PACIFIC STUDIES

A multidisciplinary journal devoted to the study of the peoples of the Pacific Islands

DECEMBER 1998

Anthropology
Archaeology
Art History
Economics
Ethnomusicology
Folklore
Geography
History
Sociolinguistics
Political Science
Sociology

PUBLISHED BY

THE INSTITUTE FOR POLYNESIAN STUDIES
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY–HAWAI'I

IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE POLYNESIAN CULTURAL CENTER

EDITORIAL BOARD

Paul Alan Cox	*National Tropical Botanical Gardens*
Roger Green	*University of Auckland*
Francis X. Hezel, S.J.	*Micronesian Seminar*
Rubellite Johnson	*University of Hawai'i*
Adrienne Kaeppler	*Smithsonian Institution*
Robert Kiste	*University of Hawai'i*
Robert Langdon	*Australian National University*
Stephen Levine	*Victoria University*
Barrie Macdonald	*Massey University*
Cluny Macpherson	*University of Auckland*
Leonard Mason	*University of Hawai'i*
Malama Meleisea	*University of Auckland*
Norman Meller	*University of Hawai'i*
Richard M. Moyle	*University of Auckland*
Colin Newbury	*Oxford University*
Douglas Oliver	*University of Hawai'i*
Karen Peacock	*University of Hawai'i*
Nancy Pollock	*Victoria University*
Sergio A. Rapu	*Easter Island*
Karl Rensch	*Australian National University*
Bradd Shore	*Emory University*
Yosihiko Sinoto	*Bishop Museum*
William Tagupa	*Honolulu, Hawai'i*
Francisco Orrego Vicuña	*Universidad de Chile*
Edward Wolfers	*University of Wollongong*

Articles and reviews in *Pacific Studies* are abstracted or indexed in *Sociological Abstracts, Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts, America: History and Life, Historical Abstracts, Abstracts in Anthropology, Anthropological Literature, PAIS Bulletin, International Political Science Abstracts, International Bibliography of Periodical Literature, International Bibliography of Book Reviews,* and *International Bibliography of the Social Sciences.*

PACIFIC STUDIES

Editor
DALE B. ROBERTSON

Associate Editor
GLORIA L. CRONIN

Book Review Editor
PHILLIP MCARTHUR

Book Review Forum Editor
LAMONT LINDSTROM

Visual Media Review Editor
LAURA ZIMMER-TAMAKOSHI

Books Noted Editor
RILEY M. MOFFAT

Technical Editor
SHARLENE ROHTER

Editorial Policy: *Pacific Studies* is published quarterly by The Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University–Hawai'i, Lā'ie, Hawai'i 96762–1294, http://academics.byuh.edu/divisions/ips/, but responsibility for opinions expressed in the articles rests with the authors alone.

Subscription rate is U.S. $30.00, payable to The Institute for Polynesian Studies. Articles submitted to the editor must not be submitted elsewhere while under review by *Pacific Studies* and should be the original typewritten copy, completely double-spaced (including quotations, references, and notes). Authors may write to the editor for a style sheet and information on computer-disk submissions. Books for review should also be sent to the editor.

The Institute for Polynesian Studies is an organization funded by Brigham Young University–Hawai'i. The Institute assists the University in meeting its cultural and educational goals by undertaking a program of teaching, research, and publication. The Institute cooperates with other scholarly and research institutions in achieving their objectives. It publishes monographs, produces films, underwrites research, and sponsors conferences on the Pacific Islands. Further information on the activities of the Institute may be obtained by writing to the editor.

© 2000 Brigham Young University–Hawai'i. All Rights Reserved. Printed in the United States of America.

This publication is printed on acid-free paper and meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Council on Library Resources.

ISSN 0275–3596

Volume 21 December 1998 Number 4

CONTENTS

Articles

The Anglicans in New Guinea and the Torres Strait Islands
DAVID WETHERELL 1

The Emergence of an Ethnic Millenarian Thinking and the Development of Nationalism in Tahiti
BRUNO SAURA 33

The Potential Demographic Impact of HIV/AIDS in the Pacific
DENNIS A. AHLBURG, HEIDI J. LARSON, and TIM BROWN 67

Gani Revisited: A Historical Overview of the Mariana Archipelago's Northern Islands
SCOTT RUSSELL 83

Visual Media Reviews

Storytellers of the Pacific, Pacific Islanders in Communications et al., prod.
(GEOFFREY M. WHITE) 107

Three Films by Tracey Moffat: *Nice Coloured Girls*, *Night Cries: A Rural Tragedy*, and *Bedevil*
(JANE C. GOODALE) 115

A Death to Pay For: Individual Voices, Charlie Nairn, prod./dir.
(JASON CARTER and LAURA ZIMMER-TAMAKOSHI) 118

Books Noted

Recent Pacific Islands Publications: Selected Acquisitions, September 1997–August 1998
(RILEY M. MOFFAT) 123

Contributors 135

// PACIFIC STUDIES

Vol. 21, No. 4 December 1998

THE ANGLICANS IN NEW GUINEA AND THE TORRES STRAIT ISLANDS

David Wetherell
Deakin University

This study compares the Anglican diocese of Carpentaria in northeastern Australia with its Anglican neighbor the diocese of New Guinea. While New Guinea called for sacrifice on a heroic scale as befitted a mission among pure "pagans," Carpentaria was intended primarily as a church for Europeans. However, the withdrawal of thousands of settlers from the Gulf of Carpentaria country from 1910 to 1942 in the wake of recurrent cyclones, economic depression, and drought led to wholesale white depopulation. This depopulation, added to the Anglicans' acceptance of the London Missionary Society's sphere in the Torres Strait Islands, left Carpentaria overwhelmingly Islander and Aboriginal in character. Papua New Guinea headed for independence in state and church from the 1960s, but Carpentaria remained largely a missionary diocese, part of whose populations it managed for half a century on threadbare mission stations, with the empty-handed encouragement of the Queensland government.

"THOSE DAMNED CHURCHMEN are like the Papists," remarked M. H. Moreton to a fellow British New Guinea magistrate, "plenty of them willing to be martyrs."[1] The New Guinea Anglican Mission, established by Albert Maclaren and Copland King in 1891, was regarded by its supporters during its "golden age" from the postwar period to 1960 as one of the glories of the Anglican Communion. Its bishop, Philip Strong, was accorded an honored place at Lambeth conferences; its workers, seemingly unbowed by physical deprivation, were acclaimed for upholding the highest ideals of self-sacrifice. The tradition of "martyrdom" had begun with Albert Maclaren, who arrived in New Guinea in 1891 expecting large reinforcements of men and money that never came and died of malaria within six months. The murders of seven Anglican missionaries who remained with their flocks during the Japanese occupation of northern Papua in 1942 gave

poignant focus to the mission's fame as a field of suffering, a fame reaffirmed in the Mount Lamington volcanic holocaust nine years later when four thousand people perished, among them Anglican converts, teachers, and clergy.

The diocese of Carpentaria, created in 1900, had no such enduring reputation, although it deserved one. Carpentaria encompassed some six hundred thousand square miles, or one-seventh of the land area of continental Australia.[2] It claimed to be the fourth largest Anglican diocese in the world, consisting of the Torres Strait Islands, the Cape York Peninsula north of Cairns, the Gulf of Carpentaria country, and the whole of the Northern Territory. Alice Springs, near Ayers Rock in central Australia, lay within its borders, as did Darwin, two thousand kilometers west of Thursday Island, where the bishop lived. This huge territory was little other than a weary tract of savannah country in the cape and gulf and desert in the Northern Territory, interrupted by creeks and swamps in the "wet" season and ruled by sun and choking dust in the "dry." "Carpentaria" was more a geographical expression than a diocese.

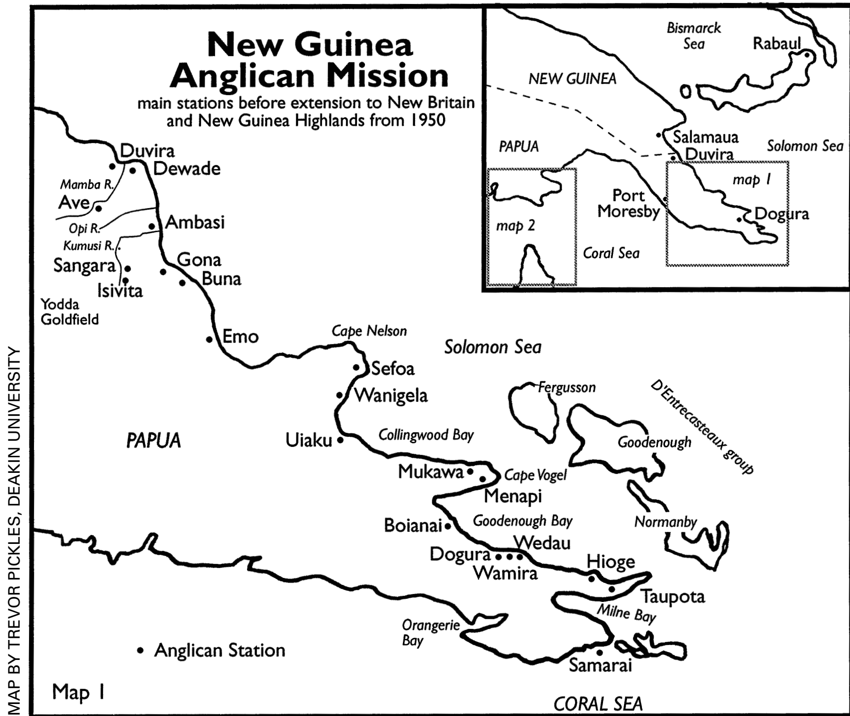
The reasons for the founding of the two missions differed. The annexation by Britain of southeastern New Guinea (Papua), according to a resolution passed in 1886 by the general synod of the Church of England in Australia, "imposed direct obligation upon the Church to provide for the spiritual welfare both of the natives and the settlers."[3] But modest commercial incentives and the ascendancy of humanitarian over economic goals in the British administration of Sir William MacGregor (1888–1898) and his successors meant that the settler population was always small. In practice the protectorate was left mainly to the official and the missionary. There were even fewer European settlers in the area claimed by the Anglicans than elsewhere in the colony: scarcely half a dozen expatriate planters could be found along the 350-kilometer northeastern Papuan coastline.[4] Beyond the two town parishes of Samarai (created in 1900) and Port Moresby (1915), the whole of Anglican effort in eastern Papua was concerned with the Melanesian population.

In Carpentaria, by contrast, the extension of Anglican mission work to the Melanesians of the Torres Strait and the Aborigines on the mainland owed its origin primarily to the movement of European population that followed the mineral boom in North Queensland. Carpentaria was to be a "white settlement" diocese, one intended as much for Europeans as for indigenes, though the dream of mission outposts among Aborigines was always present. After the gold and silver discoveries at Ravenswood and the Palmer River (1868–1873), a wave of white population had moved to northeastern Australia. The influx of white settlers to the "El Dorado" of the goldfields was so

sudden in the 1880s that the Anglican Church in far north Queensland was expected to be predominantly European and self-supporting. As one commentator wrote laconically, while the gold boom lasted, the Australian continent, like a ship, "developed a temporary list to the northeast, during which everything and everybody tended to roll in that direction."[5] An ambitious cement Anglican church with side aisles and clerestory windows was begun in the northernmost settler enclave at Thursday Island in 1893. The church became a cathedral when Gilbert White, first bishop of Carpentaria, was enthroned in 1900. During his fifteen-year episcopate, he confirmed five times the number of Europeans as Aborigines and Islanders.

The Anglicans in Papua were the pioneer foreign residents, regarded in some places as ghosts, the first Europeans the people had seen. In the Torres Strait Islands, in contrast, the Anglicans were latecomers, arriving where European influences had long been active. An Anglican school had been created at Cape Somerset in 1867 by the teacher William Kennett and the Reverend Frederick Jagg, but it lasted only a year. The luggers of bêche-de-mer (trochus) and pearl shell fishermen had begun employing local men from the 1860s (hence the frequency among Islanders of English names like "Jibsheet," "Bowline," "Sailor," and "Pilot"). Forty years of London Missionary Society evangelization had occurred before the Anglicans arrived.[6] The days were long gone when missionaries might have been regarded as "ghosts."

In 1915 Gilbert White, Bishop of Carpentaria, and F. W. Walker, a representative of the London Missionary Society (LMS), toured the Islands to announce the transfer from the society to the Church of England. When the Anglicans arrived in 1915 it was to inherit a fully equipped church. All together, fifty-five Loyalty Island teachers and wives, and some two dozen of their children, had lived in the Torres Strait Islands after the first landing in 1871, followed by a succession of Samoan and Ellice Island pastors from the early 1880s. Chapels had been built on eleven of the islands, some of them fine buildings of lime and coral. The LMS held freehold land on seven islands and was represented by nine pastors, annual visits being paid by the missionary from Daru in New Guinea, where the society had its district headquarters. By 1915 a clear pattern of religious acculturation had emerged. The Islanders had endured a fairly strict autocracy under the Polynesian pastors, though this despotism was softened by a new repertoire of dancing, cooking, and other household arts. There had been some Islander intermarriage with nonmission Samoans and other South Sea Islanders. For Torres Strait men, work in pearling luggers now alternated with a life of fishing, gardening, and churchgoing. They sang hymns in the vernacular written by Pacific Islands teachers to tunes originating in the English Evangelical Moody



MAP BY TREVOR PICKLES, DEAKIN UNIVERSITY

and Sankey tradition.[7] The mass of the Torres Strait people under the LMS, Gilbert White had written, had become not only Christians in name, but "also to a very large extent in practice."[8]

With a Polynesian version of Nonconformist Christianity so visibly entrenched in Island culture, the question must be asked, why did the LMS feel compelled to hand over its mission to the Anglicans in 1915? There were three predominant reasons. First, the society was understaffed in Papua and could not provide a European superintendent, while the Anglican Church on Thursday Island, having already created a mission for South Sea Islanders in Queensland on Moa Island in 1908, was anxious to expand and possessed the means to do so. The LMS district missionary, stationed on Daru, visited twice and sometimes only once a year. It was more difficult for the district missionary to visit when the application of the Commonwealth Navigation Act to Papua from 1914 separated Papua for tariff purposes from Australia, including the Torres Strait. Second, the sole representatives of the LMS were Samoan and Ellice Island pastors. Third, there was continuing friction between the Samoan pastors, or *faifeau,* and the state schoolmasters

Map 2

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Daru Is.

Boigu Is

Dauan Is.

Saibai Is.

Darnley Is.
(Erub)

Warrior Is.
(Tudu)

Yorke Is.
(Masig)

Yam Is.

Mabuiag Is.

Murray Islands
Mer Is.
Dauar Is.
Waier Is.

Coconut Is.

Badu Is.

St. Paul's mission

Moa Is.

Nagir Is.

The Torres Strait Islands

within the Diocese of Carpentaria

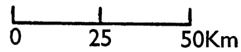
Hammond Is.

Thursday Is.

Horn Is.

Somerset

Bamaga



CAPE YORK

Australia / Papua New Guinea border

Line delineating the Protected Zone, 1978 Treaty

MAP BY TREVOR PICKLES, DEAKIN UNIVERSITY

settled on six of the islands by the Queensland government. The tension was particularly acute on Murray Island (Mer), where the Scots settler J. S. Bruce had begun a state school in the 1880s at the behest of the Queensland government Resident John Douglas.[9]

Cult Movements

The arrival of Anglican missions in both New Guinea and the Torres Strait was accompanied by an efflorescence of cult activity. In far eastern Papua this activity took the form of a minor syncretistic movement led by Abrieka Dipa of Taupota village, and in the Torres Strait there was the "German Wislin" movement of Saibai Island. Dipa, a young man with "a pleasant face and a merry disposition," had been recruited for plantation work in Queensland and had been the broker in the sale of Dogura plateau as a mission headquarters in 1891.[10] He made the seller, a man called Gaireka of Wamira village, surrender half the purchase price as a brokerage fee for his services; for this extortion he was sent home to Taupota by Maclaren, the founding missionary. When Dipa arrived at Taupota, he began wearing a red calico band on his arm and conducting his own church instruction, or *tapwaroro.* Two years later Harry Mark, the pioneer Queensland Melanesian teacher on the mission, was sent to counteract Dipa at Taupota. By then the Dipa sect had become entirely separate from the English-led mission and was holding its own services. Soon Mark was trying to impose the mission's teachings on Dipa's followers by conducting an Anglican school and canvassing Taupotans "to tell them no work Sunday."[11]

In Carpentaria the cult came before the mission. A prophet had appeared at Saibai before Gilbert White's tour of 1915, warning the villagers of the "New Messiah" soon to appear in the islands.[12] This prophecy was an offshoot of the German Wislin movement, whose doctrines had first been announced two years earlier and which had already become an established cult. The devotees anticipated the coming of ancestors bringing money, flour, and calico; their leaders were three men who were called "captains" or "generals." F. W. Walker had encountered the leading prophet announcing the "New Messiah" of Saibai and heard of the "consequent downfall of the white man."[13] It had been prophesied that the millennium would begin on Good Friday 1914; when it did not materialize, the day was postponed. The prophet reported that a steamer would tie up at a jetty that would rise out of the sea.[14] The cult had been strongly opposed by the Samoan LMS pastor on Saibai. It is possible that White's arrival on the ship *Goodwill* with Walker may have been seen as the fulfillment of the cult leader's prophecy. As a Saibai elder welcoming the bishop said: "We are like children who have lost

their father and mother. We do not know what to do or where to look. You will be our father and show us the way to go and how to live."[15] The historian must rest content with only a partial understanding of the background to the welcome given to the Anglicans on Saibai and elsewhere in the Strait.

Personnel and Attitudes

Whatever the differences in the circumstances of their founding, the hierarchies of the Anglican missions assumed a similar character once they began work. In the fifty years before World War II, 186 foreign workers enlisted in the New Guinea Mission and fifty-seven in Carpentaria.[16] Each mission was led by a succession of English-born bishops. Australians mingled with Englishmen among the clergy; the laywomen and laymen were overwhelmingly Australian. In New Guinea there were also forty-six Melanesian teachers from the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) who had originally been recruited for work on the Queensland sugar plantations and there converted to Christianity.[17]

Henry Newton, educated at Sydney University and Merton College, Oxford, and bishop of both dioceses of Carpentaria and New Guinea in succession, was exceptional among the leaders in being Australian-born. He was the adopted son of an Australian parson. More typically, the bishops were the sons of English country clergy possessing close links with the "squirearchy." Gilbert White, Bishop of Carpentaria (1900–1915), was a collateral descendant of the well-known parson-naturalist Gilbert White of Selborne (d. 1793) and like his forebear was at Oriel College, Oxford. The longest-serving bishops (Stephen Davies with twenty-eight years in Carpentaria, 1921–1949, and Philip Strong with twenty-six years in New Guinea, 1936–1962) had remarkably similar backgrounds. Davies's childhood had been spent in a rectory in Shropshire, a county bypassed in the industrial revolution and in whose villages squire and rector were often neighbors. Strong, also a son of a vicarage, was grandson of a prominent land-owning squire whose seat was at Sherborne Castle in Dorset. Both bishops were Cambridge graduates. Moreover, each had close relatives in the British armed services. Strong had served in the Thirty-third Division on the Western Front in 1917 under the command of his cousin, Major General Sir Reginald Pinney. A brother of Bishop Stephen Davies, Vice Admiral Arthur Davies, was commander of the British Atlantic Fleet during the 1920s. Sir Arthur Davies became commodore of British ocean convoys in the Russian campaign during World War II.[18]

Below the bishops were the clerical and lay workers, a few of whom served terms in both missions. From the beginning there was a steady

trickle of Anglican workers from Carpentaria to New Guinea, staff who had had some previous acquaintance with Aborigines or Torres Strait Islanders. Albert Maclaren had been rector of Mackay in North Queensland, where he had spent much time among Melanesian cane cutters. The campaign to build a church on Thursday Island had been begun by Maclaren in 1890, when he was on the island to investigate the prospects for a mission in Papua. Henry Newton, arrived in Papua in 1899, had moved to Carpentaria as bishop in 1915 and returned to Papua six years later, remaining there until his death in 1947. The first two Torres Strait clergy, Poey Passi and Joseph Lui, and all the Papuan clergy until 1947 were trained wholly or partly by Newton. Gertrude Robson of Thursday Island, Moa, and the Mitchell River Mission went to Papua in 1913; Nita Inman worked on Thursday Island before going to Papua; likewise Doris Downing left Mitchell River for Papua in 1929; Henry Matthews, killed in the Papuan Gulf in a Japanese submarine attack in 1942, had been rector of Cooktown before proceeding to the town parish of Port Moresby. There were a number of other migrant clergy, including Frere Lane, longtime priest among Aborigines of the Mitchell River; C. W. Light, rector of Darwin before moving to Papua in 1923; and Harold Thompson, rector of Normanton in the Gulf country before going to Kumbun in New Britain. Albert Haley and Harold Palmer moved from Carpentaria to Papua New Guinea after the Pacific War.[19] Only two priests—A. C. Flint (Ambasi, Papua, 1919–1922) and the Christian Socialist Alf Clint (Gona, 1948–1950)—migrated in the opposite direction, from Papua New Guinea to Carpentaria.

Although the missions shared a proportion of their workers, there were marked differences in the healthiness of the two regions where they worked. Northern Papua was more isolated from communication and more dangerous to foreigners than the Torres Strait. Traveling between the Australian port of Cooktown and the mission's headquarters at Dogura took early volunteers a week. From Dogura the mission schooner sailed for another fortnight off-loading cargo at mission stations along a 350-kilometer sweep of coast as far north as Ambasi near the Mamba River mouth. For the pioneer party of 1891, the discovery of the link between malaria and the anopheles mosquito lay ahead. The morbidity and mortality rate among the pioneer New Guinea workers, including the forty-six Melanesian teachers from Queensland, was much greater than in Carpentaria, even after Sir Ronald Ross in England incriminated the anopheles mosquito as the culprit in the malaria cycle. A typically somber entry from the first bishop's diary is this one from May 1899: "Willie Holi dangerously ill. Miss Sully down with her worst attack of fever. Ambrose, Jimmy Nogar and Miss Thomson ill. Miss McLaughlin kept school going splendidly. Mr King

down with fever."[20] New Guinea's being one of the "glories" of the Anglican Communion was occasioned by its austerity: missionary life there was said to require a standard of self-sacrifice hard to equal anywhere else in the world. The Torres Strait was healthier and closer to safety. In short, the two missions presented volunteers with differing expectations of service. A Papuan who accompanied the first Bishop of New Guinea on a recruiting tour of Queensland in 1906 said the bishop told his South Sea Islander audiences they would die in New Guinea if they volunteered. They could not expect to return to their homes. A young European recruit was overheard in Cooktown buying his passage to New Guinea: "But I shall not want a return ticket," he said. "I shall want only one way. I shall die there."[21]

Some of those who survived remained for astonishingly long terms in New Guinea: a layman (Francis de Sales Buchanan) who spent twenty-one years on northeast coast stations without once taking furlough, a laywoman (Maud Nowland) who remained thirty-three years, two Melanesian teachers (Bob Tasso and Johnson Far) with forty-three and fifty-four years respectively, two clergy (Romney Gill and Henry Newton) who totaled forty-four and forty-two years. Elizabeth and Samuel Tomlinson together spent a total of ninety-four years in Papua. The unmarried lay Australian males, who could not hope for marriage and a career in Papua, averaged far briefer terms.[22]

By contrast, service in Carpentaria was regarded by most volunteers as of limited duration. From the inauguration of the diocese in 1900, clergy had arrived on Thursday Island on the understanding they had come only "to serve for a term in the north" before returning to southern suburban parishes. There were, however, some terms of great length. E. J. Taffs was rector of Port Douglas–Mossman from 1904 to 1950, one of the longest Anglican incumbencies in Australia since the beginning of white settlement. The layman J. W. Chapman of Mitchell and Edward River Missions (1914–1957) and Bishop Stephen Davies (1922–1947) also remained for long terms; but Taffs, Chapman, and Davies were not typical. Residence in the Strait reduced some missionaries to a state of peevishness in what the priest A. P. B. Bennie called the sometimes "vile" climate, with its wet and dry seasons, but most workers did not stay long enough to have their health permanently damaged, as happened in Papua. The Torres Strait was not a malaria-ridden "white man's grave." In the New Guinea Mission, apart from the seven who perished at the hands of Japanese troops, twenty-five others died during service, death in many cases being hastened by hardship. The New Guinea Mission, with its "Exhausted Workers' Fund," flimsy bush houses, poor nutrition, and general physical deprivation, was a byword for sacrifice. The better health record of Carpentaria's workers was a corollary

to greater comfort and proximity to hospitals in northern Australia. With the Japanese attack on Rabaul in January 1942, the New Guinea Anglican staff were exhorted in a ringing broadcast by their bishop to stay. All except one did. In the Torres Strait, the remaining European priest fled with a suitcase.[23]

A further distinction between the two missions lay in their use of South Sea Islands agents. The Loyalty Island and Samoan LMS pastors who laid the foundations of Torres Strait Island Christianity were powerfully influenced by Polynesian chiefly, or *matai,* models.[24] The forty-six Queensland Melanesian teachers who helped extend New Guinea Anglicanism contrasted vividly with the Samoan patriarchs in the Torres Strait. In erudition and personal authority the Polynesian pastor had advantages over the unlettered Melanesian cane cutter, adrift from his home society and recruited for labor on the sugar plantations in Queensland. But the Melanesians did not see themselves as of a higher caste than their converts: they were prepared to do physical work; they conversed in the language of the people, married women from the Papuan villages, and died where they had worked.[25] No Polynesian in the Strait, or in any other LMS or Methodist area in Papua New Guinea, seems to have come as close to coastal villagers as did the Queensland Melanesian teacher of the New Guinea Anglican Mission.

In the Torres Strait Islands the Anglicans accommodated with little difficulty the form of Christianity they found there. By the time the LMS departed, some characteristics of Polynesian Christianity had become firmly engrained: the authoritarian pastor, acting in a presiding and ceremonial role rather than one that required physical work; the reciprocity between pastor and people to ensure a supply of food and services; the fostering of intervillage and interisland rivalry to stimulate generosity in the annual "Mei" collection (modeled on LMS meetings held in London each May). In addition, the Anglicans inherited a musical legacy: Polynesian hymns characterized by a two-part harmony with the parts moving independently, the parts sometimes in antiphon and sometimes overlapping.[26] The words came from the nineteenth-century Moody and Sankey revival tradition.

On all the inhabited islands, too, there were churches, symbols of village pride. From 1914 the LMS churches, originally given biblical names such as "Bethel" (Badu), "Etena" or Eden (Mabuiag), "Panetta" (St. Paul's Landing, Saibai), "Salom" or Peace (Yam), were rededicated by the Anglicans in honor of saints. The huge pulpits dominating their interiors were dismantled and the timber sometimes used for altars. Walls were rebuilt to take in Anglican additions of sanctuary, chancel, baptistry, vestry, and side chapels. Arches leading to side aisles were constructed for overflowing numbers. In this way "Panetta" at Saibai was expanded to seat three hundred and renamed Church of the Holy Trinity.

Anxious to preserve continuity with the past, the Anglicans in the Torres Strait Islands commemorated the LMS pioneers, rather than Gilbert White, as founders of the Torres Strait mission. In the vestries of their enlarged churches they placed portraits of Samuel McFarlane or James Chalmers. The cathedral font on Thursday Island was dedicated to Chalmers and his colleague Oliver Tomkins, killed at Goaribari in 1901. "Everything possible linking up with past days is being carefully preserved," wrote the priest-director of the Torres Strait to the LMS directors.[27] Even Chalmers's camera was put on display in the bishop's house. In 1919 the priest-director began to observe July 1 as a feast day to mark the arrival of McFarlane and the Loyalty Island teachers in 1871 as the "Coming of the Light." From that time July 1 was annually observed by Islanders at home and in mainland Queensland.

On Mer episcopal rule rekindled traditional leadership. The hereditary chiefly headship received an impetus when Poey (Tauki) Passi, heir of the last priest, or *zogo-le,* of the pre-mission cult known as Malu Bomai, began studying for ordination two years after the cession. Kabay Pilot, a priest ordained into Anglican orders with Passi in 1919, was a son of the priest-chief of nearby Darnley Island. The Anglicans' assumption of some sort of continuity between the precontact hereditary priesthood and their own priesthood was based on an appreciation, probably somewhat romanticized, of patriarchal Torres Strait Island religion. The Islanders had, said the priest-director of the Strait, "a powerful secret society, which controlled the moral welfare of the islands and possessed a defined code of rules with a sacred ministry of three orders."[28] This organization was seen as corresponding neatly with the threefold ministry within the Anglican Church. No parallel existed among the more egalitarian societies of northeastern Papua. Bishop Montagu Stone-Wigg's citing of a verse from the psalms to signify the ordination of the first Papuan priest, Peter Rautamara—"he taketh up the simple out of the dust . . . [to] set him with the princes, even with the princes of his people"—was purely figurative.[29] There were no hereditary priest-chiefs, far less "princes" in the Papuan societies that accommodated the Anglicans; whereas in the Torres Strait the dubbing of priests as "princes" of their people was a little less figurative.

European missionaries of the Church of England were, as Henry Newton said, "hugger mugger" in their work, not equipped by any professional missionary training or by anthropology.[30] The idea that there were distinct "missionary methods" gained ground only slowly in Australia. This mattered less in the Torres Strait, where Anglican methods were based on the LMS model already established. Though the leading clergy in both dioceses had Oxford or Cambridge backgrounds, no missionary until the 1930s possessed any "scientific" equipment in such disciplines as anthropology and compara-

tive religion. In 1923 Professor Baldwin Spencer of the Australian National Research Council had proposed the creating of a chair of anthropology at the University of Sydney, arguing that "it was quite clear that officials, missionaries included . . . should possess requisite anthropological knowledge."[31] Australian Anglicans were required after 1925 to study for two years at Cromanhurst, the Australian Board of Missions residential college at Burwood in Sydney, but there was no specific course in anthropology. After 1936 all trainee Australian Anglican missionaries were required to complete a course in anthropology under the Reverend Dr. A. P. Elkin, professor of anthropology at the University of Sydney. Though Malinowski had commended Newton's *In Far New Guinea* (1914), there was no one else in the Anglican churches in Papua or Carpentaria to compare, in terms of disciplined anthropological knowledge, with J. H. Holmes or Bert Brown of the LMS in Papua.[32]

Yet, because of the English public school and university education of the Anglican leaders, there was a breadth of spirit and an intellectual tolerance that distinguished them from their Evangelical forebears in the South Seas and many of their contemporaries in other missions as well. The Pacific Anglicans subscribed to the Fall of Man as did other missionaries, but this belief did not lead them to act against the traditional societies of the Strait and Papua as had their Evangelical predecessors. Anglo-Catholics stressed continuity with the past; whereas earlier Evangelical missions had sought to create a new cultural environment to help converts make a clean break with the past. Bishop Gilbert White's aphorism that "Christ never promised to give the church complete truth. He promised that his spirit should 'guide her into all truth' " endorsed the spirit of reverent agnosticism toward Melanesian culture evident in early Anglican writing in Papua and the Strait.[33] The missionary view of northeast Papuan villagers and of the Torres Strait Islanders as "gentlemen" whose community life was based on "open-handed, open-hearted generosity" and who were "not savages but Saints" reflected attitudes that appear in Anglo-Catholic literature from both missions.[34] However, in theological terms it has been suggested that, in their heartfelt admiration for the virtues of the "natural man" of the Pacific, these Anglicans came close to the heresy of Pelagianism in departing so far from a belief in the corrupting gravity of original sin.

The Torres Strait and New Guinea missions were part of the "biretta belt" permeating Anglican churchmanship in northeastern Australia. Their Anglo-Catholic impetus derived from the Oxford Movement that had begun in the 1830s under the leadership of John Keble, J. H. Newman, and E. B. Pusey. The bishops always claimed to be preserving the traditions of the ancient church. The Anglo-Catholic heritage was marked by an

emphasis on the sacraments and ritual, and aesthetically by music and movement, architecture and church ornaments as aids to worship. What concerned their Nonconformist neighbors was the visible expression of early-twentieth-century High Churchmanship, particularly the colorful services of the Anglo-Catholics, which to them resembled Roman Catholicism. In both New Guinea and Carpentaria the arrival of "ritualistic" clergy provoked a short-lived flurry of opposition among resident Protestants to try to keep the "Roman" influence within the Church of England at bay.[35] Moreover, Anglicans in both missions steadily refused to take part in united Protestant services of worship. Gilbert White, with the backing of Bishop C. G. Barlow of North Queensland (1891–1902), declined to allow Presbyterians to hold services in his cathedral (built partly through Presbyterian donations), though he did offer the Thursday Island parish hall for the purpose.[36]

From this tension there were a few isolated ripples in the villages. Papuans in the LMS sphere living closest to Saibai Island were told by Torres Strait converts that the LMS was not the "real" mission but was merely preparing the way for the bearers of the "true word" in the Anglican Church. The LMS district missionary was annoyed.[37]

Far more serious, however, was the loss of support for both the New Guinea and Torres Strait missions within the largest centers of Anglican population in Australia: the predominantly Conservative Evangelical diocese of Sydney and the "low church" diocese of Melbourne. With their use of the words "Mass" for the Eucharist and "Father" for the priest and with candles, incense, and vestments in their sanctuaries, the two missions were cut off psychologically and financially from the two dioceses where well over half the Anglicans in Australia lived. Poverty for employees of both dioceses was inevitable.

Bishops of Carpentaria led a diocese with two divergent varieties of churchmanship within their territory—Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical—unlike the more monochrome Anglo-Catholic diocese of New Guinea. The staffs of the three Church Missionary Society (CMS) missions to Aborigines on the mainland at Roper River (established 1907), Groote Eylandt (1921), and Oenpelli (1925) were Evangelicals, mainly from Sydney. However, in 1928 it was reported that there had been "no difficulties whatever" between the bishop and the CMS clergy. It is worth noting, however, that the Anglo-Catholic missions to Torres Strait Islanders and Aborigines were gathered within a close 850-kilometer radius of the bishop's headquarters, while the CMS missions were flung much farther afield, a circumstance that no one regretted. Privately, Davies described some of the CMS clergy as "badly infected by Sydneyitis."[38]

Missions and Government

There were marked differences in the behavior of Anglicans in Papua New Guinea and in Carpentaria when faced with a challenge by government authority to their monopoly over education. In Papua there was a nervous dread of government influence. When a native taxation ordinance was promulgated in 1918 with the specific goal of augmenting mission school funds by government grants from taxation, the Anglican Church told the government that any interference in its schools would be "strongly resented" and had to be assured that the government did not intend "in the least" to disturb the arrangement by which the church maintained control over its schools.[39] The Oxford Movement had begun in the 1830s as a reassertion of the spiritual independence of the Church of England and more specifically as a protest against government control, a principle congenial to Anglicans in New Guinea who saw the principle at stake in the control of education. Anglicans prized their sovereignty, greatly disliked leaning on the administration, and adopted a position of aloofness. The lofty separation of Sefoa mission station across the spectacular fiords of Cape Nelson from Tufi government station is a striking illustration of a principle fought for by the Oxford reformers in England. In New Guinea the Anglicans received no special favors.[40] No government party accompanied Maclaren and Copland King at their first landing in 1891. The only occasion when a pioneer mission was invested with official support was the founding of the Methodist Mission two months before the Anglicans began. The long-serving lieutenant-governor of Papua, Sir Hubert Murray (1908–1940), was neither English-born nor Anglican.

If there was a wariness toward the government's influence in Papua (and, in return, a jealousy of mission power among some Papuan government officers), the opposite was true in Carpentaria. In far north Queensland the diocese of Carpentaria, like the Melanesian Mission, possessed something of the privileged position of an English episcopal mission. This position was partly due to the accident of personality. While Queensland premiers, from Thomas McIlwraith to T. J. Ryan, were usually either Presbyterian or Roman Catholic, on Thursday Island the first three Residents were Anglican. John Douglas, former Queensland premier, then Resident and police magistrate on Thursday Island (1884–1904), was a member of the Carpentaria diocesan council. His successor, Hugh Milman (1905–1912), was nephew of a notable dean of St. Paul's, London. The third Resident, W. Lee Bryce, was a churchwarden of All Souls' Quetta Memorial Cathedral. Lee Bryce's fellow churchwarden at the cathedral was J. W. Bleakley, later Queensland's Chief Protector of Aborigines (1913–1942) and author of a well-known

account of Aboriginal life in Australia as he saw it.[41] In addition, the military garrison that had been set up on Thursday Island in 1895 used the cathedral for church parades. Subsequent directors of native affairs were Roman Catholics, notably Cornelius ("Con") O'Leary (1942–1963) and Patrick Killoran (1963–1985), and sympathetic to the Anglicans. Another official, Judge Macnaughtan, was chancellor of the diocese (1901–1929). The idea of Christianity and civilization being two sides of the same coin and of officers and missionaries fighting a common battle was strong in the Torres Strait. An Anglican missionary, Florence Buchanan, after her death in 1913 known as the "Apostle of Moa," used to write on her school blackboards: "One King One Flag One Fleet One Empire."[42]

In the Torres Strait, the mission accepted government schooling for its children, and Queensland government teachers worked in close contact with mission authorities. In 1920, for example, two islands—Boigu and Dauan—too small for government schools, were provided with church schools by the diocese. The schools were under Island deacons assisted by Island teachers. As these schools became firmly rooted, they were handed over by the church to the government, to be operated along the same lines as other schools.[43] One Queensland state schoolteacher, W. J. A. Daniels, was later ordained a priest. The idea that officers and missionaries were on the same side was dimmed in Papua by virulent conflicts between English missionaries and Australian officers in Milne Bay (1902–1904) and in Tufi in the late 1930s. It is difficult to imagine the New Guinea Anglican Mission handing over any of its schools to the Papuan government.

On Thursday Island there was a strong sense of the Anglican Church's civic role; in a commercial-and-official community, the church fulfilled many social functions through its organizations, such as the Harbour Lights Guild for visiting seamen, the Mothers' Union, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and the Japanese Seamen's and South Sea Islanders' Home. The white community was well represented on the Carpentaria diocesan council. On Thursday Island the cathedral was bedecked with naval and military memorials while weekday communions were held in the "John Douglas Memorial Chapel"; the leading business firms such as T. C. Hodels and E. J. Hennessys had close links with the church. This closeness was illustrated in the marriage of both daughters of the former collector of customs E. J. Hennessy to clergymen, one being J. A. G. Housden, chaplain of Mitchell River Mission (1930–1933), later Bishop of Rockhampton (1947–1958) and Newcastle, New South Wales (1958–1972). The three leading citizens in the Strait were the bishop, the protector, and the mayor of Thursday Island. "A close and happy community" was Bishop Davies's description of prewar Thursday Island. In Papua the mission headquarters at Dogura

stood in complete geographical and psychological isolation from the commercial community of Samarai, a day's sail away. St. Paul's parish church on Samarai was attended by Papuans and European residents; but apart from Arthur Bunting, founder of a leading merchandising business on Samarai, whose wife had been an Anglican teacher and son a lay canon of Dogura Cathedral,[44] the links between the business community and the mission were not close.

The economic contrast between the two missions was also striking: the comparative financial wealth of the Strait congregations from pearling and shell fishing made for relative comfort and occasional affluence, compared with the privation of northeast Papua, where wages from indentured laborers returning from Milne Bay plantations provided the only cash in circulation. Asked whether New Guinea would ever be a self-supporting diocese, Gerald Sharp, second bishop (1910–1921), said no, except in places where there was a settled white population, "for what can the natives give in support of their church?" The village people had nothing to offer except curios and vegetables.[45] In New Guinea the faithful could contribute tobacco in a box at the church door. In the Torres Strait the people gave money as well as food, and often lavishly, in the Polynesian manner, after thirty years of Samoan tutelage. Sometimes the New Guinea indigenous teacher or priest appealing for contributions was told, "You are a *dimdim* (European), so you must pay for everything."[46] Some government reports were unvarnished in their criticism of the mercenary tendencies of northeast coastal Papuan people: one officer said that persuading the Wamira people near Dogura to give their tax money was like getting blood out of a stone; another, writing from Baniara in Collingwood Bay, said of northeast coastal Papuans: "They are out for all they can get, do as little as they can without getting prosecuted and give nothing or very little in return."[47] The wretchedly built Anglican churches in New Guinea compared badly with the splendidly finished chapels of the Torres Strait. The first coral and lime church in Papua, All Saints' Church, Boianai, was erected in 1929 under the direction of C. W. Light, a priest from Carpentaria. It was the first large Anglican church structure in New Guinea, seating four hundred, and anticipated the even larger Dogura Cathedral consecrated ten years later. One reason for the success of the Dogura project was that by 1935 the supply of building materials for the cathedral had become a matter of rivalry between ethnic and language groups along the 350-kilometer mission coastline.

Financially far ahead in giving than their counterparts in New Guinea, the Torres Strait Islanders in Carpentaria's offshore mission were by the 1920s beginning to fulfill the principle embodied in Henry Venn's nineteenth-century vision of a self-supporting and self-propagating church. By the late 1920s it seemed to Davies that Islanders should take counsel in a

self-governing Carpentaria diocesan synod. In 1931 seventeen European and Island delegates (twelve clerical, five lay) met on Thursday Island as the first Carpentaria synod. The synods were examples of Islander-European decision making in action. Like the diocese of Carpentaria itself, they were without equal in other Anglican missionary enterprises in the South Pacific before 1939. The Anglicans in New Guinea held their first diocesan synod forty years later, in August 1971.[48]

The synods held at Thursday Island provided occasions for reappraisals of church, and sometimes government, policy. Concerned to preserve harmony between church and state, Carpentaria's diocesan synod and the annual New Guinea conference of missionaries rarely criticized publicly the performance of governments. On at least two occasions there were criticisms by Anglican bishops of the actions of individual government officers. These remained unpublished. But Stephen Davies used the 1935 Carpentaria synod to make a trenchant attack on the "Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Acts Amendment Act" that had been passed by the Queensland parliament the previous year. He called it "an infringement of the rights of citizenship possessed by some of the coloured people of Queensland." This led to a synod motion urging the federal government to strip Queensland and other states of power over Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders and to assume control of all Aboriginal people within the Commonwealth.[49]

Though Carpentaria had a synod and New Guinea had none, both were dominated by their bishops. One reason why Davies remained monarch of his diocese was the declining European population of northeastern Australia. By contrast with New Guinea, Carpentaria had originally been created as a diocese whose income was expected to come largely from white settlement; but steadily and inexorably, such settlements were beginning to become ghost towns, and Carpentaria was becoming more Melanesian and Aboriginal in character. Between 1910 and 1930, for example, the European population of Cooktown and of Croydon-Normanton in the Gulf country declined from 900 to 250 and from 2,200 to 450 respectively. Where Gilbert White had confirmed five times the number of Europeans as Aboriginals and Islanders, Davies's confirmations showed an opposite trend: of 375 persons admitted by Davies to full membership in 1935, for example, only 17 were of European descent.[50] Such a reverse was to be expected when the settled ministry once existing in Cooktown and the Gulf towns had shrunk with the European population. In 1927 Davies had taken away the service registers from Christ Church, Cooktown, after the last resident rector, Henry Matthews, was accepted by the Bishop of New Guinea as rector of Port Moresby. Davies was "convinced that church life was finished there."[51]

While the European part of the Carpentaria diocese atrophied, life in the

Melanesian churches of the Strait prospered on its mixed subsistence-and-trochus economy. Voluntary labor, enhanced by pearl shell earnings accumulated during the 1920s, enabled building programs to continue during the Depression. The size of such newly built churches at Moa (1931) and Badu (1933) also reflected interisland rivalry, the same phenomenon that had swollen contributions to the Mei meetings of the earlier Samoan regime. When Moa's new church was begun, to seat several hundred people, the five hundred Badu villagers, traditional enemies of the nearby Moa people, insisted in the early 1930s that the length of their new church must outstrip that of Moa's. The church at Badu was of cathedral-like proportions. Graced by cool arches, it was built in two years by Islanders under a European overseer, whose salary they paid. (By contrast, E. J. Taffs in the European town of Mossman had to wait twenty-five years before rebuilding his church, demolished by a cyclone in 1911.)[52]

The general prosperity of church life in the Strait was not confined to church building. There were flourishing branches of the Australian Board of Missions youth groups (later known as Comrades of St. George) and the Boy Scout movement, with annual camps under priestly leadership. The liturgy was more elaborate than earlier, with the use of incense, stations of the cross, and processions through village lanes in the islands, often led by young trepang fishermen wearing vestments. Nor did this enthusiasm abate during wartime. Some 830 Island men, from a total population of 3,500, enlisted in the Torres Strait Defence Force; and by the peak of enlistment, in most families "every male of military age was serving, fathers often side by side with their sons." Of the first company recruited in 1941, the Army fortress commander wrote: "Camp life suits these men. They are all Christians and take their religious observances very seriously. They are allowed to have their daily prayers conducted by certified 'lay readers' who are members of the unit." It was an echo of Bishop Gilbert White's words in 1917 about Islanders being Christian not only in name.[53] During the war some Islanders on Kubin Island said they saw in the sky the arms of Christ outstretched over the Torres Strait, which they took as a portent that their island homes would always be protected from invasion. The "vision of Kubin" was later captured in a mural painted over the cathedral altar on Thursday Island by the Australian artist Colin Tress.

Christian Socialism

A strand common to both missions and a by-product of their Anglo-Catholic convictions was a sympathy for the cause of Christian Socialism. Through F. W. Walker's Papuan Industries Company based from 1904 on Badu Island

in the Strait, marine produce was bought from Islanders, who purchased consumer goods in exchange: this was a socialist venture run by liberal Evangelicals of LMS background. A primary objective of Papuan Industries was assisting groups of Islanders to build or buy their own pearling luggers.[54] Inspired by Papuan Industries, the Moa Fishing Company was formed by the resident Anglican priest-director of the Strait Mission in 1925. The company was financed by worker-shareholders in a venture described approvingly in Carpentaria publications as "communistic." Bishop Stephen Davies himself was described by his own family in England as "a socialist."[55]

The short-lived Moa Fishing Company anticipated a more explicitly socialistic center on the Australian mainland region of the diocese of Carpentaria during the episcopate of John Hudson, fourth bishop (1950–1960). The Lockhart River Co-operative owed its origins to Alf Clint. Coming from a working-class background in Balmain, Sydney, Clint was a "Marxist romantic," in the words of the author Kylie Tennant, possessing an "old fashioned view . . . of monopoly capitalism and the capitalist class . . . oppressing the poor workers."[56] Ordained during the Depression and appointed to the coal-mining town of Weston in the Hunter River Valley, Father Clint quickly became identified with the unionists and the Unemployed Workers' Movement. With E. H. Burgmann, warden of St. John's College Morpeth (1926–1934) and thereafter Bishop of Goulburn, Clint built up a strong Christian Socialist presence in the Hunter River Valley. He introduced a startling new element in May Day processions, marching with other clergy wearing cassocks behind a banner that was emblazoned with hammer and sickle superimposed by a cross, their slogans calling for peace, full employment, and social equality. As the Miners' Federation secretary Jim Comerford said, "On those May Days, Alf was radiant."[57] Clint corresponded with the socialist priest in New Guinea, James Benson, before joining the mission in Papua and establishing the Gona Co-operative with Benson in 1946.

Clint moved to form a similar cooperative at Lockhart River Mission in Carpentaria after being invalided out of Papua four years later. The aim of the Lockhart River Co-operative was to encourage Aborigines to earn a cash income through trochus shell and bêche-de-mer for pearl buttons. John Warby, a businessman, was Lockhart's manager. Father Clint provided Gona's Papuans and Lockhart's Aborigines with a link with the world, making them "feel they were part of a valuable movement, not just a little lost-and-forgotten mission on the edge of the sea."[58] Gona fell a casualty of Clint's withdrawal in 1950; Lockhart followed Gona into extinction ten years later, a victim of the worldwide recession in the pearling industry, as the wartime discovery of synthetic resins spelled doom for the world price of pearl shell for buttons and ornaments.

Divergence

In postwar times the paths of the two missions diverged sharply. More than anything else, this was a reflection of political geography. Any lingering expectation that the Territory of Papua and New Guinea might join northern Australia to become an integral part of the Australian Commonwealth was dispelled by the events of the early 1960s. Carpentaria's territory, spanning northern mainland and island Australia, was part of the Commonwealth. During the two decades following the ending of the Pacific War, Carpentaria's major concern was the decaying state of the church-run Aboriginal missions at Mitchell River, Lockhart River, and Edward River. From the sixties the Carpentaria Anglicans were caught up in the momentum of the worldwide movement for civil rights, in the form of racial equality and better living conditions for Aboriginal and Island people.

During the colonial period, before the question of independence arose for Papua New Guinea, the two missions behaved differently in their relations with governments. While the New Guinea Anglican Mission had stood aloof from Papuan government influence and avoided leaning on the administration as far as possible, Carpentaria was in partnership with the Queensland government from the start. In practice the Queensland government delegated responsibility for Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders to the churches. A coherent Aboriginal policy had not been worked out, and the Australian state governments thrust most educational and administrative responsibility onto the missions. In return for having the churches shoulder nearly all responsibility, the Queensland government provided much more support for missions than any other Australian state.[59]

In Papua New Guinea the Anglican Mission experienced strain with government departments over a division of responsibility following the Pacific War. The conflict concerned the postwar expansion of the government into education, a field that the church felt was properly its own. Anglican resistance to the "encroachment" of government schools reached its apogee in the 1950s, during the closing years of Bishop Philip Strong's episcopate, when there was steady resistance to the founding of government schools, particularly in the Northern (Oro) District of Papua. Bishop Strong, in the words of the historian of Anglican education D. J. Dickson, appeared "belligerently defensive" in his stance over government schools.[60] Needless to say, the church was forced to capitulate from the late 1950s, while retaining some influence over its leading secondary-level boarding schools—Holy Name (Milne Bay Province), Martyrs' Memorial (Oro Province), and, later, Aiome Secondary (Madang Province).

From the 1960s the future of the New Guinea Mission was inescapably

bound up with the recognition that Papua and New Guinea would not be a state of Australia but would become a self-governing nation. Pressure for constitutional change had been building up for fifteen years, although there was little demand for it from within the territory. The leader of a United Nations visiting mission in 1962, Sir Hugh Foot, had warned Australia that it was heading for a crisis at the United Nations unless its attitude toward decolonization changed. Colonialism elsewhere was dying and, independently of the Foot mission, Australia was committed to political change in Papua New Guinea: even the conservative Australian government of Sir Robert Menzies in the sixties accepted that it was better to go earlier than later; a peaceful transfer of power and future good relations would be better assured by keeping ahead of nationalist demands.[61]

The parallel for Anglican and other churches was self-evident. Formal debate on complete Anglican localization began at the first diocesan synod in Port Moresby in 1971. While European clergy argued for a stepping down from the top positions in the church, the senior Papuan cleric, Bishop George Ambo, prayed that "self government and independence would not come in his lifetime."[62] Early in 1977, eighteen months after national independence, the New Guinea Mission was divided into five dioceses and ceased to be part of the ecclesiastical Province of Queensland under the nominal authority of the Archbishop of Brisbane.[63] Much of the legal preparation for this change had been the work of the chancellor of the diocese, Sir Donald Cleland. As former Australian Administrator of Papua and New Guinea (1952–1967), Cleland had presided over the early stages of the national decolonization process. At Dogura on February 27, in the presence of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Donald Coggan, the Province of Papua New Guinea was formally inaugurated as a self-governing national church within the Anglican Communion.[64]

For Carpentaria the question must be asked, why were the Anglicans so tardy in pursuing a similar program of political evolution, with Aboriginal rights as the primary focus? The answer seems clear in retrospect. The Anglican Church in Carpentaria had evolved policy over the preceding sixty years, when neither "citizenship" nor "land rights" were seen as practical issues. The eventual extinction of the Aboriginal people was awaited as a certainty. Bishop George Frodsham of North Queensland had cried out in 1906: "The Aborigines are disappearing. In the course of a generation or two the last Australian blackfellow will have turned his face to warm mother earth. . . . Missionary work then may be only smoothing the pillow of a dying race."[65] But it was realized in church circles twenty years later, before being accepted in government policy, that Aborigines were not dying out as Frodsham had predicted; and, as Bishop Stephen Davies of Carpentaria was

prominent in saying, it was chiefly on mission stations that the decline in Aboriginal population had been reversed.[66]

The major issue facing Carpentaria, with its Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island majority, was Aboriginal standards of living, not fending off a government education system, far less dealing with the consequences of political rights or national independence. In the matter of living standards, the church in Carpentaria partly set the pace, leading the criticism of previous neglect of Aborigines and collaborating in the transfer of all administrative and financial responsibility for Aboriginal missions to governments. The most acute mission difficulties, however, were beyond the diocese of Carpentaria. The squalid conditions of Forrest River mission in Western Australia and Yarrabah in the diocese of North Queensland drew the mission board's attention from the early 1950s.

When the Queensland Health and Home Affairs Minister Dr. H. W. Noble, with Directors of Native Affairs Cornelius O'Leary and Patrick Killoran, visited Yarrabah in North Queensland in 1959, they were shocked at its condition. Moving farther north, they told John Warby at Lockhart River that Yarrabah was "a headache," confiding to Warby that they needed to spend $500,000 on improvements and would not commit such a large outlay on a nongovernment settlement.[67] By this time the diocese of North Queensland was receiving $100,000 per year in government funds for Yarrabah's upkeep, but it was not enough, as the superintendent reported in words that applied equally to Carpentaria's three Aboriginal missions: "The Church at Yarrabah is no longer running a mission but a large Social Service project beyond the financial and manpower resources of the Church."[68] From July 1960 the diocese of North Queensland handed over Yarrabah's financial and administrative responsibilities to the Queensland government.

The takeover of Yarrabah had a domino effect farther north. Seering John Matthews, the newly appointed Bishop of Carpentaria (1960–1968), had been priest-director of the Torres Strait Mission and after his election as bishop had toured the diocese. According to Noel Loos, the new bishop was "appalled" at the state of the missions, writing that Lockhart, Mitchell (Kowanyama), and Edward River Missions were "almost at the point of disintegating" because of lack of staff. Kowanyama and Edward River Missions in particular were in a ruinous condition; on Kowanyama there were only three drinking taps for five hundred people.[69] The squalor of Aboriginal missions run by the diocese of Carpentaria was itself testimony to the government's seventy-year practice of using the religious organizations to delegate responsibility while itself avoiding expenditure. As Bishop Ian Shevill pointed out in the neighboring North Queensland diocese, each year the church's requests for aid at Yarrabah had been "cut to the bone by the Government of Queensland."[70]

Bishop Matthews participated in increasing criticism of the Queensland government's record on Aboriginal and Island affairs. Matthews, unlike Stephen Davies, tended to express his views in combative terms. He appointed a church committee to examine the Aboriginal Preservation and Protection Acts of 1939 to 1946 and the Torres Strait Islander Act of 1939, which entrusted the five thousand Melanesians to a Protector of Islanders, an appointee of Queensland's Department of Native Affairs. "When circumlocutions are unravelled," Matthews's 1961 committee reported, the acts denied Islanders freedom to control their own property or to travel; and it was "misleading" of the government "to pretend the restrictions are not there."[71] At the same time Matthews's committee made its report, Frank W. Coaldrake, chairman of the Australian Board of Missions (ABM) (1957–1970), published a booklet urging ABM supporters to support the struggle for Aboriginal citizenship rights. Coaldrake criticized the denial of full citizenship to Islanders, describing them as "Anglicans in poverty—Anglicans in bondage," from which, he asserted, "it might well be our duty to free them."[72]

The ABM criticisms over Torres Strait and Aboriginal policy were part of a wider movement toward the assertion of citizenship rights and better conditions for Aboriginal people in terms of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[73] Like other churches conducting Aboriginal missions, the Anglicans found themselves caught up in an exploration of what legal right Aborigines and Islanders had to their land, an investigation that resulted in the Australian Council of Churches' support for compensation for the loss of land.[74]

With an Aboriginal population moderately rising in postwar northern Australia, Matthews, as Carpentaria's newly enthroned bishop in 1960, was faced with appalling living conditions on Aboriginal missions run by his own church. Not surprisingly, Matthews regarded solutions as urgent. He sought greatly increased government subsidies to Carpentaria's three Aboriginal missions; in addition, he suggested that the people of all three missions be given better food rations and housing as well as educational and medical facilities and better employment prospects than the church could provide. They would then have to move and become the government's administrative and financial responsibility. Such a move had already occurred at the Presbyterian mission at Mapoon, when it had been closed in 1963 and the people moved to Bamaga near the tip of Cape York. Similarly, numbers of people from Lockhart River were persuaded to move to a village at Bamaga near Iron Range aerodrome, which was given the Lockhart River name Umagico. The rest of the community made it clear that they did not wish to move. The decision was then made to relocate the village in the mission reserve near Portland Roads wharf.[75]

In 1962 Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders participated in a federal election for the first time, and in two Carpentaria missions this election was followed by the popular election of councillors to replace the outworn mission-nominated councillor system. The cyclone Dora in February 1964 presented Matthews with an opportunity by demolishing wholesale the decaying Kowanyama and Edward River Missions. The government had by then accepted responsibility for rebuilding the two missions at standards comparable to government settlements, and the Australian Board of Missions raised $84,000 through an ecumenical appeal.[76] Within two years of cyclone Dora the settlements were being rebuilt, and Matthews decided to transfer all the Aboriginal missions in Cape York Peninsula to Queensland government administration. The takeover of Lockhart River, Mitchell River, and Edward River Missions took place on 1 May 1967. As Loos puts it crisply, "By 1967 the Government's cheap ride at the expense of the Anglican Church and to the cruel detriment of the Aboriginal people was over."[77]

Summary

The Anglican churches in New Guinea and Carpentaria began in the 1890s with markedly different goals, one as a mission to "pagans" and the other a church for settlers; but LMS withdrawal and the European depopulation of the Gulf country before World War II meant that Carpentaria gradually became more and more a "missionary" diocese, continuing to inherit educational and other humanitarian responsibility for Aborigines and Islanders from the Queensland government through the agency of the Department of Native Affairs. As a government policy was worked out in the 1960s, the church placed its missions under government control. In the same period the Papua New Guinea Anglican Church evolved into an autonomous province, retaining its secondary schools and aid posts. From the 1960s, with the destiny of the territory of Papua New Guinea determined as that of a future independent state, the New Guinea diocese began appointing indigenous bishops and cut its legal ties with the Anglican Church in Australia.

Carpentaria weakened gradually as a diocese in the same period. It was absorbed into the parent North Queensland diocese in 1995. By then its work was over. Beginning in the opening years of John Matthews's reign during the early 1960s, Carpentaria had shed its administrative and financial commitment to Aboriginal missions in favor of government supervision. Aboriginal missions were moved to towns and became Aboriginal settlements. More broadly, the Anglican Church in Carpentaria responded to and hastened in its own area the impulse in Australia toward an improvement in

Aboriginal and Island living conditions, an ethnic Aboriginal identity in place of assimilation, citizenship, and land rights.

The Mabo decision by the High Court of Australia in 1992 and the Wik judgment that followed it four years later were something of a watershed. In the 1992 judgment the High Court ruled that, putting to one side "land leased to the Trustees of the Australian Board of Missions (Anglican)," the Meriam people were "entitled as against the whole world to possession, occupation and enjoyment of the lands of the Murray Islands."[78] The judgment ended forever the legal concept of terra nullius in Australia—the idea that the continent was unoccupied before European settlement.

One of the two surviving Murray Island litigants before the High Court in 1992 was the Anglican priest Dave Passi, great-grandson of the last *zogo-le* of Mer. Passi advanced the argument that God had not been absent from Meriam society before the coming of missionaries. Traditional religion, he said, had an integral relationship with mission Christianity in the same way the theology of the Old Testament had with that of the New Testament.[79] The Queensland judge who heard this interpretation described Passi's stand as idiosyncratic.[80] But Passi continued to argue, as he had argued earlier, that the traditional Meriam religion of the Murray Islands was fulfilled by the Christian faith. In their own way, Passi's words echoed the writing of the Anglo-Catholic pioneers in the Torres Strait and New Guinea who had trained and ordained his grandfather. While cherishing the memory of their LMS predecessors, these Anglo-Catholics in practice departed from their Christian iconoclasm. Like the earlier Melanesian Mission Anglicans in the western Pacific, the Torres Strait and New Guinea Anglicans "respected the traditions of Melanesian villagers because they revered their own."[81]

Postscript

Since this article was written, a considerable number of the people resident in the Torres Strait have seceded from the Anglican Church of Australia. The causes may be described as threefold. The first was the abolition of the Carpentaria diocese in 1995 and its absorption within an enlarged North Queensland diocese under Bishop Clyde Wood. For the Torres Strait, this development entailed a loss of the significance that had previously been attached to the Islands. The center of the diocese was no longer Thursday Island but Townsville, one thousand kilometers farther south. The second cause was the ordination of women in mainland Australia, which met opposition from most Torres Strait clergy. However, neither the closure of the diocese of Carpentaria nor the ordination of women seems adequate

to explain the severity of the rupture. But when Bishop Wood chose Father Ted Mosby as the future Bishop of the Torres Strait in mid-1997 without the approval of the clergy, the Torres Strait Regional Council unanimously passed a motion of "no further confidence" in the bishop. The motion was seconded by Father Dave Passi, one of the three plaintiffs in the Mabo land case. Undeterred, Bishop Wood proceeded to the consecration of Father Mosby, and eighteen Torres Strait clergy then submitted their resignations.

The dissident clergy sought links with the Traditional Anglican Communion, a worldwide body formed during the international debate over the question of women's ordination. In April 1998 the Traditional Anglican Communion provided three bishops from Canada and Australia to consecrate Canon Gayai Hankin as Bishop of the Torres Strait in the presence of twenty-five hundred people. At the same time Father Dave Passi was consecrated assistant bishop. The attendance of half the resident population of the Strait was taken by supporters as an indication that the majority endorsed secession and supported the new "Traditional" Islands church.

NOTES

I wish to thank the Right Reverends Dave Passi and John Hepworth for supplying information used in this article. Acknowledgment is also made of the Right Reverend Anthony Hall-Matthews for criticism of an earlier draft, and to the Reverend Peter Bennie for additional comments. A more comprehensive study of the Carpentaria church is found in John Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria: Being a History of the Church of England in Northern Australia from 1865–1965* (Brisbane: Diocese of Carpentaria, 1965). See also David Wetherell, "From Samuel McFarlane to Stephen Davies: Continuity and Change in the Torres Strait Island Churches 1871–1949" (*Pacific Studies* 16, no.1 [March 1993], 1–32). Works published on Papuan missions include Diane Langmore, *Missionary Lives Papua, 1874–1914,* Pacific Islands Monograph Series, no. 6 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989); Georges Delbos, *The Mustard Seed: From a French Mission to a Papuan Church, 1885–1985* (Port Moresby: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1985); and David Wetherell, *Reluctant Mission: The Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea, 1891–1942* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1977).

1. C. A. W. Monckton, *New Guinea Recollections* (London, 1934), 75.

2. *The Carpentarian,* Thursday Island (hereafter *TC*), May 1930.

3. Church of England, *Proceedings of the General Synod,* session 1886, Res. 14.

4. In addition, 100 to 150 European miners were concentrated in the Yodda and Gira Rivers in northern Papua for brief periods between 1899 and 1909. See Hank Nelson, *Black, White and Gold: Goldmining in Papua New Guinea, 1878–1930* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1976), 121.

5. J. O. Feetham and W. V. Rymer, eds., *North Queensland Jubilee Book, 1878–1928* (Townsville: Diocese of North Queensland, 1929), 13.

6. J. Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria: Being a History of the Church of England in Northern Australia from 1865–1965* (Brisbane: Diocese of Carpentaria, 1965), 41–59. The small Anglican mission at St. Paul's on Moa Island was created as a settlement for a small number of Queensland Melanesian laborers after the repatriation of the Melanesians in 1901–1906.

7. J. Beckett, E. Bani, et al., *Modern Music of Torres Strait* (Canberra: Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1981), 2.

8. G. White, *Round About the Torres Straits: A Record of Australian Missions* (London: Central Board of Missions and Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1917), 41.

9. J. Douglas to J. Chalmers, Thursday Island, 27 November 1898, LMS Papua Letters, Council for World Mission Archives, School of Oriental and African Studies Library, London, microfilm in the National Library of Australia (NLA) (hereafter cited as PL); A. C. Haddon, *Cambridge Anthropological Expedition* (Cambridge, 1908), 6:178–179; see also David Wetherell, "From McFarlane to Davies."

10. S. Tomlinson, Diary, 1 January 1892, Mitchell Library, Sydney; see also W. MacGregor, Diary, 13 June and 4 September 1891, NLA.

11. H. Mark to M. J. Stone-Wigg, New Guinea, n.d., Anglican Archives, University of Papua New Guinea (hereafter AA).

12. Lee Bryce to A. C. Haddon, Thursday Island, 30 September 1914, Haddon Papers, Cambridge University Library, envelope 24.

13. Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound* (New York: Schocken Books, 1978), 94–95.

14. Ibid.

15. Gilbert White, *Thirty Years in Tropical Australia* (London: SPCK, 1924), 214.

16. The fifty-seven workers in Carpentaria include European clergy ordained by the bishops of Carpentaria (1901–1942). The total also includes the vicars of Thursday Island (1890–1901). I have not included the forty Church Missionary Society missionaries in the Northern Territory within the diocese of Carpentaria (1908–1942). In that period, no CMS missionary worked in the Torres Strait, the region under study. Staff numbers in Carpentaria computed from lists in *TC;* Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* especially pp. 216–219.

17. David Wetherell, " 'The Bridegroom Cometh': The Lives and Deaths of Queensland Melanesians in New Guinea, 1893–1956," *Pacific Studies* 12, no. 3 (July 1989): 53–89.

18. *Sunday Mercury* (Shrewsbury, Shropshire), 23 June 1968; David Wetherell, ed., *The New Guinea Diaries of Philip Strong, 1936–1945* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1981), preface;

Who Was Who, 1951–1960, vol. 5 (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1964), 280–281. Stephen Davies was, like his admiral brother, a good seaman who spent a large proportion of the year on mission boats. There is a reference to General Pinney in Robert Graves, *Goodbye to All That,* first published in 1929.

19. Albert Haley was first bishop of the Anglican Catholic Church of Australia, founded in 1987 during the conflict over the proposal to ordain women. See postscript.

20. M. Stone-Wigg, Diary, 19 May 1899, AA.

21. E. Meduedue, *Address by Edgar Meduedue with Theodore Lodi's Story* (Sydney: Australian Board of Missions, 1906); C. Cribb to R. W. Thompson, Cooktown, 25 May 1893, PL.

22. For a discussion on length of service in four Papuan missions, see Diane Langmore, *Missionary Lives Papua, 1874–1914* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), 250–255.

23. W. J. A. Daniels to H. T. U. Jamieson, Clontarf, Queensland, 25 June 1977, in Bishop's House Thursday Island archives. The woman who left Papua was the pregnant wife of a staff member. The priest who fled was Godfrey Gilbert; Bishop Davies was stranded in Townsville by the proclamation of a military district over the Islands. A recent discussion of the New Guinea Anglicans during the Pacific War is Rachel Moriarty, "Vivian Redlich, 1905–1942: A Martyr in the Tradition," in *Studies in Church History Martyrs and Martyrologies,* vol. 30, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society and Blackwell, 1992), 453–463.

24. David Wetherell, "Pioneers and Patriarchs: Samoans in a Nonconformist Mission District in Papua, 1890–1917," *Journal of Pacific History* 15, no. 3 (July 1980): 136–137. Loyalty Islanders in the Strait came from chiefly societies in Mare, Lifu, and Uvea; the leading Loyalty Islands teacher Mataika and possibly some others were of Tongan descent.

25. Wetherell, " 'The Bridegroom Cometh,' " 53–89.

26. Beckett, Bani, et al., *Modern Music,* 2.

27. W. H. MacFarlane to LMS Directors, Darnley Island, 9 March 1919, United Church Archives, University of Papua New Guinea.

28. W. H. MacFarlane, "Amongst the Islands of the Torres Straits: Half a Century's Retrospect," in *The East and the West* (London), May 1918.

29. *Occasional Paper,* English Association, New Guinea Mission, 57/2, 1918.

30. Henry Newton, *In Far New Guinea: A Stirring Record of Work and Observation amongst the People of New Guinea, with a Description of Their Manners, Customs and Religions* (London: Seeley Service, 1914), 25.

31. *Argus* (Melbourne), 10 December 1923.

32. For a study of Holmes's attitudes, with a note on Brown, see R. E. Reid, "John Henry Holmes in Papua," *Journal of Pacific History* 13, nos. 3–4 (1978): 173–187.

33. Gilbert White, *The Church and Modern Life* (Townsville, 1892), 11.

34. See, for example, *Occasional Paper* 44/6 (1915), 53/15 (1916), 60/5 (1919). It is noteworthy that some of these extracts from Papua were those of Gertrude Robson, who had formerly worked among Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. Interview, W. Houghton, Boroko, May 1991.

35. David Wetherell, *Charles Abel and the Kwato Mission of Papua New Guinea, 1891–1975* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 59–60.

36. Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 93–99.

37. Fly River District Report, 1924, LMS Papua Reports, NLA.

38. The Australian Board of Missions established missions to Aborigines at Mitchell River, now Kowanyama (established 1906); Lockhart River (1924); and Edward River, now Pormpuraaw (1938). For CMS missions, see Keith Cole, *From Mission to Church: The CMS Mission to the Aborigines of Arnhem Land, 1908–1985* (Bendigo: Keith Cole Publications, 1985); Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 150; S. Davies, Notes on Clergy, 1949, Bishop's House Thursday Island archives. Cole notes that the diversity of churchmanship "sometimes meant friction" between bishop and CMS missionaries in the 1940s. See p. 44.

39. G. Sharp to C. E. Herbert, Dogura, 11 March 1918, AA.

40. Maclaren's attempt to gain status for the Church of England as the "National Church" was rebutted on one occasion by MacGregor. See S. B. Fellows, Diary, 29 July 1892, Fellows Collection, Australian National Gallery, Canberra.

41. White, *Thirty Years in Tropical Australia,* 218–219; Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 98; J. W. Bleakley, *The Aborigines of Australia: Their History—Their Habits—Their Assimilation* (Brisbane: Jacaranda, 1961).

42. E. Jones, *Florence Buchanan* (London: Central Board of Missions and Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921), contains a photograph of Florence Buchanan with a blackboard containing the words referred to in the text. The title "director of native affairs" was later amended to "director of Aboriginal and Islander affairs."

43. Keith Rayner, "The History of the Church of England in Queensland" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Queensland, 1962), 480.

44. *Occasional Papers* 131/21 (1953).

45. *Australian Board of Missions Review* (Sydney), 1 July 1912.

46. I. M. Percy to H. Newton, Didiwaga, 6 August 1922, AA.

47. Resident Magistrate Eastern Division, patrol report 10 March 1922; Baniara Station Journal, 19 June 1941, Australian Archives, Canberra, CRS G91.

48. *Occasional Papers* 151/3–7 (1971).

49. *TC* 31, no. 123 (1931); 37, no. 148 (1937); 25, no. 140 (1935); 25, no. 141 (1936).

50. Wetherell, "From McFarlane to Davies," 20.

51. S. Davies, Diary, 13 August 1927, Oxley Library, Brisbane; Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 159.

52. *TC* 35, no. 140 (1935); 36, no. 143 (1936); 34, no. 140 (1935); 34, no. 137 (1935); Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 112, 162.

53. Quoted in Robert A. Hall, *The Black Diggers* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989), 35. White's words are cited in note 8.

54. F. W. Walker, *The Appeal of the Backward Races to the Business Man* (London: Papuan Industries, 1907).

55. *Sunday Mercury* (Shrewsbury, Shropshire), 23 June 1968.

56. Kylie Tennant, *Speak You So Gently* (London: Gollancz, 1959), 124. For a study of the rise and fall of Christian Socialist ventures at Gona in Papua and the Lockhart River, see Noel Loos and Robyn Keast, "The Radical Promise: The Aboriginal Christian Cooperative Movement," *Australian Historical Studies* 25, no. 99 (October 1992): 286–301.

57. Jim Comerford, "Alf Clint in Weston," in *Salute to Alf Clint,* ed. Leo Kelly (Sydney: Co-operative for Aborigines, Glebe, 1981).

58. Tennant, *Speak You So Gently,* 81.

59. Noel Loos, "From Church to State: The Queensland Government Take-Over of Anglican Missions in North Queensland," *Aboriginal History* (Canberra) 15, nos. 1–2: 73.

60. D. J. Dickson, "Government and Missions in Education in Papua and New Guinea with Special Reference to the New Guinea Anglican Mission 1891 to 1970" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Papua New Guinea, 1971), see especially pp. 259–270.

61. For references to Menzies, see Ian Downs, *The Australian Trusteeship Papua New Guinea, 1945–75* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1980), 72–73, 215–239; James Griffin, Hank Nelson, and Stewart Firth, *Papua New Guinea: A Political History* (Melbourne: Heinemann, 1979), 138.

62. *Occasional Paper* 151/4, 7 (1971) and 159/2–8, 13–14 (1977).

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Quoted in Richard Broome, *Aboriginal Australians* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1994), 101.

66. *TC* 34, no. 137 (1935).

67. Loos, "From Church to State," 79.

68. Ibid.

69. Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 196.

70. Loos, "From Church to State," 84.

71. Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 195.

72. F. W. Coaldrake, *Flood Tide in the Pacific* (Sydney: ABM, 1963); see also ABM Board minutes, "Chairman's Report," 3–5 May 1966, p. 10, and ibid., 27–29 September 1960, cited in Loos, "From Church to State," 75.

73. Bayton, *Cross over Carpentaria,* 196.

74. Loos, "From Church to State," 75.

75. Ibid., 80.

76. Ibid., 81.

77. Ibid., 84.

78. *Eddie Mabo and others, plaintiffs, and The State of Queensland, defendant: Order I High Court of Australia,* Canberra, High Court of Australia, F.C. 92/014. See Noel Loos and Koiki Mabo, *Edward Koiki Mabo: His Life and Struggle for Land Rights* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1996), 163–165.

79. Sharon Connolly (producer) and Trevor Graham (director), *Land bilong islanders,* video (Melbourne: Yarra Bank Films, 1990); Dave Passi, interview with E. E. Hawkey, transcribed by David Wetherell, Brisbane, December 1983; Dave Passi, pers. com., May 1991. In the Wik judgment of December 1996, the High Court partially accepted an appeal by the Cape York Wik and Thayorre peoples that native title coexists with pastoral leases and that Aboriginal people can claim native-title rights for fishing, camping, and hunting depending on the terms of individual pastoral leases. The ambiguity of the judgment has created uncertainty in Australia over security of pastoral leaseholds.

80. Mr. Justice Moynihan of the Queensland Supreme Court said of Father Passi: "I accept him as an essentially honest witness although he has a somewhat idiosyncratic view of some issues, not the least being the Malo story and Christianity, and a propensity for selective reconstruction—although no doubt he is persuaded by the truth of his vision." *Age* (Melbourne), 4 June 1992.

81. David Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849–1942* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1978), 294.

THE EMERGENCE OF AN ETHNIC MILLENARIAN THINKING AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONALISM IN TAHITI

Bruno Saura
Université Française du Pacifique–Tahiti

Translated by Yvonne Corbin and Leopold Musiyan

This article analyzes the emergence in Tahiti of a body of theological and philosophical works written in Tahitian by Duro Raapoto, the leading intellectual of the Protestant Church and one of the best poets of French Polynesia. They constitute a new syncretic and millennialistic rewriting of Tahitian history as well as a rereading of anthropological ideas relative to pre-European society through a reinterpretation of some essential concepts of Polynesian culture. Their author's objective is to restore the golden age of innocence presented as "the authentic Tahitian religion" and to establish the Kingdom of God within the Tahitian people, "God's chosen." One of the oft-recurring themes is the need to cleanse the Māòhi land of its sins and faults. Land is considered a gift of God, and France and other nuclear powers are associated with death. These writings are the expression in the field of religious studies of a type of ethnic and millenarian thought also found in the reawakening of Māòhi culture and the quasi-religious celebration of Māòhi identity in the arts and popular songwriting. They also have a political dimension, adding force to pro-independence speeches and to the development of Tahitian nationalism.

Contemporary religious anthropology has found a prominent field of research in the assessment of the religious aspect of nonreligious phenomena among indigenous people, with an emphasis on political phenomena. It also attempts to shed light on "external" (i.e., nonreligious) determinants of phenomena that are apparently religious, mainly through the study of prophetic communities and nativist millenarian movements.

Pacific Studies, Vol. 21, No. 4—December 1998

In this regard, for those interested in Polynesian culture, a major event is currently taking place in Tahiti the importance of which is yet unnoted by foreign scholars or the local elite. It is the emergence of a body of works apparently related to the sole area of theology that is at the same time of genuine linguistic and literary interest. This article will show that it also carries political connotations, in a double sense: because it is the product of particular historical conditions (the integration of this part of Polynesia into the French system, the questioning of this colonial presence and of nuclear testing in the last thirty years, and so forth) and because it contributes to the march of history by adding to the development of Tahitian nationalistic discourse.

These writings, entirely in Tahitian *(reo māòhi)* are the work of Duro Raapoto, one of the best phraseologists, locutionists, and theoreticians of the Tahitian language. The son of Pastor Samuel Raapoto, who was the first president of the Protestant Church (Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française), from 1963 to 1976, Duro Raapoto was a theology student before choosing a career as a Tahitian-language professor. A writer and poet, he is the leading intellectual of this church. While within the church he is considered practically above reproach, he can be highly critical of its hierarchy, although he uses the Eglise Evangélique to publish his works and disseminate his ideas. All four of his major theology works written between 1988 and 1993 were published by the church in printings of more than ten thousand copies, something of a record in local publishing.[1]

In spite of these numbers, his writings, each around one hundred pages long, have gone more or less unnoticed in Tahiti outside the Protestant community. Written in scholarly and sometimes hermetic language, in addition to being published by an ecclesiastical institution, they escaped the attention of most of the French and local membership of the ruling elite. Nevertheless, given the historical importance of the Protestant Church in Tahiti—with its large membership, its struggle for political evolution, and its denunciation of nuclear tests, land sales, and real-estate speculation—it would be wrong to consider Raapoto's works as limited to theology. The wider consequences of the following evocative titles are self-explanatory: *Te rautiraa i te parau a te Atua e te iho tumu Māòhi* (Exaltation of God's Word and Traditional Māòhi Identity; 1988); *Poroì i te nūnaa māìtihia e te Atua* (Message to God's Chosen People; 1989); *Te pure o te Fatu* (The Prayer "Our Father"; 1992); and *Te Atua e te Natura, te Natura e te Taata* (God and Nature, Nature and the Human Being; 1993).

In this article, I propose to make an anthropological analysis of these works and to offer a perspective on the links between what can already be

characterized as a theology of cultural liberation and the growth of Tahitian nationalism. This article is based mainly on the second and third works of Duro Raapoto. I have had the occasion elsewhere to develop the cultural aspects of the first text (Saura 1989), which offers an insight into Tahitian culture in terms of *hiroà tumu* (original roots) and *iho tumu* (original identity). However, these new words, formed on the basis of traditional terms, come near but do not have quite the same meaning as Western concepts of culture and identity. They correspond more to the concept of *kastom* widely known in Oceania and on which there has been an abundant literature, although not fully appreciated locally.[2]

The millennialistic aspects of Raapoto's booklets might be considered surprising on an island or a group of islands where new millenarian movements never developed to the extent found in Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, or New Zealand (see Guiart 1962). But millennialistic tendencies have existed since the nineteenth century in Eastern Polynesia without materializing in the form of new churches or worship movements.

Duro Raapoto's theology has its roots in both a Christian and an indigenous religious tradition, characterized by a fascination with the Old Testament and the fate of the people of Israel.[3] This fascination is expressed by Raapoto through a projection—the nature of which will be discussed below—onto God's chosen people, which is the keystone of his second book.

Since the idea of the millennium constitutes the main thread of this analysis, I return to the widely accepted definition given by Norman Cohn in *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (1957). By that definition all millenarian movements of salvation call for setting up a new order and meet five criteria: (1) salvation is communal, involving a group of elect; (2) it is earthwise, occurring in the real world and not in heaven or elsewhere; (3) it is imminent, bound to happen presently and abruptly; (4) it is total, in the sense that there is perfect order and not simply improvement in present living conditions; and (5) it is supernatural: this radical change should come about through the aid of supernatural powers.

Below I look first at how Raapoto's works constitute a new syncretic and millennialistic rewriting of Tahitian history as well as a rereading of anthropological ideas relative to pre-European society through a reinterpretation of some essential concepts of Polynesian culture. The emphasis in these works is on the prophetic character of this theology, using prophecy of contact (the anticipation of the arrival of Others) as its subject, and on the characterization of Tahitians as the chosen people of God. I will also establish the existing links between this thinking and the growth of nationalism in French Polynesia.

The Works in Brief

Message to God's Chosen People is the work in which the comparison of Tahitians to Hebrews is the most obvious, and the attempt at a historical and theological synthesis of Judeo-Christianity and Polynesian culture the most daring. Raapoto's main theme is God abandoning the Māòhi because of Māòhi rejection of God and embracing of material values, money, and politics. The author also proposes to restore what he calls *te faaroo māòhi mau* (the true Tahitian religion), although this ambiguous term refers more to the existing Polynesian religiousness than to the pre-European Māòhi religion.

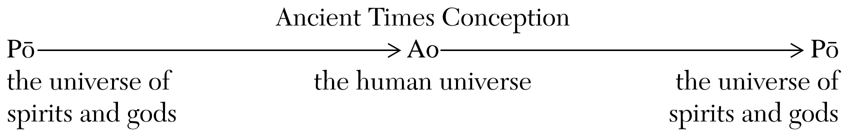
The Prayer "Our Father" is a rewriting of the Lord's Prayer.[4] Raapoto's adaptation has two purposes: to be more faithful to the Greek text in the New Testament but also more faithful to the spirit of the prayer, which, according to the author, should affect the Māòhi who utters the words. His work seeks validation of this rewriting through a consistently ethnic interpretation of a state of mind that God has supposedly asked the Māòhi to adopt when praying.[5]

Reconsideration of Some Essential Polynesian Concepts

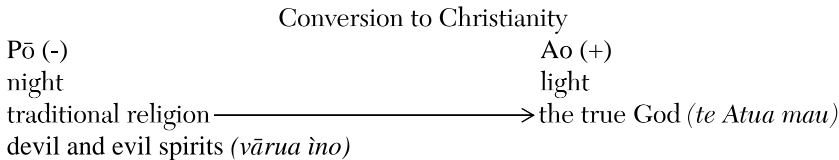
Pō and Ao

Allan Hanson and Alain Babadzan begin their ethnological studies on the Austral Islands by mentioning the dissociation in Tahitians of a physical or material side *(pae tino)* and a spiritual side *(pae vārua)* (Babadzan 1982:1, citing Hanson 1970). Wanting to see the Kingdom of God established on Tahitian soil, Raapoto opts to reject this separation. In his analysis he comes to reconsider the two concepts of Ao and Pō, which correspond to some degree to those of *pae tino* and *pae vārua.*

The concepts of Pō and Ao have been the subject of several anthropological analyses,[6] which can be summed up as follows: Since the nineteenth century, Ao signifies mainly the day and Pō, the night. However, in ancient times, Pō was also the home of gods, spirits, and ancestors, while Ao was the human world. There was no animosity between Pō and Ao but a communication by a series of intermediate stages. Thus a newborn child coming from Pō went through a series of cleansing ritual ceremonies to protect the already living, while upon his or her death, other ceremonies assured a safe return to Pō:



With the arrival of the missionaries, Pō became synonymous with such concepts as evil ancestors and pagan gods, and ceased to represent an "enchanted religious universe" (Max Weber's words), falling thus into disfavor. Henceforth, and for the first time ever, a god, the only God, Jehovah, brought by the London missionaries, lodged himself in the Ao. This Ao, largely reinterpreted, incarnates light and the new religion that enlightens humankind and frees it from the obscure forces of Pō, the ancestral and diabolical spirits. The Ao is also, in a different sense, the area and time of history:



To be more precise, conversion to Christianity divided the Ao further. From that time on, Ao has been divided into *Ao nei* (the present world on earth) and *Ao mure òre* (the afterlife or the eternal world, the equivalent of the kingdom of heaven, also called *te basileia no te raì).*

Raapoto argues for a return to what he calls the "true Tahitian religion," *te faaroo māòhi mau: mau* meaning "real," but also simply "well anchored"; *faaroo* in its first sense meaning "to hear," but in its Christian interpretation, becoming "religion and obedience." However, the author does not claim a return to Pō per se, but a complete restoration of a religious universe similar to that of ancient times without being that of ancient times. In summary, he does not place his emphasis on a return to traditional religion, but on a religious awakening in Tahitians, mixing consciously and unconsciously the elements of Christianity and the ancient Māòhi customs, and presenting this admixture as "authentic" or true.

According to him, the concept of Pō is far from discounted since it refers back to the religious universe of olden times.[7] The syncretism in his thought is contained in the paradox whereby the universe that he wishes to restore could be called Pō, because Pō is traditionally the spiritual universe, but the influence of his Christian education leads him to call it Ao.

His millennialistic vision of the world drives him, furthermore, to discredit the opposition between the present world *(te ao nei* or *teie nei ao)* and the world of God or eternal life (*te ao mure òre, te ora mure òre).* The objective of his words is to instill in the Māòhi the desire to establish in this world, here and now, a kingdom that reflects the eternal world in the sense that spirit and religion will never be lacking.

This eternity is equated with the realization of paradise or the Kingdom of God on Tahitian land. It is characterized by an abundance of riches and blessings: *te hau,* peace; *te ora,* life; *te hanahana,* glory; *te òaòa,* the joy and happiness felt by human beings and God. Through the achievement of this eternity *(te ao mure òre),* the real world will deserve to be called Ao, for Raapoto a synonym for eternal happiness ("te òaòa mure òre, oia hoì te mea ta tātou i parau e, e ao"; 1989:14), since "the terrestrial world is not the obverse of the celestial or spiritual universe but its reflection" ("te ao ta tātou e ora nei, e ata ia no te ao vārua"; 1989:35); hence the previously mentioned rejection of any dissociation between *pae tino* and *pae vārua.*

Àito *and* Tupuna

The universe and the entities who dwell in it are subject to new definitions, borrowing at the same time from Christian and Polynesian traditions. So it is with the *àito,* ordinarily defined as worthy warriors, champions, and heroes. They are also called *toa.* Raapoto develops a very original view of the *àito* or *toa* that finds its source in his earlier writings on the death of Henri Hiro, another Tahitian poet and apostle of a return to Māòhi culture (*Veà porotetani* 1990:21; Hirshon 1991:79–81).

The author of *Message to God's Chosen People* defines these *àito* as those among Māòhi ancestors *(te hui tupuna)* who respected God's *(Atua metua)* will. Their role was not that of warriors but of messengers of God's will, messengers of the chosen people. As they are among the ancestors, one might expect them to be related to Pō, when in fact they are part of Ao, as they belong to God's *hau* (divine government of peace). Like the saints in Catholicism, they have already gained their place in eternal paradise. One might say that Ao is here equated with Pō, a Pō bereft of those elements that run against the blend of Christian morality and Māòhi values retained by Raapoto.

The *àito* are said to be servants *(tāvini),* elected or chosen by God: "te taata ta te Atua iho i māìti ei tāvini no na" (Raapoto 1989:17). Raapoto creates here a curious mix of elements from the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination and traditional Polynesian culture, explaining their designation by means of a new doctrine of Māòhi predestination: "Not everyone

becomes an *àito.* God alone chooses them independently of their actions or the good works that they have accomplished on earth" ("Eita te tāatoàraa o te nūnaa e riro ei Aito. . . . "; 1989:18).

Another syncretic element lies in the fact that *àito* are angels *(mērahi)* (1989:18) that God sent to earth for the sake of the Māòhi, to help ease their pain during their time on earth. They are just guards or watchmen, though. Salvation *(faaaora),* in the sense of giving and preserving life *(ora),* can only come from God. Unlike the angels, archangels, and so on of Catholicism, there is no hierarchy among them. Further, if any of these angels sinned by behaving as mere mortals and not doing God's will, they were pardoned, redeemed, and freed.

Aids of God, the *àito* left their traces *(tāpaò)* on earth, signs that have become enigmas *(piri)* today to the questioning Polynesian. Raapoto writes: "We ask ourselves what human form means in natural elements, what the statues, the *marae*—stones—in the ocean mean. There is not a place on Māòhi land that has not been touched" ("E uiui na tātou. . . . Aita e vāhi tāpaò-òre-hia i nià i te fenua o te Māòhi"; 1989:21). The Māòhi world is therefore enchanted and symbolic. Unfortunately, it seems that natives have turned away from God and lost the knowledge and meaning of these signs.

Nevertheless, the Māòhi are still under the kind care of the *tupuna,* their ancestors, who like the *àito* live in the heavenly world at God's side. These ancestors look at their descendants and feel for them a definite compassion *(arofa),* although they have turned away from God. They, too, sinned before presumably being pardoned by God.

In a convincing manner, Raapoto projects both the Old and New Testaments onto Tahitian history, by imagining that the golden age of the *àito* has given way to the perverted epoch of the ancestors *(te tau o te hui tupuna)* marked by the setting aside of divine teachings: "Moving away from God, they started to carve images in wood and stone, and called them gods" ("No to rātou tāivaraa i te Atua, ua haamata rātou i te tarai i te òfaì e te rāau ta rātou i faariro ei atua no rātou"; 1989:25). Herein lies the explanation for the presence of *tii* (tikis or statues) and other religious carvings before the arrival of the missionaries (these images being largely destroyed at the time of conversion—1815 to 1825—though sometimes paradoxically kept by the same missionaries).

A Millennialistic Rewriting of the Pre-European Past

What Mircea Eliade calls "the nostalgia of origins," a golden age of innocence and real religious consciousness that borrows in a syncretic manner from primitive Tahitian religion and at the same time from Genesis, is one

of the most revealing traits of millennialism in the writings of Duro Raapoto, insofar as he makes a call to restore this paradise (see Eliade 1969). The originality of his work *The Prayer "Our Father"* consists in distinguishing in ancient Tahiti two successive periods: that when the *marae* (open Tahitian stone temples) were pure because they were served only by the high priests and that of the emergence of the religion of the *arii* (chiefs and kings), when religious order was put in the hands of governing men and the *marae* were soiled by the blood of human sacrifice. It is the second period that induces the negative view that many Tahitians have today concerning the *marae:* "teie te tumu i riri noa ai tātou ia faaroo i te parau o te marae . . . " (1992: 65).[8] In distinguishing two separate periods where the missionaries taught Tahitians to recognize only one, Raapoto contests two hundred years of Christian teachings and responds in this way to those who accuse him of advocating a return to the *marae,* understood as a return to paganism.[9]

The period antedating that of the *arii* is said to have been that of the real religion. The *marae,* like an umbilical cord, linked the mother land to the father heaven or to God, permitting humans and God to meet ("I te tau o te mau Tupuna, ua riro te marae ei vāhi moà roa. . . . "; 1992:63). During this era of abundance, God bestowed a vast number of gifts on this land and people. Moreover, this period was supposedly described in Genesis—where Tahiti is not formally mentioned. The implication is that ancient Tahiti resembles in all respects the original paradise, and it rests with the Māòhi of today to recreate the glorious, abundant, and luxurious land described in Genesis. For this purpose, the Māòhi people must renew their relation with God (" . . . i te ìte faahou i te huru ruperupe, te àuhune, e te faahiahia o te fenua ta te Tenete e faateniteni ra, ia taàti-faahou-hia tātou i nià i te Atua . . . "; 1992:42).

In the period of the *arii,* projection through the Old Testament continues with the story of the emergence of a governing body with kings *(arii),* which marks the start of sin, impurity, and the ruin of such values as innocence and sharing. The sacrilege of the *marae* stained with human blood, the beginning of idolatry with the carving of idols of wood and stone, and the fact that the priest *(tahuà),* servant of God, became servant of the king thus pushed God even further from humankind (1992:64).

This rewriting of the Polynesian past is marked by an obvious analogy with the abandonment of the people of Israel by their God. Raapoto is not far removed either from the theory of degeneracy circulated and construed by certain missionaries and evolutionary anthropologists of past centuries who thought that the original people of America or Oceania had known the real God before regressing to paganism and idolatry. This way of thinking coincides with other classic theories in Polynesian ethnology, in particular

with the works of E. S. C. Handy ([1930] 1971), claiming two successive periods in pre-European Polynesian history.[10] But Handy affirms that the emergence of the *arii* was joined with the appearance of the *marae,* whereas in the rewriting of Tahitian history by Raapoto, some place is left for a period of pure religion, an era with temples *(marae)* but without kings *(arii).*

It falls on today's Tahitians to atone for the past sins of their ancestors, linked to the period of the temples. For Raapoto, one of the ways to atone is by prayer. In this regard, one of the great innovations of the new version of the Lord's Prayer is that he proposes to substitute "Faaòre mai i ta mātou tārahu" (cancel our debts) for "Faaòre mai i ta mātou hara" (forgive us our sins). The choice of the word "debts" *(tārahu)* is explained by the fact that *tārahu* is supposed to be close to *ârahu,* which means coal, a reminder that Tahitians have been soiled, tainted, and darkened (the word is used several times in the text) during this phase of their history.

Were the Māòhi physically darkened as was the case with the descendants of Cain and one group of Hebrew people to whom black Americans are related, for example, in the Mormon doctrine?[11] The answer is no, the soiling was purely spiritual even if it encompassed the entire Māòhi population. It is imperative that Tahitians cleanse themselves of these black traces (*ârahu* becoming *tārahu;* 1992:63), which are transmitted from generation to generation, since it is not good to leave such a heritage for their children. Like Israel, whose children still carry the burden of sorrow for the spilling of Christ's blood by their ancestors, today's Māòhi are the inheritors of the debt contracted by their ancestors who soiled the sacred sites and the glory of God on the *marae* (1992:66).

Whatever happened historically before or after the resurrection of Christ, the fact remains that this sin was not cleansed by the blood of the Son of God (1992:61). The ethnic and millenarian theology expounded here distances itself from Christianity, since the salvation of the Māòhi people does not depend on Christ but comes from humanity itself. This collective salvation, an essential element of millennialism, is actually more of a cultural salvation than a spiritual one. But then again, the paradox disappears, since Raapoto does not view Māòhi culture as other than religious.

To return to the ancestral (if not the original) sin of the Māòhi, it would be wrong to think that it suffices to erase, to forget, or to damn these ancestors, because one would be then committing yet another offense at a time when there is already a heavy daily burden for the Tahitians (1992:66). In the likeness of the kings of ancient times who sinned in the eyes of God in wanting to be his equal and in usurping the glory that was God's only, men these days keep accumulating new sins in accepting compromise with political parties, falsehoods, self-debasement, malpractice, and the selling of land

(1992:60). However, the Māòhi people can reconquer their integrity if they turn to God and not to the Western world, the ways of life of the whites. Raapoto affirms this repeatedly: "The Māòhi have never sinned against foreigners or against the missionaries, or against any Westerner [*Popaa* or *Papaâ*] who came to their land" ("Aita te nūnaa Māòhi i tārahu i te rātere, aita o na i tārahu i te mitionare e te mau Papaâ atoà i haere mai io na"; 1992:66).

A major innovation of the book *Message to God's Chosen People* resides in the proclaimed perfect identity between Taaroa and the God of the Hebrews, since God is viewed from an ethnic perspective and through a projection on or an analogizing with the Hebrew culture. Here is the key to understanding the Christianity experienced by the Tahitians since the beginning of the nineteenth century. This assimilation signals the willingness to appropriate Christianity and to put an end to the cultural trauma of the passing from traditional religion to Christianity, reversing nearly two hundred years of teaching.[12]

In Raapoto's texts, there are numerous biblical quotations where the term Jehovah is automatically replaced by Te Tumu Nui (the Great Cause, or the Original Source), one of Taaroa's names.[13] For the author, it is clear that it is the same god, an uncreated *(matamehaì)* God who is the source of all things ("O Taaroa ra, aore ra, Te Tumu, e te Atua e haamorihia nei i teie mahana, hoê anaè ia Atua. . . . "; 1989:30).

One of the reasons for the assimilation flows from the primacy that he gives to the Tahitian language in a linguistic approach of a cultural or relativist type that denies the existence of universal values and poses a perfect symbiosis between Māòhi language and Māòhi culture: "The people of Israel speak of their god by calling him Jehovah, the Father God. The Māòhi say Taaroa, and there is not any difference between one or the other. God gave to each people a mother tongue, and each group of people is free to call God as it likes. Those who knows their native tongue also know the name of their God" (1989:30).

A Prophetic Message That Takes Prophecy as a Subject

There is no doubt a prophetic mode in the writings of Duro Raapoto. I do not mean that this writer is an inspired prophet receiving revelations, but that his writings include a prophetic dimension, although it is necessary to define what is meant by the term. It is especially important to differentiate prophecy from theology, which is not easy in the Judeo-Christian context, since this religion is founded on the prophetic word. But unlike the Christian theologian who repeats and comments on God's plan for all ready to

believe in Him, which plan does consist in believing in Him, the prophet announces specific plans that suit the purposes of a group of men and women to whom God is said to be giving special attention. He or she foretells their destiny.

In *Exaltation of God's Word* and *Traditional Māòhi Identity,* Raapoto tried to reveal to his people what God expects of them. In *The Prayer "Our Father"* the invocation and exhortation address God as well as the Māòhi people. The tone is extremely moralizing, the words of the prophet being highly critical of the directors of the Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française.

Not only is this writing of a prophetic nature (even though Raapoto denies it), since the author announces what God wants of his people, but this theme of prophecy is developed in a syncretic reinterpretation of the famous prophecy of Vaitā. In this account God Taaroa did not wait for the Westerners to send the missionaries to put an end to the human sacrifice that soiled the *marae* during the period of idolatry in ancient times. He chose some men as servants to announce his will, to ask the Māòhi to abandon their heathen practices. These men, the *tahuà* (priests), delivered the prophecies *(parau tohu),* Vaitā being the most renowned among them (1989:25).

A priest at Taputapuatea, Vaitā predicted the arrival of both the voyaging Europeans and the missionaries a little before 1767. In the course of a meeting on the *marae* of Taputapuatea, a tornado tore off all the branches of a *tamanu* tree (reputed to be very strong), which caused Vaitā to prophesy: "Here, in front of me, is the explanation of this strange event. The glorious children of Te Tumu will come and see this tree here on Taputapuatea. Their bodies will be different from ours, even though they will look like us as they also come from Te Tumu. They will take our land. This will be the end of our old religion, and the sacred birds of the ocean will come and lament what this lopped-off tree is teaching us" ("Te ìte nei au e. . . . E haere mai e taìhaa i nià i ta teie ràau i motu e haapii nei").

This prophecy, reported by the missionary Orsmond and transcribed by his granddaughter Teuira Henry in *Ancient Tahiti* (1928), is not the only one to have been recorded in Eastern Polynesia. H. A. H. Driessen (1982) mentions different versions of a similar prediction made by Paùe in Haapape (Tahiti), recorded by missionaries Orsmond and Thomson, and compares Vaitā's prophecy as recorded by Orsmond with that of William Ellis. The interesting point in Driessen's article lies mainly in a listing of shipwrecks and recent visits to Polynesia before Wallis's arrival at Tahiti in 1767, which doubtless explains the existence of this prophetic tradition of the first contact.

I do not intend here to analyze the mechanics of the prediction or to try and downplay its spectacular character with a discussion of what "really happened." Yet one can note two contrasting approaches to a historical event: one in which the prediction of an event planned by God is the primary element, with the arrival of the Westerners, which is the historical event, realizing the prophecy; and one that gives primacy to the historical event of the ships' visits, the prophecy being rationalized after the fact, without God's will operating as the cause or even a requisite for its realization.

Raapoto unquestionably adopts the first line of reasoning. The invasion of the Māòhi's land by the Westerners was the product of God's will and a punishment because he was tired of seeing the Māòhi disobey his word. Nevertheless, Raapoto takes pains to distinguish in this prediction what concerns navigators, sailors, tradesmen, and then colonialists, lumped together as the "glorious children of Te Tumu" *(fānauà ùnaùna o Te Tumu),* on one hand, and the missionaries, "sacred birds of the ocean" *(te mau manu moà o te moana),* on the other. It is not evident, however, that the missionaries are not part of the first group of men, since if the prophecy is construed correctly, the breakdown of the traditional religion follows the arrival of the first group. There is nothing that clearly equates the glorious children of Te Tumu with the Westerners without including the missionaries and equates the sacred birds with the latter. But such is his reading of this prophecy, and all kinds of interpretations are possible.

What is certain is that the arrival of the Westerners of the first group *(fānauà ùnaùna)* was the design of God Taaroa. The glorious character of these men comes not only from their wondrous clothing, their strange tools, or their knowledge. It comes also from the love that Taaroa shows for them, for they are his children (1989:27). However, as it turns out, these white children will not behave properly. They were thought to be true brothers, but they proved themselves otherwise: "They did not come to help or aid the native brothers but to separate them from their land" ("Aita i haere mai no te tauturu, no te faatià i te taeaè i roto i te àti, no te haru rā i to na fenua"; 1989:28).

Then came the missionaries, the sacred scarlet birds (purple was the color of the robes of the London Missionary Society pastors), also sent by Taaroa. They "tried to reform the Māòhi in the words of the Christian gospel, but the Māòhi continued to live by the gospel of men, without observing the true religion" (1989:29).

So, the prediction of Vaitā seems to have come true. The land was taken over by strangers, the Māòhi no longer master in their country. The traditional religion collapsed, but the missionaries did not succeed in bringing the Māòhi "back to God." Even though he acknowledges that they failed in

their attempt, former divinity student Raapoto does not attribute a negative role to the missionaries. "The sacred birds of the ocean came to mourn, lament, and bring solace to the Māòhi. This means that they came to give new strength and dignity to the Māòhi, because that was the wish of Taaroa, the wish of Te Tumu" (1989:29).

As is done in many prophetic movements or trends, Raapoto cloaks his own message in the continuity of older prophecies, Vaitā's prediction most particularly.[14] A few years ago, in the poem "E Vaitā i òrero i Taputapuatea," Raapoto questioned Vaitā to find out why he had predicted the death, the disappearance of Māòhi culture and then gone on to prophesy a resurrection of this same culture and this same land. In *Message to God's Chosen People,* Raapoto writes further that Vaitā did not predict the death of the Māòhi ("aita o Vaitā i tohu i te pohe o te Māòhi"), because even though the tree was broken, the roots stayed alive. He adopts yet again the prophetic mood in announcing to Polynesians that they will be saved if they accept belief in God again. Resolutely confident, he reverses the terms of the prophecy to announce a promising future or, more exactly, a promise for the present. It is here and now that the prophecy will come to pass: "Now is the time when all branches will grow again; now is the moment that God wants you to return to him that you may accomplish his will" ("Teie te tau . . . no te faatupu i to na hinaaro ia òe"; 1989:33).

The Tahitians as God's Chosen People

The salvation of the Māòhi is justified, because they are God's chosen people. This affirmation is repeated several times in the texts. In fact, it signifies simply that the Māòhi are basically religious and that God directs his attention toward them as the Māòhi look toward God. This mutual caring is logical in Raapoto's thought processes, in which interactive communication between God and human beings exists, a persistent theme that he develops in all his works. This sacred alliance is materialized in the form of a five-colored rainbow that God displays in the sky for his people (1989:15).[15]

The syncretic beliefs of the Tahitian theologian show up particularly in the parallel he presents between the situation of the Māòhi people and the Israelites in the Old Testament. Nevertheless, the projection is not systematic, as he also establishes the differences between the old elected people and the new one.

The first common point lies in the fact that the Israelites and the Māòhi share the same God. The second is that the Māòhi went through the shock of the white man's arrival and, like the Israelites, were punished *(tāìrihia)*

and abandoned *(faaruèhia)* because of their disobedience toward God. Even today, God abandons and will abandon those who disobey his word and do not fulfill his will (1989:36).

But here ends the parallel. Whereas the Israelites did not heed the words of their prophets, there is still time for the Tahitians to listen to the messages of the prophets of yesterday, such as Vaitā, or those of today announcing to the Māòhi that the time of salvation *(ora faahou)* has come. This salvation is not the same as that of the Israelites. The Israelites did not recognize the Christ when he was announced, and they are still waiting for the arrival of the Messiah and the salvation of the human being through him. However, the Polynesian people are not waiting, the time of salvation has already come for them. This salvation consists in a resurrection but does not take the form of the coming of a Messiah or of a single man. It is the religious and cultural resurrection of a people.

This projection or identification of a people as the people of God needs some clarification, even if it is not something new. It is an essential element in certain millenarian movements, especially those based on Christianity (Wilson 1973; Burridge 1969; Desroche 1969), but not absolutely necessary. Millenarian thought is directed at a group of worshipers or elect, even if these elect do not necessarily represent a people. The idea of "God's people" or a "chosen people" in its national or ethnic dimension is present in Judaism (as opposed to Christianity, in which this expression refers to all believers in God and Christ; see Broomfield 1954). It can also be found among the stories and myths of the American Founding Fathers. Americans were often presented by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers and constitutional scholars as the newly chosen people of God (Tuveson 1968; Handy 1976). The Mormon religion, a product of this millennialistic mold, constitutes the highest form of the theological expression of the American people's mysticism. It is claimed to be contiguous with the history of the Jewish people, although it far transcends it (Arrington and Bitton 1979). Once again, it is worth drawing a parallel between Mormon theology and that of Duro Raapoto. These are two varieties of millennium: in one case, the Americans are pictured as the chosen people of God, and in the other it is the Tahitians.

The same claim to incarnate the chosen people is found in Polynesia, especially within certain millenarian movements based on the rejection of colonization, the most famous of them being the Māori movement Hauhau or Pai Marire in the 1860s (Elsmore 1985; see also Clark 1975). In New Zealand of former times as in the Tahiti of the present era, this roundabout search for ethnic identity through the Hebrew people's history bears witness to a particular reappropriation of the Bible. The stress is laid on the Old

Testament, and this leads up to the syncretic fusion of elements of Polynesian culture and religion, on the one hand, and Judeo-Christian culture, on the other.

In *Message to God's Chosen People,* the meaning of the phrase "the chosen people of God" is clear. Raapoto writes that the time has come for the Tahitians to return to God Taaroa, who has been waiting for this moment, feeling compassion for his chosen as well as regrets for the suffering that he put the Māòhi through when they turned away from him. He gave the Māòhi a language *(reo),* customs *(peu),* and a beautiful, bountiful, and fertile land *(fenua faahiahia)* (1989:23). It is in the restoration of these blessings that the Māòhi return to God.

The way to salvation will by no means be in the adoption of foreign customs, as the Māòhi have tried until now. In fact, it is now apparent that "the worse things are for the Māòhi, the better off Westerners become" ("rahi noa mai to tātou ìnoraa, rahi noa atoà atu to rātou maitaìraa"; 1989:22).

A Return to the "True Māòhi Religion"

Hence Duro Raapoto declares the need for a return to what he terms the "true Māòhi religion" *(te faaroo māòhi mau).* The concept is original, since it establishes a syncretic joining of Christian and Polynesian values that are compatible, leaving aside other characteristics of Christianity and traditional Tahitian religion. It would be more precise to speak of a return to Māòhi religiousness: the restoration of a universe where all makes sense through God's will (that is to say, a spiritual universe) and of a universe of solidarity, mutual help, and fraternity (religion in its social sense).

Precisely to the point, the Māòhi religion is said to be founded, as is Christianity, on charity and love ("niuhia i nià i te aroha e te here"; 1989:22). "These values are those that the Messiah himself brought to the world" ("Taua aroha mau ra e taua here ra ta te Metia iho i haere roa mai faaìte i to te ao"; 1989:45). However, according to Raapoto, these values already existed on Tahiti before Polynesians converted to Christianity. He pushes the logic (and the syllogism) even further, by pointing out that "before the arrival of the missionaries, the word of God" (*te evanelia:* the gospel) "had already been brought to the Māòhi" ("hou te mau mitionare, ua tae ê mai na te Evaneria a te Atua io te Māòhi"; 1989:45–46). With the prophecy of Vaitā, the arrival of Christianity appears to have been embedded in Māòhi history and culture by the will of Taaroa. At the end of *Message to God's Chosen People,* the advocate of the revival of Tahitian religion pursues the point that Christianity is not the only real religion, but merely a historical manifestation of the true religion. Consequently and conversely, it is understood that

the Māòhi are not the only chosen people of God, nor are they charged to replace the Israelites who did not recognize the Messiah. The Māòhi are a chosen people in the sense that they are religion-conscious, a people who believe *(tiàturi)* in God and who are cherished by God in return. This quality of being the chosen people is intrinsic and at the same time something to be conquered.

A Millenarian and Ethnic Theology of Liberation

Until now, I have emphasized the cultural and religious dimensions of this theological system, which presents great anthropological interest. Yet, one should not neglect its political and social sides, which clearly define a theology of liberation, offering evident parallels with other such theologies in South America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania.

In a recent article, Michael Lowy (1990) discusses the blend of modernity and opposition to modernity in the theologies of liberation in South America.[16] Among their elements of modernity one finds the defense of new liberties, interest in social sciences, and criticism of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Catholicism. Their traditional aspects include a sharp criticism of capitalism and individualism, the refusal to confine church activities to the religious sphere, and willingness to recreate a communal life.

In this pattern of thinking, Duro Raapoto's liberation theology is tilted toward the side of traditionalists, if one leaves aside his virulent criticisms of the Tahitian Protestant ecclesiastical authorities. This criticism, when one thinks about it, is part of the Protestant spirit and is apparently accepted, since the works of the Māòhi theologian are printed and distributed by the Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française.

On this point, the condemnation of aristocratic government types of ancient times is extended to some contemporary Tahitian pastors of today, who are said to behave as kings ("ua arii te tāvini . . . "; 1992:45) considering others as servants (1992:28). Raapoto also denounces the church for courting the wealthy (1992:44), the church being corrupted by poisoned presents (*taoà tāparu:* money solicited from governing powers). Such money is supposed recently to have silenced church opposition to certain mining and hotel projects in Mataiva, Opunohu, and Tupai, for example (1992:28).[17] He also refers to the diversion of almost US$1 million during the 1980s within the church, with the reminder that, in the primitive church, "punishment was by death to all who took of God's riches" ("e pohe te utuà . . . "; 1992:70).

For the rest, apart from the ecclesiastical questions, this radical theology work is characterized by a wholesale criticism of modernity. It develops first of all an outright rejection of individualism, which goes hand in hand with its

denial of universalism, a logical consequence of cultural relativity. Thus, the Māòhi identity itself is seen as family-based and communal, whereas individualism, a source of selfishness, appears as a Western value: "We have entered into an era marked by greed, selfishness, and torment" ("ua ō tātou i roto i te tau o te pipiri, te popore e te tapitapi, e na te reira e tūìno roa i to tātou oraraa"; 1992:50). Even the Christian prayer "Our Father" is presented as a communal prayer ("e pure teie na te hoê âmuiraa taata"; 1992:52). In agreement with Durkheim's conception, personal faith gives way to a pure religion, social in essence and expression: "In religious worship, one is not required to think but simply to follow the group" ("I roto i te haapaòraa, aita e feruriraa taata tātaì tahi"; 1992:38).

The essential difference between this theology of liberation and that of the Third World lies in the absence of a denunciation of poverty. French Polynesia, a territory financially supported by France, is to all appearances a comparatively rich country in which the economic growth of the last thirty years has been tied with nuclear testing. It has no doubt brought on a spiritual decline and a breakdown in social community relations, but without the dire poverty seen in other countries.

For this reason, the Tahitian theologian has made himself into the advocate of a form of evangelical poverty. He emphasizes the Christian virtue of humility *(haèhaaraa),* which in a syncretic manner becomes a Māòhi value: "God wants the Māòhi because he is humble deep inside" ("te huru mau terā o te Māòhi e te tumu i nounou ai te Atua ia na: no te haèhaa o to na àau"; 1992:74). But this view overlooks such things as pride, haughtiness, obstinacy, exaggeration, and an air of being above it all that could also be called typically Tahitian, especially with reference to the aristocratic society of ancient times. However, this aristocratic society is seen as adrift from and a perversion of "authentic Polynesian values" *(te faufaa māòhi mau),* compatible with the Christian, if not universal, values of compassion and mutual help.

This criticism of money making, individualism, and modernity is made in the specific colonial context of Polynesia and leads to a clear rejection of all that is French. Everything is a pretext for this rejection, including the passage about bread in *The Prayer "Our Father"* (1992:47). Thus Raapoto denounces the alienation of the Māòhi land that became a French colony (*huàrāau:* wood chips), France being the *àihuàrāau,* the intruder who "devours" *(ài)* that land. He also seizes the opportunity to reflect on the term *metua,* meaning "parent(s)" and much used in political speeches in reference to France as the "mother country" *(Hau metua),* as opposed to *Hau fenua* (the Polynesian government, or the Territory of French Polynesia).[18] For him, *metua* is a religious term, synonymous with life and its

origins *(matamua)* (1992:14). Furthermore, he denounces those who think that if France abandons the Māòhi, they will die. They thus demonstrate a lack of confidence and their disbelief in God ("tiàturi-òre-raa i te Atua"; 1992:49).

A Pacific Millenarian Theology

Bearing in mind the criteria of Norman Cohn, in what way does this theology, which has at once political, cultural, and religious facets, also represent a millennialistic thinking of an ethnic type?

The announced and sought after salvation will be collective (the first criterion). It is the salvation of the cherished Māòhi people, God's chosen. Therefore, the Tahitians do not need to bother about that of other peoples whose religiousness is not as strong as theirs: "Do not wait until the whole world unites to prepare the Kingdom of God. We know that, the world over, different nations fight, threaten, and seek to exterminate each other. Just remember the message that the Lord gave to his disciples while he was among them (Mark 6:10–11): 'The land that accepts to embrace the Kingdom of God should do it now' " (1992:73).

This salvation is terrestrial (the second criterion) and will take place on the Māòhi land that people must prepare to realize this kingdom. Curiously, Raapoto does not say that it will happen only in Polynesia, but "it is also in our land that the Kingdom of God will be established" ("e i nià atoà ia to tātou fenua te Hau o te Atua e haamauhia ai"; 1992:73).

It is imminent (the third criterion): "The moment has come to repay our debts. This should not happen after our death but right now, while we are alive" (1992:73). Moreover, Raapoto recalls the verse of Matthew 3:2, "Repent, the Kingdom of God is coming" (1992:34).

It should be complete (the fourth criterion) in order to avoid the risk of God forsaking the Māòhi people, a desertion that has already started (1992:72, 78).

Will this radical change come about with the aid of supernatural powers (the fifth criterion)? This last point raises a problem in the sense that the prophetic message delivered by Raapoto has the Tahitian confronted with responsibility and destiny. Divine intervention makes sense only with an active and determined people. But then even though this theology refers only to God, it expects nothing of God that it has not first asked of the Tahitian people. Just as the figure of Christ is strangely absent, the divinity seems to fade behind humanity. This Kingdom of God, evoked in Christian terms with a great number of biblical verses, is above all the kingdom of the Tahitian people. The most one can do is to acknowledge God's profound desire to meet with the Tahitian people and to see them realizing this kingdom.

A strange ethnic millenarianism is thus sketched out, growing into a sort of ecumenical Māòhi brotherhood in which being part of the Māòhi people transcends and eliminates all denominational barriers: "The kingdom that we are preparing will not be that of Protestants, Catholics, Mormons, or Adventists" (1992:33).[19] Thus the "Tahitian gospels" of Duro Raapoto lay the foundation of a true religion of the Māòhi people.

A Pacific Theology and Its Reception in Tahiti

What has been the impact of this innovating discourse on the Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française and in terms of original cultural practices?

First, it is important not to confuse the renewed Māòhi culture, which affects the entire Tahitian society, with this renewed theology that is more recent and limited to the Protestant community. The willingness to return to Polynesian culture initiated by Henri Hiro and Duro Raapoto in the 1970s is well entrenched in the church, especially with the introduction of traditional dancing, which was until then completely incompatible with the canons of Christian morality. In contrast, Raapoto's attempt at a theoretical synthesis of Christianity and Māòhi culture is essentially a discourse. This discourse, marginal in the late 1980s, is gaining ground among the clergy as the younger generation is becoming more and more concerned with culture. To understand this, one only needs to survey the evolution in the themes and contents of the dissertations of theology students at the Protestant seminary of Heremona in Tahiti. For all this, this Māòhi theology is far from being unanimously accepted by local Protestant clergymen, including Tihiri Lucas. This young pastor takes a stand in his sermons against Raapoto's writings and ideas.

When it comes to actual practices, the 1970s and 1980s saw the acceptance and introduction within the church of traditions and cultural dances that had been considered tabu by the first missionaries. However, religious rituals inside the church remain formally Christian. Toward the end of the 1980s, much like Raapoto, several of his followers started wearing the *pareu* in church. This way of dressing, even if followed only by a minority of faithful and pastors, sometimes caused virulent reactions from other parish members. Thus, in *The Prayer "Our Father,"* Raapoto in several instances attacks the pastors, deacons, and all those who turn away from the temples parishioners wearing a *pareu* (1992:19, 33)

Direct theological influence can also be identified in the recent use of the name Te Tumu Nui (the Great Cause) instead of Jehovah in Tahitian prayers, sermons, and hymns. In the church of Afareaitu, on Moorea Island, for example, this use is widespread. Elsewhere, it varies according to personalities and the type of ceremony.

More common is the reinterpretation of Polynesian history as seen through the prism of Christianity. In historical reproductions and shows organized by the various parishes, the Protestant Church plays down the polytheist dimension of ancestral Tahiti. The accent is placed on the creator god Taaroa, presented as the equivalent of Jehovah. Scarcely any mention is made of the god of war Òro, who was the main divinity on Tahiti and Raiatea at the time of the arrival of the Westerners.

Duro Raapoto is not the first theologian in the Pacific area to attempt a theoretical synthesis of Christianity and indigenous culture. Since the 1960s, years that correspond with both the first accession to political independence in the islands and the full autonomy or independence of local churches from Western churches, a large-scale movement for reappropriation of Christianity has been spreading in the Pacific. Some have gone so far as to refuse a compromise with theology and to call for a return to the pre-Christian religions, leaving out their sacrificial aspects. With respect to these "black theologies from the Pacific," I refer to the works of Garry Trompf, dealing mainly with Melanesia (Trompf 1987; Loeliger and Trompf 1985).

In the Polynesian area, the leading proponent of a revived culture and cult is the Methodist pastor of Tonga Sione Amanaki Havea. His works present striking analogies with those of Raapoto. Like the latter, Havea asserts that the gospel was already present in Polynesia before the coming of the missionaries. But Havea shows more prudence in admitting that this presence was subconscious and more daring in saying that the scenes of Pentecost or Christ's sacrifice had a worldwide effect that included the Pacific Islands. This idea of a simultaneous worldwide redemption in Christ is one of the strong points of his thinking. He is also known for his "Coconut Theology," in which he affirms that "incarnation and immaculate conception are in the coconut tree," the basis of life and salvation for the Polynesians.[20]

The theology of the coconut in Tonga is like the theology of rice in Asia. In spite of the geographically different locales, the idea is identical: to make Christianity "native." In certain strongly acculturated Pacific islands such as New Zealand and French Polynesia, these new ways of referring to the divinity also present a particularity in that Christian culture serves as an instrument for the resurrection of ancient culture.

Throughout the Pacific, these theologies have an obvious political dimension. They are resolutely pacifist. Because land is a gift of God, nuclear tests (American in Micronesia, French in Polynesia) are harshly condemned.[21] An oft-recurring theme in Raapoto's works is that of cleanliness and the need to cleanse the land of its sins and faults. The colonial powers are clearly associated with death: "When God abandons us, our lands are confiscated, and foreigners are coming in great numbers, sorrow, pain, and death multiply" ("Ia faaruè mai te Atua ia tātou, te haruhia nei te fenua"; 1989:40).

In Tahiti, the denunciation of nuclear testing by the Protestant community resulted in a fusion of Jewish and Māòhi myths of creation in which land is the womb, Mother Earth who gives birth to humanity. This type of representation is not specific to Duro Raapoto or Henri Hiro. On 21 September 1995, the president of the Eglise Evangélique, Jacques Ihoraì, visited French president Jacques Chirac to convey the strong opposition of Polynesia's Christians to the last series of nuclear tests on Moruroa and Fangataufa. A Protestant journalist at *Réforme,* a witness to the meeting, reports that

> President Ihoraì astonished his interlocutor by saying: "Mister President, you do not have the right to explode bombs in the nourishing womb of our motherland, Earth. Peace can never be established on the basis of nuclear menace. You reject me as a man and as a Polynesian if you say that Tahiti is France." Jacques Chirac is at first tense but attentive. He brings up several points: "Is this notion of Mother Earth really Christian? Aren't the pastors inspired or influenced by the notion of independence?" Then followed an explanation by Pastor Teinaore on contextual theology.[22]

In fact, although the protest was observed with interest by Chirac, it did not change his decision to resume the last series of nuclear tests.

Religion, Cultural Revival, and Tahitian Nationalism

The radical writings of Duro Raapoto are the expression, in the field of theology, of an ethnic and millenarian thought that one can also find in other areas of Tahitian life, especially in the reawakening of Māòhi culture and in political speeches encouraging independence.

Since the 1970s, the call for a return to Polynesian culture and customs has become a dominant factor in Tahiti. It manifests itself in native dances and contemporary songs as well as sincere efforts in plays and movies. Tattooing, an ancient custom that all but disappeared in the nineteenth century, has had a significant rebirth. In the domain of traditional dancing, bodily emancipation manifests itself in suggestive movements and scantily clad dancers. This marks a definite break with the puritanism inherited from the missionaries of the last century. Still, the restoration of the body cult is not devoid of religious justification in the sense that it is a tie with ancient culture and thus a gift of God. Paradoxically, the Christian message remains indissolubly linked to the idea of returning to the sources and to a claimed "authentic Māòhi spirituality."

The best examples of this reconciliation between Christian values and

traditional culture are found today in songs popularizing the themes and phraseology of the ethnic discourse, with its growing millennialistic character. For many years now, Tahitian composers have profusely celebrated the stunning beauty of their land as well as the physical and spiritual qualities of its people, a people chosen or indulged by God. These compositions borrow as freely from tourist slogans as from the Bible, diverted from its universal meaning to promote ethnic values.[23] In songwriting, a major domain of local creativity, the message becomes outright apocalyptic when it denounces Tahitians who succumb to materialistic values pertaining to modernity, to the Western way. One of the musical hits in 1995 was a tape recorded by the group Te ava piti, in which the main song "A tātarahapa" ("Repent!") opens with the words "No òe, e toù nūnaa i teie mahana, tāpaò no toù aroha ia òe. Eiaha e faaea e tiàturi i te Atua, nā na e arataì ia òe i roto i teie ao" (To you, my people—*nūnaa*—today, my sign of affection for you. Never cease to believe in God, it is He who guides you in this world—*ao*). The title of this song could be considered pessimistic if it was not actually a cry of hope in the context of the millenarian and ethnic ideas presented previously. The refrain confirms it: "A tātarahapa, a tātarahapa, te fatata mai ra hoì te basileia no teie ao" (Repent, repent, the kingdom of this world is near).[24]

The blending of the Māòhi spiritual quest, millenarian and apocalyptic speeches, and the denunciation of decadent Franco-Tahitian politics is epitomized in the compositions of Angelo Neuffer Ariitai, the leading singer of the young generation. This apostle of indigenous values who sings only in Tahitian, with a semimodern accompaniment, has enjoyed immense popularity since the middle of the 1980s. His recorded tapes "Te'ote'o" ("Teòteò," Pride; 1987) and "Te mana" (The Power, in a spiritual sense; 1989), which associate his voice with that of Bobby Holcomb (see Saura 1992), another figure of the Māòhi revival, continue to break sales records. The leading titles are "Tūramarama i te fenua" (Illuminate the Land with a Torch), "Te mana e te hanahana" (The Power and the Glory), "Te maitaì e te ìno" (Good and Evil), and "Tupuna" (Ancestors). Other songs of Angelo's from the same period are in the same spirit: "I te mau ànotau hopeà" (In the Time of the End) and "Te pure o te àau" (The Prayer of Heart and Soul). In 1992 appeared his tape "Perofeta no te hoo" (Prophets of Money), which gives a warning to those who acquire debts in sacrificing their culture on the altar of money. Another song is titled "Te tumu" (The Cause [or origin], another name—as with Raapoto—for the God Taaroa, who is supposed to be the equivalent of Jehovah). In 1993 Angelo produced the tape "Nūnaa no ânanahi" (People of Tomorrow) and in 1995 "Arioi" (the name of the god Òro's servants in traditional Tahitian society).

Angelo's phraseology in his songs can be summarized in about twenty key

words that are also used by Raapoto and others: particularly *Māòhi* (Aboriginal), *taata* (human being), *hiroà tumu* (culture), *iho tumu* (identity), *natura* (nature), *here* (love), *Atua* (God), *ao* (universe), *fenua* (land), *reo* (language or voice), *tupuna* (ancestors), *vārua* (spirits), *peu* (customs), *tiàturiraa* (confidence), *faatura* (respect). These terms commingle and complement each other in such expressions as *natura taata Māòhi* (Māòhi human nature) or *fenua tupuna* (ancestral land).

Was there direct influence by Raapoto's works or simply the coincidence of two sets of writings informed by the same search for identity? Certain phrases of Angelo's unquestionably derive from the lexicographical creations undertaken by Duro Raapoto and Henri Hiro in the 1970s. These words are now part of everyday life and conversation, and no longer specific to the theologians, let alone to Angelo. They allow people to avoid the use of Western terms (such as "nature," "culture," "identity") to express generic concepts that did not make sense in former times but have acquired a significance in today's society. Words such as *natura* are clearly neologisms.[25] Even so, the musical compositions of Angelo are set off from those of other Tahitian composers by this pervasive ethnic and religious vocabulary. The words make up a hermetic and codified discourse, and the poet seems reluctant to depart from this activist approach. The paradox is that Angelo is an easygoing person whose strict lyrics contrast with his congenial personality.

Many other local singers since the end of the 1980s have taken part in this religiouslike celebration of Māòhi identity: Aldo Raveino with his group Manahune (in ancient times, the name for lower-class society), Rasta Nui, Tapuarii Laughlin, and more recently a Tahitian hard rock group called Vārua ìno (Evil Spirit), whose name caused some commotion in the Catholic community of Tahiti in 1996.[26] All these artists denounce the corruption of political mores, the loss of traditional values, and so forth. What an enormous difference from the light-hearted songs of the 1960s celebrating happy parties, Hinano beer, and stories of lovely *vahine* and sailors. I have purposely left aside composers of traditional dance music to focus on youth and local popular music. The words in these songs are what the Tahitian population listens to daily, and there is good reason to believe that they express the ideas and preoccupations not only of their authors, but also of a large part of the younger generation in Tahiti.

Besides the areas of theology and popular songwriting, the ethnic and religious Māòhi message has found its way into pro-independence speeches bearing the same millenarian dimension, with a less syncretic and more markedly Christian character.[27] The main pro-independence party obtained 27.1 percent of the votes in Tahiti and Moorea and an average of 20 percent in the other archipelagoes in the 1996 territorial elections. The name of this

party, Tāvini Huiraʻatira (or Huiraatira) no te Ao Māòhi translates as "to minister to and serve the population of the Māòhi world." The term *tāvini* is essentially part of the Christian vocabulary. Before opting for a democratic system at the end of the 1980s, the staunchly Catholic founder of this party, Oscar Temaru, was its "president for life," which gave him the image of a messiah *(Metia)* or a *Metua* (protecting father), another marked religious term.

Initially, Oscar Temaru launched protests against nuclear testing, before conducting an all-out campaign to clean up the territory. For the 1993 legislative elections, his party used as its emblem a broom made of the backs of coconut fronds *(niàu).* Today, the Tāvini Huiraatira's discourse is based entirely on moral order, the need to end the corruption of the political elite and to return to traditional, Christian, and family values. The party professes pacificism and sports a light blue and white flag.

In the party members' vocabulary is found the same insistence on cleanliness *(mā)* and dignity *(tiàraa),* the two terms forming *tiàmāraa,* which means independence.[28] As with the words of Raapoto, but in a more materialistic and economic sense, the party conveys the idea that the Māòhi are not indebted to foreigners; in fact, foreigners are indebted to them for having ravaged their land. It is France who is pillaging the Māòhi land.[29] The argument would be simply political but for a millenarian aspect essential to independentist speeches: the nostalgia of origins, the myth of a rich and abundant land and life-giving unpolluted sea with the end of colonization.[30]

If Raapoto's theology of social and political liberation and cultural rebirth ties in well with the progress of Tahitian nationalism, still it remains in the domain of theology.[31] It is marked by a dismissal of politics, which is always associated with money and corruption, undoubtedly the reaction of a figure of Tahitian religious life to the contemporary all-important domination of politics.

The appearance of organized political life in French Polynesia dates back no further than 1945. I have shown that if, socially and culturally speaking, the political sphere takes shape on a religious basis, its monopolistic pretensions and its openings to Western modernity can easily engender hostile attitudes among the clergy. Because it stands in the line of millenarian thinking, Raapoto's theology leaves open the possibility of a complete disappearance of the political sphere and concurrently of the establishment of God's kingdom on earth.

Conclusion

One can identify then the recent emergence and development in Tahiti of a millennialist way of thinking expressed initially within the circle of Protes-

tant theologians, but whose influence and significance extend to cultural and political life in a broader sense. Despite its somewhat disconcerting innovations, this theological discourse is gaining ground in people's minds, because it systematically gathers sparse elements of Polynesian culture. It assembles them in a coherent structure that could be called an ideology, according to the definition given by Althusser in *For Marx* (1965): "An ideology is a system of representations (images, myths, ideas or concepts), possessing its own logic and rationality, which is lent a life of its own and an historical role in a given society."

This definition must be completed with the analysis of Georges Balandier, in *Sens et puissance,* regarding the connection between mythical thinking and the reaction to colonial oppression: "The colonial apparatus, no matter what kind of domination, aims at freezing local political life, as it were. If it were so, it is understandable that the modern political agendas of natives, determined by the colonial situation, were in the first place expressed through the medium of myth and hidden under the veil of mythology." It is only later that political ideologies will appear: "the passage from myth to political ideologies or to ideologies with political implications happens when calls for self-administration and for independence are made" (Balandier 1986:211).

Deprived of real political life before 1945, French Polynesia was untouched by prophetic, messianic, or millenarian movements with a political dimension. Today it is witnessing the emergence of ideologies with a marked political character, which do not exclude myth making.

The ideological dimension of Duro Raapoto's work has been largely established, but its historical role, its contribution to changes to come in the Tahitian society, can only be assessed in the future. In spite of his efforts to be strictly religious and his cry for dissolving the political sphere, Raapoto's works seem bound to give force mainly to a political nationalistic ideology.

Will this theology become a dominant factor within the Protestant Church of Tahiti, or will it give rise to the creation of minority communities, if not dissenting ones? It seems that there is an opportunity here to improve on the famous distinction that Sundkler established between Ethiopian churches and Zionist churches: "the first ones are inspired by Western churches with which they compete, and they may become a shelter for nationalism; churches of the second type, prophetically inspired and with a popular following, only think of escaping from this world, not to gain power by rational procedures" (Laburthe-Tolra 1993:245; Sundkler 1961). In the case of Tahiti, here is an example of how a Zionist Pacific theology addresses itself to a newly chosen people, staying away from politics and power, and yet fashioning a discourse that fosters indigenous nationalism.

NOTES

There are two main orthographies for Tahitian: the scientific one of the Tahitian Academy, which uses a glottal stop between two vowels and is the official *graphie* of the Territory of French Polynesia (used in schools and the university); and that of Duro Raapoto, which is the official orthography within the Protestant Church (and also accepted by more and more teachers, as it is easier to read for those who speak the language, though not for others).

For reasons of clarity, Raapoto's orthography has been used in this article for all Tahitian words. In Raapoto's system, a glottal stop between two *different* vowels becomes a grave accent on the second vowel, if this vowel is short (e.g., *ti'a* becomes *tià*). A glottal stop between two vowels that are the *same* is dropped if the second vowel is short (*ta'ata* becomes *taata*). If a vowel following a glottal stop is long, that vowel is written with a circumflex *(ta'a'ē* becomes *taaê; 'ārahu* becomes *ârahu).*

1. Normally, printings of written works published in Tahiti (poetry, novels, and essays) total two thousand copies maximum, and they are usually in French. Duro Raapoto's writings circulate within the network of Protestant churches in the five archipelagoes of French Polynesia, where they are sent to be sold at a relatively modest price (CFP 500; US$5.00). His ideas are also widely publicized in the monthly magazine of the Protestant Church of French Polynesia, *Veà porotetani* (The Protestant News), with a monthly circulation of five thousand, to which he often contributes his writings.

2. For instance, see the special issue of *Mankind,* vol. 13, no. 4 (1982); Keesing 1989; and Linnekin 1990:149–173.

3. The explanation that contemporary preoccupation with the millennium is merely the product of a two-hundred-year-old missionary heritage is not satisfactory. As a comparison, it would be unsatisfactory to read into the Mamaia (a Tahitian millennialist saga of the 1820s) the mere influence of teachings by pastors from London, even if Niel Gunson (1962) argued persuasively that these pastors did believe in the millennium and would on occasion preach its doctrines. However, the Mamaia had something to do with a native millenarianism, as its prophets used Christian doctrine and twisted it into an antimissionary movement. In the same way, the way of thinking arising today within the Tahitian Protestant Church does not deal only with theology. It constitutes a religious reaction to sociocultural changes and political domination, which account for its appearance and give it its full meaning.

4. Below extracts from *Message to God's Chosen People* will be designated by the year 1989 and those quoted from *The Prayer "Our Father"* by the year 1992.

5. The term "ethnic" is used in the sense of "relative to the native Tahitian population" of racial-ethnic origin, including mixed-blood Tahitians. However, this is my definition; for Raapoto, Polynesian biological roots must go hand in hand with speaking the language and other practices in order for a Māòhi truly to deserve that name.

6. See Bausch 1978 and, for a review of this article, Babadzan 1982:124–129.

7. Here in *Message to God's Chosen People* he translates the title of Teuira Henry's book *Ancient Tahiti,* which has become the bible of pre-European Tahiti experts, as *Tahiti i te pō,* "Tahiti of the dark," meaning the (religious) Tahiti of ancient times.

8. In the minds of Tahitian people, the *marae* are intimately tied to religion and rites (human sacrifices) that occurred in ancient times. But one should not neglect their social and family dimension. Marau Taaroa, the last queen of Tahiti, points this out in her *Memoirs* (1971). Paul Ottino (1965) notes that in one Tuamotu atoll, the word *marae* applies to all ceremonial sites, including areas for eating fish, nocturnal group singing, and games for children, men, and women.

9. There is a diffuse feeling of rejection, or at least of suspicion, toward this cultural revival, especially among Tahitians over sixty or those in rural communities who were unconcerned by the identity revival that appeared in the 1960s and 1970s in urban and intellectual communities. Among these people, the fear of regressing, of returning to pagan times, is, however, counterbalanced by a specifically Tahitian turn of mind (see Levy 1973: 266–267) that leads them to downplay the novelty of this theology, which, like any product of the thought process, is perceived as a personal construction. This turn of mind actually facilitates the acceptance of such theology, at least temporarily, for lack of other thought models that are as well structured and accessible in the Tahitian language.

With regard to the tremendous changes taking place in the indigenous view of their own ancestral past, the 1990s have been marked in French Polynesia both by the reinforcement of a feeling of suspicion toward modernity and by the generalization of a push to develop tourism, which is integral to modernity but has also resulted in the restoration of traditional cultural sites. All in all, the way today's Tahitians look at their pre-Christian past and at the sites and artifacts related to that past has become more complex and less Manichaean than the perspective they inherited by absorbing missionary values in the nineteenth century.

10. On the basis of oral Polynesian traditions, notably those recorded in the *Memoirs* of Marau Taaroa (1971), Handy distinguished a primitive Tahitian culture, that of the *manahune*, which was to be replaced by the society of the *arii.* This hypothesis, discarded ever since, stands in a line of earlier speculations (Churchill and Dixon) in the field of linguistic studies and folklore. In the 1960s, French archaeologist Jean Garanger clearly established that the *marae* did not appear in the Society Islands until about the thirteenth century.

11. It is not until 1978 that black people become members of the priesthood within the Mormon Church, the reason being that they are the descendants of Cain (Genesis 4:11) or Cham (one of Noah's three sons, Genesis 9:18–29; the two other brothers of Cham were Sem, the ancestor of the Semites, and Japhet, the ancestor of the Gentiles).

12. It is the same logic that pushed the people of Rurutu (Austral Islands) at the beginning of the nineteenth century to reinterpret the myth of Amaiterai in such a way that this local hero was supposed to have left his island for England in search of the real god *(te atua mau)* before the English missionaries arrived in Polynesia. This interpretation is intended to ensure compatibility between the ancient pagan and the new Christian histories of their island. See Babadzan 1982.

13. Anyway, writes Raapoto, it is not really the name of God that is important when one recites *"ia moà to òe iòa"* ("hallowed be your name") but the person behind the name, "because we seek not to worship one of his names, but the fact that he is God" ("eere atoa . . . "; 1989:30). In reaction to this claimed assimilation between Jehovah and Taaroa—"heretical" or "pagan" to some Tahitians—some Protestants prefer to join the Church of Jehovah's Witnesses, in which worshipers are proud to use the name Jehovah.

14. The prophetic continuity is evident in the biblical text in the succession of prophets in the Old Testament and the announcement of the coming of the prophet Jesus. In Polynesia the most striking continuity finds its place within the Ringatu movement in New Zealand with the announced coming of the prophet of the years 1860–1870, Te Kooti, followed in turn by Rua Kenana at the beginning of the twentieth century. See, for instance, Binney 1984.

15. The rainbow is a fairly universal symbol, present in the Bible (in the episode of the deluge, Genesis 9:8–17, and in Ezekiel 1:28) as well as in the Tahitian tradition: the rainbow of the god Òro is used by the latter to go to Bora Bora to fetch his beloved Vairaumati (who inspired a Gauguin painting).

16. For practical purposes, I employ the term "modernity" without taking up again the debate on the definition of modernity, ultramodernity, postmodernity, or supramodernity.

17. Here, I have doubts about the objectivity of the theologian. He is mixing together very different issues over which the Protestant Church has not always stayed silent. The first two cases consist of development projects rejected by some of the population in the name of environmental defense and the "traditional" way of life: in Mataiva, Tuamotu, a project that has been scheduled (but not started yet) involving phosphate extraction from the lagoon and in Opunohu, Moorea, a Japanese golf course project on government land (a project finally rejected by a local referendum on Moorea Island). The Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française has for a long time condemned these two projects. The one that concerns Tupai, the private property of a wealthy notary from Papeete, consisted in 1990 of a Japanese project to build giant tourist facilities including an international airport for direct flights between Tokyo and Tupai. There are only about twenty people on Tupai Island, even though there are many land claims.

18. In the same vein, independence leader Oscar Temaru contested the use of the term *Metua* (the father) in referring to French president Mitterrand. See Saura 1993:68.

19. The same idea appears in *Message to God's Chosen People* (pp. 38–39). According to the author, the Māòhi of today change churches easily and worship in turn the God of Mormons, the God of Catholics, and so on. (This is a moot point, as the conflict between those who change churches and their original church implies a break with a given ecclesiastical and social community, not the choice of a different God.) He then establishes a parallel with the Tahitian tendency of changing political parties, each party trying to gain the monopoly of good, exactly as each church tries to gain the monopoly of God. Knowing his rejection of politics, one can surmise that in his eyes, the plurality of Christian religions is itself a threat, an element of division in the Māòhi people. Religious diversity, interpreted by him as a kind of paganism ("the God of Mormons, the God of Catholics"), clashes with his own goal of bringing the Māòhi people back to one God, Jehovah or Taaroa.

20. Cited by the Tahitian pastor Joël Hoiore (1992:60), who in his Ph.D. thesis analyzes the writings of Raapoto and Havea.

21. See the dissertation of the Tahitian divinity student Paroe Frederik Teriiatetoofa (1988); see also the numerous works of geographer Gabriel Tetiarahi, head of the Working Committee on Land Rights within the Protestant Church of Tahiti and the current chairman of the Piango nongovernmental organization network in the Pacific. See, for example, the text in which he takes up again the prophecy of Vaitā (Tetiarahi 1994).

22. Article reproduced in *Veà porotetani* (Papeete), November 1995:5.

23. In his writings, Raapoto does not miss the opportunity to recall how much Polynesia is admired and desired by foreigners, which reinforces his conviction that the Tahitians are God's chosen people.

24. The paradox of Tahitian society resides in the fact that songs of this type with a serious message are sung in public dances as well as in family parties and get-togethers by inebriated singers without any apparent interest in religion. It would be wrong, though, to think that these same singers do not ponder their meaning when they are sober. These songs are the temper of the times and expressive of a not-so-festive mood.

25. And yet Raapoto titles one of his works *Te Atua e te Natura, te Natura e te Taata* (1993).

26. That long-haired youths of the younger generation would dare use a name with such negative connotations and fraught with missionary ideology to name a hard rock group shows undeniably the evolution of Tahitian society. Facing what they perceived as a new sign of declining moral values, Christian associations organized a pacific demonstration in early 1996 at Tarahoi Square in Papeete.

27. Oscar Temaru, to revive these elements of the pre-European past during the legislative election campaign in 1993, appeared on some occasions wearing a belt of red material signifying the *maro ùra* (the sacred emblem of power of the ancient Tahitian chiefs). The *maro ùra* of Temaru became the symbol of restored sovereignty in a modern sense, established on the basis of the five archipelagoes of a nation-state in the making rather than the traditional chieftainships.

28. *Tiàmāraa* means independence in the moral and political sense. From an institutional point of view, one could say, for example, *faataaêraa* (separation).

29. A pillage illustrated by the exploitation of the two-hundred-mile maritime zone or the setting up of Loto (lotto), a game extremely popular with the Tahitians, with the receipts mainly filling the coffers of the French National Society of Games in Paris.

30. For comparison, on using the Bible and the idea of expelling the whites in prophetic and messianic African movements, see Balandier 1986:208–214.

31. And, one could add, the domain of Protestant theology, since members of other churches do not read these writings. However, schoolteachers of the Tahitian language

are familiar with other works by the same author dealing with language, culture, the family, and "Māòhi values," which their students read more or less willingly and voluntarily. Raapoto holds a unique de facto position of power, both intellectual and hierarchical, in the public school system as well as in Protestant private schools. His influence is less, however, within the Department of Polynesian Languages of the French University of the Pacific of Tahiti.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Althusser, Louis
1965 *Pour Marx.* Paris: F. Maspero. English translation: *For Marx.* 1969. New York: Pantheon.

Arrington, Leonard J., and Davis Bitton
1979 *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints.* New York: Vintage Books.

Babadzan, A.
1982 *Naissance d'une tradition: Changement culturel et syncrétisme religieux aux îles Australes (Polynésie française).* Paris: ORSTOM.

Balandier, G.
1986 *Sens et puissance.* 3d ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Bausch, C.
1978 Pō and Ao: Analysis of an Ideological Conflict in Polynesia. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* (Paris), no. 61: 169–185.

Binney, J.
1984 Myth and Explanation in the Ringatu Tradition. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Auckland) 93 (4): 345–398.

Broomfield, G. W.
1954 *The Chosen People, or The Bible, Christianity, and Race.* New York: Longmans, Green and Co.

Burridge, K. O. L.
1969 *New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Clark, P.
1975 *Hauhau: The Pai Marire Search for Maori Identity.* Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Cohn, Norman
1957 *The Pursuit of the Millennium.* Fairlawn, N.J.: Essential Books.

Desroche, H.
1969 *Dieux d'hommes: Dictionnaire des messianismes et millénarismes de l'ère chrétienne.* Paris and The Hague: Mouton.

Driessen, H. A. H.
1982 Outriggerless Canoes and Glorious Beings: Pre-contact Prophecies in the Society Islands. *Journal of Pacific History* 17 (1): 3–26.

Eliade, M.
1969 *The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. French translation: *La Nostalgie des origines.* 1971. Paris: Gallimard.

Elsmore, B.
1985 *Like Them That Dream: The Maori and the Old Testament.* Tauranga, New Zealand: Tauranga Moana Press.

Guiart, J.
1962 The Millenarian Aspect of Conversion to Christianity in the South Pacific. In *Millennial Dreams in Action,* ed. S. I. Trupp, 122–138. Comparative Studies in Society and History 2. The Hague: Mouton.

Gunson, N.
1962 An Account of the Mamaia or Visionary Heresy of Tahiti, 1826–1841. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Wellington) 71 (2): 209–243.

Handy, E. S. C.
[1930] 1971 *History and Culture in the Society Islands.* Bulletin 79. Reprint, Honolulu: Bishop Museum.

Handy, R. T.
1976 The American Messianic Consciousness: The Concept of the Chosen People and Manifest Destiny. *Review and Expositor* 73 (1): 47–58.

Hanson, A.
1970 *Rapan Lifeways: Society and History on a Polynesian Island.* Boston: Little, Brown.

Henry, T.
1928 *Ancient Tahiti.* Honolulu: Bishop Museum.

Hirshon, T., ed.
1991 *Henri Hiro: Pehepehe i taù nunaa: Message poétique.* Papeete: Tupuna Productions.

Hoiore, J.
1992 Sotériologie et théologie de l'inter-religieux/culturel polynésien-océanien. Ph.D. thesis, Faculté de théologie de Montpellier, France.

Keesing, R. M.
1989 Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific. *The Contemporary Pacific* (Honolulu) 1 (1): 19–42.

Laburthe-Tolra, P.
1993 Nouvelles réflexions sur les messianismes. In *Les nouveaux enjeux de l'anthropologie,* directed by G. Gosselin, 239–248. Paris: l'Harmattan.

Levy, R.
1973 *Tahitians: Mind and Experience in the Society Islands.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Linnekin, J.
1990 The Politics of Culture in the Pacific. In *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific,* ed. J. Linnekin and L. Poyer, 149–173. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Loeliger, C., and G. Trompf, eds.
1985 *New Religious Movements in Melanesia.* Suva: University of the South Pacific and University of Papua New Guinea.

Lowy, M.
1990 Modernité et critique de la modernité dans la théologie de la libération. *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* (Paris), no. 71: 7–23.

Marau Taaroa
1971 *Mémoires de Marau Taaroa.* Société des Océanistes 27. Paris: Musée de l'Homme.

Ottino, P.
1965 Ethno-histoire de Rangiroa. Unpublished study, ORSTOM, Papeete.

Raapoto, D.
1988 *Te rautiraa i te parau a te Atua e te iho tumu māòhi.* Papeete: Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française.
1989 *Poroì te nūnaa māìtihia e te Atua.* Papeete: Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française.
1992 *Te pure a te Fatu.* Papeete: Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française.
1993 *Te Atua e te Natura, te Natura e te Taata.* Papeete: Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française.

Saura, B.
1989 Théologie de la libération et théorie de la culture chez Duro Raapoto. *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Océaniennes* (Papeete) 20 (246): 1–15.
1992 *Bobby: Polynesian Visions.* Pictures by Claude Coirault. Sydney: Pacific Bridge; Papeete: Tupuna Editions.
1993 *Politique et religion à Tahiti.* Papeete: Scoop-Polymages.

Sundkler, B. G.
1961 *Bantu Prophets in South Africa.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Teriiatetoofa, P. F.
1988 *The Integrity of Creation, with Special Reference to the Mā'ohi Concept of the Land.* Suva, Fiji: Pacific Theological College.

Tetiarahi, G.
1994 Land in the Heart of the People: Pacific Indigenous Perspectives on Land-Sovereigners, Land Rights, Land Stewardship in the Māʻohi Nation. Paper presented at the French Polynesia Pacific Networking Conference, 6–8 May, Vancouver Island. Unedited source ms. in archives of Eglise Evangélique de Polynésie Française.

Trompf, G., ed.
1987 *The Gospel Is Not Western: Black Theologies from the South Pacific.* New York: Orbis Books, Maryknoll.

Tuveson, E. L.
1968 *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Veà porotetani
1990 A monthly Protestant news sheet. Tahiti, June (no. 7).

Wilson, B. R.
1973 *Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological Study of Religious Movements of Protest among Tribal and Third-World Peoples.* London: Heinemann.

THE POTENTIAL DEMOGRAPHIC IMPACT OF HIV/AIDS IN THE PACIFIC

Dennis A. Ahlburg
University of Minnesota

Heidi J. Larson
World Health Organization

Tim Brown
East-West Center

The number of HIV infections and cases of AIDS reported in the Pacific Island nations is growing steadily. Since many, if not all, of the risk factors for HIV infection are present in the Pacific, without change in behaviors that place people at risk of infection the potential exists for an HIV/AIDS epidemic. This article shows that such an epidemic would considerably increase mortality and slow but not reverse population growth in many Pacific Island countries. As yet, well-designed, multisectoral responses to the threat of an epidemic are lacking. The longer such responses are delayed, the larger will be the epidemic and the greater its potential social and economic costs.

HIV/AIDS IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT new health issue facing the Pacific, yet as noted by Ati George Sokomanu "we have progressed very little in our understanding of those issues [surrounding the epidemic] but the debates have got louder" (1995:4). Two recent studies, one a collection of papers organized by the South Pacific Commission and published in a special issue of *Pacific Health Dialog* and the other a study commissioned by the United Nations (1996), have contributed greatly to our understanding of the risk factors underlying the epidemic and the possible impacts on the

Pacific Studies, Vol. 21, No. 4—December 1998

health system and the economy more generally.[1] Relatively little attention has been paid to the likely demographic impacts of the epidemic.

Estimating the demographic consequences of HIV/AIDS requires estimates of the impact of HIV infection on fertility, mortality, and international migration. HIV/AIDS could affect fertility by reducing the number of years during which women can bear children or by changing the number of children they decide to have. With an average incubation period of ten years, infected women will generally live most of their reproductive years, but the reproductive decisions they make can significantly alter fertility. In response to HIV infection couples may avoid pregnancy rather than risk giving birth to children who will be infected or soon orphaned. Uninfected couples may reduce their fertility if they expect to take in the children of infected relatives. Other changes in behavior designed to reduce the spread of HIV, such as reduced sexual activity and greater use of condoms, may also reduce fertility. Conversely, HIV-positive parents may continue to have children so that no one will suspect they are infected or to have more births than they would otherwise so that they are survived by at least some children. Uninfected parents may decide to have more children so that, if some become infected, they have a sufficient number of children who survive to take care of them in old age. These considerations are becoming more important as heterosexual transmission grows. By mid-1994 one in five individuals diagnosed as infected with HIV was a child (Rakaseta 1995:142).

To date, only a few studies of the impact of HIV infection on fertility have been carried out. In Zaire, studies show that HIV-positive women are unresponsive to counseling and testing programs designed to prevent birth (Ainsworth and Over 1994:213–214). A recent study by Sewankambo et al. (1994) in the Rakai District of Uganda, where 13 percent of adults were seropositive, found fertility of HIV-infected women to be slightly lower than that of uninfected women. However, Bongaarts (1995) points out that this difference is likely to be at least partly due to the higher prevalence of other STDs among the HIV-positive women. In the Pacific, the age of infection is such that women are unlikely to die before their key reproductive years.

While all of the behavioral responses noted are possible reactions in the Pacific, it is likely that the net effect of HIV on fertility will be small. Women's status in the Pacific is such that men control decisions (Emberson-Bain 1994). In this situation, women have little choice but to continue childbearing, especially if they fear informing their husband of their HIV status or questioning his. In addition, women's ability to make informed decisions on fertility based on HIV status depends on their ability to gain access to testing in an acceptable, preferably anonymous, setting. This is particularly problematic in the Pacific where testing facilities are limited, the small size

of the communities and cultural factors make it difficult to maintain confidentiality, and negative attitudes toward those infected and their families are prevalent (Sarda and Harrison 1995; Vete 1995; United Nations 1996). Our assumption of no impact of HIV status on fertility is supported by information gathered in confidential interviews with doctors in Papua New Guinea and Fiji. Some women who are aware that they are HIV-positive continue to become pregnant and, because of this, many doctors are concerned about a substantial increase in pediatric AIDS cases.[2]

Higher rates of HIV/AIDS in the most significant migrant-destination countries—Australia, New Zealand, and the United States—may reduce the flow of migrants from Pacific Island nations because the benefits of migration may now be perceived as being lower (since a migrant may become infected with HIV). That is, the increased risk of death reduces the expected value of the migrants' earnings and remittances. Alternatively, because of a reduction in expected earnings and remittances, more migrants may be sent to insure a particular remittance flow. Conversely, a significant AIDS epidemic in the Pacific could result in the imposition of a ban on migration from island nations. Although such impacts are possible, they are not very likely, so we assume that international migration from the Pacific will be little affected by HIV/AIDS. What has occurred in other countries, Thailand for example, is externally imposed requirements for HIV testing of all overseas laborers bound for specific destinations. Australia has tested overseas students. In other countries, such as the Philippines, there has been testing of returning contract workers. Similar policies on testing of migrants have been discussed in some Pacific countries.

The impact of HIV on mortality trends depends upon the distribution of the lag (the incubation period) between HIV infection and AIDS, and between AIDS and death. In developed countries, it is generally accepted that the median time between infection and AIDS is ten years. The time between developing the illnesses that define AIDS and death is about two years in industrialized countries (Osmond 1994), but usually a year or less in developing countries (Daley 1994). There is debate, though, over the length of the incubation period from HIV to AIDS in developing countries. Estimates, based on incomplete data, vary from five to ten years (Ainsworth and Over 1994; Stover 1993a, 1993b). Recent findings by Leroy et al. (1995) throw considerable doubt on the likelihood of a shorter incubation period in Africa. Rising seroprevalence rates among women of childbearing age increase infection rates among babies, leading to a rise in infant mortality. In the absence of maternal treatment with AZT, 20 to 50 percent of babies born to HIV-positive mothers are themselves infected, significantly reducing their average life expectancy. As a consequence of AIDS, adult mortality

rates in some African countries have doubled or tripled, and AIDS is now the major cause of adult deaths and a growing cause of child mortality (Ainsworth and Over 1994:204). In Asia, Chin (1995) estimates that by the end of the decade AIDS will be the leading cause of death among young and middle-aged Thai adults and even in Hong Kong, which has a low HIV prevalence, AIDS mortality will account for about 20 percent of deaths among adults in the 20–49 age group.

Thus, the main impact of AIDS on population growth occurs through increasing mortality of infants and children as well as adults. Estimates of the increased mortality due to AIDS are usually obtained from statistical extrapolations of known AIDS or HIV cases or from complex models of the disease process (see Bos and Bulatao 1992). To measure the impact of increased mortality on the overall rate of population growth, the estimates of AIDS mortality are linked to a standard cohort-component model used to produce population projections. A comparison of the projection with and without AIDS deaths shows the impact of AIDS on population size and growth.

In this study, we will present estimates of the impact an AIDS epidemic could have on mortality in the Pacific and discuss the possible impact on rates of population growth.

The Impact of AIDS on Mortality

At the present time the only projection of AIDS deaths in Pacific Island nations is Kault and Jenkins 1995. They model the disease process in Papua New Guinea and project that the number of deaths from AIDS in 2005 could be between 700 and 2,500. The annual number of deaths projected rises rapidly after that, until it reaches a plateau around the year 2030. Rakaseta (1995) does not explicitly project deaths from AIDS but she does predict that the number of AIDS cases will double or triple between 1994 and 2000.[3]

The approach of Kault and Jenkins is quite complex and requires considerable information that is unlikely to be available in most Pacific Island nations. In most Pacific Island nations the small size of the populations involved, the high level of migration, and uncertainties in current knowledge of HIV seroprevalences, levels of sexual risk behavior, and the extent of commercial sex make it difficult at present to make projections for the future course of the epidemic (Sarda and Harrison 1995; Rakaseta 1995). Since we are primarily interested in investigating the potential demographic impact for the Pacific nations as a whole rather than a specific nation, we use a less-complex approach to estimate the potential impact of AIDS on

mortality. This approach relies on an observed simple linear relationship between the seroprevalence rate and AIDS mortality: the number of AIDS deaths per 1,000 population in a mature epidemic is about half the seroprevalence rate among adults (Bongaarts 1994:199–200).[4] If 10 percent of the population eventually become infected, the number of deaths per 1,000 of population (the crude death rate) would be 5 per 1,000 higher. If the epidemic becomes very severe and 20 percent of the population become infected, the crude death rate would increase by 10 deaths per 1,000 population. Thus, if an estimate of seroprevalence is available, an estimate of AIDS deaths can be calculated. Individual countries may vary somewhat from this association because of differences in age-structure, mode of transmission, culture, and other factors but in the absence of country-specific epidemiological models it will provide a useful indication of the likely demographic impact of HIV/AIDS. Bongaarts (private correspondence) has found that this rule works well in North America and Europe where the epidemic is mature. In sub-Saharan Africa, he feels that 0.4 is a better approximation, and in Asia, where the epidemic is newest and rapidly expanding, the multiplier is currently about 0.15. Thus the mortality estimates given in this article represent an estimate of the impact at the mature stage of an epidemic—what might eventually happen in the Pacific. The current impact is probably closer to the lower multiplier that Bongaarts estimates for Asia.[5]

Reliable estimates of HIV-seroprevalence rates for Pacific Island nations do not exist because these countries do not have surveillance systems in place to test for HIV (Sarda and Harrison 1995; United Nations 1996). In countries with such systems, national estimates of HIV prevalence are often based on data from pregnant women or blood donors. While subject to error, this procedure is believed to give reasonable approximations of HIV seroprevalence in most countries (Bongaarts 1994).[6] For most Pacific Island nations the primary source of available data on HIV/AIDS is the number of reported cases of HIV and AIDS. However, the number of people actually HIV-positive or with AIDS is greater than the number of reported cases shown in Table 1. Because of fear and the stigma attached to HIV infection, many people avoid testing (Vete 1995). In addition, there is a lack of diagnostic facilities and supplies and, in some countries, a reluctance or failure of medical personnel and governments to report the full extent of infection. For AIDS cases, there is the additional problem of an unwillingness to acknowledge and sometimes an inability to clinically diagnose cases of AIDS.

In a survey of national AIDS programs carried out for the recent U.N. study of HIV/AIDS in the Pacific (United Nations 1996), Govind (1995) found that eight out of twelve programs reported HIV-testing facilities to be

TABLE 1. **Number of AIDS Cases and HIV Infections Reported to the South Pacific Commission as of October 1997**

Countries	AIDS Cases	HIV Cases (including AIDS)
Federated States of Micronesia	2	2
Fiji	7	38
French Polynesia	54	176
Guam	47	106
Kiribati	4	16
Marshall Islands	2	9
New Caledonia	56	145
Northern Mariana Islands	6	10
Palau	1	1
Papua New Guinea	?	745
Samoa	6	9
Solomon Islands	0	2
Tonga	6	9
Wallis and Futuna	1	2

Source: South Pacific Commission 1997.

inadequate. In at least one country, inadequate funding led to blood not being sent in for screening. In most, if not all, countries the stigma (and potential economic loss) attached to HIV/AIDS is great. In five of ten countries with HIV or AIDS cases, surveys of the national AIDS programs reported discrimination against infected persons as an issue of concern. In confidential interviews carried out by the authors with medical personnel and caregivers, persons living with HIV/AIDS were generally fearful of their infection becoming known. For similar reasons, death from AIDS is often reported as death from an HIV- or AIDS-related illness.

The degree of underreporting of HIV infections and AIDS cases in the Pacific is likely to be substantial. In a recent study of Papua New Guinea, Kault and Jenkins (1995) estimate that the actual number of HIV infections is two to ten times as large as the reported number.[7] For AIDS cases in developing countries, the World Health Organization (1992) estimated that the actual number of cases of AIDS is about ten times the number of reported cases. Most estimates of actual cases range from three to ten times the number of reported cases (Ainsworth and Over 1994). Bloom and Mahal (1995) cite other studies, including a 1994 WHO study, that estimate the true number of HIV infections and AIDS cases to be 30 to 100 times the number of reported cases. Because of the many factors in the Pacific that would lead to underreporting and the fact that the epidemic is as yet at an

early stage there, a very conservative estimate would be that the number of cases is at least twice the number actually reported. More realistically, it may be ten or more times the reported number of cases.

Because of these factors, it is unclear what the current extent of HIV or AIDS is in the Pacific (Rakaseta 1995; United Nations 1996). The nations of the Pacific have many if not all of the risk factors that contribute to an HIV/AIDS epidemic: significant levels of unprotected pre- and extra-marital sex (Osuga and Chang 1994; Jenkins and PNG Sex and Reproductive Study Group 1994; James 1994; Ahlburg and Larson 1995); an established and growing sex industry (MacFarlane 1983; Plange 1990; Jenkins 1994); high levels of STDs (Sarda and Gallwey 1995; Finau 1995); injecting drug users in parts of Micronesia, New Caledonia, and French Polynesia; and areas where blood is not screened. In confidential interviews with medical and health care personnel and others involved in caring for persons with HIV/AIDS, little change in risk behaviors was reported even among individuals aware of the risk of HIV infection from sexual intercourse. If no behavioral change occurs in the Pacific, we believe that the potential exists for future seroprevalence rates on the order of 5 to 10 percent of the adult population in at least some countries. The potential is shown in the Marshall Islands syphilis outbreak, where 11.5 percent of the 20–24 age group and 6.3 percent of those aged 15–44 years were infected (Gershman et al. 1992). In comparison, most estimates for Africa suggest ultimate seroprevalence rates of from 10 to 20 percent (Bulatao 1991; Bongaarts 1994).

This potential appears to be becoming realized in at least some Pacific Island nations. In the two-year period between November 1995 and October 1997, the number of HIV infections reported increased dramatically. The number of infections rose from 342 to 745 in Papua New Guinea, from 28 to 38 in Fiji, from 144 to 176 in French Polynesia, from 6 to 9 in Tonga, from 2 to 9 in Samoa, from 77 to 106 in Guam, and from 2 to 16 in Kiribati (South Pacific Commission 1997). Some of the increase may be due to improved detection and reporting but much is probably real increase in new infections.

Crude death rates (CDRs) for several Pacific Island nations are shown in Table 2, along with the CDRs that would prevail if 5 percent of the population were infected and if 10 percent were infected. To illustrate the size of the impact, we also show the number of deaths that would occur in the year 2010 if current mortality rates prevailed and if 5 or 10 percent of the population were infected with HIV. This exercise illustrates the potential impact; it is not a prediction. In fact, in Papua New Guinea the number of AIDS deaths illustrated is not projected to occur until around 2020 (Kault and Jenkins 1995). Rakaseta believes that HIV infection rates will rise to 15 to 20

TABLE 2. **The Impact of an AIDS Epidemic on Mortality**[a]

	Crude Death Rates			Deaths Around 2010		
					Additional, with	
	Current	With 5% HIV+	With 10% HIV+	No AIDS	5% Prevalence	10% Prevalence
Fiji	5	7.5	10	4,880	2,320	4,880
Kiribati	13	15.5	18	1,370	265	530
Marshall Islands	9	11.5	14	800	220	445
Papua New Guinea	12	14.5	17	71,150	14,820	29,645
Solomon Islands	8	10.5	13	4,670	1,460	2,920
Tonga	7	9.5	12	850	300	610
Vanuatu	9	11.5	14	2,230	620	1,240
Western Samoa	8	10.5	13	1,440	450	900

Sources: Crude death rates from South Pacific Commission 1994; population projections from Cole 1994 and for the Marshall Islands, W. House (pers. com., 1994).

[a] Calculations based on the Bongaarts relationship between AIDS deaths and the seroprevalence rate.

per 100,000 by the year 2000 (1995:144). This is only two-tenths of 1 percent of the population. However, we think this figure is too low. Rakaseta notes that actual numbers of HIV infections and AIDS cases are generally 30 to 100 times higher than reported cases (1995:140–141). She also cites data from WHO that indicate that actual cases in Papua New Guinea are at least 30 times reported cases. Because of severe problems in diagnosis and reporting there, we believe that an appropriate adjustment to Rakaseta's figure is to multiply by 100. This brings Rakaseta's estimate to 2,000 per 100,000, or 2 percent of the population, not too far from our low estimate of 5 percent. Rakaseta believes that the incidence of infection will then stabilize as a "result of expanded AIDS/STD control programs" (1995:144). As yet, there is little sign of such an expansion.

Since many Pacific Island nations have been successful in reducing mortality to relatively low levels, an AIDS epidemic would substantially increase mortality rates and the number of deaths per year. For example, if 10 percent of Papua New Guinea's population were to become infected, the mortality rate would be 17 deaths per 1,000 population rather than 12, and there would be an additional 30,000 deaths in 2010, a 42 percent increase over the no-AIDS case. If 5 percent of the population of Western Samoa were to become infected, the mortality rate would increase from 8 deaths to 10.5 deaths per 1,000 and in 2010 an additional 450 people would die each year, a 30 percent increase. AIDS would become the leading cause of death among reproductive-age adults in the Pacific.

The Impact of AIDS on Population Growth

As noted above, estimates of mortality due to AIDS can be added to mortality from other causes and used as input to a cohort-component population projection model. Population projection models of this type are available for some Pacific Island nations, but not for all of them. So, to estimate the effect of AIDS on the rates of population growth, we again use an indirect method.

Stover (1993a, 1993b) estimated a linear relationship between the rate of population growth and the percentage of the population infected with HIV, for given incubation periods. He found that every sustained 10-percentage-point increase in the prevalence rate will reduce population growth between 0.6 percent a year (for a ten-year incubation period) to 1.0 percent per year (for a five-year incubation period). Thus the impact of a change in the sustained seroprevalence rate on the rate of population growth can be estimated if the incubation period is known.

This relationship is shown in Figure 1 for countries with a 2 percent and 3 percent annual rate of population growth, the rates common to most Pacific Island countries. For countries currently growing rapidly, at 3 percent per year (left axis), a sustained prevalence rate of 48 percent of the adult population is needed to bring population growth to a halt if the incubation period is ten years. If the incubation period is only five years, a 30 percent seroprevalence rate would halt population growth. For countries growing at a more modest, although still high rate of 2 percent per year (right axis), population growth stops if seroprevalence were 32 percent for a ten-year incubation period or 20 percent for an incubation period of five years. For countries like Tonga and Western Samoa whose populations are growing at around 1 percent per year, population growth would halt with a seroprevalence of 16 percent for a ten-year incubation and 10 percent for a five-year incubation.

Thus, if the incubation period for conversion of HIV to AIDS is short (five years), Pacific Island countries with low to moderate rates of population growth (1 to 2 percent per year) would see their populations cease to grow if 10 to 20 percent of the adult population were to become infected with HIV. If the incubation period is longer (ten years), rates of infection would have to be about 60 percent higher to halt population growth. For countries with rapidly growing populations, such as the Marshall Islands, extreme rates of seroprevalence would be needed to stop population growth. Such high rates have been observed in some groups in parts of Africa but are highly unlikely to be observed in Pacific populations. Since the incubation period is most likely to be close to ten years, the AIDS epidemic is unlikely to reverse population growth in the foreseeable future.

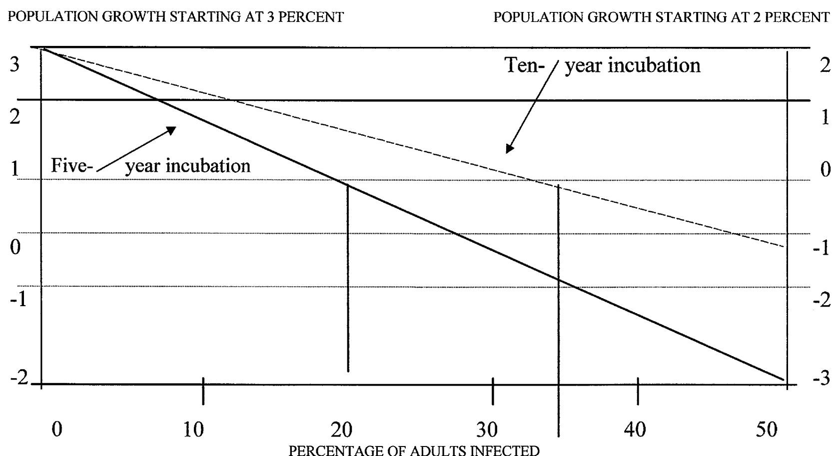


FIGURE 1. **Impact of a sustained HIV infection rate on the population growth rate, assuming fertility and migration rates are unchanged by the HIV epidemic.** (Ainsworth and Over 1994; derivation based on Stover 1993a, 1993b)

Not all countries will be affected equally since incidence of HIV/AIDS varies considerably in the Pacific. Nor, because of lack of surveillance systems and underreporting, can we say that countries that currently have low reported incidence will not suffer an epidemic. The degree of uncertainty is highlighted in the dramatic increases in reported cases between 1995 and 1997. What we are saying is that many countries have characteristics that pose a potential for an epidemic. The openness caused by internal and international migration makes it unlikely that Pacific Island countries can consider themselves safe from HIV/AIDS.

Conclusion

The number of HIV infections reported in Pacific Island nations is growing steadily. As yet the number of AIDS cases reported is relatively small, but it too is growing. If underreporting of HIV infections and AIDS is similar to that in other countries, the actual number of HIV infections and AIDS cases may be ten or more times the number reported. Since many, if not all, of the risk factors for HIV infection are present in the Pacific, without change in behaviors that place people at risk of infection the potential exists for seroprevalence rates on the order of 5 to 10 percent of the population. Such rates

of infection would considerably increase mortality and AIDS is likely to slow but not reverse population growth in many Pacific Island countries. Significant social and economic loss would likely accompany such an epidemic (see United Nations 1996). As yet, well-designed multisectoral responses to the threat of an HIV/AIDS epidemic are lacking in most Pacific Island countries. The longer such responses are delayed, the larger will be the epidemic and the greater its potential social and economic costs.

NOTES

Support from U.N. agencies is gratefully acknowledged, as are the helpful comments from John Bongaarts and two reviewers. We would also like to thank all those who were involved in the Pacific HIV/AIDS study.

1. A paper by Ahlburg, Larson, and Brown (1995) covers the likely impact on the health sector and Duncan (1995) is a good introduction to the possible economic effects. All of these issues are also covered in the United Nations study.

2. It is not known whether the decision to become pregnant was a conscious decision nor whether the pregnancy occurred because the husband controlled reproductive decisions.

3. These estimates are based on calculations by Rakaseta but it is not stated if they are based on a projection model (Rakaseta 1995:144).

4. This relationship is derived from the application of a computer-simulation model. The model is based on a demographic framework augmented by a number of epidemiological submodels. A set of model simulations was carried out to determine the mortality impacts of different sizes of epidemic. The rule-of-thumb used in this article is based on the regularities observed in these simulations. It gives quite accurate results for a region but less accurate estimates for particular countries because of variation in epidemic size around the average. See Bongaarts 1994:201. The rule-of-thumb may be sensitive to the assumptions of the model and may be sensitive to the prevalence estimates used, although Bongaarts does not think that the estimates are seriously flawed (personal correspondence).

5. To refine this work one could specify a simulation model that reflected the Pacific experience and then run a set of simulations to make long-run projections of the annual incidence and the prevalence of HIV/AIDS, as well as the number of AIDS deaths. From such an exercise, one could obtain more accurate upper and lower bounds on the mortality impact of the AIDS epidemic in the Pacific.

6. Blood donors are not generally a good population-prevalence estimator when there are efforts to deter those with risk behavior from donating, especially when the prevalence rates are low and the population sizes are quite small, as is the case in most Pacific Island countries. Also, data sets on pregnant women are not widely available.

7. This estimate is based on the normal ratio of HIV-seropositive cases to AIDS cases reported in a population. They argue that even if all AIDS cases are reported (which is not the case; they are underreported), the number of HIV cases has been underreported by a factor of at least 2.

REFERENCES

Ahlburg, Dennis A., and Heidi J. Larson
1995 Sexual Activity in the Pacific and HIV/AIDS Risks. *Pacific Health Dialog* 2:103–106.

Ahlburg, Dennis A., Heidi J. Larson, and Tim Brown
1995 Health Care Costs of HIV/AIDS in the Pacific. *Pacific Health Dialog* 2:14–19.

Ainsworth, Martha, and Mead Over
1994 AIDS and African Development. *World Bank Research Observer* 9, no. 2 (July): 203–240.

Becker, Charles
1990 The Demo-Economic Impact of the AIDS Pandemic in Sub-Saharan Africa. *World Development* 18:1599–1619.

Bloom, David, and Ajay Mahal
1995 The Economic Implications of AIDS in Asia. Draft, Department of Economics, Columbia University.

Bongaarts, John
1994 Projection of the Mortality Impact of AIDS in Africa. In *The Future Population of the World: What Can We Assume Today?,* edited by Wolfgang Lutz, 187–205. London: Earthscan Publications.
1995 *Global Trends in AIDS Mortality.* Research Division Working Papers, no. 80. New York: The Population Council.

Bos, Eduard, and Rodolfo A. Bulatao
1992 The Demographic Impact of AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa: Short- And Long-Term Projections. *International Journal of Forecasting* 8:367–384.

Bulatao, Rodolfo
1991 The Bulatao Approach: Projecting the Demographic Impact of the HIV Epidemic Using Standard Parameters. In *The AIDS Epidemic and Its Demographic Consequences,* 90–104. New York: U.N./WHO.

Chin, James
1995 *Scenarios for the AIDS Epidemic in Asia.* Asia-Pacific Population Research Reports, no. 2. Honolulu: Program on Population, East-West Center.

Cole, Rodney
1994 *Pacific 2010: Challenging the Future.* Pacific Policy Paper, no. 9. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University.

Daley, Charles L.
1994 HIV Disease in Africa. In *The AIDS Knowledge Base,* 2d edition, edited by P. T. Cohen, M. A. Sande, and P. A. Volberding, 1.6–1 to 1.6–21. Boston: Little, Brown.

Duncan, Ron
1995 HIV/AIDS: Adding to the Pacific Nightmare. *Pacific Health Dialog* 2:147–152.

Emberson-Bain, Atu
1994 *Sustainable Development or Malignant Growth? Perspectives of Pacific Island Women.* Suva, Fiji: Marama Publications.

Finau, Sitaleki
1995 Reproduction, Reproductive Health, and STD: The Unholy Trinity for the Pacific. *Pacific Health Dialog* 2:93–102.

Gershman, K., R. Rolfs, S. Larson, A. Zaidi, and N. Palfox
1992 Seroepidemiological Characterization of a Syphilis Epidemic in the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Formerly a Yaws Endemic Area. *International Journal of Epidemiology* 21:599–606.

Govind, Salik R.
1995 A Report on the Study on HIV/AIDS and Human Development in the Pacific: The Role of Governments in HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Programmes. Background paper prepared for *Time to Act: The Pacific Response to HIV and AIDS.* Suva, Fiji: United Nations.

James, Kerry
1994 Effeminate Males and Change in the Construction of Gender in Tonga. *Pacific Studies* 17, no. 2: 39–69.

Jenkins, Carol
1994 Final Report, Situational Assessment of Commercial Sex Workers in Urban Papua New Guinea. Prevention Research Unit, Division of Research and Intervention Development, Global Programme on AIDS, World Health Organization, September.

Jenkins, Carol, and PNG Sex and Reproductive Study Group
1994 *National Study of Sexual and Reproductive Knowledge and Behaviour.* Papua New Guinea Institute of Medical Research Monograph Series, no. 10. Goroka, Papua New Guinea: The Institute.

Kault, David, and Carol Jenkins
1995 Long-Term Prediction of the AIDS Epidemic in Papua New Guinea. Mimeo, James Cook University, Townsville, Qld.

Leroy, Valeriane, et al.
1995 Four Years of Natural History of HIV-1 Infection in African Women: A Prospective Cohort Study in Kigali (Rwanda), 1988–1993. *Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes and Human Retroviruses* 9:415–421.

MacFarlane, D.
1983 Transsexual Prostitution in Polynesia: Tradition Defiled? *Pacific Islands Monthly,* February: 11–12.

Osmond, Dennis H.
1994 Trends in HIV Disease Survival Time. In *The AIDS Knowledge Base,* 2d edition, edited by P. T. Cohen, M. A. Sande, and P. A. Volberding, 1.3–1 to 1.3–7. Boston: Little, Brown.

Osuga, K., and Clifford Chang
1994 HIV/AIDS in the Pacific. *AIDS* 8 (Supplement): s125–s130.

Plange, N.-K.
1990 Report on Prostitution in Fiji. Department of Sociology, University of the South Pacific, Suva.

Rakaseta, Vilimaina L.
1995 AIDS and Its Possible Impact on the Pacific. *Pacific Health Dialog* 2:140–146.

Sarda, R. M., and J. Gallwey
1995 STD Services in the Pacific: A Report of a Survey. *Pacific Health Dialog* 2:37–44.

Sarda, R. M., and G. P. Harrison
1995 Epidemiology of HIV and AIDS in the Pacific. *Pacific Health Dialog* 2:6–13.

Sewankambo, Nelson K., et al.
1994 Demographic Impact of HIV Infection in Rural Rakai District, Uganda: Results of a Population-Based Cohort Study. *AIDS* 8:1707–1713.

Sokomanu, George
1995 Guest Editorial. *Pacific Health Dialog* 2:4.

South Pacific Commission
1994 Pacific Island Populations. Report prepared by the South Pacific Commission of the International Conference on Population and Development, 5–13 September, Cairo.
1997 South Pacific Epidemiological and Health Information Service (SPEHIS). New Caledonia, October.

Stover, John
1993a The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Population Growth in Africa. Paper prepared for the African Population Advisory Committee, World Bank, May, Washington, D.C.
1993b The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Adult and Child Mortality in the Developing World. Paper presented at the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population seminar on AIDS Impact and Prevention in the Developing World: The Contribution of Demography and Social Science, December 5–9, Veyrier-du-Lac, France.

United Nations
1996 *Time to Act: The Pacific Response to HIV and AIDS.* Suva, Fiji: United Nations.

Vete, Sitiveni
1995 Sex and AIDS: Myths That Kill. *Pacific Health Dialog* 2:132–139.

World Health Organization
1992 *AIDS/HIV Infection in Southeast Asia.* New Delhi, India: Regional Office for Southeast Asia.

GANI REVISITED: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE MARIANA ARCHIPELAGO'S NORTHERN ISLANDS

Scott Russell
*Division of Historic Preservation,
Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands*

The small volcanic islands composing the northern half of the Mariana Archipelago have received little scholarly attention, a situation resulting from their difficult access and small size. Limited archaeological research suggests that these islands, now commonly referred to as the "Northern Islands," were settled by at least A.D. 1300, and at the time of initial European contact in the early 1500s, all but two had sizable resident populations. During the early mission period, the Northern Islands were the last strongholds of traditional Chamorro culture until their residents were forcibly resettled into church villages on Saipan and Guam in the late 1690s. For the next 250 years a succession of colonial regimes used the islands principally as sites for small-scale economic development, a process interrupted by World War II. This article presents an initial overview of this long-neglected part of the Mariana Islands, which, in spite of a challenging environment, has been the stage for a wide variety of human activities for at least the last seven hundred years.

> *The appearance of the northern islands varies considerably from that of the other islands of the Marianas. . . . The majestic groves of coconut trees reaching to the very water's edge, the lush natural growth of tropical plants and flowers, and the mountains rising to great heights lend an air of South Sea Island enchantment.*
>
> (Johnson 1957:12)

MANY STUDENTS of Pacific history are familiar with the Mariana Archipelago, comprising fifteen small and ruggedly beautiful islands situated at the north-

Pacific Studies, Vol. 21, No. 4—December 1998

western corner of Micronesia. During World War II, a few of these islands gained worldwide notoriety as scenes of bloody battles between Japanese and American troops, and as the launching point for the atomic-bomb attacks that forced Japan's capitulation. In addition to their prominent role in recent military history, the Marianas have the dual distinction of being the first group of islands in Micronesia settled in prehistoric times and the first to be subjected to European colonization.

While much has been written concerning the relatively large southern islands of Guam, Rota, Tinian, and Saipan, archaeologists and historians largely have ignored the ten primarily volcanic islands that lie in a gently curving arc to the north of Saipan.[1] These islands are small, ranging from tiny Farallon de Medinilla with less than one square kilometer of dry land to Pagan, measuring nearly fifty square kilometers in extent. All are extremely rugged, with Agrigan possessing an elevation of 964 meters (3,181 feet) above sea level. Seven of these islands have undergone volcanic eruptions during historic times, with Uracas and Pagan being particularly active. In addition to unstable geological conditions, their lack of developed reef systems, limited areas of flat land, sporadic rainfall, and few protected landing spots have combined to make these islands difficult locations for settlement and commercial activities. In spite of their size, challenging environments, and relative isolation, these islands have played a significant role in Marianas history. What follows is an overview of this long-neglected part of the archipelago now commonly referred to as the Northern Islands.[2]

Prehistory

The results of archaeological and linguistic research suggest that the Mariana Islands were first colonized at least thirty-five hundred years ago by Austronesian-speaking peoples who departed directly from Island Southeast Asia, most likely from the Philippines (Hunter-Anderson and Butler 1995: 29–30). These settlers, the ancestors of the modern Chamorro people, brought with them sophisticated canoe and ceramic technologies and a subsistence system based on sea fishing and the cultivation of tree and root crops.

During the earlier period of Marianas prehistory, commonly referred to as the Prelatte Phase, Chamorros apparently resided in small, scattered villages that were situated in coastal beach environments on the larger southern islands of Guam, Rota, Saipan, and Tinian (Butler 1994:16). Presently, there is no evidence suggesting that any of the Northern Islands was occupied permanently during the Prelatte Phase, although it is quite likely that they were visited periodically for resource exploitation.

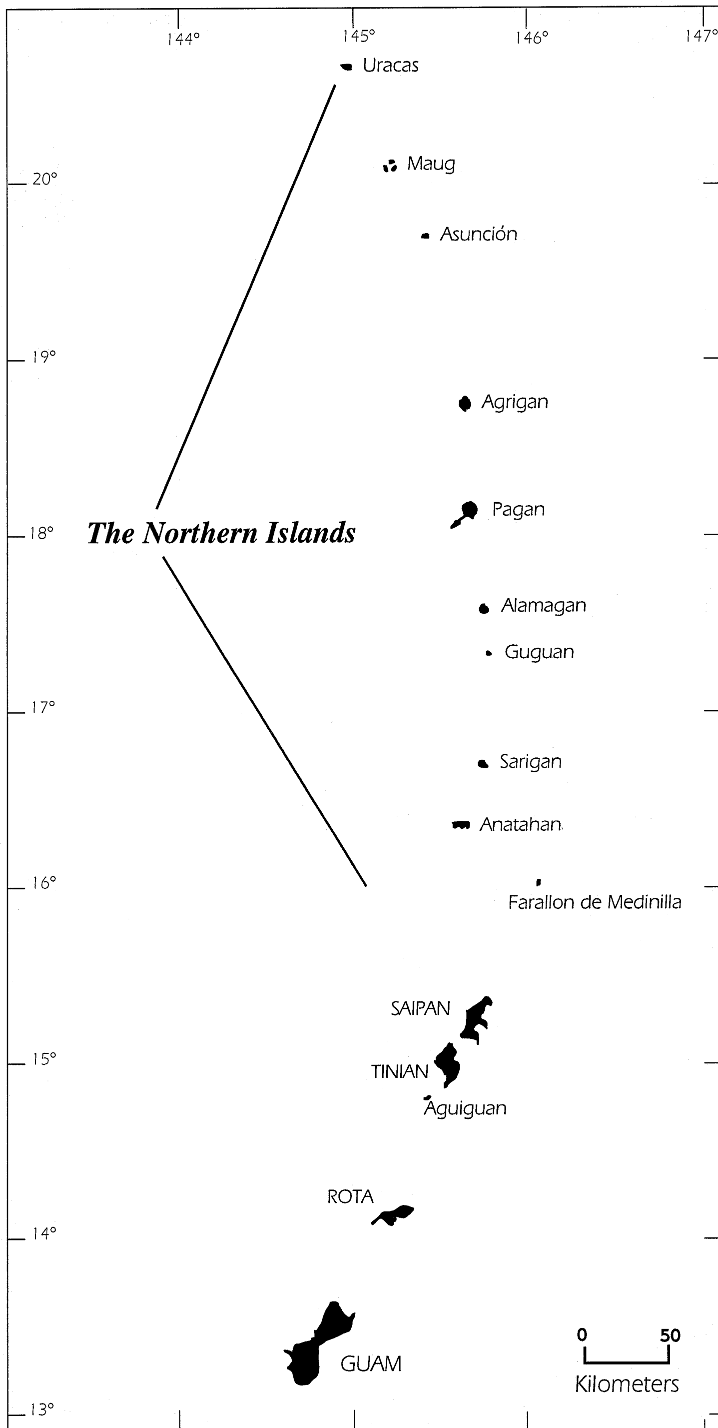


FIGURE 1. **Map of the Mariana Archipelago.**

Beginning roughly one thousand years ago, Chamorro culture underwent significant changes. Among these were subsistence adaptations, including the addition of rice to the crop repertory, increased competition for land and its resources, and the development of megalithic architecture. Perhaps the most dramatic change in this later period, commonly referred to as the Latte Phase after the stone shafts and caps ("*latte* stones") used to support Chamorro residential structures, was a significant expansion of settlements outside of the optimal coastal beach zones (Hunter-Anderson and Butler 1995:66–68). In addition to expanding into less desirable coastal areas and inland locations on the southern islands, Chamorros also established settlements on several of the Northern Islands late in this period.

It is not clear when the Northern Islands were first settled or what the nature of the first settlements was. Although the islands were subjected to cursory investigations during the Spanish, German, and Japanese colonial administrations, few modern archaeological projects have been completed, and there is a paucity of archaeological data from this area. Only one small-scale survey and testing project undertaken at a *latte* village site on the eastern coast of Pagan included radiocarbon analyses (Egami and Saito 1973: 203–226). The dates resulting from this project suggest that the site was occupied by A.D. 1300, which is consistent with the generally accepted view that the Northern Islands were settled relatively late in the prehistoric sequence.

Latte stone sites also have been observed on Alamagan and Sarigan (Fritz 1902:96–118; Russell 1996:2). It is possible that they are present on several other islands as well, particularly Anatahan and Agrigan. However, the small, nearly barren island of Farallon de Medinilla and Uracas, an active volcanic cone located at the extreme northern end of the archipelago, probably never were settled.

Observations made by the Japanese archaeologist Yawata in the pre–World War II years indicate that caves on Pagan, Alamagan, and Asunción were used as mortuary areas, and artifact assemblages at ancient sites resembled those found in the southern islands but were not as numerous (Chapman 1964:81). Without systematic survey data, however, little more can be said regarding the nature or distribution of ancient sites in these islands.

Owing to the local geology, *latte* in the Northern Islands were fashioned from several types of volcanic rock. *Latte* of softer rock varieties sometimes were shaped, but those of hard basalt normally were used with little modification. One notable aspect of *latte* in the Northern Islands, at least on Alamagan, were platformlike extensions constructed immediately adjacent to the long axis of the *latte* house (Chapman 1968:70; Russell 1996:2). The

function of these platforms is not known, although they may have provided a clean area for domestic activities.

There is some evidence to suggest that basalt rock, used to make tools, primarily late in prehistoric times, was being transported from Anatahan and Agrigan to Chamorro communities in the south (Mangold 1997). Conversely, pottery, an important class of ancient artifact, was being brought into the Northern Islands. Since the Northern Islands lacked suitable clay sources, pottery production on islands north of Saipan would have been impossible. A study of a small collection of ceramic sherds recovered from a *latte* site on Alamagan suggests that pots were imported from the southern islands, including Saipan and perhaps Rota (Butler 1996:3–4).

Life on these small, rugged islands was tenuous, and their inhabitants undoubtedly were reliant, at least in part, on periodic assistance from larger communities residing in the relatively resource-rich southern islands. A support system would have been essential for the survival of these small settlements particularly following natural disasters such as tropical storms and droughts.

The Spanish Period

The Mariana Islands enter the written historical record following Ferdinand Magellan's brief but fateful visit in March 1521. Magellan commanded a Spanish expedition that sought to reach the valuable Spice Islands by sailing westward to avoid Portuguese-controlled waters. Although Magellan's landfall was not mentioned by name, most historians believe that it was Guam, the largest and southernmost island of the archipelago (Rogers and Ballendorf 1989:193–208). Desperate for supplies, Magellan sought to acquire food and water from the native inhabitants before continuing westward. The ensuing first encounter between the two cultures quickly turned violent, when the Spanish killed several Chamorros in retaliation for the theft of a ship's boat. Believing that the Spanish had been misused by the natives, Magellan disparagingly named the islands Islas de los Ladrones, or Islands of Thieves, a designation that would appear on maps and in documents well into the nineteenth century.

Magellan's expedition eventually reached the Spice Islands, where its two surviving ships, *Victoria* and *Trinidad*, were loaded with spices and readied for the return voyage. Rather than staying together, their captains decided to take different routes back to Spain. The *Victoria* continued westward and reached Seville in 1522, thus completing the first circumnavigation of the earth. The *Trinidad*'s commander, Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, wishing to avoid Portuguese-controlled waters, unwisely decided to return home by

recrossing the Pacific. While passing through the northern end of the Ladrones chain, Espinosa seized a Chamorro in a canoe off Asunción, intending to take him back to Europe (Lévesque 1992:324). However, after weeks of battling contrary winds and rough weather, the Spanish were forced to abandon their easterly course and attempt a return to the Spice Islands, a move that once again brought *Trinidad* through the northern end of the Ladrones group.

Following an aborted landing at a high island, probably Asunción, *Trinidad* anchored in the middle of three tiny islets that the Chamorro captive said were collectively called Maug. The Spanish found little of use at Maug; only twenty people and limited supplies of fresh water and sugarcane (Lévesque 1992:325). During this brief stopover, three Europeans—two Portuguese and a Spaniard—fearing that they would perish at sea, deserted and took refuge on Maug. The Portuguese deserters were quickly killed by the islanders, but the Spaniard, Gonzalo de Vigo, was not ill treated (Lévesque 1992:438). De Vigo spent the following four years among the Chamorro people learning their language and many aspects of their culture. He was later picked up by a Spanish expedition and provided much useful information about the islands (many of which he must have visited personally) and their inhabitants.

For 140 years following de Vigo's departure, the Northern Islands disappear from the written records. Although the Spanish formally claimed the archipelago as a royal possession in 1565, their activities were limited to periodic provisioning stops at Guam and Rota by galleons plying the Manila-Acapulco trading route. This period of relative seclusion ended in 1668 with the establishment of a Jesuit mission on Guam (Garcia 1985; Le Gobien 1949). From its headquarters in the village of Hagatña, a small band of priests, lay helpers, and soldiers led by Father Luis de Sanvitores aggressively sought to convert the animistic Chamorros to Christianity.

In recognition of essential assistance received from the queen regent of Spain, Mariana de Austria, Sanvitores renamed the islands in her honor. Henceforth, the archipelago was known as Islas Marianas, or Mariana Islands. The priests also assigned Christian names to many of the islands, although with the exception of Asunción these did not supplant indigenous nomenclature.

Although initial mission activities were focused on Guam, Sanvitores and a fellow priest, Father Luis de Morales, visited Tinian and Saipan in October 1668. While on Saipan, Sanvitores ordered Morales to visit the other islands to the north that the Chamorros collectively referred to as Gani (Lévesque 1995:207). During a six-month period, Morales, traveling aboard a Chamorro canoe, reached as far north as Agrigan. Morales found

the Gani Chamorros to be peaceful, and he reportedly enjoyed some success baptizing children and adults.

The following year, Sanvitores traveled north, reaching distant Maug, the last inhabited island of the archipelago. Like Morales, Sanvitores found the Gani islanders peaceful and generally supportive of mission activities, a situation he credited to their ignorance of Choco, a Chinese castaway residing on Guam who had convinced many Chamorros that the priests were poisoning their children with baptismal water. Sanvitores's peaceful sojourn in the Northern Islands was interrupted at Anatahan, where islanders slew his secular companion, Lorenzo, when he tried to baptize a young girl (Garcia 1985:11). Sanvitores might have suffered a similar fate had sympathetic islanders not refused to take him to the scene of the killing.

Among the most important products of these Jesuit expeditions to the Northern Islands was the first detailed and accurate map of the archipelago. Produced by Father Lopez in 1671, the map depicted fifteen islands in their proper positions and listed their indigenous and Spanish designations (Lévesque 1995:383). Information collected on these trips undoubtedly also served as the basis for a detailed report prepared by Father Peter Coomans in 1673 (Coomans 1997). In this report Coomans described the Gani islands in some detail and provided the only known early population estimates for the islands north of Saipan. Particularly interesting was his observation that Chamorros at given times of the year voyaged to uninhabited Uracas to hunt sea birds. During these expeditions large numbers of birds were killed, salted, and then transported to Chamorro communities throughout the archipelago. Coomans also noted that Agrigan was renowned for a certain type of tree that was sought after for canoe construction by Chamorros on other islands (1997:24).

In spite of initial cordial relations between the mission and islanders, cultural differences, misunderstandings, and the priests' persistent efforts to end certain indigenous practices led to growing tensions and periodic violence. In 1672 the mission sustained a serious loss with the death of Sanvitores. For the next twelve years, the priests were forced to concentrate their efforts on Guam, leaving Chamorro communities to the north free to practice their traditional lifestyle.

To effect religious and cultural conversion in an efficient manner, the Spanish implemented a program called the *reducción* that relocated Chamorros residing in scattered, traditional settlements into a few mission villages in which they received daily religious instruction (Lévesque 1996b: 311). This program, which brought about the eventual collapse of traditional Chamorro society, was well under way on Guam by the early 1680s.

By 1684 the mission had once again turned its attention to Chamorro

communities in the islands north of Guam. Since the establishment of the mission, these islands had served as a refuge for Chamorros seeking to escape foreign domination and for others accused of capital crimes. The Spanish believed that until these islands were brought under control, peace on Guam could not be maintained.

In June of that year, a sizable force, under the command of the tenacious military commander José Quiroga, headed north to subjugate resisting Chamorro communities. The Spanish particularly desired to pacify Saipan, which was to serve as an advance base for operations farther north. On Quiroga's orders, twenty-five soldiers and a priest, under the command of José de Tapia, departed Saipan aboard several canoes manned by Chamorro helmsmen. Their mission was to prepare Gani residents for eventual resettlement on Saipan (Lévesque 1996a:201). Tapia's force was well received at all of the islands except one, probably Asunción, where a brief skirmish erupted. So successful was the visit that many of the Gani islanders accepted the relocation plan and permitted their children to be baptized (Lévesque 1996b:243).

Disaster struck Tapia's expedition on its return to Guam. While en route, the Chamorro boatmen, having learned that a major revolt against the mission had begun on Guam, threw most of the Spanish and Filipino troops into the sea. Only seven men survived: the expedition's priest, Father Coomans, and three soldiers were saved by a Christian Chamorro, while another three soldiers, who had been thrown overboard, were picked up by Gani Chamorros on their way to Guam. These men were taken to Alamagan, where they were protected by an influential chief (Lévesque 1996a:206).

The Chamorro uprising on Guam once again forced the Spanish to focus their attention and limited resources on that island, and not until 1695 were they ready to launch a final expedition to subjugate the stubborn northern islanders. With a contingent of soldiers, supplemented by a substantial number of Chamorro auxiliaries, Quiroga quickly brought Rota, Aguiguan, Tinian, and Saipan under control (Hezel 1989:8–10). Soon after, canoes bearing the news of the Spanish victory were sent to the Gani islands with orders for their inhabitants to resettle into Fatiguan, one of the newly established mission villages on Saipan (Hezel 1989:10).

Although the Gani Chamorros offered no physical resistance to this forced resettlement, it soon became clear to the Spanish that they were not happy with life on Saipan. On a rainy night in July 1697, four hundred islanders abandoned Saipan and returned to their former homes in the Northern Islands (Lévesque 1997:157). Alarmed by this mass exodus, the resident priest on Saipan, Father Gerard Bowens, sought the assistance of

Governor José Madrazo. In response, Madrazo organized a large fleet totaling more than one hundred canoes and four hundred men, whose orders were to round up these reluctant islanders, burn their houses, and relocate them once and for all into mission villages (Lévesque 1997:195).

The fleet departed Guam in early September 1697, and after a brief layover at Saipan to pick up Father Bowens, it proceeded northward, stopping at each island. Thanks to the active support of Ignacio Nuun, a Christian chief from Agrigan, operations for the most part went smoothly, although bad weather resulted in the loss of several canoes and their passengers. Only at Agrigan and Anatahan did islanders actively resist the resettlement orders by fleeing into the rugged mountains, where they hoped to hide out until the expedition departed. With much difficulty, Spanish troops and their Chamorro allies located the holdouts and forced them to return to the villages, whence they were transported south (Lévesque 1997:192–199).

In all, nearly twelve hundred Chamorros were removed from the Northern Islands and temporarily resettled on Saipan. With the arrival of calm seas four months later, the Gani Chamorros were taken to Guam, where they were settled in Inarajan and other southern villages (Lévesque 1997:198). They joined the Tinian and Aguiguan people who had resided in Pago and Hagatña for the previous three years.

Following these dramatic events, the Northern Islands, now uninhabited, once again slipped into obscurity. During the early part of the eighteenth century, it is probable that these islands were visited from time to time by their former inhabitants. In 1709, for instance, four canoes departed Saipan to visit Gani, but they were lost along with their eighteen occupants, a tragedy attesting to the dangers of travel to these isolated islands (Hezel 1989:26). Later in the century, with the archipelago's tiny population residing only on Guam and Rota, there was little reason for such risky trips. Even if there had been, the loss of indigenous maritime skills and the colonial government's chronic lack of a seaworthy ship made travel to these distant islands nearly impossible.

One of the few documented events of the eighteenth century involving the Northern Islands was a brief visit in 1742 by HMS *Centurion*, an English warship under the command of George Anson (Barratt 1988). In critical need of supplies, Anson ordered a cutter to reconnoiter the small, rugged island of Anatahan. He was disappointed with the results; the island lacked a safe anchorage and possessed no food or water. The only useful items found on Anatahan were coconut trees, which were present in large numbers (Barratt 1988:9). Fortunately for Anson and his crew, favorable winds and currents carried *Centurion* to the more fertile island of Tinian, where the Englishmen regained their health.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, small groups comprising Englishmen, Americans, and Native Hawaiians reportedly attempted to establish repair and reprovisioning ports of call in the Northern Islands to service ships engaged in the sandalwood and whaling trades (Freycinet 1996:42). In 1809 or 1810, the American ship *Derby* reportedly departed Hawai'i with an American named Johnson, four Europeans, two blacks, and twenty-two Hawaiians bound for Agrigan (Kotzebue 1821:87–89). They missed that island and ended up on Tinian, where they eventually were discovered by the Spanish and taken to Guam.

Another group apparently reached Agrigan a few years later. According to one source, upon learning of the intruders, Governor Medinilla sent an armed force to Agrigan in 1815 and transported forty-eight persons to Guam (Freycinet 1996:42). As they had little business in the remote Northern Islands, it is unclear how the Spanish administration learned of the Agrigan settlement. One European visitor to Guam in 1819 stated that this colony went undetected for a substantial period of time and only came to the attention of local authorities via news from the Philippines (Golovnin 1979:235). It is also possible that the foreigners' presence was noted by natives of the Central Carolines who, by this time, were traveling throughout the Mariana Archipelago in their finely made voyaging canoes.

Although the available historical sources are sketchy, it is probable that only a single colony was established on Agrigan and that its settlers were brought to Guam aboard the *Concepción*, a Guam-based schooner. The possibility that foreign settlements in the Northern Islands might be used to support assaults on their valuable colony in the Philippines was of grave concern to the Spanish administration, and several preventive strategies were proposed. These included establishing permanent populations on all of the islands of the archipelago and launching annual expeditions to search for and expel any foreigners who might be present. The most radical and impractical plan proposed felling trees on all of the islands except Guam to discourage would-be settlers and to make it difficult for foreign ships to be resupplied (Valle 1991:37).

In 1819 the Mariana Islands were visited by a French scientific expedition, under the command of Louis de Freycinet (Freycinet 1996). Following a three-month layover at Guam, the expedition sailed north to conduct a hydrographic study of the other islands in the archipelago. A resulting map, later published in an atlas by L. I. Duperrey, was the first of the Mariana Archipelago since Father Lopez's map of 1671. Unfortunately, it turned out to be much less accurate than the Jesuit map and led to confusion regarding the placement and names of some of the Northern Islands. Much of this confusion stemmed from Freycinet's decision to rename Guguan in honor of the Chamorro vice governor, Luis de Torres. Although this designation

did not last, it was largely responsible for the erroneous cartographic placement of all of the islands to the north of Sarigan (Driver 1987:xiii).

While the expedition's mapping work was flawed, Freycinet effected one permanent change by naming the tiny, barren island immediately north of Saipan after the governor of Guam. Henceforth, this island, which originally may have been known as Noos, became Farallon de Medinilla (Lévesque 1995:86). Owing to its small size and lack of residents, the early Jesuit missionaries did not assign it a Christian name but simply referred to it as Rocher, or "Rock."

A few years later, the Northern Islands figured in a bizarre story of piracy and buried treasure quite in keeping with the popular image of the South Seas. Sometime between 1822 and 1825, the English vessel *Peruvian* stopped at one of the Northern Islands, where its captain was reported to have buried a substantial quantity of silver plate and jewels (Corte 1870:106–108). These valuables, looted by rebels attempting to overthrow Spanish colonial regimes in South America, were turned over to the British navy for safekeeping. Seizing the opportunity, an English captain absconded with the treasure and buried it on one of the Northern Islands. Spanish authorities on Guam eventually learned of this intrusion and reportedly captured the Englishman as he attempted a return to the Northern Islands to recover the valuables. Although the renegade captain reportedly committed suicide soon after his capture, information contained in his personal papers suggested that the treasure was buried on Pagan. This information prompted an unsuccessful eight-month effort by the Spanish to locate these valuables (Corte 1870:107–108).

The first major settlement in the Northern Islands since the *reducción* was established on Pagan in 1865. In August of that year, George Johnson, the American son-in-law of the Spanish governor of the Marianas, brought in 265 Carolinians from Pulusuk to produce copra under the auspices of an agricultural society known as La Sociedad Agrícola de la Concepción. Johnson secured temporary possession of the island with the proviso that he maintain a permanent population of at least one hundred individuals (Ibanez and Resano 1976:21).

Soon after settling the Pulusuk people on Pagan, Johnson, no doubt using his family connections, secured formal leases for Tinian, Pagan, and Agrigan under favorable terms. So favorable were the terms, in fact, that in 1868 the queen of Spain directed the colonial administration to make available all documents and correspondence associated with these transactions (Driver and Brunal-Perry 1996:74–75). The Crown was concerned that irregularities had occurred and that Johnson was exploiting these islands rather than ensuring their permanent colonization.

The Pagan settlement lasted until 1869, when its entire population was

relocated to Saipan (Ibanez and Resano 1976:21). In spite of having a leasehold on Agrigan, Johnson made no effort to exploit its resources. The reasons behind the abandonment of Pagan and Johnson's inactivity at Agrigan are not entirely clear, but they probably involved economic considerations. These isolated islands were just too far from Guam to sustain commercially viable operations, even though Johnson owned and operated a schooner, the *Ana*. By 1869 Johnson focused his agricultural efforts on Tinian, which, in addition to possessing fertile soil and herds of feral cattle, was located closer to Guam.

In 1888 the Belgian naturalist Alfred Marche traveled to the Northern Islands aboard the schooner *Esmeralda* to collect natural and cultural specimens for a Paris museum. Marche visited Pagan twice and investigated *latte* ruins scattered about the rugged landscape dominated by two smoking volcanic cones (Marche 1982:18–21). The island's only inhabitants were a few itinerant Carolinian agricultural laborers who produced copra for a Captain Williams, the master of the *Esmeralda*. During his visits, Marche experienced difficulty acquiring faunal specimens, a situation he attributed to the effects of a recent typhoon that ravaged the island.

Although the available historical sources are sketchy, there is some evidence to suggest that Japanese businessmen were involved in small-scale ventures in the Northern Islands during the 1890s. These included guano mining on distant Asunción and Uracas, and copra-making operations carried out in conjunction with Chamorro associates from Saipan (Bowers 1950:41).

German Administration

In 1899 Germany purchased from Spain all of the islands north of Guam, thus ending three centuries of Spanish control. The small German administration, headed by District Officer Georg Fritz, was headquartered on Saipan. Economic development, centered on copra production, became its top priority. Fritz took an active interest in the islands and their native inhabitants, and conducted an inspection trip of the Northern Islands soon after his arrival, no doubt to assess their development potential and to examine their archaeological remnants (Fritz 1902:96–118).

In keeping with the priorities of his administration, Fritz quickly executed a lease for several of the Northern Islands with the Pagan Company, an enterprise comprising Chamorro and Japanese partners. Under the terms of the lease, the Pagan Company was obliged to pay eight thousand marks per year, to provide regular transportation between Saipan and the Northern Islands, and to plant three thousand coconut trees on Alamagan,

Pagan, Agrigan, and Anatahan (Fritz 1905). By the turn of the century, the Pagan Company had approximately 140 Chamorro and Carolinian agricultural workers in the Northern Islands, and their annual production for 1899 amounted to over four hundred tons of copra (Fritz 1900a). The finished copra was purchased by Japanese traders for 120 to 140 marks per ton and shipped to Japan, where it was used in a variety of products, including soap and livestock feed.

For the next few years the German administration attempted to force Japanese businessmen out of the Northern Marianas. By 1904 Fritz was pleased to report to his superiors in New Guinea that the Pagan Company was completely controlled by Germans and German nationals, including Pedro Ada, an influential Chamorro businessman. Early in the German administration, Ada, carrying an official letter of introduction from Fritz, had traveled to Japan and China to purchase sailing ships for his Northern Islands operations (Fritz 1900b).

The fledgling copra industry was dealt a crippling blow in July 1905, when Pagan was devastated by a powerful typhoon. This disaster followed a storm that had struck Alamagan only months before. With coconut trees heavily damaged, copra production fell dramatically; for the remainder of the German administration it never reached pre-1905 levels (Fritz 1906).

In addition to economic development, the German administration found one additional use for the Northern Islands: as a penal colony. Crime was rare in the German Marianas, but those few individuals who committed serious offenses found themselves exiled on lonely Sarigan, a small but fertile island just north of Anatahan. By 1901 eight prisoners and their families resided on Sarigan, supervised by two guards (Fritz 1905). In addition to raising their own food, prisoners were required to plant coconut trees, an activity Fritz undoubtedly viewed as a prudent investment in the growing copra industry. Fritz also used the threat of exile to Sarigan against those Chamorros and Carolinians who persisted in using Pidgin English rather than German, the official language of the district.

Japanese Rule

Soon after the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Japan, a rising Pacific power allied with Great Britain, seized Germany's colonial holdings in Micronesia. Japan's initial interest in these remote islands was solely for their potential strategic value; early attempts at economic development, particularly in the Marianas, ended in failure (Peattie 1988:124). However, within a few years of officially being awarded the islands by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, the colonial administration, in close cooperation with

private enterprise, set about making their newly acquired possessions productive parts of the empire.

Although major economic efforts involving sugarcane agriculture were focused on Saipan, Tinian, and Rota, Japanese businessmen also turned their attention to the Northern Islands. Sugarcane agriculture was impractical on these tiny bits of land. Consequently, small groups of Japanese, Chamorros, and Carolinians relied on copra, the economic staple since German times. Initial efforts were modest. In 1929 five Chamorro men and their wives settled on Anatahan and began producing copra for Nan'yo Boeki Kaisha (South Seas Trading Company), or Nambo, as it was known to Japanese and islanders alike (Peattie 1988:119). By the mid-1930s, however, nearly four hundred Japanese, Okinawans, Chamorros, and Carolinians were residing on the largest and most fertile of the Northern Islands, including Pagan, Alamagan, Agrigan, and Anatahan (OPNAV 1944:34). Copra plantations were also established on the smaller islands of Sarigan and Asunción.

In addition to copra, Japanese businessmen also exploited the rich marine resources present in the Northern Islands. Bonito and tuna were the principal targets of commercial fishermen, who by the mid-1930s were catching roughly four thousand tons annually (Bowers 1950:45). To facilitate operations in the Northern Islands, the Japanese constructed a fish processing plant on Maug, which they considered to possess the best fishing grounds in the archipelago (Johnson 1957:44).

With characteristic industriousness, the pioneers, as the Japanese settlers referred to themselves, set about developing these tiny, isolated bits of land. On Pagan, where the largest population resided, the Japanese established several villages and constructed a concrete dock and tide-gauging station, a rope-making factory, and a weather observatory (Corwin et al. 1957:92). Pagan also boasted a branch office of Nambo, attesting to its relative importance as a center of commercial activity. On the smaller islands, settlers built wooden frame houses, copra drying and storage facilities, and concrete cisterns to deal with the chronic shortage of drinking water. These isolated settlements were sustained by Nambo steamers that brought in needed supplies and materials, and carried out copra and other products a dozen times each year (Peattie 1988:122).

Even at the height of commercial operations, the Northern Islands contributed only a tiny fraction of the overall Marianas exports to Japan. In spite of the determination of the agricultural workers who labored under difficult conditions, these islands were simply too small to sustain large-scale agricultural enterprises. Those who chose to live far from the bustle of the more developed southern islands eked out a living in lonely isolation. This isola-

tion must have been particularly hard on the islands' Japanese residents, who, living far from home, reportedly experienced difficulties adjusting to tropical foods and climate (Peattie 1988:202–206).

The orderly routine of nearly three decades of Japanese rule of the Marianas came to an end with the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941. Guam, an American territory since 1898, was quickly seized by Japanese forces, an action that unified the administration of the archipelago for the first time in forty-three years. During the early stages of the war, the Marianas served Japan as supply and logistics bases for battles being fought to the south and the east. It wasn't until early 1944, with the fall of key strongholds in the Marshall Islands, that Japanese military planners began a last-minute program to transform the Marianas into an impregnable bulwark to defend air and sea approaches to the home islands (Crowl 1960:56). The main southern islands of Guam, Tinian, and Saipan, with their large areas of flat land, were strategically important. Should they fall into American hands, the Japanese home islands would be exposed to long-range bomber attacks. Accordingly, these islands became focal points for Japanese defensive efforts in anticipation of American amphibious assaults.

By contrast, the small, rugged Northern Islands were of little strategic or tactical value, with the exception of Pagan, on which the Japanese constructed a paved runway capable of handling fighter and bomber aircraft (JICPOA 1944). The Japanese also constructed troop barracks and storage bunkers for bombs and fuel. The airfield was protected by tank traps and anti-aircraft gun positions, and likely landing beaches, by well-camouflaged concrete pillboxes. Supply dumps, air-raid shelters, and gun positions were also set up in tunnels dug into ridges overlooking key areas (Corwin et al. 1957:91). Manning the airfield and defensive positions were 1,908 army and 331 navy personnel under the command of Major General Umahachi Amau (Richard 1957:21).

Reconnaissance missions carried out initially by American submarines and later by carrier-based aircraft confirmed the absence of significant Japanese defenses on the other islands with the exceptions of an observation post and weather station on Maug and a possible lookout tower on Medinilla (JICPOA 1944). Tiny and inaccessible, these islands warranted no troops or fixed defenses. While troops were absent, most of these islands possessed civilian populations effectively stranded by a sea blockade enforced by patrolling American submarines.

The expected American amphibious assault on the Marianas commenced on 15 June 1944 with the invasion of Saipan. Here, on the second largest island of the archipelago, three American divisions battled tenacious Japanese defenders in one of the bloodiest campaigns of the Pacific War (Crowl

1960:33–269). The six-week battle was followed by successful operations against Tinian and Guam during which Japanese defenders were killed almost to the last man. The Americans quickly converted these islands into large airbases designed to accommodate the newly developed B-29 Superfortress, a bomber possessing an extremely long range and large bomb capacity. From these bases the Americans launched massive bombing raids against now vulnerable Japanese cities (Denfeld and Russell 1984:19–24).

During the early stages of the Marianas campaign, Pagan's airfield was bombed and strafed by American aircraft launched from carriers assigned to the powerful Naval Task Force 58 (Crowl 1960:73). Subsequent attacks were carried out by Saipan-based aircraft of the 318th Fighter Group, but Japanese troops worked tenaciously to keep the field operational for replacement planes flown in from Iwo Jima. Other aerial sorties were flown by medium and heavy bombers, including an occasional raid by B-29 Superfortresses (Denfeld, pers. com., December 1997).

With the capture of Saipan, Tinian, and Guam, the Northern Islands joined the ranks of other bypassed islands in the Pacific whose residents, cut off from the outside world, were forced to fend for themselves. Food was not a critical problem on Agrigan, Anatahan, and Alamagan, but periodic strafing attacks by prowling American fighters forced residents to abandon villages and to take up residence in isolated jungle locations. Only at Pagan, with its large military garrison and sizable civilian population, numbering over seven hundred, was food in critically short supply (Richard 1957:21).

In February 1945 a Saipan-based B-29 bomber, returning from a raid against Japan, crashed into a high mountain peak on Anatahan. An American rescue party from Saipan succeeded in reaching the crash site on March 5. They found the partially burned wreckage of "T-Square 42" and the bodies of eight of the bomber's eleven-man crew. After burying the dead, the Americans removed to Saipan forty-three Carolinian civilians from Anatahan; these civilians informed them that a sizable band of armed Japanese was hiding in the interior (HQ Saipan 1945:11–15).

The Pacific War came to an end following the atomic-bomb attacks launched from Tinian in August 1945. The Pagan garrison surrendered to Commodore V. F. Grant, U.S. Navy, on September 2, following negotiations facilitated by American Nisei interpreters. An occupation force went ashore that same day, and the American flag was raised over the island (Richard 1957:21). Because of the extreme food shortage, 286 Chamorro civilian residents were taken to Saipan immediately, and plans were made to repatriate the Japanese nationals, both military and civilian, directly to the home islands. In the weeks that followed, all Chamorro and Carolinian civilians residing in the Northern Islands were removed to Saipan, where they were

given emergency medical attention (Johnson 1957:6–11). Japanese and Okinawan civilians were also removed and subsequently repatriated to their respective homes in 1946.

The Postwar Years

In 1950 the naval administration on Saipan made a concerted effort to effect the surrender of the Japanese holdouts on Anatahan (Peters 1973:40–46). Previous attempts by the military government during a five-year period had been unsuccessful. In June, Lieutenant Commander James Johnson led an expedition to Anatahan and picked up an Okinawan woman, Kazuko Higa, who had been on the island since 1943. Higa, the only female member of the group, was anxious to escape and managed to slip away from the twenty men with whom she shared the island. The holdouts, a mixture of military personnel, seamen, and fishermen, had been stranded on Anatahan in June 1944, when their ships had been sunk by American fighters. Refusing to believe the war was over, the men would not surrender.

In June 1951 Johnson launched a second expedition to Anatahan, which was code-named Operation Removal (Peters 1973:45). Aided by letters from relatives of the holdouts solicited by Higa and leaflets in Japanese dropped on the island by aircraft, Johnson successfully negotiated the surrender of the group's onetime leader Juni Inoue, an Imperial Navy petty officer. A few days later the remaining nineteen men, using a white flag fashioned out of a parachute from the wrecked B-29 bomber, surrendered to the small American contingent, thus concluding the final sizable Japanese capitulation of World War II. The six-year saga of the Anatahan holdouts received extensive media coverage in both the United States and Japan, no doubt stimulated by allegations of illicit sex and murder. Higa, an attractive thirty-year-old, reportedly established relationships with several of the men during the holdout. Ensuing jealousies were believed to have been responsible for as many as six murders. Dubbed the "queen bee" by the press, Higa returned to her native Okinawa and later opened a tea house that she named the "Anatahan Inn" (Peters 1973:42).

Less than three years after the war, Chamorros and Carolinians on Saipan expressed their desire to resume commercial operations in the Northern Islands. In March 1948 the Northern Islands Development Company was chartered to collect and market products from Alamagan and Agrigan. In that year the company's president, Juan M. Ada, settled 127 Carolinians on Agrigan and fifty-seven Chamorros on Alamagan (Johnson 1957:3). In 1951 the company brought fifty-eight Chamorros to Pagan, and two years later it settled sixty Carolinians on Anatahan. All were engaged in copra produc-

tion, which reached a postwar peak of roughly five hundred tons in 1953 (Johnson 1957:4).

During the U.S. naval administration, the Northern Islands, with the exception of Pagan, were designated public lands. Pagan, with its airfield and protected anchorage, was administered under a "Land Use Agreement" with the U.S. government (Johnson 1957:5). The only government use of the island, however, involved a small contingent of U.S. marines that spent several months in 1950 repairing the landing strip and clearing overgrown roadways (Corwin et al. 1957:91).

As the naval administration finally was replaced by the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in the early 1960s, a few of the more hospitable Northern Islands continued to be occupied by small groups of Chamorros and Carolinians, most of whom had lived there during the Japanese administration. Copra continued to be the primary cash crop, but only tiny amounts were produced and sold to the United Micronesian Development Association, a Saipan-based firm. By the mid-1970s, however, copra production was abandoned altogether, largely replaced by the periodic harvesting of betel nuts for sale in the southern islands. The small Carolinian and Chamorro communities were sustained by government-run "field trip" ships that brought in passengers, medicine, building supplies, and other essentials a few times a year. These communities were not self-sustaining, and emergency rescues were performed in cases of serious illness and natural disasters.

It was also in the 1970s that the Northern Marianas acquired commonwealth status with the United States. One of the provisions of this bilateral agreement was the long-term use of Farallon de Medinilla as a bombing target for American military aircraft. With internal self-government extended under the commonwealth arrangement, the Northern Marianas government officially designated the islands of Uracas, Maug, Asunción, and Guguan as wildlife preserves.

In May 1981 Mount Pagan underwent a major eruption, forcing the island's fifty-three residents to flee to Saipan. Because of safety considerations, the island was declared off-limits, thus ending settlement on the largest and most productive of the Northern Islands. Since that time tiny groups of Chamorros and Carolinians periodically have resided on Agrigan, Alamagan, and Anatahan. Current plans being pushed by municipal authorities call for substantial infrastructure development on these three islands to permit larger-scale homesteading. Plans also call for more-intensive commercial exploitation of these islands some government officials are calling the commonwealth's "Northern Frontier" (Northern Islands Mayor's Office 1996). The cost associated with such development combined with the potential for environmental degradation, however, may prevent these ambitious plans from being implemented.

Conclusion

As this overview illustrates, use patterns in the Northern Islands have changed significantly over time. Before European contact, Chamorros used these islands for resource exploitation and, later in prehistory, as sites for habitation. That sizable communities were able to exist under such challenging environmental conditions is an impressive testament to the subsistence, organizational, and maritime skills of their ancient inhabitants.

For 150 years following European discovery, the Northern Islands were left undisturbed save for occasional visits by passing ships. Following the establishment of the Jesuit mission in the mid–seventeenth century, the Spanish first viewed the Northern Islands as fertile, if isolated, fields for proselytization and, within a decade, as troublesome native strongholds requiring military conquest. Chamorros tenaciously held on to these tiny bits of land that, at the height of the *reducción,* served as peaceful refuges not only for Gani residents, but for other islanders seeking to avoid the oppressive Spanish regime.

Once the native populations of these islands had been removed, Spanish colonial officials expressed little interest in the Northern Islands, not even as potential sites for economic development. It wasn't until the mid–nineteenth century that the Spanish administration adopted a policy of strategic denial to ensure these islands were not used as bases for attacks on their valuable colony in the Philippines.

During the German administration, the Northern Islands were viewed primarily in economic terms, particularly as sites for copra production. Chamorros and Carolinians, with obligatory German participation, were encouraged to exploit these islands to the extent possible, but tropical storms and economic constraints combined to keep development at a minimum. Sarigan also served as a prison farm where dangerous criminals could be isolated at little expense to the colonial administration.

Economic development in the Northern Islands reached its apex following Japan's annexation of the Marianas in the early twentieth century. These islands, devoid of both development and inhabitants, proved tempting to enterprising Japanese who, by the 1930s, were pouring into the Marianas by the tens of thousands. Their modest but persistent efforts were interrupted by the outbreak of World War II. During the war, Pagan was developed as a small but formidable airbase defended by a sizable garrison, while the rest of the Northern Islands, cut off by American air and sea power, held on as ragged bits of empire until Japan's final capitulation.

The immediate postwar years witnessed the repopulation of several of the Northern Islands by Chamorros and Carolinians. Copra production experienced a brief revival only to be abandoned by the early 1970s, while

natural disasters kept settlements in a constant state of flux. Commonwealth status with the United States, which took effect in the late 1970s, ensured that the islands would not fall into foreign hands, thus extending a cold war version of strategic denial first implemented by the Spanish a century before.

Today, effective administrative control of the islands once again rests with the indigenous people. There is a growing effort on the part of the Northern Marianas government to establish larger homesteads and to exploit the considerable marine resources in this part of the archipelago now touted as the "Northern Frontier." Should these plans be realized, history will have come full circle.

NOTES

The author would like to thank Dr. Brian Butler, Dr. Lawrence Cunningham, Father Francis X. Hezel, S.J., and Lon Bulgrin for reviewing and commenting on an early draft of this article.

1. The southernmost of the Northern Islands, Farallon de Medinilla, is a limestone terrace island that geologically is associated with the larger southern islands. The nine islands to the north of Medinilla are exclusively volcanic.

2. In ancient times Chamorros collectively referred to these islands as "Gani," but this designation is no longer used. In contemporary Chamorro, they are called "Islas San Kattan" (Northern Islands). The term "Northern Islands" is used throughout this discussion to refer to all of the islands to the north of Saipan.

REFERENCES CITED

Barratt, Glynn
1988 *H.M.S.* Centurion *at Tinian, 1742: The Ethnographic and Historic Records*. Micronesian Archaeological Survey Report, no. 26. Saipan: Division of Historic Preservation.

Bowers, Neil
1950 *Problems of Resettlement on Saipan, Tinian, and Rota, Mariana Islands*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Butler, Brian
1994 Early Prehistoric Settlement in the Mariana Islands: New Evidence from Saipan. *Man and Culture in Oceania* 10:15–38.
1996 Analysis of a Small Ceramic Sample from Alamagan. Unpublished manuscript, Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

Chapman, Peter
1964 Micronesian Archaeology: An Annotated Bibliography. M.A. thesis, Stanford University.

1968 Japanese Contributions to Micronesian Archaeology and Material Culture. In *Prehistoric Culture in Oceania,* edited by I. Yawata and Y. Sinoto. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Coomans, Peter
1997 *Mission in the Mariana Islands, 1667–1673*. Occasional Historical Papers, no. 4. Saipan: Division of Historic Preservation.

Corte, Felipe de la
1870 History of the Mariana Islands. Translated by Helen Paul. Manuscript on file with the Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.

Corwin, Gilbert, Lawrence Bonham, Maurice Terman, and George Viele
1957 *Military Geology of Pagan, Mariana Islands*. N.p.: United States Geological Survey.

Crowl, Philip
1960 *Campaign in the Mariana Islands*. United States Army in World War II. Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army.

Denfeld, D. Colt, and Scott Russell
1984 *Home of the Superfort: An Historical and Archaeological Survey of Isely Field*. Micronesian Archaeological Survey Report, no. 21. Saipan: Division of Historic Preservation.

Driver, Marjorie
1987 *Navigational Data for the Mariana Islands*. Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.

Driver, Marjorie, and Omaira Brunal-Perry
1996 *Carolinians in the Mariana Islands in the 1800s*. Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.

Egami, Tomoko, and Fumiko Saito
1973 Archaeological Investigation on Pagan in the Mariana Islands. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Nippon* 81:203–226.

Freycinet, Louis de
1996 A Stay in the Mariana Islands: Excursion to Rota and Tinian. Translated by Glynn Barratt. Manuscript on file with the Division of Historic Preservation, Saipan.

Fritz, Georg
1900a Letter dated April 1 from G. Fritz to Imperial German Governor, New Guinea. Translation on file with Division of Historic Preservation, Saipan.
1900b Letter dated May 10 from G. Fritz to Imperial German Consul General, Yokohama, Japan. Translation on file with Division of Historic Preservation, Saipan.
1902 Reise nach den nördlichen Marianen. *Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten* 15:96–118.

1905 Letter dated April 27 from G. Fritz to Foreign Office, Colonial Division, Berlin. Translation on file with the Division of Historic Preservation, Saipan.

1906 Letter dated March 25 from G. Fritz to Imperial German Governor, New Guinea. Translation on file with the Division of Historic Preservation, Saipan.

Garcia, Francisco

1985 Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores. 1683. Translated by Margaret Higgins. Manuscript on file with the Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.

Golovnin, V. M.

1979 *Around the World on the* Kamchatka, *1817–1819*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i.

Hezel, Francis X.

1989 *From Conquest to Colonization: Spain in the Mariana Islands, 1690–1740*. Occasional Historic Papers. Saipan: Division of Historic Preservation.

HQ Saipan

1945 Intelligence Digest No. 35 for the Period 17–23 March. Headquarters Island Command Saipan, U.S. Navy. Copy on file with Division of Historic Preservation, Saipan.

Hunter-Anderson, Rosalind, and Brian Butler

1995 *An Overview of Northern Marianas Prehistory.* Saipan: Micronesian Archaeological Survey Report 31.

Ibanez, Aniceto del Carmen, and Francisco Resano

1976 *Chronicle of the Mariana Islands.* Translated by Marjorie Driver. Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.

JICPOA (Joint Intelligence Center, Pacific Ocean Areas)

1944 Nos. 42–44 (April 1). Microfilm. Operational Archives, U.S. Naval Historical Center, Washington, D.C.

Johnson, James

1957 *Survey Report on the Islands North of Saipan.* Saipan: U.S. Naval Administration Unit, Saipan District.

Kotzebue, Otto von

1821 *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering Straits*, vol. 3. London. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown.

Le Gobien, Charles

1949 History of the Mariana Islands. 1700. Translated by Father Paul Daly. Manuscript on file with the Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.

Lévesque, Rodrigue

1992 *European Discovery.* Vol. 1 of *History of Micronesia: A Collection of Source Documents.* Quebec: Lévesque Publications.

1995 *Focus on the Marianas*. Vol. 5 of *History of Micronesia: A Collection of Source Documents.*

1996a *Last Chamorro Revolt*. Vol. 8 of *History of Micronesia: A Collection of Source Documents.*

1996b *More Turmoil in the Marianas*. Vol. 7 of *History of Micronesia: A Collection of Source Documents.*

1997 *Exploration of the Caroline Islands.* Vol. 10 of *History of Micronesia: A Collection of Source Documents.*

Mangold, Gary

1997 Sourcing of Stone Artifacts in the Mariana Islands. Manuscript on file with the Division of Historic Preservation, Saipan.

Marche, Antoine-Alfred

1982 *The Mariana Islands*. Translated by Sylvia Cheng. Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.

Northern Islands Mayor's Office

1996 *The CNMI's Northern Frontier* (newsletter), vol. 1, no. 1. Saipan: Northern Islands Mayor's Office.

OPNAV

1944 *Civil Affairs Handbook Mandated Mariana Islands*. Washington, D.C.: OPNAV P–22–8.

Peattie, Mark

1988 *Nan'yo: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885–1945*. Pacific Islands Monograph Series, no. 4. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Peters, Jim

1973 Odyssey on Anatahan. *Micronesian Reporter* 1:40–46.

Richard, Dorothy

1957 *Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*, vol. 2. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Naval Operations.

Rogers, Robert, and Dirk Ballendorf

1989 Magellan's Landfall in the Mariana Islands. *Journal of Pacific History* 24 (2): 193–208.

Russell, Scott

1996 Preliminary Report of an Archaeological Assessment of Selected Areas on Agrigan, Pagan, Alamagan, and Anatahan. Manuscript on file with the Division of Historic Preservation, Saipan.

Valle, Teresa del

1991 *The Importance of the Mariana Islands to Spain at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century.* Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.

VISUAL MEDIA REVIEWS

Storytellers of the Pacific. 1996. Video, 2-vol. set, 120 min. Co-production of Pacific Islanders in Communication with Native American Public Telecommunications, ABC Australia, TV New Zealand, TV Ontario, and Nebraska ETV Network; distributed for Vision Maker Video by Lucerne Media (37 Ground Pine Rd., Morris Plains, NJ 07950; 1–800–341–2293; www.lucernemedia.com). US$150.

Reviewed by Geoffrey M. White, East-West Center and University of Hawai'i

STORYTELLERS OF THE PACIFIC brings together a remarkably powerful and diverse set of stories about identity struggles and cultural renewal in the Pacific and North America. The full set consists of two one-hour videos, each one grouping together six 10-minute films focusing on particular geocultural locales and issues that mark the cultural politics of each place. Volume 1, titled "Identity," includes segments on indigenous cultures in California, Hawai'i, Australia, Samoa, Canada, and Guam while volume two, titled "Self-Determination," presents films located in Hawai'i, Alaska, New Zealand, Australia, Mexico, and the U.S. Northwest Coast.

Storytellers was produced by Pacific Islanders in Communication (PIC), one of five minority consortia funded by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. It would be impossible to understand the significance of these films without understanding something about the context of their production, especially the formation of PIC as an organization that promotes works by Pacific Islanders themselves about the Pacific. Like most of PIC's productions, these are works of self-expression. They are told in a first-person voice, just as PIC describes its own mission in the first person as "a

Pacific Studies, Vol. 21, No. 4—December 1998

media organization dedicated to bringing the stories of indigenous Pacific Islanders as told in our own voices to national public television" (PIC website: http://www.piccom.org/). This mode of filmmaking is consistent with a broad trend in documentary film described by Michael Renov: "By 1990, any chronicler of documentary history would note the growing prominence of work by women and men of diverse cultural backgrounds in which the representation of the historical world is inextricably bound up with self-inscription" (Renov 1996:2).

The Pacific Islands segments of *Storytellers* were directed by Heather Haunani Giugni, Lurline Wailand McGregor, and Maria Yata. They were first shown on U.S. public television in December 1996. This collection and others like it mark the maturation of video as a major vehicle for indigenous cultural production in the Pacific. As technologies with wide geographic and social reach, video and television are increasingly important as media for collective self-definition (Ginsburg 1995), joining poetry and fiction writing as perhaps the most significant vehicles for native voices speaking about social and cultural life in the Pacific.

Storytellers was produced in collaboration with the Native American counterpart to PIC, Native American Public Telecommunications, Inc. The juxtaposition of films about Native American peoples of Alaska, Canada, and Mexico with segments on Pacific Islands societies situates the Pacific stories in a wider context and underscores the emergence of a global discourse of the indigenous, defined in large measure by similar histories of colonization and cultural survival. Although widely separated in geographic and cultural space, the indigenous groups depicted in these films have all experienced the corrosive effects of colonization and find themselves today contending with dominant cultures within the bounds of larger nation-states. In these contexts the meaning of "indigenous" is always framed by relations of domination with non-indigenous groups and with the state.

As described by Pacific Islanders in Communication, *Storytellers* is about "the impact of colonization on the peoples of the Pacific Rim. It includes stories of Identity, Land Rights and Healing Stories." Although the specific local issues taken up in each segment are quite diverse (ranging from recovery of stolen lands in the Save Kahoʻolawe movement in Hawaiʻi to recovery of lost identities by Aboriginal children adopted out to white families), the themes of colonization and resistance frame the entire series. The film's narrator, Joy Harjo, a Native American poet, introduces both of the one-hour programs with the same preamble:

> We the indigenous peoples of the Pacific, Canada, the United States of America, New Zealand, the Pacific Islands, and Australia come

> together with one voice to tell our stories of the impact of colonization. Europeans began exploring the Pacific over four hundred years ago with the full intention of acquiring new lands for their empires. Through colonization of the indigenous peoples they met they were successful in claiming the lands they came across. Colonization often resulted in the decimation of our populations, the removal from our lands, the loss of our languages, customs, religions, and identities. *Storytellers of the Pacific* celebrates the triumph of the human spirit over the impact of colonization on our self-determination.

The preamble to *Storytellers* is more than a statement of thematic focus. It is also a statement of purpose, spoken as a kind of incantation. Told largely through the personal stories of activists, scholars, and politicians, the films don't attempt to convey the kind of objectified histories typical of more-conventional documentary filmmaking. What they do provide are powerful statements of meaning and interest that give those histories social significance. Uttered in the collective voice of indigenous peoples, the introduction to *Storytellers* inevitably homogenizes differences among these stories, but it also captures an emergent sense of collective identity increasingly shared among native peoples of the Pacific and beyond.

To view these films is to come away with respect for the depth of commitment of those involved and a more-informed understanding of the cultural predicaments of Pacific peoples today. One of those predicaments is the dilemma of peoples living within multiple cultural worlds, bounded by sharply opposed identities such as indigenous and Western, traditional and modern, colonized and colonizer. While oppositions such as these tend to collapse complex categories into a few sharp binaries, they also illuminate the dynamics of power and domination that are a pervasive feature of life in indigenous communities throughout the Pacific. Each segment of *Storytellers* relates the experience of one or more individuals attempting to negotiate boundary crossings as they move between multiple identities.

In personal terms, these negotiations amount to daily decisions about identity in relation to indigenous and dominant cultures. Several of the films recount life stories marked by personal decisions to resist further "acculturation" and to recuperate lost identities, in some cases leading to dramatic transformations. These stories illustrate the importance of Antonio Gramsci's idea of hegemony as a process of internalization whereby the language and ideology of the dominant culture are adopted by subordinate peoples as their own, thus enabling domination without coercion. In the words of Greg Sarris, a professor of English at UCLA and elected chief of

the Miwa tribe of Santa Rosa, California, "People who have been invaded are never colonized, no matter what happens, until they've internalized the colonizer's idea of who and what they are." Similarly, Caroline Sinavaiana, a Samoan writer and University of Hawai'i professor of English, sees a kind of cultural dependency at work in American Samoa parallel to economic dependency. She likens cultural dependency to a form of "addiction" that is difficult to overcome precisely because it is so pervasive and naturalized in everyday life.

Each of these films portrays events and issues that link themes of cultural renewal and political empowerment—two themes that are consistently interlocked in the contemporary Pacific. In doing so, the films suggest some of the reasons why this is so: why culture is a major focus for political struggle and why indigenous political goals are almost always articulated in idioms of history and tradition.

Two of the communities that have suffered the most extensive cultural loss—Chamorros of Guam and Native Hawaiians—have both spawned movements focused on regaining land. These movements are depicted in the segments on Hawai'i and Guam included in the "Identity" portion of *Storytellers.* While the Guam video tells its story through the individual transformation of a well-known Chamorro activist, Angel L. G. Santos, the Hawai'i video presents a story of collective transformation focused on efforts to reclaim the island of Kaho'olawe, used by the U.S. Navy for bombing practice until it was turned over to a Native Hawaiian trust in 1994. Despite their brevity, these portraits manage to convey issues at the heart of contemporary movements in both places, telling a story about the volatile mix of military occupation, native activism, and cultural recovery.

The Hawaiian film presents a brief overview of the twenty-year struggle of the Save Kaho'olawe movement. Kaho'olawe became a focal point for Hawaiian activism in the 1980s, becoming a catalyst for the expression of native sentiments associated with land and spirituality. The film shows scenes of ritual, chanting, and ceremonial replanting that provide a glimpse of the symbolic power of the island as an icon of Hawaiian identity. Interviews with numerous political leaders who became involved with the movement underscore the formative influence of Kaho'olawe on the broader movement for Hawaiian sovereignty.

The Guam film is particularly effective because of its focus on a single individual, Angel Santos. Using the idiom of autobiography, it conveys a larger history of Chamorro identity and indigenous politics on Guam. Santos's story is a narrative of radicalization sure to get the attention of viewers unfamiliar with Guam history and politics. Recounting the origins of his own political consciousness, Santos recalls his thirteen years in the U.S. Air

Force. During that time he was stationed on Guam on three occasions and began to notice the marginal living conditions of local people. As he recalls, he asked himself, "Why did we become strangers in our own homeland?"

Aroused by his own experiences of discrimination within the military, Santos began to inform himself about the history of colonization that produced the conditions of today. These experiences led him to be "reborn to belong to a peoplehood," to see that his American education had overwritten an earlier sense of identity. The film's juxtaposition of photographs of Santos the Air Force officer, dressed in a trim uniform and posing beside the American flag, and Santos the native activist, appearing bare-chested and defiant, visually captures the identity contrasts that frame Santos's actions.

The story of Angel Santos moving through the phases of his life is also a story about the growth and mainstreaming of an indigenous movement. The film includes episodes of resistance or "civil disobedience" as well as of Santos running for election to the Guam Senate in 1994. In a memorable scene that has a quality of street theater, Santos and a compatriot climb a barbed-wire fence at a Guam military base only to be wrestled to the ground by military police and arrested. The "theater" aspect of the event is indexed by the presence of cameras: the filmmaker on one side of the fence and a military cameraman on the other, both filming each other filming the event.

That was on 14 August 1992. Santos narrates the entire sequence as a point in a process of political evolution: "I've learned that in using confrontation and civil disobedience as a first phase of the political process it was important first to promote a public awareness [of] historical injustices." The film then shifts to Santos as a well-dressed political candidate campaigning for a seat in the Guam Senate. He continues the narrative: "Having done that it is important for me to move on into the second phase and that is to change the laws that are not sensitive to the needs and the traditions of our people. So this is a political evolution. The first step as an activist [is] to promote such attention and create a crisis in this government so that the federal government would understand that the people are dissatisfied. And then the next process is to work within the system and to change those unjust laws."

Indeed, Santos is joined in his views of colonial history and injustice by other mainstream politicians, including the Guam representative to the U.S. Congress, Robert Underwood. Throughout the *Storytellers* films we see indigenous leaders discussing their views of the complex negotiations and accommodations required to mediate local and national political realities. Such accommodations are the primary theme of the segment on American Samoa, focused on Samoa's delegate to the U.S. Congress, Faleomavaega Eni Hunkin, four-term member of the House of Representatives. The Samoa

film visualizes these boundary crossings by showing Faleomavaega in Washington, D.C., on the floor of the House and then following him as he returns home to Samoa for campaigning. In talking to the camera he underscores the meaning of these movements for his own identity: "No matter where a Samoan goes, he will always come back here. Whether he's gone ten years, fifty years. You know, I'm an example. I didn't return literally until almost thirty years. And to come back, I had to go back to the traditions and try and learn again the culture and the mores, the village councils, the whole works."

For Hunkin, the relation between indigenous and American cultural worlds is more often one of mutual accommodation than rejection and resistance. He sees an ongoing "adaptation" of Samoan ways at the same time as he sees the "Samoanization" of American practices. "What makes our culture strong is our ability to adapt." As a result he feels optimistic about the "new generation of Samoans" and their ability to Samoanize "whatever the Western world offers."

The more optimistic views of a Faleomavaega are possible against a backdrop of cultural integrity in Samoan society characterized by a strong sense of language and tradition. Areas characterized by more severe histories of cultural erosion and erasure have produced more intense feelings of loss, anger, and the desire for recovery. The *Storytellers* vignettes chart this spectrum of sentiments.

In addition to land, a central focus for many indigenous movements is the recovery of language. So, for example, a woman commenting on language loss among the Aleut people of Alaska laments, "No one under 50 speaks the Aleut language fluently." Hawaiian author and professor of Hawaiian studies Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa articulates the primacy of language for indigenous identity when she says, "When you lose the gods you pray to that's really terrible. When you lose the land you live on because foreigners buy it up and you don't have money to buy land that is also terrible. When you lose your government and your sovereignty that's pretty horrible. But when you lose your language, you lose the soul of your culture, because you are forever disconnected from the wisdom of your ancestors."

Kameʻeleihiwa's statement introduces the segment on Hawaiʻi included in the second *Storytellers* program, "Self-Determination." That film focuses on the creation of Hawaiian-language preschools to teach Hawaiian children in the Hawaiian language. In choosing to focus on Kahoʻolawe and the Hawaiian-language program, the filmmakers have chosen two of the most significant, deeply felt topics in the movement for Hawaiian sovereignty.

Hawaiian-language preschools are at the center of a remarkable, ongoing story of language revival. The first "immersion school" was created on the

island of Kaua'i in 1984. Since that time the program has continued to grow, although never enough to keep up with demand. At the time of filming, one thousand children had become fluent speakers of Hawaiian as a result of these efforts. One constraint on growth, however, is the shortage of teachers. That is changing, though, with over one hundred Hawaiian-language majors at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo, making that program larger than English.

The experience of language loss epitomizes the experience of displacement and alienation associated with colonization. The Australian film included in the "Identity" portion of *Storytellers* focuses on just this sense of alienation, fostered by Australia's mid-century policy of adoption that placed thousands of Aboriginal children in white households (an experience depicted poetically in Tracey Moffatt's imagistic short film *Night Cries*). In a policy that stopped in the late 1970s, twelve thousand children were taken and placed with white families in New South Wales alone.

The film addresses this history through the story of Aboriginal storyteller Pauline McCloud, who was herself adopted by a white family. Her decision in 1986 to locate her natural family led her to feel that her "whole life changed" and that she had become "an Aboriginal person in a true sense." McCloud's odyssey resonates with the experience of several people portrayed in *Storyteller*, especially Native American Greg Sarris, who was also adopted and only with difficulty managed to discover his own heritage and some of the historical reasons for his loss of cultural memory.

* * * * *

Given that the cultural portraits conveyed here are concerned with personal and political moves toward empowerment, they require a form of representation directed by those involved. In an updated version of the phrase made famous by Marshall McLuhan in the 1960s, "the medium is the message." As noted earlier, these stories are authored and produced by Pacific Islanders. To do otherwise would be to perpetuate a long colonial history that has consistently Orientalized and anthropologized indigenous peoples as "disappearing" cultures represented in the discourse of others.

David Neel, a Kwakiutl artist and photographer featured in one of the *Storytellers* segments, discusses this point in terms that could easily be applied to the entire series and to the Pacific Islanders in Communication organization itself:

> The photography of Native peoples has never been conducted with respect, from a position of mutual respect. It has always been from

> a position of the other, coming from a viewpoint of Caucasian culture as superior. That has been the basic mentality, the basic philosophy of the people taking pictures, I believe. And I think you can see that in the work. I think that there are an awful lot of people nowadays who are trying to address that, both Native and non-Native. Photography and video and all of that has changed the way native people are perceived.

Neel talks about his photography in personal and spiritual terms ("Photography at its best can show a little bit of a person's soul"), but he also locates his work in a longer historical perspective. He reiterates a point made by writers from Edward Said to Donna Haraway: that Western representations of cultural others are almost always entangled in larger political and economic projects. In the case of indigenous cultures, he notes, "The idea of Native peoples as a vanishing race was created to serve a purpose. Native peoples were being disassociated from the land base and non-Native people were moving into the land. . . . Part of the way that was explained away is that Indians are a vanishing race."

Finally, a word about cinematic technique. *Storytellers* employs a number of visual and narrative devices to tell its stories. All of the segments combine political realism with personal voice. With a few exceptions, such as the appearance of ethereal ancestor figures in the Australian film about Pauline McCloud, there is little experimentation with modes of representation. In the Australian film, ghostly ancestor figures appear and disappear on the screen, superimposed on other images and accompanied by the spiritual tones of the *didjeridu.* In most of these videos, however, the presentation is more straightforward, presenting interviews interspersed with scenes of daily life as well as ritual and political events.

One of the judges at the tenth annual Native American Film and Video Festival in New York noted a difference between films from Canada, Mexico, and South America and films from the United States (which included *Storytellers of the Pacific*). As he saw it, "Films from outside the United States take a noticeably more artistic approach to the task of communicating native realities" whereas "the U.S. entries, by contrast, favored the documentary approach" (Apodaca 1998:B8). If this is the case, films such as *Storytellers* are documentary with a difference. They have moved away from conventional documentary practice where authority derived from a rhetoric of objectivity presented in the voice of an omniscient narrator toward a mode of authority that depends on a rhetoric of subjectivity and the voice of personal experience.

Because it is both documentary and self-expression, *Storytellers* is uniquely

valuable as an introduction to indigenous movements in the Pacific. It is the kind of teaching tool ideally suited to stimulating reflection and discussion, and would make an important addition to any syllabus in Pacific studies or ethnic and indigenous studies.

REFERENCES

Apodaca, Paul
1998 Native American Reality: Fictional and Documentary Approaches. *Chronicle of Higher Education,* 20 February: B8–9.

Ginsburg, Faye
1995 Mediating Culture: Indigenous Media, Ethnographic Film, and the Production of Identity. In *Fields of Vision: Essays in Film Studies, Visual Anthropology, and Photography,* ed. L. Devereaux and R. Hillman. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Renov, Michael
1996 Transformations in Film as Reality (Part 3): New Subjectivities: Documentary and Self-Representation in the Post-Verité Age. *Documentary Box* #7:1–9.

Three Films by Tracey Moffatt: *Nice Coloured Girls, Night Cries: A Rural Tragedy,* and *Bedevil.* Distributed by Women Make Movies (462 Broadway, New York, NY 10013; 212–925–0606).

Reviewed by Jane C. Goodale, Bryn Mawr College

These three films are powerful examples of contemporary filmmaking. As illustrations of the filmmaker's Australian Aboriginal cultural identity, they illuminate the world that contemporary indigenous Australians share with the non-indigenous. Each film, in its own way and with extraordinary subtlety, demonstrates the residual depth of certain aspects of the precontact culture—with the most striking being the concept of time. For the indigenous Australian past events persist into the present. With skillful use of flashbacks, disembodied sound and images, multicultural narrators and readers of texts, Moffatt presents stories with overlapping and overlaid time markers that leave the viewer impressed with and always stimulated by the underlying messages, but also sometimes mentally exhausted. The films require repeat viewings to fully appreciate the subtle filming, acting and editing.

In her film *Nice Coloured Girls* (1987, 16 min., color), Moffatt shows us a fragment of contemporary urban life seen through the eyes of young female

Aborigines walking the streets in search of men whom they can exploit for money. Much of the action takes place in a pub where the sound is natural and the narration by subtitles. These images are alternated by reference to a lithograph of (I presume) Botany Bay, where the First Fleet landed in 1788. The modern young women (through subtitles) narrate the contemporary pub scenes, commenting on and showing the physical characteristics of various men they victimize (and call "captains" because their mothers called them that), how they pick them up, and how they eventually render them powerless and easily separated from their wallets. The past is narrated by non-indigenous male voices reading from accounts (and lithographs) of first contact between the male seamen/settlers and the ancestral indigenous women whom they describe. That the past is part of the present in the lives of the young prostitutes is an obvious theme of this film.

Night Cries: A Rural Tragedy (1990, 19 min., color) is the second short film made by Moffatt. In my opinion this is the most outstanding of the three because of its simplicity and universality. With no narration (but with a male gospel singer, Jimmy Little, as intermittent background sound) we peer into scenes between a middle-aged daughter and her elderly and feeble mother, set in a rural outback home that is as stark (hot, dry, and windy) as the women's emotions: the frustrations of the old and infirm (mother) and the drudgery of elemental care-taking (daughter). The scenes include the daughter feeding her mother, wheelchair trips to the outhouse, waiting outside to make the return trip, and listening to the mother's breathing and waiting. For the daughter the present scene is repeatedly interrupted by other scenes—of the gospel singer, a mother caring for a young daughter, a child playing on rocks who is terrorized at being tangled in wet seaweed and is finally comforted in the arms of her mother. The film ends with the daughter's overwhelming grief following the mother's death. The powerful images of this film have burned indelibly into my memory. It is above all one of the most human films I ever have seen. The mother is acted by Agnes Hardwick and the daughter by Marcia Langton. Both performances are superb.

The longest film, *Bedevil* (1993, 90 min., color), is really three short stories with the only underlying connection being the illustration of the concept of the ever-present past in the present.

The first part (titled "Mr. Chuck") takes place on an island with a locally famous swamp into which, during the time of World War II, an American soldier drove his tank and disappeared. This event is narrated by a number of the island's inhabitants—a white shopkeeper and a white woman, and white children and a young aboriginal boy and his siblings. The legend of Mr. Chuck is a part of the charm of the island for the whites and eventually

the island is developed into a resort and a cinema is built over the swamp. The boy (who once fell or was pulled off a log and into the swamp) hates the island but finds the cinema a source of stolen candy and a challenge due to the ever-present Mr. Chuck. This film, while illustrating differing understandings of the environment, also starkly shows the division between aboriginals and whites.

The second part (titled "Choo Choo Choo Choo") begins with the sound of a train, a crying babe, a running figure in white, and an old but modern truck loaded with Aborigines singing as they return to their central Australian desert home beside the railroad track for a "gourmet" picnic. The story here is of a mystery surrounding the place. What happened in the past at this place is slowly revealed but significantly in no ordered sequence of time from past to present. The film is rich with symbols of belief of the ever-present past and of the importance of things unseen and of other worlds. The filmmaker, Tracey Moffatt, is one of the actors.

The last part of this film (titled "Lovin' the Spin I'm In") is set as if on a stage. On the viewers' left is a building with a shop at the corner over which there is an apartment. Across the street and on the viewers' right is a large warehouse. The featured characters are a husband, wife, and teen-aged son, who live in the apartment, and an elderly woman, a Torres Strait Islander, who inhabits the warehouse. Urban developers have bought the warehouse and are surprised to see it still standing and its inhabitant still unevicted, but the husband (previous owner) insists that tomorrow she will be. The action switches between the present—the night before the eventual eviction—and the past, when the Islander woman, Imelda, moved into the warehouse with a young couple, also Torres Strait Islanders. In both times there is a spirited and colorful dance that involves the husband and is seen by the teen-aged son. There is a colorfully costumed dancer (clown/jester), a fire, a roller-bladed skater, and a clockwise spinning car surrounded by people running counter. Several viewings are necessary to make out any coherent story, but the underlying sense of the timelessness of events is made clear.

Moffatt is a skilled teller of tales through strong visual and auditory images. The images she transmits in film are powerful accounts of culture's persistence, complexity/simplicity, and flexibility. While Moffatt has not intended to present an ethnographic view of her world, she does tell us a great deal about the everyday lives of contemporary Aborigines in a multicultural society, as well as their interpretations of shared events with others. The films should appeal to anyone interested in filmmaking, the multicultural Australian society, and contemporary indigenous Aborigines. As films about women and made by a woman, they should also strongly appeal to anyone concerned with women's worldviews.

A Death to Pay For: Individual Voices. 1996. Video, 49 min. Produced and directed by Charlie Nairn. Ray Fitzwalter Associates for BBC; distributed by Penn State Public Broadcasting (118 Wagner Bldg., University Park, PA 16802-3899; 1–800–770–2111; http://mediasales.psu.edu). US$175.

Reviewed by Jason Carter and Laura Zimmer-Tamakoshi, Truman State University

The central drama of *A Death to Pay For* is the Kawelka tribe's efforts to give and to have accepted a large compensation payment for the killing of a young Mokei tribesman by a Kawelka youth. It is soon apparent that not everyone agrees about how the killing—which occurred in a barroom brawl—should be handled or that a "traditional" compensation payment (including pigs, cassowaries, and cash) will satisfy the Mokei.

Ongka, a Kawelka big-man made famous in an earlier video also produced in association with anthropologist Andrew Strathern, continues to place a large measure of faith in the power of tradition. In a moment of reflection he admits that a taboo he had placed on beer drinking had no effect among Kawelka youth, the tragic result being the senseless killing. He does, however, advise: "If you want to kill a marsupial, you hit it hard and you hit it repeatedly. So it is with this compensation; hit it hard and hit it repeatedly." A generation younger than Ongka (who was then in his late seventies), Kawelka religious leader Ru expresses the opinion that "as long as the younger men think the older men will help, they won't change their ways. The only thing that will change them is jail." Having achieved fame by organizing traditional rituals, Ru is on the verge of converting to Pentecostalism, a faith adopted by his wives and family. Younger still is William Pik, the Kawelka's first elected leader and deputy premier of Western Highlands Province, who opts for Ongka's way—but with a twist. Believing that the system of compensation "runs in our [people's] blood" and that compensation, along with Christian brotherhood, is the best way to resolve trouble between the tribes, Pik opens a secret meeting of Kawelka and Mokei leaders with a prayer, emphasizing God as the "Father of us all" and reminding those present that, as the children of God, they should seek an amicable solution in the matter of the killing. After everyone bows their heads in prayer and agreement, the Mokei—much of whose land has been taken up by the town of Hagen—make an unprecedented and, to the Kawelka, unacceptable request for land as part of the death compensation.

The voices and perspectives of Kawelka and Mokei youths are absent from the video, with the exception of one self-proclaimed rascal. Providing an eerie counterpoint to the more mature and community-minded voices of

Ongka, Ru, and Pik, Nikints tells the narrator that he knows he should follow God's way but Satan keeps telling him to steal and kill. Scenes of Nikints and his beer-drinking friends are chilling reminders of the crowds of idle youths seen in every village and town in Papua New Guinea, most partially educated, unemployed, and without clear purpose or understanding of either the old or new ways of life; the new "disconnected bits of the white man's world" are particularly difficult to grasp and fashion into modern socialities and personal identities.

Filmed in 1995 for BBC broadcast, *A Death to Pay For* evokes a sense of things falling apart. Old men's control over younger men is being eroded by the strong appeal of white men's things, especially money and beer. Unhappy wives—like Mande, one of Ru's several wives—are turning more and more to the church—rather than to their husbands or fathers—for solace and direction in their domestic conflicts. In Mande's case, the church affords her a sense of being "inside the fence made for me by God" and of no longer needing to express her jealousy by constantly fighting with Ru and his other wives. In one of the more affecting scenes in the video, Ongka's favorite daughter, Yara, tells her father—whom she obviously respects and loves—that she resents him greatly for not sending her to school and keeping her back in the village where, she believes, she has missed out on a better life. Yara implicates God in her suppressed life, saying that if God had made her a man she could have carried on in Ongka's tradition of power. As it is, she laments, Ongka's considerable political skills and powers of speech will die with him and she and her children will be left without a strong protector.

Meanwhile, foreign missionaries and others preach the world's end in the year 2000 and the Kawelka must come to terms with yet another, more serious, threat. It is in their reactions to the imminent destruction of their way of life, however, that we the viewers see glimmers of hope for the video's protagonists. Ongka, practical to the end, is baptized in the Christian faith. "Look," he says, "I'm going to die and I won't come back. If I keep to my bad ways, like stealing and having loose sex, I won't go to Heaven. So I'll leave all these things behind me . . . my soul will go to a good place [and] God, the one they speak about, will put me on his right-hand side." When the millennium comes, Ongka hopes he is issued a loudspeaker so he can tell his people what to do. It is with bemused self-satisfaction that he explains his decision to join the Catholic Church—versus the Lutheran Church—because the Catholics do not charge you anything to take Holy Communion. Rebuked for doing "Satan's work," Ru laughs about how he convinced local missionaries that his involvement in traditional cult rituals was purely for the sake of the "tourists," capitalist enterprises such as tourism apparently fitting into the category of "God's work" and not likely to

prevent Ru from going to Heaven when the end comes. Yara, less sanguine than the male leaders, is indignant that she and her innocent children might suffer from a fate that she—because she is a woman, who never went to school—is unable to read about in the Bible. Unable to decide for herself whether or not the end is really coming, Yara refuses to heap ashes on herself or to believe she and her children deserve such a fate.

Readers who teach courses in Pacific and Melanesian cultures will want to consider using *A Death to Pay For* in classes on contemporary life in Papua New Guinea. As background, students might first view the still excellent video *The Kawelka: Ongka's Big Moka* (Nairn 1990). Andrew Strathern's published translations of Ongka's (1979) and Ru's (1993) autobiographies and Strathern's classic *The Rope of Moka* (1971) are also valuable resources on Melanesian big-men and ceremonial exchange. Because the video deals with complex issues, Strathern and Pamela J. Stewart have put together a booklet—*A Death to Pay For: Individual Voices* (1998; distributed with the video)—intended to provide more in-depth interview texts that supply a fuller picture of the characters depicted in the video and the issues that are discussed. For a wider understanding of the ways Christian evangelism, consumer capitalism, and (to a certain extent) criminal activities are incorporated by Papua New Guinean youth into new socialities and increasingly self-centered personal identities, students might also benefit from reading Deborah Gewertz and Frederick Errington's recent accounts on Tolai (1993) and Chambri (1996) teenagers. And Ongka's decision to "tie" his daughter down in the village will make greater sense to college-age students if they know more about the high rates of domestic violence and other dangers facing urban women as well as more on the political and economic inequality of Papua New Guinean women in general. Possible references include Holly Wardlow's article on Papua New Guinean women's reactions to the Turkish video *Bobby Teardrops* (1996) and its portrayal of a neglected wife, Pamela Rosi and Laura Zimmer-Tamakoshi's accounts of love and marriage among the educated elite in Port Moresby (1993), and Zimmer-Tamakoshi's article on the difficulties facing female politicians and leaders of women's organizations in contemporary Papua New Guinea (1993). Another video that demonstrates the chaos involved in capitalist development—in this case, mining—is John Davis's *Mountains of Gold: The People of Porgera* (1993).

REFERENCES

Davis, J., prod. and dir.
1993 *Mountains of Gold: The People of Porgera.* Video, 52 min., color. New York: Davis Film and Video; distributed by Filmakers Library.

Gewertz, D., and F. Errington
1993 The Individuation of Tradition in a Papua New Guinean Modernity. *American Anthropologist* 98 (1): 114–126.
1996 On PepsiCo and Piety in a Papua New Guinea "Modernity." *American Ethnologist* 23 (3): 476–493.

Nairn, C., prod. and dir.
1990 *The Kawelka: Ongka's Big Moka.* Video, 52 min. Chicago: Films Incorporated Video.

Rosi, P., and L. Zimmer-Tamakoshi
1993 Love and Marriage among the Educated Elite in Port Moresby. In *The Business of Marriage: Transformations in Oceanic Matrimony,* ed. R. Marksbury. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Strathern, A. J.
1971 *The Rope of Moka: Big-Men and Ceremonial Exchange in Mount Hagen, New Guinea.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———, trans.
1979 *Ongka: A Self-Account by a New Guinea Big-Man.* London: Gerald Duckworth; New York: St. Martin's Press.
1993 *Ru: Biography of a Western Highlander.* Boroko, Papua New Guinea: National Research Institute.

Strathern, A. J., and P. J. Stewart
1998 *A Death to Pay For: Individual Voices.* Distributed along with the video, *A Death to Pay For.* University Park: Penn State Media Services.

Wardlow, H.
1996 *Bobby Teardrops:* A Turkish Video in Papua New Guinea, Reflections on Cultural Studies, Feminism, and the Anthropology of Mass Media. *Visual Anthropology Review* 12 (1): 1–17.

Zimmer-Tamakoshi, L.
1993 Nationalism and Sexuality in Papua New Guinea. *Pacific Studies* 16 (4): 20–48.

BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLANDS PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, SEPTEMBER 1997–AUGUST 1998

THIS LIST of significant new publications relating to the Pacific Islands was selected from new acquisitions lists received from Brigham Young University–Hawai'i, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, University of Auckland, East-West Center, University of the South Pacific, National Library of Australia, and the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau's Centre for Pacific Development and Training. Other libraries are invited to send contributions to the Books Noted Editor for future issues. Listings reflect the extent of information provided by each institution.

Abbott, Isabella Aiona. *Limu: An Ethnobotanical Study of Some Edible Hawaiian Seaweeds.* Lawai, Kaua'i: National Tropical Botanical Garden, 1996.

Agniel, Guy, and Yves Pimonyt. *Le Pacifique.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997.

Ahai, Naihuwo, and Michael Bopp. *Missing Links: Literacy, Awareness, and Development in Papua New Guinea.* Boroko: National Research Inst., 1995.

Ainati, Etkia, and Abera Timea. *Te Borau ni Kiribati.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1997.

Allardice, R. W. *A Simplified Dictionary of Modern Samoan.* Auckland: Polynesian Press, 1994.

Ammann, Raymond. *Kanak Dance and Music: Ceremonial and Intimate Performance of the Melanesians of New Caledonia, Historical and Actual.* London: Kegan Paul, 1997.

Ancient O'ahu: Stories from Fornander and Thrum. Honolulu: Kalamaku Press, 1996.

Ariyoshi, George R. *With Obligation to All.* Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 1997.

Asian Development Bank. *Strategy for the Pacific: Policies and Programs for Sustainable Growth.* Manila: The Bank, 1996.

Pacific Studies, Vol. 21, No. 4—December 1998

Australia's Indigenous Languages. Wayville, S.A.: Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia, 1996.

Barbieri, Gian Paolo. *Tahiti Tattoos.* Cologne: Taschen, 1998.

Beard, Joan. *South Pacific Islands.* 2d ed. Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Little Hills Press, 1996.

Beloff, Jim. *The Ukelele: A Visual History.* San Francisco: Miller Freeman Books, 1997.

Bensa, Alban, and Jean-Claude Rivierro. *Les filles di rocher até: Contes et récits paici.* Paris: Librarie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1994.

Benson, Charlotte. *The Economic Impact of Natural Disasters in Fiji.* London: Overseas Development Inst., 1997.

Benton, Tim, and Tom Spencer, eds. *The Pitcairn Islands: Biogeography, Ecology, and Prehistory.* London: Academic Press, 1995.

Beran, Harry. *Mutuaga: A Nineteenth-Century New Guinea Master Carver.* Wollongong, N.S.W.: U. Wollongong Press, 1996.

Bierbach, Annette. *Religion and Language of Easter Island: An Ethnolinguistic Analysis of Religious Key Words of Rapa Nui in Their Austronesian Context.* Berlin: D. Reimer, 1996.

Blust, Robert, ed. *Currents in Pacific Linguistics.* Canberra: Dept. of Linguistics, Australian National U., 1991.

Bonvallot, Jacques. *Les atolls des Tuamotu.* Paris: ORSTOM, 1994.

Boulay, Roger. *La maison Kanak.* Paris: Editions Parentheses, 1990.

———. *Les objets racontent: Le pays qui se tient debout.* Noumea: Grain de Sable, 1996.

Brou, Bernara. *Memento d'histoire de la Nouvelle-Calédonie: Les temps modernes, 1774–1925.* Noumea: Société d'Etudes Historiques de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, 1992.

Burt, Ben, and Christian Clerk, eds. *Environment and Development in the Pacific Islands.* Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National U., 1997.

Cadousteau, Mai-Arii. *Généalogies commentées des Arii des îles de la Société.* Papeete: Sociétés des Etudes Océaniennes, 1996.

Carter, Charles Rooking. *Catalogue of Books on New Zealand.* Christchurch: Cadsonbury Publications, 1997.

Carucci, Laurence Marshall. *Nuclear Nativity: Rituals of Renewal and Empowerment in the Marshall Islands.* DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois U. Press, 1997.

Chand, Satish. *Ethnic Conflict, Income, Inequality, and Growth in Independent Fiji.* Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National U., 1997.

Chandra, Rajesh, and Keith Mason, eds. *An Atlas of Fiji.* Suva: U. South Pacific, 1998.

Chapman, Terry, et al. *Niue: A History of the Island.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1992.

Chappell, David A. *Beyond the Beach: Periplean Frontiers of Pacific Islanders Aboard Euroamerican Ships, 1768–1887.* Ph.D. thesis, U. Hawai'i, 1991.

———. *Double Ghosts: Oceanic Voyages on Euroamerican Ships.* Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharp, 1997.

Chester, Sharon, et al. *The Marquesas Islands: Mave Mai.* San Mateo, Calif.: Wandering Albatross, 1998.

Childress, David Hatch. *Ancient Tonga and the Lost City of Mua, including Samoa, Fiji, and Rarotonga.* Kempton, Ill.: Adventures Unlimited Press, 1996.

———. *Ancient Micronesia and the Lost City of Nan Madol, including Palau, Yap, Kosrae, Chuuk, and Marianas.* Kempton, Ill.: Adventures Unlimited Press, 1998.

Chun, Naomi N. Y. *Hawaiian Canoe-building Traditions.* Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1995.

Churchman, Geoffrey B., ed. *Celluloid Dreams: A Century of Film in New Zealand.* Wellington: IPL Books, 1997.

Clark, Sheila Seiler. *Being Maohi Today: Change, Social Roles, and Refining Ethnic Identity in the Society Islands.* Ph.D. thesis, U. California–Los Angeles, 1995.

Cleland, Rachel Dame. *Grass Roots to Independence and Beyond: The Contribution by Women in Papua New Guinea, 1951–1991.* Clermont, W.A.: R. Cleland, 1996.

Clerk, Christian. *The Animal World of Mangaians.* Ph.D. thesis, U. London, 1981.

Cochrane, Susan. *Contemporary Art in Papua New Guinea.* Roseville, N.S.W.: Craftsman House, 1997.

Cole, Sharon, and Vitiolia Kulatea. *Cultural Crafts of Niue: Tau Koloa Fakamotu ha Niue Koloa Laufa.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1996.

Collins, Jock, ed. *Confronting Racism in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand.* 2 vols. Broadway, N.S.W.: University of Technology, 1995.

Connell, John. *Papua New Guinea: The Struggle for Development.* London: Routledge, 1997.

Connell, John, et al., eds. *Resources, Nations, and Indigenous Peoples: Case Studies from Australasia, Melanesia, and Southeast Asia.* Melbourne: Oxford U. Press, 1996.

Conand, C. *Sea Cucumbers and Beche-de-mer of the Tropical Pacific: A Handbook for Fishers.* Rev. ed. Noumea: South Pacific Commission, 1994.

Cormack, Syd, and Joanna Orwin. *Four Generations from Maoridom: The Memoirs of South Island Kaumatua and Fisherman.* Dunedin: U. Otago Press, 1997.

The Covenant Makers: Islander Missionaries in the Pacific. Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1996.

Cox, J. Halley, and Edward Stasack. *Hawaiian Petroglyphs.* Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1995.

Crane, Jeffrey L. *Sociology of Hawaii: Facts and Commentary.* New York: HarperCollins, 1992.

Crocombe, Ronald G., ed. *Land Tenure in the Atolls: Cook Islands, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Tokelau, Tuvalu.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1995.

Crowley, Terry. *A New Bislama Dictionary.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1995.

Dale, Paul W. *The Tonga Book.* Montreaux, Wash.: Minerva Press, 1996.

D'Alleva, Anne. *Arts of the Pacific Islands.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998.

Dangerous Words: Language and Politics in the Pacific. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1991.

Davin, Dan, ed. *Classic New Zealand Short Stories.* Auckland: Oxford U. Press, 1997.

Demmke, Andreas. *Tonga Population Profile: A Guide for Planners and Policy-makers.* Noumea: South Pacific Commission, 1996.

Dennis, Jonathan, and Jan Bieringa, eds. *Film in Aotearoa, New Zealand.* 2d ed. Wellington: Victoria U. Press, 1996.

Denoon, Donald, et al., eds. *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders.* Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1997.

Duerner, Frederick Charles. *Television and Transition: The Cook Islands Experience, 1986–1993.* Ph.D. thesis, U. California–Santa Barbara, 1994.

Dukes, Michael Peter. *A Categorical Approach to Raising and Equi in Tongan.* M.A. thesis, U. California–Los Angeles, 1993.

Dunmore, John. *Visions and Realities: France in the Pacific, 1695–1995.* Waikanae, N.Z.: Heritage Press, 1997.

———, ed. *New Zealand and the French: Two Centuries of Contact.* 2d ed. Waikanae, N.Z.: Heritage Press, 1997.

Dureau, Christine May. *Mixed Blessings: Christianity and History in Women's Lives on Simbo, Western Solomon Islands.* Ph.D. thesis, Macquarie U., 1994.

Dye, Bob. *Hawaii Chronicles II: Contemporary Island History from the Pages of* Honolulu *Magazine.* Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 1998.

Earle, Timothy K. *How Chiefs Came to Power: The Political Economy in Prehistory.* Stanford: Stanford U. Press, 1997.

Easton, Brian. *In Stormy Seas: The Post-War New Zealand Economy.* Dunedin: U. Otago Press, 1997.

Eckert, Karen L. *The Biology and Population Status of Marine Turtles in the North Pacific Ocean.* Washington: National Marine Fisheries Service, 1993.

Edge-Partington, James. *Ethnographic Album of the Pacific Islands.* 2d ed. Bangkok: SDI Publications, 1996.

Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the Colonial Dream: A Reconsideration. Wellington: GP Publications, 1997.

Efi, Tuiatua Tupua Tamasese Taisi Tupuola Tufuga. *Englishing My Samoan: Selected Speeches and Letters.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1995.

Elvy, W. J. *Kaikoura Coast: The History, Traditions, and Maori Place-names of Kaikoura.* Christchurch: Cadsonbury, 1996.

———. *Kei Puta te Wairau: A History of Marlborough in Maori Times.* Christchurch: Cadsonbury Publications, 1997. (Reprint of 1957 ed.)

Emerson, Nathaniel Bright. *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: The Sacred Songs of the Hula.* Honolulu: Ai Pohaku Press, 1997. (Reprint of 1909 ed.)

Eustis, Nelson. *King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, the King of Tonga.* Adelaide: Hyde Park Press, 1997.

Evans, Jeff. *Nga Waka o Nehera: The First Voyaging Canoes.* Auckland: Reed, 1997.

Evison, Harry Charles. *The Long Dispute: Maori Land Rights and European Colonisation in Southern New Zealand.* Christchurch: Canterbury U. Press, 1997.

Fairbairn, Te'o Ian J., and Delisle Worrell. *South Pacific and Caribbean Island Economies: A Comparative Study.* Brisbane, Qld.: Foundation for Development Cooperation, 1996.

Fajans, Jane. *They Make Themselves: Work and Play among the Baining of Papua New Guinea.* Chicago: U. Chicago Press, 1997.

Farber, Joseph M., and Sitiveni Halapua. *Ancient Hawaiian Fishponds: Can Restoration Succeed on Molokai?* Encinitas, Calif.: Neptune House Publications, 1997.

Farrow, Cherry. *Pacific Odyssey: The Islands of the South Seas.* London: Michael O'Mara Books, 1990.

Fatialofa, Peter, and Phil Gifford. *Fats: Peter Fatialofa and the Manu Samoa Story.* Auckland: Rugby Publishing, 1996.

Feldberg, Sonia. *Maka'ainana (People of the Land): The Issue of Hawaiian Sovereignty, the Life Cycle of Ka Lahui.* M.A. thesis, U. Nevada–Las Vegas, 1996.

Fiji: Tourism Development Plan, 1998-2005. Suva: Ministry of Tourism and Transport, 1997.

Fitzpatrick, Scott M., and Victoria N. Kanai. *Palau Five Year Historical and Cultural Preservation Plan: 1998–2003.* Palau: Division of Cultural Affairs, 1997.

Flood, Josephine. *Archaeology of the Dreamtime: The Story of Prehistoric Australia and Its People.* New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1990.

———. *The Riches of Ancient Australia: An Indispensable Guide for Exploring Prehistoric Australia.* St. Lucia: U. Queensland Press, 1993.

Flood, Nancy Bohac. *From the Mouth of the Monster Eel: Stories from Micronesia.* Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Publications, 1996.

Fornander, Abraham, and Glen Grant. *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I.* Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1996. (Reprint of 1885 ed.)

Frankel, David Kimo. *Protecting Paradise: A Citizen's Guide to Land and Water Use Controls in Hawaii.* Kailua, Hawai'i: Dolphin Printing & Publishing, 1997.

Freeman, Derek. *Margaret Mead and the Heretic: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth.* New York: Penguin Books, 1996.

Friedman, Hal Marc. *Creating an American Lake: United States Imperialism, Strategic Security, and the Pacific Basin, 1945–1947.* Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State U., 1995.

Friedman, Jonathan, and James G. Carrier, eds. *Melanesian Modernities.* Lund, Swed.: Lund U. Press, 1996.

Furey, Louise. *Orurangi: The Archaeology and Material Culture of a Hauraki Pa.* Auckland: Auckland Inst. and Museum, 1996.

Furrer, Roger MacPherson, ed. *He Aloa He Alo: Face to Face.* Honolulu: American Friends Service Committee, 1993.

Garrett, John. *Where Nets Were Cast.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1997.

Gauthier, Jacques. *Les écoles populaires Kanak: Une révolution pédagogique?* Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996.

Gill, William Wyatt. *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia: With Illustrative Clan Songs.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1995. (Reprint of 1894 ed.)

Gilson, Richard. *The Cook Islands: 1820–1950.* Wellington: Victoria U. Press, 1991.

Gleason, Mary Gayle. *Factors Influencing the Recovery of Corals after Natural Disturbance on Reefs in Moorea, French Polynesia.* Ph.D. thesis, U. California–Berkeley, 1994.

Goodenough, Ward H., ed. *Prehistoric Settlement of the Pacific.* Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1998.

Griffen, Arlene. *With Heart and Nerve and Sinew: Post-coup Writing from Fiji.* Suva: Christmas Club, 1997.

Griffith, Penny, et al., eds. *Book and Print in New Zealand: A Guide to Print Culture in Aotearoa.* Wellington: Victoria U. Press, 1997.

Haleck, Peggy Ann. *Student Voices: Samoan Perspectives of Ideal Student and Ideal Teacher.* Ph.D. thesis, U. Hawai'i, 1996.

Hall, Sandra Kimberley, and Greg Ambrose. *Memories of the Duke: The Legend Comes to Life.* Honolulu: Bess Press, 1995.

Hamid, Kazi Aktar. *Self-determination: The Case Study of Hawaii.* Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1994.

Hauser-Schaublin, Brigitta, and Gundolf Kruger, eds. *James Cook: Gifts and Treasures from the South Seas.* Munich: Prestel, 1998.

Hazelman, Fu'a Meki. *Changes in Lifestyle in Savai'i, Samoa: The Impact of Hotel and Tourism Development.* Suva: U. South Pacific, 1998.

Hereniko, Vilsoni. *Sina and Tinalau.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1997.

Hezel, Francis X. *Strangers in Their Own Land: A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands.* Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 1998.

Hollmann, Eckhard. *Paul Gauguin: Images from the South Seas.* Munich: Prestel, 1996.

Hopkins, Helen C. F., and James I. Menzies. *The Flora of Motupore Island, Papua New Guinea.* Boroko: U. Papua New Guinea Press, 1995.

Houston, James D. *In the Ring of Fire: A Pacific Basin Journey.* San Francisco: Mercury House, 1997.

Hurst, Norman Paul. *Power and Prestige: The Arts of Island Melanesia and the Polynesian Outliers.* Cambridge, Mass.: Hurst Gallery, 1996.

Ihimaera, Witi, ed. *Mataora: The Living Force: Contemporary Maori Art.* Auckland: David Bateman, 1996.

Jackson, Stephen Alexander. *Exchanging Help: Death, Self-similarity, and Social Responsibility in a New Ireland Community, Papua New Guinea.* Ph.D. thesis, U. Virginia, 1995.

Jalal, Patricia Imrana. *Law for Pacific Women: A Legal Rights Handbook.* Suva: Fiji Women's Rights Movement, 1998.

Johnson, R. W., et al. *Natural Hazards: Their Potential in the Pacific Southwest.* Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service, 1995.

Kaeppler, Adrienne Lois, et al. *Oceanic Art.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997.

Kame'eleihiwa, Lilikala. *A Legendary Tradition of Kamapua`a, the Hawaiian Pig-God.* Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1996.

Kamu, Lalomilo. *The Samoan Culture and the Christian Gospel.* Apia: Methodist Printing Press, 1996.

Karena-Holmes, David. *Maori Language: Understanding the Grammar.* Auckland: Reed Books, 1997.

Kay, Robert F. *Hidden Tahiti.* Berkeley, Calif.: Ulysses Press, 1997.

Keast, Allan, and Scott E. Miller. *The Origin and Evolution of Pacific Island Biotas, New Guinea to Eastern Polynesia: Patterns and Processes.* Amsterdam: SPB Academic Publishing, 1996.

Kihleng, Kimberlee Sterritt. *Women in Exchange: Negotiating Relations Practice and the Constitution of Female Power in Processes of Cultural Reproduction and Change in Pohnpei, Micronesia.* Ph.D. thesis, U. Hawai'i, 1996.

Kilham, Christopher. *Kava, Medicine Hunting in Paradise: The Pursuit of a Natural Alternative to Anti-anxiety Drugs and Sleeping Pills.* Rochester, Vt.: Park Street Press, 1996.

King, Michael. *Nga Iwi o te Motu: One Thousand Years of Maori History.* Auckland: Reed, 1997.

Kirch, Patrick Vinton. *The Lapita Peoples: Ancestors of the Oceanic World.* Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1997.

Knapman, Bruce. *Capitalism and Colonial Development: Studies in the Economic History of Fiji, 1874–1939.* Detroit: Wayne State U. Press, 1997.

Kouka, Hone. *Waiora: Te Ukaipo = The Homeland: A Play.* Wellington: Huia Publishers, 1997.

Krohn, Val Frieling. *Hawaii Dye Plants and Dye Recipes.* Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 1992.

Krupnick, Jon E. *Pan American's Pacific Pioneers: A Pictorial History of Pan Am's Pacific Flights, 1935–1946.* Missoula, Mont.: Pictorial Histories, 1997.

Kwiatkowski, P. F., and Tom Mehau. *The Hawaiian Tattoo.* Kohala, Hawai'i: Halona Inc., 1996.

Lal, Brij V. *A Vision for Change: A. D. Patel and the Politics of Fiji.* Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National U., 1997.

Lal, Brij V., and Tomasi Rayalu Vakatora, eds. *Fiji and the World.* Suva: School of Social and Economic Development, U. South Pacific, 1997.

———. *Fiji in Transition.* Suva: School of Social and Economic Development, U. South Pacific, 1997.

La Pérouse, Jean-Francois de Galaup de. *The Journal of Jean-Francois de Galaup de la Pérouse, 1785–1788.* 2 vols. London: Hakluyt Society, 1994–1995.

Lay, Graeme. *100 NZ Short Short Stories.* North Shore City, N.Z.: Tandem Press, 1997.

Lee, Youngmin. *Ethnicity toward Multiculturalism: Socio-spatial Relations of the Korean Community in Honolulu, 1903–1940.* Ph.D. thesis, Louisiana State U., 1995.

Lei-lanilau, Carolyn. *Ono Ono Girl's Hula.* Madison: U. Wisconsin Press, 1997.

Levesque, Rodrigue. *History of Micronesia.* 6 vols. Gatineau, Que.: Les Editions Levesque, 1992–1995.

Levine, Alan J. *The Pacific War: Japan versus the Allies.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1995.

Levy, Neil M. *Micronesia Handbook.* 4th ed. Chico, Calif.: Moon Publications, 1997.

Liliuokalani. *Kumulipo: An Hawaiian Creation Myth.* Kentfield, Calif.: Pueo Press, 1997.

Linn, Brian McAllister. *Guardians of Empire: The U.S. Army and the Pacific, 1902–1940.* Chapel Hill: U. North Carolina Press, 1997.

Lobban, Christopher S., and Maria Schefter. *Tropical Pacific Island Environments.* Mangilao: U. Guam Press, 1997.

Loomis, Albertine, et al. *Ka Pai Palapala: Early Printing in Hawaii.* Honolulu: Mission Houses Museum, 1997.

Lowe, Ruby Hasegawa. *Kamehameha IV, Alexander Liholiho.* Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1997.

Lummis, Trevor. *Pitcairn Island: Life and Death in Eden.* Aldershot, Eng.: Ashgate, 1997.

Lynch, John, and Pat Fa'afo, eds. *Oceanic Studies: Proceeding of the First International Conference on Oceanic Linguistics.* Canberra: Dept. of Linguistics, Australian National U., 1996.

McBride, Leslie Richard. *Petroglyphs of Hawaii.* Hilo: Petroglyph Press, 1997.

McCauley, Joyce K., et al., eds. *Evolving Issues in the Pacific: Educational Challenges for the 21st Century.* Mangilao: Micronesian Area Research Center, U. Guam, 1994.

MacClancy, Jeremy Valentine. *Vanuatu and* Kastom: *A Study of Cultural Symbolism in the Inception of a Nation State in the South Pacific.* Ph.D. thesis, Oxford U., 1983.

Macgregor, Paul, ed. *Histories of the Chinese in Australasia and the South Pacific.* Melbourne: Museum of Chinese Australian History, 1995.

Macintyre, Martha. *Changing Paths: An Historical Ethnography of the Traders of Tubetube.* Detroit: Wayne State U. Press, 1997.

McKinnon, Malcolm, ed. *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas.* Auckland: D. Bateman, 1997.

Maka'a, Julian, et al. *Raetemaot: Creative Writing from Solomon Islands.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1996.

Maling, Robert Bromley. *Historic Charts and Maps of New Zealand, 1642–1875.* Auckland: Reed Books, 1996.

Malm, William P. *Music Cultures of the Pacific, the Near East, and Asia.* 3d ed. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1996.

Manu, Moke, et al. *Hawaiian Fishing Traditions.* Honolulu: Kalamaku, 1992.

Maori Language Commission. *Maori for the Office.* 2d ed. Auckland: Oxford U. Press, 1997.

Maretu. *Cannibals and Converts: Radical Change in the Cook Islands.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1993.

Marshall Islands and Federated States of Micronesia. Washington: International Monetary Fund, 1995.

Martin, Helen, and Sam Edwards. *New Zealand Film, 1912–1996.* Auckland: Oxford U. Press, 1997.

Mead, Sidney Moko. *Landmarks, Bridges, and Visions: Aspects of Maori Culture.* Wellington: Victoria U. Press, 1997.

Meleisea, Malama. *Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the History of Western Samoa.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1995.

———, ed. *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1994.

Menzies, James. *A Handbook of New Guinea Marsupials and Monotremes.* Madang, P.N.G.: Kristen Press, 1991.

Meredith, Joseph C. *A Handful of Emeralds: On Patrol with the* Hanna *in the Postwar Pacific.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1997.

Molnar, Helen. *The Democratization of Communications Technology in Australia and the South Pacific: Media Participation by Indigenous Peoples, 1970–1992.* Ph.D. thesis, Monash U., 1993.

Moorcroft, Heather, and Alana Garwood. *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Thesaurus.* Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1997.

Morton, Helen. *Becoming Tongan: An Ethnography of Childhood.* Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 1996.

Moyse-Faurie, Claire. *Le xârâcùù: Langue de Thio-Canala, Nouvelle-Calédonie: Eléments de syntaxe.* Paris: Peeters, 1995.

Muljono-Larue, Fidayanti. *Histoire de l'immigration des Javanais sous contrat en Nouvelle-Calédonie (1896–1950).* Noumea: Centre Territorial de Recherche et de Documentation Pédagogiques, 1995.

Nayacokalau, R. R. *Tradition and Change in the Fijian Village.* Suva: South Pacific Social Science Assn., 1995.

Neich, Roger, and Mick Pendergrast. *Traditional Tapa Textiles of the Pacific.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1997.

Nunn, Patrick D. *Keimami sa Vakila na Liga ni Kalou (Feeling the Hand of God): Human and Nonhuman Impacts on Pacific Island Environments.* 3d ed. Suva: U. South Pacific, 1997.

O'Connor, Terry. *The Heart of Tuhoe.* Nelson, N.Z.: Carig Potton Publishing, 1997.

Okamura, Kay H. *Ko Koa Uka, Ko Koa Kai: Kura Kaupapa Maori Education.* M.Ed. thesis, U. Hawai'i, 1996.

Olssen, Mark, and Kay Morris Matthews, eds. *Education Policy in New Zealand: The 1900's and Beyond.* Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore Press, 1997.

Orans, Martin. *Not Even Wrong: Margaret Mead, Derek Freeman, and the Samoans.* Novato, Calif.: Chandler & Sharp, 1996.

Orbell, Margaret. *Traditional Maori Stories.* Auckland: Reed, 1996.

Osman, Wali M. *Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands Economic Report.* Honolulu: Economics Dept., Bank of Hawaii, 1997.

———. *Fiji Economic Report.* Honolulu: Economics Dept., Bank of Hawaii, 1998.

———. *French Polynesia Economic Report.* Honolulu: Economics Dept., Bank of Hawaii, 1996.

———. *Papua New Guinea Economic Report.* Honolulu: Economics Dept., Bank of Hawaii, 1998.

———. *Solomon Islands Economic Report.* Honolulu: Economics Dept., Bank of Hawaii, 1998.

———. *Western Samoa Economic Report.* Honolulu: Economics Dept., Bank of Hawaii, 1997.

Ossom, Ekpo M. *Agriculture for the Pacific: A–Z of Essential Terms.* Melbourne: Oxford U. Press, 1997.

Pacific Island Populations. Noumea: South Pacific Commission, 1994.

Parkinson, Susan, et al. *Taste of the Pacific.* Auckland: David Bateman, 1995.

Parsons, Claire D. F., ed. *Healing Practices in the South Pacific.* Lāʻie: Inst. for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young U.–Hawaiʻi, 1995.

Pataki-Schweizer, K. J. *On Reproduction and Population: Views from Men in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea.* Boroko: U. Papua New Guinea Press, 1996.

Phillips, William John. *Maori Carving Illustrated.* 4th rev. ed. Auckland: Reed, 1997.

Pulea, Mere. *Family, Law, and Population in the Pacific Islands.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1991.

Rahn, B. J., ed. *Ngaio Marsh: The Woman and Her Works.* Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1995.

Rasor, Eugene L. *The Southwest Pacific Campaign, 1941–1945: Historiography and Annotated Bibliography.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996.

———. *The Solomon Islands Campaign, Guadalcanal to Rabaul: Historiography and Annotated Bibliography.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing, 1997.

Ravuvu, Asela. *The Facade of Democracy: Fijian Struggles for Political Control, 1830–1987.* Suva: Reader Publishing House, 1995.

———. *Vak i Taukei: The Fijian Way of Life.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1995.

Rickard, L. S. *Tamihana the Kingmaker.* 2d ed. Christchurch: Cadsonbury Publications, 1996.

Routledge, David. *Matanitu: The Struggle for Power in Early Fiji.* Suva: U. South Pacific, 1991.

Routledge, Scoresby. *The Mystery of Easter Island: The Story of an Expedition.* Kempton, Ill.: Adventures Unlimited, 1998.

Rush, Randall Allen. *An Endangered Transported Landscape: Laotian and Tongan Communities at Kahuku, Oahu.* M.A. thesis, U. Hawaiʻi, 1993.

Ruymar, Lorene. *The Hawaiian Steel Guitar and Its Great Hawaiian Musicians.* Anaheim, Calif.: Centerstream Publishing, 1996.

Ryniker, David C. Kastom: *Stories and Christianity in the Solomon Islands.* M.A. thesis, Wichita State U., 1991.

St. Cartmail, Keith. *The Art of Tonga = Ko e Ngaahiʻaati o Tonga.* Honolulu: U. Hawaiʻi Press, 1997.

Saquet, Jean-Louis, and Michele Chaxeaux. *Flore de Tahiti.* Papeete: Polymages, 1996.

Schiffer, Nancy N. *Hawaiian Shirt Design.* Atglen, Penn.: Schiffer Publishing, 1997.

Schmitt, Robert C., and Ronn Ronck. *Firsts in Hawaii: An Alphabetical Listing.* Honolulu: U. Hawaiʻi Press, 1990.

Segal, Harvey Gordon. *Kosrae: The Sleeping Lady Awakens.* 2d rev. ed. Kosrae: Kosrae State Tourist Division, 1995.

Shaw, Peter. *A History of New Zealand Architecture.* 2d ed. Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett, 1997.

Sherwood, Alan. *Coastal and Environmental Geoscience Studies of the Southwest Pacific Islands.* Suva: SOPAC Secretariat, 1997.

Sherwood, Alan, and Russell Howorth. *Coasts of Pacific Islands.* Suva: South Pacific Geoscience Commission, 1996.

Short, F. G. *Sinners and Sandalwood: Tales of the Old Pacific.* North Leura, N.S.W.: Jomaru Press, 1997.

Sillitoe, Paul. *A Place Against Time: Land and Environment in the Papua New Guinea Highlands.* Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1996.

Smidt, Dirk A. M., et al., eds. *Pacific Material Culture: Essays in Honour of Dr. Simon Kooijman.* Leiden, Neth.: Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, 1995.

Smith, Ailsa. *Songs and Stories of Taranaki.* Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, U. Canterbury, 1993.

Smith, Vanessa. *Literacy Culture and the Pacific: Nineteenth-century Textual Encounters.* Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1998.

Speiser, Felix. *Ethnology of Vanuatu: An Early Twentieth Century Study.* Honolulu: U. Hawai'i Press, 1996.

Spiller, Peter, et al. *A New Zealand Legal History.* Wellington: Brookers, 1995.

Stanton, Joseph, ed. *A Hawai'i Anthology: A Collection of Works by Recipients of the Hawai'i Award for Literature, 1974–1996.* Honolulu: State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, 1997.

Steedman, John Aramta Wairehu. *A New Concept in Maori History.* 2 vols. Tauranga, N.Z.: J. A. W. Steedman, 1996.

Stephenson, Elsie. *Fiji's Past on Picture Postcards.* Suva: Caines Jannif, 1997.

Stevens, Charles John. *The Political Ecology of a Tongan Village.* Ph.D. thesis, U. Arizona, 1996.

Stevenson, Andrew J., et al. *Geology and Submarine Resources of the Tonga-Lau, Fiji Region.* Suva: SOPAC Secretariat, 1994.

Stewart, Pamela J., and Andrew Strathern, eds. *Millennial Markers.* Townsville, Qld.: Center for Pacific Studies, James Cook University, 1997.

Stokes, Donald S., and Barbara Ker Wilson. *Legends from Papua New Guinea.* 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 1996.

Stone, Scott C. S. *The Island of Hawaii: From Sail to Space.* Virginia Beach: Donning Co., 1997.

Sutton, Constance R., ed. *From Labrador to Samoa: The Theory and Practice of Eleanor Burke Leacock.* Arlington, Va.: Assn. for Feminist Anthropology, 1993.

Swarbrick, John T. *Weeds of the Pacific Islands.* Noumea: South Pacific Commission, 1997.

Syed, Saifullan, and Ngatokorua Mataio. *Agriculture in the Cook Islands: New Directions.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1993.

Szekely, Chris. ed. *Korurangi: New Maori Art.* Auckland: Art Gallery Toio Tamaki, 1996.

Tabualevu, Mereisi Sekinabou, et al. *Traditional Handicrafts of Fiji.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1997.

Tarburton, Shirley. *History-makers of Samoa.* Apia: M. K. Tarburton, 1996.

Taulahi, Amanaki. *His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV of the Kingdom of Tonga: A Biography.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1995.

Tavale, Tanuvasa. *Fa'afaigofieina o Fa'alupega o Samoa.* Auckland: P.I.E.R.C. Education, 1997.

Tavana, Gaugau Va'afuti. *Cultural Values Relating to Education in Western Samoa: A Conceptual Analysis of the Perspectives of Samoan Social Leaders.* Ph.D. thesis, Brigham Young U., 1994.

Te Kanawa, Kiri. *Land of the Long White Cloud: Maori Myths, Tales, and Legends.* Auckland: Viking, 1997.

Te Kingitanga: The People of the Maori King Movement. Auckland: Auckland U. Press, 1996.

Temu, Ila, ed. *Papua New Guinea: A 20/20 Vision.* Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National U., 1997.

Thiercelin, Louis. *Travels in Oceania: Memoirs of a Whaling Ship's Doctor, 1866.* Dunedin: U. Otago Press, 1995.

Thistlethwaite, Bob. *A Sustainable Future for Melanesia? Natural Resources, Population, and Development.* Canberra: Centre for Development Studies, Australian National U., 1996.

Thomas, Allan. *New Song and Dance from the Central Pacific: Creating and Performing the* Fatele *of Tokelau in the Islands and in New Zealand.* New York: Pendragon Press, 1996.

Thomas, Nicholas. *In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts, and Histories.* Durham, N.C.: Duke U. Press, 1997.

Thompson, Douglas Kim. *Na Sala Vakavanua na Sala Vakailavo: The Fijian Way of Life, the Money Way of Life.* M.A. thesis, U. Victoria, 1991.

Titifanua, Mesulama. *Tales of a Lonely Island: Rotuman Legends.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1995.

Tjibaou, Jean-Marie. *La présence Kanak.* Paris: Editions Odile Jacob, 1996.

Tonga Economic Report. Port Vila: Asian Development Bank, South Pacific Regional Office, 1992.

Tupouniua, Penisimani. *Polynesian Village: The Process of Change in the Village of Hoi, Tonga.* Suva: South Pacific Social Science Assn., 1991.

Tuzin, Donald. *The Cassowary's Revenge: The Life and Death of Masculinity in a New Guinea Society.* Chicago: U. Chicago Press, 1997.

Van Peenen, Mavis Warner. *Chamorro Legends on the Island of Guam.* Mangilao: Micronesian Area Research Center, U. Guam, 1993.

Van Trease, Howard. *Politics of Land in Vanuatu: From Colony to Independence.* Suva: Inst. of Pacific Studies, U. South Pacific, 1991.

Varan, Duane. *The Costs and Benefits of Television: Applying the Emerging Paradigms of Development Communication to the Cook Islands Experience.* Ph.D. thesis, U. Texas–Austin, 1992.

Vries, Pieter de, and Han Seur. *Moruroa and Us: Polynesians' Experiences during Thirty Years of Nuclear Testing in the French Pacific.* Lyon: Centre de Documentation et de Recherche sur la Paix et les Conflits, 1997.

Waiko, John. *Land: Customary Ownership vs. State Control in Papua New Guinea and Australia.* Sydney: Centre for Pacific Studies, U. New South Wales, 1995.

Watts, Meriel, et al. *Poisons in Paradise: Pesticides in the Pacific.* Auckland: The Network Greenpeace Pacific Campaign, 1994.

Wendt, Albert. *Photographs.* Auckland: Auckland U. Press, 1995.

Whaiti, Pania Te, et al. *Mai i Rangiatea: Maori Well-being and Development.* Auckland: Auckland U. Press, 1997.

Wight, Kahikahealani, and Robin Yoko Racoma. *Illustrated Hawaiian Dictionary.* Honolulu: Bess Press, 1997.

Wiglesworth, Aileen K. *Cook Islands Maori English: A Unique Language Variety from the South Pacific.* M.A. thesis, American U., 1996.

Wilson, Lynn B. *Speaking to Power: Gender and Politics in the Western Pacific.* New York: Routledge, 1995.

Wishart, Ian. *Paradise Conspiracy.* Auckland: Howling at the Moon Productions, 1995.

Wolfe, Richard. *All Our Own Work: New Zealand's Folk Art.* Auckland: Viking, 1997.

Women and Education in Aotearoa 2. Auckland: Auckland U. Press, 1997.

Wood, Bill. *50 Years of Aloha: The Story of Aloha Airlines.* Honolulu: Aloha Airlines, 1996.

Yarwood, A. T. *Samuel Marsden: The Great Survivor.* Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne U. Press, 1996.

CONTRIBUTORS

Dennis A. Ahlburg, Industrial Relations Center and Center for Population Analysis, Carlson School of Management, University of Minnesota, 321 19th Ave. So., Minneapolis, MN 55455, U.S. Fax: (612) 626–1335. E-mail: dahlburg@csom.umn.edu

Tim Brown, Population and Health Studies, East-West Center, 1601 East-West Rd., Honolulu, HI 96848, U.S. E-mail: tim@wiliki.eng.hawaii.edu

Heidi J. Larson, Social Mobilization Communicable Diseases, World Health Organization, 20 ave. Appia, C11–1211 Geneva 27, Switz. Fax: (41 22) 791–4199. E-mail: larsonh@who.ch

Scott Russell, Division of Historic Preservation, Department of Community and Cultural Affairs, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Saipan, MP 96950. Fax: (670) 664–2139. E-mail: cnmihpo@itecnmi.com

Bruno Saura, Université Française du Pacifique–Tahiti, B.P. 6570 Faaa-Aéroport, Tahiti, French Polynesia. Fax: (689) 803–804.

David Wetherell, School of Australian and International Studies, Deakin University, Geelong, Vic. 3217, Australia. Fax: (03) 5227–2282. E-mail: dfw@deakin.edu.au