United States during the past four hundred years is not equally represented in the Marshallese worldview. While polygamy represents but a small and disjointed fragment in discussions of Marshallese considerations of sexuality, fuel recently has been added to discussions of multiple spouses (note 9) by senators and representatives in the emerging Republic of the Marshall Islands who, people contend, have readopted polygamous practices as a measure of their own increasing rank. These debates will almost certainly become more heated in the future, as local custom becomes increasingly reified and commodified. As elsewhere in the Pacific, Marshall Islanders will continue to gain a reinvigorated sense of cultural identity, which will require a further disentangling of local "tradition" from colonially inspired practices. Although monogamy may ultimately "become" Marshallese custom, polygamy may also become a marker of rank in a more assertive version of Marshallese identity.

If Jahnsten's inebriation is thought of as a "social drama," it is true that, from the perspective of the system, "norms" were breached. Nevertheless,

in terms of the negotiated nature of community justice, it is more fruitful to say that the magistrate and Jahnsten were drawing on different symbolic formulations of "that which is just." These formulations reflected their different social situations at the time. While it may be analytically useful to see any inebriation scenario as a liminal, norm-breaching event, this systemic perspective leads to the unacceptable idea that there is a single, systemwide, norm, shared by all under all circumstances throughout time. But Marshallese culture is historically and contextually varied, and elsewhere I have argued that what may be "time out" from normative action in the adult-dominated community is "time in" from the perspective of young unmarried Marshallese males (Carucci 1987a). The norms themselves are positional and relative. It is only the anthropologist positioned in the analytic stance of the observer of the system who creates a unified norm. Indeed, in the above case, the magistrate's position also shifted as a result of the encounter with Jahnsten. Even though he was simply representing "norms" of propriety and just action (from a systems-oriented view), after the incident the community continued to talk about this encounter for a number of years. In subsequent elections, a portion of Jahnsten's extended family, which was also part of the extended family of the adopted magistrate, chose to vote against the magistrate because they felt he had failed to treat seriously Jahnsten's sincere appeals about his paramour. In addition, several of Jahnsten's age mates along with some of Jahnsten's paramour's age mates and close friends also decided the magistrate would not receive their votes. The (mythic) "norm," in other words, took on an altered character as a result of this incident, and while the magistrate won the next election, by the following election community support had shifted to another candidate.

It is important to recognize that justice, although generated out of the crosscutting logical possibilities of the worldview of Enewetak and Ujelang people, is not a monolithically constituted phenomenon, unchanging through time. Instead, notions of just action are situation-specific, inherently negotiated, and changeable through time. Social actors develop arguments about just treatment as part of the way in which they position themselves vis-à-vis their compatriots in an ever-changing world. From the adult perspective of a church member and distinguished elder, *kadek im bwebwe* (drunk and crazy) may be a viable depiction of the liminal condition represented by young, single, inebriated males, but from the perspective of those young men, the world is fashioned out of different material and the fabric is tinted with different moral colors. While their stories are multifaceted, in the view of young men, liminal portrayals like the one outlined above provide a core mechanism through which their voices are made public and through which unjust treatment can be brought to the attention of a large part of the community.

Mediations of Power between the Corporeal and Noncorporeal Spheres

Those who contemplate suicide often express feelings of being greatly wronged, often by those not only older, but of opposite gender as well. With an ideology of shared matriclan identity, the mothers (a person's gentrix as well as classificatory mothers) and the mothers' brothers are the most-honored personae within a younger person's milieu. Indeed, as one becomes an aging mother with many children and grandchildren or an aging mother's brother who can speak for his sisters' entire clan, elevated rank and authority are taken for granted. Yet, along with honor come distance and unapproachability. It is not surprising, therefore, that these persons are said to be frequent intended recipients of the message carried by a suicide.

While inebriates always invoke ambivalence, persons attempting suicide leave little question about their commitment to their feelings of having been abused. Marshall Islanders learned from the Japanese that it was honorable to die for one's beliefs, and the sacrifice of one's own life provides an ultimate righting for the wronged. Marshall Islanders see it as a way to make living survivors feel extremely guilty for a perceived moral abuse. By choosing suicide, the perpetrator (a victim only in the sense of the community's judgment that he or she has been wronged) renegotiates an ongoing exchange between the living and the dead (Weiner 1976; Schieffelin 1976). Such an individual actively disrupts the extant social interrelationship between living and dead to point up an abuse of his or her person. The perpetrator seeks to create a sense of loss among the living by, simultaneously, acting in an honorific manner among noncorporeal humans, who themselves are able to see the differences between right and wrong in a much clearer manner than the living.

Any death brings about a renegotiation between corporeal and noncorporeal beings, though beings who are the closest to life, the recently dead, are most frequently involved in such negotiations. Persons carry their core personality traits across this boundary, since such attributes are determined by one's clan identity and clan identity does not change at death. Those who were cantankerous in life *(lej)* will cause difficulties after death by intervening in the day-to-day lives of the living, causing illness and, should the spirit being be spiteful, even death. Cosmic sanction is unquestionable and unquestioned, and the will of God is often mediated and enforced by lower-order ancestor spirits. Living residents constantly reshape their lives in order to bring their actions into line with the messages they receive from noncorporeal beings, who always act and adjudicate in a moral manner. Those who commit suicide thereby benefit from several sources of empowerment. First,

"victims" of suicide draw immediate attention to their plight. Second, they transform their very being into that of a moral agent for God who can bring about consequences for those who formerly maligned them during their lives. And third, they command acknowledgment and greater respect from the living. Whereas a person attempting suicide feels his or her voice has not been properly heard or acknowledged, as a noncorporeal spirit he or she will command immediate respect. Living persons must respond to messages from noncorporeal beings (mostly communications through the recently deceased) by changing their own actions or through exchange (sacrifice). The social persona of the deceased suicide victim, in other words, is recognized and valued not only through the process of public mourning, but in the exchanges with noncorporeal beings that follow the death.

Although I have not interviewed anyone about their discontent just before a suicide, suicide has skyrocketed since the return to Enewetak Atoll. In large part, those who feel wronged are near the boundaries of adulthood—mature youths who have not yet married or young married people who have not yet reached an age to attain the benefits of fully mature adults. While suicide is more frequent among males than among females, young women also attempt suicide with increasing frequency on Majuro and Ebeye. The single suicide on Ujelang Atoll occurred just before the community's return to Enewetak. It involved a young male who is said to have been upset with his mother's failure to recognize him and help build a place for him in the community. The young man grew up elsewhere in the Marshall Islands and only returned to Ujelang a couple of years before his death. While the young man had some knowledge of what it is to be an important person, the seemingly unbridgeable distance between his own station on Ujelang and the attainment of those ends must have provided an unresolvable contradiction. His sense of importance was marked by his position as a chiefly descendant and the praenomen he shared with a famous rock star. At the same time, on Ujelang he was largely a foreign newcomer whose father was from elsewhere. He had quit school to move to Ujelang, and even though his mother was a chief's daughter (and he had been socialized on an atoll where descendants of females became chiefs), on Ujelang he found himself in a society where chiefly descent is transmitted through males. Therefore, while he may have grown up thinking of himself as a person of importance (a chief), on Ujelang it was his cross-cousins who would become future chiefs. While his age mates indicated he was laconic and filled with sadness *(būromūj)* before his suicide, he did not complain to any of them or tell them of his plan to commit suicide. In speaking with me about his death, several local residents surmised that his suicide was a message sent to his mother, and to more distant local relatives as well, for his disenfranchisement with the life

he was living on Ujelang. He could not confront his mother directly without disavowing the ideal caricatures he should use to depict her. But, through suicide, her own culpability along with that of the entire community was brought to the surface. In this way, the true victims of Marshall Islands suicide are said to be the living.

Representing the Historic Wrongs of Others

In the above sections I have attempted to indicate some of the more extreme ways in which justice is sought by those Enewetak and Ujelang people who have a limited array of symbolic resources given the array of social personae taken for granted on the atoll. In analyzing these cases, I hope to make clear the way in which an egalitarian sense of justice is always brought to bear on embedded structures of hierarchy. A consideration of the emergent international application of this local sense of appropriate redress and compensation provides a contrastive arena in which the same principles come into play.[12]

Given the complex history of colonial interactions on Enewetak and Ujelang, community members initially had no contextual frame that would allow them to place Japan or the United States in a position from whence the community could demand compensation. Instead, from the perspective of local people, these foreigners were conceived of much as high-ranking foreign chiefs. Such primordial chiefs, possessing sacred powers and charismatic force, blessed the land and made it productive. They acted with dignity to mediate local disputes, since their social and physical distance from people and land gave them the ability to judge without bias. Like the chiefs, the colonizing foreigners also appeared to act in accord with their own desires, and who could question their seemingly whimsical decisions? The overwhelming display of force during the battles of World War II left Enewetak people with impressions of the Americans' invincibility and chieflike character. When they were asked to leave their home atoll to allow the United States to use it for nuclear tests, Enewetak people felt that they could not refuse. Not only did they fear what might happen if they disagreed, they also had been told that their sacrifice would benefit all of humankind.

On Ujelang Atoll, with a fraction of the resources that had once been available to them on Enewetak, people soon found themselves living in conditions of cyclical famine. Not surprisingly, members of the community came to think of themselves as morally blameless yet abandoned by government officials in Washington, D.C. Even though they asked to return to their home at various times in the 1950s and early 1960s, it was ultimately a resident member of the Peace Corps who suggested that they stage a "strike" in

1967 to attempt to draw attention to the untenable conditions under which they were living on Ujelang. In planning for the strike, a few young leaders suggested that the entire community board the field-trip ship and travel to the government center where they would camp out in front of the district administrator's offices until he agreed to listen to their stories of hardship and suffering. Many Ujelang residents were fearful that they would be dumped into the sea if they boarded the ship for Majuro, but the bold young mayor and several others in the community supported the strike, recognizing that such a display of victimization would be a perfect strategy of community empowerment. Eventually the strike brought results. A trust fund was set up to compensate local people for their suffering. But increased publicity did as much to secure compensation as did local people's actions. Even though many felt that something had to be done to improve their lives, many of those who participated in the strike talk of being "amazed" when the compensation trust fund was forthcoming.

Throughout these early years when Ujelang people were testing the waters of international justice, they acted as though they were being pulled along by the current. While they felt they should be compensated for suffering, only community leaders used instrumental terms to describe their actions in acquiring these funds. While community leaders attempted to boost their own position through such descriptions, others spoke of the trust fund as "very good fortune," "a gift from God," or "assistance from the Americans because of their kindness." People on Ujelang described themselves as being just like one of the lost tribes of Israel. I believe that people's expectations during this era were low because of the chiefly model they applied to their colonizers and the commoner model they applied to themselves. The crosscutting egalitarian model was an integral part of the local consciousness during this era, but it was a model applied within families and within the community. It was not a model applicable to sacred, foreign chiefs.

In recent years, Ujelang and Enewetak people have achieved some success in international negotiations for nuclear compensations, including repatriation to Enewetak and an ongoing resettlement program. Not surprisingly, Enewetak people's conception of themselves has shifted concomitantly. Equally, the community has moved from being viewed as provincial or "backwoods" by Marshall Islanders to secure a more polished, though controversial, image. Part of the change can be measured by the frequency of intermarriage. Once viewed as poor marriage mates, recently enriched Enewetak spouses, like those from Bikini, have greatly increased in attractiveness. Another part of the change can be seen in the jealousy that certain groups in the new nation-state now have toward Bikini, Enewetak, and the other atoll groups that have received nuclear compensations. Indeed, in the

case of Bikini and, to a lesser degree, Enewetak, there is a certain irony in the way they have moved from being the most provincial to being the most internationally known communities of Marshall Islanders. Not surprisingly, the way in which past misfortunes have been turned to advantage by the nuclear-testing communities has been a source of resentment. Along with this renown, Enewetak people's expectations have also changed; many residents now suggest that compensation for suffering is due them. This shift, I believe, is a result of their altered perception of themselves. With an elevated community image, the Enewetak-Ujelang community now approaches the bargaining table on a much more equal footing, and exchanges among equals should themselves be relatively egalitarian. Therefore, even though the wrongs to be righted have not changed, community demands have begun to shift toward a more egalitarian model of compensation. No longer do people see the initial trust fund as a "gift from God" or as beneficent treatment from the chieflike Americans. It is compensation due for having given the Americans use rights to Enewetak Atoll. And as the community increasingly comes to see itself as an equal exchanging partner with the United States within a larger sphere of international justice, the demands for restoring Enewetak Atoll to full use have also increased.[13]

Toward a Contextual Analysis of Proper Treatment

In many senses Ujelang and Enewetak people have an absolutist sense of propriety along with a clear-cut vision of when some action is wrong. Perhaps these sensibilities have contributed to the recent welcome that country-and-western music has received in the Marshall Islands.[14] Equally, the righting of wrongs, *jolok bōd,* involves casting off improprieties or wrongdoing. Since most wrongs are of a social nature, compensatory actions come in the form of a balanced public plea of injustice and a public apology or display of forgiveness. Wrongs within a family should be corrected with the entire family; those that involve the community require community apologia. Not all wrongs are of equal consequence, and different faux pas require different degrees of compensatory action. At one point, wrongs against high chiefs, even something like elevating one's head above the level of the chief's head, are said to have required a common person's death. Among siblings close in age and rank, a simple public acknowledgment of incorrect action is often an adequate compensatory gesture.

The wide range of activities that are employed for righting wrongs of different types in part points to the crosscutting ideological constructions that are used to describe social relationships on Ujelang and Enewetak Atolls. The alternate application of these ideologies makes the two atolls particu-

larly valuable in the consideration of Pacific patterns of compensation for wrongdoing. The atolls' small scale combined with their historical isolation in the not-too-distant past give them a strong egalitarian ideology, yet, at the same time, their residents possess a contravening ideology of rank associated with the rights to authorize and legitimize their own chiefs and community leaders, and a strong sense of difference from surrounding others. These two contravening ideologies are selectively employed by social actors in varied social settings. In certain settings, therefore, subordinates employ an array of justice-seeking strategies for the disempowered that include the balanced exchange notions of latent vindication explored above. While absolutely egalitarian social situations are rare, public settings like council meetings often involve complex negotiations for just settlement based on relatively balanced claims of power among those in attendance. Historically, as the position of Enewetak and Ujelang has changed in the eyes of the outside world, the community's self-perceptions and justice-seeking strategies have shifted as well. The crosscutting valuation of these hierarchical and egalitarian justice-seeking strategies is continuously worked out in day-to-day practice. Close attention to the multifaceted results are particularly important to an understanding of human action at the interpersonal and community levels. Perhaps more important, however, in the complex emerging national and international arenas, the socially situated understanding of different ideas about justice and particular justice-seeking scenarios is imperative to a more multifaceted appreciation of the human condition.

NOTES

1. Research on which this article is based was conducted in 1976–1978, 1982–1983, 1989, 1990–1991, 1993, 1994, and 1996. Funding was provided by the National Science Foundation, two National Endowment for the Humanities grants, and through the generous support of the Enewetak and Ujelang Local Government Council. The comments of Dr. Jan Rensel and Dr. David Akin and other members of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania session in 1996 on "Righting Wrongs," along with the astute suggestions of two anonymous *Pacific Studies* reviewers, have been particularly helpful in various stages of rewriting. I am also grateful for the continued support of the Enewetak community and for their willingness to allow me to share so intimately in their lives. Nevertheless, ultimate responsibility for the depictions of scenarios of being wronged and of redress along with the analysis of those scenes rests with me.

2. Another group of former Ujelang people resides on Jaluij Atoll. They are upset by the decision to give Ujelang Atoll lands to members of the Enewetak community. Neither group of former Ujelang residents considers the "purchase" of Ujelang by Germans legitimate.

3. Some of these works extend beyond the bounds of the Pacific.

4. Typifications of this sort go back to Rivers's *History of Melanesian Society* and before. They are elaborated in other classic locations like Margaret Mead's *Growing Up in New Guinea,* where she speaks of the similarities between attitudes toward discipline and respect between Manus and American youth, and the differences between these styles and those in Samoa (e.g., [1930] 1975:216). Within the political-economic and social organizational domains, grand-order comparisons like Mead's further contribute to the reification of the difference between Melanesia and Polynesia. In *Poor Man, Rich Man, Big Man, Chief,* for example, Marshall Sahlins notes that "the qualities of command that had to reside in men in Melanesia, that had to be personally demonstrated in order to attract loyal followers, were in Polynesia socially assigned to office and rank. . . . Magical powers such as a Melanesian big man might acquire to sustain his position, a Polynesian high chief inherited by divine descent as the *mana* which sanctified his rule and protected his person against the hands of the commonality" ([1963]1968:169–170).

Undoubtedly, there is some increment of legitimacy to these grand-level comparisons. There is something substantively different between Hawaiian high chiefs and Kawelka big-men like Ongka (Strathern and Ongka 1979). Nevertheless, comparative frameworks like the one employed above by Sahlins and similar statements in Goldman's writings on Polynesian social organization (1957) are largely European classifications reified by European eyes. As theoretical poles of contrast—ideal types—they are resuscitated whenever pieces of thoroughly decontextualized data superficially fit the type. When there is not a fit, anthropologists simply overlook the Melanesian-Polynesian "dichotomy." If there is a historical distinction of value here, it must be internally inspired, probably more along the lines of a Papuan-speaking versus Austronesian-speaking division of the Pacific, rather than along the European, racially inspired Melanesian-Polynesian divide (Scaglion, pers. com., 1997). And even these high-order contrasts are only meaningful at the most generic levels of ethos or worldview. In contrast, the vast bulk of cultural material fashioned by anthropologists must be related to its multiple contexts of generation and use, be those interactive anthropological contexts or the varied situational scenes in which the daily performances of local people transpire. Without close attention to social and historical context, grand-level contrasts become entirely detached from the critical issues of meanings and use. As Deborah Durham suggests, contrasts such as "hierarchy and egalitarianism, interdependence and autonomy" are likely possibilities in any society (1995:111–112). It is the particular contours and arrangements of such structural possibilities that lend shape to a particular cultural milieu, just as it is the wide variety of performative contexts that allow social actors and social scientists, each with his or her own particular ends, to be able to draw connections between embodied knowledge and meaningful social practice.

5. Pacific ethnographers of the current era are hardly unaware of the need for greater historical and contextual grounding. In his more recent discussions of Fiji and Hawai'i, Sahlins moves in this direction by multiplying his depictions of the social order in a variety of ways. The monolithic view of chieftainship he outlined in 1963, for example, takes on a more multifaceted character in 1985, when he depicts chiefs and other social actors as being embedded in cultural universes in which power and solidarity are classificatorily and morally antithetical to one another (see, for example, Sahlins 1985:76). Geoffrey White, representing the "Melanesian side," also challenges the vast, decontextualized suppositions about chieftainship. In his depictions of Santa Isabel, White (1991) describes something of the false opposition between Melanesian big-men and Polynesian chiefs, and the modes of authority they represent. He shows how discourses about chiefs entered Santa Isabel and how they came to represent more potent and generalized (regional) forms of

authority, resulting, ultimately, in the coronation of Dudley Tuti as "paramount chief." At the core of White's argument is the notion that chiefs (and concomitant notions of rank and hierarchical authority) are part of the way in which empowerment is manufactured through the fabrication of *kastom.*

Not unlike White, Frederick Errington and Deborah Gewertz show how discourses about chiefs as hereditary, permanently privileged leaders have become part of the rationalizing process that accompanies the construction of a class-based society in Wewak, East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea. In their terms, "this modern-day rhetoric of 'chiefs' was, in fact, proving increasingly useful to politicians in particular, and to members of the middle class in general, as a way of justifying growing class differences. It summarized and made more palatable the shifts in life's opportunities that everyone knew were taking place. It presented a transformed present in terms of a reinvented, stable past which defined distinction not in terms of continuity but of difference" (Errington and Gewertz 1997:8). Recent volumes by Jolly and Mosko (1994) and White and Lindstrom (1997) address further the issues of hierarchy and of chiefly control, respect, and leadership as they relate to particular societies and, in some cases, specific contexts of use. Inasmuch as these discussions of rank imply claims of moral authority vis-à-vis other social personages, they are of considerable value in dealing with the issue of justice and moral redress.

I do not mean to say that the earlier comparative statements in which Melanesian and Polynesian societies were typified by anthropologists as fundamentally different are entirely false, but they were certainly incomplete. They conveyed messages of generic difference and general function in somewhat divergent types of societies but could not tell readers much more than that. To get beyond grand-level comparisons, to get at the notion of meaning, it is imperative to move to the level of particular societies and consider the specific ways in which historical, structural, and contextual features are played out in people's lives. Only when meaning and social practice are taken into account is it possible to see just why particular members of a group like the Enewetak-Ujelang community adopt specific strategies for righting wrongs.

6. The entire land space of Enewetak is approximately 2.75 square miles, 0.67 square miles for Ujelang, and 70 square miles for the thirty-four atolls and coral pinnacles that constitute the current-day Republic of the Marshall Islands.

7. Pseudonyms are used throughout, not to keep people from figuring out the details of this case (for it is far too obvious who the participants are in this instance), but because it is a grave offense to associate the names of deceased atoll residents with falsehoods. The crux of the issue comes down to different attributions of what Neoj said in her final days, and, as local people say, "Those [other] guys are just lying."

8. Local people recognize a separation between the inebriated self and the day-to-day self, and many of the remediation strategies are oriented toward reestablishing a connection between these enactments of person (Carucci 1987:10). Nevertheless, as part of a course of action that brings community attention to those who feel abused, the multiple-person components of the inebriate (me, but not me) provide an ideal framework for voicing complaints that challenge components of the social and moral order that are taken for granted.

9. This practice is said to have been common in olden times, but it was banned by the missionaries and had fallen into disfavor. Most recently, a resurgence of polygamous prac-

tices among Republic of the Marshall Islands representatives, senators, and well-paid government officials has created quite a stir, particularly among committed church members. While some might wish to call these socially acknowledged affairs and lovers something other than polygamous marriage, I follow local practice, which fails to make the distinction. In the representative words of one middle-aged church woman: "So is it then O.K. that he has a high position and yet there are 'two with him/her' *(ewor ruo ippen)?*" This is precisely how the marriages of former chiefs are described: "there were [however many] with him/her." Elsewhere I have distinguished between "marriage," which is determined by such things as cohabitation, provisioning/providing for, and shared (though not exclusive) sexual relations, and being "wed" (through public ceremonial recognition, usually a church service) (Carucci 1980). By these conditions, which I extrapolated from local description and practice, the government officials are married to multiple spouses. In the narratives people develop to describe the government officials, they depict them as cohabiting, providing money or food for their (illicit) spouses, and keeping multiple dwellings. They qualify as being married because they fit the local definitional criteria for marriage, although they are not wed.

10. This (common law) marriage did eventually take place, but the polygamous relationship that Jahnsten envisioned in 1977 was not long-lived. He and his young wife's older sister separated in the early 1980s, and she subsequently remarried.

11. The polygamy issue was viewed quite differently here by Jahnsten and the magistrate. For the magistrate, a dedicated church member, polygamy was a sin, as was taught to Marshall Islanders by Congregationalist missionaries. For the young man, a nonbeliever, polygamy represented a long-standing Marshallese practice that, in the 1970s, was beginning to enjoy a slight resurgence. Indeed, at the time, Jahnsten considered his bigamy to be something of a marker of his relatively high rank among his age mates.

In retrospect it appears that Jahnsten's short-term empowerment among his age mates ultimately was sacrificed and brought into line with 1970s community norms concerning polygamy. Community feelings about Jahnsten's sororal polygyny have continued to influence his career. Since the incident, Jahnsten has not been able to renegotiate a highly empowered identity within the community even though, prior to that time, he had been considered one of the up-and-coming leaders in the village. Rather than becoming an undisputed leader, Jahnsten, now a middle-aged man, holds a position of mediocre rank in the community. His marriage choices ultimately left him married to the younger, less-empowered sister, while the older sister, his first wife, maintains some bitterness over the incident. His children by the two sisters, rather than being particularly close, are more distanced from one another than typical parallel cousins would have been, in large part because the lands that would once have been used by both sisters' children have been prematurely subdivided in order to minimize any disputes.

12. Holly Barker outlines a few of the recent responses to nuclear testing by selected residents of the Republic of the Marshall Islands (1997: 290–306).

13. Currently the Enewetak community resides on three islets in the southern half of Enewetak Atoll. These three islets and one other were thoroughly cleaned and replanted in hopes of restoring them to something like their original condition. Some of the remaining forty islets on the atoll were "cleaned up," ridding them of unacceptable levels of radionuclides, but, owing to the severity of the environmental damage, none of the atoll has been thoroughly rehabilitated.

14. In particular, I have in mind the following country music tropes: an aching sense of having been wronged, an appreciation for the underdog, and sharp boundaries between propriety and injustice.

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RIGHTING WRONGS ON ANUTA

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Apology and compensation are commonly employed to reestablish social harmony when one person causes injury to others, thereby disrupting social order. Here I explore the way in which these mechanisms are utilized by the people of Anuta, a Polynesian outlier in the Solomon Islands. I suggest that compensation and apology need not be counterposed and, in fact, are often intertwined as aspects of a single process. Historical transition from the widespread Polynesian emphasis on rank, respect, collective responsibility, and mutual assistance to a more individualistic and competitive cultural environment has led to changes in Anutan views of right and wrong. This, in turn, adds to the difficulty and complexity of moral judgment, and it has affected Anutan understanding of the consequences of illicit behavior—consequences that range from the automatic workings of the cosmos to curses, physical punishment meted out by chiefs, and composition of songs intended to shame the offender. Woven through this article is a consideration of Anuta's cultural logic and the strain under which that logic has been placed as a result of the community's exposure to the wider political and economic realities of late-twentieth-century life.

In any community, people occasionally cause unjustifiable injury—sometimes inadvertently, sometimes with purposeful intent.[1] Among Pacific Islanders, as elsewhere, reaction to such injury may include demands for compensation, apology and self-humiliation, or some combination thereof. New Guinea Highlanders, with their elaborate exchange networks and competitive political structures, have been characterized as emphasizing compensation as a prerequisite to healing social rifts, while Polynesians, with their consummately hierarchical political systems, emphasize respect for chiefs, apology, and sometimes self-humiliation.[2] Here, through an exploration of

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ways and means of righting wrongs among people of Anuta Island, I will suggest that compensation and apology need not be counterposed; in fact, they may be intimately intertwined as aspects of a single integrated process.

Anuta is an isolated Polynesian outlier in the eastern Solomons Islands. As such it was, until recently, spared the cultural disruption experienced by most Pacific communities in the aftermath of European contact. Thus, the cultural assumptions underlying Anutan social control reflect an ancient, widespread Polynesian emphasis on rank, respect, collective responsibility, and mutual assistance. Nonetheless, external pressures with their resultant cultural and social change have been inexorable. A major focus of this article is these changing circumstances and their impact on Anutan views of right and wrong as well as mechanisms for restoring equilibrium once it has been disrupted.

I begin by considering Anutan views of "right" and "wrong," "good" and "bad," and just what constitutes injurious behavior. I then review the goals that guide Anutan responses to such behavior and the mechanisms through which those goals are realized. In the process, I show the difficulty and complexity of moral judgment and the myriad responses, ranging from the automatic workings of the cosmos to curses, physical punishment meted out by chiefs, and composition of songs intended to shame the offender. In many instances, compensation and self-abasement are not distinct; rather both are aspects of a single action.[3] Woven through the essay is discussion of the underlying logic and the strain under which that logic has been placed as a result of Anutan exposure to the wider political and economic realities of late-twentieth-century life.

Ethnographic Background

Anuta is a small volcanic island, a half mile in diameter and seventy miles from Tikopia, its nearest populated neighbor. It is more than two hundred miles from the Santa Cruz group of the eastern Solomon Islands, which constitute the closest significant population center. The nearest island to the east is Rotuma, five hundred miles distant; another five hundred miles eastward are the Polynesian archipelagoes of Tonga and Samoa. Over the generations, Anutans have interacted extensively with Tikopians, whose language and culture are similar to their own. Contacts with other Solomon Islanders, most of whom Anutans see as very different from themselves, have been few and sporadic until recent decades. Even in the 1990s, shipping is infrequent and radio communication unreliable.[4]

Owing to Anuta's isolation, small size, and absence of commercially

exploitable resources, its traditional culture has remained remarkably intact up to the present. Subsistence gardening and fishing dominate the economy. The polity is led by two hereditary chiefs whose status is sustained by awesome mana, a spiritual force attributed to their divine ancestry. Houses and canoes are constructed of traditional materials in the traditional manner. Gardens are cultivated and fish caught using old techniques. Kinship remains the cornerstone of economic and social organization and itself is intimately associated with *aropa*—positive affect as expressed through economic sharing and cooperation.

Anuta's strongly Polynesian character has inevitably been modified by contact with the wider world. Over the two centuries since the island's first sighting by a Mr. Cherry of the HMS *Pandora,* Anutans have availed themselves of access to expanded travel, new ideas, worldly experience, and a variety of European goods. A few islanders have traveled as deck hands to locales as distant as Australia and America's Pacific Coast. During the second decade of this century, the Melanesian Mission established the Anglican Church on Anuta, and since that time the population has been at least nominally Christian. Metal axes, knives, and fishhooks were introduced relatively early; now commodities including kerosene, lanterns, cotton cloth, and nylon fishing line are regarded as necessities.

In order to acquire cash to purchase foreign-made commodities and as a safety valve for an expanding population, Anutans in increasing numbers have moved off their home island. At first, such emigration was limited to a few individuals joining groups of Tikopian plantation workers—mostly at the Levers copra plantations in the Russell Islands of the central Solomons (see Firth 1969; Larson 1966, 1977). Starting around 1960, the number of Anutans traveling for a variety of purposes increased dramatically, and by 1972, the time of my first visit to the island, every adult male had been overseas at some time during his life. In some cases this travel amounted only to brief stays on Tikopia; in others it involved a permanent move to the central Solomons. Most émigrés have worked as low-paid manual laborers for the Levers plantations, the Honiara Town Council, or one or another shipping company. A few, however, have attended secondary school and even held prestigious jobs. About half the Anutans who travel to the central Solomons go on to the Russell Islands; the other half remain in Honiara.

Defining Rights and Wrongs

"Righting wrongs" must be considered in the context of local conceptions of appropriate and inappropriate behavior. Such conceptions are culturally constructed and, therefore, vary from one community to the next. In Anutan, as

in English, "right" and "wrong" carry a degree of ambiguity, the same words being used to convey moral opprobrium or to dispute empirical correctness.

The Anutan word *tara* can be translated as "wrong" or "incorrect" and contrasts with *tonu,* which means "right" or "correct." However, these terms are used in the empirical as well as the moral sense. Thus, in response to the statement *"Kau maanatu ko te mea na ko te kope o John"* (I think that object is John's knife), one might answer, *"E tonu aau"* (You are correct) or *"E tara"* (That's wrong). If one goes in the wrong direction and gets lost, it is said, *"te mea na ku aru ara"* (that person has gone astray). One may also say of another's improper customary behavior, *"Ona tukutukunga e tara"* (His habits are misguided).

Similar observations can be made about the Anutan term *kovi* (bad), which contrasts with *rerei* (good). *Kovi* can mean unappealing, as in describing unappetizing food, or it can mean that something is not working properly. Of an injured leg one says, *"toku vae e kovi"* (my leg is bad); a stomachache may be described as *"na manava e kovi"* (his belly is bad). On the other hand, a chronic thief, a bully, someone failing to perform his civic duties, or one who does not properly respect a chief may be described as a *"tangata kovi"* (bad man).

Despite some ambiguity, however, there is a clear, identifiable moral component to each of these terms. To behave properly (*aru pakarerei,* "go well," or *taute pakarerei,* "act well") means acting in a manner that accords with ancient custom *(nga tukutukunga tuei)*—particularly those aspects of custom that emphasize respect for authority—and maintaining harmonious relations within the community. A good man is easygoing, pleasant, and sociable. He is humble and speaks quietly, is honest in his dealings with others. He knows his place in the social order and takes responsibility for the support of those below him while he honors and obeys those higher than himself. Most of these characteristics are summarized in the term *aropa*—a word that denotes positive affect as expressed through sharing and material assistance.

Aropa is usually translated as "love," but it may also connote "sympathy," "empathy," "pity," or "affection." Thus, at first blush, it is an emotional state. However, it is only recognized insofar as it is expressed through concrete behavior, particularly through giving, sharing, or cooperation in such productive activities as fishing, house building, gardening, harvesting, or cooking. It means treating others well, helping them, and avoiding any behavior that will injure others. Expressions of *aropa* without the actions to support them are taken as empty verbiage.[5]

Anutans identify *aropa* as the single most important element in the island's ancient custom *(nga tukutukunga o te penua mai mua rea).* In one sense, "custom" connotes ways of the ancestors, but custom on Anuta, as elsewhere, is a fluid, constantly evolving phenomenon.[6] Thus, Anutan notions

of custom have been modified over the years in such a manner as to incorporate aspects of Christianity. The result can be seen in emphasis on respect for church leaders, Jesus, and the Christian God, and the church's stress on "love" and "brotherhood," which are regarded as synonymous with *aropa.*[7]

An important element in "good" behavior is honesty and dependability. "True" and "truth" are expressed in the terms *maori* or *mooni,* and to be correct is *tonu* (see above). These terms contrast with *roi,* which denotes a falsehood or a lie. As with *aropa,* however, internal psychological states of others are said to be unknowable, so people are evaluated on the basis of their words and deeds rather than their intentions. For this reason, Anutans do not distinguish between an unintentional falsehood and a purposeful lie; both are termed *roi.* (To tell an untruth is *ngutu roi; ngutu* = "mouth," *roi* = "falsehood.") Apparently in contrast with some other Polynesians (Korn and Decktor Korn n.d.), Anutans consider it important to be able to depend on the truth of each other's statements and on people's keeping verbal commitments. Those who habitually break appointments without warning or who fail to deliver promised assistance are severely criticized. Anutans experience few greater irritants than repeated, unannounced postponements of a ship's departure.

For the most part, Anutans are consistent in their insistence that one cannot know others' internal states and that judgments must be based upon overt behavior. Nonetheless, they formulate hypotheses about each other's feelings for a variety of purposes. During the mid-1960s, for example, Pu Tokerau was blown off course on a voyage to Patutaka, an island thirty miles to the southeast. Instead, his canoe traversed a storm-swept sea to Tikopia, seventy miles to the southwest. Years later, in relating his experience to me, Pu Toke insisted that throughout the voyage he was never frightened. When I mentioned this claim to his brother, the senior chief, who also was aboard the vessel, the response was ambivalent. He acknowledged that his brother's claim might possibly be true since one cannot know what is going on in someone else's mind. But he wryly noted that Pu Toke "was crying like everybody else" about how they were all about to die at sea.[8]

Similarly, Anutans often are suspicious of each other's motives and intentions. They suspect one another of nefarious schemes to take advantage of the community for their own personal aggrandizement and predict a variety of unpleasant consequences. Although such attributions of motive are based on inferences from past behavior, and their validity is judged by the accuracy of predictions about concrete results, the predictions depend on hypotheses about mental states. Yet, while there is a complex interplay between internal states and external evidence, and denials of interest in the subject may be overstated, conversation about both current events and oral history devotes little energy to discerning motives and maintains a primary focus upon

observable actions. Visual observation is particularly important in the Anutan epistemological scheme, and sometimes commentators will deny firm knowledge about an event despite overwhelming circumstantial evidence, because it took place long ago and "no one presently living saw it happen" (see Feinberg 1996b).

This emphasis on visual observation is relevant to righting wrongs in that people are judged by their actions rather than their intentions. It does not matter that an injury or disruption of community harmony was unintentional. One is responsible for the consequences of one's deeds and—if those consequences are injurious—for undoing the damage insofar as possible.

Anutans may well be the most peaceable people I have known. In the time that I have spent with them over the past two and a half decades, the only fights that I have witnessed were among young children. Domestic arguments and discord are fairly common, but I have never observed an instance of domestic *violence* among Anutans; and both men and women react with bemused derision when they see physical confrontations involving married couples from other islands. The one man I knew who had a reputation for starting fights was regarded as mentally ill *(varea)* and eventually was exiled to the mental hospital in Honiara, from which he was never permitted to return home (Feinberg 1979).[9] Fighting is a constant theme in Anutan oral traditions, and islanders still place a great deal of positive value on physical strength and martial skill. Over the years many Anutan men, who are renowned as big, strong, courageous, and disciplined, have joined the Royal Solomon Islands Police. However, violent crime within the community is not a significant preoccupation.

In contrast with their attitude toward violent crime, Anutans evince a great deal of concern about theft. They compare their island favorably with Tikopia and the Reef Islands of Temotu Province, which they regard as hotbeds of thievery. Nonetheless, a seemingly inordinate amount of time is spent in church sermons and island councils *(pono)* discussing problems of theft—particularly of food from other people's gardens—and how such behavior might be discouraged. Once during my first visit to Anuta in 1972, the senior chief issued an edict forbidding children to venture out of their houses unless accompanied by an adult. This measure was in response to complaints about food disappearing from garden plots and a widespread belief that the children were responsible. And for several months during that same visit, the chief had a guard posted at my house to forestall theft of my supplies.

Of equal concern to Anutans is failure to assist kin and to respect and obey senior relatives or chiefs. Such behavior is particularly disconcerting, because it contravenes the principle of *aropa,* which forms the basis of kin relationships (see Feinberg 1981a, 1981b, 1990a, 1996a). People's moral fiber

is evaluated on the basis of their demonstration of *aropa,* loyalty, humility, and obedience. A high priority is placed on maintaining community harmony, knowing and accepting one's place in the social order (Feinberg 1983), contributing accordingly, and not making waves.

As far as I can tell, there is universal agreement among Anutans with respect to the principles for discerning correct and incorrect behavior. Not surprisingly, however, the evaluation of particular cases is more problematic. People disagree about what constitutes loyalty, honor, and obedience, or they cite extenuating circumstances to justify failure to obey a chief's instructions, to honor requests, or to assist their kin. At times, people may feel that a chief has overstepped the bounds of his authority, and they are ambivalent as to which side is right in a given dispute. Final assessments depend as much on the aftermath of such episodes as on the acts themselves.

Objectives

To speak of goals or objectives for the Anutan approach to righting wrongs perhaps implies a greater sense of conscious purpose than is warranted. Still, the system operates in such a way as to produce a state that is compatible with Anutan cultural premises about the nature of society, and people clearly express a sense of gratification when it works properly.

At the most general level, the system works to maintain social harmony or to restore it when it is disrupted. Anutans place a premium on amicable, cooperative social relations and are distressed when such relations are replaced by tension and suspicion.

Harmony, for Anutans, is implicitly linked to maintenance of their hierarchical social order. In this order, gods and chiefs are at the top (see Feinberg 1978, 1981a, 1995, 1996a, 1996b), and others are ranked according to age, gender, genealogical seniority, and demonstration of *manuu* (mana). Those at the higher levels use their mana to promote general well-being and to protect the interests of others who are lower in the hierarchy, thereby expressing *aropa* for those less powerful than themselves. Persons at the lower levels express *aropa* for their superiors by offering obedience, respect, and occasional ceremonial prestations. When everyone knows his or her place in the social order and acts accordingly, the system works to everybody's benefit. When social order is replaced by quarreling and suspicion, those responsible are punished by misfortunes such as illness, accident, crop failure, or natural disaster.

Such misfortunes are said to be imposed by God or the ancestral spirits. Thus, the commonweal depends on maintenance of a proper relationship between the human community and the world of supernaturals. The numinal

beings inhabiting Anuta's world are displeased by social discord; therefore, the system of social control is designed, as much as anything, to maintain a balance between the worlds of human and of superhuman beings—between the world of mortals and the cosmos.

Finally, the system acts to reinforce the moral code, which is in turn tied to the social, spiritual, and cosmic order. Moral conduct on Anuta involves such strictures as caring properly for kin and showing appropriate respect for social superiors—in short, for displaying *aropa* in all one's dealings.

Mechanisms

An Anutan's first line of defense when he or she feels injured by another is to try to maintain harmony by ignoring the insult. When disputes arise, one party typically withdraws rather than respond to provocation. Thus, face-to-face confrontations are extremely rare, and in direct dealings during normal day-to-day affairs, people who dislike and distrust each other often behave as if they were the best of friends. However, an affront is rarely forgotten and only temporarily stays hidden.

Instead, people tend to gossip behind each other's backs, vilifying enemies to whom they speak directly in the most cordial tones. One tells an opponent what he or she wants to hear, then sabotages his or her efforts through quiet noncooperation. Others are privately warned to distrust the offender's statements and watch for the results of his or her actions, which will prove the culprit's bad faith or serious miscalculation. In addition, sometimes one will quietly proclaim that the opponent is about to suffer some misfortune. Should the misfortune then eventuate, it is thought to prove the accuser to be factually and morally correct.

An Anutan who feels wronged may experience a seizure or an altered state of consciousness that is interpreted as spirit possession. Such possession can send messages that exonerate the injured party and cast blame on his or her opponent, at least in the minds of some observers, without requiring direct interpersonal confrontation.

Despite Anutans' best efforts to keep conflict hidden beneath a veneer of good manners, however, serious disputes eventually reveal themselves. At this point, a variety of social and cosmologically based sanctions come into play. These sanctions may manifest themselves in natural, supernatural, or social terms, or any combination of these. What happens depends upon the character of the offense, who is involved, and the immediate response of the offended party.

Unless chiefs or others in authority opt to intervene (see below), punishment depends upon the automatic workings of the cosmos. When an Anutan

behaves inappropriately, the culprit suffers some misfortune—most often sickness or serious accident. Usually the victim of supernatural retribution is the culprit himself/herself; occasionally it is another person who is close to the perpetrator—typically a child, grandchild, or other relative. The punishment is thought to work independently of any person's (or even any spirit's) conscious will. The only way to avoid the expected outcome—and this is only sometimes effective—is for the culprit to acknowledge publicly his or her misdeed, offer presents and other signs of ritual subordination to the offended party, and be explicitly forgiven by the person who was wronged.

This mechanism is most effective when the person wronged is of superior rank to the offender. Failure to obey a chief, parent, or grandparent, or failure to care properly for a senior relative when the latter is old and infirm are commonly thought to trigger this sanction, which is based on the mana of the senior party. Because rank is associated with mana or spiritually derived potency, leading individuals are *tapu* and must be treated with respect (see Feinberg 1979, 1980, 1986, 1996a, 1996b).

In cases where the relative rank of the offending and offended parties is less clear, the automatic workings of mana and *tapu* are less certain. One who feels wronged may respond by cursing *(tautuku)* the perpetrator. In most cases, this simply involves the offended party uttering words foretelling disaster. Should the speaker have sufficient mana to bring to bear, the content of the words will be realized, usually quite literally.

In practice, Anutans find it difficult to distinguish the results of voluntary curses from the automatic consequences of tabu violation. This is so because curses are most effective when uttered by someone with considerable mana, which means someone of high rank. However, vindictiveness is negatively valued and forgiveness positively viewed. Thus, people judge one who resorts to curses rather critically even if he is a chief and is, in some sense, fully justified in seeking retribution. For that reason, people rarely acknowledge responsibility for cursing one another, and the diagnosis that one is suffering because of another's curse must be inferred from circumstantial evidence.

When social norms are flagrantly violated, physical sanctions are regarded as justifiable. In theory, a chief can order offenders to be whipped, sentence them to hard labor, or, in extreme cases, exile them to the sea. To implement such sanctions, however, is extremely rare. The only case of which I am aware where such a sentence has been executed over the past generation involved the children who were believed to have stolen crops from another family's gardens. Given the seriousness with which Anutans view theft, stealing crops was regarded as a major offense. All the children of the island were forbidden to set foot outside their houses unless accompanied by an adult, and several children who violated this edict were publicly

flogged with a long, thin stick. The punishment did not appear to produce physical injury, but wounded pride kept the culprits in line for quite some time thereafter.

One other case in which such sanctions were threatened seriously dates to the early 1960s. A woman became pregnant by her first cousin, who was also a member of her domestic unit (*pare,* "house"). The relationship violated Anuta's incest prohibitions, and the couple's clan chief sentenced them to death at sea as punishment for their indiscretion. But as they prepared to launch their vessel, he had a change of heart, and the sentence was commuted.

One of the most potent forces for social control among the Anutans is *pakamaa* (shame; embarrassment). As elsewhere in Polynesia, *pakamaa* is an external sanction; one feels *pakamaa* not about the knowledge that one has acted inappropriately but at being found out (or being falsely accused).[10] According to Anutans, the difference between children who are *koi vare* (still incompetent) and responsible adults is that children have not yet learned to be *pakamaa.* That is why young children do not wear clothes. When they learn modesty and are *pakamaa* at being seen naked, they are on their way to social competence. Similarly, on my last visit to the Anutan community in Honiara, a three-year-old boy was in the habit of wearing a little girl's dress. None of the adults did anything to discourage him, nor did they seem concerned about his sexual identity. They were confident that when he got a little older he would become *pakamaa* and change his dressing habits on his own initiative.[11]

In addition to serving important functions in the process of enculturation, *pakamaa* is a strong deterrent to antisocial behavior among competent adults. The most common reasons for powerful feelings of *pakamaa* are suspicion of adultery, fornication, or incest; failure to care properly for one's relatives or to obey a chief; and accusation of theft.[12] In extreme cases of *pakamaa,* one finds it impossible to face one's fellow islanders and resolves the problem by putting out to sea on what often amounts to a suicide voyage (cf. Firth [1961] 1967).

During the 1980s a Tikopian schoolteacher was living on Anuta and married an Anutan woman. Later, he was accused of having an extramarital affair, shortly after which he disappeared while fishing on the ocean by himself. The assumption among Anutans was that he had committed suicide because of his unbearable feelings of *pakamaa.* Tikopians, on the other hand, believed that he was forced into exile and regarded his disappearance as homicide, followed by a cover-up involving the chiefs and a high-ranking police official. The incident poisoned the relationship between the two communities for several years and illustrates the frequent difficulty of identifying which sanction is at work.[13]

A second case had a happier ending. Two teenaged boys were accused of having stolen watermelons from another household's garden. Feeling disgraced, they put out to sea and sailed to Vanikoro, two hundred miles distant. They stayed there for several months, after which the community's anger and the boys' embarrassment subsided. The younger of the two then returned home on a government ship. The elder soon put out to sea again, sailing an additional two hundred miles to Santa Ana Island, just east of Makira. Upon completion of his voyage, he became a local—and indeed even something of a national—hero. Time plus his remarkable accomplishment had washed away all sense of *pakamaa* and anger. Even irritation about the canoe that he had stolen to make the voyage was muted in the afterglow of the adventure.[14]

Anutans also exploit one another's sense of shame as a method of achieving retribution for perceived slights and insults when more formal mechanisms are unavailable. This practice commonly involves composing songs of a genre termed *tauaangutu* and singing them in public settings.

Ngutu means "mouth" and *tau* is "war" or "battle." *Tauaangutu,* then, means something like a "war of words." Anutans describe *poi mako tauaangutu* (dance-song word battles) as "songs about something bad." When asked to expound, they usually explain that these are songs intended to announce to the community another person's antisocial deeds, most often related to matters of romance or sex. The idea is to create a song so appealing that it is incorporated into the island's regular dance repertoire. Every time it is sung or the dance performed, the entire community is reminded of the offender's lack of grace, tact, or compassion, and the culprit experiences pangs of embarrassment. The challenge is to produce a song sufficiently engaging to create a sense of *pakamaa* in one's adversary without humiliating him or her to the point of suicide. Should the latter occur, the composer would be blamed for the victim's death, and triumph would be transformed into chagrin.[15]

Change

Despite Anuta's geographical isolation, the community has experienced significant political and economic changes over the past several decades. Christianity, which was introduced during the second decade of this century, has been effectively incorporated into Anutan life without challenging the fundamental premises of the island's religion or society (see Feinberg 1978, 1981a, 1995, 1996b). By contrast, incorporation of Anuta into the world market economy combined with opportunities for formal education, wage labor, and geographical and sociopolitical mobility have wrought major changes. In particular, what I have elsewhere termed the commercialization of inter-

personal relations (Feinberg 1996c) is undermining Anutans' emphasis on *aropa* and the traditional hierarchy. People with ambition may now improve their socioeconomic standing by moving overseas, receiving formal education, and earning wages in government service or private enterprise. The world economic order based on principles of competition and private accumulation of material wealth has made some Anutans loath to share, and in one extreme instance, several families sold produce of their gardens to other Anutans in return for cash. When the senior chief attempted to suppress such conduct he was first ignored, then vilified, until a series of disasters convinced his opponents that continued resistance was not in their interest (see Feinberg 1986, 1996b, 1996c).

Experience in the wider world, new political alternatives, and exposure to more Western interpretations of Christianity have led many people to lose their sense of intimidation and constraint by chiefly edict. These changes have produced a situation in which the chief must lead by moral example rather than by fear based on supernatural power. Hence, the senior chief, on several occasions, has felt compelled to withdraw in protest at what he perceived to be unconscionable behavior on the part of his wayward subjects.

In the early 1980s, when the chief reached an impasse with a number of his leading men *(maru)* over sale of food and his assumption of the role of catechist in addition to *ariki,* he moved to a small shed on the hilltop and resided there for two months (see Feinberg 1986). The second case of which I am aware involved a handful of Anutans who joined the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The chief felt strongly that just one denomination should be active on his island, and he attempted to persuade the Seventh-day Adventists to rejoin their Anglican counterparts. However, they refused. Since the ultimate sanctions of execution or exile to the ocean have been removed from traditional leaders by Solomon Islands national law, the chief had no way to enforce compliance with his will.[16] At last, in frustration, he proclaimed that he would leave Anuta and move to Patutaka, an uninhabited island thirty miles away. This conflict was resolved when the Seventh-day Adventists agreed to depart Anuta, but the crisis underscores the challenge to traditional authority and its effect on righting wrongs as conceptualized in indigenous terms.

Geographical mobility has altered Anutan social control in a variety of other ways as well. The government has outlawed interisland canoe voyages and made suicide voyages more difficult to carry out, thereby eliminating one important vehicle for protesting perceived injustice. This prohibition is largely offset, however, by improved shipping, which has increased people's opportunity to deal with shame by moving away.

Since the 1960s substantial numbers of Anutans have moved overseas,

primarily to attend school or to work for wages. Most of these have settled, either temporarily or—in a few cases—permanently, in two locales: the Russell Islands and the Honiara area. The Russells are under control of the Unilever multinational corporation; Anutans residing there are either laborers on the company's copra plantations or they are staying with husbands, parents, or other relatives. Honiara is the Solomon Islands national capital, located on the island of Guadalcanal, and Anutans have moved there for a variety of reasons—to attend school, to work for wages, to conduct other business, or to visit kin. Most Anutans on Guadalcanal live in a compact cluster of houses in White River, just west of the Honiara city boundary. There is considerable movement back and forth between Guadalcanal and the Russells as well as between these islands and Anuta; thus, despite the geographic dispersal, Anuta continues to exist as a single, more or less unified community. While virtually all Anutans continue to express support in principle for the traditional hierarchy and chiefly authority, however, it is difficult for chiefs to exercise authority over a community that is dispersed over many hundreds of miles.

Through the 1980s the structure of authority, in principle, was clear. The senior chief was represented in Honiara by his brother, Frank Kataina (Pu Teukumarae), who also was a leading officer in the national police. Frank had one or two close confidants with whom he consulted on important matters; but when he spoke, it was with the chief's authority.

The major difficulty with the authority structure was less one of ambiguity or lack of legitimacy than it was the fact that the leaders cannot be everywhere at once. Frank and his lieutenants had no enforcement powers but relied on moral suasion and their subordinates' cooperation to implement decisions. Thus, for the most part, their pronouncements could be ignored with impunity. The one exception involved cases where a breach of custom also was a legal violation. Thus, when a man used funds belonging to a relative for his own bridewealth payment, Frank and his associates presented him with the choice of repaying the relative or having the matter turned over to the courts. The accused decided on the former option.

For the most part the system continues to work reasonably well, because the vast majority of Anutans continue to accept the legitimacy of the chief and his assistants and because they remain convinced of the effectiveness of supernatural sanctions. The possibility of remaining overseas indefinitely, however, has removed coercive power from traditional authority figures, and the availability of alternative life paths has reduced the potency of traditional sanctions. The ultimate sanction now is social ostracism, but confusion about the correct path for the community has made even this difficult to apply forcefully and consistently.

Finally, incorporation into the Solomon Islands' national political and legal structure has made it possible to resolve disputes by means of resorting to the court system. Several Anutans, moreover, have become familiar with the legal process through involvement in the Royal Solomon Islands Police. Consequently, when major issues of contention arise, police investigation and legal adjudication are commonly discussed as possibilities. In contrast with many Pacific communities, however, for Anutans actually to take internal disputes to court remains extremely rare.[17]

Righting Wrongs: Compensation and Apology

At the outset of this article I discussed the use of compensation as opposed to apology and self-humiliation in attempts to right injurious behavior. Anutan responses involve elements of both, but neither alone captures a sense of the process. Compensation may be involved in that an offender often is expected to present a gift of some recognized value. However, a gift is presented primarily when the offended party is of superior rank to the culprit. In such a case, it is a matter of underscoring respect for the social superior, acceptance of that person's authority, and acknowledgment that one has behaved inappropriately, rather than compensation for a loss. At least as important as the prestation is apology, typically accompanied by pressing one's nose to the superior's knee or foot as a gesture of submission and atonement and a request for forgiveness. This might also be thought of as self-humiliation, except that Anutans do not consider such gestures to be particularly humiliating. Ordinary people are supposed to acknowledge their subordination to superiors, especially chiefs, and it is taken for granted that properly respectful people will perform this gesture from time to time.[18]

What is humiliating is not the gesture of subordination but having been caught in a compromising position. Awareness that others know of one's misdeeds leads to a sense of shame or *pakamaa. Pakamaa* involves humiliation, but it is externally imposed and, thus, not *self*-humiliation. In the most extreme of cases, a male does not attempt to make amends to the community or to the injured party; rather, he responds by trying to escape on a dangerous voyage. This action may have the effect of protesting his innocence and of making friends and kin feel empathy for the accused. If he should die, he has the satisfaction, in his last moments, of believing that he has caused his tormentors to reprimand themselves for driving him to such a desperate adventure. Should he survive and eventually return home, his relatives will be relieved to have him back and do their best to avoid making him self-conscious with respect to earlier events.

As elsewhere in Oceania, from the egalitarian New Guinea Highlands to

the most stratified of Polynesian chiefdoms, acknowledgment of one's responsibility for injuring another requires some material prestation. In this sense, compensation and apology are features of a single process. On the other hand, the underlying logic of Anuta's system for restoring social harmony and righting wrongs reflects the common Austronesian pattern emphasizing rank and individual subordination to the commonweal.[19] Thus, the present case supports the arguments of those (e.g., Hickson 1986; Scaglion 1996a, 1996b; Watson-Gegeo and Feinberg 1996) who have asserted that the salient line of separation in Pacific Island social systems falls between the Austronesian- and non–Austronesian-speaking worlds rather than the older tripartite division into Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia as firmly bounded and supposedly contrasting culture areas.

NOTES

1. This article grew out of a series of sessions at meetings of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO). I am indebted to the other contributors—particularly to organizers David Akin and Jan Rensel, and to discussant Richard Scaglion—for raising salient issues and offering helpful criticisms on earlier versions of this essay.

2. Melanesian communities that emphasize material exchange and compensation range from the Austronesian-speaking Kwaio, who view monetary compensation by the Solomon Islands government for a decades-old massacre as an essential element in vindication of their moral correctness (see Akin 1999; Keesing and Corris 1980; Keesing 1992), to the Urapmin in the highlands of Papua New Guinea's West Sepik Province (Robbins 1996), who view equivalent exchange as a prerequisite to reconciling antagonisms and healing rifts within their own community. Formal apology is typified by the Rotuman *faksoro* (Howard and Rensel 1996) and the Samoan *ifoga* (see, e.g., O'Meara 1990).

3. Others in the ASAO symposium and elsewhere have acknowledged that apology, in itself, can become a form of compensation. Yet, apology and compensation are often still discussed as if they were distinct procedures. It is this assumption, often implicit, with which I take issue.

4. As recently as 1988, all of Temotu Province (through which Anuta is administered by the Solomon Islands government) was without a ship for approximately six months and without air or radio contact for two or three. For further details, see Feinberg 1990b.

5. The Anutan concept of *aropa* has been discussed at greater length in Feinberg 1978, 1981a, 1981b, 1996a, and elsewhere.

6. See Keesing and Tonkinson 1982, Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, Handler and Linnekin 1984, Keesing 1989, Hanson 1989, Jolly and Thomas 1992, Feinberg and Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1995, and others for further discussion of this topic.

7. I put "love" and "brotherhood" in quotes here because Anutans take these terms from English versions of the Bible and their Anglican prayer books.

8. This dependence on overt behavior appears to contrast with a number of Melanesian societies such as Manus (Mead 1956) and the Urapmin (Robbins 1996), where internal feelings can be as central as directly observable actions as a basis for moral evaluation.

9. The psychiatric evaluation corresponded with the Anutans' assessment of this man's condition. According to the hospital's official diagnosis, he was "paranoid and of subnormal intelligence."

10. Discussions of shame, its connection to such other emotional states as fear and anger, and its relationship to rank, titles, suicide, and social control in Polynesian communities are abundant. A statement by one of Robert Levy's Tahitian informants—"I had the impulse, I felt a sense of fear that I might act on it and then experience *ha'ama* or some other punishment" (Levy 1973:338)—could equally well have been uttered by an Anutan. Comparable points are made for Hawai'i (Linnekin 1985:147–151; Ito 1985), the Marquesas (Kirkpatrick 1983:113–115, 1985), Samoa (Freeman 1983; Gerber 1985; Shore 1979, 1982), Tikopia (Firth [1936] 1961:473, [1961] 1967), and elsewhere. In no case is shame exclusively a reaction to injuring another person. In every instance, however, it is one likely reaction to accusations of antisocial behavior of any variety.

11. In contrast with children, who may function largely on their own but have not become fully socially aware and self-conscious, Anutans term babies who cannot yet speak *koi kovi* (still bad).

12. Incest is occasionally suspected with a cousin, uncle, aunt, nephew, or niece. Anutans appear to rule out the possibility of incest with primary kin as inconceivable.

13. The official inquest by the national police found no evidence to merit prosecution. However, many Tikopians, both inside and outside the police force, were unsatisfied with the results.

14. This event is described in detail in Feinberg 1991.

15. Examples of *tauaangutu* and how they work are described in Firth 1991 and Feinberg and Love n.d.

16. Anuta has retained a considerable degree of legal and political autonomy. Minor offenses can be addressed by locally constituted authorities who have the power to mete out mild punishments. Such serious crimes as homicide and severe punishments, such as incarceration, are handled by provincial and national authorities.

17. On Nukumanu, a Polynesian atoll in Papua New Guinea where I conducted research in 1984, disputes over land, alleged theft, sexual offenses, and accusations of domestic violence were regularly taken to court. Most of these issues were addressed by the local community court, but many cases found their way into the provincial and even the national legal system. Similarly, reliance on courts to settle disputes was discussed in several of the papers in the ASAO symposium that gave rise to this essay (see particularly Philips 1996; see also Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 1996; Howard 1996).

18. Modesty and humility are also valued among those at the apex of the social hierarchy, as a matter of noblesse oblige.

19. The complex articulation of respect for titles and sense of noblesse oblige, of combining abject apology with material representations of contrition in an attempt to restore social harmony, is nowhere better illustrated than in the well-known Samoan practice of *ifoga.* Shore characterizes this process as the humbling "that the senior chief of [a] family must undergo toward the chief of another group against which an offense has been committed" (1982:111). The process involves the chief "publicly kneeling or sitting before the house of the offended group with a mat placed over his head. The mat is then offered, often along with a payment in money, in the hope of reconciling the descent groups involved and avoiding serious reprisals by the offended group." The sensitive political maneuvering, the tension and ambivalence, and the threat of violence associated with *ifoga* are dramatically portrayed by O'Meara (1990:121–125).

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HISTORY, OPPOSITION, AND SALVATION IN AGARABI ADVENTISM

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Growth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church was particularly strong in the Papua New Guinea Eastern Highlands in the last decade. This article discusses a variety of reasons for this change, emphasizing Adventist beliefs that create a distinct historical consciousness among church members. In the face of a rapidly changing society, it is argued, these beliefs structure an appealing ideological framework that facilitates both individual and collective transformation. Significant for Eastern Highland Adventists is a doctrine of opposition toward other Christian groups and a sense of their own unique role in the prophetic events that make up their historical model.

On 19 August 1989, an extraordinary event occurred for Seventh-day Adventists. The largest baptism of Adventists ever performed in the history of that church occurred at Keiya, a site outside the town of Goroka in the Eastern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. With some two hundred pastors from around the country and the South Pacific region, over four thousand converts were baptized in the rain-swollen waters of the Asaro River. This massive undertaking was part of a week's camp meeting where an estimated twenty thousand people were in attendance (Papua New Guinea *Post-Courier* 1989). Both the baptism and the meeting were evidence of the growth that was experienced by the Adventists in the Eastern Highlands region in the 1980s.

Although the number of Seventh-day Adventists expanded through the last decade in both members and churches in Papua New Guinea, and the group has a significant presence elsewhere in the Pacific, little has been

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written about them. My aim in this article is therefore to expand understanding of Adventists in the Pacific through the careful examination of some of the prevalent themes associated with their message, but to do so by exploring the nature of their local interpretation in the Eastern Highlands. Moreover, while I believe that Adventist teachings have a multifaceted appeal, drawing adherents for a variety of reasons, I will focus in particular on how the long-term goal of salvation is structured by a specific historical consciousness (Ohnuki-Tierney 1990:4). Combining texts from both the Old and New Testaments, Adventist biblical interpretations serve as a unifying conceptual framework that articulates a guide for current individual action, advocates a doctrine of opposition toward other Christian groups, and emphasizes the connections between the history of Papua New Guinea and the rest of the globe. Because the past and the present are joined in the truth claims of this group, the historical aspects of Adventist doctrine explain the secular benefits of their ideology even as they associate them with the expected millennial events of the Last Days. In this way, I believe, Adventism provides many Eastern Highlanders with "new answers and ways to live" (Hefner 1993:24) or "more integrated systems of meaning, personal autonomy, and more responsibility" (Cucchiari 1989:418) at a time of significant social transformation in Papua New Guinea.

The ethnographic context for my examination of Adventist activities is that of the Agarabi of Kainantu District. Making up about one-fourth of the district's population, they live in some thirty communities to the north and east of Kainantu town. Both the first Adventist missionaries to and the first converts from the Highlands were associated with the Agarabi. The grandchildren of the first converts are now active church members, and with this long Adventist record, they have been fully engaged with the Adventist growth of the past decade.[1] I begin by outlining the phases of social change in this part of the Eastern Highlands.

Social Change in Agarabi

Before the incursion of Australians and Europeans into the Eastern Highlands about seven decades ago, Agarabi life was centered on the demands of horticultural subsistence and shifting political alliance. With garden lands surrounding their often palisaded villages, the Agarabi organized their relationships through the idiom of patrilineal descent. Frequent conflict between communities led to the movement and recombination of community segments so that actual relationships were a complex blend of consanguinity, affinity, and residence. In this respect, the Agarabi were similar to their neighbors in the Eastern Highlands (Watson 1983).

Agarabi oral traditions link their contemporary communities with a mythological and historical record of movement and change. In one narrative a woman and a boy walk through their territory naming objects and places. Having walked down to the Markham Valley below the Eastern Highlands, the boy is initiated into manhood, the couple give birth to sons, and they gradually return to the Agarabi territory of today. Population grows, conflicts occur, and groups divide as the Agarabi move westward toward the site of Kainantu town. The details of these movements grow more precise as conflict, division, and movement collide with the European intrusion. It is at this stage that the Agarabi story connects with the unfolding of Adventist history, and the first phase of contemporary Agarabi social transformation begins.

Starting in the late 1920s, the transitions of the pre–World War II world included the extension of the Australian colonial realm to this region. Communities consolidated at the urgings of patrol officers, village boundaries were set, and warfare ended. Although the Lutherans were the first Christian group in the Kainantu area, the Adventists followed soon thereafter in the mid-1930s. With World War II came the first significant movement of Agarabi men outside their own territory, as they worked as bearers for the troops. The postwar period speeded the process of economic change, bringing the growth of coffee to their villages and with it a new economy forever linked to the world economic system. This second phase of social transformation also saw the first Agarabi Adventist converts in the 1940s and their first journeys as lay evangelists to southern regions, which were then not under colonial control, in the early 1950s.

An improved Highlands Highway linked Kainantu to the coast in the mid-1960s, and because the road bisected the Agarabi area, all of the new social and economic changes entering the Highlands came there first. At this time new political innovations were introduced, beginning with council government in 1960, parliamentary elections in 1964, national self-government in 1973, and independence from Australia in 1975.

The independence period might be said to mark the third phase of social transformation the Agarabi experienced over the last seventy years. This phase is distinguished by the growing control of local and national institutions by Papua New Guineans. Innovations in local self-government were introduced (Westermark 1978, 1986). Various economic developments had an impact during this period. Cattle projects were seen by some as a source of new income (Grossman 1984). Smallholder coffee projects were encouraged by the government in the 1980s (Gimbol 1988). The competition for land stimulated by development led to the reworking of clan histories for legal purposes (Westermark 1997).

The changes of this third phase were not all viewed as positive by Agarabi. As is the case elsewhere in the world, the inroads of foreign ideas and images led to conflict between generations, elders frequently complaining of the lack of industry and the promiscuity of the young. Alcohol became a serious problem in the villages, especially with the licensing of village clubs by the Eastern Highlands provincial government. Criminal activity, or "rascalism," emerged as a persistent problem in the last decade, affecting both villager and townsperson (Goddard 1995; Hart Nibbrig 1992; Strathern 1992). Intercommunity conflicts, or "tribal warfare," persisted in the other Highland provinces (Brown 1982; Podolefsky 1984; Strathern 1983, 1992) as well as in the Eastern Highlands (Westermark 1984). New diseases appeared as a pernicious factor in the Eastern Highlands. In the late 1980s a serious epidemic of typhoid developed that had the highest incidence in Kainantu and was most deadly among the Agarabi.[2] In recent decades, therefore, Agarabi have had to adapt to the effects of rapid change and, consequently, have sought new interpretive frameworks that would account for this transformation.

Adventist Growth in the Eastern Highlands

Although the Keiya camp meeting was a dramatic event, an assessment of the significance of this mass baptism for Adventist growth must be situated within the broader field of Papua New Guinea and the South Pacific. Accurate determinations of church affiliation are difficult to make in this region, and one must approach church records with particular care. Nevertheless, Adventists are strict in allowing only those who have been prepared as adults and submitted to full-immersion baptism to become members. They are just as stringent in noting those they call "backsliders" for having fallen away from the church. For such purposes, attention to and care for church-affiliation records is taken seriously. Moreover, in comparing changes within the church between one decade and another or between one area and another, one might assume a certain consistency in the records.

The Pacific region is clearly an important one for the Adventists. In 1986 their South Pacific Division, which covers all the Pacific nations, including Australia and New Zealand, totaled 182,864 adherents from a population of nearly 24 million. In contrast, the Euro-Africa Division totaled just 266,541 members in a population of nearly 385 million.[3] Within the South Pacific Division, the Papua New Guinea Union Mission stands out as the largest and fastest growing area. Their 1986 membership of 88,451 gave them nearly half the Pacific's Adventists. By 1989 PNG membership had grown to 108,000.[4] Church estimates point to a potential membership of 211,000 by the year 2000 (Steley 1990:102, n. 4). Within Papua New Guinea, the Eastern Highlands–Simbu Mission accounted for 30 percent of PNG's Adventists in

1986.[5] By 1989 their growth from 26,620 to 35,353 gave them one-third of the country's Adventists. Although not all of those baptized at the Keiya meeting were from the Eastern Highlands–Simbu Mission, their numbers must have swelled again from the converts of that day.

The relative significance of these membership figures can be measured in another way by comparing them with other Adventists in the Pacific Islands outside Papua New Guinea, Australia, and New Zealand.[6] Ernst provides the number of Pacific church members of different Christian groups (1994:305–307), dividing them between the "historic mainline churches" (e.g., Anglican Church, Roman Catholic Church), "established new religious groups" (e.g., Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Seventh-day Adventists), "most recent arrivals" (e.g., Fiji Baptist Convention, Samoan Full Gospel Church), and "breakaway groups from the historic mainline churches and new religious groups" (e.g., Alleluia, Rewa Wesleyan Mission). As might be expected, the largest number of adherents are to be found in the first group, "historic mainline churches," with the Roman Catholics (504,813), the Methodist Church in Fiji (264,579), and the Anglican Church (154,240) being the three largest. From among the established new religious groups, however, it is the Adventists who have the largest membership, with 94,593. This number, somewhat less than the Papua New Guinea membership, makes it the fourth largest church in this region and "the largest religious group from all the non-mainline churches in the Pacific" (Ernst 1994:49).

Still, official figures are only one way to measure growth. Observations of significant religious changes at the local level in Kainantu parallel these numbers. From a time in the late 1970s, for instance, when there was but one Adventist church in Kainantu town, Agarabi Adventists had established at least five churches in their villages by the end of the 1980s. In the community with which I am most familiar, two churches had been established in separate hamlets. One also can look to the reduction in the membership of other churches. In this same community, hamlets that had been for decades firmly aligned with the Lutheran Church had, in the 1980s, converted to Adventism. Moreover, at the end of the 1980s, Eastern Highland Lutheran leaders were expressing concern at the reduction in their church membership during the decade.[7]

Transmitting the Message

Before turning to the elements of the Adventist ideology that appeal to Agarabi and other Eastern Highlanders, the well-developed organization of this church should be described, since it is responsible for both transmitting the church's message and sustaining its converts. For over fifty years the region's central church has been located in Kainantu town, which is situated

on the edge of Agarabi territory. Church members are proud to point to the bullet marks on the church's walls where the building was strafed by Japanese planes during World War II. To the east of town, fully in Agarabi territory, is found an Adventist grammar school. In the Gadsup area, south of Kainantu town, is the training school for Adventist pastors at Omaura. During the 1980s a youth activity center was added to the Kainantu church. Thus, the Kainantu area in general and the Agarabi specifically have had extensive and long-term exposure to the institutions of the church.

The identity of Adventists is reinforced with the groups and roles that members can participate in outside the ordinary realm of village activities. Within each of the churches, groups like the Women's Welfare Society, the Laymen's Society, and the Youth Choir offer social and recreational activities in addition to their church work. Church officers such as deacons, deaconesses, and church elders perform the duties of supervising seating in church, collecting offerings, and assisting with church services.

Worship activities occupy the time of Adventists beyond the Sabbath church meetings. Adventist booklets published in Pidgin guide daily prayer meetings in the morning and evening that can last for forty-five to sixty minutes. During the course of the year, a special revival meeting might be held over several days, during which a pastor visits the village church members to discuss a special topic such as marriage, child rearing, or the Second Advent. In such settings, the ideas preached daily by a church member or each Sabbath by a lay evangelist can receive more-official validation. On occasion camp meetings are organized, with large numbers of the members of the district's churches gathering at the Kainantu town headquarters.[8] Smaller versions of the Keiya gathering, these events may mark the visit of a church official or the initiation of a new program. Through such gatherings, as well as the Bible study urged on individuals, Adventist readings of the Bible can be kept in the forefront of members' minds, even as the traditions of the past and the events of the day are discussed.

Adventists' stress on education and the rejection of old ways have led Agarabi Adventists to become both economic and political leaders in the institutions of town and government. Through either coffee or commerce, a number of these men have become prominent and wealthy within the regional community and have served as notable role models within the Adventist community.

Opposition and Identity

In order to understand the appeal of Adventism, it is necessary to examine how Adventism structures a series of critical markers of opposition that are

important for the transformation of personal and group identity. Studies of sectarian religious groups like the Adventists show that, on the one hand, their confrontational stance to the wider society may cause some social isolation, while, on the other hand, they offer a particularly appealing blend of doctrine and social bonding in changing societies. Both cohesion and purpose are strengthened among sectarians when they perceive themselves to be under attack by elements in the world (McGuire 1992:162). Although sectarianism is not rare in Pacific Christian communities (e.g., Barker 1990; Ernst 1994; Gewertz and Errington 1993; Ross 1979; Tuzin 1979), the opposition theme is central to Adventist historical consciousness, since it singles out certain memorable events reflective of the antagonism critical for the Second Coming.[9]

Because Adventists believe that they are followers of the true Christian church, and because they feel that their rightness creates an antagonistic relationship with other churches, opposition is a strongly voiced aspect of the Adventist doctrine. As with other fundamentalist Christians, Adventists adhere to a strict reading of the teachings of Jesus. They give a unique turn to certain aspects of these teachings, however, that clearly contrasts them with other churches. It is this clear definition of religious identity that many Agarabi adherents have found appealing in their conversion to this faith. As one leading Kainantu Adventist put it: "Adventists place the hardest demands on their followers, but people like their teachings." Moreover, as these symbols of identification are linked to Adventist historical consciousness, they also have the attraction of demarcating a clear plan for living in the contemporary world as it approaches the Last Days.[10] Some of the most critical beliefs in this respect include dietary prohibitions, Sabbath worship, and reading the Bible.

Adventist teachings bring the search for salvation to an immediate and personal level through dietary prohibitions. These proscriptions are a unique feature of the Adventist doctrine that carries a tremendous symbolic load in Highland cultures.[11] On the basis of statements by Jesus that he came to fulfill the laws of the Old Testament, Adventists avoid the consumption of pork in a region noted for its attachment to this animal. For the Eastern Highland Adventists, this prohibition clearly creates a definitive separation from their precolonial world as well as from other Christians and non-Christians. The rejection of pork by Agarabi Adventists includes rejecting food that is cooked with pork in earth ovens. In the 1970s some Adventists even were concerned about walking through their communities at night, for fear of inadvertently stepping on the feces of pigs owned by non-Adventists.[12] Although Adventist doctrine elsewhere in the world favors vegetarianism, this dietary preference has not been advocated in Papua New Guinea, as far

as I know. As a result, cattle and goats have been raised by Adventists as an alternative to pork, and coffee earnings have allowed for the purchase of meat in town. Additionally, dietary rules motivated Agarabi to initiate some of the first cattle projects in Kainantu District and to continue to develop these projects in the 1970s and 1980s (Grossman 1984:57–58).

Concern for the state of the body in its relationship to the soul leads Adventists to avoid other substances. For Agarabi Adventists, some of their greatest temptations come in trying to reject tobacco and alcohol. Conversely, individuals attempting to end their consumption of beer have found that it was only by converting that they gained the strength to oppose the pressures from non-Adventists to drink. One fairly recent male convert described it the following way: "I was going out and spending my money on beer, and I was afraid I would be killed in a fight or a car accident. And I wanted to have my money to use for other business." A member of many years made a similar association: "Before I joined, I threw away my money on drink and tobacco. Now I have lots of money, and my family is well taken care of with a growing business." Given the prevalence of drinking and smoking among almost all adult non-Adventists, avoiding these substances is an obvious way to affirm group identity as well as retain one's savings. The contrast between Adventists and non-Adventists was sharply drawn for me one Saturday morning as I walked along a village trail below the two adjoining hills where one Adventist church and the village club oppose each other: from one hill came the sound of church hymns and from the other, traditional Agarabi singing by men remaining there from Friday night.

Dietary prohibitions are thus recognized to have immediate rewards. The avoidance of smoking and drinking, and the healthy living he associated with it, led one of the first Agarabi Adventists to tell me that he had been influential in converting other Agarabi, because they could see in his life "another kind of happiness." And, since participation in drinking can consume large amounts of money, not to mention the threat to employment for those who work in town, many Adventists also speak of the significance of this avoidance for their efforts to be economically successful in business.[13]

The most distinctive marker of Adventist identity is commitment to the Saturday Sabbath. Some Agarabi Adventists have told me that the American founder of Adventism, Ellen White, saw in her earliest visions the Ten Commandments with the Fourth Commandment illuminated. She interpreted this vision to mean that Jesus never intended that the day of worship should be Sunday. The Fourth Commandment states that believers should keep the Lord's Day holy, and since Jesus came to fulfill the laws, he intended that the Old Testament Sabbath should be followed. Her teachings caused the other churches to oppose her, especially because of her thoughts on the

Sabbath. Some Agarabi Adventists say that Catholic armies were sent to capture and kill her but that she fled, hid in a cave, and was protected by a fog sent by God that covered the cave's entrance when the armies approached.[14]

More than any other belief or practice, adherence to the Saturday Sabbath is cited by Adventists as the proof that they are the *true* church. When asked why they converted to Adventism, many Agarabi say they did so because of the Saturday worship. A meeting I attended in 1977 illustrates this commitment. A slide show of biblical sites was held at the Kainantu town church and put on by a Highland Adventist from Goroka. He and a number of other Highland businessmen had made a trip to Israel that year, led by an Australian Adventist missionary. During his presentation he highlighted one slide of an Israeli town on the Sabbath with shops and businesses closed following Jewish practice. The significance of these images for the Agarabi Adventists with whom I was sitting was clear: in the land of Jesus, Israelis, like Adventists in Papua New Guinea, worship on Saturday. A question that several in the audience asked was, why had the other Christian churches attempted to mislead them into believing that Sunday was the Christian holy day?

Although other ritual practices such as adult full-immersion baptism are different from practices of other Highland churches, it is the Sabbath that is seen to be the central source of opposition with other Christians. Moreover, it is this key tenet of their beliefs that Adventists cite as the future catalyst for the events of the Last Days.[15] Agarabi Adventist explanations for the Second Coming hold that other Christian churches, led by the Roman Catholics, will conspire with the world's governments to enact a law in favor of Sunday worship. Because the Adventists will remain faithful to the Fourth Commandment, they will be discriminated against in various ways in daily life. When the other churches discover that these acts will not influence the Adventists, the churches and governments will move to destroy them. With the Adventists facing destruction, Jesus will return, bringing salvation to God's chosen people.

Adventists' readings of the Bible give them a detailed framework for interpreting historical events leading to the Second Coming. Critical books like Daniel in the Old Testament and Revelation in the New Testament are used to provide the guide for this interpretation. Adventist historical consciousness encompasses both past and present events, claiming that either type can be shown to be fully understandable only according to their framework. Past actions of other churches, a new disease, or the rise of social problems are not isolated events but part of a cosmic plot for which they have the theological script. Agarabi Adventists strongly underline the fact

that this framework comes from the Bible as first introduced to them, not from the altered and updated versions that some Christian groups have introduced.[16]

One unintended consequence of the Adventist emphasis on reading the Bible has been that they introduced schools and education to a greater extent than some other Christian groups.[17] As a result, some of the first Agarabi to achieve high school educations in the 1960s were Adventists, and these are the men who have gone on to take advantage of a variety of economic and political opportunities in later decades.

Christian opposition, biblical symbolism, and the Last Days are intertwined in Adventist discourse. Agarabi Adventists say that the attempt to discriminate against them will be introduced by forcing them in some way to be labeled with the potent number 666. In their interpretation, during this period of discrimination the number will keep them from participating in any form of business. The number has additional significance in that it is linked to the beast, that demonic force described in Revelation, that will lead to the persecution of the Adventists. Because Catholics figure prominently in the accounts of the Last Days, it is not surprising that 666 is "the number of a man" and that Adventists believe it identifies the pope.[18]

Historical Consciousness, Conversion, and Salvation

Historical consciousness and conversion are interrelated in unique local ways with events of the past, present, and future. One prominent theme for Agarabi Adventists is the sense that Papua New Guinea and the Highlands in particular are inextricably related to the unfolding of the Last Days. Adventist teaching suggests that salvation will come only when the word of Christ has been taught to all peoples; humans everywhere must have the opportunity to choose the "true road" before the last judgments are made in heaven. Agarabi Adventists realize that their region was one of the last reached by missionaries, and, therefore, they believe that Adventist work in the Eastern Highlands represents one of the important last events. Moreover, the Bible says that knowledge will be great in the Last Days, and the expansion of education and technological knowledge in Papua New Guinea is seen as an example of the fulfillment of this prophecy. One Adventist pastor, for instance, took note in his sermon in Kainantu town of the hiring of a Papua New Guinean pilot by Air Niugini in the late 1970s. As he spoke to the largely Agarabi congregation, he pointed out how they had always felt that flying airplanes was only for whites. Now, with an indigenous pilot working for their national airline, he was convinced that they were soon to see the Second Coming.

Aspects of indigenous culture are cast in a new light by Adventist teachings. As do other Papua New Guinea Adventists (Josephides 1990:60), Agarabi frequently preach that many of their precolonial customs were part of a period of darkness or ignorance that now has been illuminated by Adventist teachings. Beliefs surrounding sorcery, marriage, and mourning are areas where Agarabi distinguish a dark past from their current religious position. Although sorcery has always been recognized as an evil, Agarabi say, it was only with the arrival of Adventists that they learned that this power had its source in Satan. Sorcery is not, therefore, rejected as a false belief, but is seen as an autochthonous reflection of the age-old, global battle between good and evil, God and the devil. Agarabi Adventists point out the reality of sorcery, just as they do other sinful acts based in Satan. The perception of growth in the prevalence of sorcery in recent decades parallels the Adventist belief that evil will abound in the Last Days (Westermark 1981). In the 1970s Agarabi Adventists suggested that, though they could not participate in the evils of sorcery, the presence of men in their communities who were still knowledgeable about this practice protected them from the active sorcerous attacks of their enemies. A decade later, in 1989, the conversion of many of these men to Adventism was one explanation suggested for the deaths caused by the typhoid epidemic of the preceding years.

A number of traditional practices surrounding marriage and the family are opposed by Adventists. Polygyny has been rejected by Agarabi Adventists for many years, but more recently other family and marriage customs have been the scenes of contest and conflict. At the Keiya meeting, a theme discussed in large group sessions was the religious suitability of Adventists paying brideprice, and it was reported that the votes taken at the sessions favored ending the payments. Yet, in both individual and group discussions in their communities, many Agarabi Adventists also clearly recognized that the level of payment had been inflated in recent years and focused on the wealth lost through marriage arrangements that could be better used for business investments.

A prominent characteristic of Agarabi mourning ceremonies is the long-term visits of relatives of the deceased. Temporary structures are prepared for their lodging, and food is gathered and cooked for their board during what might be a stay of more than a week. Some Agarabi Adventists have argued that this custom reflects their pre-Christian past. Shorter periods of mourning would be more in keeping with expectations of the glories of the Second Coming. At other times, however, some Adventists have cited the resources contributed to support the stay of visitors as a waste of money and time. While with both brideprice and mourning the most prominent rhet-

oric for change surrounds whether or not these practices fit Adventist teachings, there is a recurrent subtext focusing on lost economic opportunities.

Many contemporary events are seen as either reflections of God's presence in the world or indicators of the imminent return of Jesus. Of the former variety, for example, is one leading Agarabi Adventist businessman's belief that his success in the new smallholder coffee plantations was due to his practice of regular tithing. A lay evangelist attributed his recovery from a serious illness to God's plan for him to continue the work of conversion. Evidence of God's opposition to promiscuity was apparent for one Agarabi choir group whose truck crashed while on a journey to perform on the coast. The injuries the choir sustained were later said by some choir members to be the result of one young woman's hidden affair with a married man.

A variety of occurrences were cited by Adventists as signs of the approach of the Second Coming. In some cases, changes not directly attributable to human hands were seen as evidence for the unfolding of God's plan. Thus, news of phenomena like global warming or the AIDS epidemic was circulated by pastors and evangelists and was said to support prophecies from Revelation. More immediate in the Agarabi environment was the typhoid epidemic of the late 1980s. As it was most serious for the Agarabi, they saw it as clearly related to Revelation's prophecies of the plagues that would come in the Last Days. A number of older Agarabi attributed their conversion to deaths associated with this epidemic.

New social problems also were associated with the coming millennium. Promiscuity among the young was frequently preached against but noted as indicative of these Last Days. The growing consumption of beer, along with the violence it stimulates, was another indicator. Criminal activities on the roads and in the towns by so-called rascal gangs were one more proof that the time for Jesus' return was drawing near.

More significant than these other indicators, however, were the events in recent history cited as revealing the opposition with other Christians that would precipitate the millennium. Just as they do with their biblical interpretation of such "signs" as pestilence and promiscuity, Adventists incorporate these stories into their own sectarian narrative, which they use as evidence of the conspiracy against them. Some years ago, an Australian missionary working at the Adventist lay evangelist training center near Goroka was found shot to death. Although the police suggested that it was the act of local criminals bent on thievery, Adventists offered a different explanation. An Agarabi lay evangelist argued that the assassins had been sent by the Catholic leadership who were disturbed with Adventist conversion success. As the Adventist numbers grew larger, he explained, their religious victories would instill additional animosity toward them among other Christians. Since

inroads on the Catholic stronghold in Simbu Province were increasing, the Catholics wanted to curtail the work of the training center. Evidence for the assassination theory was said to be the fact that the gun used in the murder was, based on the bullets found, one that had never before been seen in Papua New Guinea, thus supporting an alleged international element of the conspiracy.[19]

A similar story discussed by Agarabi Adventists was the fate of the prominent national leader from the Highlands Iambaki Okuk. Originally from Simbu Province, Okuk had shifted his residence for political reasons to his wife's district in the Eastern Highlands Province. Although he came close to becoming the Papua New Guinea prime minister, a serious illness led to his death in the 1980s. The frustration of his loss was deeply felt in both Simbu and Eastern Highlands Provinces, where serious public rioting followed the announcement of his passing. Agarabi Adventists offered an alternative explanation for the events surrounding his demise.

A suspicious aspect of his end was believed to be that, after his death in Australia, his body was returned to Papua New Guinea for burial, but his family never saw the body: the casket, it is said, was buried without being opened.[20] Later, a relative of Okuk's, a Catholic priest, reported seeing him alive and captive in the Vatican. The explanation for this plot supposedly centers on the fact that the Catholic Church funded Okuk's campaign for prime minister, with the objective of imposing their rules after his victory, and he had threatened to reveal this fact. As with the story of the murdered Adventist missionary, there is no confirmation of this story, but its mere existence highlights the extent to which Adventist ideology shapes the interpretation of significant current events and how those events, in turn, affirm the ideology.

In the weeks before the Keiya meeting, there was a flurry of preparation among Agarabi Adventists. Given that thousands would be baptized and tens of thousands would be present, the church organization labored for months to develop its plan. The meeting came near the end of a five-year global Adventist evangelistic campaign called "Harvest 90." Added excitement was instilled in the Keiya meeting for Agarabi Adventists since the Adventist General Conference president, Pastor Neal Wilson, would be traveling from the United States to participate.

Shortly after the first Agarabi left for the Keiya meeting site, disturbing reports filtered back to the community where I resided. Carried secondhand by supporters who had gone by truck to Keiya to visit and to bring their relatives additional supplies, the reports suggested that potential assassins had been captured in the crowd. Later accounts further clarified these reports, describing how three men dressed as women had been discovered

and pressured into revealing their intentions. They were said to have admitted to being paid by Catholic church leaders to eliminate Pastor Wilson. When I visited Keiya on the Sabbath occasion of the mass baptisms, security was tense, and I was stopped several times and asked about my identity and purpose. That I was approached with suspicion may have been linked to later reports I heard that on that afternoon two Europeans were sighted with guns in their possession. One was said to have been captured and taken to the police, but I was unable to learn anything more about the outcome of this event.

Conclusion

Given decades or centuries of missionary work, Pacific peoples have taken the ideologies and structures of Christian churches and interpreted them with their own original cultural emphases as well as through the shifting cultural elaborations that have emerged from the local-level circumstances of change they have experienced. Although it has not been my goal here to compare the adaptation of Adventist belief elsewhere in the Highlands, Papua New Guinea, or the Pacific, there undoubtedly would be similarities to the Agarabi case. Still, to recognize the importance of the indigenization of church beliefs in the Pacific (Barker 1990), studies of current patterns of religious commitment, even with fundamentalist groups like the Adventists, must be sensitive to the ways in which the appeal of particular doctrines is subtly altered by the nuances of local cultural reinterpretation.

While Agarabi Adventists do not stray far from church teachings, they have indigenized these teachings in the historical realm by attaching their own experience to the unfolding of the Adventist millennial account. Thus, interpretations of sorcery, marriage payments, and mourning customs as associated with the darkness located in their past become part of a narrative that includes the expansion of education and knowledge in this last site of Adventist evangelization. The realization that the Last Days could not unfold until the most distant reaches of the earth had been exposed to the truths of Adventist teaching adds greater significance to the Eastern Highland work for local Adventists. No longer are they positioned on the periphery of the world stage as they are geopolitically; rather, they are situated in the front rows, if not in the cast itself, of this global religious drama.

Representations of the past in Adventist beliefs also hold the key to salvation for many Agarabi and other Eastern Highlanders. Because their historical consciousness provides a ready framework for the interpretation of experience, various events become memorable as they can be situated in this structure of beliefs. Whether it be the effects of an epidemic, the murder

of a missionary, or the publication of a Bible by a rival Christian group, the events take on added meaning for the signs they offer of the expected Second Advent. When stories touch on the central concern of opposition with other Christian groups, such as the rumors of assassination at the Keiya meeting or the abduction of Okuk, they are more noteworthy for their resonance with the anticipations of the Last Days.

Signs of the millennium, whether specifically linked to opposition or not, are transmitted through an array of formal and informal mechanisms structured by the church. Frequent worship led daily by Pidgin study guides and local evangelists provides a ready setting for the transformation of events into signs. Youth groups and women's groups offer settings for the communication of this information as well as for social affirmation. Dramatic gatherings such as the Keiya meeting create opportunities where the sinful society that surrounds Adventists can be preached against, where the reconstruction of their own communities can be considered and voted upon, and where mass baptism can itself proclaim the success that Adventists see as moving them along the path already outlined in their historical model.

Moreover, Adventist teachings that call on adherents to renounce many of their former foods and behaviors offer a clear-cut personal reordering of experience. A boundary separates the new believers from those in their community outside the Adventist flock that allows them to resist many of the pulls associated with social dislocation. At a personal level, they may characterize their life course as a "new kind of happiness."

The motivations surrounding Agarabi Adventist historical consciousness are not, therefore, only millenarian in nature. The historical backdrop of Adventist teachings also entails much that is linked to day-to-day existence in the time that remains here on earth. The economic advantages that accrue to those who adopt this altered social calculus are undeniable. Ignoring contributions to family, marriage, and mourning obligations or resisting the temptations of the village pub may result in the accumulation of capital for investment. Turning to cattle project investments, at least in part because of dietary prohibitions, has led to economic benefits. The theological care for body and mind that Adventists preach may, ironically, be associated with the material success realized by members of this sectarian group. As a consequence, it is not surprising to find that many of the local Kainantu entrepreneurs are Adventists.

Adventist historical consciousness is certainly aimed at what it reveals about the Last Days. Yet the doors it opens are as much concerned with restructuring the present as they are with prognostications of what is to come. Since the practices of today ready Adventists for tomorrow, Adventist historical consciousness serves the critical role of justifying these social

reconstructions, even as it accounts for current social transformations. Conjoining the past with the future in a prophetic narrative thereby provides a powerful message, one whose appeal offers both immediate and long-term rewards for both individuals seeking to transform themselves and groups searching for new collective identities.

NOTES

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1. Research for this article comes from two periods of fieldwork in the Eastern Highlands in 1977–1978 and 1989. During these stays in an Agarabi community, I was able to learn much of the Adventist beliefs through participation in worship, interviews, and the study of local church records. Many Adventist friends in the community described their faith to me in some detail, and I had the opportunity to visit with Adventist acquaintances from other Agarabi villages. In 1989 I attended the Keiya camp meeting mentioned above, speaking with participants on site and with people after their return to the community. In the Kainantu area, I also heard the opinions of other Christian groups regarding the religious changes then occurring.

2. Personal communication from Dr. P. F. Howard, epidemiologist, Papua New Guinea Institute of Medical Research, Goroka, 14 September 1989 (letter in the author's files). See also *Post-Courier* 1990.

3. These figures are based on official Seventh-day Adventist publications. The numbers cited for 1988 in Steley's (1989:617) thorough study of Adventist history in the Pacific closely parallel my work.

4. This figure was cited in a public speech at the Keiya meeting on 19 August 1989 by one of the Eastern Highland Adventist leaders of Australian origin (name unknown).

5. This religious division combines the Eastern Highlands and Simbu Provinces. My concern in this article is primarily with areas of the former.

6. Ernst describes his figures as follows: "The data presented in these tables is based on different sources such as official censuses, and published as well as unpublished church sources. The numbers given for 1992 are mainly based on Church sources, field research carried out in the respective islands and extrapolations of growth rates in previous years" (1994:305).

7. The author attended a meeting with Eastern Highland Lutheran leaders held in Kainantu in August 1989 at which it was pointed out that the Lutherans had lost five thousand members in 1988.

8. Camp meetings were an early part of Adventist practice in the United States. "They were a means of socializing within one's own 'culture,' developing unity, promoting revival and evangelism, and providing education in Adventism. They maintained and generated the Adventist ethos" (Steley 1989:26–27). In light of this quotation, it is interesting to note the reports from the Keiya meeting participants about the tears shed by many of them at the end of the meeting.

9. It is ironic that the more legalistic and sectarian orientation of Adventists before the 1950s, which still characterizes the beliefs advanced in the Eastern Highlands, has become much less doctrinaire in Adventism generally in recent decades (Steley 1989:35–51; see also Butler and Numbers 1987; Samples 1990).

10. As Steley points out, this sense of rightness was a part of the nineteenth-century American origins of the Adventists within other Protestant churches: "[Adventists] came to view Protestantism, as well as Catholicism, as the 'Babylon' of the Apocalypse. Their separation was given eschatological significance and the cry arose 'Babylon is fallen . . . come out of her, my people' " (1989:4).

11. The centrality of health concerns in Adventist teachings developed as part of their "holistic" teachings on lifestyle (Steley 1989:13).

12. One more indicator in 1989 of the growth of Adventism in the community in which I lived was the absence of pigs, except for a few that were kept penned. Very few pigs were seen along the roads in the Agarabi area.

13. This pattern of economic commitment and success for Adventists has been noted elsewhere in the Pacific (Ross 1979) and in Latin America (Lewellen 1979).

14. This element of protagonists hiding in caves and being saved from discovery by a mysterious fog appears elsewhere in Agarabi oral tradition.

15. Steley points to the significance of the Sabbath for early Adventists: "Furthermore Sabbath observance was seen as the central issue about which the final conflict of earth's history would revolve as Sunday represented a counterfeit day of worship. The Sabbath supplied a standard by which God's people would be judged by heaven and earth in the last days prior to the Second Coming. The expectation of those events exerted a massive influence upon Adventist psychology and philosophy" (1989:8–9; see also p. 34).

16. This criticism even applies to the new Pidgin Bible, *Buk Baibel,* which is said to have altered references to God's "holy day" to read Sunday. One lay evangelist explained to me that the publication of this first complete Bible translation in Pidgin was supported primarily by Catholics.

17. "The Seventh-day Adventist Church conducted the second largest parochial school system in the world in 1986 with a total enrolment of almost three quarters of a million students, including eighty-six colleges and universities" (Steley 1989:23).

18. The identification of the beast with "the Papacy, apostate Protestantism and enforced Sunday observance" was part of the earliest nineteenth-century Adventist teachings (Steley 1989:6; see especially n. 16). Agarabi Adventists frequently cite a verse associated with this idea, Revelation 13:18: "Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is Six hundred three score and six." Official church literature available to Agarabi Adventist lay evangelists shows that one of the pope's titles, "Vicar of the Son of God," can, according to Adventist readings, be translated using numerical values for the Latin alphabet to total 666. These ideas also were included in an official primary-level Sabbath school lesson book used during June–July 1989 by Agarabi Adventists. Opposition between Adventists and Catholics has been noted elsewhere in Papua New Guinea (Josephides 1990:60; *Post-Courier* 1991).

19. At least one official note was taken of this account of the killing. A provincial magistrate based in Simbu Province referred for investigation to the Goroka provincial police commander allegations from an expatriate Seventh-day Adventist pastor that three young men had confessed to being hired for the murder by an American Baptist missionary with money supplied by the Catholic Church and the Evangelical Brotherhood. Unfortunately, I do not know what conclusion, if any, was reached by this investigation (letter from R. Giddings, Senior Provincial Magistrate, to Provincial Police Commander, Goroka, re "Allegation of Conspiracy to Murder," 9 February 1990 [copy in the author's files]).

20. In fact, Okuk returned to Papua New Guinea alive and died on 14 November 1986. His death led to severe rioting, especially in Goroka, capital of the Eastern Highlands Province, where there was much property damage. He was buried in Kundiawa on November 24 with about ten thousand mourners present (Paula Brown, pers. com., 1994).

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FEATHER EVIDENCE HELPS CLARIFY LOCALITY OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARTIFACTS IN THE MUSEUM OF MANKIND

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Species of birds used on ethnographic artifacts collected during the eighteenth century and stored at the Museum of Mankind (British Museum) were identified by using microscopic and whole-feather characters. One of the objects (VAN 345), labeled as having been collected on Vancouver's voyage to Tahiti, was a feather pendant made of long strands of chicken feathers with small red feathers at the base. The small red feathers were examined microscopically, compared with museum study skins of all possible species, and identified as *Vestiaria coccinea* ('I'iwi). Since this species is known only from the Hawaiian Archipelago, it was determined that the locality data on the object was in error. This study presents the procedure for feather identification and discusses the possible explanations for the discrepancies in the locality data. The identification of the 'I'iwi on this object supports previous speculation on the validity of locality data on these Polynesian artifacts and that some objects attributed to the Vancouver collection may have been collected on Cook's expedition to Hawai'i.

Introduction

THE ARTIFACTS from Captain Cook's voyages and other early expeditions that are stored in the Oceania collection at the Museum of Mankind are one of the most important and extensive collections in the British Museum's Ethnography Department. However, it is well known that the provenance of many items in this collection is imprecise or erroneous, which has been an impediment to the proper study of early expeditions. Kaeppler has described in detail the reasons for these misattributions and the possible history of many of the items (1979).

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Since the historically known avifauna of Polynesia is well documented, identification of bird species from the feathered artifacts was undertaken in hopes of clarifying locality data on some items in this collection. Once the species of birds were identified from feathers on the artifacts, geographic distributions were used to help determine the provenance of the objects.

Species identification made using whole and fragmentary feathers is based on Chandler's study of feather microstructure (1916) and has applications in various disciplines including anthropology. Identification of feather fragments has been applied to archaeological digs by Messinger (in Hargrave 1960). Oakes recently described bird-skin clothing used by indigenous arctic peoples, identifying species of birds by comparing whole-bird specimens on clothing to ornithological museum collections (1991).

In this study of artifacts from early voyages, species of birds represented on nine feathered ethnographic artifacts stored at the Museum of Mankind were identified by examining feather characters. The object of special interest was a feathered pendant (101 cm) made of long whiplike strands of chicken feathers with small red, passerine-like (perching birds) feathers decorating the long base (27 cm). This item (British Museum, VAN 345) was supposedly collected on Vancouver's voyage to Tahiti (Figure 1). Red-colored passerines were not known to occur on Tahiti at that time; therefore, feather identification was used for possible species confirmation.

Methods

Although the basic identification technique described by Messinger (1965) remains the same, feather cleaning and microslide preparation techniques have been improved by Laybourne and Dove (1994) and Sabo and Laybourne (1994). In this study, microslides were prepared at the Museum of Mankind from nine ethnographic artifacts stored in the Oceania collection and then compared with museum bird specimens at the British Museum of Natural History and the Smithsonian Institution. In cases where microscopic analysis was necessary, individual barbs rather than whole feathers were removed from discrete locations on most artifact specimens. Microslides were examined using a comparison light microscope at low (40×), mid (200×), and high (400×) power. Feather terminology is given in Figure 2.

This process of identification involved matching whole-feather characters with museum specimens and microcharacters with a known reference collection of microslides. All possible species with comparable feather characters that were known to occur in Polynesia were examined (Pratt, Bruner, and Berrett 1987). In the examination of VAN 345 this included comparing

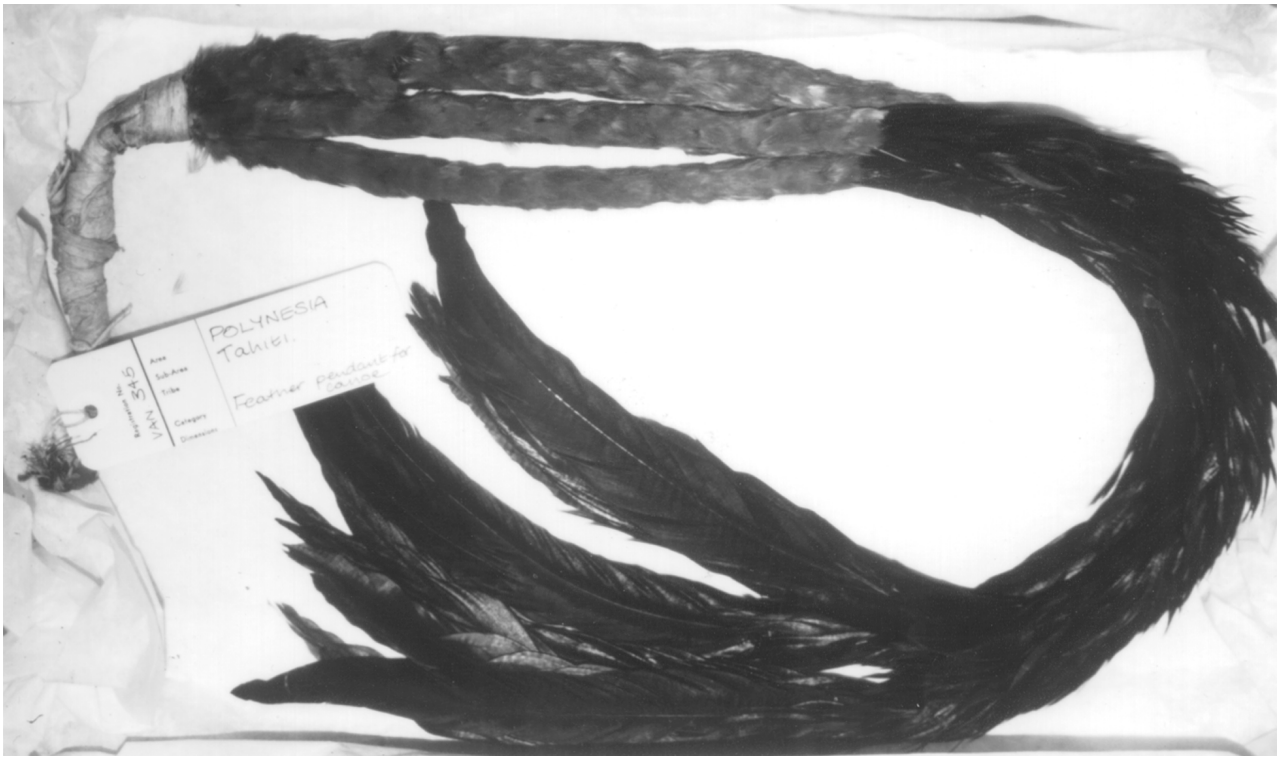

FIGURE 1. **Feather pendant (British Museum, VAN 345).**

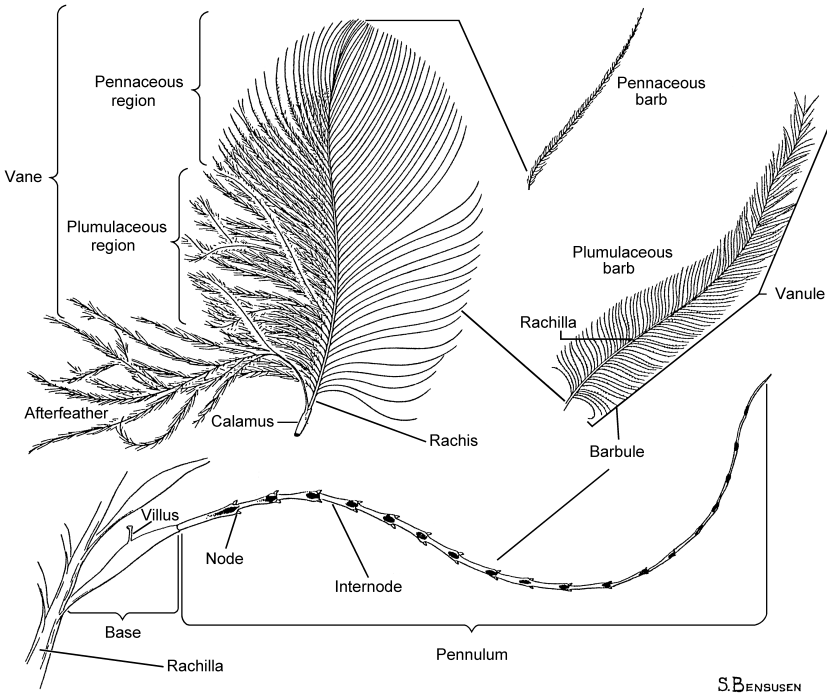

FIGURE 2. **Topography of a feather.** (Drawing by S. Bensusen)

all passerines with red feathers (Cardinal Honeyeater, *Myzomela cardinalis;* ʻApapane, *Himatione sanguinea;* Molokaʻi Creeper, *Paroreomyza flammea;* ʻIʻiwi, *Vestiaria coccinea*) and extinct species of parrots (Raiatea Parakeet, *Cyanoramphus ulietanus;* Black-fronted Parakeet, *C. zealandicus*). Feather identification was first made by comparing whole-feather characters of color, pattern, shape, size, and texture. Further comparison of down characters was made on nodal morphology, internode distance and width, pigmentation patterns, and barbule length.

Results

Table 1 lists artifact descriptions and all avian identifications made in this study. Microscopic examination of small red feathers on item VAN 345 revealed the presence of villi on the basal cells of the barbules. Villi are small, transparent projections (knobbed or pointed) on the base of the barbule and are mostly unique to passerines, hummingbirds, and woodpeckers.

TABLE 1. **Avian Identifications of Ethnographic Artifacts in the Oceania Collection, British Museum of Natural History**

British Museum No.	Description of Article	Feather Identification	Common Name	Locality
LMS 85–1885	Feather girdle with streamers	*Gallus gallus*	Chicken	Tahiti
VAN 344	Feather gorget of glossy-blue and brown-orange feathers	*Ducula aurorae* *Cyanoramphus zealandicus*	Polynesian Pigeon Black-fronted Parakeet	Society Islands
TAH 57	Feather gorget of glossy-blue, red, yellow and orange feathers	*Ducula aurorae* *Vini australis* *Ptilinopus purpuratus* *Cyanoramphus zealandicus*	Polynesian Pigeon Blue-crowned Lorikeet Gray-green Fruit Dove Black-fronted Parakeet	Society Islands
1946 NIUE	Head plume of long white, red, and yellow feathers	*Phaethon lepturus* *Vini australis* *Ptilinopus porphyraceus*	White-tailed Tropicbird Blue-crowned Lorikeet Purple-capped Fruit Dove	Niue
EP39	Headdress with white and dark feathers	*Phaethon lepturus* *Gallus gallus*	White-tailed Tropicbird Chicken	Tahiti
VAN 348	Neck ornament of dark bluish and yellow-green feathers	*Ducula aurorae* *Cyanoramphus ulietanus*	Polynesian Pigeon Raiatea Parakeet	Society Islands
VAN 345	Feather pendant of dark and red feathers	*Gallus gallus* *Vestiaria coccinea*	Chicken ʻIʻiwi	Tahiti
VAN 352		*Ducula aurorae*	Polynesian Pigeon	Tahiti
Q82.Oc.199	Feather whip of long white and red feathers	*Phaethon lepturus* *Vini australis*	White-tailed Tropicbird Blue-crowned Lorikeet	Niue

However, passerine villi are morphologically different from woodpeckers and microcharacters of hummingbirds differ from passerines. The villi of the unknown feather sample conformed with those of passerines.

After whole-feather comparisons eliminated species of Estrildidae, Eopsaltriidae, and some Meliphagidae, microscopic analysis was conducted on those species that exhibited whole-feather characters similar to those from VAN 345 or on species probable for that geographic region (Cardinal Honeyeater, ʻApapane, Molokaʻi Creeper, ʻAkepa, and ʻIʻiwi).

Whole-Feather Examination

The unknown feather sample appeared to have the shape, size, and texture of a flank feather. The color was orange-red as opposed to true red and overall feather size was small (23.7 mm long × 14.1 mm wide). The plumulaceous area (approximately 15.4 mm) was greater than the orange-red pennaceous area (approximately 4.5 mm). A small (approximately 1 mm wide) but distinct white "transitional region" was noted between the medium-gray colored downy barbs and the orange-red pennaceous barbs. Closer examination revealed that the bases of these pennaceous barbs had white barbules that cumulatively appeared as a white stripe separating the two barb types. Feather characters that eliminated some species from further consideration are presented in Table 2.

Microscopic Examination

Microslides were made of breast and flank feathers of the following museum specimens: *Vestiaria coccinea, Myzomela cardinalis, Paroreomyza flammea, Himatione sanguinea,* and *Loxops coccineus.* Microscopic analysis of a female specimen of *Paroreomyza* was examined because a red male specimen was not available for whole-feather comparisons.

In all respects, the unknown sample matched the feathers of ʻIʻiwi *(Vestiaria coccinea)* in comparisons of nodal morphology and pigmentation patterns (Table 3 and Figures 3, 4), barbule length, density of pigmented nodes, and overall micromorphological structure. Other species that were eliminated on the basis of microstructural analysis are listed in Table 3.

Discussion

From the foregoing analysis, it was concluded that the red feathers on VAN 345 were from the Hawaiian bird known as ʻIʻiwi *(Vestiaria coccinea),* one of the so-called Hawaiian Honeycreepers (Drepanididae).

TABLE 2. **Macroscopic (Whole-Feather) Examination of Passerines with Red Feathers from Polynesia**

Macroscopic Examination
UNKNOWN SAMPLE — VAN 345
Medium dark gray plumulaceous region fading to a distinct, tiny white stripe before orange-red pennaceous region.
MELIPHAGIDAE – HONEYEATERS
Cardinal Honeyeater — *Myzomela cardinalis*
Medium dark gray plumulaceous region with black stripe below a very red pennaceous region. Even specimens with more "orange-red" plumages and females did not fit the macroscopic pattern of having a white stripe below the pennaceous feather region.
Micronesian Honeyeater — *Myzomela rubratra*
Medium dark gray plumulaceous region with black stripe below very red pennaceous region. Considered by some sources to be a race of *M. cardinalis.*
Rotuma Honeyeater — *Myzomela chermesina*
Same macroscopic pattern as other *Myzomela* spp.
Orange-breasted Honeyeater — *Myzomela jugularis*
Upper tail coverts and head feathers examined. Feathers too small and did not match macroscopic pattern of unknown.
ESTRILDIDAE – PARROTFINCHES
Blue-faced Parrotfinch — *Erythrura trichroa*
Upper tail coverts. Feather size much too small, light gray plumulaceous region with a green stripe below a red pennaceous region.
Red-headed Parrotfinch — *Erythrura cyaneovirens*
Head and upper tail coverts. Medium dark plumulaceous region with a green stripe below a red pennaceous region. Some feathers do not have a stripe.
EOPSALTRIIDAE – AUSTRALIAN ROBINS
Scarlet Robin — *Petroica multicolor*
Breast feathers. Very dark gray-black plumulaceous region. Wide, very distinct white stripe below a pinkish-red pennaceous region.
DREPANIDIDAE – HAWAIIAN HONEYCREEPERS
ʻApapane — *Himatione sanguinea*
Medium dark gray plumulaceous region with a more dusky red stripe below a dark red pennaceous region. *H. s. freethi,* Laysan race, is more orange in color. Flank pattern without white stripe. Some back feathers on some specimens have white stripe below an orange-red pennaceous region but the pattern is not comparable to the unknown sample. There is a much narrower band of red with the white stripe more distal on the feather.
Molokaʻi Creeper — *Paroreomyza flammea*
No male specimen available for study. Microanalysis of female specimen.
ʻAkepa — *Loxops coccineus*
Pennaceous feather more pure orange, not red-orange.
ʻIʻiwi — *Vestiaria coccinea*
Flanks and all other contour feathers with medium dark gray plumulaceous region. White stripe below an orange-red pennaceous tip. Texture, size, color, and shape match unknown specimen.

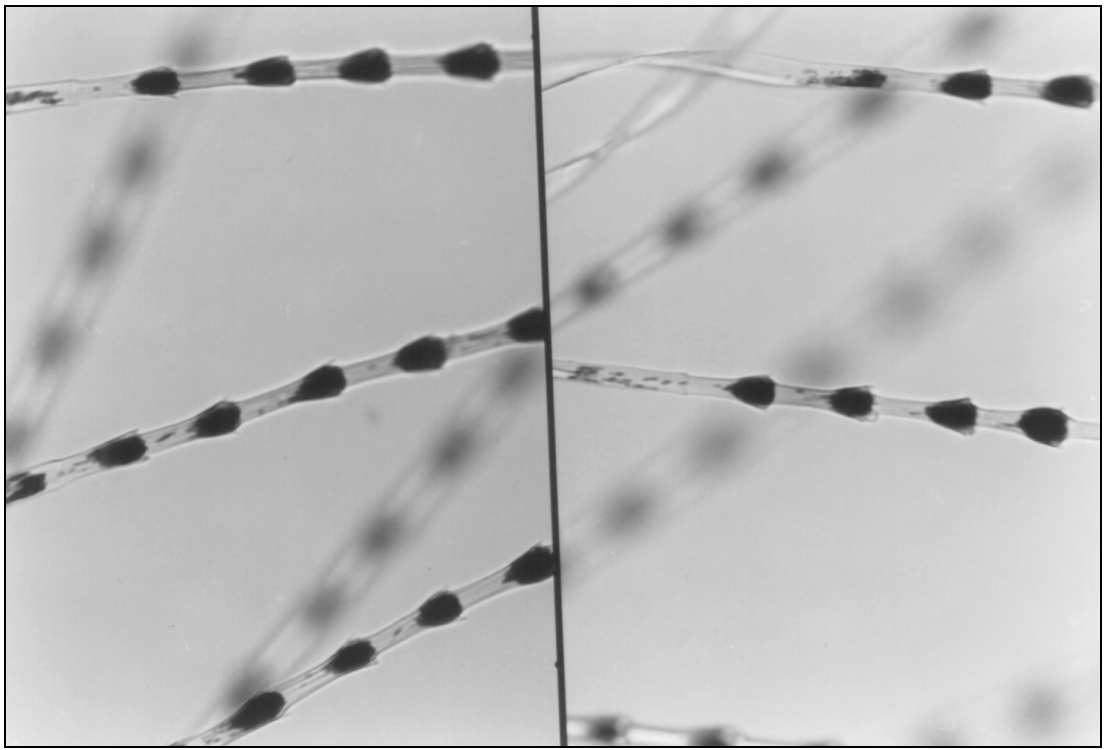

FIGURE 3. **Photomicrographs (400×) showing microscopic similarities of basal nodes on downy barbules of VAN 345 (left) and ʻIʻiwi (right).**

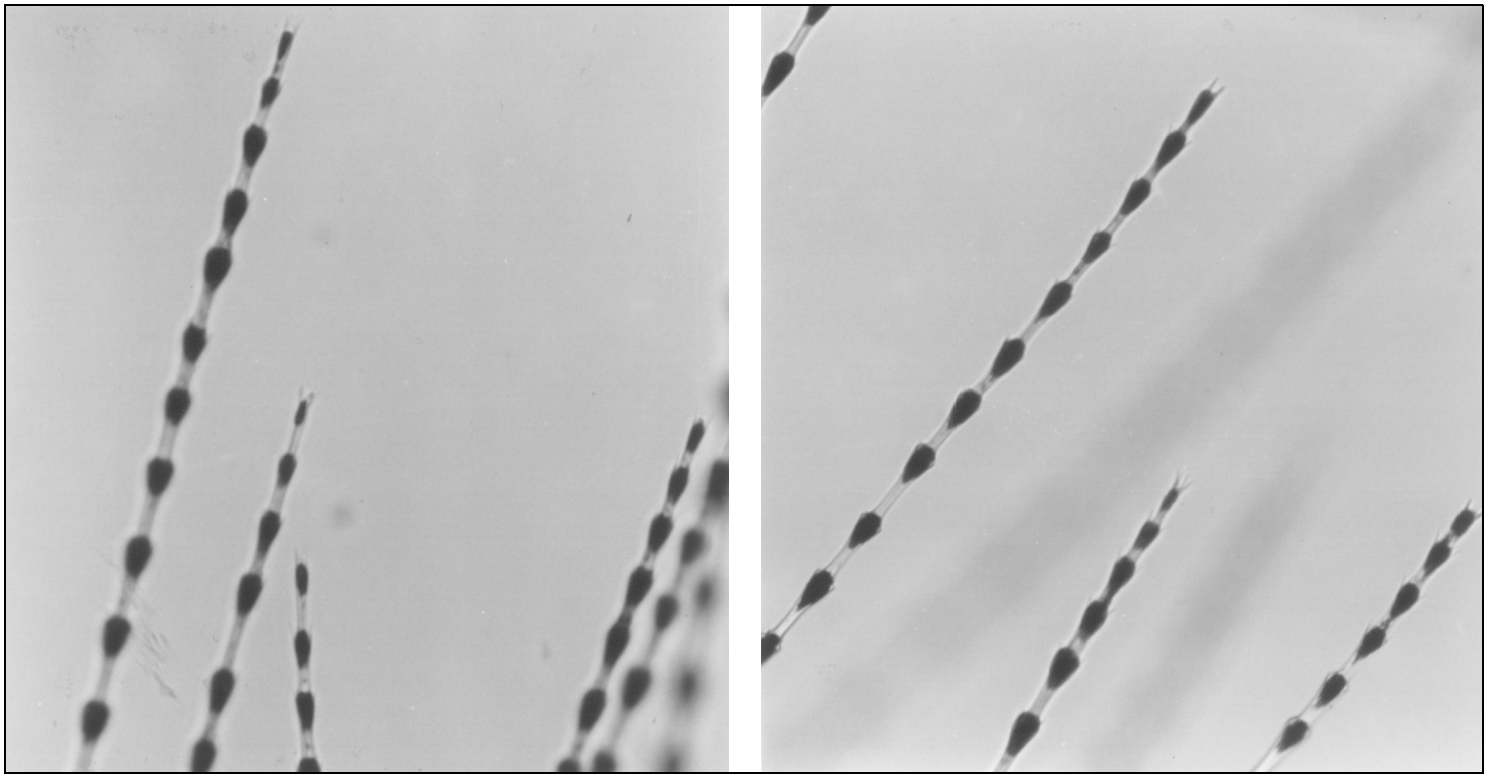

FIGURE 4. **Photomicrographs (400×) showing microscopic similarities of distal nodes on downy barbules of VAN 345 (left) and ʻIʻiwi (right).**

TABLE 3. **Species Compared Microscopically to the Unknown Feather Sample**

Microscopic Examination
Unknown Feather VAN 345. Average barbule length 1.3–1.5 mm; average nodes per barbule, 57. Nodes uniformly swollen and distributed along pennulum. Pigment mostly confined to nodes with some internode pigment stippling between basal nodes. Pigment round or teardrop shaped. Spines more visible on distal nodes of pennulum. Distal pigment well confined at node. Base of pennulum infrequently stippled with pigment. Internode appears narrow, nodes appear wide.
Cardinal Honeyeater *Myzomela cardinalis* USNM 461506. Average barbule length 1.0–1.1 mm; average nodes per barbule, 49. Nodes uniformly swollen and distributed along pennulum. Pigment not well confined to nodes throughout pennulum and often "trailing" or extending from node into internode at basal and mid nodes. Distal nodal pigment is very heavy and connected throughout distal part of pennulum. Pigment is teardrop shaped. Spines are visible all along pennulum but especially on distal nodes. Base of pennulum is heavily pigmented on distal vanule.
ʻApapane *Himatione sanguinea freethi* USNM 189459. Average barbule length 0.70–0.90 mm; average nodes per barbule, 37. Nodes uniformly swollen and distributed along pennulum. Pigment not well confined to nodes throughout pennulum. Distal nodal pigment is somewhat confined but there is some internodal stippling of pigment. Spines are more apparent on distal nodes. Internodal length appears shorter than other species. Base of pennulum is moderately stippled with pigment on distal vanule.
Molokaʻi Creeper *Paroreomyza flammea* Female specimen only, USNM 331466. Average barbule length 1.1–1.2 mm; average nodes per barbule, 53. Nodes less swollen but uniformly distributed along pennulum. Pigment not well confined to nodes, internodal pigment stippling is common. Pigment is teardrop shaped. Distal nodes are very densely packed with much internodal pigment. Spines apparent at nodes along pennulum but more so on distal nodes. Since nodes are not as swollen as other species, the internode appears wider. Base of pennulum is infrequently stippled with pigment.
ʻAkepa *Loxops coccineus* USNM 169326. Average barbule length 1.2–1.3 mm; average nodes per barbule, 53. Nodes swollen and uniformly distributed along pennulum. Pigment not well confined at nodes, especially distally. Pigment is stippled internodally at basal nodes. Distal pigmentation is very heavy and combined throughout distal part of pennulum. Spines are more obvious at tip of barbule than at the base. Base of pennulum infrequently stippled with pigment.
ʻIʻiwi *Vestiaria coccinea* USNM 371377. Average barbule length 1.3–1.5 mm; average nodes per barbule, 56. Nodes uniformly swollen and distributed all along pennulum. Pigment at nodes is round and teardrop shaped. Pigment is well defined at nodes with little internodal stippling at basal nodes. Internode appears narrower and nodes appear wider. Distal nodes are well confined and spined. Spines are more apparent distally. Base of pennulum is infrequently stippled with pigment. Microstructures match unknown sample (see Figures 3 and 4).

The possibility that this information provided evidence of trade between the Hawaiian Islands and Tahiti was rejected because these island archipelagoes are more than a thousand miles apart and, despite technical feasibility, Finney (1977) and Kirch (1985) do not believe that voyages between these localities were common. Furthermore, such trade as may once have existed between these islands had ceased by the time of Cook's (1778–1779) and Vancouver's (1792–1794) voyages.

Because Hawaiian Honeycreepers are not known to occur anywhere outside the Hawaiian Islands (Scott et al. 1986) and fossils of this group of birds have not been reported outside Hawai'i (Steadman 1989, 1995), it is not likely that the 'I'iwi was ever widespread in Polynesia. Thus, the most probable explanation for the presence of 'I'iwi feathers is that the object came from Hawai'i and not from Tahiti. This corroborates Kaeppler's study of the provenance of certain artifacts in the Museum of Mankind. According to Kaeppler (1979), some of the items included in the Vancouver collection were actually purchased from an estate auction of Hawaiian artifacts that had been collected during Cook's voyage (1778–1779). Many of the traceable items from that auction also have "VAN" catalog numbers (e.g., VAN 235, VAN 237, VAN 253a, b, VAN 258). Kaeppler also confirms that the VAN 345 feather pendant is not typical of Tahitian native work but appears more like Hawaiian artifacts (pers. com., 1997).

Two other items (Q80.Oc.1052 and 1053) in the British Museum Oceania collection are also suspected to be from Hawai'i based on feather identifications. Although the labels on these items read "Marquesas(?)," they are probably from Hawai'i because they contain yellow and red passerine feathers. Due to their fragile condition, these pieces were not studied in great detail.

This study exemplifies the importance of ornithology, and especially feather identification, to anthropological studies and shows that "ethno-ornithology" can be an aid in the study of historical artifacts and cultures.

NOTE

This study was instigated by S. L. Olson. Many thanks to D. Starzecka, R. Prys-Jones, and M. Walters for kindly providing access to specimens at the British Museum. A. Kaeppler provided anthropological information and R. C. Laybourne critiqued the manuscript. This article was presented as a poster at the 1997 Wilson Ornithological Meetings and the 1997 Smithsonian Institution Congressional Open House. D. Deedrick assisted with the photomicrographs and Smithsonian Institution Photo Services reproduced the photographs. Travel to the British Museum was funded by an interagency agreement between the Smithsonian Institution and the U.S. Air Force HQ AFSA/SEFW Bash Team.

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DRESSING, UNDRESSING, AND EARLY EUROPEAN CONTACT IN AUSTRALIA AND TAHITI

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Dress and presentation of the body serve as important points of reference in cross-cultural transactions but are potentially confusing. Focusing on early encounters between Europeans and the indigenous peoples of Australia and Tahiti, I argue that certain tactics were commonly adopted to facilitate communication across cultures and dress codes. I have categorized these patterns of discourse as exposure, make-overs, and appropriation. While these tactics could assist in developing cross-cultural relationships, they also created their own ambiguities.

Dress and presentation of the body often played a key role in early encounters between Europeans and peoples of the South Pacific, although one rarely examined in detail by historians. Perhaps most obviously, clothing served as a common commodity for trade and barter. Given that textiles and clothing were the first sectors of European economies to become industrialized, there were clear incentives for creating new markets. Beyond this, though, dress and undress acted as signs that profoundly shaped the reactions of Europeans and South Pacific peoples to one another. As Hildi Hendrickson notes in relation to Africa, in the absence of a shared spoken language, the visual language of the body and dress becomes especially critical.[1] Indeed, recent scholarship on clothing and bodily ornamentation emphasizes dress as a medium of communication. Joanne B. Eicher in *Dress and Ethnicity* defines dress as "a coded system of non-verbal communication that aids human interaction in space and time."[2] In many early cross-cultural encounters, however, it seems dress served to bewilder or mislead rather than to inform. There was frequently a disjunction between the mes-

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sages sent and received through the medium of clothing. As clothing scholar Susan Kaiser indicates, because clothing messages generally consist of layers of meaning, they are fraught with ambiguity. This is especially the case in cross-cultural encounters.[3]

In order to negotiate the often confused meanings of dress in early cross-cultural encounters in the South Pacific, I would suggest, the parties involved commonly adopted certain tactics or patterns of discourse. I have designated these tactics "exposure," "make-overs," and "appropriation." While clothing is closely associated with identity as a rule, in numerous instances Europeans adopted the expedient of "exposure," taking their clothes off, in order to satisfy the curiosity of those they encountered. Early encounters also often involved an exchange of clothing or ornamentation, a "make-over" that at least symbolically served to minimize difference and often acted as a first step toward the forming of cross-cultural relationships. Whereas make-overs were generally limited and regulated offers of dress across cultural boundaries, "appropriations" can be characterized as deliberate acquisitions. They were potentially more complex in terms of intent and effect. At least from a European perspective, there was an increasing ambivalence toward Pacific peoples' appropriation of Western dress once the early contact period ended.

These modes of interaction were essentially rituals, used to create new codes and systems of signs, and in some cases to counter the less intelligible or misleading messages that frequently resulted from first impressions. However, the categories I have proposed were not rigidly compartmentalized. As with the messages conveyed by dress and undress, these tactics could create their own ambiguities. It must also be conceded that the typology presented here reflects the Eurocentric source material used and no doubt my own Eurocentric perspective. Within these limitations, however, I believe the schema discussed below offers a useful conceptual framework.

I focus here on early contact between Europeans and the indigenous inhabitants of Australia and Tahiti. Western observers often responded to Aboriginal Australians and Polynesians quite differently, associating Australia with a brutish "hard primitivism" as opposed to the more hedonistic "soft primitivism" of Polynesia.[4] Nevertheless, there appears to be considerable uniformity in the ways that dress mediated first meetings. Sustained European contact with Australia and Tahiti commenced at roughly the same time, from the late eighteenth century. In June 1767 Captain Samuel Wallis and the crew of HMS *Dolphin* became the first Europeans to visit Tahiti, followed by Bougainville, Cook, and Bligh. British colonization of Australia began with the arrival of the First Fleet of convicts and their keepers in January 1788, although a number of expeditions had already visited Van

Diemen's Land (Tasmania) and the mainland. Some of those Western commentators who left written records of their impressions visited both Australia and Tahiti on the same or subsequent voyages. Although I have drawn most of my examples from Australia and Tahiti, I believe that the patterns outlined here may have a broader relevance in the South Pacific and beyond.

Exposure

In 1802 François Péron, accompanying a French expedition under Captain Nicholas Baudin, confronted a party of Aborigines at Maria Island off the coast of Van Diemen's Land. According to Péron, the local people were so curious about the Europeans' sexual identity that he instructed a young sailor to take off his trousers. The Aboriginal men (there were apparently no women present on this occasion) reacted with shouts of "surprise and delight." Such glee, it seemed, was elicited not simply by the discovery of the sailor's sex but by the fact that he had an erection.[5]

For Péron this incident inspired a train of speculation concerning Aboriginal sexual habits and in particular the frequency of their erections. Of greater relevance here, the episode illustrates a not uncommon ritual of exposure enacted at many early encounters between Australian Aborigines and European visitors. For example, when the French crew of Marion du Fresne reached the North Bay of Van Diemen's Land in March 1772, in anticipation of an encounter with Aborigines two sailors, described by a contemporary as "two tall lads, well built and very white," stripped naked. Their nakedness served several purposes. First, it facilitated making their way to shore through the breakers. Second, it indicated that they were unarmed and presumably without violent intentions. Third, and most important, it exposed them as "natural" men who shared a common humanity. Jean Roux recorded that as soon as the sailors reached the shore, "the natives uttered loud cries, obviously of joy." Even seeing the sailors naked, Roux sensed, the Aborigines doubted they were the same species; "our colour was so strange that they could not stop staring and inspecting."[6] Examples of similar encounters are multiple, including Australia's most famous case of colonial exposure, when not long after the arrival of the First Fleet, naval officer Philip Gidley King ordered a marine to display his genitals to a group of curious Aborigines.

The people Western visitors confronted in Australia were frequently entirely naked. It is not surprising, therefore, that Aborigines should have found European clothing confounding. William Ellis, an assistant surgeon who visited Adventure Bay, Van Diemen's Land, with Captain James Cook's

third Pacific voyage, reported that when they encountered Aborigines, "what surprised them most was our cloathing [*sic*], which they at first thought was part of our body."[7] John Hunter, who arrived in New South Wales with the First Fleet, recorded the local Aborigines' reaction in similar terms: "They examined with the greatest attention and expressed the utmost astonishment, at the different covering we had on; for they certainly considered our cloaths [*sic*] as so many different skins, and the hat as a part of the head."[8] As Hunter's comment suggests, clothes might obscure not only the sex but the more general morphology of European visitors.

In Tahiti clothing, although more abbreviated than Western attire, was an integral part of the culture. Both Tahitian men and Tahitian women generally wore a wraparound *pareu* of barkcloth or plaited leaves, sometimes supplemented by a poncho-like covering or cloak.[9] Nevertheless, Tahitians frequently exhibited a curiosity about European dress (and what it concealed) similar to that exhibited by Australian Aborigines. Compared to the barkcloth of the Tahitians, European fabrics could form more complex and presumably confusing garments.[10] The leader of the first French expedition to Tahiti, Louis de Bougainville, recounted how his cook was surrounded by a crowd of Tahitians "who undressed him from head to feet . . . tumultuously examining every part of his body."[11] Even much later when George Mortimer arrived at Tahiti in August 1789, he was taken aback by the local people's curiosity. Despite the recent stay of William Bligh and the crew of HMS *Bounty,* he reported that the locals acted "as if they had never seen any inhabitant of the earth besides these of their own nation." According to Mortimer the Tahitians especially admired their clothes, and many "strove to get near and touch us, some of them stroking their hands down our back and sides."[12]

In Australia it seems that a principal mystery created by clothing involved sexual identity. William Bradley, a naval lieutenant who arrived at Botany Bay with the First Fleet, suggests that at early encounters Aborigines almost inevitably expressed curiosity about the Europeans' sex. As he noted on one occasion, "having our beards shaved & being clothed they could not tell what to take us for."[13] Another First Fleet commentator, Arthur Bowes Smyth, reported an early meeting in similar terms, stating the Aborigines "seemed to express a Wish to know of what Sex we were & several of the persons on shore satisfied them in that particular." As with Péron's experience, the Aboriginal men present reacted with "joy & astonishment" and immediately extended their hands in friendship.[14] In another instance of early contact, this time at Australia's King George Sound in 1826, Jules Dumond d'Urville recorded that some male Aborigines showed "a lusty curiosity among them, unambiguously expressed, about the sex of the young

and cleanshaven Frenchmen."[15] At other times it could be the women who exhibited curiosity. After visiting Van Diemen's Land in 1802, Baudin claimed that the Aboriginal women "were all extremely curious, not only to see the chests of our officers and scientists, but also to find out if they resembled native men in form and function."[16]

On at least one occasion, Tahitians appeared to have had an uncanny ability to determine a visitor's sex despite the obfuscation of Western dress. A woman in her twenties named Jeanne Baret had managed to pass herself off as a male servant on Bougainville's ship *Etoile.* Yet when she first set foot on Tahiti, Bougainville reported, the Tahitian men surrounded her and cried out that she was a woman.[17] In another case, however, the crew of the *Bounty* were able to dupe some Tahitians into believing they had a female on board. With the aid of a hairdressing dummy, brought by the ship's barber, and some sticks and cloth, they constructed an English "woman." Before the ruse was revealed, some Tahitians inquired whether this fabrication was William Bligh's wife.[18]

One reason clothing may have proved so deceptive regarding sexual identity in early encounters is that European expeditions were usually composed entirely of men. Both Aboriginal Australians and Tahitians apparently found it hard to accept that such large complements of people should include no females. At D'Entrecasteaux's visit to Van Diemen's Land in 1793, for example, the local people were apparently astonished by the absence of women and became particularly inquisitive about the sex of the younger, beardless men.[19] Similarly in Tahiti, Anders Sparrman reported that the "chief" Eretti "repeatedly expressed astonishment that, although Captain Bougainville had come with two ships, there was only one woman on board."[20] In the absence of women, Western dress proved all the more deceptive in intial cross-cultural encounters.

Generally those instances recorded of Tahitians publicly disrobing were associated more with entertainment than with the edification of European visitors. Although Tahitian dress for men and women appeared similar to Western eyes, in most cases Europeans did not appear to have difficulty negotiating sexual difference. Bougainville detected what he considered a distinctive style among Tahitian women. Referring to a large cloth wrap, he claimed they "know how to place it so artfully, as to make this simple dress susceptible to coquetry."[21] Mortimer as well noted that the "Dress of Both Sexes is Nearly the same" but believed the women's was "put on with a kind of neat negligence."[22] Identity and difference were thus interpreted not only on the basis of what was worn, but of how.

Nevertheless, although it was mainly Western clothing that created gender confusions, there are examples that worked the other way. These

incidents centered on Tahitian *mahu,* or effeminate men who assumed a cross-gender role. Mortimer records one such episode when "one of the gentlemen" of his company became "very much smitten" with a performer at a *heiva.* The man made something of a spectacle of himself, offering the performer presents and inviting him to the ship. It was only when the performer disrobed that the object of affection was discovered to be a boy.[23] William Bligh of the *Bounty* was the first to report on Tahitian males who assumed a cross-gender role. In one instance, Bligh believed a *mahu* he met was a eunuch. In this case it was the Tahitian who was stripped for an inspection of his anatomy.[24]

For Europeans exposure represented a paradox. While clothing was central to Western notions of identity, in these new lands expressing identity could require taking one's clothes off. But this form of disclosure occurred only in a very limited sphere. While prepared to undress in some initial encounters, many Europeans jealously guarded the wearing of certain attire as a cultural prerogative. As becomes apparent in the discussion below, dress represented an important cultural boundary that many wished to transgress only on their own terms.

Make-overs

While undressing in early cross-cultural encounters represented a form of disclosure, make-overs were rituals of greater symbolic meaning. As Kenneth Dutton observes, the body assumes its most metaphorical power when transformed, as through clothing or decoration.[25] By the term "make-over" I mean here an offer or exchange of clothing or bodily ornamentation not simply from motives of trade or gaining material advantage. Perhaps most broadly, make-overs were a means of extending friendship and identification with the "other." The act of clothing or decorating the other was often a first step toward forming a relationship. At one of the earliest encounters at Botany Bay after the arrival of the First Fleet, Bradley noted that "our People & the Natives were mixed together, the Boats Crews amused themselves with dressing the Natives with paper & other whimsical things to entertain them, with which they were pleas'd for the moment."[26] Or, to take an example from Tahiti, George Robertson of HMS *Dolphin* records how he and another officer "rigged out" a local man nicknamed Jonathan in a complete suit of clothes and shoes, much to the man's apparent delight.[27]

These episodes generally represented more than, say, the offer of beads or other trinkets as a lure to closer interaction or a bribe to good behavior. Soon after the First Fleet landed in Australia at Botany Bay, Governor Arthur Phillip noted that although the Aborigines they encountered were

naked, they "seemed fond of ornaments." Some beads and red baize material were left on the beach, and the Aborigines put them "round their heads and necks."[28] Arguably such interaction lacked the intimacy and significance of encounters where Europeans more actively engaged in dressing or decorating Aborigines in a fashion similar to their own (and vice versa). On more than one occasion, for example, officers of the First Fleet shaved some of the Aboriginal men they met as a sign of sociability and their good intentions.[29]

Make-overs might also symbolize more lasting relationships as opposed to chance meetings. The Aborigine Bennelong was initially taken captive in November 1788 at Port Jackson. He was shaved, washed, and clothed, although apparently little trusted by his captors since his make-over included an iron shackle on one leg.[30] Later, however, he was reported to have become reconciled to living with Europeans and constantly accompanied Governor Arthur Phillip. Phillip dressed him in a pair of trousers and a thick kersey jacket. He also gave Bennelong a short sword, "to make him sensible of the confidence he placed in him." According to one contemporary, Bennelong "was not a little pleased at this mark of confidence."[31]

At one extreme a make-over might even involve taking islanders back to Europe, where they could not only be garbed in Western clothes but also be introduced to every aspect of Western culture. At Cook's second visit to the Society Islands in 1773, the man Omai left at his own request with the ship *Adventure* under Captain Tobias Furneaux. He spent two years in London, and once in England, Joseph Banks dressed him in the latest fashions.[32] When Omai eventually left England with Cook on the *Resolution* in July 1776, he was said to carry with him "infinite variety of dresses."[33]

Make-overs frequently took the form of exchanges. On the west coast of Van Diemen's Land in January 1802, Baudin's naturalist, Leschenault, was offered a necklace of polished shells when he encountered a small party of Aborigines.[34] During the same encounter, one Aborigine swapped his kangaroo skin for a jacket but then quickly abandoned the fabric after stripping off the buttons.[35] When the Frenchman La Billardière, botanist with D'Entrecasteaux, encountered Aborigines at Van Diemen's Land in 1793, he received a shell headband from a young man. When he responded by tying a handkerchief around the Aboriginal man's head, it is said he "expressed the greatest joy."[36] In a similar incident at Oyster Bay, Van Diemen's Land, Mortimer noted that when one of his party offered an Aboriginal man a silk handkerchief, the man reciprocated with a skin headband.[37]

In the Tahitian context, it was apparently common for Tahitians to make over their Western visitors. When Captain Samuel Wallis visited Tahiti in 1767, he was invited ashore by the local dignitary "Queen" Purea (Oberea)

and, according to Wallis, clothed "after their manner."[38] Similar rituals seem to have been a matter of course, conferring status on the receiver as a valued guest. When the First Fleet ship *Lady Penrhyn* stopped at Tahiti in July 1788, the captain and the surgeon were wrapped with cloth and matting. The surgeon, Arthur Smyth, professed that "walking under such a load of cloth & feathers made me almost ready to faint."[39] Similarly, George Hamilton of the *Pandora* records that when Ottoo and his "two queens" visited the ship, they wrapped cloth around the captain's waist, noting this was an "indispensable ceremony." When one of the Tahitian women expressed an interest in the captain's laced coat, "he immediately put it on her with much gallantry."[40]

Traditionally, barkcloth and fine mats played an important role in Tahitian social transactions, and an exchange of cloth often served to validate an agreement.[41] It may be that in some cases Europeans unwittingly entered into compacts they had little understanding of. From their point of view, however, it seems that the gift was often of less importance than being dressed in a Tahitian style. When William Bligh first arrived at Tahiti in October 1788, he noted that a local chief's wife and sister, "in a very obliging manner, came to me with a mat, and a piece of their finest cloth, which they put on me after the Otaheite fashion."[42] At another chiefly meeting a couple of days later, Bligh recorded, another piece of cloth was "put over my shoulders, and round my waist, in the manner the chiefs are clothed."[43] Mortimer, visiting Moorea in August 1789, recorded that the local "king" and his wife presented them with cloth, and they "were obliged to undergo the ceremony of having it wrapped round us, as usual."[44]

On other occasions Europeans submitted to forms of bodily adornment, again analogous to exchanges and gifts of clothing. At Van Diemen's Land some of Baudin's party allowed the local "beauties" to smear their faces with charcoal. Baudin reported that, as a result, the men could only be recognized by their clothes.[45] Many Europeans visiting Tahiti acquired tattoos. They included not only common seamen, but those with more respectable credentials. Joseph Banks allowed himself to be tattooed, later showing off his arm to polite society in England.[46] Fletcher Christian of the *Bounty* had a star tattooed on his chest and another pattern on his buttock.[47] Arthur Smyth recorded that when his ship visited Tahiti in 1788, most on board were tattooed, including himself and the captain.[48] At least some Europeans were cognizant that such bodily adornment represented a form of social communication not unlike clothes. James Morrison pointed out that the deficiency of tattoos or other bodily markers for Tahitians would be analogous to Europeans going naked.[49] For Tahitians tattoos were of spiritual, aesthetic, and social significance.[50] Europeans were perhaps most inclined

to view tattoos as a souvenir. Nevertheless, simply the process of being tattooed represented a shared experience with their Tahitian hosts.

While at least on the surface exchanges of dress or decoration facilitated more trusting relations, there were less altruistic motives at play as well. On some occasions make-overs provided an opportunity for greater sexual intimacy. John White, surgeon general with the First Fleet of convicts to Australia, on one occasion tore his handkerchiefs into strips flirtatiously to decorate the body of an Aboriginal woman at Manly Cove. When the woman admired the buttons on his coat, he threaded them on a string and tied them around her waist.[51] William Bradley notes another early incident in which an Aboriginal woman was drawn to their boat, where they "ornamented this naked Beauty with strings of Beads & buttons, round her neck, arms & waist."[52] La Billardière enacted a similar ritual at Van Diemen's Land in 1793. He offered his pantaloons to a young Aboriginal woman, then insisted on helping the woman put the garment on. According to La Billardière, he and his fellows "behaved with all the gravity we could on the occasion."[53]

As La Billardière's remark suggests, make-overs could involve an element of humor or jest at the other's expense. When an Aboriginal man was given a shirt, for example, Bradley drolly recorded, "this new skin he seem'd much pleas'd with, but appear'd to be deprived of the use of his limbs while within it."[54] Even if such jokes were relatively good-natured, they hint at the underlying power relations present. If make-overs afforded an opportunity of crossing cultural boundaries, they could also involve a positioning of authority.

In the Australian context, Bob Hodge and Vijay Mishra make much of an early incident involving Philip Gidley King, a naval officer with the First Fleet. During one encounter with a party of Aborigines, the men appeared to proffer an Aboriginal woman to the Europeans. King reacted by placing his handkerchief over the woman's genitals. Hodge and Mishra suggest that this action can be read as an essentially political encounter. Placing the handkerchief might serve as a symbolic taking of possession, a claim of offered "property." The Aborigines' offer of their women could be read by King and his party as mirroring a renunciation of land rights. At the same time, King's gesture of covering the woman's nakedness might be interpreted as a sign of moral superiority and hence Europeans' fitness to rule.[55]

Although the interpretation of Hodge and Mishra is questionable, relations of power are evident in other dress interchanges. Some Europeans resisted offers of indigenous dress, presumbably viewing them as a threat to their cultural integrity, personal identity, or status. When "Queen" Purea entreated George Robertson to take off his clothes and wear her gift of local apparel, Robertson declined. Eventually he did agree to wear Purea's gift over his own clothes, an arrangement that he reported made the Tahitians

"very happy."[56] William Bligh apparently declined a meeting with the young royal Ottoo because it would have involved baring his shoulders.[57] Another example is offered when the *Bounty* mutineers returned to Tahiti and sought an audience with the young "king" Areepaeea. When they were told they would have to bare their heads and shoulders, the *Bounty* crew refused, insisting this was not their custom. In time a compromise was reached in which each *Bounty* man was provided with a piece of Tahitian cloth to put over his shoulders and remove in the king's presence.[58]

Such resistance again underlines the participants' awareness of the importance of dress in cross-cultural transactions. At one level, European clothing was the most visible marker of Western "civilization." Perhaps those most insecure about their own status would have most tenaciously clung to their own apparel. When Captain James Cook visited Tonga, he was determined to witness an Insai ceremony, ignoring requests by the locals to leave. Eventually he was allowed to stay, conditional on his baring his shoulders. Cook apparently felt certain enough of his authority to comply. But this action caused profound discomfort among some of his junior officers, one recording his unease at viewing Cook's "hair hanging loose and his body naked down to the waist."[59]

Because of the symbolic meanings attached to dress, such episodes were intimately linked to issues of identity and cultural boundaries. Make-overs could represent in some sense a sharing of identity, placing the individuals concerned on more intimate terms. Especially in initial encounters, I believe make-overs served most often as tacit messages of friendship or goodwill. Similar dress put the participants if not on an equal footing, at least on one in which their perceived differences were less emphasized. The offer of clothing or other bodily ornamentation helped lower cultural barriers and provide a material link between individuals. At the same time, though, exchanges of dress were fraught with ambiguity. Rituals involving dress, as dress itself, could involve a mocking of the cultural other, sexual titillation, or displays of power. The possibility of multiple interpretations is still more evident when dress was appropriated across cultural boundaries.

Appropriation

I have used the term "make-over" principally to describe those transactions where dress or bodily adornment is proffered by indigines to Europeans or vice versa. I am using the term "appropriation" to categorize those instances where individuals or groups voluntarily and unilaterally decide to assume the dress of another culture. Tattoos might be viewed as on the cusp of make-overs and appropriations, depending on the degree to which the process was

instigated by the Tahitians or the result of an individual European's initiative. Tattoos at least required a Tahitian artisan to perform the tattooing, whereas appropriations were not necessarily cooperative enterprises. Appropriations are in fact the most difficult to generalize about, since even more than exposures or make-overs they can be related to an array of individual motives. Nevertheless, the appropriation of dress across cultural boundaries was again an important mode of symbolic communciation in early encounters.

The possible motives for adopting the dress of others are diverse. Whereas with exposure and make-overs the intended audience is often assumed to be the cultural other, with appropriation the intended audience is more ambiguous. One might adopt cross-cultural dress to impress one's fellows, to present a certain image to foreigners, or simply to fulfill a personal whim. Both motivation and meaning may be specific to the individual. For some, appropriation might be primarily a sensory or aesthetic experience. Islanders might appropriate Western clothing into their own fashion systems.[60] Many came up with hybrid ensembles that represented something more cosmopolitan than either European or Pacific dress alone. Adopting the dress of a different culture might symbolize a step outside of ordinary character, status, or relationships.[61] Whereas I have argued that exposure and make-overs were performed mainly to facilitate relations between cultures, the appropriation of dress could convey resistance.[62] Clothing could be used to challenge cultural stereotypes. Certain styles of dress made ideological claims. As Gail Low discusses in the context of Rudyard Kipling's fiction, cultural cross-dressing may create a sense of freedom and pleasure through the consumption of another's culture. Not only is there the pleasure of crossing cultural barriers, but there is the further pleasure of reestablishing those boundaries once the dress of the other is discarded.[63]

During his stay at Tahiti with the *Endeavour,* Joseph Banks took to wearing a local-style turban of barkcloth.[64] One might presume this to be an outward sign of his sympathetic interest in Tahitian culture. For some Europeans the adoption of local dress could signal a dramatic change in identity. When one of Captain Cook's crew deserted ship at Raiatea in the Society Islands, he was discovered, according to a contemporary, "lying down between two women with his Hair stuck full of flowers & his Dress the same as that of the Indians."[65] Metamorphoses were rarely so complete, and such examples of Europeans adopting local dress in its entirety during the early contact period are relatively rare. As already noted, there were strong motives for Europeans to maintain their sense of difference (i.e., their sense of superiority). As Margaret Maynard points out in her study of clothing in colonial Australia, early government authorities exercised special concern

about the lack of apparel supplied to convicts. For Europeans to appear naked represented a blurring of racial boundaries.[66] With the process of colonization, concern about appropriate dress for Europeans generally rigidified.

At least some Western observers were prepared to admit the practical benefits of local dress, if not adopting it wholesale. George Forster juxtaposed the "simple dress" of those at Tahiti to "the coarse awkward garments of a set of seafaring Europeans."[67] Sydney Parkinson, following his experience at Tahiti with James Cook, considered that Europeans had carried clothing to an extreme, with negative effects on their constitution.[68] But this view rarely meant an abandonment of Western clothing for the local product. Such observations were generally intended in a philosophical vein rather than to elicit a change of fashion.

In a way analogous to Europeans' exposure in early encounters, the appropriation of Western dress by Pacific peoples could represent a narrowing of difference. Adopting the other's dress was a means of entering another culture. Some may have assumed that adopting the dress of powerful foreigners would convey more personal power to themselves.[69] When one Tahitian dressed in a linen frock and trousers as well as taking an English name, George Forster assumed the man "expected to have greater consequence in the character of an English sailor."[70]

Cross-cultural dressing could also create unease, especially if it involved a mixing of dress outside the norms of Western practice. James Cook, returning Omai to his native land in 1777, was disconcerted by his mix and match of various attires. Cook disapprovingly described how, on one occasion when visiting a Tongan chief, Omai "dressed himself not in English dress, nor in Otaheite, nor in Tongatabu nor in the dress of any country upon earth, but in a strange medly of all he was possess'd of."[71] With hindsight, one might speculate that Omai wished to display his wide experience of the world through the breadth of his wardrobe. For Cook, Omai's mixing of clothing styles presumably represented a transgression of proper boundaries. At least metaphorically such mixed ensembles challenged the binary divide between European and Pacific Islander.

In early encounters, opportunities for appropriation of Western clothing were fairly narrow. Soon after the arrival of the First Fleet at Botany Bay, some Europeans quickly became annoyed with Aborigines trying to snatch their hats.[72] At Tahiti articles of dress or ornaments might be exchanged for sexual favors. Some resorted to theft, although the penalties for those caught could be severe. A Tahitian woman who stayed with one of the "young gentlemen" from the *Pandora* stole all of the man's linen one evening. She was punished by having one of her eyebrows and half of the hair on her head shaved off, a punishment believed appropriate for what was

largely considered an act of vanity.[73] In later years the acquisition of Western dress often became central to local economies. Visiting Tahiti in 1838, Honoré Jacquinot lamented that the people's energies were oriented largely toward buying clothes from missionaries at exorbitant prices. He complained that "miserable European rags have replaced their picturesque natural costume."[74]

Numerous commentators have remarked on a hardening of racist attitudes in the early nineteenth century that contrasted with an earlier curiosity and empathy characteristic of the Enlightenment.[75] Nudity among indigenous peoples was considered more offensive with the process of white settlement. When the draughtsman J. Arago visited Sydney in the early 1800s, he professed to being shocked by the "disgusting spectacle of hideous nakedness."[76] By this time missionaries were systematically attempting to impose new standards of dress in the Pacific islands, make-overs that had more to do with cultural imperialism than with the forging of relationships at initial encounters.

Yet at the same time there remained an acute ambivalence toward the adoption of Western dress. As with the reasons for appropriating foreign dress, the sources of resentment might be similarly diverse. The adoption of Western clothes might be interpreted by Europeans as a marker of indigines' cultural inauthenticity or as a challenge to notions of racial hierarchy.[77] Similar dress could narrow the differences on which colonial inequality was predicated. Given that dress was often taken as a sign of power designating the wearer's status, those assuming Western clothing could be viewed as challenging the power structure. European commentators frequently attempted to expose the essential "native" beneath Western dress. To take but one example, Beatrice Grimshaw, writing at the turn of the twentieth century, provided a fund of anecdotes in her South Seas travelogue to illustrate the dissonance between islanders' dress and behavior. These included the Cook Island laundress who wore her nightwear to church and the island bride who made fourteen changes of silk dresses during her wedding reception.[78] Islanders or Aborigines' distinctive usage of Western fashion was often taken as evidence of difference and inferiority. While indigenous people might adopt the outward trappings of "civilization," many Europeans apparently believed this appropriation belied an unaltered primitivism.

Conclusion

Early cross-cultural encounters had some of the qualities of a masquerade or carnival where people might take special license in their dress as well as behavior. Europeans' removal of clothing at some early encounters literally

removed a buffer between themselves and members of another culture. Make-overs also opened up a form of dialog and might offer a symbolic form of affiliation. The appropriation of another's dress further implied at least some level of cultural understanding. These rituals helped break down visible barriers between cultures and were important modes of communication in initial encounters. Cultural cross-dressing represented at one level signs of both freedom and submission. With the submission to another's cultural practices came the freedom of crossing cultural boundaries.[79]

At the same time, the discourse of exposure, make-over, and appropriation could create new ambiguities. As fashion theorist Fred Davis emphasizes, the possibility of alternative and contradictory interpretations is endemic in clothing communication.[80] The very act of attempting to transcend cultural barriers through dress could foster new instabilities. If cross-cultural dressing was liberating, it also embodied a threat. This ambiguity is most evident in the ambivalence toward the appropriation of Western dress that became increasingly apparent as the process of colonization progressed. In part it reflected the ambiguity of the colonial enterprise. If Europeans wished to convert Pacific peoples to their way of life, they also often wished to preserve difference.

Dress and undress, always open to changing responses and interpretations, continue to mediate colonial (or postcolonial) encounters. While the symbolic meanings have changed, one can still recognize the rituals I have outlined in the tourist who strips on the beach at Club Med, the Tahitian tour guide who is given gifts of Western dress, or the Anglo-Australian who wears an Aboriginal motif T-shirt. Dress forms part of a dialog not only between cultures but between past and present.

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REVIEWS

Eric Venbrux, *A Death in the Tiwi Islands: Conflict, Ritual, and Social Life in an Australian Aboriginal Community.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. 269, illus., maps, appendices, glossary, references, index. £40 hardcover; £14.95 paperback.

Reviewed by Jane C. Goodale, Bryn Mawr College

THIS STUDY POWERFULLY illustrates the value of an extended case study in contemporary ethnographic writing. In this exciting and extremely well written account and analysis of an unwitnessed murder (of a middle-aged man who was one of the author's assistants), Venbrux presents a detailed description and analysis of contemporary Tiwi life.

Originally intent on gaining an understanding of ritual symbolism, Venbrux settled into the Tiwi community of Pularumpi, one of the three major modern Tiwi townships on Melville and Bathurst Islands of North Australia. The community is part of a society and culture that have been studied by many anthropologists throughout its approximately hundred years of continuous contact with other Australians (white and black). These prior studies are extensively acknowledged and quoted and are used to demonstrate the continuities and changes that are so forcibly brought to bear on the Tiwi's and the author's understanding of the events following the death of the man the author calls Tobias. (All real names have been replaced with pseudonyms.)

Venbrux begins with a narrative account of his arrival and the beginning of his study of ritual symbolism, which was to be suddenly interrupted by the murder. He then sets the stage for the subsequent events, actions, and reactions with a rather complete summary of Tiwi life, culture, and society

covering the historic to modern period. Very interestingly he follows this with a chapter in which he retells a well-known Tiwi historic tale concerning Tobias's father who, at the end of the last century, was the central figure in a "pay-back" murder plot involving as victims members of a neighboring Tiwi group (now residing mainly at Milikapiti—where this reviewer has conducted all her research). This is followed by a biographic sketch of Tobias, introducing the continuities implicit in the father-son relationship in Tiwi society. The tale also empirically grounds one of Venbrux's conclusions, which is that competition and violence have always been a part of Tiwi life. Although the technology has changed, the issues underlying violence and resolution of conflict have largely been maintained. So too the underlying causes of competition and violence—marriage transactions—remain similar to those described for the past in spite of the changes brought about through the influence of the Catholic church and the Australian government, which has put to a stop the practice of polygyny and prenatal selection of mothers-in-law and the bestowal of wives.

The subsequent handling of the case by both the Australian police and judiciary on the scene and in the courts, and by the affected Tiwi as they engaged in daily discussion and participation in ritual is found in chapters 4–7. A great deal of detail is presented along with considerable annotation and comment by the author and reference to other literature. While ritual form and performance have changed some, it becomes clear that the Tiwi mortuary and annual yam ceremonies are, as they were in the past, central in the maintenance of cultural identity and resolution of conflict. For the Tiwi the alien court system of justice is largely irrelevant to their concept of resolution of conflict.

This study has much to recommend it to scholar and student alike. For those familiar with previous studies of the Tiwi, Venbrux brings the reader up to the present with excellent coverage of daily and ritual life in the modern townships. For those who are reading about the Tiwi for the first time the author gives ample background so that they become aware of how a dynamic culture and society meets an old challenge in a new setting. It is the strength of Venbrux's analysis that he is so detailed in his reporting of the key individuals' responses in the contexts of kinship, matriclan, and country relationships. In doing so Venbrux demonstrates his interpretation that "Tiwi ways of dealing with the killing . . . were evidence of the originality and creativity so valued by Tiwi people" (p. 233). I suspect, however, that some readers may have some difficulty in following the many individuals and their kin relationships with the victim and with each other, particularly readers unfamiliar with the pervasiveness of Aboriginal kinship. To address this problem Venbrux includes truncated genealogies and a table of dramatis

personae. For this reader it was a pleasure to read today such an empirically based analysis of a dynamic culture and society. Venbrux clearly demonstrates that ethnography is alive and well.

Richard Feinberg and Karen Ann Watson-Gegeo, eds., *Leadership and Change in the Western Pacific: Essays Presented to Sir Raymond Firth on the Occasion of His Ninetieth Birthday.* London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, no. 66. London: Athlone Press, 1996. Pp. xiv, 416, index. US$90 hardcover.

Reviewed by Dorothy Ayers Counts, University of Waterloo

This volume honoring Sir Raymond Firth began as a special session held in the year of his ninetieth birthday at the annual meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO) in March 1991 in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. The special session was followed by an international conference hosted by the London School of Economics in late December of the same year. Professor Firth was unable to attend the conference in Canada but did participate, with vigor, in the London conference. The topics addressed at the conferences and in this volume focus on issues that have long interested Professor Firth: the varieties of forms of leadership, the changing nature of leadership, and the relationship between leadership and political-cultural change.

The collection contains thirteen chapters: an introduction that gives an overview of the data chapters and a synthesis of the themes uniting them, eleven data chapters, and an epilogue. This final chapter addresses, from the viewpoint of an Africanist, the issues raised in the book and the authors' debt to the ideas of Professor Firth. The data chapters consider issues of leadership and change from the ethnographic perspective of societies in Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia.

Social scientists have studied political leadership from a variety of positions. This variety is mirrored in the approaches taken by the authors, who address the topic using data collected during their field research and their understandings of the nature of leadership in the societies where they studied. For example, many authors examine expectations by particular societies of the behavior and personal qualities of leaders. Three ethnographers follow the careers of leaders against the background of cultural expectation in an attempt to analyze and explain the success or failure of leaders in those societies.

A second theoretical problem addressed by many of the authors is the

definition and distribution of leadership types such as those in the big-man/chief dichotomy proposed by Marshall Sahlins (1963). Professor Firth's repeated observation that legitimacy, even for Polynesian chiefs, is based on a complex interplay of ascribed and achieved characteristics provides the basis for analysis. Contributors also build on the recognition that neither the big-man nor chief model describes ethnographic fact (Godelier [1982] 1986; Godelier and Strathern 1991). This volume complements these earlier works in its effort to document the effect of contact on changing patterns of traditional leadership and the response of leadership to pressures of modernization.

Rather than attempting to apply theoretical models and propositions to ethnographic cases, the contributors to this collection use a more "Firthian" approach. They start with ethnographic problems for which they attempt to find theoretical explanations. For example, in their attempt to understand the variety of patterns of leadership, authors draw on the suggestion by Bradd Shore that leaders are not limited to one model of reality. Instead they may carry several, possibly inconsistent, models that they can use, combine, and discard at will depending on situation, context, and individual objectives. This concept of multiple models is explored by most of the chapter authors.

The contributions to this collection reflect the two-step process of consultation, enhanced by the participation of Professor Firth, during which authors met to debate theoretical problems. The chapters are of high quality, both in content and writing style. Although the ethnographic data on which discussion is based are from the South Pacific region, the issues here—like the concerns of Professor Firth—are universal ones of interest to political anthropologists and political scientists whose work encompasses the globe. This volume will be of value to students of political leadership, legitimacy, and change whatever their discipline or regional speciality.

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R. Gerard Ward and Elizabeth Kingdon, eds., *Land, Custom, and Practice in the South Pacific.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. xiv, 290, illus., maps. US$64.95 hardcover.

Reviewed by William C. Clarke, Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific

This is a study of discrepancies, of the current divergences between, on the one hand, codified law and the canons of "custom" having to do with land-tenure arrangements in the South Pacific and, on the other, the actual practices on the ground whereby people gain access to the use of land. Detailed case studies of Samoa, Vanuatu, Tonga, and Fiji illustrate the processes at work.

Throughout the transformations that colonialism and modernization have brought to the Pacific Islands over the past century and a half, land and land-tenure arrangements have been—and remain—a central concern for the majority of Pacific Island peoples. But this is not to say that tenure arrangements or the nature of people's attachment to land have remained unchanged from pre-European times. Rather, as this acutely informed book tells us, although the majority of land in all South Pacific Island countries remains under "traditional," "customary," or "native" land-tenure systems ". . . in many parts of the region the ways in which the 'customary' land is now held by owners or users have changed to a much greater degree than is commonly acknowledged" (p. 1).

These changes are closely connected to changes in the socioeconomic and political organization of island communities, a transformation in which a central component has been the change from subsistence to market economies, with a concomitant replacement of socioeconomies based on reciprocal obligations to ones dominated by wage labor and money. Adjusting to these changes has brought a changed attitude to land. It has become a commodity, and as Islanders seek to acquire land for longer-term and more-exclusive use for noncustomary purposes, they have employed a variety of customary, legal, or extralegal methods, which have resulted in an increase in the formal or informal privatization of land as well as in inequalities in landholding.

> The divergences between de facto, de jure and customary land tenure arrangements, and the changes within the realm of customary land, are beginning to be recognised publicly in some countries. In others they are not. Politicians and government agencies find it extremely difficult to deal with these problems through

> reform of the tenure systems, not least because the rhetoric of cultural preservation, and the fostering of national or ethnic identity for new states, often depend on the maintenance of the image of an idealised social system founded on "traditional" land tenure conventions. (P. 3)

Chapter 1, written by the editors, provides a cogent introduction to land tenure, its functions, its variety, its changes in relation to changes in the rural economy, and its connections with ideology. The significance in the Pacific of invented tradition in relation to land is discussed, as is the use of "custom" as a way of legitimating particular actions. To illustrate that processes now happening in the Pacific are parallel to processes that have occurred earlier and often over a longer span of time in other parts of the world, comparative examples are drawn from Japan, China, Europe, and Africa. A trend that emerges from all the examples "is a reduction in communal forms of organising land tenure and a corresponding increase in individual forms" (p. 33)—with the trend driven by commercialization, colonialism, changing technology, agricultural innovation, or all of these in concert.

Chapter 2, also by the editors, gives an overview of land tenure in the Pacific Islands, stressing that the contemporary tenure systems, which are often honored as "customary" or "traditional," may differ considerably from what is known of actual practices in what is referred to as the "late indigenous era." The modern invented arrangements vary from country to country, with some being codified, others not, but all now showing divergences between the accepted models and the practices adopted by many Islanders. The chapter provides a clear historical treatment of land tenure in the Pacific Islands while also informatively discussing how Pacific land-tenure arrangements relate to ecological and technical practicalities, to communalism and reciprocity, and to personal and social identity.

The four country chapters explore the issues of changing tenure practice in greater depth by means of case studies. First is chapter 3, "Breathing Spaces: Customary Land Tenure in Vanuatu," by Margaret Rodman. On gaining its independence in 1980, Vanuatu uniquely emphasized customary land tenure in its constitution and dissolved the colonial dualism of "native" and "alienated" land by assigning ownership of all land to its "custom owners," as these are designated within the great variety of land-tenure principles that exist in Vanuatu. The strength of the idea of land inalienability was so fundamental that, on rejecting its colonial Anglo-French names, the new nation took a name meaning "our land." Rodman draws attention to the ambiguities between what is customary and the rhetoric of *kastom* in Vanuatu. She focuses too on the ni-Vanuatu she calls "masters of tradition," who have

gained relatively large areas of land by establishing extensive coconut plantings and whose control over this land, while seemingly customary, may develop into a new form of social differentiation, with land becoming more heritable than in the past—although these trends Rodman judges to be not yet socially destructive. The breathing space of the chapter's title is an interlude wherein change occurs locally in the customary realm but remains under flexible local control, giving the government time to ponder what laws and principles should or can be set up at the national level.

J. Tim O'Meara's chapter, "From Corporate to Individual Land Tenure in Western Samoa," examines in detail the processes whereby over more than a century individual land tenure has been replacing the corporate or "communistic" system of old Samoa. The disappearance of the corporate system, which was previously condemned by missionaries and administrators as a hindrance to economic advance, has now gone so far that "Samoans now worry less that the Samoan system will make economic individualism impossible, and more that their economic individualism will make the Samoan system impossible; and Samoans now claim individual ownership of so much customary land that the *matai* [chiefly] system has changed and weakened as a result" (p. 110).

Tonga's history differs importantly from that of its neighbors in that it was never subject to a colonial power, having declared itself a constitutional monarchy in 1875—a time when most other island groups were being drawn into the colonial web. Further, as Kerry James writes in her chapter on Tonga, "Right and Privilege in Tongan Land Tenure," the country's first monarch, Tupou I, "in order to consolidate his authority and lessen the power of strong rival chiefs, instituted reforms which gave all males individual rights to land" (p. 157). By the Land Act of 1882, each male commoner was entitled to a small town allotment and an agricultural allotment of 8.25 acres (3.3 ha). These allotments were derived, however, from the hereditary estates of members of the royal family and the *nōpele,* a term adopted from the English "noble." It follows that the history of Tongan land tenure deals less with a movement toward individual land rights in the face of a "customary" communalism than with changes in relations between social strata—as well as with changes in the value of land. James deals with the changes in the light of four historical themes: the hesitancy whereby commoners exercised their legal right to land by applying for allotments and registering them with the Minister of Lands; the increase in population, which by the late 1950s made it impossible for every Tongan man to acquire an allotment from Tonga's limited land base; the government's resistance to major changes in the original land measures; and, lastly, the constitutional prohibition of the sale of land and the emergence since the end of World

War II of extralegal payments for the lease or use of land. Particularly important in the expansion of the illegal or informal land market has been increasing monetization, the commercialization of agriculture (notably the export of pumpkin squash in recent years), the modernization of commercial ventures, and the input of remittances received in Tonga from emigrants settled or working overseas. The informal land market that has developed in urban land, especially in Nuku'alofa, is also described.

In his country chapter "Land, Law and Custom: Diverging Realities in Fiji," R. G. Ward delineates the last century and a half of changes in the ways Fijians allocate and control land. The result of the changes today is that some "current practices are sanctioned by either custom or law, or both; others by neither" (p. 198). The formal tenure system codified in the 1870s and 1880s by the British colonial authorities was intended to protect Fijians from loss of their land, but the system's inflexibility made adjustments to new socioeconomic and technological conditions difficult. But to some extent people did adjust, by ignoring the regulations and continuing to use older, more flexible practices of land allocation, or by developing new, but unsanctioned, practices to meet new needs.

Ward's discussion includes a particularly good example of how an orthodox conception of indigenous land tenure was imposed by the British colonial government upon the much more varied and flexible system that was actually practiced prior to British control. In effect, by institutionalizing their orthodox model, the colonial authorities "fixed" native land by the registration and survey of land by *mataqali* units—*mataqali* being an agnatic descent group within a hierarchy of social groups in Fijian society. The colonial authorities assumed that the registered owners of *mataqali* land would also be its users, but such has often not been the case. Today, Fiji faces a situation where much of the de facto use of land is based on extralegal and extracustomary practices and where attempts at land reform that would recognize the trend toward individual holdings could only take place in a politically charged arena, "especially in relation to differential access to land between the Fijian and Indian communities, and risks to political and social stability exist in either not acknowledging the discrepancies, or in attempting to deal with them" (p. 198).

The book's final chapter, "Beyond the Breathing Space," by Antony Hooper and R. G. Ward, sums up the principal common tendencies that have characterized changes in Pacific Island land-tenure practices since the precommercial era. Also discussed are the relationships of land, state, and nation in the face of the historical processes that have been at work, with the authors questioning why postcolonial governments have not taken steps to bring land law into closer accord with practice, or vice versa—a question the

answer to which relates strongly to concepts of tradition, personal and national identity, and Pacific culture. But as the changes in practice continue, there will come a time when it will be necessary to recognize the increasing individualism in land management.

Critics will lament, or have already lamented—understandably—the absence of Pacific Island authors from this book, although some thirty Islanders are represented in the comprehensive bibliography. On the other hand, all the authors have long been deeply involved in Pacific research and concerns—for over a century in the aggregate; also, as outsiders, the authors are free from the rhetoric and political considerations that at times direct Islanders' views.

The amount of detail in the case studies may daunt the fainthearted, but few other studies have integrated so well community-based, historical microstudies by anthropologists and a human geographer (Ward) and then used those studies as a basis to reveal more generally the complex dynamics and contemporary national quandaries of land tenure in the Pacific Islands. The volume is an example of social science at its best.

John Garrett, *Where Nets Were Cast: Christianity in Oceania since World War II.* Suva and Geneva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, in association with the World Council of Churches, 1997. Pp. 499, illus., maps, index. US$13 paperback.

Reviewed by John Barker, University of British Columbia

Where Nets Were Cast is the last of a three-volume work on the history of Christianity in Oceania. The first volume, *To Live Among the Stars* (1982), chronicled missionary efforts across the region from the earliest Spanish contacts to around 1900. Although Garrett compiled some new information, particularly on smaller denominations and island groups, much of this history was already familiar from innumerable mission and secular accounts. The second and longest volume, *Footsteps in the Sea* (1992), ventured into less-explored territory, the colonial period between the 1890s and the outbreak of the Second World War, when the basic pattern of denominational distribution was established across the region. The present book brings the story up to 1996. The publishers to their credit have kept all three studies available at a reasonable price. Together they form an indispensable source for students of Pacific history.

Garrett divides his history into three phases, corresponding with three general themes. The first section covers the traumas suffered by missions

and their adherents during World War II. The fighting forced missionaries across the region to confront the contradictions between their own nationalist and political convictions and their responsibilities towards their congregations. As the Japanese invasion spread, Catholics (Roman and high-church Anglican) tended to remain at their posts (at the cost of considerable personal suffering and death) while Protestants withdrew. In all denominations, however, there were many outstanding cases of personal heroism and sacrifice. Islanders learned that their colonial masters were neither invincible nor inevitable. Missionaries returned to their posts to deal with depleted and destroyed resources and, often, newly independent and sometimes defiant congregations. In places like Malaita and the Madang area of New Guinea, the rift that opened between local Christians and the foreign missionary leadership in some churches took years to heal.

In most places, however, the transition from foreign mission to local church came much more gradually and with less pain. Garrett's second phase deals with the period between 1946 and 1961, when the churches (along with colonial governments) began to tentatively grapple with the task of preparing Islanders for eventual independence. While Christian Islanders in general became more assertive and made real gains within the ranks of the clergy, the question of "who leads"—which Garrett sets as the central theme for this period—tended still to be resolved in favor of the missionaries. Indeed, the most contentious struggles tended to occur within the ranks of the missionaries themselves and between the missions and colonial governments over issues such as education, the compatibility between Christian theologies and local custom, and growing sectarianism as missions expanded into unevangelized areas and began to compete more vigorously among Christianized populations.

During the third period defined by Garrett, 1961–1996, most of the older Protestant and Anglo-Catholic missions in the region became national churches, paralleling the transition towards political independence. The Roman Catholic Church, the largest single denomination in the region, remains the more foreign in complexion, largely because of the international structure of the church and impediments to joining the priesthood, notably the celibacy rule. Even the Roman Catholic Church, however, has gone a great distance in devolving authority (and liturgical expression) to national and local levels. Arguably these changes have occurred in response to international shifts in mainstream Christian denominations as much as local agitation for control. The profound reformations to Catholic practice that followed Vatican II as well as the ecumenical movement all promoted a localization of church control virtually everywhere.

Ironically, the increasing presence of Islanders in the clergy and adminis-

trations of the island churches has not necessarily translated into more "Pacific" expressions of Christianity. Christianity in the Pacific Islands continues to be shaped by global trends. In particular the last forty years have seen a marked growth in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), a vast variety of evangelical and Pentecostal sects, and a host of well-endowed and general conservative para-church organizations such as the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Pacific Missionary Aviation. Even within the older mission churches, worship styles and understandings of Christianity seem to be becoming increasingly individual, outwardly oriented, and enthusiastic in response to these global trends.

Where Nets Were Cast provides an abundance of information showing how these general trends have worked out in different denominations in different areas. For the most part, however, it is up to the reader to tease them out. Garrett does not provide a unified history of Christianity in the region. This book, like the others in the series, is instead a collection of short narratives chronicling the activities of specific church and mission leaders in the different island groups. Each section of the book is divided into regional chapters: on Papua New Guinea, eastern Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia. Within each chapter, Garrett takes on one denomination at a time. The approach is quite exhaustive: even tiny Niue and the smaller churches in New Zealand are covered in each of the three sections of the book. Needless to say, some regions and some denominations receive considerably more attention than others. In particular, one would have wished for more attention to independent religious movements and churches and the rapidly expanding evangelical, fundamentalist, and Pentecostal churches in the last section. All the same, researchers from across the region will find useful information here that is available nowhere else.

Despite the blurb on the back cover, which suggests a general audience, this is a very narrowly focused book that will be of most interest and use to specialists. Garrett's minihistories often include fascinating thumbnail sketches of the endeavors of specific mission and church leaders, both Islander and European. The lack of overview or comparative sections or chapters, however, greatly limits the accessibility of the book for most readers. It helps if one ignores Garrett's scheme and reads the three accounts of each local sect in sequence, but even so one inevitably bogs down in an ocean of specifics. Garrett's resolute focus upon leaders also greatly constricts his narrative. While he is sensitive to the need to include Islanders in their own religious history, the strategy of constructing the narrative around church leaders inevitably elevates European missionaries and issues identified by church elites while relegating most Islander Christians to the sidelines. Garrett has virtually nothing to say about cultural or social influences upon

Pacific Christianity, let alone indigenous understandings, appropriations, and adaptations of the different denominational traditions. The book includes few references to the extensive and growing missiological and anthropological literature on indigenous Christianity.

Fortunately there are several excellent and far more accessible books available for readers interested in the spread of Christianity across the Pacific as perceived by committed Christians. One thinks here in particular of Charles Forman's *The Island Churches of the South Pacific* (1982) and Manfred Ernst's comprehensive sociological study of recent trends, *Winds of Change* (1994). Garrett's book performs the more specific but still critical function of opening windows into the inner workings of mission leaders and elites over the past fifty years. As such it provides an indispensable resource towards the creation of more finely detailed and nuanced studies of Pacific Christianity.

VISUAL MEDIA REVIEWS

Sacred Vessels: Navigating Tradition and Identity in Micronesia. 1997. Video, 28 min., color. Directed and written by Vicente M. Diaz; produced by Christine Taitano DeLisle and Vicente M. Diaz. Guam: Moving Islands, Inc.; also distributed by Pacific Islanders in Communications (Ste. 6A-4, 1221 Kapiʻolani Blvd., Honolulu, HI 96813; (808) 591–0059; e-mail: piccom@aloha.net; http://planet-hawaii.com/~pacificislander/). US$30 (approx.)/individuals; higher for institutions.

Reviewed by Marcelous Akapito, Saramen Chuuk Academy, and Joakim Peter, Chuuk Culture and Education Studies Program, College of Micronesia–FSM Chuuk Campus

Sacred Vessels examines a "shared tradition" of the canoe and navigation in Micronesia, focusing on two locations: Polowat in Chuuk State, Federated States of Micronesia, and Guam, in the northern Marianas. It looks at the disappearance of canoes and the recent efforts to revive a canoe-building tradition in Guam and the presence of canoes and canoe building in Polowat. This puts Guam and Polowat on opposite ends of the spectrum of both the presence of canoes and the experience of colonialism. Polowat was relatively spared from colonial presence and efforts to establish outside cultural influence. Guam, on the other hand, has had to "bear the yoke" of colonialism and unprecedented neocolonial activities. *Sacred Vessels* examines the problematic notions employed in explaining the presence of canoes and the lack thereof in the two societies and how those notions are misconstrued.

The filmmakers go through a series of interviews with contemporary practitioners and students of canoe building and navigation in both areas as they

struggle to "navigate" the challenges of their modern-day societies. The challenges are different for those in Guam and Polowat. The challenge to individuals like Rob Limtiaco and Gary Guerrero (as well as the Chamoru master canoe-builder Segundo Blas) becomes forcefully clear in their effort to build a canoe house in Guam. During the filming of *Sacred Vessels,* we learn from Limtiaco that the project is at a standstill. He and the rest have to "make changes and adapt" to navigate through a Western economy. The dilemma for modern practitioners of canoe building and navigation in Polowat like (the late) Sosthenis, Rabwi, and Celestino is to figure out how to navigate through a Christianized Polowatese society in their effort to initiate the Ppwo ceremony, which has not been performed in decades.

The visual use of underwater and scenic shots of both Polowat and Guam is very effective in enhancing the film's overall narrative. We want to point out the most notable example: underwater shots with voice-over effects are used by the filmmakers to give voices to the canoes, the vessels that brought life to the islands. This enhances a point later made by Celestino Emwalu about the meaning of the canoe. Canoe is *wa* and *wa* is also (blood) vessels in the Chuukese languages. We want to add, in emphasis, to a point that Celestino also hints at: people (both mind and body) are also called *wa.* Another excellent use of visuals is the shot of a young man in Polowat approaching the church, wearing a *thuw,* lavalava, and carrying a pair of pants in his hands. As he is about to enter the church service, he pauses at the door, pulls on the pants over his *thuw,* and, finally, disappears into the church.

The disappearance of a canoe tradition in Guam is associated with the rigorous Spanish colonial reign formally established in 1668. In the film, Limtiaco asserts that the Spanish rulers saw the existence of canoes as a threat, so they made a "concerted effort to destroy them." Confining the interisland mobility of the Chamorus not only ushered in the consolidation of the colonial power regime but also marginalized the existence and practicality of the canoe and canoe ownership. On the other hand, the obvious presence of the canoe on Polowat secures the tradition associated with it. Despite the assorted impacts of four successive colonial nations (Spain, Germany, Japan, and the United States), Polowat still appears pristine—except for a few field-trip ships from Weno, Chuuk's center. It is as if the amenities of modernization have yet to find their way into the tradition-oriented Polowat.

From their physical appearance to the overall integrity of their indigenous traditions, Guam and Polowat clearly contrast with each other. However, according to the filmmakers, here lie and remain the misconstrued notions and discourse of history and culture when applied to Micronesia. The problematic perceptions of cultural survival and, more so, cultural loss

are often associated with the presence of such cultural items as canoes. Polowat is often seen as "having culture but [lacking] history," as if the island community is suspended in time or forgotten. Guam, on the other hand, as the film points out, is often viewed as having history (only in terms of a legacy of colonial history) but no culture. This is pointedly clear with the fact that the one canoe that Rob Limtiaco and Segundo Blas built is now sitting in the Guam museum, "only a decade after it was built." The filmmakers disagree with the notion that Guam's culture is sitting dead in a museum; rather, the filmmakers like "to think that the same spirit that [enabled the prolific canoe culture in Guam in the past] now inhabits the museum waiting [to] possess . . . [individuals] to seize the adzes and build canoes."

These two discourses on Guam and Polowat sum up the overarching perceptions of Micronesia's history in scholarly attention to Micronesia and the whole Pacific. This perception often implies that the vitality of the history of Micronesia is contingent upon the extent to which such history reflects colonial and postcolonial activities. In that essence, then, Micronesia's history is actually about other forces residing in and inhabiting the cultural and historical topography of the place. Suffice to say, this perception negates the fact that we Micronesians, Chuukese, Chamorus, Polowatese, and the rest of the Pacific Islanders have always been around, long before Western contact.

The attitude above facilitates the shortsighted idea that the disappearance of canoes in Guam proves Chamorus today are "cultureless." Within such a notion, culture has been unjustly reduced to material existence. If we cling to such a notion, then the effort to revive the canoe in Guam by master carver Segundo Blas, Gary Guerrero, and Rob Limtiaco would be pointless and futile because the demise of the canoe culture is an irreparable loss. On the other hand, the "historyless" Polowat is seen as such because of its contemporary reality—pristine topography, traditional-looking huts, canoe-oriented kids, and so forth. Polowat, in that problematic notion, must have been bypassed by history and forgotten by time.

Sacred Vessels argues to the contrary. It shows that Guam and Polowat have navigated and are still navigating through some turbulent oceans of colonial and postcolonial change in their own peculiar ways. Instead of seeing the native culture and history as passive, Guam and Polowat Islanders indeed perpetuate prolific traditions that endured transformations and alterations and fostered continuity. In *Sacred Vessels* we see the juxtaposition of transformation and continuity personified in the experiences of brothers Sosthenis and Celestino Emwalu, whose differing formative training in life serves to facilitate the preservation of canoe tradition amid economic imperative in a world often favoring changes. Likewise, the revival of canoe tradition on Guam by contemporary Chamorus could be seen as an

act of gauging the possibility of cultural continuity in their world of vast modernization.

We also want to look at some issues that are raised in *Sacred Vessels.* These are issues we consider of major importance to educators and those of us struggling with the effort to incorporate cultural knowledge into our modern education system. In *Sacred Vessels* Celestino and his late brother, Sosthenis, address one issue that often becomes a point of contention: Who gets to learn? In other words, who will have access to the knowledge of navigation? We bring this up because it is interesting and at the same time problematic, and it relates to the very effort of these modern-day efforts to revive the tradition of canoe building and navigation. Sosthenis Emwalu, along with the filmmaker, Vince Diaz, taught a course on navigation at the University of Guam. Both Sosthenis and Celestino Emwalu made the point that in order to ensure the survival of navigation, they and other navigators would share it with others. Where do navigation, canoe building, and other traditional skills and knowledge fit in our "modern" (identifiably) Western-style education system? If there is a growing concern that traditional knowledge and skills are disappearing, then does our education system have any answers for sustaining this cultural knowledge? A related concern, articulated by Celestino Emwalu, is the issue of loss of instruction time in cultural and traditional skills for students and young people who move away to school elsewhere. (In the film we do see younger students on Polowat learning navigation.) Is the education system then a threat in that it alienates young people from opportunities to learn this cultural and traditional knowledge?

Some answers may have been raised in *Sacred Vessels.* Filmmaker Diaz talks with Rob Limtiaco about going away to school and finding their way back to this source of knowledge in their own backyard. In the introduction portion, Diaz talks about his efforts to understand Islander travel and its "boundaries." Celestino Emwalu talks about going away to school in Hawai'i as an extension of his Islander navigation culture.

Sacred Vessels is about more than just navigation as a lore and its complexity or the canoe as vessel. It is about tradition and identity in two contemporary Micronesian societies: Guam, in the Mariana Islands, and Polowat, in Chuuk, Federated States of Micronesia. The film features the practitioners of navigation and students of master navigators and canoe builders. *Sacred Vessels* also makes some important points through what we may refer to as "pondering." For example, in the discussion of the domains of men and women in Polowat, the filmmakers ponder, "What does it mean when the Ppwo bounders" are women? This inquiry is made after telling the audience that the domain of the women is the land; the men belong to

the sea. To enhance this point the interview with Celestino is added. Celestino tells us that in Polowat one only has a father through his mother, so to speak. The traditional chiefly titles and clan lineages are defined through the mother's side of one's family. Even the knowledge one receives from the father is also viewed in this way, as coming through the mother's connection. (The term for that paternal connection in Chuukese languages is *afakur.*)

Sacred Vessels is an important work in the field of cultural studies and history in general in Micronesia. It challenges some prevailing notions within the realm of Micronesian historiography and asserts some important indigenous views about history and culture—and the real challenges that they have to face today.

Spirits of the Voyage. 1996. Video, 88 min., color, stereo. Produced and directed by Eric Metzgar in association with Jesus Urupiy, Ali Haleyalur, and the people of Lamotrek. California: Triton Films (5177 Mesquite, Camarillo, CA 93012; (805) 484–2199; e-mail: Tritonfilms @vcnet.com; http://www.Tritonfilms.com/). US$29.95–34.95/individuals; $89.95–94.95/institutions.

Reviewed by David H. Lewis, New Zealand National Maritime Museum

This is a wonderful film, as well as being a particularly timely one. The first, because it succeeds in that most difficult synthesis: the combination of accurate documentation of a cultural event presented in the context of its own island voyaging world, in a way that is both understandable and moving to land-based outsiders. Timely, because Metzgar has filmed a seminal event, the revival after forty years of the Pwo ritual of initiation of navigators on Lamotrek Atoll in the Federated States of Micronesia, which has undoubtedly stimulated its revival elsewhere in the archipelago.

It needs to be understood that in the Micronesian voyaging atolls the title of "navigator" (*paliuw* on Lamotrek) ranks higher in many respects than that of chief. While magnetic compasses have been known there since early this century, it is considered beneath the dignity of a navigator to make use of one, except as a convenience in daytime steering when the course has already been determined by the stars. The schools of traditional navigation in the voyaging atolls like Polowat, Lamotrek, Satawal, Pulap, and Pulusuk represent an unbroken skein of actively practiced navigational and voyaging lore, which comes down to us from the far-distant age when sailors first ventured deliberately out of sight of land. Alone in the Pacific and perhaps in

the world, the Carolines have preserved, continued systematically to teach in special navigators' lodges, and practiced these ancient arts, where prodigious feats of memorization of star courses for all conditions of wind and weather, swell patterns, homing birds, deep underwater features, and much else have been infused with intense spiritual content, without which practical technology has little power. This is why the revival of Pwo is so important. It helps illuminate the essential spiritual dimension of this unique window back in time, and it has been handled in this film with great understanding.

The generation of navigators, mainly from Satawal and Polowat, who revived far-voyaging in the early 1970s, making again the 700-kilometer passage to the Marianas in their 8.5-meter sailing canoes after three lapsed generations, were initiated *paliuw.* Now only a handful are left, and these men are mostly too decrepit for sea-going. Is the millennia-old chain, then, about to be ruptured? Urupiy, now well on in his eighties, and his young initiates, among whom I was pleased to see Erailug, son of my old compatriot Repungalap, have answered this question with a resounding NO.

Neither is Lamotrek alone. Imagine my delight, when just days after viewing Urupiy's 1990 conduct of the Pwo ceremony recorded in *Spirits of the Voyage,* my old friend and "brother," the Polowat *ppalu* (a variant spelling of *paliuw*) Hipour, wrote me: "Oh my friend, I wish you would be here in August. The mayor and some young navigators asked me many times that I would perform the graduation which we traditionally called *PO* [variant spelling of Pwo, Ppwo] for them. I finally accepted their wishes and now we are getting ready to do it in the middle of August. In fact there is one going on now on the island of Pulap. There are about four who they will call *ppalu* after the ceremony. And for the one that I will perform on Polowat, there are eight of them. . . . Our traditional chiefs wanted this to happen, since there are only three *ppalu*s left alive here, and if we die, part of navigation will not be strong any more, so I finally accept it and we are looking forward to do it."

Nor is the practical side of ocean navigation being neglected (and all interisland voyages traverse open Pacific). My old friend, Polowat Chief Manipe, whom I encountered at the South Pacific Festival of the Arts in Samoa in September 1997, told me that two new voyaging sailing canoes were being built on the island. And Eric Metzgar writes that two of the initiates in the film have already made their test voyage. Undoubtedly, the continuation of blue-water sea-going in traditional sailing canoes has been a central ingredient in preserving the ancient arts in the Carolines. This constant testing of the lore against the stern test of landfall helps keep it alive and very practical. That, and a relatively intact social order that embraces

schools or "lodges" of navigation, ensures its systematic and accurate transmission. Elsewhere in the Pacific the heavy hand of Western rule and adopted ideology has succeeded in extinguishing the institutions of navigational learning, most often without trace, so that, except perhaps in Kiribati and the Marshalls, the one-time existence of training schools and lodges is a matter of deduction, devoid of precise evidential backing.

There is precious little evidence of there having been separate Polynesian and Micronesian systems of navigation, most techniques having a homologue or at least an echo of distant memory in the other region. In general, it is in Micronesia that traditions are best preserved. There is no anomaly, therefore, in the navigator of *Hōkūleʻa* canoe on its voyage from Hawaiʻi to Tahiti in 1976 having been the Micronesian Mau Piailug of Satawal. That voyage, synthesizing as it did living Micronesian lore with reviving Polynesian practice, was an important stimulus for the traditional navigation renaissance that now embraces Hawaiʻi, Tahiti, the Cook Islands, and Aotearoa (New Zealand).

But the concepts, spiritual beliefs, and institutions of preliterate societies are far more vulnerable in the face of history than are the practical techniques. This is where *Spirits of the Voyage* comes in. It is a rare work, ranking with such classics as *Dead Birds,* in showing visually and verbally, in a clear and understandable form, a society practicing its spiritual and temporal traditions.

This review would be incomplete if it failed to point out that the drama of Pwo unfolds amid scenes of great beauty, and Metzgar succeeds in doing full justice to the visual impact of the South Seas.

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