The Jonathan Napela Center for Hawaiian and Pacific Islands Studies
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY HAWAI‘I

0275-3596(201504/08)38:1/2;1-W

Pacific Studies

Vol. 38, No. 1–2—April/August 2015

Pacific Studies

Vol. 38, No. 1–2—April/August 2015

PACIFIC STUDIES

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

From Romance to Reality: Representations of Pacific Islands and Islanders

Guest Editors
Judith Schachter
and
Nancy Lutkehaus

APRIL/AUGUST 2015

PUBLISHED BY
The Jonathan Napela Center for Hawaiian and Pacific Islands Studies
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY HAWAIʻI

IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE POLYNESIAN CULTURAL CENTER

EDITORIAL BOARD

Paul Alan Cox	*National Tropical Botanical Gardens*
Roger Green	*University of Auckland*
Richard A. Herr	*University of Tasmania*
Francis X. Hezel, S.J.	*Micronesian Seminar*
Adrienne Kaeppler	*Smithsonian Institution*
Robert Kiste	*University of Hawai'i*
Stephen Levine	*Victoria University*
Cluny Macpherson	*Massey University, Albany Campus*
Malama Meleisea	*UNESCO, Kabul*
Richard M. Moyle	*University of Auckland*
Colin Newbury	*Oxford University*
Sergio A. Rapu	*Easter Island*
Karl Rensch	*Australian National University*
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, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences, Anthropoligical Index Online,* and *Referativnyi Zhurnal*.

COVER DESIGN:
Jared Pere, Maori/Hawai'i – *Indigenous Pacific Art Designs*
Anthony Perez, Samoa – *Graphic Design*

PACIFIC STUDIES

Editor
Phillip H. McArthur

Associate Editor
Matthew Kester

Book Review Editor
Tevita O. Ka'ili

Book Review Forum Editor
Eric Silverman

Books Noted Editor
Zoia Falevai

Managing Editor
Chris Brower

Editorial Policy: *Pacific Studies* is published quarterly by The Jonathan Napela Center for Hawaiian and Pacific Islands Studies, Brigham Young University Hawai'i #1979, 55–220 Kulanui Street, Lā'ie, Hawai'i 96762, but responsibility for opinions expressed in the articles rests with the authors alone. Subscription rate is US$40.00 yearly, payable to The Jonathan Napela Center for Hawaiian and Pacific Islands Studies. The Jonathan Napela Center for Hawaiian and Pacific Islands Studies (formerly The Pacific Institute) is an organization funded by Brigham Young University Hawai'i. The Center assists the University in meeting its cultural and educational goals by undertaking a program of teaching, research, and publication. The Center 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.

Articles submitted to the editor must not be submitted elsewhere while under review by *Pacific Studies*. Please note that text files should be in Microsoft Word format and should be completely double-spaced (including quotations, references, and notes). Please submit manuscripts to Pacificstudies@byuh.edu. Authors may visit our website, http://academics.byuh.edu/the_pacific_institute/home, for Instructions to Authors. Books for review should be sent to the editor.

© 2015 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
ISBN 0-939154-77-3

Volume 38 April/August 2015 Numbers 1–2

CONTENTS

Introduction:
From Romance to Reality: Images of Pacific Islanders Across Time and Space
NANCY LUTKEHAUS AND JUDITH SCHACHTER..1

Part I: Historic Origins: The Western "Romance" With the South Seas
Anthropophagi in New-York and Other Voyagers
MARIA LEPOWSKY 14

Jack London's Pacific Voyage of Transformation: An Anthropologist Looks at The Cruise of the *Snark (1911)*
NANCY LUTKEHAUS 51

Part II: Contexts, Changes, and Competing Discourses
Imagining the Marshall Islands
LAURENCE M. CARUCCI 74

Hero, Savage, or Equal? Representations of the Moral Personhood of Pacific Islanders in Hollywood Movies
DAVID LIPSET...103

From Colonial Pomp to Tourism Reality: Commodification and Cannibalization of the Fijian Firewalking Ceremony
GUIDO CARLO PIGLIASCO 140

Oh, Those Poor Islanders and Threats to an Idyllic Life on a Beautiful Island!
JULIANA FLINN 182

Representation as Disaster: Mapping Islands, Climate Change, and Displacement in Oceania
WOLFGANG KEMPF...200

PUBLISHED 9/2015

Part III: Contemporary "Reality": Pacific Islanders' Self-Representations
Reclaiming Paradise: Cinema and Hawaiian Nationhood
JUDITH SCHACHTER 229

Romanticism and Reality on The GC*: Transnational Māori on the Gold Coast*
SARINA PEARSON..253

Representations of Pacific Islander Identity: Ours and Theirs
KIRSTEN MCGAVIN..272

Part IV: Epilogue
From Romance to Reality: An Epilogue
NIKO BESNIER..294

Contributors 302

FROM ROMANCE TO REALITY: IMAGES OF PACIFIC ISLANDERS ACROSS TIME AND SPACE

Nancy Lutkehaus
University of Southern California

Judith Schachter
Carnegie Mellon University

Beginning with Bougainville's and Cook's accounts of their voyages to the South Pacific, westerners have been beguiled by a plethora of images, exotic, erotic, and otherwise, that western explorers, traders, travelers, and missionaries created depicting the people and places they encountered as they traversed the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean. From the pioneering work of the Australian art historian, Bernard Smith, in his *European Vision and the South Pacific 1768–1850* (1960) and *Imagining the Pacific* (1992), who first argued that westerners' representations of the Pacific world they encountered were a blend of romanticism and science (Beilharz 1997, 75) to the impact of globalization on contemporary Pacific art and literature (Hereniko et al. 1999; DeLoughrey 2007; Brunt 2012), both western representations of Pacific peoples and places and Pacific Islanders representations of themselves are the result of these different cultures' entanglements with one another over time. Yet we continue to see permutations—sometimes strikingly ingenious and original (Brunt 2012) but just as often "retreads" of tired tropes and cultural clichés. What accounts for the staying power of these hackneyed images? The authors in this issue present various explanations, ranging from the power of the commodification of culture to

Pacific Studies, Vol. 38, Nos. 1/2—Apr./Aug. 2015

the hegemonic morality of western mass media (Lipset; Pigliasco; Pearson). For today's generation of students for whom social media produce constantly new intersections of the visual and the verbal, the articles in this issue illuminate the historical significance of representations that still circulate in various media today—and their contemporary complexities.

This collection is the first issue of studies of the origins and permutations of western tropes and stereotypes written primarily by anthropologists. Although the topic has been written about before, earlier studies have been mainly the purview of literary scholars, film scholars, or cultural historians. For example, in her book *The Pacific Muse: Exotic Femininity and the Colonial Pacific* (2006), perhaps the best example of a recent publication that deals with one aspect of western representations of Pacific Islanders, the cultural historian Patty O'Brien has surveyed the history of the western stereotype of the exotic Pacific Island woman in colonial literature and its legacy in film and photography. In a similar manner, although in *Sexual Encounters: Pacific Texts, Modern Sexualities* (2003), Lee Wallace suggests that it is the male body rather than the female form that initially engaged westerners' erotic attention, this study too is by a literary scholar and focuses on just one topic—that of sexuality.

The papers in this issue complement scholars' focused analyses of one specific Pacific trope—the exotic female (or male) Other (Creed and Hoorn [2001], Jolly [1997a, 1997b], O'Brian [2006], Wallace [2003])—with their attention to a range of diverse images that have come to signify Pacific Islanders, such as the diametrically opposed images of the "savage " and the "innocent," the "immoral" and the "childlike." Continuing the discussion of colonial contact between westerners and Pacific Islanders produced by anthropologist Nicholas Thomas in his study *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (1991) and literary scholar Vanessa Smith in her volume *Intimate Strangers: Friendship, Exchange and Pacific Encounters* (2010), in her piece, Maria Lepowsky has elaborated upon the concept of "culture contact" through her discussion of the trope of a "culture of maritime contact" between westerners and Pacific Islanders. Her piece is also a contribution to the burgeoning scholarship that focuses on transpacific (Hoskins and Nguyen 2014) and transoceanic connections (Igler 2013; Thomas 1994; Eperjesi 2005).

Several of the other papers (e.g., Lutkehaus; Kempf; Schachter; McGavin) develop new insights regarding another maritime trope, that of the Pacific as "a sea of islands"—first articulated by Pacific Island anthropologist Epeli Hau'ofa (1999) in his now classic analysis of the contrast in point of view between Pacific Islanders and westerners with regard to the vast expanse of the Pacific (the "ocean in us")—and now receiving renewed attention from

literary scholars such as Elizabeth M. Deloughrey (2007) in her comparative study of postcolonial literary tropes concerned with space and place in the Pacific and the Caribbean islands.

In a similar comparative move, John R. Eperjesi, in *The Imperialist Imaginary: Visions of Asia and the Pacific in American Culture* (2005), and Lanny Thompson, in his study *Imperial Archipelago: Representation and Rule in the Insular Territories Under U.S. Dominion after 1898* (2010), have examined textual as well as historical photographic representations of Caribbean and Pacific Island cultures that appeared in popular and official US publications after the Spanish–American war. Thompson's focus on colonial-era photographs and their accompanying text leads him to tease out connections between these representations—with their racialized discourse of "childlike" islanders—and the hegemonic political rule established by the United States in these regions at the turn of the century. His study of visual material, as well as that of scholars such as Quanchi (1997) and Webb (1995), provides a useful historical background to several contributions in our issue (Lipset; Flinn; Schachter; Pearson) that focus on more recent forms of mass media as important sources of both old and new tropes. His work also underscores another theme apparent in several of the chapters in this issue: that of the origins and perpetuation of US imperialism in the Pacific and the manipulation of representations of Pacific Islanders as a means of US hegemony in the region. Although not a dominant focus of analysis, the chapters by Carucci, Lutkehaus, and Schachter all add insight into the historical creation and contemporary perpetuation of Pacific Island tropes with political implications. For as Niko Besnier reminds us in his epilogue: "If we have learned anything from intellectual debates of the last half century, it is that representations are political acts." As he also points out, it is the complexities of "whose politics?" and "politics for what purposes?" that the articles in this issue interrogate.

Although earlier works like Thompson's, as well as Hereniko and Wilson's *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific* (1999), tend to concentrate on one genre, or two, as in John R. Eperjesi's *The Imperialist Imaginary: Visions of Asia and the Pacific in American Culture* (2005), that considers literature and film, the essays in *From Romance to Reality* recognize the current flexibility in definitions of "media." Thus, as well as elaborating upon both old and new tropes, the present issue examines forms of media production such as television and the Internet. Older depictions have not vanished—and literature remains a remarkable evocation of identity—but we show the adaptation of those depictions in the context of the proliferation of technological change and diffusion. Even recent studies of film, like Jeffrey Geiger's *Facing the Pacific: Polynesia and the US Imperial*

Imagination (2006), follow the trend of concentrating on one medium and, in that case, on one region of the Pacific. In her book, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (2012), Adria L. Imada points the discussion of representations in another direction, describing the impact of the circulation of hula on American conquest in the Pacific, as did Desmond's early study of hula (1999). The present issue expands the reconsideration of representation in Imada's book by engaging with a wide landscape of "media worlds" (Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod, and Larkin 2002), including performances, festivals, atlases, and documents that inscribe multiculturalism in a visual format.

Yet there are striking examples of enduring images, even as media and performances incorporate change. Several of the essays in our collection examine the iconic trope that renders the Pacific Islands a paradise, epitome of primordial perfection (Flinn; Schachter; Pearson). In each instance, the notion of paradise intertwines with constructions of identity—both indigenous and settler (Pearson). These essays share a theoretical framework with Miriam Kahn's *Tahiti Beyond the Postcard: Power, Place and Everyday Life* (2011), in which she delineates the links between portrayals of a paradisiacal place and fluctuating negotiations of identity. Like earlier work, however, her book concentrates on one region of the Pacific, in this case Tahiti and French Polynesia—prime embodiments of an imagined Eden.

At the same time, the diversity in our collection shows how pliable the concept of paradise can be, and has been, from one end of the Pacific to another. Sites range from the Marshall Islands of Micronesia to urban enclaves of Maori, Hawaiians, and New Guineans living in New Zealand, the United States, and Australia. Thus, this issue offers both historical and geographic breadth as well as a comparative perspective on the development, manipulation, and reinvention of representations of Pacific Islanders in the region as a whole. In doing so, it also contributes to a growing interest among scholars, politicians, nongovernmental organization workers, and Pacific Islanders themselves about the origins and spread of a global Pacific, a region of the world that is quickly coming to play an increasingly important role in world affairs.

Even if they are not presently working as anthropologists themselves, all of the authors, including the one media scholar in the issue, have a background in anthropology, and one is a Pacific Islander herself. The importance of this is that they have all lived and worked in Pacific Island societies, many of them in the specific cultures that form the basis for revised interpretations of stereotypical imagery. Unlike many works about the Pacific written by western scholars, these essays are based upon firsthand knowledge and extensive involvement with Pacific Islanders and their cultures. Each piece

adds insights and understandings to analyses of enduring tropes, as well as providing information about the appropriation of these representations by Pacific Islanders.

Origins, Diffusion, and Transformations of Representations of the South Seas as Paradise

Images of the South Pacific as a paradise on earth and of the Pacific Islanders, especially their women, as sensuous and sexually alluring have a long history in the west that reaches back at least to the French explorer Louis Antoine de Bougainville (1772), Captain Cook's voyages (1769–1778), and the eighteenth-century period of exploration (Jolly 1992, 1997a, 1997b; O'Brien 2006; Wallace 2003; Creed and Hoorn 2001). As Margaret Jolly has demonstrated through her important historical work that takes a sweeping look at several hundred years of western representations of Pacific Island women, exoticism and eroticism were intimately connected in these early explorers' accounts of their encounters with Polynesian women in particular (Jolly 1997a). She has delineated how representations of island women's sexuality were inextricably related to issues of racism, power, and western colonization of the Pacific. Her work has explored such questions as why the connection between Pacific Island women's sexuality and western dominance have continued over time despite the changing political statuses of Pacific Island societies and their relationship to the west.

Although Jolly's analysis of western representations of Pacific Island women ends in the 1950s with her discussion of the musical *South Pacific*, articles in the present issue by Schachter, Lipset, and Pearson bring the analysis of such images up to the present day through their consideration of representations of Pacific Island women (or lack thereof) in western film and television. Moreover, articles by Lipset, Lutkehaus, and Pearson broaden the discussion of the erotics of the representation of Pacific Islanders bodies to include male as well as female bodies. Thus, we find that the connection between Pacific Islanders' bodies and issues of politics, racism, and moral agency present in western representations of Pacific Island women's bodies are similarly present in western images of male Pacific Islanders' bodies and the discourse surrounding them.

Although contemporary anthropologists and literary scholars have discussed the origins of many of these representations (cf. Lamb, Smith, and Thomas 2000; Manderson and Jolly 1997; Jolly 1992, 1997a, 1997b) in the early journals written by British and French explorers, sailors, missionaries, and sea captains, less attention has been given to the creation and perpetuation of similar images by American traders, whalers, and missionaries. In her

piece, "Anthropophagi in New-York and Other Voyagers," Maria Lepowsky reveals new insights into nineteenth-century American representations of Pacific Islands and Islanders. Based on original archival research, Lepowsky analyzes the journals and travel publications of three American seamen published in the early nineteenth century that describe two closely related voyages, both involving one Captain Morrell. In doing so, she has developed an important argument that elaborates on the point that contact was never simply one way, with only westerners traveling to the Pacific. Pacific Islanders were also brought to the west, where a broader segment of the population had the opportunity to see these islanders first hand and Pacific Islanders observed western cultures and societies. Lepowsky's article adds to the work of recent historians of the Pacific who emphasize that this two-way movement of Pacific Islanders and westerners contributed to the globalization of the Pacific at a much earlier point in time than scholars had heretofore acknowledged (Iger 2013).

Nancy Lutkehaus's paper about Jack London's 1909 voyage to the South Pacific, reported in *The Cruise of the Snark* (1911), continues the historical exploration of the dissemination and transformation of these stereotypical representation through a focus on yet another Pacific Island trope: that of voyaging and the sea. London supported his voyage across the Pacific by publishing articles in magazines and newspapers in the United States and England as he sailed from island to island and illustrated the articles with photographs he and his wife Charmian took. Thus visual images complement verbal accounts in a dynamic that persists into the twenty-first century with new forms of media (Smith 1960; Webb 1995; Flinn, this issue). London's volume also exemplifies an early twentieth-century modernist stance of irony, a perspective from which London frequently bemoans the loss of "paradise" and "authentic primitive" Pacific cultures—such as that of the Marquesans depicted by Herman Melville in *Typee.* London read the novel as a child, and it fueled his romantic desire to voyage through the islands of the Pacific. However, the "reality" of the Pacific Islanders and Pacific cultures that London encounters leads the socialist in him to criticize the western imposition of colonialism that he sees as the cause of the Pacific Islanders' undoing.

Adding both geographic breadth and ethnographic depth to works such as American Studies scholar Jane Desmond's *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (1999) and Adria Imada's *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (2012), several papers deal with tourism and the ways in which tourists in the Pacific have perpetuated and reinvented these stereotypes. The intrusion of tourism coincides with western colonial practices in places like Fiji (Pigliasco) and Australia (McGavin) and culminates in accounts by peace corps volunteers and divers who travel to

Pollap and record their descriptions on websites (Flinn). Pigliasco, in particular, with his description of Fijian fire-walking demonstrations for tourists presents a very detailed and nuanced analysis of the prevalent practice in many Pacific Island societies of both the invention and the commodification of tradition, or "kastom" as it is often referred to in Oceania (Jolly 1992).

The permutations of these often romantic representations give rise to the realities of contemporary representations to which our collection's title refers. For example, two of the chapters (Kempf and Schachter) complicate our understanding of stereotypes by showing how the politics of Hawaiian sovereignty (in Schachter's case) and global warming (in Kempf's case) have given rise to counter-representations of the South Seas as paradise. In a similar manner, Carucci's comparison of three texts written by different observers at different historical junctures, who each see the Marshallese through a western "eye," demonstrates how one cannot make assumptions about the truth or reality of a particular textual representation of Pacific Islanders based simply on the background of the author or the genre in which they are writing. In the cases Carucci investigates, more "real" representations may be transmitted in fiction, whereas more "romantic" images may be put forth in nonfiction accounts.

"The Savage Slot"

Closely related to the theme of the origins of stereotypic representations of the South Pacific is the broader anthropological theme of the problematic persistence of what anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot labeled the "Savage Slot," a discursive and visual space once reserved for anthropology's study of the "Other" (Trouillot 1991). As we know, this same Savage Slot is also intimately entwined with the western development of modernity, both as a source of reflection for western critiques of modernity and as an actual place of refuge. This is perhaps most evident in the well-known example of the painter Gauguin and his choice of Tahiti and the Marquesas for his escape from the decadence of Europe (Barkan and Bush 1995; Kahn 2011; Edmond 1997).

Although in reality, times have changed and the distinctions between western and nonwestern cultures and peoples have become increasingly blurred, this change has not always been reflected in the ways in which particular nonwestern peoples such as Pacific Islanders are represented, either by certain westerners (e.g. the tourist industry), media, or, in some cases, by Pacific Islanders themselves. Several chapters in the collection discuss the reasons why Pacific Islanders sometimes choose to assume or manipulate stereotypical representations of themselves as savage or as adhering to

traditional practices, ways of dress, and beliefs long ago left behind. Issues such as the "commodification of culture," the political uses of cultural identities, as well as the tensions between multiple identities, are analyzed in papers by Pigliasco, Schachter, McGavin, and Pearson. Moreover, in discussing the Fijian fire-walking ritual as evidence of both the commodification of culture and westerner's desires for a particular type of spectacle that conforms to their expectations of the bizarre behavior of "former" savages, Pigliasco also touches upon another important issue, that of "the invention of tradition," that has been more broadly of interest to scholars in other historical periods and regions of the world (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).

A New Version: "The Indigenous Slot"

In her piece, "Romanticism and Reality Clash on *The GC*," Pearson contributes another concept to the discussion of representations. Analyzing a popular New Zealand TV series, Pearson describes the controversy over the show and its grounding in contested portrayals of "authentic indigeneity." Her argument indicates how persistently a romanticized notion of true identity ignores the "real" situation in which, in her case, Maori leave their ancestral land for better prospects in Australia. The show rejects the association of indigeneity with an unrecoverable past and connection to nature, avoiding the temptation to replace savage with indigenous slot. The controversy over *The GC* also suggests how valuable a reference to authenticity can be in a global environment.

The potential value in reiterating essential identities comes up in ceremonies designed for tourists and in films made by Pacific Islanders. Against this grain, filmmakers as well as writers and scholars emphasize the significance of syncretism—the Hawaiian Creole called Pidgin (Schachter) and the anti-language lexicons used by Pacific Islanders in New Zealand—as a consequential marker of new Pasifika identities (McGavin). Here we see how Pacific Islanders are actively reshaping aspects of their colonial legacies to create new postcolonial identities, as Schachter notes in her discussion of the documentary film *Pidgin*.

Eschewing at once the savage slot and the indigenous slot, both carrying colonial overtones, McGavin demonstrates in her paper how many Pacific Islanders, especially those living in multicultural urban centers such as Brisbane, Australia, often find themselves occupying a "liminal space" in which they move between different identities depending upon the social context in which they are located. These various identities, which McGavin labels as "panPacific" versus "ethnocultural," demonstrate how Pacific Islanders use, manipulate, and modify existing stereotypes for the purpose

of claiming an identity. Her piece provides a more complex understanding of how people move between multiple identities, as well as the tensions engendered by these multiple identities. As Pearson shows, these tensions dramatically impinge upon TV programs that attract vast audiences.

Additionally, from different perspectives—that of westerners versus that of Pacific Islanders—Lutkehaus and McGavin describe the role that material objects play as visual markers of Pacific identities. Although often overlooked in discussions of cultural representations, from the very beginning of western contact with Pacific Islanders material culture has played an important role in the creation of western images of Pacific Islanders as tangible and transportable evidence of the "exotic" and the "different" (Thomas 1991; Thomas and Losche 1999; Brunt et al. 2012). As Lutkehaus explains, when Jack London was disappointed in not finding authentic Marquesans to match his romantic images of them, objects such as carved wooden statues and calabashes, spears and clubs, substituted for a former historical reality no longer in existence.

New Forms of Media

As the art historian Bernard Smith first brilliantly demonstrated in *European Vision and the South Pacific* (1960), the origins of western representations of Pacific Islanders are to be found in the texts, drawings, and paintings published and exhibited in Europe and, soon after, distributed throughout Europe and the United States with increasing frequency from the eighteenth century on. In this issue, we explore the perpetuation and manipulation of these iconic representations in new forms of media and performance such as film—both dramatic and documentary—(Lipset, Schachter), television (Pearson), the Internet (Flinn), and tourist performances (Pigliasco). These essays show that, as the media of representation shift and new forms of image making become widely available, challenges are posed to earlier disciplinary interpretations and to our readings of the "west" and the "rest." In particular, both Pearson and Schachter show how media representations that disseminate new self-images of Pacific Islanders can lead to unsettling reverberatations within the settler populations of New Zealand/Aotearoa and Hawai‘i that cause them to reflect on the precarious nature of their own identities. Although as scholars of colonialism such as Stoler (2002) and others have shown us, the colonial enterprise was built upon white rulers' knowledge of the tenuousness of their hegemonic position. In the postcolonial era of the twenty-first century, it is still often surprising to see the tenuous nature of white dominance in Pacific Island societies.

The political implication of circulating images remains crucial, therefore, and several pieces point to the impact of changing depictions on the ways in which either colonial administrations or postcolonial states monitor a population. For example, Lutkehaus points out the use the American administrator charged with overseeing the leper colony on Molokai hoped to make of Jack London's favorable impression of the conditions there to appease critics of the government's policies. In his piece, Wolfgang Kempf links the material in the issue to current controversies over climate change, reiterating the issue's emphasis on the role images play in relationships between the powerful (the "settlers"—or, in Kempf's case, the technologically advanced nation-states of the world) and the powerless (the "suffering", the "victims"). As anthropologists have noted, it is this latter dichotomy—that between the powerful technologically advanced nation-states of the world and the powerless victims ("small islands in peril") or "the suffering" as Joel Robbins (2013) observes— that currently replaces "savage" versus "innocent" or "romantic" versus "real." Thus, it is with these "representations of disaster" and the current discourses concerning climate change and displacement in the Pacific that we come full-circle and find ourselves once again uncovering new permutations on the maritime images of which we first spoke with reference to Hau'ofa's "sea of islands." Just as Kempf's analysis of "representations of disaster" cautions us to think twice about the implications of today's "new" images of Pacific Islands and Islanders that we unwittingly perpetuate, so too do the other articles in this issue give us pause to reconsider the often unconscious ways in which images of the past get repurposed in the present—both for better and for worse—and the implications the juxtaposition between romance and reality has for Pacific peoples and places in the future.

REFERENCES

Barkan, Elazar, and Ronald Bush, eds.
1995 *Prehistories of the future: The primitivist project and the culture of modernism*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press.

Beilharz, Peter
1997 *Imagining the antipodes: Culture, theory and the visual in the work of Bernard Smith*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Brunt, Peter
2012 "Contemporary Pacific Art and Its Globalization." In *Art in Oceania: A new history*, ed. Peter Brunt, Nicholas Thomas, Sean Mallon, Lissant Bolton, Deidre Brown, Damian Skinner, and Susanne Küchler, 410–39. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.

Brunt, Peter, Nicholas Thomas, Sean Mallon, Lissant Bolton, Deidre Brown, Damian Skinner, and Susanne Küchler, eds.
2012 *Art in Oceania: A new history*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.

Creed, Barbara, and Jeanette Hoorn, eds.
2001 *Body trade: Captivity, cannibalism and colonialism in the Pacific*. London: Routledge.

DeLoughrey, Elizabeth M.
2007 *Routes and roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island literatures*. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press.

Desmond, Jane C.
1999 *Staging tourism: Bodies on display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Edmond, Rod
1997 *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial discourse from Cook to Gauguin*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Eperjesi, John R.
2005 *The imperialist imaginary: Visions of Asia and the Pacific in American culture*. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press.

Geiger, Jeffrey
2006 *Facing the Pacific: Polynesia and the U.S. imperial imagination*. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press.

Ginsburg, Faye, Lila Abu-Lughod, and Brian Larkin, eds.
2002 *Media worlds. Anthropology on new terrain*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Hau'ofa, Epeli
1999 "Our Sea of Islands." In *Inside out*: *Literature, cultural politics, and identity in the New Pacific*, ed. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson, 27–53. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Hereniko, Vilsoni, and Rob Wilson, eds.
1999 *Inside out*: *Literature, cultural politics, and identity in the New Pacific*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds.
1983 *The invention of tradition*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Hoskins, Janet, and Viet Nguyen, eds.
2014 *Transpacific studies: Framing an emerging field*. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press.

Igler, David
2013 *The great ocean: Pacific worlds from Captain Cook to the Gold Rush*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Imada, Adria
2012 *Aloha America: Hula circuits through the U.S. empire*. Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press.

Jolly, Margaret
1992 Ill-natured comparisons: Racism and relativism in European representations of ni-Vanuatu from Cook's second voyage. *History and Anthropology* 5 (3–4): 331–64.
1997a From Point Venus to Bali Ha'i: Eroticism and exoticism in representations of the Pacific. In *Sites of desire, economies of pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Lenore Manderson and Margaret Jolly, 99–122. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
1997b White shadows in the darkness: Representations of Polynesian women in early cinema. In *Imaging, representation, and photography of the Pacific Islands*, ed. Max Quanchi, special issue, *Pacific Studies* 20 (4): 125–50.

Kahn, Miriam
2011 *Tahiti beyond the postcard: Power, place and everyday life*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press.

Lamb, Jonathan, Vanessa Smith, and Nicholas Thomas, eds.
2000 *Exploration and exchange: A South Seas anthropology, 1680–1900*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Manderson, Lenore, and Margaret Jolly, eds.
1997 *Sites of desire/economics of pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

O'Brien, Patty
2006 *The Pacific muse: Exotic femininity and the colonial Pacific*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press.

Quanchi, Max
1997 Introduction. In *Imaging, representation, and photography of the Pacific Islands*, ed. Max Quanchi, special issue, *Pacific Studies* 20 (4): 1–12.

Robbins, Joel
2013 Beyond the suffering subject: Toward an anthropology of the good. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 19 (3): 447–62.

Smith, Bernard
1960 *European vision and the South Pacific*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.
1992 *Imagining the Pacific: In the wake of the Cook voyages*. Melbourne: Univ. of Melbourne Press.

Smith, Vanessa
2010 *Intimate strangers: Friendship, exchange and Pacific encounters*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Stoler, Ann Laura
2002 *Carnal knowledge and imperial power: Race and the intimate in colonial rule*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Thomas, Nicholas
1991 *Entangled objects*: *Exchange, material culture and colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.
1994 *Colonialism's culture*: *Anthropology, travel, and government*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

Thomas, Nicholas, and Diane Losche, eds.
1999 *Double vision: Art histories and colonial histories in the Pacific*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Thompson, Lanny
2010 *Imperial archipelago: Representation and rule in the insular territories under U.S. dominion after 1898*. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph
1991 Anthropology and the savage slot: The poetics and politics of otherness. In *Recapturing anthropology: Working in the present*, ed. Richard G. Fox, 17–44. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Wallace, Lee
2003 *Sexual encounters: Pacific texts, modern sexualities*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press.

Webb, Virginia-Lee
1995 Manipulated images: European photographs of Pacific peoples. In *Prehistories of the future: The primitivist project and the culture of modernism*, ed. Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush, 175–200. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press.

ANTHROPOPHAGI IN NEW-YORK AND OTHER VOYAGERS

Maria Lepowsky
University of Wisconsin, Madison

In 1844, Harper and Brothers, of 82 Cliff Street, New-York (as the city's name was then written), published a now nearly forgotten book, *Scenes, Incidents, and Adventures in the Pacific Ocean*. The account of a three-year voyage to the South Pacific was written by a young native New Yorker, the evocatively named Thomas Jefferson Jacobs. He begins:

> About ten years ago, as many of my readers may recollect two savages, named Sunday and Monday, and advertised as cannibals, were publicly exhibited in New-York and other cities of the American Union. They were brought to this country by Captain Benjamin Morrell, who represented that he had taken them from two groups of islands which he had discovered in the Pacific Ocean, the precise position of which, for private reasons, he declined to disclose. Each spoke a language peculiar to himself and unintelligible to the other; and neither of them had ever seen a white man until Captain Morrell accidentally discovered their native islands while on a trading voyage in the schooner Antarctic, in quest of bêche-de-mer.
>
> His object in bringing them to this country was to instruct them in the English language, and thus to make them useful to himself as interpreters and pacificators in the intercourse with their respective islands which he proposed to open (Jacobs 1844, 13).

Pacific Studies, Vol. 38, Nos. 1/2—Apr./Aug. 2015

This chapter explores maritime cultures of contact by tracing the complicated voyages of Sunday, Monday, Captain Morrell, and his crews to Manhattan, unmapped Pacific archipelagoes, Botany Bay, Canton, California, and beyond, polyglot participants in the early rise of a global Pacific. A global culture of contact between Europeans and indigenous peoples, with regional and temporal variants, dates at least to the time of Cortéz, I suggest (ML, Cannibals of New York and other voyagers: Islanders, Europeans, and the rise of a global Pacific, unpubl. data). A key example would be cultures of encounter in the Atlantic World (Rediker 1987, Linebaugh and Rediker 2000), heavily inflected by the intercontinental slave trade and colonial plantation economies. My focus is on the Pacific World: its maritime frontiers, ideologies, argots, trade relations, flows of persons and objects, and—highlighted in this chapter—global, transgenerational representations of islands, islanders, and shipboard visitors.[1] To that end, I trace the movements of Captain Morrell, the two kidnapped islanders, and two young American sailors, the author Thomas Jacobs and his companion Selim Woodworth.

Key representations of Pacific islanders have been remarkably persistent, although perennially contradictory and contested, since the voyages of Wallis, Cook, Bougainville, and those who followed: tropes of discovery and first contact, lotus-eaters on island paradises, and treacherous cannibals. It seems islander perceptions of Europeans have been equally persistent: possible ancestral spirits, wealthy (if erratic) exchange partners, rapacious invaders. Europeans who sailed to New Guinea, and elsewhere in the Pacific, to seek tortoiseshell, bêche-de-mer, pearlshell, and, later, gold dust—forms of wealth highly prized in London, New York, or Canton—encountered people who were themselves actively engaged in voyaging for wealth. As islanders sailed outrigger canoes to distant islands seeking their own valuables, and as they sought to attract (or repel) newcomers bearing steel axes, glass beads, and calico, islanders and the Europeans mapped multiple, intersecting geographies of desire. Starting with the earliest contacts, each set of geographies, customs, and material cultures of exchange began transforming the other, reshaping the ethnographically known Pacific Islands as well as the social life of metropole and empire. Chinese teas, porcelains, and silks, for which Pacific traders often bartered their tortoiseshell and bêche-de-mer in Canton, as well as mother-of-pearl buttons and copra-based soaps, became either commodities for the urban working poor or luxury items of consumption for a growing bourgeoisie (cf. McClintock 1995).

European and American traders and naval officers sailed to the Pacific with pre-existing expectations of how to approach and engage island "natives" and extract wealth, fame, or professional advancement from the voyages. These

derived from personal preconceptions, official orders from the Admiralty, a captain's history of trading successes and disasters, and direct orders. They brought with them as well a conventional set of trade goods, tested by trial and error on previous voyages to other "savage lands" or Pacific Islands—iron hooping, hatchets, Turkey red calico, handkerchiefs, looking-glasses, and beads. Islanders transformed their own exchange repertoires, techniques, and expectations about encounters with others—including possibilities for wealth and fame—to deal with these volatile strangers on their beaches. I explore these themes by drawing on the overlapping genres of voyagers' accounts and travel narratives as they cross the blurry boundary between fiction and nonfiction. I begin my own narrative with the two Pacific islanders kidnapped by Captain Morrell, renamed Sunday and Monday, billed as anthropophagi, and exhibited to the public in 1830s New York, whose significance as a Pacific port is often overlooked.

The display of two alleged cannibals, surrounded by their native implements, and the subsequent "outfit and departure of the brig Margaret Oakley under Captain Morrell, on an exploring and trading voyage to the islands of the East Indian Seas, some years since, created quite a sensation among our citizens" (Jacobs 1844, iii). Newspapers took note. Poet, playwright, and newspaperman Samuel Woodworth (1815–71) ghostwrote Morrell's (1832) two-volume narrative of his four Pacific voyages from 1826–30. Woodworth also wrote and staged a play, *Massacre Islands*, based upon Morrell's alleged experiences of savage attack in what he insinuated were Sunday and Monday's home islands. It opened early in 1833 at The Bowery and ran until May before enthusiastic audiences, garnering at least one generally favorable review, although there was criticism of such anomalies as actors with white faces in "calico frocks" or "green jackets" playing "*perfect* savages" (Anonymous 1833; cf. Pollin 1976, 169).[2]

Benjamin Morrell was already both a celebrity and a figure of notoriety. He is still remembered (if at all) as "the biggest liar in the Pacific," most spectacularly for his reported discovery, in suspiciously temperate latitudes, of the continent of Antarctica, which he named New South Greenland (Morrell 1832a).[3] Two years after his latest return from the Pacific, he remained unsuccessful in gaining financial backing for his next venture. Intent on exploiting the trading possibilities for tortoiseshell and bêche-de-mer near certain tropical islands, he formed a joint stock company in New York to attract investors for a future mercantile voyage.

His broadside prospectus announced, in large bold letters, "To commercial men!! An important enterprise" (Morrell 1832b). But as Jacobs politely described it more than a decade later, Morrell's proposal for a "mingled trading and exploring voyage to the islands of the South Pacific . . . was

frustrated by a misunderstanding which arose among the stockholders, and led to the entire abandonment of the expedition" (Jacobs 1844:13–14).

More bluntly, Morrell was accused of swindling his investors, but Captain Morrell, "though at first disheartened . . . did not relinquish his design. He had indulged too long in exaggerated dreams of the wealth and fame that lay within his reach" and "applied himself, therefore, with renewed energy, to the device of some new plan by which he might prosecute his intended voyage" (Jacobs 1844, 14).

That device was the exhibition, especially in New York, home to the wealthy investors he hoped would back his next expedition, of the two abducted Pacific islanders. John Keeler, a crewmember on the Antarctic in 1829–30, when Sunday and Monday were captured, contributed his own account (a year before Morrell), directly tied to the captain's celebrity and to "[t]he two South Sea Islands who were brought to this country by Captain Morrell." He praises their appearance and character, comparing them favorably with Sandwich Islanders, the "cannibals of New Zealand, "Chinesemen and women . . . seen in the streets of our city," and "Indians of the Osage, Menominee and Wyandott tribes, with their calumets, silver rings, and uncouth features. . . . The elder, who at home sways the sceptre of a Chief, is much better shaped for a warrior and a general. His hair is not like that of the negro—it is longer, softer, and finer. . . . His skin is softer and lighter than that of his companion" (Keeler 1831).

This was Sunday, already showing signs of turning into a noble savage:

> They still keep their war implements, such as bows and arrow, spears and war clubs, and their fishing geer; together with their ornaments and former articles of dress of their own manufacture, for the examination of the public. It is understood that all their lines and habiliments are made of the bark of a tree and their fish hooks are made of the mother of pearl and tortoiseshell (Keeler 1831, 4).

Keeler's account as survivor of the eponymous massacre seems also to be ghostwritten (by Samuel Woodworth in an early effort), tending toward the floridly literary in style, unlikely for the effusions of a common seaman, but it includes convincing details, likely based on oral accounts by Keeler, later embellished. The *Antarctic* departed New York in September 1829, "on a voyage to the South Seas, for the purpose of collecting a cargo of fur seal skins" (1831, 3, 5). Morrell intended sailing in higher latitudes than what we now envision as the South Seas, but found the sealing off New Zealand's South Island disappointing, and so "shaped his course for Manilla." Keeler

describes their passage through archipelagoes teeming with "the pearl and tortoise shell, beach-le-mar" and so on. Morrell named each group after a different New Yorker, no doubt honoring his investors. Few of the names lasted (although the Berghe Group can be identified as the islands of Chuuk [Truk] Lagoon), and the text offers no clues as to their location. Keeler's account, like Morrell's (1832a: 458–66), reveals little about the origins of Sunday and Monday. A key passage from Morrell reveals his motives.

> If there be sufficient commercial enterprise in the United States to fit out an expedition to these islands, and thus enable me to restore these civilized cannibals to these islands, the stockholders of the concern would not only realize incalculable profits by the first voyage, but they might monopolize the invaluable trade as long as they please because *I alone know where these islands are situated* (Morrell 1832a, 466; original emphasis).

The location of the captives' home islands was Morrell's great trade secret, the leverage by which he hoped to raise fresh capital. Elsewhere, I offer evidence for the islands' locations. Each island lay well north or northeastof New Guinea; neither was anywhere near the Massacre Islands, which were north of the equator in Micronesia in the Massacre Islands (ML, Cannibals of New York and other voyagers . . . , unpubl. data). Exhibiting the men, along with valuable implements of mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell, emphasized Morrell's unique Pacific knowledge and commercial advantage.

"If these men are enabled to return, they will also be prepared to instruct their countrymen in the art of agriculture, of which they are now entirely ignorant." (This was of course a great lie.) The return of civilized cannibals (a remarkable concept) will open a path to missionaries and

> . . . the worship of the Great Spirit in a Christian temple. . . . By this means thousands of infants would be saved, which are now doomed to perish, lest the population of these islands become too great for their means of sustenance. Was their rich, mellow, luxuriant soil only partially cultivated, it would produce sufficient for ten times the population that now occupies it. These natives, whom I call "Sunday" and "Monday," will also prepare the minds of their countrymen to receive and protect missionaries; they will report how kindly and tenderly they have been treated here" (Morrell 1832a, 466).

The islanders as Morrell describes them are too ignorant to use their "rich, mellow, luxuriant soil" ("only partially cultivated," he now allows) and

require civilized instruction not only on Christian principles but to avert a Malthusian catastrophe.

"Our two captives could not for some time, interchange their sentiments verbally," Morrell notes, "though they could sympathize with each other by signs and looks" (1832a, 466). So Sunday and Monday, who spoke different languages, could not communicate "for some time." But eventually they could. They developed and learned to communicate in some form of pidgin. By the time Sunday returns to the Pacific on the *Margaret Oakley*, four years later, he speaks what Jacobs (1844) calls "broken English," clearly a pidgin in grammar and vocabulary.

Morrell continues:

> My object in bringing these two men to the United States is already known to the public and is, I trust, duly appreciated. In the year 1830 they were ferocious savages, and, as they now confess with horror, even CANNIBALS! In the year 1832 they are civilized, intelligent men, well fitted for becoming proper agents, or interpreters and missionaries, to open an intercourse with their native islands, which cannot fail of resulting in immense commercial advantage to the United States, and also of incalculable civil and moral blessings to a portion of mankind never before known or heard of by the civilized world. They have become familiar with the superior arts and enjoyments of civilized life, and are very anxious to return and communicate the same to their benighted countrymen. One of them, who was a chief in his native country, has a great taste for the mechanical arts, particularly such as require the use of machinery and edge tools. He visits of his own accord, the different factories and workshops, with the inquisitive eye of a philosopher, and is never satisfied until the use and principle of every operation have been explained to him (Morrell 1832a, 466).

The princely savage and mechanical philosopher, other passages make clear, was the man called Sunday. This rhetorical example portrays the reformed, formerly debased savage (CANNIBALS!) exposed to the beneficent effects of American civilization. In rapid succession, the passage hits the promise of great profit ("immense commercial advantages") and an appeal to American nationalism and economic competition with Britain ("to the United States") a mere two decades after the War of 1812, during which Morrell spent two years as a British prisoner. It wraps up with a pious nod to the "incalculable civil and moral blessings" of underwriting the return voyage.

Two years later Morrell found financial backers—whose names, characteristically, he kept secret—and set sail once more in 1834 on the clipper ship *Margaret Oakley*. His latest crew included two young native New Yorkers. One was nineteen-year-old Selim Woodworth, oldest son of playwright Samuel Woodworth, who despite his total inexperience at sea, joined the voyage as second mate, or clerk (accounts vary). The elder Woodworth showed considerable confidence in Morrell, a man many treated with disdain, entrusting the life of his first-born son to his care, a confidence he later regretted. The other first-time sailor on the *Margaret Oakley* was Tom Jacobs.

> I had just left college—still in my minority—when I heard of the expedition; there was something fresh and original about it, and so different from ordinary freighting and naval voyages. . . . The idea of visiting lonely and fruitful islands heretofore unknown; of witnessing the habits of Sunday's people and their exultation at his safe return; and above all the prospect of opening a new and brilliant path to fortune and fame, combined to adapt this voyage to my somewhat roving and adventurous disposition (Jacobs 1844).

The path to fame Jacobs envisioned was a published account of the voyage. "I endeavored to purchase a passage, but Captain Morrell could not take any passengers. The owners were suspicious that others might learn the nature of the trade, which they wished and expected to secure for themselves" (Jacobs 1844).

The captain relented, allowing him to "reside in the cabin" and study practical navigation.

> "He added that he would impose upon me this one restriction, that on our return I should publish nothing in relation to the voyage, until after the lapse of a certain time; that during the cruise I would be under his authority, and required to do the duty of a midshipman. As it was understood that none but officers and crew were to embark in the expedition, he considered the arrangement with me confidential, with which the other owners had no concern; so, to prevent all inconvenient inquiries on their part, he put my name down as one of the crew (Jacobs 1844, 15).

The departure was delayed by tragedy.

> The temper and appearance of the two savages, to whose agency he [Captain Morrell] trusted for success, were as dissimilar as their

> language. Sunday was gentle, affectionate, inquiring, and intelligent. Monday was suspicious, moody, and difficult of restraint. He could not be made to understand that, in taking him from his native land, the whites could have had other than hostile intentions. No kindness could win his confidence, nor could anything banish from his mind a notion he had conceived, that they intended to kill and even devour him. The cold climate which he had been forced to accept instead of his own sunny land, chilled his temper as well as his frame; he hated the confinement of dress and the restraints of orderly and civilized life, and often wept in bitter agony, shedding tears and wringing his hands in grief for the country of his birth. The food he received here was an unwelcome substitute for the delicious bread-fruit, the sweet sago, the luscious banana, the nourishing cocoanut, and the various grateful fruits and roots to which his taste had been accustomed in the tropical climate of his lovely islands.
>
> These things combined soon threw him into a severe fit of sickness. Though attended by careful and skillful physicians, and watched over with paternal anxiety by Captain Morrell, he rapidly declined, and soon died in New-York.
>
> This untoward event threw fresh difficulties in the way of Captain Morrell. For a time his scheme was suspended. But after a long delay, three gentlemen proposed to fit out an expedition on a less expensive scale than that upon which the first had been planned (Jacobs 1844, 14).

Monday, whose true name has been lost, was, as he had feared, devoured, incorporated, consumed, by Captain Morrell and the Anthropophagi of New York.

Cannibal Islands

"It was a pleasant evening in the month of March, just about sunset, when my young friend, S. E. Woodworth (who was going out as captain's clerk), and myself stepped into a small boat at Castle Garden [lower Manhattan], the boatman plied his oars, and we waved a long farewell to our native city" (Jacobs 1844, 16).

Selim Woodworth's shipboard diaries, commencing with the departure of the "American Brig" *Margaret Oakley*, on Sunday, March 9, 1834, on a "Fine morning but cool," begin inauspiciously. On Monday, March 10, he records, "Fair weather and wind but too sea sick to enjoy it." On March 11, "Still sea sick."[4] But by the time the *Margaret Oakley* reached "the Cape Verd

Island" of "Bonivista . . . or to use the sailors' term Bony-Wiskers" on April 8, he "went on shore with the Captain and company," and recorded disparaging comments about the inhabitants. On April 11, he writes: "I went with Sunday up almost to the other village which is much the same as the above mentioned. (Went in to bathe)." The two seem to have struck up a friendship. He later describes Sunday swimming alongside ship, diving fearlessly among sharks, as they lay becalmed. But it is Jacobs who reveals Sunday's true name:

> The savage Sunday, whom the reader will not have forgotten as being on board, was now in buoyant spirits at the prospect of a speedy return to his friends and home. His native name is Telum-by-by Darco; but he is commonly called by his people Darco, and is a hidalgo, being one of the most notable chiefs of Morrell's group, and the only son of Mogagee, the reigning Tumbuco, or king, of Nyappa (Jacobs 1844, 23).

The young New Yorkers have revealed that Sunday is quite a noble savage. He is "a hidalgo," a nobleman, son of the "king" of Nyappa. The young New Yorkers have discovered that the supposedly cannibalistic Sunday is, literally, not a cannibal but an island prince. Jacobs' book also contains the first recorded usages of a Pacific Island pidgin.[5] Jacobs was a native New Yorker. From this, and characteristic Austronesian vowel sounds, I assume he was rendering a pronunciation of Daco or Dako, with a broad A. This hidalgo of the Pacific had both a noble appearance and a noble temperament.

> He was at this time twenty-five years old, six feet high, with a symmetrical and athletic frame. He had small, black eyes, and rather a good-natured, though not very expressive countenance; the lower part of his ears was split, and hung down according to the custom of his people, who wear large ornaments in the ears. While Darco was in this country he wore the slit part out of sight. Uneducated as he was, he possessed sound practical common sense, and never exhibited anything of a servile or timid temper; his manners, on the contrary, were commanding and impressive, without being proud or ostentatious. . . . He was always a favourite among our men, was never at enmity with any one, and had a most inveterate and praiseworthy habit of minding his own business (Jacobs 1844:23–24).

The *Margaret Oakley* sprang a serious leak during a gale off the coast of Africa, putting in at Mauritius for several months for repairs. Its armaments fortified, the crew "increased by the shipment of men belonging to different

nations" (and taken by local inhabitants to be "bound on some piratical expedition"), the ship put to sea once more, "indeed, it seemed as if we had just commenced our voyage" (Jacobs 1844: 46–47). Woodworth's journal, silent on Mauritius, picks up again. The captain distributed arms to the crew, "Cutlasses and Guns. He had given each of the Crew a pair of Pistols, a few days ago" (Friday, September 12).

"Every day," Jacobs writes, "the crew were drilled in the use of their implements of war" (Jacobs 1844, 50). Woodworth's journal pauses for a month, obedient to Morrell's orders. They were entering New Guinea waters, as Jacobs' last covert report on their location shows (1844, 66). The *Margaret Oakley* was closing in on Morrell's Group of islands, primary objective of the voyage.

They had entered "an unknown and unexplored region" where the navigator feared to "wreck his vessel upon some unknown coral reef . . . and where, per-adventure, he may be roasted alive and eaten by cannibals, who will be disposed to massacre the first white man who happens to fall into their power, as an act of vengeance to appease the manes of their ancestors, who may have been cruelly treated, or murdered in cold blood, by some ancient bigoted and ignorant European visitors" (Jacobs 1844, 64).

Cannibals now return to the narrative for the first time since Manhattan. Jacobs, who heard Darco's stories of European raids against his people, explains that revenge, not savagery, was the motive for cannibal attacks against Europeans. The islanders hoped to appease their ancestors. Into this alarming, fertile region they sailed,

> [U]nder the command of an enterprising captain, who has determined to explore and open a trade in every spot where the danger is most imminent. He now assumed the authority of an autocrat over every soul on board, even to the officers, and took all their nautical instruments and locked them up, that they might not ascertain our latitude or longitude. The farther progress of the vessel was wrapped in mystery, and no one was permitted, in his presence, even to hint at the name or situation of any place at which we stopped. He kept everything to himself; determined to reap the profit of the trade he meant to open, at another time, on his "own hook," for peculiar circumstances, connected with frequent quarrels with the supercargo, had transpired, and given him (as he thought) good cause to "crush the owners and their spies." He looked with a jealous eye upon any one who even so much as picked up the scrap of a school map, and glanced it over, useless as it was. The crew could describe the beauties of the islands that we visited, and the nature of

> our trade, but they could not tell their latitude or longitude, or ever return over the same route. We never hove the log, and the vessel's log-book contained no courses, distances, latitudes or longitudes.
>
> By peculiar management, I was enabled to conceal my instruments in the steerage; and it so happened that one other person [Woodworth] and myself were as well acquainted with our daily progress as the captain could be. . . . Inhabitants of several coastal villages hailed us to stop and trade. Several canoes, with mat sails and outriggers, came after us in full pursuit, paddled by natives, who motioned us to stop and anchor, as they wanted to trade. We disregarded all their signals (Jacobs 1844: 65–67).

Morrell insisted on sailing onward. In a deep bay at the mouth of a river ("a 'new discovery'!") he felt menaced by "a great multitude of warriors" and fired the six pounder, using "a blank." The Papuans fired barbed arrows, one of which narrowly missed Morrell, who later shot and killed the war leader with his rifle. This was the signal for a general attack by hundreds of men. The American cannons and ". . . volley upon volley of musketry" repelled the war canoes. "The clear blue water of this beautiful bay was dyed with the blood of many a warrior; and as the groans and gurglings of the mortally wounded rose upon the ear, and we looked around upon the spectacle, it was appalling and heart-sickening!" (Jacobs 1844:70–74).

The captain mounted the trunk and harangued the natives. He waved his outstretched hands over them, as a father over his children, and told them he had come here as their friend; they had come to massacre him and had met their doom from the all powerful and ubiquitous "White King," who commend with the "Spirit of the Sun," to which luminary he pointed.

"The natives, with their heads bobbing up and down under cover of the canoes, gazed at him in wonder and amazement" (Jacobs 1844). As well they might. It is not at all clear from this account what language Morrell was speaking, or thought he was speaking. English? A Pacific pidgin? Jacobs understood the captain; hence, Malay is ruled out. Jacobs had been conversing with Darco by then for months, gaining familiarity with what Jacobs later called his "broken English," the quickly developing trade argots of the New Guinea coasts and islands. The White King? Spirit of the Sun? If Jacobs is not making this up (even if he is), this is a revealing account of how one early white trader represented himself. Two days eastward, they ". . . encountered a fine-looking race of men," who were "unacquainted with the use of iron, which we explained to them by cutting a stick with a sheath knife, and then showed them how to make a similar instrument out of a piece of iron hoop. At this they danced and shouted for joy. . . ." The crew presented a piece of

iron hoop to the "principal chief. . . . All were "eager to obtain a piece of the valuable metal. The captain informed them that he would give a small piece of it for every pound of hawk's-bill tortoise-shell which they would bring him; and offered to deal with them in the same liberal manner for pearls, pearl-shell, bêche-de-mer, gold-dust, ambergris, mysory bark, edible bird's nests, sandal wood, paradise birds, nutmegs, diamonds, camphor gum copal, vermilion earth, ostrich plumes, ivory, palm and cocoanut oils, and other valuable productions of their island" (Jacobs 1844: 70–4).

One wonders how much of this the Papuans could understand. They bartered great quantities of shell valuables and weapons for iron, and Morrell "told them to go on collecting, and he would return in thirteen moons and buy all they had" (Jacobs 1844:75–76). This was one of his most important techniques of contact. Open friendly relations by offering generous initial gifts of European goods to the senior men, the "principal chief" or "king." Explain, via trade lingo, or ideally, a native interpreter, that they should organize the collection of the desired trade items for his return in a certain number of "moons." Or, if the "natives" are threatening, demonstrate the lethal power of European guns and cannons. After they flee, leave valuable opening gifts on a house post, verandah, or tree trunk. Sail back later, and proceed with more gifts plus instructions to collect tropical commodities for future mutually beneficial trade.

> [W]e took our departure from Papua, steering N. by E., with a cracking trade-wind from the S.E. This was our course for several days, and we launched upon the broad Pacific Ocean, with nothing in sight save the sky and the water. We were now approaching the "land of promise"—Morrell's Group of island, the birthplace of Prince Darco. All hands were on the tip-toe of expectation to witness the reception of the prince by his people, who had, no doubt, mourned his absence as though he had been long since numbered with the dead; and many were the speculations of the sailors about the grand denoument. As we neared the latitude of the group, the anxiety and impatience of Darco became painfully intense. He could scarcely eat or sleep. . . .

When Darco, who had fallen into sleep only an hour before, after being on lookout on night, was awakened by Captain Morrell, who "hallooed that his islands were in sight . . ." and fell prostrate upon the floor. After recovering, ". . . he rubbed his eyes, stood up, and said in his broken English, 'What for you too much a pool Capin More-el! You see my island! suppose me no see my island me no like'e you too much!' With this he instantly rushed upon deck, half dressed as he was, and, bounding forward, mounted the windlass

bitts . . . he suddenly uttered a shout of heartfelt rapture, which thrilled through every bosom on board" (Jacobs 1844: 77–78).

The island of Nyappa, "the most elevated in the group," was "the birthplace of Darco." But his longed-for homecoming was not straightforward. The *Margaret Oakley* hove to off Nyappa about 10 p.m. Darco told his friends that he had

> . . . misgivings about the mountain people, who he feared, had conquered his father's tribe, who lived upon the seaboard. That he might satisfy himself upon this point, he desired to be first landed upon the Island Riger, where his mother's people resided. Accordingly, we steered for that island, and the next morning were close upon it. . . . The land towered up, in the form of an irregular truncated cone, about 2000 feet above the sea . . . on the left, in one spot about one third of the way up the cone, shot forth, with a low, rumbling noise, a . . . wonderful boiling spring (Jacobs 1844: 78–79).

They were met with at Riger by a "host of naked savages, armed with spears, slings, and war-clubs . . . chanting their war-songs." The inhabitants motioned for the strangers to be gone, then "hurled a volley of stones at us with their slings." At this,

> . . . Prince Darco ran out upon the boom, and hailed them in a loud voice, saying that he was 'Telum-by-by-Darco, the son of Mogagee, the Tumbuco of Nyappa.' At this the natives ceased chanting their war-song, and held a grand consultation upon the beach, while the war tum-tums and conchs pealed forth a warning din throughout the island.
>
> Presently the consultations ended, and the savages stood arrayed along the beach in battle array, while a noble-looking red warrior advanced to the water's edge and, shaking his spear at us, cried out at the top of his voice, "You make lie to kill us! You killed and eat Darco many moons ago! We know you, *Pongo*, very bad. Can't kill us on land! We kill you! You afraid of *magic stone*!"
>
> With this the savages uttered the war-yell and brandished their war implements, while the tum-tums were beaten with increased fury. Darco again hailed them: "Me no speak lie! me real Darco *Pongo* good man: no eat me! Me hab been to America! Me come ashore alone, and show you!"
>
> "You speak lie plenty!" shouted the red warrior. "Telum-by-by-Darco not white like you!"

"Me not white!" shouted Darco, as he stripped off his duck shirt and trousers, and hung them on the jib-stay, upon which he seized, and stood up in a commanding attitude, exposing his bare body full to the view of the savages, while he stretched out his muscular arm and pointed at them with his hand, and shouted, "You see me. I am Prince Darco!"

At this the war-yell and tum-tums ceased, and the savages gazed at their beloved prince in silent wonder and amazement. . . . The savages, having now become convinced that they really beheld their former prince, all shouted his name, broke their spears, and, dashing them upon the gourd, scattered in all directions to relate the joyful tidings; and we soon heard his name shouted up the mountain-side by hundreds of voices, and borne along until it faintly died away in the distance around the island.

Darco announced to the crew that he wanted to "jump overboard and swim ashore. The captain persuaded him to land among his subjects in a more kingly style" and had him rowed to the edge of the reef, whereupon he grew impatient and swam ashore anyway. "The boat returned to the vessel, for we knew not what might be the reception of our seamen among the savages." But the "prince was instantly recognised by his people" who uttered great shouts of welcome. Darco returned in an hour ". . . in a big war canoe. . . paddled by his mother's people, who threw on board cocoanuts and bananas. He told us that his people thought, when he had his clothes on, that he was Pongo's (the devil's) imp, set up to deceive them. . . . When he told them about America, they listed in wonder, and could get from his statements no definite opinion, except that it was situated in the moon, and inhabited by spirits and hobgoblins" (Jacobs 1844: 79–81).

The idea of America as the moon soon became familiar. Darco quickly heard that his father Mogagee had died. The mountain people had been "committing depredations upon their plantations of golopo, and had carried off Nape, the young and beautiful daughter of his cousin Ragotur." Darco wished to spend the day at Riger, then sail on to Nyappa.

"W____ [Woodworth] and myself embarked with him in his war canoe." This was exactly the adventure for which they had signed on with Morrell, to return New-York's "cannibals" to their island homes. The inhabitants carried the canoe onto the beach. Darco's maternal relatives clutched him, and all

wept. The two Americans "... were surrounded by a more youthful class.... Some of them wet their fingers and rubbed our hands and arms, to ascertain whether the colour of our skin was natural and permanent, or only artificial; and wondered how human beings, with so pale a skin, could live and be healthy. Others played with and admired our hair" while "the young ladies" tried on their "shirts and caps, and making many awkward attempts to incase themselves in our pantaloons."

Rubbing the European's skin to see if pigment comes off, the way black, white, or red body paint does, is a widespread Pacific report.[7] Darco directed the islanders to stand back and form a circle, telling his friends to keep their shirts off, "and thus to show his people that we were willing to conform to their style of dress, and thus to gain their confidence and friendship." Their shirts had in any case been seized by "two young women . . . stalking around with the sleeves tied round their necks, and the bodies fluttering behind, followed by a curious host, who were examining their fabric."

Darco related his adventures to the "principal chiefs" inside the circle, appealing to his friends to confirm his stories' veracity; "he indulged in the traveller's license to an almost unpardonable extent" but the Americans loyally agreed with what he said: "*A lee gitter tolum cazy*!" (Jacobs 1844: 82–83). Jacobs clarifies,

> W____ and myself had learned enough of Darco's language during the voyage to hold long and interesting conversations with him, and had collected quite a full vocabulary. Indeed, we had been from the first his favourites on board; and to us he always communicated his doubts and fears respecting his ultimate return to his native islands.

The visitors and returning "prince" were conducted to the "Palace of Lavoo."

> Darco and the two Americans toured the district, then embarked in the canoe with ". . . two celebrated braves, his relatives. One was named Wonger and the other Pongaracoopo. The latter was half-brother to Darco, and had been engaged in the attack upon the Antarctic at the time of Darco's capture, when he received several shot-wounds, losing one eye, and received a buck-shot near his shoulder blade (Jacobs 1844, 85).

This is a rare after-action description of the consequences of affrays with Morrell's and other European ships. The two warriors were to accompany Darco to Nyappa.

A "great crowd" assembled on the beach. "[O]ne aged man rushed into the water and kissed Darco's hand, and cried and sobbed aloud, in fear lest, when he got on board the vessel, *Pongo* would again carry him away, never more to return."

Pongo was a cannibal giant with multiple heads who came from the sea. Darco declares that "I love my people very much, and will be glad to see them in my house in Nyappa." It was nearly dark when they regained the vessel, "and jumped on board, where we were heartily greeted by the crew. We squared away the yards, and steered for Nyappa."

The "two braves" were "somewhat alarmed. . . . We showed them a cannon-ball; one took hold of it and speedily let it fall; while they both gazed at it in wonder, putting their knuckles into their mouths, and then, snapping their fingers, cried, "I-yar, I-yar!" and said in their language, "Just the same as *magic stone* in *Pitar Cave*!'"

By morning, the ship lay close to Nyappa (Uneapa), a high island with three central mountains.

> The two braves embarked in the boat and were approaching the beach, when the war-yell rang through the forest, and a vast body of savages poured out upon the beach in battle array threatening our crew with instant massacre. Seeing the danger with which we were surrounded, the two braves rose up and addressed the assembled warriors in a loud and energetic strain, accompanied by violent gesticulations. . . . The braves leape into the water and swam ashore . . . soon the joyful cry of "Telum by-by-Darco! Telum by-by-Darco! rang through the forest in all directions." Several canoes came out and "the chiefs stood on our deck, where they surrounded and empaced with affection their long-lost and beloved prince, whom they hurried into the canoe and hastily paddled for the shore, following bey the fleet, the whole host chating a greeting song, accompanied by the sound of the tum-tum. They soon entered the cove, and were lost to our view.

This was a tense interlude, both for his friends and for Morrell, who had a years-long investment in Darco. But he returned late the next day by canoe, accompanied by warriors wearing "macaw plumes," bodies and faces striped with red paint.

"[H]e had that morning been crowned King of Nyappa, by the unanimous desire of the populace and chiefs in council convened. The mountain people had already heard of his arrival, and fearing his power and influence with Pongo, they began to think of suing for peace" (Jacobs 1844, 89).

Darco planned to lead his warriors into battle, using firearms to subdue his people's enemies, "the mountaineers." Morrell's abduction and return of Darco had already affected Nyappa's geopolitical balance and would further change the balance of power in favor of the beach-dwellers, a common pattern in the early history of Pacific Island relations with Europeans. The littoral people had connections not only to Darco's guns, and knowledge of how to use them, but to Morrell and perhaps other traders who had appeared in the years since Darco's abduction. In 1830, Nyappa islanders had refused to trade with Morrell, attempting to drive his ship away by force.

The crew took to traveling in the ship's four boats among the shoals of Morrell's Group of islands, looking for shell and bêche-de-mer as well as chances to open friendly trading relations. Woodworth resumes his diary anchored off "Riger" on November 25, 1834 (he no longer bothers to log the day of the week).

> At ½ past 2 P.M. the Captain took the stern Boat and started to examine the shoals and a neighboring sand spit, and if possible, to have some communications with the natives. About an hour afterwards they returned on board: having seen no natives, but the Cpt. brought off some bick-le-Mare from the reef and a few shells. After this squall of rain was over the Cpt. again took the Boat, and I accompanied him. . . . When we got near the shore we saw a canoe full of Natives, on shore, and pulling allong towards their village. We gave way on our oars to overtake them, but they seeing us gain on them, run their canoe ashore and jumped out; we pulled in near to them and opened conversation with the natives, although we could not see them, they being in the Bushes, we invited them to come out and receive some presents but they said that they were afraid that we had come to take them away to Eat, as God had done previously at Nyappa by taking Darco, we told them that we were not God but people like them but they did not believe us, we also told them that we had just brought Darco home and that he had been in our Country; but all of our conversation was of no use; they would not show themselves; and all the time begging of us to go away. We finaly told them what we came for and asked them if they had any Tortois Shell, they said they had, and if we would go away that they would put some in an old tree that lay in the watter; we then pulled the Boat towards the tree and layed some pieces of old Iron hoop on the tree and pulled away. The natives soon came out and took the Iron and left in its place 4 pieces of Shell, which we took and thanked them, promising tomorrow to call and see their friends on Jarvis Isle.

As Morrell once more makes contact with the "cannibal islanders" of Sunday's home group, Woodworth records their fear that the white men had come back to take them away and eat them, as they had Darco. This was, from the islanders' perspective, a maritime visit from the Anthropophagi of New York. Note also the placing of valuables in trees. Woodworth was the crew member Morrell most relied upon to translate, explains Jacobs (more modest about his own linguistic ability), making this passage more credible. On the 26th Woodworth begins, "Comences fair, all hands buisey cleaning articles of Cutlery for to trade with." The islanders were afraid to approach the captain and first mate Jarvis in the boat, even Jarvis left behind alone on a sand spit. Woodworth and Morrell landed near six houses: ". . . the natives were all here preparing their supper"; the villagers "had got a large hog ready to put in the Boat" but took fright.

"The articles that Mr. Jarvis had left, were still hanging unmolested where he put them, and the natives would cast a very suspicious look at them and then at us. They believed (as I later understood) that the god had put them on ths House and that they would return and take up our residence here. The Cpt. took them down and gave them to an old Chief by the name of Peo Lie. He was much pleased with them and expressed his thanks by offering us some cooked Cocoas and Roast Pig."

The next day

> we got the old Chief Peo Lie, to come in the Boat and go on board. He had some difficulty in getting clear of his people. They thought we was going to eat him, they brought us a fine hog and some cocoanuts, and we started on Board; we showed him everything that we thought would amuse him, and we made hima present of a Red cap, a callico shall, an Axe, and some beads; we put him ashore at the Island again, he being very much pleased with his presents, as was his people. At 5 P.M. we took a bottle of Harlem Oil for the sick old woman and some plasters for Lewie arm and Leg.

On November 28,

> We started to the westward and the first Island that we touched at was tantargeely . . . the natives gave the alarm by blowing the war Conck and they all began to muster in their canoes and shove off from the Island. . . . After hiding in the houses they soon returned fetching with them a hog as a peace offering and dancing and singing as the brought the Hog to the boat . . . some of the natives were swinging branches as they danced and came towards us. As soon as

> the Hog was in the Boat, they ceased singing and came towards and seemed as if friendship was established. They talked to us and also brought us their shell which we bought of them.

Note the tributes of hogs and the "swinging branches" as signal of a peaceful encounter. The former chief, Tantargeely, was dead. Morrell offered a present to the new chief ". . . to induce him to get his people to fetch their shell, which they all did very readily on our showing them what we had to give them for it. The Island is not more that ¼ of a mile in circumference . . . They gave us a few cocanuts and offered us some cooked Cocoas and Breadfruit. We thanked them for their hospitality. . . ."

Relations were less harmonious on the next island.

> During the time we were buisy there was so many natives around the Boat that we could not see the watter, and as they began to increase they were still more noisey, which the Capt. did not like, and gave orders imediately for us to stern off & come alongside of the Launch. . . . At least we got her afloat but could not find the rudder, which some one had unshiped, and it was gone.

All present

> . . . pretended not to know anything about it and began to be quite independent. . . . The Capt. then called all of the old men that was near and asked them if they would give up the rudder, and if they did not find it instantly that he would make thunder and lightning and kill all of the people and knock down all of the Huts and comenced at the same to load the swivel with bar-shot, and gave orders for the men to seize their arms, and he ranged the men along in the Launch in a regular line, facing the village. They all had their Muskets to their shoulders and cocked, when we saw an old man comeing runing and swimming up towards us with the Rudder in his hand and was shouting to us not to sink the Island. We ceased hostillities and waited for the man to bring the Rudder . . . by this time the whole Island was in an uproar, the men all runing for their arms and began to form small parties in different parts of the village, but on seeing the Rudder in the hands of the Captain who held it up for all of them to see it, they set up a yelling and Singing which lasted for 5 minutes, during which time they brought us a hog for each boat and some bows and green leaves, and once more established peace with them, and went on with our trade as well as ever.

Woodworth includes an asterisked explanation (confirmed by Jacobs in 1844): "The natives were very much astonished to see the Boat pull without the Rudder. They had an idea that if they stole the Rudder we would not be able to get away with the Boat and they would have a good chance to steal the articles that we had in" (November 28).

In the morning he landed in the "Golly Boat and took some salvs, plasters, and Medicins for the afflicted and returned on board soon with two fine hogs that these good people had got for us, we gave them a lot of Beads and Butons for them" (November 29).

This seems a very favorable trade. The attempted raid, the threatened use of European weapons, the coerced return of the stolen object, and the peacemaking ceremony, with its tributes of hogs, dancing, and waving of green leaves or branches has remarkable parallels to other mid-nineteenth-century descriptions of uneasy, yet semiritualized early encounters on island beaches (for example HMS *Rattlesnake* in Sudest Lagoon in 1849; Huxley 1935, Lepowsky 1993, 2014; ML, Cannibals of New York and other voyagers . . . , unpubl. data). Another frequent technology of European contact was a ritualistic display of the deadly power of firearms. Morrell had offered instances along the New Guinea coast when he felt menaced. But Woodworth (November 29) writes, "the Capt. had as yet been very carefull not to let the natives into the secrete of our fire arms unless in case of nessesity. . . ." The men collected "large quantities of the B. le M. here while bathing . . . while we were in the watter a large [unintelligible] or Crocerdile at least 15 feet long was discovered to be swimming around amongst us . . . we all left the water now and took to shore choseing to stand in the rain rather than stand a contest with one of the <u>Devils Children</u>."

A "fine flock of large pigeons" tempted the men. The captain, believing them out of the islanders' earshot, gave permission to fire. The ship continued among the small islands of the group, and the next day "we landed on all of those Islands opposite Woge-Woge." These were inhabited, but their residents "all shoved off in their canoes for the main." The crew helped themselves to "hogs and fowls" as well as "*cocoa-nuts*. . . . The *Bread-fruit* was not quite ripe . . . and left some beads and knifes for the people in the *Counsel house*."

Here again is the culture of shipboard contact, helping themselves to the possessions of unwilling natives, yet recompensing them with European goods of the types and quantities they would have exchanged with a willing island partner.

The crew, "way up in the bay . . . dined under the shade of the [Mangroves] and remained an hour collecting oysters and ginger. Took a bath and shoved off." Seeking fresh food, water for the ship's casks, firewood, and a place

to bathe were the most common reasons for the Margaret Oakley, and all other visiting ships of the era, to venture ashore, risking attack on little known beaches, more compelling even than the desire for a profitable trade. By November 30, at the village of

> "Woge Wo-ge," we got a little shell here, but the people looking a little suspicious we left them and went over on one of the small Island opposite and one of the canoes came after us. We contrived to get near them and talk to them, they brought us some shell and we gave them some presents, but on the Capt. shooting a large Bird to show the effects of Fire arms they all jumped in the water and swam for the main, a distance of 2 miles. We could not persuade them to return, but every time that we would call to them, they would dive and swim under watter a long way.

This was a classic display of European lethal power. From December 1to 3 the *Margaret Oakley* again passed Tantargeely, Rudder Island (there were "Signs of hostillities"), "looking Glass Isle" and "touched at Garrys Isle." They could see a "Volcano . . . dist" from the "fine bay . . . 20 miles." Seeking a "watter and woody place," they rowed 500 yards up a large creek, ". . . when up jumped a dozen savages and run out in the watter towards us, with their spears, but they did not offer to use them. They were ornimented with huge teeth and beads, with green leaves in their heads, they are much lighter and finer looking people than those below us. They speak a different tongue from those to the West, have no canoes, live interor. We rowed in towards these people but they fled. . . . Fired an 18 lbs. to alarm the natives, in case there should be any lurking around the creek . . . we planted a variety of seeds, among which was corn, pumpkins, beans, turnips, &c." (December 3rd).

Planting European crops for use on a return trip, or for future mariners, was a widespread mariners' strategy (like leaving behind goats). Jacobs describes the garden planting rather differently from Woodworth, recalling it as the "germe" for Morrell's plan for a future colony of white settlers.

> The captain sat at the head of the circle, upon a water-keg, with a long pipe, puffing away and observing nothing; evidently lost in a revery, with his eyes cast upon the blazing fire. . . . "It's a pity that so many fine girls at home should be prevented from marrying, for fear of being forced to go to the poorhouse for a subsistence, and that men should quarrel for a mean strip of poor land, when all this fine country lies in a state of nature!" said the captain as he at least broke silence. The crew looked at him eagerly and listened for

> the proposition which was to come. "My boys," said he, "if I should return here to plant a colony of respectable families, will you follow me?"
>
> "Ay! ay!" was the general reply, and the captain again sank into his revery (Jacobs 1844, 135).

Morrell hoped "to settle for life in some part of Tropical Australasia" (Jacobs 1844, 128).

The "crew had become possessed of the idea that valuable gold mines remained to be discovered by us in that direction [the volcanoes of Bidera, or New Britain] and that we were there to make our 'eternal fortunes.' The captain, too, had given us hopes of this sort by expressing his desire to explore that region in quest of gold-dust, and diamonds, and other precious commodities" (Jacobs 1844: 141–42).

By this point Morrell's position had changed.

> Difficulties had by this time arisen between the captain and the agents of the owners of the vessel, the merits of which I shall not discuss, but which led the captain to believe himself released from all obligation to prosecute the voyage for their benefit. He determined, whether justly or not is a matter to be determined by facts which I do not feel at liberty to make public, to open a trade at their expense, and at some future time to return, in a vessel of his own, and reap the profits. Now that the opportunity offered, he decided to prosecute a thorough exploration of Tropical Australasia; to enter all the most dangerous and unknown places, and, with apparent recklessness, to risk everything upon the hazard of a single die (Jacobs 1844, 114, 116).

The "agents" to whom Jacobs refers include the supercargo, whom Morrell accused of being a spy. The "facts," which Jacobs does not make public, remain murky. Perhaps Morrell never intended to share any of the voyage's profits with his investors.

> Captain Morrell was a brave and daring navigator and as able a seaman as ever walked the deck of a ship. In scenes of danger he was always at his point, and commanded as if it were by instinct. So long as we obeyed orders, everything worked well, but when we disobeyed, we roused the lion and felt his anger. Every soul on board feared, though all respected him. The crew had already tasted of the delights of being on shore, upon beautfiul islands, among

> the natives; they were charmed with the climate, and the apparent ease with which a comfortable living could be obtained, and were, accordingly, delighted with the intentions of their captain.
>
> The scenes through which we had already passed, the mysterious region we had now entered, and the view of towering and verdant mountains of Bidera, tended to inspire us with a feeling as if we had taken a final leave of civilized life, and entered a new and unknown world. With a swift and well-armed vessel under his feet, and a large and chivalrous crew at his command, far away from the control of law, Captain Morrell in a measure became "outlawed," and so did we all. The crew were mostly composed of brave, hardy, and chivalrous young men, in the heyday of youth, and we had come here to gratify a spirit of adventure! The time, the place, and the scene roused us to action; and, led on by our daring captain, we shared his spirit, and resolved to follow him in his hazardous and adventurous undertaking" (Jacobs 1844, 116).

Morrell and his crew had also adopted Papuan customs for establishing exchange relations. The captain painted his face and bare chest in stripes of red (ochre?) before greeting a chief and his people in Morrell's Group, with whom he sat and chewed betel nut. "It is considered a very friendly sign to present the carbo gourd and exchange a chew of betle," Jacobs explains (Jacobs 1844, 132). At another location ". . . we painted our faces, stuck parrot-feathers in our hair, and landed upon Carwary" where they were received by the chiefly Nomer, father of their future shipmate Garry Garry (Jacobs 1844, 192).[8]

Jacobs recounts that the entire crew "had kicked off such useless lumber" as shoes and "were partially savages ourselves from the captain down to the cook" (1844: 85–86). At Bidera they "saw about 50 natives coming down the Beach from the other side of the creek, they were all dancing and singing and waving green branches. They had 3 fine hogs (one for each Boat). The natives and hogs were all painted Red and the Hogs were covered with small beads passed round their necks and legs. . . . We showed them T. shell but they did not know what it was but they knew pearl shell for they had orniments of it. These people all live in the mountains and therefore know very little about Tortoise Shell. They invited us to come to their village and pointed to the mountain."

The islanders had incorporated the visitors into preexisting exchange patterns, including the ritualized presentation of ochre-painted hogs decorated with shell valuables. The mountain people were eager to establish direct

exchange relations with the newcomers, by-passing the coast-dwellers. The crew gave them "knives and beads." The ship returned to Nyappa "and kept a light in the fore-rigging all night and lay off and on expecting Darco would see it if alive and come off."

In the morning Woodworth took the boat to look for him, "rowed along the shore inside of the reef and continualy kept hollowing for Darco, but all was of no use, he came not." They stopped at a "town . . . but the natives were so timid that I could not get any news of Darco." One man shouted that they should "go around to the S.West side that he lived there. . . . We saw the ensign hosited as a signal for us to come aboard and at the same time a man runing and runing down the Surf to-wards us, but he [Benton, the First Mate] wood not wait for the man and we started on board, and squared away for Bidera and was abrest of ---------- at dark, lay too all night" (Woodworth, December 9–12).

This was indeed poor Darco, Woodworth and Jacobs learned much later. They "tacked ship and stood to the N.W. . . and runing for *Monday's* Islands." In two days they sighted "thirty or forty secondary islets, ringed in a semicircle" and entered the lagoon.

> A large canoe, propelled by two sails, and filled with armed savages, came boldly up to the inner edge of the reef and hove to. The savages stood up, made friendly signs, and held up friut and tortoise-shell. They were the countrymen of poor Monday; upon one of the islets composing this group he was born; his relatives no doubt believed that he had long since been offered up as a sacrifice to our cannibalism. Alas! he was not here in person to convince them to the contrary, and they would not take our word! Fearing that our hands would be imbrued in more blood, we tacked ship, steered to the eastward, and were soon out of sight of land (Jacobs 1844, 164).

In the years since Monday was taken captive in 1830, the islanders had learned to barter with passing European vessels, becoming sufficiently accustomed that they knew to come out to the ship in canoes and to offer not just fruit but tortoiseshell. This was one of the major valuable commodities that Morrell had informed his readers and investors was so abundant in this uncharted group. But other vessels had reached the group before he could return. Jacobs again expresses regret for Monday's death in a cold and distant country, explaining that Morrell chose not to land in Monday's home islands because of the risk of bloodshed once the islanders saw he was the stranger who had carried Monday off four years earlier. They would believe

him "offered up as a sacrifice to our cannibalism," a parallel response to the fears of Darco's kin of the anthropophagous Americans. The *Margaret Oakley* instead sailed on to Manus (its name written in code in Woodworth's diary), engaging in a brisk trade, then returned to the New Guinea coast and New Britain.

There the Americans took on board another island voyager, a willing one this time, a young man named Garry, or Garry Garry, from the Bay of Carwary. He was another noble savage, "son of Nower, the King of Carwary," Captain Morrell's new namesake and trade partner. Garry Garry, who "frequently accompanied us in the squadron and slept on board the vessel several nights [was] a fine fellow and of great service to us in trading and opening a communication with the savages. He had a great desire to accompany us to the 'moon' in the 'god-ship.' We promised to take him, and return him safe and sound in five moons" (Jacobs 1844: 192–93).

Garry Garry quickly began to act as an interpreter, informing the Bidera coastal inhabitants "that we were gods from the moon who had come to make them presents" (Jacobs 1844, 198).[9] He helped to facilitate a considerable trade, even among enemies to his own people. The *Margaret Oakley* sailed on to Sydney, by way of Bougainville, Buka, the Solomon Islands (Jacobs calls it the Mendana Archipelago), and the New Hebrides ("Quiros Archipelago"), calling and trading at Espirito Santo, Erromango, and elsewhere. Woodworth describes the acquisition of ". . . curiousities: collecting the[m] from all of the ships crew and folks aft, takeing an account and packing them in boxes for transportation" (March 20, 1835). Here is another key aspect of island trade: in native "curiosities." These war clubs and spears were more than souvenirs. Common seamen and officers alike intended to realize a profit on them back home. Sydney had its drawbacks.

> We happened to arrive here [Sydney] at the commencement of winter and felt the cold very sensibly. We wished ourselves back in Tropical Australasia, for here we were obliged to resort to woollen clothing, and to shoes, to keep ourselves comfortable. The use of the latter article give us no little pain; we had gone barefooted so long that all our shoes were too small for us; we walked like cripples on shore, and kicked them off when we got on board the vessel again . . . the sailors continually vexed one another by praying for a return to the delights of a tropical climate. We had also just left a verdant and fruitful region, the contrast between which and the barren scenery of Port Jackson was so remarkable, that we most heartily wished ourselves away and back to the "Cannibal Islands," as the crew were in the habit of calling them (Jacobs 1844, 246).

The crew, who suffered agonies when forced to don shoes in the Sydney winter, longed for the "delights" of what they were already calling the "Cannibal Islands."

> In Sydney we accidentally fell in with two Kanakers; they were both young men. One was named Woahoo [Oahu], and was a native of the Sandwich islands; the other was nicknamed Tomme, and was a native of Otaheite [Tahiti], one of the Society Islands. They had been inveigled from home, while intoxicated, on board of some whale-ship, and had been abandoned here. They were nearly destitute of clothing, and had taken severe colds. The climate affected them as badly as Garry, and here in a strange land, among strangers, they bid fair to soon descend into the grave. We took them on board the vessel, clothed them, nursed them, and fed them. . . . As there were no vessels in port bound to the islands whence these men came, they consented to embark with us in order to ge into the climate of the tropics, and there run their chance of meeting with a vessel bound to their homes (Jacobs1844: 249–250).

The Hawaiian word *kanaka* (Kanakers) had already entered shipboard vernacular; Jacobs assumes his readers also will understand it. The two Polynesians joined the crew and spent much of their time with the two young Americans. Garry Garry was miserable "in the moon," badly affected by cold.[10] He nearly died of fever during the return passage, likely of pneumonia, but was nursed back to health by Jacobs and Woodworth, avoiding both tragedy and a major setback to Morrell's trading ambitions.

"Our progress was rapid, and every day brought us into a warmer and pleasanter climate. By degrees we stripped off the flannel shirts and drawers of Sydney, and were again reduced to the pleasant and airy dress of the 'Cannibal Islands'"(Jacobs 1844, 250).

Garry Garry's father had died in his absence. He was now "King Garry Garry." After the *Margaret Oakley*, with his assistance, completed a lucrative trade, he and Jacobs went bird hunting. Jacobs "slept at the palace in the same apartment with Garry and his sisters, who received me kindly and provided the best mats for sleeping upon." Garry placed a gift of "Doondoo plumes" on Jacobs' head, and "in Indian style" he returned to his shipmates. "The following day we bade farewell to King Garry and the royal family" (Jacobs 1844, 252ff., 270–71). The captain headed for "Morrell's Group," seeking Darco. tortoiseshell, pearlshell, and bêche-de-mer.

> A large canoe, under full sail, approached us, and King Darco and the noted brave Ragotur soon tumbled on deck through a port and

> bounded aft to embrace us, with tears in their eyes. The meeting between Darco and the captain was very affecting, and the big tear rolled from the eyes of the king as they embraced. He had been succesful in all his undertakings; the mountain people were reduced to subjections; the big canoe was completed, and we now saw it alongside; a universl peace reigned throught Nyappa, and he was worshipped as the greatest king that ever lived, one who could wield the war-club of "Lingambo" (moon). His tortoise-shell hunters and pearl divers had been very succesful, and he now informed the captain that a large quantity of these articles awited his command on shore; and to convince him how successful he had been, he presented him with one of the largest and purest pearls that we had ever seen; and when we afterwards compared it with the finest in the collection of the Sultan of Sooloo, we found that it even surpassed the best of them (Jacobs 1844: 271–72).

Darco by now had two wives, who "had fallen in love with him since his return from Lingambo." Jacobs presented these "good-looking wenches" with "gewgaws." As they sat on a mat in front of the "palace," Jacobs asked his old friend whether he wanted to go to America again.

"O-oo ballie!" (no, never) was his reply; "me more happy here, where people no want money to get married and support a family."

> He spoke from his heart, and had evidently become as much of a savage as ever; he went entirely naked, as usual, not wishing to be encumbered with his clothes, which he had hung up in his palace for his people to look at, for they regarded them as suits of armour to guard a man's body from spears. His "magic club" [gun] hung over the door, and was fairly reverenced by the natives" (Jacobs 1844: 271–73).

Morrell and Woodworth brought in grapevines and trees from Sydney to plant in his garden. The captain seems to have regarded Darco as more than just an instrument with which to gain his fortune. Woodworth describes an earlier reunion, after Darco had seemingly disappeared, in which Morrell cried as he embraced him. (He wrote about the captain's tears in numerical code.) Darco called him father. His own kin forcibly held him at several points to keep him from rejoining the ship and being carried off again, this time forever.

"The captain now laid out a deep plan; he intended, at a future day, to return to these lovely islands on his 'own book,' and found a trading-post and

colony. Here he intended to end his days in quiet and peace, free from the cares of a moneyed world" (Jacobs 1844, 274).

Morrell took leave of Darco's people, determined to sail to the East Indies, then on to Canton, selling some of his trading stock to other traders in the Sooloo Sea. They coasted Luzon, reaching the tiny island of Linton, in the estuary of the Pearl River, on October 13, 1835.

The supercargo, Mr. Babcock, sailed upriver to Canton, where he made arrangements to sell "all of the Tourtle Shell"—143 lbs. in all—and secured "a freight for the Brig imediately for New York, and [wrote] that we are to get ready and take in a load of Rive [rice] from the large ship the Earl Ball Carran."

The *Margaret Oakley* underwent repairs. The captain "sold of all our old iron to Fukeer for $12.25" and "all the watter casks, old bead, arms Chest and arms also a great deal of old stock all of which we sold to Cpt. Swain of the Barque Agness." Morrell was furious at the low prices. Woodworth notes, in code, "The whole of these Cpts. are a set of damn rascals too stiff to speak to an ordinary *se-Moon*" (October 19 and 24, 1835).

Jacobs (1844, 358) explains to his readers that he wished to continue his global travels rather than sail directly home in the *Margaret Oakley*. He left the ship in Canton, transferring to the English brig Ann, under Captain E.J. Abell, which was "bound hence to South America, via the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena." An alternate interpretation of silences in Jacobs' account regarding Morrell's character and activities is that Jacobs no longer wished to travel under his command. It is not clear whether there was a recurrence of previous tensions with Morrell, seemingly resolved in Sydney half a year earlier, but this was a lucky move on Jacobs' part.

"Captain Morrell and W___ each took me by the hand as they stood in the Sylph, and the big tear stood in our eyes as they said, 'Farewell, Tom; a prosperous voyage, and may we soon meet again'" (Jacobs 1844, 359).

What happened to the voyagers of the *Margaret Oakley*? We have no further word of Darco, who returned to his islands after four years in New York, or of Garry Garry, the young man from New Britain who achieved his wish of traveling to the Moon, Sydney, but found it not to his liking. Thomas Jefferson Jacobs continued on to South Africa and South America, returning to his home in suburban Harlem in 1836. In the following years, he prepared his account of the voyage for publication by Harper and Brothers. He concludes, "I have since travelled much, and seen the beautiful hills, and dales, and prairies of interior Texas, called by many the garden of the world; but . . . I am daily more convinced that the islands in the Tropical Pacific Ocean comprise the fairest region of the earth" (Jacobs 1844, 366).

Captain Morrell and his crew sailed the *Margaret Oakley* to Singapore for repairs, then westward into the Indian Ocean. They were not heard from

again for several years. Back in New York, Samuel Woodworth had heard nothing at all from his son since his departure in 1834. Jacobs, back in New York, heard rumors "that the captain had turned pirate," and that "she might have foundered." One day there was a knock on his door. He opened it to find "a weather-beaten man, his features almost concealed by beard and moustache. It was some moments before we spoke, but we grasped hands and eyed each other. It was my old shipmate Mr. W____, who seemed to me as one risen from the dead! He related to me the fate of the Margaret Oakley" (Jacobs 1844, 363).

The *Margaret Oakley* was shipwrecked just off the east coast of Madagascar, all hands apparently saved. Woodworth was plucked from a sandy islet by a young Malagashe woman who sheltered him for several months. The ship's cargo was lost, some to the depredations of local scavengers. Morrell was driven half mad by this catastrophe, Woodworth writes later. Persistent rumors circulated along the Atlantic seaboard that Morrell had scuttled the ship, leaky and unseaworthy, in order to claim insurance on it.

The two Polynesians (their names, in a list appended to Woodworth's diaries entitled *Ship-Wreck Crew of the M. O.*, given as John Olahitia and Jack Oahoo) settled in Madagascar, taking Malagashe wives and going into the cattle hide trade. (Sunday and Thomas Jacobs are listed erroneously; mss Woodworth, Box 4, HEH.)

Captain Benjamin Morrell made his way back to the United States. Because of his notoriety, no one would employ him to command a ship or invest in his next trading voyage. He shipped out in 1839 on his way to the Pacific but got only as far as Mozambique. There he became gravely ill with a fever and died at only 44 on the coast of the Indian Ocean not far from his lost ship (Jacobs 1844, 363 ff.).

Global Cannibals

I detail elsewhere the further adventures of Selim Woodworth after his return from the shipwrecked *Margaret Oakley* (Lewposky 2014, ML, Cannibals of New York and other voyagers . . . , unpubl. data). Tracing his career reveals a rapidly globalizing nineteenth-century Pacific and its ties of trade, empire, and custom with the coasts of North and South America as well as with China. Woodworth joined the US Navy, rode to the Oregon Territory with a secret Congressional dispatch resolving the boundary dispute between the United States and Britain (and met Hawaiians at Fort Vancouver). He sailed to California early in 1847, where he volunteered to lead the relief of a party of emigrants—later known as the Donner Party—stranded in the mountains that had resorted to cannibalizing their dead to survive. (CANNI-

BALS!) He joined the Gold Rush, married the young Chile-born protegée of a well-known San Francisco madam, and set himself in the Pacific trade, sailing to Honolulu, dispatching his 18-year-old brother back to the Cantonese port of Foochow to learn the tea trade, and importing Chinese porcelains and silks to sell to San Francisco's new rich.

Benjamin Morrell's 1832a *Narrative* was plagiarized in part by Edgar Allen Poe in his 1839 pastiche, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket*. Herman Melville owned copies of both Morrell's *Narrative* and Jacobs' 1844 *Scenes, Incidents and Adventures*. Each, like *Moby-Dick* (1851), was published by Harper and Brothers, and marketed to capitalize on the popularity of Pacific travel narratives. *Moby-Dick's* Queequeg, the tattooed islander, is inspired by descriptions by Jacobs of Sunday/Darco.[11] Like Queequeg, Sunday outwrestle the American sailors, "hugs them like a bear," and shoots an arrow straight for seventy-five yards. During the visit of Garry Garry—another "proto-Queequeg"—to Sydney "a wheelbarrow took his fancy," and he picked it up and carried it on his head (Sanborn 1998; cf. Jacobs 1844). Melville, an experienced Pacific sailor, must have found Jacobs' accounts compelling. Poe's and Melville's borrowings from the increasingly obscure volumes written by Morrell and Jacobs help explain why their earlier portraits of island adventures sometimes seem not only familiar but clichéd.

Woodworth's journal, Morrell's 1832a *Narrative,* and especially Jacobs' account show some of the contradictory views American sailors of the day held toward Pacific islanders. There are descriptions of debased savages, Massacre Islands, Cannibal Islands. Yet there is also testimony as to the intelligence and good character of the "natives," and not only of Darco, Garry Garry, Jack Woahoo, and Tomme Otaheite ("a person of note among his people," Jacobs writes), individuals toward whom the Americans had developed feelings of affection. Passages in Woodworth's diaries and Jacobs' book extol the virtues, even nobility, of the "savage inhabitants" they encountered and exchanged gifts with on dozens of island beaches. The islands themselves were "fertile," "luxuriant," "paradisial," in a "state of nature." The captain planned to leave America forever, returning to establish his own colony and trading depot in "Morrell's Islands."

The techniques Morrell uses in his Pacific voyages had long been in use, part of a global maritime culture of contact. Islander perceptions of Europeans as returning ancestor spirits, beings from the moon, and volatile strangers requiring socialization into proper exchange customs have histories almost equally long. In some instances, they are even more persistent, resonating into the twentieth century and beyond in cargoistic prophecies and relations with powerful outsiders. For early European visitors, waving green branches,

identifying and treating with a native king or prince, trading for war clubs and spears with beads and iron hooping, leaving initiatory presents on tree branches, exchanging names, planting European crops for use on a return voyage, communicating in the rapidly evolving pidgins of the Western Pacific (or South China Sea or African Gold Coast), and demonstrating the lethal power of firearms were technologies of encounter, deployed in the service of returning home alive with a profitable cargo. The most dramatic European technique was carrying off an islander as both trophy and future facilitator of trade, displaying the unfortunate captive along with items of dress and adornment, weapons, and implements (cf. Poignant 2004; Blanchard et al. 2008; Blanchard, Boëtsch, Snoep 2011). This practice dates at least to Pocahontas, the first documented "native princess" and "civilized savage" to journey to England. Presented at court in 1616, introduced to nobility, her backers intended her visit and social display to help raise capital for the Virginia colony.

East Indiaman Captain Robert Wilson of the *Antelope*, shipwrecked in the Pelew [Belau] Islands, returned to England in 1784 with Prince Lee Boo, who wished to learn to be an Englishman but died, like Pocahontas, of smallpox. The Tahitian Prince Omai was introduced at court as well, his formal dress portrait painted by Joshua Reynolds. He was neither prince nor Tahitian but a commoner from Raiatea with a strong sense of adventure (Connaughton 2010), but the trope of noble savage is unmoved by facts. Unwilling emissaries include the Tierra del Fuegians captured and brought to England in 1830 by Captain FitzRoy of *HMS Beagle*, York Minster, Jeremy Button, Fuegia Basket, and Boat Memory, two of whom were presented to King William IV. Deeply impressing a young Charles Darwin, who voyaged with the survivors, FitzRoy meant them "to become useful as interpreters, and be the means of establishing a friendly disposition towards Englishmen" (Jardine, Second, and Spary 1996, 331).

In that same year of 1830, the American Captain Morrell was making captives of Sunday and Monday to serve as interpreters and facilitate trade, for Morrell himself, but also for "mariners of all nations." This is not a coincidence. This is a cultural institution, one of pan-European and Euro-American shipboard technologies of maritime contact, customs, and mechanisms of encounter with "natives" that had already endured for centuries. The Dutch explorer Geelvink, as Jacobs (1844, 114) himself notes, captured four Papuan men and three women from Great Bay in West Papua in 1705 and brought them to Batavia, sending several "to Holland for exhibition." The New Britain "prince," Garry Garry, was a willing traveler, taken aboard by Morrell and his crew to visit the Moon, Sydney. Adventurous young men like Garry Garry had their own desires and ambitions to explore unknown

islands and continents, contributing to shipboard and littoral cultures of the nineteenth century. Many settled and raised families far from their island homes: the *Margaret Oakley*'s Hawaiian and Tahitian in Madagascar, hundreds of Kanaka sailors in Mexican and American California and the ports of the Oregon Territory.

Whether billed as savage prince or cannibal specimen (or both as with Sunday/Darco), after their display and education into the customs and technologies of a Christian country, these individuals were expected to return home, to act as cultural ambassadors, interpreters of language and custom, facilitating peaceful trade, missionization, and eventual absorption of their homelands into empire. Following Captain Morrell, his island captives, and his crew "of many nations" on their complicated journeys from Manhattan to New Guinea and back illuminates the remarkably early rise of a global Pacific.

NOTES

1. Pacific representations and tropes of discovery, Trans-Pacific Islands of History, colonial entanglements, American Pacificism, Pacific seascapes and waterscapes, and Pacific Worlds have been fruitfully analyzed from varying perspectives by Smith (1959), Sahlins (1985), Thomas (1991), and Lyons (2005) and most recently in overviews by Matsuda (2012), Thomas (2012), Bell, Brown, and Gordon (2013), and Igler (2013).

2. Sunday and Monday were displayed at Tammany Hall, beginning in September 1831, as "Two Cannibals of the Islands in the South Pacific" and were later engaged by Peale's Museum. Morrell's "cannibals" were the first recorded "Oceanian people being exhibited in the United States" (Odell 1927; Bogdan 1988, 179). P.T. Barnum was so deeply impressed by the crowds attracted to Morrell's alleged South Sea cannibals that in June of 1842, at the American Museum, he exhibited the Fijian-sounding "Vendovi, A Cannibal Chief" (Odell 1927). *Massacre Islands* has not survived from among Woodworth's copious literary productions (for lists of those that do, see Taft 1938 and Wegelin 1953). Morrell's ghostwriter was a secret in the 1830s and beyond, known only to his publishers, the brothers Harper (Exman 1965: 29–30, 114; cf. Pollin 1976).

3. Morrell was born in Rye, New York, in 1795, and grew up in the small port town of Stonington, Connecticut, the son of a shipwright. He served at sea from the age of twelve and was taken prisoner by the British during the War of 1812, spending two years in Dartmoor Prison. After his first wife died he married his young cousin Abigail, who sailed with him on some of his Pacific voyages and merited her own ghostwritten memoir (Morrell 1833). Lacking formal education, Benjamin Morrell had no prospect of becoming a naval officer, but contemporaries agreed he was an expert mariner. Origins of the "biggest liar in the Pacific" remark, allegedly common in his lifetime, are obscure, often used without attribution (e.g., Gibson 2008: 7–8). Gould (1928) is the proximate source for later writers, including a geographer skeptical of Morrell's Antarctic discoveries (Matthews 1948) and a zoologist who allows that, while he may have been a liar, Morrell's observations of austral marine mammals were actually spot on, so he probably did get pretty far south (Wy 1980).

Jacobs' 1844 title alludes to its selling point of describing Morrell's fifth Pacific voyage and mysterious fate.

4. Woodworth's entries come from his battered and torn shipboard diaries at the Huntington Library (mss Woodworth, Box 4, HEH.). Entries are cited by date. These 1834–35 journals have great value as a comparison with Jacobs' 1844 account, challenged by one historian as a fabrication, a fantastic voyage replete with arrow-wielding savages, impossibly high mountains, and waving ostrich plumes (Ballard 2009). Captain Morrell actually engaged in the ostrich plume trade in Africa on an earlier voyage, but I suspect that these New Guinea plumes came from cassowaries. Woodworth's shipboard journals record similar violent encounters along the north coast of New Guinea to Jacobs' 1844 published account. Key sections throughout Jacobs' book closely match Woodworth's journals. Based on this congruence, and the fact that the journals break off abruptly in 1835 in Canton, when Jacobs left the ship, I suspect that Woodworth loaned them to his literary-minded friend Jacobs to use in writing the latter's long-planned book. Jacobs likely returned them to Woodworth later, where they remained among Woodworth family papers for more than a century. I first came across Woodworth's shipboard journals and his other papers in 2000 when searching in the Huntington Library's archival collections for evidence of early nineteenth-century encounters with Europeans in New Guinea waters (Lepowsky 2014). After the current paper had been submitted for publication, and while it was at the copyediting stage, Fairhead's book (2015), which also draws on Woodworth's unpublished journals and papers, was published.

5. Mühlhäusler, Dutton, and Romaine (2003: 35–36) citing Sunday/Darco's speech, note that "regular visits from passing vessels" but also "the practice of taking Islanders away for prolonged periods of time, as with the speaker Darco" facilitated the development of Pacific pidgin as a trade lingua franca (I would add, of regional and temporal variants). The alleged name "Tellum by-by Darco" (probably meaning, "I will tell you that my name is Dako") occurs later (Jacobs 1844: 77–80).

6. See also Huxley (1935) for HMS *Rattlesnake* in Sudest Lagoon, 1849. I had the same experience in the islands of Sudest Lagoon in 1978 (Lepowsky 1993).

7. Morrell and his crew also engaged in the "native custom" of exchanging names "when visiting each other." The captain became "Nomer, which we repeated aloud with gravity equal to that of the natives" and "the sable king" became "Cap-in Mor-el" (Jacobs 1844, 193). Perhaps this was a widespread island custom; it may also have been part of the Pacific maritime lore of contact with "natives" (cf. Huxley 1935; Lepowsky 1993).

8. The Europeans from the moon motif persists along the northern coast of New Guinea. Pioneering Russian ethnologist Miklouho-Maclay was, in the 1870s and 1880s, given the name of Moon Man. Cargoistic prophecies of a later century associated whites, ancestor spirits, and lunar origins (Webster 1984; Worsley 1968).

9. Jacobs (1844: 247–249) offers a detailed account of Garry Garry's visit to Sydney: his responses to horse-drawn carriages, brick houses, shops, and theatrical and religious performances. He found the food nearly inedible, once his supply of "fruits and betle" was exhausted. "The moon may be very good for white man, but very bad for me."

10. See, for example, Blanchard et al. (2008), Blanchard, Boëtsch, Snoep (2011), Bogdan (1988), Ellis (2008: 217n32), Exman (1965, 114), Gibson (2008: 7–8), Lyons (2005), Pollin (1976), and Sanborn (1998, 2011).

REFERENCES

Anonymous
1833 The drama. [Woodworth's drama of the cannibals …] *New-York Mirror*, Vol. 10, Saturday, March 9.

Ballard, Christopher
2009 The art of encounter: Verisimilitude in the imaginary exploration of interior New Guinea, 1863-1876. In *Oceanic encounters: exchange, desire, violence*, ed. Margaret Jolly, Serge Tcherkezoff, and Darrell Tryon, 221–57. Canberra: Australian National University ePress.

Bell, Joshua, Alison Brown, and Robert Gordon, eds.
2013 *Recreating first contact: expeditions, anthropology, and popular culture*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press.

Blanchard, Pascal, Nicolas Bancel, Eric Deroo, and Sandrine Lemaire, eds.
2008 *Human zoos: Science and spectacle in the age of colonial empires*. Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press.

Blanchard, Pascal, Gilles Boëtsch, and Nanette Snoep, eds.
2011 *Human zoos: The invention of the savage*. Paris: Musée du Quai Branly.

Bogdan, Robert
1988 *Freak show: Presenting human oddities for amusement and profit*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Connaughton, Richard
2010 *Omai: The prince who never was*. London: London Book Publishers/Timewell.

Ellis, Juniper
2008 *Tattooing the world: Pacific designs in print and skin*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

Exman, Eugene
1965 *The brothers Harper: A unique publishing partnership and its impact upon the cultural life of America from 1817 to 1853*. New York: Harper and Row.

Fairhead, James
2015 *The captain and "the cannibal": An epic story of exploration, kidnapping, and the Broadway stage*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.

Gibson, Gregory
2008 *Hubert's freaks: The rare-book dealer, the Times Square talker, and the lost photos of Diane Arbus*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Gould, Rupert
1928 *Oddities, a book of unexplained facts*. London: Philip Allan and Co. Ltd.

Huxley, Julian, ed.
1935 *T. H. Huxley's diary of the voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Igler, David
2013 *The great ocean: Pacific worlds from Captain Cook to the gold rush*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

Jacobs, Thomas Jefferson
1844 *Scenes, incidents, and adventures in the Pacific Ocean, or the islands of the Australasian Seas, during the cruise of the clipper Margaret Oakley under Capt. Benjamin Morrell. Clearing up the mystery which has heretofore surrounded this famous expedition, and containing a full account of the exploration of the Bidera, Papua, Banda, Mindoro, Sooloo, and China Seas, the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the islands, and a description of vast regions never before visited by civilized man*. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Jardine, Nicholas, James Second, and E.C. Spary, eds.
1996 *Cultures of natural history*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Keeler, John
1831 *The South Sea islanders, with a short sketch of Capt. Morrell's voyage to the north and south Pacific Ocean, in the schooner Antarctic. . . .* New-York: Snowden.

Lepowsky, Maria
1993 *Fruit of the motherland: Gender in an egalitarian society*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.
2014 Ethnographic border crossing and the rise of a global Pacific. *Anthropology and Humanism* 39 (1): 18–26.

Linebaugh, Peter, and Marcus Rediker
2000 *The many-headed hydra: Sailors, slaves, commoners, and the hidden history of the revolutionary Atlantic*. Boston: Beacon.

Lyons, Paul
2005 *American pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. imagination*. New York: Routledge.

Matsuda, Matt
2012 *Pacific worlds: A history of seas, peoples, and cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Matthews, L. Harrison
1948 The threshold of Antarctica: Review. *Geographical Journal* 112 (4/6): 224–27.

McClintock, Anne
1995 *Imperial leather: Race, gender, and sexuality in the imperial contest*. New York: Routledge.

Melville, Herman
1851 *Moby-Dick; or, The Whale*. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Morrell, Abby Jane
1833 *Narrative of a voyage to the Ethiopic and South Atlantic Ocean, Indian Ocean, Chinese Sea, North and South Pacific Ocean, in the years 1829, 1830, 1831 by Abby Jane Morrell. . . .* New York: J. and J. Harper.

Morrell, Benjamin
1832a *A narrative of four voyages: To the South Sea, North and South Pacific Ocean, Chinese Sea, Ethiopic and southern Atlantic Ocean, Indian and Antarctic Ocean, from the year 1822 to 1831, comprising critical surveys of coasts and islands, with sailing directions, and an account of some new and valuable discoveries, including the Massacre Islands, where thirteen of the author's crew were massacred and eaten by cannibals; to which is prefixed a brief sketch of the author's early life. By Capt. Benjamin Morrell, Jr*. New York: J. and J. Harper.
1832b *To commercial men!! An important enterprise: Capt. Benjamin Morrell, Jr. late of the schooner Antarctic from a voyage to the South Pacific Ocean, takes the liberty of laying his views before the commercial and other citizens of this city. . . .* Broadside, 4 pages. New-York. Manuscript Collections, Henry E. Huntington Lbrary.

Mühlhäusler, Peter, Thomas Dutton, and Suzanne Romaine
2003 *Tok Pisin Texts: From the beginning to the present*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Odell, George Clinton Densmore
1927 Annals of the New York stage. Volume 3, 1821–1843, Volume 4, 1834–1843. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

Poe, Edgar Allan
1839 *The narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket*. New-York: Harper and Brothers.

Poignant, Roslyn
2004 *Professional savages: Captive lives and western spectacle*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.

Pollin, Burton
1976 The "Narrative" of Benjamin Morrell: Out of "The Bucket" and into Poe's "Pym." *Studies in American Fiction* 4:157–72.

Rediker, Marcus
1987 *Between the devil and the deep blue sea: Merchant seamen, pirates, and the Anglo-American maritime world, 1700–1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sahlins, Marshall
1985 *Islands of history*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Sanborn, Geoffrey
1998 *The sign of the cannibal: Melville and the making of the postcolonial reader*. Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press.
2011 *Whipscars and tattoos: The Last of the Mohicans, Moby-Dick, and the Maori*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Smith, Bernard
1959 *European vision and the South Pacific*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.

Taft, Kendall
1938 *Samuel Woodworth*. Chicago: Lithoprinted.

Thomas, Nicholas
1991 *Entangled objects: Exchange, material culture, and colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press.
2012 *Islanders: The Pacific in the age of empire*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.

Webster, E[lsie]. M.
1984 *The moon man: A biography of Nikolai Mikouho-Maclay*. Carlton, Victoria: Griffin Press/Melbourne Univ. Press.

Wegelin, Oscar
1953 *A bibliographical list of the literary and dramatic productions and periodical written and complied by Samuel Woodworth, author of "The Bucket*." New Orleans and Heartman's Historical Series, no. 78.

Woodworth, Selim Edwin
1815–1871 Papers of Selim Edwin Woodworth, 1834–1947. Boxes 1–6. Shipboard diary entries from 1834–35 (Box 4) cited as Woodworth (date).

Worsley, Peter
1968 *The trumpet shall sound: A study of "Cargo" cults in Melanesia*. 2nd ed. New York: Schocken Books.

Wy, T.
1980 Morrell's seals. International Council for the Exploration of the Sea. *Journal du Conseil* 39 (1): 1–6.

JACK LONDON'S PACIFIC VOYAGE OF TRANSFORMATION: AN ANTHROPOLOGIST LOOKS AT *THE CRUISE OF THE* SNARK (1911)[1]

Nancy Lutkehaus
University of Southern California

Most people today associate the author Jack London (1876–1916) with his adventure stories such as *Call of the Wild* (1903) or *White Fang* (1906), manly tales of derring-do set in the cold snowy wilds of the Yukon during its gold rush days. And yet, as literary critic John Eperjesi points out, "Even though Jack London is most well known for his Yukon fiction, the Pacific was his career" (2005, 107). For example, London's *The Sea Wolf* (1904)—another tale whose hero exhibits elements of the Nietzchian "*uber-mensch*" or rugged individualist associated with London's prose—was set in the (cold) North Pacific.[2] Readers rarely, if ever, associate Jack London with images of palm trees, sandy beaches and surf boards, iconic symbols of the more salubrious South Pacific.[3]

However, in 1907, Jack London, his second wife Charmian Kittredge London, and a four-member crew that included the yet unknown, but soon-to-become-famous, adventurer Martin Johnson[4] left San Francisco on their own collective adventure. Sailing a forty-five-foot ketch named the *Snark* that London had paid for himself,[5] he and his crew set off on what was meant to be a multiyear cruise around the world that London was going to finance through dispatches he would write along the way.[6] London published some of these articles in a volume titled *The Cruise of the* Snark (1911). Basically a travelog, the books is the story of London's adventures at sea and London and his personal travails were its main focus of attention.

Pacific Studies, Vol. 38, Nos. 1/2—Apr./Aug. 2015

Although he was more interested in reporting his own adventures at sea in *The Cruise of the* Snark than in conveying information about the peoples and cultures of the Pacific Islands, during the voyage he collected anecdotes, recorded observations, took photographs, and amassed artifacts throughout the Pacific. Objects in particular intrigued him. Canoes, calabashes, and carvings, even guns and surf boards all play a symbolic role in his writing about the South Pacific (London 1911). When London became dangerously ill in the Solomon Islands (he had pellagra as well as malaria), his around-the-world cruise was precipitously cut short. In the fall of 1908, he sailed down to Australia and sold the *Snark*, and in early 1909, he and Charmian returned by steamer to California.[7]

Critics of London's work have long wrestled with his contradictory stance as a socialist who nonetheless harbored distinct racial prejudices that reflected late-nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon fears about the detrimental effects of the mixing of different races. Recent scholarship concerning London's views on race have begun to present a more complex picture of his attitudes (Riedl and Tietze 2006; Reesman 2009). Although these scholars have focused primarily on his short fiction and novels, I want to pick up on their interest in teasing out a more nuanced understanding of London's attitudes toward race by focusing on London's nonfiction in *The Cruise of the* Snark (1911).[8] Specifically, I suggest that London's experiences living and interacting with various Pacific Island people during his almost two-year voyage across the Pacific Ocean, some of which he recounted in *The Cruise of the* Snark, played a transformative role in changing—or at least challenging—his basic assumptions about race and racism.

Of immediate relevance to a discussion of representations of Pacific Islanders are London's prose images of the Pacific Islanders he encountered in Hawai'i, the Marquesas, the Society Islands, and the Solomon Islands. Many of these representations repeat or reaffirm tropes and images of the Pacific Islands and Islanders that were already well established in the western imaginary by the time London sailed the South Seas; others, such as that of the surfer, were images that London helped promote.

I suggest that experiences London had during his Pacific voyage, especially with individuals from the colonial settler cultures he encountered in the Pacific Islands, but also as a result of getting to know Pacific Islanders themselves, laid the groundwork for a transformation in London's outlook not only about Pacific Islanders but about race relations in general. While London remains the focus of essays in the collection, as the voyage progresses he portrays himself in an ironic, sometimes antiheroic light. London describes many of the white settlers he finds in the islands—missionaries, labor recruiters, and plantation owners in the Solomon Islands, an expatriate

who fancies himself as a "natural man" transplanted from San Francisco to Tahiti—in less than flattering terms.

After the publication of *The Cruise of the* Snark, the Londons continued to return to Hawai'i, a place that had captured their imagination as well as their desire for a salubrious environment, until Jack's death in 1916. These subsequent visits also contributed to London's formulation of a new image of Pacific Islanders, one based neither on his earlier "romantic" or negatively "realistic" images but rather an amalgam of the two, a hybrid image of a "new man" of the future. Fundamental to this transformation, however, was London's cruise through the Pacific Islands on the *Snark*.

The Cruise of the Snark, or "Romancing the Yacht"

Jack London's endeavor to sail around the world in a yacht embodies the very title of this volume in that the voyage itself was borne of London's romantic idea of conquering the elements and describing the variety of cultures and peoples around the world with his pen and camera. Moreover, his mode of travel, a yacht that he built himself to sail the world's oceans and waterways, was adventure writ large.

The idea of the voyage had occurred to Jack in 1905 after having read Joshua Slocum's *Sailing Alone around the World* (Slocum 1999 [1900]).[9] Unlike Slocum, however, "[b]y the time he began to consider the *Snark* voyage, Jack was neither simply writer nor adventurer but—like Hemingway a generation later—both: a public adventurer who was expected to put himself in harm's way and to report the result to the panting public"(Madison 2004).

The reality of what such an adventure would entail was brought home to London almost from the very start with the problems he encountered in building the yacht. His trip was first thwarted by nature when the San Francisco earthquake of 1906 interrupted construction of the yacht. Then there was the problem of learning to navigate the craft on the high seas. Although London had been to sea, he was not a skilled navigator. Necessity forced him to learn how to navigate his yacht while at sea when the captain he had hired (Charmian's uncle) turned out to be inept at navigation and an alcoholic to boot.

Chapter VI: "A Royal Sport"—or, The Kanaka as "Brown Mercury"

After twenty-seven harrowing days at sea, London and his crew finally managed to reach the island of Oahu. More than simply relieved at making landfall, London and Charmian were captivated. London wrote: "It was all so beautiful and strange that we could not accept it as real. On the chart this

place was called Pearl Harbor, but we called it Dream Harbor" (London 1911; but see also C. London 1915, 1917).

He then quickly added, "They don't know what they've got!"—a reference to Americans on the mainland, most of whom knew little about their nation's recently acquired territory of Hawai'i. The Londons were in no hurry to leave (they remained in the islands for almost five months while their yacht was made seaworthy and a new captain was hired). Perhaps Hawai'i appealed to London's sense of "Manifest Destiny"—America's newest frontier; perhaps, too, the Hawaiian Islands' relative proximity to Asia and, as we will see, London's eventual admiration for the mixture of races that coexisted together in the Hawaiian Islands, inspired in him a model of a new type of Pan-Pacific society.[10]

London wrote about two quite different aspects of Hawaiian culture and society in *The Cruise of the* Snark—the "royal sport" of surfing and the lepers of Molokai. Here, I only discuss what London had to say about surfing, largely because what he published in *The Cruise of the* Snark about his visit to Molokai—a very favorable description of the life of the lepers quarantined there—had been written specifically at the request of one of London's Honolulu friends, Lucius E. Pinkham, the president of the Board of Health and later governor of the territory. Although I have no reason to doubt the claim made by one of London's biographers that "London's humane descriptions of lepers went a long way toward changing world opinion" about the conditions on Molokai, I am more interested in his writing that may have been less directly mediated by favors to friends.[11]

London's description of surfing, on the other hand, deserves discussion because he was present in Hawai'i at the time that the ancient Polynesian sport, previously condemned by American missionaries in Hawai'i in the early nineteenth century, was beginning to make a comeback (Finney and Houston 1996). London's enthusiasm for surfing—and his writing about the royal sport—played an important role in the twentieth-century development of surfing as a worldwide sport.[12]

An awe-struck London lavished adulation upon the bronzed Hawaiian surfer he observed at Waikiki Beach:

> He is a Mercury—a brown Mercury. His heels are winged, and in them is the swiftness of the sea. In truth, from out of the sea he has leaped upon the back of the sea, and he is riding the sea that roars and bellows and cannot shake him from its back. But not frantic outreaching and balancing is his. He is impassive, motionless as a statue carved suddenly by some miracle out of the sea's depth from which he rose. And straight on toward shore he flies on his winged

> heels and the white crest of the breaker. There is a wild burst of foam, a long tumultuous rushing sound as the breaker falls futile and spent on the beach at your feet; and there, at your feet steps calmly ashore a Kanaka, burnt golden and brown by the tropic sun (*Snark*, 52).

Like the French explorer Bougainville before him, who in the eighteenth century wrote of Tahiti as "*la Nouvelle Cythere*" and described Tahitian women as Greek goddesses, London applies the image of the swift, fleet-footed, Roman messenger god Mercury to describe the Hawaiian surfer he watched glide effortlessly over the waves.

As Bernard Smith (1985: 41–42) reminds us, although Bougainville's comparisons between the Tahitians and ancient Greeks were playful, "it is to be remembered that the eighteenth century viewed the ancient Greeks as gifted children who had lived at the dawn of civilization, themselves noble savages." Moreover, by extension, Bougainville attributed his sense that the semitropical natural abundance and beauty of Tahiti itself was like the Garden of Eden, thus a new Arcadia.

Echoing similar sentiments about the Hawaiian environment and the role of the surfer in it, London concludes by saying: "He is a Kanaka—and more, he is a man, a member of the kingly species that has mastered matter and the brutes and lorded it over creation" (*Snark*, 52).

London being London, he quickly adds, "And still further one thinks . . . you are a man, one of the kingly species, and what that Kanaka can do, you can do yourself" (*Snark*, 52). And he sets off to try the sport himself. After first describing the physics of surfing—how waves are formed and travel, how surf is formed, etc.—he then narrates the trials and tribulations of learning to surf. Poking fun at himself, as he ends up in bed with a terrible sunburn, he writes ironically: "When describing the wonderful water of Hawaii I forgot to describe the wonderful sun of Hawaii. . . . For the first time in my life I was sunburned unawares" (*Snark*, 59). He was sunburned to such a degree that he could not even walk. However, not one to be defeated, London ends the chapter saying, "Upon one thing I am resolved: the *Snark* shall not sail from Honolulu until I, too, wing my heels with swiftness of the sea and become a sunburned, skin-peeling Mercury" (*Snark*, 60).

There are several things to note here about London's representations of Hawaiians. First is the use of the term "Kanaka," which white people used widely in Hawai'i and elsewhere in the Pacific Islands to describe indigenous islanders (see Lepowsky, this volume).[13] Second is that aside from the glowing, but totally impersonal, description of the Hawaiian surfer—the brown Mercury—London has nothing else to say in the chapter about native

Hawaiian surfers. He received his surfing lessons from a *haole*, an American from the mainland named Alexander Ford who had recently taken up the sport and vowed to make it the basis of a burgeoning tourist industry in Hawai'i.[14] George Freeth, a young island-born swimmer whose father was Irish and mother half-Hawaiian also helped London learn to surf. Freeth, who is sometimes credited with being "the Father of Surfing," left Oahu in July 1907 with a letter of introduction in his pocket from London. He settled in Southern California where, among other things, he coached swim teams in Los Angeles and San Diego while entertaining crowds on the beaches with his skill at surfing, until he died prematurely in 1919, a victim of the flu pandemic.[15]

However, we do have some clues as to who London's brown Mercury might have been: a local Honolulu youth named Duke Kahanamoku.[16] Freeth, who was seven years older than Kahanamoku, was his swim coach at the time. Not only is there a photograph of Kahanamoku in London's Hawai'i album,[17] but Charmian later mentions him by name in *The Log of the* Snark (1915, xx) and *Our Hawaii* (1917, xxx).

A few years after the Londons' first trip to Hawai'i Kahanamoku would make headlines as an Olympic swimmer, winning gold medals in freestyle for the United States in 1912 and 1920. After Freeth's death, Duke Kahanamoku went on to popularize surfing in Southern California and Australia. Today he is immortalized by a statue on Waikiki Beach and a chain of eponymous restaurants in California and Hawai'i.

The fact that London mentioned his white friends Ford and Freeth by name but not Kahanamoku fits the common pattern of westerners' representations of native "Others," denying them their identity as specific individuals. Of course, when London published *The Cruise of the* Snark in 1911, Kahanamoku had not yet won his Olympic medals. Perhaps if he had, Jack, like Charmian in her 1917 memoir, probably would have mentioned Kahanamoku by name.

Chapter X: *Typee*: London's Marquesas—Romance vs. Reality

After an almost five-month stay in the Hawaiian Islands, London and his crew sailed from Hilo for the Marquesas. London was excited about visiting the Marquesas since much of his motivation for traveling to the South Seas was his love of Melville's novel *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life* (1846):

> When I was a little boy, I read . . . Herman Melville's *Typee*; and many long hours I dreamed over its pages. Nor was it all dreaming. I resolved then and there, mightily, come what would, that when I

> had gained strength and years, I, too, would voyage to Typee. . . . The years passed, but *Typee* was not forgotten (*Snark*, 98).

Thus it was with great anticipation of the fulfillment of a boyhood promise to himself that London arrived in the exact harbor in Nukuhiva where Melville describes the *Dolly* being anchored before his protagonist Tom [aka Tommo] and his accomplice Toby jump ship. There is even a photograph of the harbor in London's photo album of the Marquesas.[17] Beside the photo Charmian has written: "Places that small boys run away from home to sea."[18] Appropriately, London's chapter about the Marquesas is simply titled "*Typee*."

Like Melville's protagonist's experience in Nukuhiva, where Tommo was rescued by the Typees, who tend to his wounds, feed, and house him, London's visit to the Marquesas begins benignly enough when he and his crew are invited to a local feast. London writes:

> . . . we attended a feast, where one Taiara Tamarii, the son of an Hawaiian sailor who deserted from a whaleship, commemorated the death of his Marquesan mother by roasting fourteen whole hogs . . . (*Snark*, 100).

London's description of the feast develops into a discourse on the subject of cannibalism, a topic that his magazine audience most likely would have relished—indeed, anticipated—since cannibalism is a trope long associated in the western mind with Pacific Islanders.

London sets the stage for his reader by recounting:

> From the distance came . . . men's voices, which blended into a wild, barbaric chant that sounded incredibly savage, smacking of blood and war. Then, through the vistas of tropical foliage appeared a procession of savages, naked save for gaudy loin-cloths. They advanced slowly, uttering deep gutteral cries of triumph and exaltation. Slung from young saplings carried on their shoulders were mysterious objects of considerable weight, hidden from view by wrappings of green leaves (*Snark*: 100–1).

Having raised our expectations, London then lets us down: "Nothing but pigs, innocently fat and roasted to a turn, were inside those wrappings." Reality, we learn, is far more prosaic than what we had imagined. But London deftly turns the prosaic into an opportunity to remind us of the Marquesans' savage past:

> The men were carrying them into camp in imitation of old times when they carried in "long pig." Now long-pig is not pig. Long-pig is the Polynesian euphemism for human flesh; and these descendants of man-eaters, a king's son at their head, brought in the pigs to table as of old their grandfathers had brought in their slain enemies (*Snark*, 101).

Like Melville, London plays to his audience's desire for the grotesque.

After cleverly evoking a transposition in the reader's mind between pigs and people, London then quotes from the scene in *Typee* where Tommo witnesses the remains of a cannibal feast, "the bones still fresh with moisture, and with particles of flesh clinging to them here and there," giving his reader the chance to savor the gruesome spectacle Melville had cooked up in his vivid imagination.

London, bemoaning the fact that he will not have the chance "in these degenerate days to see any long-pig, eaten," focuses instead on his acquisition of a "duly certified Marquesan calabash, oblong in shape, curiously carved, over a century old, from which has been drunk the blood of two shipmasters" (*Snark*: 101–2). Material objects come to signify an exotic past not so long gone.

He then recounts a tale—perhaps apocryphal—about one of the two deceased captains, an unscrupulous individual who:

> . . . sold a decrepit whale-boat, as good as new what of the fresh white paint, to a Marquesan chief. But no sooner had the captain sailed away than the whale-boat dropped to pieces. It was his fortune, some time afterward, to be wrecked, of all places, on that particular island. The Marquesan chief was ignorant of rebates and discounts; but he had a primitive sense of equity and an equally primitive conception of the economy of nature, and he balanced the account by eating the man who had cheated him (*Snark*, 102).

London obviously delighted in the reciprocal retribution of this act in which the chief, acting according to his own set of cultural rules, recognized that one bad turn deserves another.

The calabash was not the only object London acquired from the Marquesans. In the same chapter, he recounts how one day while exploring the island he and his companions:

> . . . crawled through thick jungle to make the acquaintance of a venerable moss-grown idol, where had foregathered a German

> trader and a Norwegian captain to estimate the weight of said idol, and to speculate upon the depreciation in value caused by sawing him in half. They treated the old fellow sacrilegiously, digging their knives into him to see how hard he was and how deep his mossy mantle, and commanding him to rise up and save them trouble by walking down to the ship himself. In lieu of which, nineteen Kanakas slung him on a frame of timbers and toted him to the ship, where, battened down under hatches, even now he is cleaving the South Pacific Hornward and toward Europe—the ultimate abiding place for all good heathen idols . . . (*Snark*, 100).

Here London's ironic view of Europe—and so-called civilization in general—comes through, for he is well aware of the long history of Christian missionaries and their role in undermining the "heathen" religions of the Pacific Islanders. It has not been lost on him that the same Europeans who bemoaned the pagan practices of the so-called savages of the South Seas nonetheless valued the "good heathen idols" as items worthy of their museums and private collections, curiosities of another, less-civilized world.

London, perhaps not wanting to be seen as a hypocrite, then continues his description of the fate of such "good heathen idols" by noting:

> . . . save for a few in America and one in particular who grins beside me as I write, and who, barring shipwreck, will grin somewhere in my neighborhood until I die. And he will win out. He will be grinning when I am dust (*Snark*, 100).

And, indeed, London was absolutely right, for although he died just seven years after he had obtained the figure, the "idol" still exists. It can still be seen on display, along with numerous other artifacts that Jack and Charmian acquired on their Pacific voyage, in the House of Happy Walls, a museum that Charmian built in Jack's memory at their ranch in Glen Ellen, California.[19]

While Marquesan objects might endure over time, the Marquesan people, according to London, had not. Underlying many of London's reactions to the Pacific Islands and Islanders he encountered is a profound sense of disappointment in what he found there. His disappointment is the result of the contrast between the romantic images he had created in his imagination, images based on novels such as *Typee* and the travel literature he had read and the reality he was experiencing.

His most explicit statement of this disappointment comes in his chapter about the Marquesas. Referring to the incident of the removal of the stone figure, London wrote:

> The Marquesans of the present generation lack the energy to hoist and place such huge stones. Also, they lack the incentive. . . . For the Marquesans are perishing, and, to judge from conditions at Taiohae, the one thing that retards their destruction is the infusion of fresh blood. A pure Marquesan is a rarity. They seem to be all half-breeds and strange conglomerations of dozens of different races. Nineteen able laborers are all the trader at Taiohae can muster for loading of copra on shipboard, and, in their veins runs the blood of English, American, Dane, German, French, Corsican, Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese, Hawaiian, Paumotan, Tahitian, and Easter Islander. There are more races than there are persons, but it is a wreckage of races at best. Life faints and stumbles and gasps itself away (*Snark*: 102–3).

As with this paragraph, the overwhelming tone of this chapter is regret tinged with sadness and remorse: regret that he got to the Marquesas too late to experience them as Melville had and remorse for the inexorable changes that had occurred to the Marquesans. London's sentiments represent two common western themes about the Pacific. The first is the contrast between the former "idyllic," "utopian," or "paradisical" South Pacific and the contemporary reality of degradation. The other, related to it, is the well-worn theme that Pacific Islanders were a dying population.

We see in London's comments about the Marquesans some of his most egregious statements about race in which he expresses his abhorrence of the mixing of races and his belief that pure "types" are dying out. Related to this fear is another that was common throughout nineteenth- and early twentieth-century colonial worlds, the fear of "half-breeds" or of "mongrelization."

However, as London scholars Reidl and Tietz have noted, by the time London weighed anchor from San Francisco on April 23, 1907, the Pacific Islands had already been in racial turmoil for some 300 years (2006, 14). It was only a mere fifty years between when Melville had been in the Marquesas and when London arrived there; hence, the images of a pure Marquesan people that London had in his imagination were just that: fantasies, figments of his imagination (Ellis 1997).

What we see in London's reactions to the Marquesans he encounters is a projection of his own racial fears. As Jeanne Campbell Reesman points out in her study of Jack London's views on race, "The worst fear for racialists," a term she uses to describe London, "was miscegenation and the production of what they called 'mongrels'" (2009, 43). This latter phenomenon caused "a phobia London found hard to relinquish. Racialists thought they were doing

their scientific and civic duty by warning of 'mongrelization.' . . . Their aims and their fears found a home in London, in part due to his own anxieties about his 'mixed' heritage" (Reesman 2009, 43).

There are two another common western tropes about Pacific Islanders frequently found together. On the one hand, there is the prurient fascination with Pacific peoples' cannibalistic pasts, and, on the other hand, a discourse of relativism that goes back at least to Michel de Montaigne's essay "Of Cannibals" (1580), that simultaneously condemns this horrific practice while vouching for the otherwise nobility or *naivité* of the Noble Savage and arguing for a similarly savage past of our own, tropes that London demonstrated with his tale of the double-crossing captain who got his due at the hands of a Marquesan chief.

Toward the end of the chapter London wrote rhapsodically, almost hauntingly, about the soft Marquesan night:

> The air was like balm, faintly scented with the breath of flowers. It was a magic night, deathly still, without the slightest breeze to stir the foliage; and one caught one's breath and felt the pang that is almost hurt, so exquisite was the beauty of it. . . . Only to snare our attention with the painfully ironic observation that "[n]ear by, a woman panted and moaned in her sleep, and all about us the dying islanders coughed in the night" (*Snark,* 109).

Thus ends the chapter.

Chapter XII: The High Sea of Abundance—London as Ethnographer

In stark contrast to the Marquesas, the highlight of London's Pacific voyage was the time he spent in the Society Islands where he made the acquaintance of Tehei, an accomplished sailor, and his hospitable and genial wife, Bihaura. London met Tehei in Raiatea where he had admired Tehei's exceptionally fine outrigger canoe. This is the one instance in *The Cruise of the* Snark where London the seaman expressed his admiration for a Pacific Islander's acumen as sailor and craftsman:

> It was not a mere boat, not a mere canoe, but a sailing machine. And the man in it sailed it by his weight and his nerve—principally by the latter. . . . "Well, I know one thing," I announced. "I don't leave Raiatea till I have a ride in that canoe" (*Snark,* 123).

And, of course, he did. Not only did London sail with Tehei on his canoe, like Captain Cook before him, who also enlisted the navigational acumen of a Society Islander on his Pacific voyages, London invited Tehei and his wife to join them on their voyage. Before doing so, Tehei and Bihaura had insisted that Jack and Charmian be their guests at their home on the nearby island of Tahaa.

London wrote about this experience in Chapter XII of *The Cruise of the* Snark, titled "The High Seat of Abundance." He started the chapter with a quote from William Ellis's *Polynesian Researches* (1833). Ellis, a member of the London Missionary Society, wrote one of the first published accounts of the people and cultures of the Society Islands:

> On the arrival of strangers, every man endeavored to obtain one as a friend and carry him off to his own habitation, where he is treated with the greatest kindness by the inhabitants of the district; they place him on a high seat and feed him with abundance of the finest food.

The Londons' visit to the couple's home developed into a four-day holiday. It was one of the only times—if not *the* only—during their eighteen-month voyage when they actually stayed in the home of islanders:

> We were certainly in the high seat of abundance. First, there was glorious raw fish, caught several hours before from the sea and steeped the intervening time in lime-juice diluted with water. Then came roast chicken. Two coconuts, sharply sweet, served for drink. There were bananas that tasted like strawberries and that melted in the mouth, and there was banana-poi that made one regret that his Yankee forebears ever attempted puddings. Then there was boiled yam, boiled taro, and roasted *feis*, which last are nothing more or less than large, mealy, juicy, red-colored cooking bananas. We marveled at the abundance, and, even as we marveled, a pig was brought on, a whole pig, a sucking pig, swatched in green leaves and roasted upon the hot stones of a native oven, the most honorable and triumphant dish in the Polynesian cuisine (*Snark*, 128).

London was clearly impressed with Tehei's and Bihaura's kindness and generosity:

> . . . of all the entertainment I have received in this world at the hands of all sorts of races in all sorts of places, I have never received

> entertainment that equaled this at the hands of this brown-skinned couple of Tahaa. I do not refer to the presents, the free-handed generousness, the high abundance, but to the fineness of courtesy and consideration and tact, and to the sympathy that was real sympathy in that it was understanding (*Snark*, 129).

However, he then concludes with a statement that anthropologists might find, at the very least, naïve—after all, London had read Ellis on the customs of the Society Islanders—if not patronizing:

> Perhaps the most delightful feature of it was that it was due to no training, to no complex social ideals, but that it was the untutored and spontaneous outpouring from their hearts (*Snark,* 129).

London scholars consider this chapter one of the weakest in the book (Moreland 1982; Reesman 2009). However, as an ethnographer, I find it one of the most significant and insightful—both for London's description of a key element of Pacific Island cultures and for its revelation of London's character. We see in this experience with Tehei and his wife the positive impact that specific Pacific Islanders had on London. As Jeanne Campbell Reesman points out in *Jack London's Racial Lives*: "It is in the 'specific situation' that London is least racist; like socialism, race for him had its personal and its abstract formations, and he is better in the particulars than in the theories" (2009, 7).

Not only did London hire Tehei as crew, according to Reidl and Tietze (2006, 106), he was the inspiration for Otoo, the protagonist of "The Heathen," considered to be one of his finest short stories. They consider the story to be London's "paean to the virtues of true comradeship," the type of relationship between two men that London had longed for and seemingly found in his friendship with Tehei (Reidl and Tietze 2006, 262). Although Reidl and Tietze recognize the difference between fact and fiction, it does appear that in Tehei London found a fellow "Man-Comrade"—a combination of athleticism, technical skill, kindness, and generosity of spirit in another man—that he had told Charmian he not only admired, but longed for.[20]

Chapter XV: "Cruising in the Solomons"—London's "Heart of Darkness"?

If the Londons' decision to accept Tehei's invitation to visit Tahaa resulted in one of the happiest experiences on their voyage, their decision to accept an invitation from an Australian labor recruiter to go "blackbirding" (as the

recruitment of Melanesian laborers was derogatorily referred to) in the Solomon Islands represented the nadir.

By this time London was physically debilitated from recurring attacks of malaria, tropical ulcers that refused to heal, and a strange disease (later determined to be pellagra) that was slowly eating away at the skin on the backs of his hands. With his typical ironic touch, the "cruise" London describes in "Cruising in the Solomons," was one of the most harrowing incidents he and his crew endured during their entire time in the Pacific. In accepting Captain Jansen's invitation to accompany him on board the *Minota* on a labor-recruiting trip in Malaita, one of the most populous of the Solomon Islands, to round-up island men to work as indentured laborers on plantations in Queensland and Fiji, London's entourage was caught up in events that were not of their own doing but that dramatically demonstrated the racial tensions between islanders and whites characteristic of Malaita in 1908.[21]

The drama began when a brewing storm caused the *Minota* to crash on the reef, dangerously close to unfriendly Malaitans on shore. As London recounted:

> When the *Minota* first struck, there was not a canoe in sight; but like vultures circling down out of the blue, canoes began to arrive from every quarter. The boat's crew, with rifles at the ready, kept them lined up a hundred feet away with a promise of death if they ventured nearer. And there they clung, a hundred feet away, black and ominous, crowded with men, holding their canoes with their paddles on the perilous edge of the breaking surf. In the meantime the bushmen were flocking down from the hills, armed with spears, Sniders, arrows, and clubs until the beach was massed with them. To complicate matters, at least ten of our recruits had been enlisted from the very bushmen ashore who were waiting hungrily for the loot of the tobacco and trade goods and all that we had on board (*Snark,* 169).

Earlier London had explained that six months before the *Minota* had been captured by Malaitans as part of a revenge mission. Not only had her previous captain been chopped to pieces with tomahawks, but, referring to the practice in the Solomon Islands of headhunting, ". . . according to the barbarian sense of equity on that sweet isle, she owed two more heads" (*Snark,* 157).

The potentially dire incident ended safely when London, asked by the *Minota*'s captain to try to get a message to the captain of another boat in the area, decides to ask a missionary who appeared nearby in a small whale-boat, to help him get a Malaitan to take a message to the other captain:

> "I know what you think," the missionary called out to the Malaitans in their canoes. "You think plenty tobacco on the schooner and you're going to get it. I tell you plenty rifles on schooner. You no get tobacco, you get bullets." At last, one man, alone in a small canoe, took the letter and started (*Snark,* 170).

Three hours later, another whale-boat lead by a Captain Keller, came to their aid:

> . . . wet with rain and spray, a revolver in his belt, his boat's crew fully armed, anchors and hawsers heaped high amidships, coming as fast as wind could drive—the white man, the inevitable white man, coming to a white man's rescue (*Stark,* 170).

Although this adventure ends well for London's entourage, Captain Jansen, and the *Minota*, and although London's statement about "the inevitable white man" tend to reinforce the sense of London as a racist, I think that it is also possible to see in this phrase a sense of irony on London's part. Embedded in this vignette, which for his readers at the time would have reinforced images of the savage heathen are all the elements of the colonialist enterprise in Melanesia at the turn of the century: labor recruiters, missionaries, naked islanders armed with tomahawks, bows and arrows (plus a Snider or two).

Yet London appears to have been genuinely repulsed by the often excessive violence inflicted on the islanders by the labor recruiters and the plantation managers he met in the Solomon Islands. Indeed, Riedl and Tietze suggest that in Malaita, "[l]ike his literary hero, Joseph Conrad, London became increasingly absorbed by the 'fascination of the abomination.'" They go on to suggest that "in the weird and problematic motivations, the wild potential for moral corruption, the inhuman savagery of which both sides in the venal project were capable, and the stench and rot and meaninglessness at the core of this racial interaction, London found his own heart of darkness" (2006, 27)—and he was repelled by it.

London's Contributions to a "History of the Present"

As has been noted about London in general, what is most telling about his representations of Pacific Islanders in *The Cruise of the* Snark is the "patchwork inconsistency of Jack's racial thinking" (Reidl and Tietze 2006, 107). Although he expresses an affinity toward the Polynesians he meets in Hawai'i and the Society Islands, his characterizations of Melanesians are a study in

contrast. For example, in "Cruising in the Solomons" London plays up the image of Melanesians as primitive natives, describing Solomon Islanders as ". . . naked savages. And when I say naked, I mean naked. Not one vestige of clothing did they have on, unless nose-rings, ear-plugs, and shell armlets be accounted clothing" (*Snark,* 159).

For London, it was the "soft primitivism" of Hawai'i and the Society Islands that had the most lasting attraction for him. It is not difficult to conclude that London felt more comfortable among the lighter-skinned Polynesians—and, perhaps not surprisingly, among those islanders who had been more westernized as a result of their lengthier and more concentrated colonization by Europeans and Americans—than among the darker-skinned Melanesians in the more remote locations of the Solomon Islands. Perhaps, however, if London had been feeling better and been able to stay longer in the Solomon Islands, he would have had the opportunity to get to know some of those "naked savages," and his opinion of them might have changed or at least become more nuanced.

Nevertheless, I suggest that it was the combination of London's experiences in the Society Islands *and* the Solomon Islands that together had a transformative impact on his ideas about racial mixing. Although in the accounts of his travels that he wrote at the outset of his voyage across the Pacific London appears to have been more interested in his own adventures at sea than he was in conveying information about the peoples and cultures of the Pacific Islands, once he left the South Pacific and returned to California, his experiences with Pacific Islanders never completely left his mind. Until his death in 1916, he continued to return to Hawai'i and to write short stories and novels based on people and events he had either witnessed or heard about on his cruise on the *Snark*.

Even though aspects of London's writing in *The Cruise of the* Snark reinscribed well-worn western stereotypes of Pacific Islanders, I suggest that scholars of the history of Pacific Island cultures take a closer look at the rich trove of data—visual, material, and textual—that Jack London and his associates produced during their sojourn in the Pacific. The material objects, photographs, short stories, notes, scrapbooks, and travelog, *The Cruise of the* Snark, are important for our deeper understanding of the "history of the present" in the Pacific. They can give us new insights into a transitional moment in American intellectual life at the dawn of the twentieth century, a moment when individuals such as London—always wanting to be in the vanguard of new developments, always searching for new adventures and vistas—began to envision a new understanding of the United States' relationship with the Hawaiian Islands and, by extension, with the vast Pacific and its many island cultures.

There is no doubt that we can still see in many of London's comments about Pacific Islanders traces of familiar nineteenth-century racist discourses. We can also see in his admiration of the physical prowess and bodily perfection of Pacific Islanders, such as Duke Kahanamoku and Tehei, the perpetuation of certain long-standing western stereotypes of Pacific Islanders. However, in his obvious distain for the arrogance and violence of the British plantation owners he encountered in the Solomon Islands, we also see an incipient self-consciousness about the injustices westerners were inflicting on Pacific Islanders. And, although it can be argued that the enthusiasm London's experiences in Hawai'i engendered about the possibilities the islands offered the United States as a new imperialist Pacific frontier (Eperjesi 2005), it can also be argued that these same experiences opened London to a broader understanding of racial integration. For example, when London returned to Hawai'i in 1915 and 1916, he gave talks at the Pan-Pacific Union, an organization created by his friend Alexander Hume Ford whom he'd met on his first extended visit to Hawai'i in 1907. His 1915 lecture, published as "The Language of the Tribe" reflects what some have identified as his recognition of "the value of racial mixing and interaction . . . he now saw that interaction between races and cultures is inevitable, and that communication and understanding between races is both necessary and good" (Loudermilk 2006).

Even though from our present postcolonial perspective many of London's descriptions of Pacific Islanders in *The Cruise of the* Snark reinscribe well-worn stereotypes of cannibals and head-hunters, Adonises or paradises lost, my aim here has not been to rehash Orientalist arguments about western representations of the Other, nor to echo the recent work of London scholars, such as Reesman or Riedl and Tietze, who argue for the value of London's enlightened view of race relations in his South Seas fiction, exemplified by the short stories London wrote on his return from his aborted cruise around the world.

Ironically, when London sold the *Snark* in the South Pacific—for a fraction of its original cost—the new owners turned the vessel into a blackbirding ship. In her memoir, *I Married Adventure*, Martin Johnson's wife, Osa Johnson, recalled seeing the *Snark* in the summer of 1917 when she and her husband cruised the same Melanesian waters where Martin and Jack had first encountered the blackbirding trade:

> [Our] ship stopped at the little port of Api [Epi, in present-day Vanuatu] to leave mail and supplies and to take on copra. Leaning on the rail we were watching the activity in the harbor when Martin straightened suddenly. His face was drawn and tense. I followed the direction of his gaze, but all I saw was a small, dirty recruiting ship.

> . . . The paint had once been white under all that filth, and her lines were beautiful. Suddenly my breath caught in my throat. "Not the *Snark*!" I said. . . . I looked up at Martin. He shook his head. "I'm glad Jack and Charmian never saw her that way," he said, swallowing hard (Johnson 1940, 128).

The irony of the *Snark* becoming a recruiting ship would not have been lost on London, for not only did the ship, in a negative sense, become what it beheld in the Solomons, its very demise and decreptitude could be seen as symbolic of the rotten system of blackbirding and its violent race relations that sparked within London the ember of a new vision for a different future for racial intermingling in the Pacific. The *Snark* had been the vehicle that transported London through the Pacific and allowed him to experience a personal as well as political transformation in how he viewed such things as racial intermixing and the future of not only the Pacific Islanders, but, by extension, of the United States.

NOTES

1. The impetus for this article came from an invitation from the Pasadena Public Library and the Huntington Library, San Marino, California in October 2008 to present a lecture as part of their National Endowment for Humanities endowed "The Big Read," an event focused on Jack London's *Call of the Wild*. Much of the research for this paper is based upon my use of the extensive Jack London archives at the Huntington Library. In particular, I want to thank Huntington archivist Sara S. Hodson for her help with the London archives and photographs. The book she and her colleagues published on the collection of London photographs at the Huntington was especially helpful (Reesman, Hodson, and Adam 2010)

2. See, for example, Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen's discussion of London's interest in Nietzche in her book *The American Nietzsche: The History of an Icon and his Ideas* (2011).

3. Refer to Finney and Housten, *History of the Ancient Hawaiian Sport of Surfing* (1996).

4. Martin Johnson and his wife Osa later became adventurers and filmmakers best known for their expeditions and travelogs in Africa. However, Johnson's career as an explorer and entrepreneur of the exotic began with his voyage with London on the *Snark* (Johnson 1913; Johnson 1940; Imperato and Imperato 1992; Ahrens, Lindstrom, and Paisley 2013).

5. London's very choice of a name for his boat, the *Snark*, is a reference to Lewis Carroll's poem, *The Hunting of the* Snark (2006 [1876]) and the perhaps ironic idea of an unattainable or at least fanciful goal. As Sidney Williams and Falconer Madan have said of the poem: "it describes with infinite humour the impossible voyage of an improbable crew to find an inconceivable creature," *In Handbook of the Literature of the Rev. C.L. Dodgson,* as quoted by Martin Gardner in Carroll and Gardner (2006 [1876], xxxii).

6. London not only had an advance and royalties from his publisher, Macmillan, to help pay for the trip but also had complicated arrangements with *Woman's Home Companion*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Collier's* to provide them with different types of articles (Reesman, 2009, 118).

7. While in Sydney, London covered the famous Burns-Johnson fight in which the African-American Johnson soundly defeated the white Canadian Tommy Burns (1970). For more details about the fight, see James Haley (2010: 256–57) and Earle Labor (2013).

8. For other work that deals with issues of race in London's nonfiction, see Metraux (2009). Metraux argues that London was ahead of his time in many of his insights about the rise of Japan and China as powers to be reckoned with in the west.

9. Slocum had the distinction of accomplishing the first solo circumnavigation of the globe.

10. For more discussion of London's ideas of a Pan-Pacific society, see Jeanne Campbell Reesman (2009). See also Daniel Metraux's (2009) comments concerning London's prescience about the political and economic rise of China and Japan in the twentieth century.

11. There is an interesting story waiting to be told about the role of writers, including Mark Twain, Robert Lewis Stevenson, and London and their accounts of leprosy in Hawai'i. For more details about London, see James Slagel (1996: 172–91) and Rod Edmond (1997), as well as A. Grove Day's introduction to *Stories of Hawaii by Jack London* (1986).

12. For a negative appraisal the legacy of London's writing about the Hawaiian Islands, see John Eperjesi's essay (2005: 105–29. For more about the ancient sport of surfing in Hawaii and Duke Kahanamoku, see Finney (1959) and Osmond, Phillips, and O'Neill (2006).

13. The term is Polynesian in origin, meaning "people" or "person." After colonization, workers from Pacific Islands employed in British colonies and in the North American fur trade and goldfields were referred to as Kanakas.

14. For more about Ford, see Valerie Noble (1980). Among other things, in 1908, Ford founded the famous Outrigger Club in Honolulu, thus contributing to the development of Hawai'i as a center of cultural tourism. For more on the topic of Hawaiian cultural tourism, see Desmond (1999) and Eperjesi (2005).

15. Jeannette DeWyze, "90 Years of Curl: Who Caught the First Wave?" *San Diego Reader*, December 14, 2006.

16. The story is told that Duke's name was first given to his father by Queen Liliokalani. His father then passed the name on to his son (Osmond, Phillips, and O'Neill 2006).

17. Jack London Archives, Huntington Library, London Photographic Collection. See also Reesman, Hodson, and Adam (2010)

18. Jack London Archives, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, album no. 57. Photo no. 07158.

19. The House of Happy Walls is part of the Beauty Ranch complex at Jack London State Park, Glen Ellen, California.

20. Reidl and Tietz quote from a letter London wrote to Charmian in 1903 (2006, 105). The letter is found in Jack London, Letters (1988: 370–71.

21. In discussing the history of the British pacification of Malaita, historian James Boutilier points out that Malaita, the most populous of all the islands in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, supplied the bulk of indentured labor for plantations in Queensland and Fiji. This experience, combined with the effects of imported firearms and the large-scale repatriation of laborers from Queensland in 1906, a year and a half before London arrived there, "confused and delayed the pacification process" (1983: 45).

REFERENCES

Ahrens, Prue, Lamont Lindstrom, and Fiona Paisley
2013 *Across the world with the Johnsons*: *Visual culture and the American empire in the twentieth century*. London: Ashgate Press.

Boutilier, James
1983 Killing the government: Imperial policy and the pacification of Malaita. In *The pacification of Melanesia*, ed. Margaret Rodman and Matthew Cooper, 43–88. ASAO Monograph No. 7, Lanham, MD: Univ. Press of America.

Carroll, Lewis and Martin Gardner
2006 [1876] *The annotated hunting of the* Snark: *The definitive edition*, with notes by ed. Martin Gardner and an introduction by Adam Gopnik. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. Inc.

Day, A. Grove, ed.
1986 Introduction. In *Stories of Hawaii by Jack London*, 3–20. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing Co.

Desmond, Jane
1999 *Staging tourism: Bodies on display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

DeWyze, Jeannette
2006 "90 Years of Curl: Who Caught the First Wave?" *San Diego Reader*, December 14, 2006.

Edmond, Rod
1997 *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial discourse from Cook to Gauguin*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Ellis, Juniper
1997 Melville's literary cartographies of the South Seas. *The Massachusetts Review* 38 (1): 9–29.

Ellis, William
1833 *Polynesian researches, during a residence of nearly eight years in the Society and Sandwich Islands*. New York: Harper.

Eperjesi, John
2005 *The imperialist imaginary: Visions of Asia and the Pacific in American culture*. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press.

Finney, Ben R.
1959 Surfing in ancient Hawaii. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 68 (4): 327–47.

Finney, Ben R,. and James D. Houston
1996 *Surfing: A history of the ancient Hawaiian sport*. Rohnert, CA: Pomegranate Books.

Haley, James L.
2010 *Wolf: The lives of Jack London*. New York: Basic Books.

Imperato, Pascal, and Eleanor Imperato
1992 *They married adventure: The wandering lives of Martin and Osa Johnson*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press.

Johnson, Martin
1913 *Through the South Seas with Jack London*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company.

Johnson, Osa
1940 *I married adventure: The lives and adventures of Martin and Osa Johnson*. Philadelphia: Lippincott.

Labor, Earle
2013 *Jack London: An American life*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

London, Charmian Kittredge
1915 *The log of the* Snark. New York: Macmillan Company.
1917 *Our Hawaii*. Honolulu: Patten Co.

London, Jack
1911 *South Sea tales*. New York: Macmillan.
1970 *Jack London reports: War correspondence, sports articles, and miscellaneous writings*, ed. King Hendricks and Irving Shepard. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
1988 The letters of Jack London, ed. Earle Labor, Robert C Leitz III, and I. Milo Shepard, 3 vols. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press.

2004 [1911] *The Cruise of the* Snark. New York: Penguin Group (USA). Originally published in 1911, New York: Macmillan.

Loudermilk, Jessica Greening
2006 Ka Aina Ka Pono: Jack London, Hawai'i and race. M.A. thesis. Univ. of Texas, San Antonio.

Madison, R.A.
2004 Introduction. In *The cruise of the* Snark, vii–xxii. New York: Penguin Group (USA).

Melville, Herman.
1996 [1846] *Typee: A peep at Polynesian life*. New York: Penguin Books.

Metraux, Daniel
2009 *The Asian writings of Jack London: essays, letters, newspaper dispatches, and short fiction of Jack London*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.

Montaigne, Michel de
2003 Of cannibals. In *The complete essays*, 228–41. New York and London: Penguin Publishers. Originally published 1580.

Moreland, David A.
1982 The author as hero: Jack London's *the cruise of the* Snark. *Jack London Newsletter* 15(1): 57–75.

Noble, Valerie
1980 *Hawaiian prophet: Alexander Hume Ford*. Smithtown, NY: Exposition Press.

Osmond, Gary, Murray G. Phillips, and Mark O'Neill
2006 Putting up your dukes: Statues, social memory and Duke Paoa Kahanamoku. *International Journal of the History of Sport* 23 (1): 82–103.

Reesman, Jeanne Campbell
2009 *Jack London's racial lives: A critical biography*. Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press.

Reesman, Jeanne Campbell, Sue Hodson, and Philip Adam
2010 *Jack London: Photographer*. Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press.

Reidel, Gary, and Thomas R. Tietze, eds.
2006 *Jack London's tales of cannibals and headhunters: Nine South Seas stories by America's master of adventure*. Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press.

Rosenhagen, Jennifer
2011 *The American Nietzsche: The history of an icon and his ideas*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Slagel, James
1996 Political leprosy: Jack London the 'Kama'āina' and Koolau the Hawaiian. In *Rereading Jack London*, ed. Leonard Cassuto and Jeanne Campbell Reesman, 172–91. Palo Alto: Stanford Univ. Press.

Slocum, Joshua
1999 [1900] *Sailing alone around the world*, ed. Thomas Philbrick. New York: Penguin Classics.

Smith, Bernard
1985 *European vision and the South Pacific*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

IMAGINING THE MARSHALL ISLANDS

Laurence M. Carucci
Montana State University

As anthropologists have developed a more critical eye, earlier assumptions about the privileged position of anthropological texts have been dismissed as elitist, self-serving, and paternalistic. Perhaps James Clifford was the first to recognize the limitations of such possessiveness toward these imagined others, but his call for a broader view has been taken up by many in the field. Here, I consider the images of three interlopers, none of them anthropologists, as they each, in separate historical contexts and different positional circumstances, come to imagine Marshall Islanders as certain types of others. A consideration of these accounts reveals a good deal about historical positioning, but perhaps even more about the ways that representations always remain contextual, pointing in multiple directions and to far more than their ostensible objects. At the same time they lend contours to those intersubjective objects through depictions that are perduring if not always consistently credible or persuasive.

If anthropology as a discipline coalesced with Tylor and Boas who occupied the first formally named academic positions in the discipline, its emergence as a feasible field of study certainly includes the Victorian Anthropologists who came before them: Maine, McLennan, Morgan, and Spencer the most notable of the group (Stocking 1987: 285–302). Although earlier ethnological inquiries certainly preceded and fed into the formulation of the discipline of anthropology, it is during the second half of the nineteenth century that the ethnographic voice came into its own, becoming a central feature of the toolkit wherein representations of others were formulated into comprehensive theories to classify, discipline, and manage those depicted others in a systematic way. The imagined other remains as critical

Pacific Studies, Vol. 38, Nos. 1/2—Apr./Aug. 2015

to the discipline today as it was in 1860, even as contemporary meta-analysis of the nineteenth-century accounts serves to distance today's anthropological othering, in both method and form, from its nineteenth-century roots. In the pages that follow, I consider three depictions by nonanthropologists of Marshall Islanders. The accounts are spread relatively equally across the expanse of time that spans the history of anthropology itself and the history of Euro-American and Japanese colonization with the part of the world now known as the Marshall Islands. Each of the selected works imagines Marshall Islanders in certain ways. Each depiction gains potency from the way in which the author adopts a particular ethnographic mode that was typical of its respective era. And, certainly, the analysis of each text lends special value to a critical understanding of the symbolic garb with which each author clothes the ethnographic others he creates. If the depictions through time gain a more nuanced way of representing Marshallese others, all share in their reliance on critical features of ethnographic distinction that separate the "us" from the "them."

1862

Descendants of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) missionaries who first journeyed from New England to Hawai'i set out for the islands and atolls of the west central Pacific in 1853. By 1857, they established a mission station on Ebon and, soon after, a contingent of Hawaiian mission teachers joined the American missionaries as they attempted to convert Marshall Islands' "natives."

Because Marshallese and Hawaiian are not mutually intelligible languages, the policy was clearly grounded in the idea that Hawaiians and Marshallese shared a sort of racially grounded identity that would allow for increased empathy if not also a shared understanding that oozed from shared blood. Hezekiah Ae'a was one of these Hawaiian missionaries, and in February 1863, he sent a brief report back to the mission society. It is clear that Ae'a was responding to a set of queries about the Marshall Islands, perhaps even a set of standard questions sent to residents assigned to the various mission stations. In 1862, Ae'a wrote the account, "The History of Ebon," in Hawaiian and it was published in the *Ku'oko'a*, a Hawaiian missionary publication, then eventually translated by Mary Pukui of the Bishop Museum and published in English in 1948 as part of the *Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society* (1948: 9–19).

Had Ae'a's account been written slightly later it may have been classified as ethnographic or folkloric, but it is clear that Ae'a was experimenting with the notion of what constituted a written history as he begins the piece:

> Histories are the means of recording the events that have taken place in a land or lands in olden times that the past may be known and heard of. Such are the histories of civilized countries, which tell us of important and famous deeds performed by their ancestors; so in the history of our own (Hawaiian) native land, written by J. F. Pogue. . . . If the word "history" means that, then let us turn to look at the history of Ebon, and there you will learn the deeds done in these islands in olden times (Ae'a 1948, 9).

Ae'a then begins his text with an ironic and judgmental comment much in line with his missionary mentors:

> FALSEHOOD IS COMMON
>
> You will see clearly that this thing, falsehood, is common when we consider the history of these islands, the Marshalls.

Having posited the possibility of multiple histories, Ae'a immediately leaves any trace of ethnohistoric understanding aside and adopts a stance outside of Marshallese history, a position from which the correctness of Marshall Islanders may be assessed.

A short section follows in the tradition of the *Mooolelo Hawaii*, Pogue's text that Ae'a references as a possible prototype for what "history" might mean. Here Ae'a asks Ebon natives what the origin of the island is and they respond that it was fashioned by the cultural trickster, Etao, a being responsible for the physical shape of many features of Marshall Islands topography. Yet, again, after being told that "Etao took rocks and sand and heaped them together and they became dry land" (1948, 9), Ae'a questions the legitimacy of the story, separating the ethnohistorical account from a reality that must lie elsewhere:

> This, think the people of this island group, was the way that land appeared here. They do not believe that the pillars of heaven and earth were made by a woman and her husband, and still believe that it was made by Etao's hands. Thus resulted only one account of the way Ebon became land, and that is in the geneaology [*sic*] of Etao (1948, 9).

In noting what people do not believe, Ae'a again questions the legitimacy of the account, suggesting an alternate possibility that resonates with Hawaiian cosmology. Ironically (although not surprisingly), more recent accounts do describe the heavens as anchored on four pillars that separate it from the

land and sea, but Ae'a suggests he asked local people about the formation of the atoll of Ebon, not about the founding of the universe. And throughout the Marshalls, island contours are fashioned and recontoured by Etao.

Ae'a ends his story of the formative socio-geographic moments of Ebon in the safety of a displaced, all-knowing, stance. With the assurance of an ABCFM missionary convinced of the textual authority of Jewish/Christian mytho-histories, he, the missionary-in-training, notes: "Such is their (the island residents') very mistaken idea."

In all likelihood, Ae'a had little more than a point-and-guess understanding of spoken Marshallese at this juncture; inasmuch as his folkloric records not only conflate stories in unlikely ways, they mix fragmentary illumination with highly blurred understanding. Speaking of Etao, he says:

> He was their very important god in ancient times, and they worshipped him. Etao had some brothers, Iroijrik was the name of the older one. The other brother was a star named Jebro. They were gods to these people.

Jebro's celestial status certainly positions him along with a plethora of high-ranked deity-like beings in the Marshall Islands, but Etao and Iroijrik, literally "the small chief/god" exist as intermediary beings that interacted with past humans in day-to-day pursuits. Although they were "infused with super-human force," they were not deities in the sense of Jebro. But these distinctions were of little relevance to Ae'a. The worship of idols as well as the idea that there might be multiple objects and beings invested with spiritual force as opposed to a unitary, distant, male god were blasphemous threats to ABCFM missionaries in Hawai'i and in Pacific locales later missionized by the Hawaiian Mission Society. No matter how true an element of Marshallese cosmology, all such ideas were falsehoods. The falsity that typified the ABCFM stance toward all local practices with a religious edge caused the missionaries and their disciples (like Ae'a) to dismiss rather than inquire further into the parameters of such practices. Important "coincidences," such as the fact that both younger siblings, Jebro and Etao, become culture heroes, whereas their older siblings, Tumur and Iroijdik, are at best ethnohistorical footnotes, are unexplored and uninteresting to Ae'a. Inscribed with the contradictions of his own positionality, Ae'a is overwhelmed by the missionary desire threaded through his identity.

Indeed, Ae'a's need to demonstrate his commitment to the role that his Hawaiian Mission Society mentors had imagined for him can be seen in his claims of affinity with the residents of Ebon– "these people are related to us because they are brown-skinned and so are we" (11). Here, Ae'a identifies

the other Hawaiian mission teachers as his audience, and recertifies the racialized imaginary that caused the American missionary members of the Hawaiian Mission Society to bring Hawaiian mission teachers to Micronesia in the first place.

In describing the "Nature of the Land" Ae'a speaks to his missionary-in-training brethren in a style reminiscent of the Missionary Herald:

> Perhaps you have heard of the nature of these islands lying in the great ocean, but it is well to hear of it again. . . . The islands lie in a curved line, . . . not very wide but long; not high and perhaps about the level of the sea, or a little higher (1948, 10).

The subsequent section, "The Settling of the People," returns momentarily to a folkloric mode of representation, replicating the contours of the introductory section. He presents the ethnographic material only to judge it:

> The natives have three opinions as to the reason their ancestors settled and multiplied:
> 1. The first people were made by Etao. He made a man and a woman and the two had many children.
> 2. The first people were born to Limakara and Etao and they had sons and daughters and thus people multiplied on these islands.
> 3. The people just grew on these islands like the growing of trees. These are the ideas of the natives here in the Marshall Islands, and none know exactly which is right and so their opinions are confused (1948, 10).

Ae'a is, in this instance, at his ethnographic best, actually demonstrating the polyphony of voices that constitute the 1860s Ebon social space. But, seeking a unitary, divinely inspired, vision, he dismisses the multi-perspectival account as evidence of confusion rather than of the internal complexity of social and cultural space. Interestingly, the first rendering of Etao he notes reimagines Etao much as the biblical God. The second leaves a contradiction open to be explained, because Etao, as a "god" could only birth another god or, minimally, a *bwidak* "half god/chief" offspring. In either case, Ae'a's consultants must still explain the ontological source of ordinary people (*kajur*: commoners). The third view, if a close translation, suggests an affinity between common people and land that some Marshallese have taken to be a primary cultural feature, presumably of great historical depth. In certain ways, the third account complements the second view in that, in more recent stories, common people have a close relationship to land,

whereas chiefs are born to early deity-figures with characteristics not unlike Etao.

Ae‘a returns to contemporary description and critique for the remainder of his short article with comments on body art and grooming: a short paragraph on tattoo, on hair, on uniquely pierced and distended earlobes. Although this section jumps from one brief observation to the next, its style, undoubtedly a standard Hawaiian form, is unintentionally consonant with a Marshallese communicative style. Three times sequentially, he begins each paragraph similarly "Here is another thing," or "here is something else," in Marshallese, *Inem, bar juon* "And then, another one (or another thing)." Ae‘a's final "something else" is a critique of Marshallese trade, and here he judges Marshallese to be shameless in asking, yet not (properly) reciprocating in their demeanor. It is likely no accident that Ae‘a here reads Marshallese to replicate the way Hawaiians themselves judged the first ABCFM missionaries. Failing to consider the conditions under which the mission was established—by asking local people to accept them as permanent visitors and give them land—Ae‘a presumes that Marshallese should also support them when times were tough. Although there is some evidence that unquestioned acceptance did occur initially (Doane Letters, 1855–1865), Marshallese soon learned that missionaries asked to be treated as chiefs but did not provide returns in the manner of chiefs. Here, I have in mind the idea that chiefs, being landless, were supported by commoners but, in return, had to care for commoners whenever they were in need and, particularly, after typhoons or other unforeseen disasters. Missionaries saw their own trade goods as being the gift of God's word. Not surprisingly, then, by the time of Ae‘a's analysis, some five years after the founding of the Ebon mission station, Marshall Islanders had become shrewd in their interactions with these noncontributing guests. As Ae‘a notes: "When we had nothing to bargain with in the past year, we were in dire trouble for the needs of the body, because they would not bring breadfruit, coconut, pandanus, taro, wood and so forth. Our depository had nothing they wanted with which we could trade" (1948, 11). In other words, local people actually expected a balanced exchange with goods in return for goods provided. Missionaries thought they deserved goods in exchange for the distribution of God's Word.

Ae‘a complains bitterly about not being able to control the conditions of trade forgetting that the mission was built on borrowed lands. Upset with Ebon residents' "wheedling," he finds them miserly, no doubt a near mirror image of the way Marshallese considered the missionaries themselves: "It is an actual fact with these people that when one begins giving whatever they ask, they come constantly without a feeling of embarrassment" (1948, 12).

Aeʻa moves on to critique Ebon residents as "A LAZY PEOPLE" and complains that the chiefs, who permitted the missionaries to reside on Ebon, seem to only value them as a source of goods. This demeanor Aeʻa finds despicable. Adopting a mode he labels as "teaching," he lays out the grounds of exchange as understood by the missionaries themselves:

> The idea that you chiefs have is not right (i.e., seeing the missionaries as a source of goods [in exchange for welcoming them and giving them land]). You must not feel that we came to give possessions freely to you, such as money, clothing, knives, axes, and other articles. No, we have but one wealth to give you first of all, the Word of God Almighty. If you keep it in your hearts, then all the trashy wealth of the world will come to you as it did to the chiefs of Hawaii and to the other chiefs in this vast ocean(1948, 13).

Continuing in his mode of practical critique he considers Marshallese to be "a suspicious people" and (at least some of) their chiefs, in their very natures, to be plunderers. The latter feature Aeʻa generalizes to chiefs "of all the pagan lands" and "perhaps true also of the chiefs of civilized countries" (1948, 14). He considers the "*kapus*" on eating, and outlines a few gendered differences in these rules. These rules he considers "similar to those of Hawaii in olden times" (14) and the practice of such tabus pertaining to Marshallese gods and chiefs he sees as receding as a result of the appearance of the missionaries.

> There are still many kapus here in Ebon . . . but it looks as though they will be gone entirely. It is up to God's will to put an end to all evil practices [referring to the kapus] and He can make good things grow in a place formerly covered with darkness. . . . (1948, 16)

Of deities, he notes, "Many objects (were) regarded as gods by them, such as wood, stone, fish, sun, moon, lizard, ocean current and many more. They worshipped them much, because they believed that they actually existed" (1948, 15). In spite of this, Aeʻa judges the way that Marshallese worshipped to be analogous to the way of Hawaiian ancestors in olden times (1948, 15). Doubly distancing these practices, as part of ancestral Hawaiʻi rather than contemporary times, and as the practices of people of Ebon (related to us but clearly not us), he adopts the stance of a student of the mission but in a rather ironic way: "Such kinds of evil worship are now decreasing among some of them [Ebon people]. How is it in Hawaii now? Is it decreasing?" Then rhetorically, and from a distance of over 2,000 miles: "No! It has not decreased

in the least." And, finally, with shaming at the forefront of his mind: "Say, aren't you ashamed at hearing me say personally to you that such things are lessening among the people here in Ebon? O! How disgraceful!" (1948, 15). In comparison, Aeʻa believes the *kapus* in Ebon of both chiefs and gods, although still numerous, "will be gone entirely. It is up to God's will to put an end to all evil practices and He can make good things grow in a place formerly covered with darkness. . ." (1948, 16).

After discussing canoes, navigation, and related activities, Aeʻa describes amusements, beginning, of course, with dancing, another activity that was particularly abhorrent for the missionaries. Aeʻa concludes with a personal note to his fellow Hawaiian missionary readers: "I am your fellow worker in our Lord, Jesus Christ, H. Aeʻa; Ebon, September 1862" (1948, 17).

A compilation of errors, a note on his own fallibility, with earlier reference to the errors of the entire Marshallese way of life, marks the conflicted space of Hezekiah Aeʻa as much as the first corrective to push Marshall Islanders toward a newly contoured cultural space that could be deemed acceptable to those residing in the modern world. At certain moments, Aeʻa plays with the construction of an ethno-historical mode, recreating fragments of myths and stories, or commenting on daily practices, but in large part, the account points to the uneasy space that Aeʻa occupies in the Ebon world that he fashions. Without the sophisticated linguistic abilities of a well-situated ethnographer, he finds difficulty in outlining the contours of social life on Ebon, but in his position as a Hawaiian field missionary, he encounters no difficulty at all in disciplining the residents of Ebon for the shortcomings of their social practices.

If Aeʻa had personal relationships with anyone on Ebon, there is no evidence that he obtained his insights from any particular person. No individuals are depicted in his account and whatever collective moral agency[1] he might attribute to the community as a whole is discredited by Aeʻa's depiction of local beliefs as a set of falsehoods and local actions as infused with evil. There is a slight reflexive component to the account, as Aeʻa compares fragmental elements of his own Hawaiian heritage to Ebon, but in this regard, Aeʻa has as much reason to distance himself from his own past as to inscribe his difference with the people of Ebon. Trapped between the new-found burdens of an outside historian and his own lack of knowledge, he overdetermines his rendition of Marshallese practices by placing them in a textual form to be judged by others after already having been judged by Aeʻa and by Aeʻa's God.

1946

A second account of Marshall Islanders written in an autobiographical ethnographic mode is provided in a short hand-typed manuscript filed in a former

Enewetak military library entitled “The Road to Eniwetok” with a Preface headed simply “Eniwetok Atoll.”.. This document is not signed but seems to have been penned in at least two stages. The author reflects back on the road that took/brought him to Eniwetok, seemingly relying on notes that he took during the Civil Affairs era that followed World War II, whereas the more recent preface, from which he reflects back on the earlier years, was likely written in December 1952, the “Christmas season” just after the first US thermonuclear explosion known as the “Mike” test. I believe that this work was authored by W. S. Jenkins (1946) who wrote a piece on wartime canoe building in the *American Neptune,* a piece he references as his own on the first page of this document.[2] Like Ae‘a, Jenkins positions himself as another type of missionary representing America’s post-World War II values among a group needing to be saved from their own cultural depravity. Although the author positions himself as the preservationist savior of that culture doomed to “pass into oblivion,” the certainty of their oblivion remains unquestioned. Indeed, this is a much earlier historical moment than the “liberal multiculturalist” moment documented for Australia by Povinelli (2002), although small precursors of that moment may be seen in Jenkins’s account as he foists the reality of Enewetak people’s contemporary lives into alignment with the distant narrated past. The earlier moments Jenkins recalls in “The Road to Enewetak,” must have been in 1944 or 1945 when Enewetak people were relocated to Aomon and Bijili to allow the US military to transform Enewetak islet into a full-scale military base. This is when the author claims that the idea of preserving the culture of the Marshall Islands, and of Enewetak in particular, first occurred to him. Thus, the author imagines, in advance, that Enewetak culture will be doomed by the proposed nuclear testing program, although he does not engage in his attempts at cultural preservation until some six years later, as the Mike test reminds him of his time as the Civil Affairs Administrator on Eniwetok. Of course, it is a new Eniwetok in 1952, an atoll coated with radionuclides but absent of its indigenous residents. It is unclear whether Jenkins is present on Eniwetok in 1952 or whether the Mike test simply reminds him of his earlier encounters with the atoll chiefs and community members during the final months of World War II and prior to the beginning of Operation Crossroads. The *raison d’etre* for his writing is captured in a short statement embedded in the 1¼-page preface to the main document:

> I thought then [in 1944–45] that the story of Eniwetok should be preserved for the record of history. And I believe now [1952] that it would be unfortunate for the future of civilization should the culture of this atoll pass into oblivion and its contribution to humanity lost

> forever like that of idyllic Atlantis, which, in the imagery of poets, had sunk and disappeared beneath the ocean waters. For certain elements of equable society were present in the organization of the primitive culture of Eniwetok which are timeless and universal in constructive import and, therefore, merit preservation for this troubled world.

Jenkins continues:

> Thus I am stirred to write the ensuing pages in order to recount the experiences of my administration of Civil Affairs [Military Government] on Eniwetok Atoll, and thereby fulfill a trust to the natives to declare the truth in their way of life as I found it and to tell their story and the lesson it holds for mankind in the Epic of Civilization [compare with Flinn, this volume].

In anthropological terms, Jenkins continues to hold a very nineteenth-century view of the cross-cultural project with the Epic of Civilization determining the extinction of the natives of Eniwetok and, of course, he sees it as his duty, perhaps even in fulfillment of a promise he made to the chiefs or other community members with whom he interacts, to tell the story of the natives to the Civilized World. To accomplish this, Jenkins goes back to a series of letters, to an encounter with these chiefs, and to a letter reporting his accomplishments as Civil Affairs Officer, to give the world an image of these "others" for whom he served as mediator (apparently between July and December 1944) at the time they were still residing on Aomon and Bijili in the northern half of Enewetak atoll.

If the nineteenth-century evolutionists used the doctrine of survivals to project contemporary "primitives" into the ancient past, as if they were replicas of our own civilized existence at some earlier moment, Jenkins engages in a similar form of wizardry. He recasts his recollections of a past moment when Enewetak people were placed on marginal lands of their own atoll and forced into conditions of dependency on the US military. In this unsettled landscape, littered with massive imbalances of power, Jenkins inscribes a romanticized image of Enewetak society (represented by his encounter with its chiefs and leaders) as an independent entity that should be unaffected by this forced dependency. The society he imagines is transported into the current moment out of a timeless past, with Jenkins the guide and documentary hero, there to provide direction for the primitive and capture the moment of clash, when the ancient is brought into direct confrontation with the civilized.

Jenkins begins his journey in "The Road to Eniwetok" jumping back and forth between the Mike test (November 1952)[3] and June 1944 when "I was . . . reporting to Captain Crews for duty in a dual assignment as Legal and Civil Affairs Officer. And then fancy carried me swiftly back over 'The Road to Eniwetok.'" He then takes another step back along his own road to Eniwetok on December 7, 1941, "when Bill Kimmel, Dynamite, Pigskin and I were bringing the equipment of the State Records Microfilm Project out of the Archive[s] . . . in Little Rock, Arkansas, and the voice of Upton Close was announcing over the radio the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor." Thus, allowing one apocalyptic event to foreground another, he begins at a symbolic beginning when a "new heaven, new earth" was created, the moment when his life and Enewetak lives would be intertwined.

Jenkins continues to trace his own winding path from 1941 through 1944, when he again finds himself at "The Crossroads of the Pacific," this time headed to Eniwetok. Once on the atoll, he jumps directly to an encounter on Aoman, depicting a face-to-face encounter with Hernej ("Earnest"), a highly ranked respected elder and the long-standing pastor of Enewetak. This section he titles "Crossroad of the Pacific":

> As the fire bell sounded, I was again on Aomon Islet, among the natives, standing before devout old Earnest, the Moses and the prophet of the tribes of Eniwetok and Enjebi. He was standing outside his little Church house, hands clasped gently together, and was telling me the legendary story, the Genesis of Eniwetok, and he was explaining to me their religious faith and their social customs.

Throughout this section, Jenkins depicts himself as the all-knowing ethnographer. His use of "again" suggests that this encounter was one of many with Earnest as with other members of the community, yet this paragraph fails to mention any of the critical content of Earnest's "legendary story." The next paragraph appears in brackets, as if he added it as a later reflection. In it he tells a bit about Earnest's brief mission training on Kosrae and then, again, raises his reader's hopes that he will tell the legendary story: "On October 13, 1944, Earnest was brought down to headquarters by my interpreter and he engaged in conversations in which he related to me the history of Eniwetok." This history, however, is hardly the Genesis story, but rather Hernej' story of the end of World War II:

> The natives got off their home islands with only the clothes they had on their backs and some without anything, as the early pictures in the Album indicate. All of their records, both in printed form

> or in manuscript, which connected them with the past, or which might have explained their recent social structure under Japanese rule, were destroyed in the occupation, except three bibles and two Mission songbooks, translated into the Marshallese. I took full notes on Earnest's legendary account, therefore in order to reconstruct at a later time as full and accurate an account of their history and society as would be possible.

Jenkins stored this in a "Jap factor's cash box." The cash box is, apparently, the library repository containing the notes on which he relies for the writing of this account but, unfortunately, Jenkins never elaborates on the history or social organizational record of the community. Rather, overemphasizing the importance of written records within the Enewetak community, the Battle of Eniwetok becomes, in the rendering recounted above, a point at which all history of the community is destroyed. The detailed notes of Hernej' legendary account may remain within Jenkins's grasp, stored in the "Jap cash box," but Jenkins's version of the history of the Enewetak community remains untold.

The subsequent paragraphs follow the same format as the above, introducing Brown Smith, who served as translator for Civil Affairs, followed by a comment that, ex post facto, provides legitimacy for Jenkins's encounter:

> And in my mind, I could clearly see the Civil Affairs [Military Government] inspection party lined up in front of the Church House. To my right stood Chief Petty Officer Brown Smith, Royal Fijian Volunteer Naval Reserve interpreter, and Chief Abraham of the tribe of Engebi.[4] To my left, stood Chief Johannes of the Tribe of Eniwetok.

As in Malinowski's "You are there . . . because I was there" depictions that position him on Kirwinia, these statements are fundamental to Jenkins's attempts to establish his ethnographic authority (Clifford 1983, 118). Equally legitimizing are pictures in Jenkins's photographic album. Although these could provide a plethora of clues about life on Aoman, the photographs remain in Jenkins's storage box and do not become part of his Story of Eniwetok.

Jenkins's account of a trip that allowed the chiefs to visit "Eniwetok" (islet) brings him closest to the story of the Enewetak community. On this journey, Jenkins is accompanied by Johannes, Abraham, and a Pohnpeian living with the community, Toppie (perhaps a Navy personnel nickname for Adin) to Jeptan and then to Enewetak: "The return of the native, Chief Johannes,

to his home island was one of the most interesting observations that I have ever lived through. It was like old George returning to life and riding down Constitution Ave."

However amazing Johannes and Abraham may have found the trip, clearly they were not thinking of their own actions in the same metaphoric terms as was Jenkins. After a lengthy discussion of Toppie, Jenkins says that Toppie,

> was as keenly interested in Johannes' reactions as I was. Johannes sat on one side of the boat, just staring and letting out great gufaws of amazement, being unable to comprehend the miracles that were passing before his eyes. Every once in a while a broad smile would pass over Toppie's face as he watched Johannes. Just as we pulled out from Japtan, he could contain himself no longer; it was all funny to him: "Huh! Johannes, he own Japtan!" Johannes remained animated; Abraham subdued but intense.

Jenkins constructs his Enewetak natives, even their most respected leaders, as amazed children, standing in awe in a playground fashioned by adults. In the above quote, the technological devices, representing the civilized superiority of the Americans, are "miraculous" whereas, in the paragraph that follows, Jenkins says: "We passed by Parry [Meden islet], completely barren of all former vegetation, now built up with horrible steel structures that made no sense to the native mind whatsoever; then by the Club, with thousands coming and going from the landing boats. . . ." Here Jenkins sees the transformations on Meden in far more equivocal terms, nearly allowing himself to imagine how Enewetak natives must have viewed the radical alteration of their atoll; nevertheless, the scale of these transformations and of the Navy personnel flooding out of the Club are presented as mind-boggling to the naïve natives. A similar sense of amazement is conveyed in Jenkins's depiction of the chiefs' "first jeep ride":

> Their first ride in a jeep—I wish I could have gotten a picture of the expression on Johannes' face, holding on for dear life, confident that he would never live through it. They wanted to go down by the air strip [*sic*], where their former village had been located, but had to rely on Toppie as to which direction to go in.

Jenkins here reads deeply into Johannes' emotive state, in all likelihood constructing thoughts and feelings far beyond what he knew to be the case. Clearly, Jenkins relied on Brown Smith to translate since he did not himself speak Marshallese, and it is likely that he simply projects onto Johannes the

certainty that he would not survive the jeep ride. Having witnessed many others riding in jeeps, navigating ships and aircraft, Johannes must have surmised that his chances of survival were quite high. Indeed, this well may not have been his first experience in a jeep. It was certainly not Johannes' first trip on board a ship. Rather, in constructing his primitives in a primordial shape, Jenkins's text maximizes the contrast between the American military personnel all around him and the native civilians whom he visited for a few hours one time each week. His contrast increases the distance between the Americans and the natives providing rationale for his own attempts to whip them into shape as depicted in the final segment of this document.

A sequence follows in which Jenkins, assisted by Brown Smith, accompanies the chiefs as they view their "first" movie that evening (overlooking a long history of propaganda film viewing sessions during the Japanese era). Awe here shifts to bewilderment: "I have a picture of them there with the lights shining in their faces, their bewilderment betraying a touching story." The touching story seems not to have anything to do with the film's content but rather with the quaint image of primitive innocence brought face-to-face with American technological "advancement." Later in the same paragraph, Jenkins follows with an overview of a new type of primordial event in the history of American imperialism, the powwow between the Europeans and the natives.

The next morning Brown Smith brought them up to Headquarters; and they were received in the office of the Military Government for their first official interview on "the state of public affairs within the jurisdiction of Aomon."

> They were informed that the Atoll commander was waiting to officially receive them on the veranda of his quarters. They presented the customary presents and the Captain reciprocated, serving coca cola (in consideration of me, a Southerner) [this, of course, Jenkins assumed]. They invited the Captain to pay them a visit, expressed thanks for what had been done for them, made a few remarks about Eniwetok before the attack, when abruptly the reception had to be terminated. We ducked around the corner of the house as a group of high-ranking Naval officers came in the front way.

The ruse of the entire event as the meeting of commanders-in-chief, with the "guests" being "received" for an "official interview" is shattered when another set of empowered persona put in an appearance. However grand the ceremonial significance this official meeting of the chiefs was supposed to be, the actual power relations that were in effect on Eniwetok meant that not only the high chiefs of Enewetak Atoll but also the Civil Affairs Officer

and his translator had to sneak out the back so as not to be detected by the ranking Naval officers who came in the front. The deictics of this encounter are all too obvious in the way they invert the relationship between visitors and local owners, between legitimate chiefs and those who assert chief-like authority, and even in the directionality of the thankfulness being expressed by the participants (or, at least, the thankfulness worthy of recounting in Jenkins's rendering of the event).

Following the chiefly powwow, the chiefs are then given a tour of their own island, wherein Jenkins again describes them as disoriented and amazed children: the tour "ended with them as two children in a state of daze after a merry-go-round ride. They had completely failed to gain any sense of orientation with the island they had left six months before." Continuing in a similar vein, Jenkins describes the chiefs' final night on Eniwetok where they were "subjected . . . to the strange ways of the Americans." He then outlines the gifts they received and purchases they made, filling two jeeps, Abraham ending up with his first pair of shoes, and Johannes with a sun helmet.[5] Abraham must then be rescued from a last minute purchase:

> I found him surrounded by curious admirers, making frantic gestures. He had bought a box of Hershey's chocolate for the children and wanted vaseline "hair oil" for his wife. It was necessary for me to rescue him, as they were about to sell him some sweet smelling shampoo. Their expression about everything they saw was "good," "good," and Johannes' parting remark to me was "Thank you very much Eniwetok good island. Americans good, all the same very fine, but after Americans finish, Johannes like to have Eniwetok back."

Although the total purchases were minimal in dollar amounts ($13 for Ioanej and $12 for Ebream), somehow Jenkins feels he must rescue Abraham from another minimal shampoo purchase. Most important however, Jenkins reinforces his depiction of the chiefs as childlike, describing Ioanej as speaking an only-partially-socialized, mock-pidgin, English and contending that he and Ebream naively approved of everything they saw.

Jenkins then turns his attention to community members themselves, judging them to have been transformed by the visit of the chiefs to Enewetak. In short, they had become civilized, in line with the dictates of his office:

> The next week I dropped by Japtan and took the laborers and the Chiefs back to Aomon. They were all dressed up in dungarees and white sailor caps. It was amazing what a change had come over them

> in so short a time. As I looked at them they could easily have passed for a group of service men going on a recreation party.

Although not up to the level of a full dress Navy review, the chiefs and workers have at least elevated themselves externally, if not internally. As in his entire description, there is a surface patina that Jenkins judges with marked superficiality. In this case, superficial improvement, marked by the change in dress, is deemed admirable, confirming for those who might read Jenkins's treatise, his own success in civilizing his primitive charges.

A long section follows where Jenkins negotiates, through Brown Smith, with the community and its chiefs about labor on the burial chapel on Jeptan. Enewetak workers were paid for this, but the chiefs insisted they should not be paid since this was a House of God and it would be "contrary to native custom" to accept pay. By this moment in Enewetak history, the Christianity Ae'a had helped introduce to Ebon residents had become a mark of modernity and was so thoroughly transformed and woven into daily practice as to become traditionalized. At the same time, the chiefs had become astute negotiators regarding other forms of labor:

> Abraham, complacent as usual, had remained the silent junior protestor, while explosive Johannes had expressed his irate feelings, as though I had tricked them by not explaining the nature of the structure. But he then came up and tickled me in the ribs, showed his gold tooth, which had been installed for him by the Japs, and said: "Natives can't accept money for what natives do for God; contrary to native custom; but natives want to work for Navy, build house for Red Cross, be mess boys for Captain." But Abraham thinks natives should get 50 cents, not 40 cents.

Ultimately, a boatload of presents was sent in equal amount to the cost of their labor to fulfill both the agreement of Jenkins with the Navy and the chiefs' desire not to be paid for work on a church. Jenkins says: "If the natives could do so much for God, then the Great White Father in Washington must show his appreciation with a magnanimous spirit. It all worked out well and made the Captain's inspection trip a great success." The multilayered transpositions of Jenkins's reported encounter are quite telling. Quite probably, Johannes did frame local people's labor as a compact with God inasmuch as Church-related labor was still described in analogous ways by Enewetak people from the 1970s through the current day. However, to imagine the community as benefiting from the "magnanimous spirit of the Great White Father" is, undoubtedly, Jenkins's own interpretation that requires overlooking

the fact that the American occupation of Enewetak required an appropriation far greater than anything returned to the community by the Great White Father.

Jenkins next describes an inspection trip to Aoman by the Captain of the US military base—a display event where the community must pass muster, however superficial. In preparation, Brown Smith stayed on the islet (Aoman/Bijili) for an entire week. Jenkins was to come up early on the day of the visit, but he was late in arriving, only forty minutes prior to the Captain's scheduled arrival:

> Imagine my great consternation in finding the two villages in great disorder, not clean and ship-shape (as I had ordered Brown Smith to supervise). Many of the children were without any clothes, and the grownups in their badly worn and patched clothes. All of the men had recently acquired new outfits, and they had bought hundreds of yards of calico for new dresses for the women and children. And we had also taken them a crate of vaseline and combs for their hair. But their present condition completely defeated me, and my high hopes had been suddenly dashed aside.

All attempts by Brown Smith and Jenkins to whip the community into shape seemed doomed to failure. At the last possible minute, they called for the Chiefs and the scribes to form a reception party as the Captain's skiff approached the beach:

> And out of the corner of my eye, I caught a glimpse of an old woman throwing a bright yellow calico garment over the head of a naked pickaninny body.
>
> As we returned only seconds later, it seemed, a remarkable transformation appeared before my eyes. They were all assembled there, perfectly lined up, with the children in front, all saluting, smartly dressed in their new clothes and varied flowered calico dresses; and, what impressed the Captain most, each and everyone had his hair slicked down and combed beautifully. They truly were a sight of sartorial splendor, an amazing sight for my sore eyes to behold. And so ends the story of the return of my native to his home land.

Of course, one component of Jenkins's analysis is quite astute inasmuch as the ability of Marshall Islanders to transform themselves from their workaday selves into beings bedecked in Sunday finery at a moment's notice is

certainly remarkable. Yet, the larger and more unsettling issue fails to reach the level of consciousness for Jenkins, the Civil Affairs Officer, the person most critically positioned to mediate between the military and local people. That is, sequestered on their "Native Island" to allow the US military access to the main residence islets on the atoll the daily lives of Enewetak people had been radically transformed. The ragtag effects of this transformation were precisely what Jenkins witnessed on his arrival. Instead of recognizing that the decrepit condition of the community was the direct result of military occupation, Jenkins seemed to take it as his job to cover these realities with a prearranged, inspection-ready presentation of the community that might pass muster in the eyes of the Captain precisely to the degree it obscured the realities of day-to-day life. Covering up that reality is certainly the central aim of Jenkins's labor as he prepares for the Captain's inspection trip. Having destroyed people's ability to be self-sufficient on sea and land, they now need only appear orderly and superficially civilized to pass inspection.

Throughout his story of Enewetak, Jenkins purports to give us an ethnography-like "insider's understanding" of Enewetak people living on Aoman. But Jenkins's access is limited, his interactions always mediated or circumscribed by his own minimal ability to communicate with members of the community in their own language. Nevertheless, Jenkins demonstrates some literary skill in the depiction of his interactions with community members, and he relies on those skills to paint portraits of five islanders, granting some greater agency to them than to others. In addition to the intermediaries, Toppie and Brown Smith, Johannes, Abraham, and Earnest are all given some attention in Jenkins's text. These three men were the Enewetak elites of that era who, in the eyes of Jenkins, had adequate legitimate authority to represent all other members of the community. The remaining two, Toppie and Brown Smith, were absolutely imperative if Jenkins was to understand anything that was happening on Aoman. Jenkins's relationship with Earnest and the chiefs remains undefined, but he does provide slight indications of the social relationship that linked him to Brown Smith and Toppie. Therefore, unlike Ae'a, Jenkins provides some modest clues about the lives of these men even if he is unable to give an in-depth account of any one of them or how they fit within the everyday routines of life on Aoman.

If his depictions seem less folkloric than those of Ae'a, it is certainly because he writes of the specific times he interacted with the leaders and intermediaries in the community. Nevertheless, his attempt to exploit the potentialities of the ethnographic voice shows him mainly as an outsider who remains marginal to the daily activities of the Enewetak people living on Aoman and even more tangential to the long-term quest of members of this community to be returned to their homeland. By inserting personal letters into his account,

a certain reflexivity is added to the manuscript, but that reflexivity does little to outline the contours of Jenkins's interpersonal relationships with the people of Aoman. Indeed, the residence of Enewetak people on Aoman, their much longer period of exile on Ujelang, their long-awaited return to Enewetak in 1980, and their subsequent dispersal across the globe point to the tenacity of the community, their ability to endure in spite of all odds. Certainly, the culture of this atoll has not "passed into oblivion" as Jenkins, so certain of American superiority, had predicted. If the community's contributions to humanity are far different than imagined by Jenkins, they have certainly not been "lost forever like that of idyllic Atlantis."

2002

The final piece to be explored is a work published in 2002 by Robert Barclay, a novel entitled *Melal*. Although thematically the work is an antiromance, a Rosseau-like tableau that highlights cultural contortion and degeneracy in the face of colonialism, this is by far the most imaginative and imaginary work of the three texts dealt with in this paper. Barclay subtitles *Melal* as a *Novel of the Pacific*, and in it he gives some sense of the contours of life on Ebeye, Kwajalein Atoll, and the encounters of two young boys in particular.

Barclay spent some of his life on the Kwajalein military base, and, grounded in his memories of those experiences and a broader interest in Marshallese cosmology, he focuses his attentions on the life lived by Marshall Islanders on Ebeye (Epja), that is, the location where most Marshallese actually reside on Kwajalein. In the author's note, Barclay simply claims to be a "former resident of Kwajalein Atoll." Yet, for those familiar with Kwajalein, the contrasts of life in the military center on Kwajalein, Kwajalein, could not have been greater than life on Epja (Ebeye), just a few miles across the lagoon. On the military base, most of the comforts of life in Honolulu or San Diego, California, have been re-created, whereas the conditions of life on Ebeye are certainly degrading and despicable. Undoubtedly, from the perspective of an outsider living on Kwajalein, life on Ebeye must appear exciting and exotic. Nevertheless, in spite of the cohesiveness of living within a family on Ebeye, life on that islet requires its residents to continually confront overcrowding, inadequate sanitation, and everyday medical concerns that have proven to be virtually intractable.

Barclay brings this world of sharply hewn contrasts together for his readers, tracking the lives of Jebero and Nuke, two brothers born to Rujen and Iia, through an everyday fishing expedition that would be routine on any other atoll in the Marshall Islands. Under Kwajalein's military regimen, however, a simple visit to another islet, at least one within the mid-atoll corridor,

becomes a criminal act. On their journey, Jebero and Nuke are shadowed by Etao and Noniep, two figures that astutely blend images of Marshall Islanders' ancient historical past with upgraded features of contemporary life. Equally, a second pair of shadow siblings in the form of two adolescent male fishermen from Kwajalein, Kwajalein, reminds readers of the multilayered social scene on the atoll, a socially constructed scene with ever-present layers of hierarchy, seldom very far from the reach of military authorities. Barclay's novelistic characters, however, are juxtaposed with other very real actors well known during the era when the novel is said to transpire (1981). These characters, like Handel Dribo, help Barclay bridge the boundary between romance and reality at the level of written text. Others, such as Lapedpeden, Alfred Capelle, Takaji Abo, and Tony DeBrum (mentioned along with others in the acknowledgements), help to "authenticate" the novel, giving it a sense of ethnographic authority.[6]

The primordial Etao, trickster figure of the Marshall Islands, is reformulated by Barclay in contemporary form, wearing his Los Angeles Lakers jersey and denying to Noniep, his novelistic companion, that he had anything to do with transmitting the knowledge of nuclear power to the Americans. (On this score, Marshall Islands oral history suggests otherwise.) In the novel, Noniep, named for an entire clade of primordial dwarf-like beings that preceded contemporary humans in their residential claims on the Marshall Islands, and among the most long-lived of beings that might be actually seen by living humans (quite unlike Etao, who "lives" only as a shadow figure behind the trickster-like actions of today's earth-bound humans), is transformed into a being at risk of living only until the end of the day. Certainly, this imagined sense of primordial Marshallese culture at risk of impending death relies on an ossified, unalterable sense of culture. Even though that scenario is challenged by an Etao imagined in L.A. Lakers gear, it reemerges as a method to allow Barclay to convince readers that the loss of Marshallese cultural vitality is an object of concern.

Jebro, here the oldest sibling of Rujen and Iia, bears the praenomen of the youngest sibling in the family of Loktanur, primordial chieftainess of the Marshall Islands, who selects Jebro as the ruling chief because of his love and caring in spite of the fact that he is born to an expansive set of brothers, all of whom (by the standard "rule of primogeniture") are more likely than Jebro to actually become the chief.[7] Alongside of Jebro is Nuke, bearing a praenomen that points directly to the unsettled history of Marshall Islanders' relationships with the United States, and the nuclear testing program that they foisted onto local islanders following World War II. Nuke's six fingers serve to mark his connection with nuclear testing, along with a gaggle of dead sibling fetuses—one older than Jebro, three between Jebro and Nuke, and

one younger than Nuke—each of whom links the family as a whole to ongoing residues of the nuclear testing program. Iia, Jebro's and Nuke's mother who died in childbirth, is a woman from Rongelap, the community most highly contaminated by fallout from the 1954 Bravo test, conducted on Bikini Atoll. Her husband, Rujen, suspects that she actually died as a result of complications that arose from nuclear testing, complications that were hidden from the family but were felt by Iia during the years her health was tracked by the US Department of Energy.

Ultimately, in Barclay's imaginative work, "this Melal, this playground of demons" (2002, 283) an array of noncorporeal spirit beings of Marshallese vintage, each characterized as more ghoulish than standard Marshallese depictions, come to represent the "host of blackened souls on Ebeye" (283). In absolute numbers, these souls come to "exceed all others . . . " to increase the balance on their evil side and revel in the sudden mayhem it will bring. Soon neighbor will hate neighbor, the containment and the crowding and the mindless boredom will suddenly become too much, and then the people of Melal, no more the gentle people they once were, will as one, like rats trapped too long inside a box, become vicious, cruel, and violently insane (2002, 283).

This shadow world of discord on Ebeye, so strident in its contours among noncorporeal beings seems to foreshadow, or serve as a sign of, the potentialities for Ebeye's human residents. In the penultimate chapter, a discussion between Rujen and Jebro, continues to draw linkages between the world of Etao and Noniep (a world conflated and radically recontoured in Barclay's imagination) and life on Ebeye. In rather formulaic style, for Barclay, the major risk for younger generations of Marshall Islanders is their disconnection with the past, evidenced by Rujen suggesting that the sons of Loktanur provide key guides for the conduct of daily life (2002, 289). But when he asks, "Do you know which one is Loktanur?" Jebro (whose name links him with Loktanur's youngest son) replies that he does not: "I thought I knew where to look, but I forgot. Maybe she is not around this time of year" (2002: 289–90).

This discussion between father and son focused on the critical nature of traditional knowledge, its transmission across generations abruptly interrupted when power is restored at the end of a power outage.

> Suddenly, radios played, static blared from televisions, washing machines started spinning . . . startled animals ran . . . an entire carnival of electric sound that caused several people in the nearby houses to cheer. Farther away a woman screamed, a terrible scream almost as if she were being stabbed.
>
> "Hey!" Rujen said, looking around. "Good thing!"

> But as Jebro looks back to the sky that maps how Marshall Islanders ought to live their daily lives "he could not see the stars, only three flaming streaks of light, warheads, leaving trails, headed for the heart of the lagoon. That woman kept on screaming" (2002, 290).

Thus, Barclay works with the discordant juxtapositioning of the mundane and the noncorporeal realms as well as with analogies and contrasts between these domains to convey his message of cultural disjunction and social discord. Clearly, the message will resonate with western readers, yet it remains a message at odds with the sensibilities of the residents of Epjā. From them, I have heard talk of the suffering on Ebeye, but it is a discourse that draws sharp contrasts with the privileges of life on Kwajalein. At the same moment, residents are drawn back to Ebeye as a place of love and caring, not a location where either residents, or the supernatural beings who represent them risk becoming "like rats . . . inside a box . . . vicious, cruel, and violently insane" (2002, 283). And as a site of social disruption, the solutions to most of Ebeye's problems have far more to do with conditions of economic inequality than with reconnecting with the ethno-history of ancestral generations.

Indeed, to construct his romantic view of a Marshallese society placed at risk, Barclay creates an overelaborated contrast between a tradition-rich society and its antithesis, a society at risk of social disintegration as a result of the effects of nuclear testing and the military war games that take place on Kwajalein. Barclay's readers are outsiders, largely Americans, who are extremely familiar with the trope of cultural demise and presume that local practices will simply be replaced with Euro-American cultural forms. But, as Rosaldo notes, forms of nostalgia arise as a way to fulfill the desire for that which has been lost (Rosaldo 1989). Writing to this audience, Barclay can all too easily place part of the blame for Marshall Islanders' current problems squarely on their own shoulders and find a solution in their own ability to reconnect with a sense of history at risk of disappearing. But such a view requires the reader to adopt a reified view of culture as a gem at risk of being lost, not as an emergent sense of local identities constantly in the process of production. And such a view largely replicates an earlier American vision of what was best for Marshall Islanders. Indeed, at the close of World War II, during the formative stage of American control of the region, the decision to move islanders back to their home atolls and encourage them to engage in fishing, gathering, and the production of copra and local handicraft reversed the economic development plans of the Japanese by forcing local people to return to the modes of subsistence that had been present as the nineteenth century drew to a close. A reenvisioning of Marshallese as idyllic primitives,

figures nearly as prominently in Barclay's vision, a view that shares the same 1940s American idea that the route to the future can be found by following the trail to the past.

Without further research among the readers of *Melal*, it is difficult to assess the effect of Barclay's reimagination of the contours of life on Ebeye on his readers. What are the effects of Barclay's new-age Noniep and Etao, or of his compression of the activities of *eaeak* (ugly snot-nosed goblins), *kijonran* (rat-like demons that encourage excess), Kwojenmeto and Monalapen (depicted as soul-robbing demons), or other beings conjured from an imagined Marshall Islands' past (282)? At best, these are uni-dimensional portrayals of noncorporeal spirits that, in the stories of local Marshallese, are much more multifaceted beings. Clearly, by far the majority of Barclay's readers will simply assume his reductionist depictions are legitimate and universal renderings of these spirits. But, of course, Barclay's ghouls appear on the scene to depict the negative, ever-present, underbelly, of Ebeye, an underbelly that, at a moment's notice can transform the "peaceful" and "gentle" people of Ebeye who "have managed to find happiness at times despite their plague of demons" into the "vicious, cruel, and violently insane" rats mentioned above (2002, 283). The polarized representations, in many ways, enable risk language to be used to dramatize the nature of what may be lost. But, in an ironic way, Barclay's depictions also create the possibility of a romantic solution to a hugely complicated sociopolitical dilemma. If only real life were so clear cut.

Comparison and Conclusion

I have tried to give glimpses of three distinctive, and often contrary, imaginings of Marshall Islands life spread fairly evenly over 140 years. From history to novel to civil service account, each text must be understood in its own productive context since that context, every bit as much as the scene depicted, provides a critical framework for lending meaning to and assessing the significance of the particular account.

In spite of their substantial differences, each of these accounts fills its rendering of the savage slot (Trouillot 1991) with "others" fashioned in relation to an opposed "us." Both Ae'a and Jenkins constitute their primitives as lesser beings in the process of being replaced. Jenkins, with the certainty of a distant "other," maximizes his own symbolic differentiation by imagining himself as the savior of a way of life that is certainly doomed—an Enewetak people simply consumed by the overwhelmingly more advanced state of Euro-American technological superiority. Whether physically or culturally eradicated, Jenkins imagines that the only remaining visages of Enewetak people will exist in his own inscriptions. Only he and other members of the superior culture he ima-

gines that he shares with his readers reap the benefits of a soon-to-be eradicated way of life that should by now be preserved only in his written words. Ironically, there is a hint of nostalgia in Jenkins's depiction of this loss, a nostalgia that, some years later, is framed very differently by Barclay.

Presaging Jenkins by several decades, Ae'a is also steadfast in his depiction of Ebon, Marshallese as lesser others, but of course, in his imagination, these beings will be replaced by saved souls of a higher moral order. Nevertheless, as a Hawaiian mission teacher, Ae'a's depiction of this transformed primitive is the most interesting and also the most unstable. At one level, his own text is directed to other Hawaiian mission teachers. They are the imagined others that their Marshallese converts should be using to envision their own future selves. At the same time, the very instabilities of this "saved savage" stance are apparent in Ae'a's text. First, in his life as a Hawaiian mission teacher, Ae'a himself adopts the voice of a degenerate and more lowly ranked simulacra of the ABCFM missionaries who headed the Micronesian Mission. His differential stance is marked not only by the audience he addresses (and the white missionary audience he does NOT address) but also by several stylistic features of the text. On the other hand, Ae'a depicts his own Hawaiian past with even greater ambivalence, simultaneously claiming and distancing himself from threads of his own Hawaiian identity that might have been used to make sense out of the "History of Ebon." Although he recognizes a few commonalities between Hawai'i and the Marshall Islands, he seldom draws on those commonalities other than to point to the inevitable demise of local cultural practices when confronted with the truth of the word of God. Measured in terms of ultimate demise, he sees Hawaiians as leading the way and Marshallese inexorably following the same path. Ultimately, Ae'a's experiments in ethno-history are highly adumbrated. Indeed, why spend too much time exposing a history only to damn it as a collection of falsehoods and evil practices certain to be replaced by God's true word.

With a novelist's sensibilities, Barclay fully exploits the nostalgia he expects his readers will feel for imagined idyllic primitives under daily threat given the vagaries of life on Ebeye. If Jenkins's primitives sink from his own view like Atlantis, taking with them important messages that will be lost to future civilization, Barclay's civilization brings negative threats face-to-face with an idealized traditional way of life. Although quite realistically depicting some of the lived contradictions of daily life on Ebeye, Barclay conflates historical realities to create overdetermined depictions of antithetical forces, good and evil, traditional and contemporary, that pull at people's lives. In Rosseauesque style, idealized depictions of a local lifestyle are now associated with the good, and as noted above, the ghouls and demons of an oddly shaped military modernity complicate people's ability to embody the idealized and

modernized savage of Barclay's imagination. Barclay readily engages his audience with the confrontation of radically distinct forces that impose themselves on Ebeye residents' lives. Such simplifications make for good theater. Indeed, with an array of local consultants of some sophistication, his depictions also reflect something of an indigenous sensibility that sees an idealized past existence now being replaced by something more frightening, uncertain, and at least ostensibly undesirable. Nevertheless, this contrast of contemporary instability with an imagined fixed-feature golden era of the past is, itself, a recurrent trope in Marshallese culture that radically oversimplifies the complexities of life at any particular moment in time. The actualities of everyday lives and choices are always far less clear cut, far more uncertain and conflictual. In recent years, mature Ebeye residents often say that the source of contemporary problems are directly traceable to *men maroro eo* (the green thing, i.e., money), but at the same time, Kwajalein people negotiate with steadfast determination to make sure that military payments for the use of Kwajalein are both increased and continued well into the future. Although this certainly does not place blame on local people for the complex predicament in which Kwajalein residents find themselves, their complicity does point to a far more multifaceted set of forces that help determine Ebeye identities than those depicted by Barclay.

Comparing these texts in terms of social positionality is equally valuable, if disconcerting. Ae'a presents us with a fully totalizing God's eye view of Ebon society and history, a view that, other than in its imagined demise at the time of Ae'a's recording, is unchanging and amorphous from edge to edge (Sartre, 1963, on totalization). There are no women's voices here to be differentiated from men's, no chiefly incantations, no young or old. Rather, Ae'a's readers are left to bathe in the perduring similitude of Ebon culture. Jenkins shares Ae'a's concept of a history-less past, and, of course, this depiction of an ossified former way of life is precisely what renders salvational his own "history-making" interventions at the current moment (1952) when the disappearance of Enewetak seems assured. In contrast to Ae'a, Jenkins does allow his readers to hear (if in highly questionable translation) a handful of high-ranked male voices, but he also allows these voices to represent the whole, as if differentiation had never crossed his mind. His central depiction is of the child-like, and simple-minded savage, gazing, awe-inspired at the radical transformations of his home space by the Americans. In naming the two chiefs, Jenkins does recognize differences in their demeanor, but these differences are inadequate to cause him to question the stereotypic nature of his depictions of Enewetak people as a whole. Although Jenkins spends a good deal of time differentiating the civilized white male social persona in his narrative, there is no recognition that the same might be required of him to

adequately highlight the distinctive characters of those who inhabit his savage slot. Even the idea that women or men, young people or aged ones might hold different views is beyond Jenkins's imaginary capabilities on Enewetak. To ask him to distinguish the social persona of Dainah from Eliji, two sisters with important, yet distinct, adult voices in the late 1940s, is to ask to enter a world that existed outside the range of Jenkins's understanding, if still within his gaze.

With the sensibilities of a novelist, Barclay gives us a range of imagined Ebeye residents differentiated by age and gender. These are among the features that give the novel a realistic feel. Nevertheless, although not obliterating female voices, his depiction of the contradictions of life on Kwajalein highly over-elaborates male lives, whereas Iia (the mother of Jebro and Nuke and the most highly articulated of female characters) seems like a stereotype-laden marionette in relation to the much more central character-elaboration given to Rujen, Jebro, and Nuke. Perhaps this is not surprising given the ethnographic sources that Barclay credits—all well-known and respected authorities in the Marshall Islands but also all men. At certain junctures, Barclay nicely juxtaposes L. A. Lakers' tee shirts with local features to present a nicely layered view of the heteroglossic flavor of contemporary urban life on Ebeye. Yet, in other passages, a sort of ethno-historical violence is committed when he places a highly elaborated knowledge about Kwojenmeto and the remaining panoply of noncorporeal beings within the conceptual range of everyday contemporary residents of Ebeye. In point of fact, such knowledge exists only as part of the worldviews of aged indigenous savants like Lapedpeden or cultural preservationists like Alfred Capelle. Highly specialized knowledge of this sort is far from universally available or understood. In Barclay's hands, generalizing the knowledge of Lapedpeden conflates the past and the present, allowing him to bring the ancient and modern face to face on Ebeye. Yet, in spite of his tendency to infuse the contemporary Ebeye imaginary with figures unknown to most local residents, the novelist Barclay, rather than the realist proto-historians, Aeʻa and Jenkins, comes closest to the depiction of an everyday life that resonates with the lived contours of existence in the Marshall Islands at a certain point in time.

If far from universally romantic, each of the depictions of Marshall Islanders outlined above forces us to recognize the way in which all accounts must be interpreted as arising in specific contexts within particular cultural and historical frames. Although the authors of all of these accounts engage in practices of inscription that move their readers a good distance from lived reality, we should not think that anthropological accounts can entirely escape this dilemma. Indeed, as Bourdieu (1991) reminds us, overdetermination is inherent in all forms of representation. On the other hand, if anthropological

accounts, in their conceptual formulation, seem to risk being reduced to ventriloquy, even a perfunctory reading of the above accounts should remind us of the degree to which such an obliteration of the authorial voice remains little more than a final bow to the myth of the objective observer. Recognizable Marshall Islander's occasionally peer through the cracks of each of the above texts however much their contours are, all too frequently, stereotypic, obscure, and convoluted. Perhaps with greatest irony, in this selective set of historical materials, the contours of local lives are, without doubt, best captured in the novelistic mode and rendered most roughly in more realist genres. In all likelihood, this is because Barclay, the novelist, is least constrained by occupation in his approach to the Marshall Islands. Having lived for a longer period of time in the Marshall Islands, having developed a sincere interest in the culture as manifest in his work with Lapedpeden, Capelle, DeBrum, and the others, and having reflected seriously on the contradictions of life on Kwajalein, he is best able to capture the texture of everyday life in a place that is woven into his own existence. This, of course, should provide some comfort to each of us, as ethnographers, who share long-standing commitments to local communities and often have close interpersonal relationships with residents of those same locales. At the same time, these examples should alert each of us to the challenges of our representational responsibilities and the advantages of increasing our representational range.

NOTES

1. See David Lipset's contribution to this volume (XX) for further discussion of this important issue.

2. The Jenkins's piece is entitled "Wartime Canoe Building in the Marshall Islands" (*American Neptune* 6 (1): 71), and these are the precise words he uses to refer to the publication, though they are not capitalized. The Jenkins identification seems to be almost certainly confirmed by a brief note from A. H. (Hal) Colyer sent to "Dear Jenkins" and another note to "Dear Bill" along with a reference by the author of the second letter, Jesse, to "Willie the Jenk" within the body of that letter. These letters are also deposited in the "Jap factor's cash box" and included in the current manuscript.

3. This, too, is an educated guess, based on Jenkins own assessment that he has just witnessed the first US thermonuclear explosion. This tells something significant about the veil of secrecy surrounding the test since, as the Civil Affairs Officer on Eniwetok, the author was not certain this was the test of the first hydrogen device. However, if he is correct, and this was the Mike test, it dates this document to the "advent of my mid-century Christmas" (I am guessing in very late November or early December of 1952). Perhaps significantly, by greatly increasing the yield of a nuclear explosion, this thermonuclear test may have served as an apocalyptic reminder to Jenkins of his promise (to himself? to Enewetak people?) to actually write this account of the community. The manuscript is just that, a typescript,

probably never completed, and thus, never reaching the wider audience that did have an opportunity to read his piece on Marshall Islands canoes.

4. Enjebi, the chieftainship controlling the northern half of Enewetak Atoll, the southern half, or Enewetak half, being controlled by Johannes. Although in no sense "tribal" groups, these groups were different chiefly sections of the atoll, each headed by a chief from a different clan.

5. The presumption of these "first" experiences position Jenkins and the Americans in a more empowered position, closer to first contact, than would otherwise be the case. Of course, it also highlights the "primitive state of existence" of Eniwetok natives. Given the long history of contact between Enewetak and the outside world, a history dating back in all likelihood to 1529, Jenkins actually has no idea about these firsts. In Ebream's case, he well may have had access to shoes during the Japanese civilian era prior to the war.

6. Each of these well-known Marshallese persona provides Barclay with the trail of credibility required to produce a novel like *Melal*. Lapedpeden is one of the recent knowledgable old men in the Marshalls on whom the Alele Museum based their own attempts to transform an oral history of the Marshall Islands into an overdetermined inscribed history. Alfred Capelle, Takaji Abo, and Tony DeBrum, all authors of Byron Bender's Marshallese-English dictionary (Bender is also on the "to be acknowledged" list) each have close links to the Oral History Project in the Marshalls, and each has his own history as an intermediary in the documented history of these atolls. Even August Erdland, German folklorist from the turn of the century makes Barclay's list of assistants, although only posthumously.

7. Although the number of siblings varies in the telling of this story, Tumur is the oldest sibling and Jebero the youngest. None are now living but, rather, are commemorated as highly ranked primordial beings by their appearance in the night sky as Marshallese constellations (for one version of this story, see Carucci 1980, 1997).

REFERENCES

Ae'a, Hezekiah
1862 [1948] History of Ebon, trans. Mary Pukui. *Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society* 56:9–19.

Barclay, Robert
2002 *Melal: A novel of the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre
1991 *Language and symbolic power.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Carucci, Laurence Marshall
1980 The renewal of life: A ritual encounter in the Marshall Islands. PhD diss., University of Chicago.
1997 Nuclear nativity: Rituals of renewal and empowerment in the Marshall Islands. DeKalb: Northern Illinois Univ. Press.

Clifford, James
1983 On ethnographic authority. *Representations* 2 (Spring): 118–46.

Doane, Edward T.
1852–1923 Letters and journals from Ponape, Caroline Islands; and Ebon, Marshall Islands; also letters written from the U.S. while on home leave. English language (1855–1865). Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Micronesia Collection, 1852–1923. Reel 1.

Jenkins, William S.
1946 *The road to Eniwetok*. Enewetak, Marshall Islands: Enewetak Atoll Library..

Povinelli, Elizabeth
2002 The cunning of recognition: Indigenous alterities and the making of Australian multiculturalism. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Rosaldo, Renato
1989 Imperialist nostalgia. *Representations* 26 (Spring): 107–22.

Sartre, Jean Paul
1963 *Search for a method*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

Stocking, George W., Jr.
1987 *Victorian anthropology*. New York: The Free Press.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph
1991 Anthropology and the savage slot: The poetics and politics of otherness. In *Recapturing anthropology*, ed. R. Fox, 17–43. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research.

HERO, SAVAGE, OR EQUAL? REPRESENTATIONS OF THE MORAL PERSONHOOD OF PACIFIC ISLANDERS IN HOLLYWOOD MOVIES

David Lipset
University of Minnesota

In *Whale Rider*, the protagonist, a contemporary senior Maori chief, hears unusual, plaintive cries coming from the beach just below his house. A pod of whales has beached itself on the foreshore and we then see him standing by one of the animals asking in Maori, rather than English, "Who is to blame?" That is, he understands the alarming scene in vernacular forms of moral causation, which is to say, in sociocentric, or local, terms. Somebody must be at fault. Now, of course, Durkheim (1912; see also M. Douglas 1979) would have agreed: totemism differentiates sacred from profane categories of experience, categories which must be kept separate, lest the former infect the latter. The sacred is moral, and the moral arises from, and is synonymous with, nothing other than collective forms of the social. Asocial concepts of causation may enter peoples' understanding of illness and misfortune, but ultimate cause is determinate; it stems from local violation (see also Evans-Pritchard 1976). Now Fortes (1962) would later add an important refinement to this selfsame sociology of ethical order. Moral personhood is a status that may be ritually conferred or withheld in whole or in part by society (see also Read 1955). Thus the Maori chief in *Whale Rider* desperately seeks a successor, a firstborn male heir and disqualifies his granddaughter because of her gender.

The question of moral accountability posed by the sight of beached whales illustrates my thesis in this essay. Unlike the hero in the New Zealand

Pacific Studies, Vol. 38, Nos. 1/2—Apr./Aug. 2015

production, *Whale Rider*, Hollywood tends to dispossess Pacific Islanders of the capacity for moral agency (e.g., to distinguish between right and wrong, good and bad, desirable and undesirable, as well as the power do something to solve a problem). By contrast, Hollywood confers moral personhood upon westerners. In order to exemplify a theme that amounts to little other than cinematic colonialism in four particular movies, I must first take a brief theoretical detour back to 335 BCE.

Mimesis of the Moral

According to Aristotle, mimicry, or imitation, of social life is the key source of fictional creativity. But mimicry, he went on, is attracted to particular qualities and values in society, namely those which adhere to virtuous activity, that is, a sense of justice, courage, character, generosity, restraint, living the good life, and so on. Having pinned fictional action to mimesis of the moral, he then makes a great and useful analytical move. "When the imitators imitate the doings of people," Aristotle proposed in *The Poetics*, "the people in the imitation must be either high or low" (1953, 18). According to what criteria? And in comparison to whom? The measurement is by degree of moral personhood in relation to the actor's audience (1953, 19). An actor's virtue may be better, worse than, or equal to that of his or her audience. Tragic heroes, Aristotle allowed, are superior, whereas comic figures are inferior. Heroes equal to audiences are realist characters endowed with identical moral capacities.

Some two thousand years later, Northrop Frye elaborated or extended Aristotle's view of dramatic action (1957: 33–35) by suggesting that the moral personhood of heroes could be judged in comparison to other contexts in addition to their audiences. It might be weighed against other members of their society, as well as their ambient (natural) environment. Using these criteria, Frye went on to distinguish five types of hero as well as the discourse associated with each one. (1) "If superior in kind" to everybody and everything in his surroundings, then the hero is a god, a divine being, like Yahweh in the Old Testament, or Zeus of the Greek pantheon, and the story about him is mythic. (2) "If superior in degree" to his society, to his environment and the audience, the central character is a romantic hero who moves through worlds, the rules of which are slightly suspended for him. He takes exceptional acts of fortitude and courage for granted. His exploits are the stuff of legend, folk-tale, and so forth. But, at the same time, he is only an ancestor, a culture-hero, like the Tsimshian, Asdiwal (Levi-Strauss 1967), who has parents, no less than we, the audience, and everyman in Tsimshian society. (3) "If superior in degree to other men, but not to nature," the hero is just a leader. Like a Mafiosi don, he has power, strategic skills, oratorical

TABLE. **Northrup Frye's Extension of Aristotle's Classification.**

Superior in kind to	Superior in degree to	Superior in degree to	Equal to	Inferior to
Nature	Nature	N/A	N/A	Nature
Society	Society	Society	Society	Society
Audience	Audience	Audience	Audience	Audience
Divine hero	Romantic hero/ ancestor	Heroic leader	Comic hero	Ironic hero
N/A	N/A	High mimetic mode	Low mimetic mode	Low mimetic mode
Myth	Legend	Epic or tragedy	Comedy or realistic fiction	Comedy

abilities, kin, and other dependents that outweigh those of other men, but what he does is nevertheless subject to criticism, competition, and bullets. Such men are heroes of what Frye calls the "high mimetic" modes of epic and tragedy. (4) "If superior neither to other men nor to his environment, the hero is one of us." Such a hero is found in "low mimetic" modes of comedy and realistic fiction. Like Groucho or Dostoevsky's Raskolnikov, the hero is merely a common man who is subject to the same laws of probability that limit our own experience. (5) Finally, when a hero is represented as "inferior in power or intelligence" to others, such that the audience receives a sense of looking down on a scene of frustration, or absurdity, like Jim, the runaway slave in Huck Finn, the hero belongs to the "ironic mode" of fiction (Frye 1957, 34) (Table).

In this essay, I adopt Frye's Aristotelian scheme to analyze how Pacific Islanders appear in the Hollywood films *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1962), *Hawaii* (1966), *The Descendants* (2011), and the independent movie, *Whale Rider* (2002). Of the heroes in these movies, we may raise questions about the extent Pacific Islanders possess moral personhood in comparison to colonial/settler society, to their environment and to we, the audience. I argue that the moral agency afforded western and Pacific Island leaders in the two Hollywood movies, *Mutiny on the Bounty* and *Hawaii*, juxtaposes a high mimetic foreground with a deficient, low mimetic background. In the former, tragic, heroic leaders confront exquisite personal and political dilemmas. In the

latter, romantic-ironic leaders improbably stumble along, or do their best, much to our sympathetic amusement. Although *Whale Rider* foregrounds Maori political succession, it simultaneously disavows that notice by means of the contradictory reality it invents.

In general, mimesis in these movies never portrays the moral personhood of Pacific Islanders as superior, much less equal, to westerners but demotes them either to exotic, romantic creatures, or inferior savages.[1] Granted this conclusion is not hot news, but the cinematic imagery and the deployment of the framework introduced above to their exegeses are, I think, analytically helpful, particularly because its central discriminator, moral personhood, has not been used elsewhere.[2]

Mutiny on the Bounty (1962)

The 1962 version of *Mutiny on the Bounty*, based on the Nordhoff and Hall novel (1932) by the same name, retells the story of the 1789 mutiny aboard the HMS *Bounty*.[3] The departure scene with which the movie opens introduces the audience to the film's antagonists: Captain Bligh (Trevor Howard) and his first officer, Fletcher Christian (Marlon Brando). Bligh is identified as a heroic leader, by Frye's criteria, a man possessing superior attributes, to whom the camera looks up. But, of course, Bligh remains a man in and of shipboard society. The moral character of his captaincy is famously called into question by his crew and by the audience during the voyage out to Tahiti during which he shows up as lacking control over nature (see also Denning 1998; Pew 2000).

Coming aboard, he is recognized to "walk like a sailor" by his crew, as opposed to Brown, the "landlubber," botanist–gardener, who has appeared just moments before Bligh, bearing pictures of breadfruit plants, obtaining which in Tahiti is the mission of their voyage. Bligh encounters Fletcher Christian, who rides up to the ship in a well-appointed, horse-drawn carriage and is accompanied up the gangplank by two beautifully dressed ladies (Fig. 1). Christian, bedecked in a florid red cape, apologizes for his lack of naval uniform, explains to his captain that he came directly to the ship from his country house upon receiving his orders, where he had been entertaining these lovely guests. Christian asks Bligh to come meet the two women, who have accompanied him with the expressed purpose of meeting his captain. Bligh obliges the two ladies only to be then humiliated when one speaks to him in French, a language in which he is unable to answer. The women depart, and Bligh turns to Christian to ask him why a man such as himself, whom he calls a "career fop" from the upper class, joined the Royal Navy in the first place. The army was "too dusty," Christian explains, while allowing

FIGURE 1. **Captain Bligh is introduced to Fletcher Christian's upper class friends.**

that "one had to do something." Bligh answers that "high born connections" were not a substitute for "hard work" and goes on to explain, in response to Christian's cynical view of their mission, the importance the Royal Navy accords it. Christian, for his part, acknowledges that "promotions" might then be in order. In other words, Bligh is depicted as a middle-class, career seaman and officer, rather than a gentleman of quality. He is a leader, but one who is a man-in-society, that is to say, in the same stratification system, with the same ambitions, as everyman, rather than above them.

En route to Tahiti, Bligh's moral standing is assailed by his crew and by the audience, who are appalled by his cruelty. In a series of episodes, he is accused of being a petty thief, a heartless sadist who would flog sailors for questionable reasons and who would sacrifice the health and even the life of his crew on behalf of his ambition (Fig. 2). I cite two moments in the voyage-out sequence.

In the first, Christian and a junior officer and family friend Ned Young laugh and talk to each other as Bligh, "the sailor," passes. Bligh takes interest in their merriment and inquires about the cause of their amusement. Young explains that a mutual friend, the Lord Foxton, was once kicked by a horse and subsequently developed a distinctive walk that seeing the Captain's gait

FIGURE 2. **A seaman is flogged for stealing cheese.**

recalled to them. Bligh immediately orders Ned Young to spend the night high up a mast despite the freezing temperatures they have encountered. Before waddling off to his quarters, he answers Christian's protestations, declaring that he "will not be a figure of fun!" which is to say that he would not tolerate any challenge from an officer, comic or otherwise, to his superior status on deck.

The second scene depicts Bligh's subordinate relationship to nature. It revolves around Bligh's ambition to take a more direct route to Tahiti through Cape Horn around the tip of South America, rather than the more indirect, but safer route around the Cape of Good Hope. Christian points out that this passage had only been made successfully once before in naval history and many sailors were lost during the effort. Tempestuous storms, high winds, and waves break over and fling the Bounty about. Amid the turbulence, a big water barrel breaks loose below deck. The ship rocks and Christian orders a reversal of direction to steady it to secure the barrel. Bligh, dozing in his quarters, awakes and senses the change in course. Incensed at what has happened, he countermands Christian's order. As the ship returns to running against the wind, a sailor is crushed to death by the water barrel. Bligh goes below deck in a rage. Accusing him of sabotage and treachery, the captain demands to know why Christian gave the order to change course. Christian answers that by reversing course, Bligh had killed a sailor. Consumed by his goal to reach Tahiti, which he calls a "war" against uncooperative sailors, "high born" officers, and the elements, Bligh refuses to make arrangements for a funeral. The weather remains poor in the following weeks. To no avail,

Bligh repeatedly calls the crew on deck to work in the bitter cold and rough seas until finally he gives up, conceding defeat and reverses course to go to the Cape of Good Hope. The scene shows us that Bligh is no romantic hero. His captaincy is all too human. The moral qualities of his leadership are human. Rather than autonomous or extraordinary, Bligh is seen to rely on discipline, fear, and argumentation. His values are hard work and loyalty. What is more, he is inferior to nature and cannot maneuver the *Bounty* through Cape Horn.

If Captain Bligh is depicted as a high mimetic, tragic leader, his counterpart in Tahiti, "King" Hitihiti is portrayed as an inferior, low mimetic, comic hero. In the arrival scene of the Bounty, he is depicted as Bligh in reverse. In the initial images, the landscape appears as a neoclassical painting, perfect and without flaws. Otherwise naked Tahitian men, dressed in little more than loincloths with leaf garlands decorating their heads, are seen walking in a line along the ridge overlooking the bay, carrying bananas and apparently returning from their gardens. They see the ship. A man instantly blows a conch shell. As they run, shouting in nonsubtitled Tahitian, men abandon work on a new canoe, and a woman, seen sitting with children weaving a leaf basket in the shade of a bush material lean-to, also jumps up to greet the ship. At the beach, innumerable small canoes are pushed off by men, women, and children. Men shove a large outrigger into the water. As they all paddle toward and converge on the *Bounty*, obviously unarmed as they are, a quickening percussion lends a menacing tone to their innocent advance.

On board the *Bounty*, Bligh warns the crew that it was not many years earlier that Hawaiians ambushed and killed Captain Cook; he arms and instructs them to be on their guard as they go ashore. The cutter, surrounded by canoes, carries a handful of men to the beach. Bligh leads them across it, through a crowd of Tahitians, decorated with leis and garlands, who separate and make way for them. The soundtrack remains portentous and ominous. Across the tideflat, a regal canoe arrives and the music now turns imposing. The movie acknowledges the arrival of the Tahitian aristocracy. We get a glimpse of the chief's point of view as he looks out at Bligh standing and waiting for him on shore. Dressed in magnificent red, blue, and yellow feather robes and ornaments, and a towering blue headdress, "King Hitihiti" gingerly steps across a plank and offers a greeting of misrecognition to Bligh, "King George?"

Bligh answers the Tahitian leader. Acknowledging his status and personhood, he addresses him in English with formal courtesy as "your excellency," and he introduces himself, correcting his mistaken identity. Hitihiti is accompanied by Minali'i, who also appears in ornate feather decorations that are rather less compelling that his chief's. Minali'i answers Bligh in simple, broken English, reminding the Captain that he had accompanied Cook on his

FIGURE 3. **Captain Bligh asks "King" Hitihiti, left with headdress, for breadfruit seedlings.**

final voyages, having served as his island pilot, and that he will now serve as Hitihiti's translator. "Hitihiti talk, I talk English." Having himself sailed on Cook's last voyage, Bligh recalls and compliments the great, good work Minali'i did for Cook and then orders his sailors to bring a trunk of gifts, which they deposit in front of Hitihiti.

Hitihiti picks a hatchet and some beads out of the trunk, turns the objects over one by one, in a cheerful way. He looks at himself in a mirror and laughs, as if to evoke a contrary image of his British counterpart, who had declared himself to be not a "figure of fun" during the voyage out. The Tahitian spectators, also by contrast to the long-suffering crew of the Bounty, laugh along with their leader. Hitihiti then asks Bligh what King George wants in return. Bligh tells him that his King wants breadfruit so that his subjects can be every bit as strong as Hitihiti's. He shows the drawings that Brown, the botanist, has brought with him from Kew Gardens. Hitihiti is again portrayed as simple and baffled. "Breadfruit!" he exclaims, laughing. "Take all you want!" (Fig. 3). Extending his arms, he calls for welcome gifts and the preparation of a great feast for his guests. Children instantly emerge from within the crowd bearing leis and food for the sailors to music that suggests something like a Tahitian lullaby.

The conclusion of this arrival scene once again portrays Hitihiti as a moral opposite of Captain Bligh. Although the British captain had cut his crew's rations punitively, the Tahitian chief appears as a man of unlimited generosity. That is, Bligh is superior to us, in the sense that he commands a ship and takes it across "three continents," but he is also portrayed as morally ambiguous or even as self-serving, corrupt, and brutal.[4] Hitihiti

appears to us as a regal figure, albeit a very exotic one, dressed as he is in florid Tahitian regalia. But we are meant to see him in an ironic rather than a high mimetic mode. His language is not subtitled and he must depend on Minali'i to translate for him both to Bligh and us. He mistakes Bligh for King George. He plays with the trinkets Bligh offers him and without guile is prompted by these minor gifts to reciprocate whatever it is King George wants. If Hitihiti appears inferior to us, and perhaps to his British guests, his relationship to nature and to Tahitian society contrasts with that of Bligh. Although Bligh fights the weather and flogs his crew, Hitihiti appears in feathered paraphernalia that makes him stand above everyday society, if only because his headdress is so tall that wearing it, he must walk very carefully. He is surrounded by a willing community who work with, rather than against, their environment. Men are shown bearing its fruit. Women weave baskets from coconut fronds that fall from trees. Everyone paddles out effortlessly to the *Bounty* and then watches Hitihiti meet Bligh with rapt attention. However gorgeous, Tahiti is not Eden (see Schachter, Flinn this volume). It is a romantic ideal, a primitivist fantasy of simplicity, moral solidarity and abundance, unspoiled by stratification or individualism (Smith 1985). Therefore, although Hitihiti is obviously not depicted as inferior, whatever morally superior personhood he may be seen to possess, towering over Tahitian society, over Bligh and over us, is discountable. Hitihiti may be a legitimate leader and be given loyalty. He may own breadfruit. But Hitihiti is unreal, an exotic, comic other.

***Hawaii* (1966)**

George Roy Hill's Oscar winning film version of James Michener's best selling, Pulitzer Prize winning novel by the same name (1959) was the biggest grossing film of 1966. The movie fixed on a single chapter, "From the Farm of Bitterness," of Michener's panoramic extravaganza, the one which focused on the settlement of the first American missionaries in Hawai'i during the first half of the nineteenth century (1820–41). The mode of moral personhood conferred upon its heroes is again that of tragic heroism. That is, their relationship to society, the audience, and nature is superior but only in small degree. The moral agency of the Calvinist missionary, Rev. Abner Hale (Max von Sydow), his wife, Jerusha Bromley (Julie Andrews), and the paramount chiefess, Malama Kanakoa (Jocelyne LaGarde) are all differentiated from the society and environment to which they belong. They are portrayed as both subject to and more powerful than its norms, challenges, and biology. Thus, in this sense, *Hawaii* differs from *Mutiny on the Bounty* in that it confers a degree of moral personhood upon a Pacific Islander.

As the movie opens, we are introduced to Rev. Hale as a man who is deeply immersed in local New Haven society. He is a divinity student at Yale consumed with a desperate vision to go "save poor souls in agony" in Owayhee. But after being criticized by church superiors for being proud, he is told that the church is not in the habit of "sending single young men to serve among naked savages." This rebuke gives way to a tragicomic, leave-taking sequence from his parents' farm where the Hale family prays together at the dinner table for the continued strength to reject the temptations of their lustful natures, as well as "Romanism, atheism, and Unitarianism." Hale utters a quick prayer, refrains from kissing his mother and trudges off down the road, as she fights back tears. The courtship with and marriage to the beautiful, and emotionally straightforward, Jerusha Bromley then ensues, in no less comic, repressed terms. Her parents and the Rev. Thorn, Hale's superior in the church, collude to have her meet Rev. Hale because she has fallen in love with a rough whaler, Captain Hoxworth (Richard Harris), of whom they disapprove. An extremely awkward and nervous Rev. Hale, quotes poetry and the Old Testament, drops teacups and comes down with a bad cold. Much to his, and our, relieved surprise, he gains Miss Bromley's approval, if not her heart, in spite of it all. The Rev. Hale is portrayed as an emotional cripple, who is inferior to the audience, while being part of church and Calvinist society in Connecticut, rather than above it.

The couple marries and sets off and we are presented with a second voyage out to the Pacific. While the rest of the passengers become seasick, Rev. Hale shows himself to us, the audience, as arrogant, severe, ungracious, and unforgiving.[5] To shipboard society, he is superior. He busies himself by preaching to the sailors, condemning their drinking and the secular literary tastes of the captain. His relationship to nature is interesting. He threatens the heathen sailors with divine punishment during the dangerous passage through Cape Horn, but he prays for the ship's safety as it makes its way through a bad storm, and he breaks the fall of Prince Ke'oki, who has heroically climbed up a mast pole in the driving rain to loosen a sail. Ke'oki is the Hawaiian divinity student who persuaded the Calvinists to send missionaries and is returning home.

Following their stressful, hazardous passage around Cape Horn into the Pacific, the ship becomes becalmed, but Rev. Hale's torment is not. Despite his best efforts, he succumbs to Jerusha's perfume ("Moses forbad the use of perfume," he tells her. "Proverbs say that 'ointment and perfume rejoice the heart,'" she answers. They debate the morality of the flesh, whether temptation or gift of God, and the purpose of marriage, which is not, as Hale avows, "to drive the thought of God from my mind.") Despite feeling "utterly depraved," she wins the argument and kisses him as the scene fades to Maui,

where the ship arrives. Hale's moral dilemma is that of everyman—ordinary desire fighting faith.

Upon reaching the famous port of Lahaina, the whaling village and old capital of the Hawaiian kingdom, the ship is greeted by enthusiastic, gorgeous topless women who leap from their canoes and climb aboard. Seeing the approach of his parents, Prince Ke'oki instantly dives into the bay to swim to their royal canoe. Malama, his mother, is obese. She is *ali'i'nui*, the paramount chiefess, and his father, Ke'lolo, is her brother–husband. Malama is seated beneath parasols held up by attendants, whereas Ke'lolo, in feathers, stands just behind her. Ke'oki kneels as he greets his parents, and then they embrace warmly and rub noses.

Malama, immense as she is, must be hoisted on board ship. She hovers horizontally above the deck, suggesting her higher position even over the American sailors and passengers, whom she welcomes with salutations of *aloha*. Rev. Hale, meanwhile, scolds Ke'oki for kneeling to his mother, which act and the sacred *mana* it honors he dismisses as nothing more than sacrilege. Malama meanwhile is hugging and greeting the white women, and tells her son Ke'oki how happy she is to see "puny *haole* women" among the foreign visitors for the first time, allowing that the visitors' intentions are not as doubtful as those of previous arrivals. In other words, she is a perceptive woman who is more than capable of making moral inferences. She hugs Jerusha upon encountering her, and Jerusha complements her on how beautiful she and husband are. Malama takes an instant liking to Jerusha and demands she stay in Lahaina to teach her to write in English. First, Rev. Hale argues, she must learn about God "without whose grace all writing is useless." Malama flares her eyes at him and snaps, "First, write. Then maybe I listen your God." Hale objects that he has not been assigned to stay in Maui. "Where you go," Malama snaps, "I not care!" But then she learns that Hale is married to Jerusha and relents.

Malama demands that Jerusha immediately start to tutor her, and in the subsequent scene, we see attendants carrying the two of them in a wooden dinghy to her palace, Rev. Hale following on foot. At the door of the palace, Malama knocks him off his feet, with her hand, when he objects to being separated from Jerusha. Seated by Malama, who reclines on pillows close by her, Jerusha begins English lessons but soon collapses exhausted. Malama pulls her over to her lap and discovers by touching her that she is newly pregnant and needs to rest. Malama is not the simple, childlike Hitihiti by any stretch of the imagination. Obviously both possess moral personhood, being hereditary elites, but she has moral agency, purpose, and decisiveness. In contrast to Captain Bligh and the Tahitian King, Rev. Hale is portrayed as rigid and weak in her presence.

In a subsequent scene Rev. Hale asks Malama for land. She absolutely refuses to cooperate until Jerusha explains that he does not want the land for himself but to build a church. Hale begins working on the project, ignoring advice from senior men who tell him that he should not have walls because of the strong winds that will blow when Malama dies. Meanwhile, Malama arrives to show Hale a letter she has written to President Monroe in Washington, DC, defending Hawaiian land rights. And then, upon receiving his praise, she asks him, "This God. How he look?" Hale declines to take the bait. "You have the sin of pride," he rebukes her. "So do you," she replies. Demanding that Malama divorce her brother–husband, and end her sinful, incestuous marriage, he strides away.

For all of his give-and-take with the chiefess, there is no mistaking Hale as depicting a high mimetic mode of leadership. He defends Hawaiians against sailors. And of course, he works to save the Hawaiians from themselves. Whaling ships arrive bearing sailors who drink and desire women. Hale intervenes when two sailors attack No'alani, the daughter of the chiefess Malama, on the beach. He screams out to them. "How can you do this to these innocent children? Have you no mothers at home? No sisters?" He goes to Malama and demands that she institute new laws. She refuses.

Two years pass. Hymns have been translated into Hawaiian. Baptisms have taken place. Malama gives in and decrees new laws. Sailors must return to their ships at dusk. Girls are forbidden to go with them. Adultery, alcohol consumption, and infanticide are banned. "Next law: everyone will love Jesus." Conflict soon arises. The ship captain rejects the new laws. The sailors come to drink at night. They set fire to Hale's church. Fighting breaks out. The sailors are driven off.

Despite all his evident missionary success, Hale's relationship to the chiefess, Malama, remains unresolved. He continues to insist that she divorce her husband–brother and end her evil, incestuous marriage before he will agree to baptize her. The demand upsets Malama because she does not see anything wrong with her husband and does not understand why she must send him away. She suddenly takes ill. Although the American doctor cannot diagnose anything wrong with her, he concludes that she is nevertheless dying. To her deathbed, a procession of nobles approach solemnly, as commoners prostrate themselves along their path. Malama calls her husband to her side and banishes him. He departs, bowing.

Hale baptizes Malama with holy water and christens her Ruth (Fig. 4). She taboos mortuary self-flagellations. A young Kamehameha asks if people may cry. Malama grants this privilege and then asks Hale for permission to hug Ke'lolo once more and tell him goodbye. He crosses the floor on his knees to her and places a garland of leaves about her. She embraces him and

FIGURE 4. **Malama lies on her deathbed. Jerusha, Rev. Hale, and her husband Ke'lolo stand by.**

whispers in his ear as they kiss. She dies. Chanting begins. A strong wind comes up. People prostrate themselves and wail. The church is destroyed by the wind, which Hale watches, having himself been knocked off his feet by the gales. Malama, unlike Hale, has now been cast as a romantic heroine whose relationship to nature is enchanted, rather than subordinate. She is superior to Hawaiian society but not to Hale's missionary zeal and colonialism with which she is acquiescent and compliant.

A few days later, Hale is seen straightening the cross at Malama's gravesite. He hears distant drumming. The scene then shifts to a succession cum wedding ritual. We see topless Hawaiians, men and women both dressed in loincloths, guarded by sentries in gourd helmets and senior men in feather capes. Malama's widower deposits the old stone figure of the great spirit, Kane, and begins to chant. Their daughter, No'alani approaches in a great, yellow feather cape. Her husband to be, Ke'oki, also in a yellow feather cape and helmet, receives an insignia *lei* from his father. The couple is covered by a tapa cloth.

Hale bursts onto the scene, screaming denunciations: "Abomination! I forbid it! Backsliders! Heretics! Heathens!" He turns to Ke'oki and shouts: "You mother will curse you from her grave!" Malama, Ke'oki answers quietly, is "not in her grave." She ordered that her bones be dug up, secretly wanting the "Hawaiians to see her buried as a Christian because they should become Christians, but she wanted Kane and Pele to know that she loved them too."

Infuriated, Hale topples the sacred statue of Kane and calls on God to destroy the Hawaiians. Malama's moral person is that of a romantic heroine. But her superiority to nature and her society is nonetheless compromised such that she may only resolve the dilemma of her marriage covertly.

A cannon shot: time has passed and an heir to the deceased *ali'i'nui* has been born to her daughter, No'alani. But the body of the infant chiefess is deformed. Jerusha tells Hale the news that the life of the baby is in danger because tradition decrees it must be killed for its deformity. "Now they will see," Hale declares, "how God rebukes apostasy!" In the meantime, Ke'oki walks with the baby and drowns her in the sea. Angrily, hearing the news of the death, Jerusha rebukes Hale for not trying to save the baby. Hale goes to the beach and picks up the baby's swaddling sheet. His moral agency is limited and in a sense inferior to us, the audience, who share Jerusha's outrage and regret.

A measles epidemic breaks out to which Hawaiians have no resistance. Hale and Jerusha exhaust themselves helping to care for the sick. Adults go to the beach to try and cool off from their fevers, Ke'oki among them. Hale finds him rolling in the sand and tries to persuade him to go home before he catches pneumonia. He tries to get Ke'oki to pray, but Ke'oki refuses, rejects God, and dies. The American doctor holds him and informs Hale that 75 percent of the Hawaiians have died since Captain Cook first discovered the islands fifty years earlier. "You and I may live to see the last Hawaiian lowered into his grave, with proper Christian services of course." Hale looks horrified and goes back home to tell Jerusha that Ke'oki "died unrepentant and went to Hell." Although he feels guilty about the dead and the dying, Hale nevertheless is certain that the epidemic is divine punishment. Jerusha disputes his view of the epidemic: "it is not God's wrath," she says, "it is a disease." The Hawaiians, she goes on, are not evil at all, but no less gentle than the first Christians. My ministry, sighs Hale, is over. Jerusha tells him to give up his wrathful God and offer the Hawaiians what has been the most difficult for him to give them and her, his love. We leave the good reverend in a low mimetic mode, his moral agency being inferior to nature, society, and perhaps to the audience as well, but the focus on the movie has entirely shifted to him; the Hawaiians are consigned to the background.

The Descendants (2011)

The dispossession of moral personhood from Pacific Islanders and its conferral upon westerners perhaps culminates in *The Descendants*, which was adapted from a novel by Kaui Hart Hemmings (2008) and was written for the screen and directed by Alexander Payne. A tragicomedy, the movie tells a realist story in a low mimetic mode about hero who appears to crosscut

Frye's classifications. He is both superior and yet equal to his society, as well as to his audience. He is both a heroic leader and a comic figure. Set in Honolulu, we see close-ups of the beautiful tropical flora growing everywhere. The movie's soundtrack, a Hollywood first being scored exclusively with Hawaiian music, is performed by influential slack-key guitarists and vocalists.

A lawyer, Matt King (George Clooney), is descended from high-ranking Hawaiians as well as nineteenth-century settler elites. He is the bearer of full moral personhood in his lineage. Because of a legal statute bearing on property held in trust over time, he alone must decide about selling what remains of the family estate over which his father appointed him sole executor. At the same time, King and his two young girls, Alexandra and Scottie, find themselves having to deal with the aftermath of a boating accident from which Elizabeth, King's wife and the children's mother, lies comatose in the hospital. King must now father his daughters and move up from being what he calls a "backup parent" in a voiceover and manage them through the challenging time.

Scottie, the younger daughter, sent an insulting text to Lonnie, a friend, about reaching puberty over the summer. After the girl's mother phones Matt King demanding an apology, father and daughter go to the cramped, petit bourgeois house, where they meet a big, mixed-race, Asian-Hawaiian woman and Lonnie, her daughter. The setting is meant to contrast with the opulence of the King's large, two-story Victorian residence, which is set back from the street and beautifully landscaped. The house is spacious and furnished comfortably, its walls are decorated with hand painted murals of old Hawai'i and photographs of eminent ancestors.

Scottie apologizes to her friend Lonnie, in a cursory way that leaves the mother unconvinced. King quickly puts his hand on Scottie's back and invites Lonnie to come for a visit. They turn to go, but are blocked when the mother declares, "I don't think she's sorry at all." Nevertheless, the daughter, motionless and unruffled, accepts it, nodding. At the doorstep, the camera looks over King's shoulder, up at Lonnie's mother, who stands above them and wishes him luck making up his mind about the land sale, particularly given how big an impact it will have on property values and everyday life. "My husband's family is from Kauai. Hanapepe town born and bred. They hope you don't sell. All that traffic it is going to make." King takes the advice with remarkable composure and cordiality, as he leaves and bustles Scottie into the car. In his accompanying voiceover, however, he complains that everybody in the state has an opinion about what he should do with the land.

Then he learns from the doctor that Elizabeth, his wife, will not recover from her head injury and will have to be removed from life support in the next few days, in accordance with her living will. King takes Scottie, the younger

daughter, to collect Alex, her sister, from boarding school on a neighboring island. Alex is depicted as a foulmouthed teenager. Angry that her parents ignore her, upon hearing that her mother will not recover, she refuses to support her father in letting others know about what has happened. "I don't want to talk about Mom with anyone." Matt King chides her, pleading in a gentle way, that she let go of whatever she and her mother had fought about over Christmas break and "grow up." Alex looks at him, "Dad, you really don't have a clue, do you?" Her mother was having an affair, she says, which the daughter discovered after accidently seeing her mother and her lover together on a sidewalk going inside a house. The camera is focused squarely on his face. Leaning forward, looking directly at the tearful Alex, King is wide-eyed and speechless. He squirms in his chair at learning the news. In apparent disbelief, he asks to know what Alex saw exactly and then demands if she knows who the guy is. Standing and pacing, King, now visibly upset, brows knitted, rubs his forehead and mouth, abruptly raises his arms to his shoulders, his hands clenched. Turning to Alex, he rubs his upper lip and chin, "Watch your sister!" Bursting through the door, he shoves his feet into a pair of moccasins and takes off past the dense greenery of the neighborhood, running down the curling street in a ridiculous, heel-toe sprint to confront some neighbors, who know both of them well. As he runs, we hear Gabby Pahinui singing "Hi'ilawa", a classic, slack-key, love song whose vernacular lyrics express the bond between people on the Big Island of Hawai'i.

King's friends confirm that Elizabeth was having an affair and tell him that she indeed was planning to get a divorce because she was head over heels for the guy, Brian Speer. Alex and Matt later go to tell Elizabeth's father the news and he insults his son-in-law for the kind of husband he was to his daughter, a cheapskate and distracted by work. Her mother apparently has a rather serious dementia. Alex, her high school friend, Sid, and Matt search for information about Elizabeth's lover and eventually discover that he is a successful real estate agent in Honolulu currently vacationing with his family on the island of Kauai. King decides to go and find him there and tell him the news about Elizabeth so that he can say goodbye to her and watch him react, face to face. Incredulous at the idea, Alex insists on going along, having become reconciled to her father because of the crisis. Scottie and Sid join the two of them.

On the flight to Kauai, we see the Hawaiian Airlines jet take off and then the image fades to a map of the route there from Oahu, lending low mimetic, realism to the story. At the same time, we are serenaded again by Gabby Pahinui, now singing "Wai O Ke Aniani," a song in Hawaiian that describes the cold mountain water of Ke Aniani, a ridge in Moanalua Valley in Honolulu.

The brief scene on the plane consists of King, the father, looking at the three children from across the aisle. He turns his head and ever so briefly catches the eye of the big, goateed Hawaiian man towering over him in the adjacent seat.

We see a quick glance from the latter man that is somewhat ambiguous, perhaps a little mistrustful. The scene switches. From behind, we see the four of them walking on the sidewalk outside the airport. We hear someone calling out King's name. It is Ralph, one of the many King cousins. Dressed in a blue Hawaiian shirt with some sort of white flower design and khaki cargo shorts, he tells King that he is returning from a business trip in Kahului, Maui. Cousin Ralph then asks King if he has come to check with some of the cousins and "make sure everybody is happy with your choice? Pay your respects to Cousin Hugh?" King protests, answering that he has come to Kauai "for a little *holoholo*, to get the kids out of town." After inquiring about whether King is going to sell the property to the highest bidder, and how Elizabeth is doing, Ralph offers to drive them to their hotel.

On the way, we hear a Hawaiian song, "Ulili E", sung by Dennis Kamakahi, which is about a little sandpiper living by the sea, singing calmly and "gracing the land/Where the sea is always calm." A close-up image of a kitschy, dark haired, doe-eyed, hula girl, with yellow garlands, wristlets, and leis sways to the music on the dashboard. As the Jeep makes its way along the coastal road, King asks Ralph to take a detour so they can take a last look at "the land." They turn off onto a dirt road and go through a gate. Cows crowd about grazing in a lush, verdant meadow. Ralph talks about a planned golf course that will rival Pebble Beach. The lovely "Ulili E" melody continues to serenade the Jeep, which winds along the one lane track. They come to a point where the road overlooks the valley down to the bay below and stone remains of a *heiau*, a Hawaiian sacred place, appear briefly as everybody walks to the edge of the hill to see the vista. "Are you shitting me? You guys own all this land?" Alex's friend Sid asks in astonishment at the vastness of the panorama stretching out before them. "Not personally," Matt explains, "it belongs to a trust." Cousin Ralph points to planned locations of a resort, a commercial area, and houses. They talk about the need to sell the property, and then Matt tells his daughters to take a "good look, girls. This is part of your great, great, great grandmother's inheritance going all the way back to Kamehameha I" (Fig. 5). Alex points to where she and her mother camped. Matt responds, "we all did, all our lives." Enviously, Scottie complains that she has been left out. "What about me? I wanna camp!" King looks at her and sighs. The camera pans over the valley and the bay below. Another selection of Hawaiian music, a love song called "Pua Hone," begins, and the image suddenly shifts to a massive statue of Poseidon standing on a pile of faux rocks set on a huge open

FIGURE 5. **Matt King and two daughters visit the family estate.**

clamshell being sprayed by water jets in the middle of a pool; it is decorating a residential community and golf course that King and his kids drive through on the way to their hotel on Hanalei Bay. The juxtaposition of a close-up shot of King holding his forehead, the Hawaiian music, and the passing imagery of suburbia perhaps suggest a sentiment of moral disquiet about the course of development on the island and/or about the prospect that lays before the cuckolded husband of the dying wife.

The search for Brian Speer, Elizabeth's lover, begins. King and kin are seen walking down the beach until dusk, talking as they go. Scottie asks her father how he met her mother. A mildly upbeat instrumental accompanies

their stroll. Now King is everyman. He spends a sleepless, dark night of the soul worrying about what a bad father he is and, in a white t-shirt, seeks counsel from his daughter's friend Sid. Upon discovering that Speer and family are staying in a beachfront cottage owned by another cousin, King seeks out its owner, "Cousin Hugh," whom he finds at a little, crowded, local watering hole called Tahiti Nui, where a trio is playing guitars and ukulele music, and asks after Speer. Cousin Hugh explains that Speer is the brother-in-law of one of the two developers bidding on the King property and will "make a shitload of money on commission" because he will handle the transactions that result. King, visibly dazed by this report, suggests that he might not go with the buyer related to Speer, although he is local, and widely supported by the family. Hugh is upset. King reassures him that he was only thinking out loud and that everything would go as the family is inclined and returns, in astonishment, to his kids. Walking back in the night to the hotel, King tells daughter Alex that he knows where Speer lives and the two determine to go there immediately. We have now arrived at the climax of the story when King confronts his comatose wife's lover on his doorstep.

Standing just below the verandah of the house, King hesitates at first to call out to Julie, Speer's wife, who has appeared as they walk up. "Don't be a pussy," Alex urges her father. He calls out to the woman and reintroduces himself (they met earlier in the day on the beach). Julie and King talk about the timing of the pending decision, when Speer bursts through the screen door offering a cheery greeting and announces himself. King reciprocates, introducing himself as Elizabeth's husband. The camera fills the frame with a wide-eyed, dumbstruck Speer (Fig. 6). King goes on to inform him about his wife's condition. "Oh, wait," he adds, "Fuck you!" He suggests that Speer might want to go see her in the hospital once more before she dies. Alex, now sneering at Speer, asks her father if this is the guy and then wonders how her mother could be attracted to him. King sarcastically observes that he is very articulate. Speer finally manages to pull himself together and express a word of sympathy about what has happened, but King and his daughter attack him for the affair. He demands that they leave immediately, but just then, his wife, who has gone inside to get drinks for their guests, emerges cheerily and wonders what everybody has been talking about so seriously in her absence. "Please tell me you are not talking about business?" Alex answers, "No. We were talking about love."

King and Speer then go inside the house ostensibly to have a look, since King spent time there vacationing as a child. Once through the door, over which a canoe paddle has been hung up as a wall decoration, the two men are seen standing at a distance from each other. The camera looks on at them behind the bar. Again realism: a jar of open pickles and a newly opened wine

FIGURE 6. **Brian Speer and wife Julie stand on their porch and greet King and his daughter.**

bottle with the corkscrew next to it have been laid out on the bar. "How'd you meet?" King blurts out. They move in parallel up to the bar. Speer explains that they met at a Superbowl party. King recognizes and names the hosts. He wants more detail. "How'd you get the nerve to ask her out? Was it about the deal? Was that when you decided she was for you?" Speer denies this motive, claiming that the affair "just happened." He tells King that his wife wanted to leave him but he didn't want her to because he loves his wife. Almost in tears, he pleads with King not to tell Julie. At King's insistent questioning, Speer goes on to tell him that Elizabeth told him that she loved him. But he did not love her. "You don't love her," King exclaims, "you were just using her to get to me!" Speer again denies this allegation. "It was an affair. The attraction was sex. She sort of got carried away with the whole thing and I guess I went with it. At least, I didn't say no to things that I should have. I love my family." They argue and then King, squirming a little, says he has a last question: "You ever been inside my bedroom?" Speer answers "twice" and King suggests that he might have had "the decency to lie about that." King tells Speer which hospital his wife is in. "That is really all I came here to say," and makes for the door. On the porch, he compliments the remodeling and the new appliances in the house. When Alex gets up to leave and Julie is about to kiss him on the cheek, King kisses her aggressively on the lips and turns to go. On the plane returning to Oahu, Sid compliments King for how he acted with Speer, not telling his wife, as he did. We hear Gabby Pahinui again singing "He'eia", a love song about a man seeking his lover on a beach, as Alex and her father worry about telling Scottie about her mother.

King must make a decision about the property. The family is to gather and vote on which bid to accept. Waking up, having fallen asleep at his desk, King drives to an old house with a tennis court and well-kept grounds. He opens up the unoccupied house, pulling back curtains. Light streams through, we hear Gabby Pahinui singing "Hi'ilawe" again, and King looks at the old photos on the walls, photos of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ancestors, all white. The scene shifts outside and we see the house and the backyard with a big tree, coconut palms, a couple of Adirondack chairs and a picnic table on the large green lawn. In the next scene, the backyard is full of kin who are putting their ballots into a wooden bowl one by one. The cousins, all dressed in Hawaiian shirts, drink beer, talk and laugh amicably. King is pictured deep in worried thought, however. He is sitting with Cousin Hugh who counts the votes and announces that the local buyer is the preference of the family. He hands King the contract but he hesitates to sign it. The image of the two original names of the estate appears briefly, the names Edward King and Margaret Ke'alohilani King. "We didn't do anything to own this land. It was entrusted to us." Shaking his head, quivering, "I can't

do it…I'm not going to sign." Angry and in shock, Cousin Hugh argues with him but King declares that he doesn't want to sell at all. He says he wants to keep the land and try to figure out how to do so. Cousin Hugh threatens to sue him. King responds:

> People will be relieved, Hugh. The whole state. I sign this document and something that we were supposed to protect is gone, forever. Now, we're haole as shit. We go to private schools and clubs and we can barely speak Pidgin, let alone Hawaiian. But we've got Hawaiian blood. We're tied to this land and our children are tied to this land. Now it's a miracle that for some bullshit reason 150 years ago we owned this much of paradise, but we do. And for whatever bullshit reason, I'm the trustee now and I'm not signing. . . .So if you want to sue me, it'll just make us closer.

He tosses the contract away and sighs in relief. In disgust, Cousin Hugh stands and draws everybody's attention to Matt. King stands, the gentle guitar music starts up again. The camera looks over his shoulders from behind and the scene shifts to the hospital where Elizabeth lays dying. Julie Speer arrives with a big bouquet of flowers. She explains to King that she has come to the bedside because her husband wouldn't. She goes on to say that Brian told her about the affair, and they have been having a hard time ever since. "And then, your family's decision with the land. I think you are doing the right thing. But Brian is . . ." she sighs. "It's so complicated and confusing." Julie asks permission to speak to Elizabeth, however comatose she is. She introduces herself to Elizabeth as Brian's wife and says that she forgives her for trying to take her husband away and for trying to destroy her family. She loses control. King leads her away from the bedside. At the door, he tells her that her husband did not love Elizabeth, and Julie responds, "I know; that's why I came."

King goes back to the bed and caresses Elizabeth's hair and kisses her on the lips, bidding her goodbye, in tears. "Good Elizabeth, my love, my friend, my pain, my joy." A soft, haunting guitar instrumental plays called "Deep in an Ancient Hawaiian Forest." Images of the King property appear on the screen, and finally, King, Alex, and Scottie, in a white outrigger canoe, with leis on, pour Elizabeth's ashes into the sea. They place their leis onto the surface. At home, King brings Scottie some ice cream. She is sitting on a couch with a blanket. Alex joins them. A show about penguins in Antarctica is on

the TV. Gabby Pahinui sings "Ka Makani Ka'ili Aloha," a song about a woman who deserts her husband and his magical efforts to bring her home.

The place of Hawaiians in *The Descendants* could not be any more remarkable inasmuch as they have been deleted. All that remains are traces of their erasure. The music, flora, place names, archaeological remains of a temple, the kitschy souvenirs, photographs, and brief appearances by actual persons, make up a Hawaiian palimpsest. The music certainly constitutes their strongest presence in, at the same time as it indexes their absence from, the movie. The music provides emotional background, or emotional expressiveness, for the King family, as if to say their hearts are Hawaiian. But, of course, lyrically it often seems that the songs are irrelevant to their actions and sentiment. In this sense, Hawaiians comprise a more acquiescent background for the moral struggle of a western person than seen in *Mutiny on the Bounty* or *Hawaii*. There is no Hitihiti or Malama in *The Descendants*. The hero of the movie is Matt King, and only Matt King. The very story is told through his voice. It is he alone who possesses moral personhood in his society. Only he possesses agency in his descent group. Only he feels the angst of having to make a decision about the land, over which he is superior. Thus, his "we're haole as shit" speech about the family's primordial relationship is spoken in a heroic, high mimetic voice. Matt King morally incorporates not only the King legacy but all Hawaiians in that moment, completely and comprehensively, like the image of the regal Leviathan in the frontispiece of Hobbes' famous treatise on political order.

At the same time, he must deal with the anguish and hurt of simultaneously being both a grieving and a cuckolded husband who must meet the challenges of fathering his two heartbroken daughters. But again, he possesses moral agency at this smaller-scale, too. He has the capacity to see paternal shortcomings and do something about them. And, in the turning point of the movie, he goes to meet his wife's lover and confronts him face to face for a moral purpose, to invite him to go the comatose woman one last time in the hospital.

Matt King is also a comic and ironic hero. In the domestic arena, he is depicted in a low mimetic mode, as inferior to nature and society, not above it. His personal life is out of his control, to say the least. His wife is dying, and nothing can be done to save her. When he travels, he must run, or drive, or take airplanes, like everybody. His voice is compromised. The camera repeatedly fills the frame with his twitches and unspoken exasperations. His children are vulgar. The middle-class mother of his younger daughter's friend scolds him for being a weak father. He doesn't know about his wife's affair and only hears about it from his teenage daughter. His wife's father ironically insults him for being a bad husband to his daughter whom he thinks has been

loyal and faithful to him. In the middle of a sleepless night, he seeks and takes counsel from his daughter's friend, another ironic figure. His daughter calls him a "pussy" when he vacillates before introducing himself to his wife's lover's wife. Why is King, a heroic leader in the public domain, portrayed in this low mimetic mode?

The movie wants to make a claim to realism. Rather than a tragic hero above society and the audience, it positions King squarely within society, despite his wealth and rank. In line with a classic theme of class denial in Hollywood, such as in *Pretty Woman* or *The Social Network*, the movie is in this way able to create empathy with, or even a feeling for, King as everyman, rather than as an elite. In the last scene of the movie, he is no tragic hero but just a dad sitting on the couch under a blanket with his daughters eating ice cream and watching TV.

***Whale Rider* (2002)**

Thus, *The Descendants* concludes with a moral image of American kinship, and, indeed, Ortner (2012) has argued that neat, happy endings are one of the distinctive features of Hollywood studio productions, driven as they are by commercial values. By contrast, she has argued, American independent movies differ in motivation and content. The content of independent movies is challenging and critical, rather than apolitical, or merely entertaining, more realist than fictional or escapist, and usually the movie does not end positively. Now, perhaps foreign independents mix the two kinds of movies that Ortner views as in a kind of a dialog. They do not necessarily criticize, or otherwise directly contest, Hollywood, but like their American counterparts, they are made for "restricted production" of like-minded consumers (Bourdieu 1993, 53). That is to say, foreign, independent movies are produced at a remove from studio values and the cosmopolitan markets to which they appeal. As such, they are oriented toward different audiences. However, they are commercial ventures no less, I would argue, than Hollywood movies, and therefore they can be both morally challenging and entertaining, both realist and fictional, and may end in an upbeat way. At least, this odd set of combinations does seem to be at play in the New Zealand movie, *Whale Rider*.

Based on the novel (1987) of the same title by the Maori writer, Witi Ihimaera, the movie focuses exclusively on a Maori community.[6] Written and directed for the screen by Niki Caro, and set on the east coast of New Zealand, it is a story of Maori living not in poverty but in very modest conditions in the present day. The people, or at least the film's two protagonists, the chief and his granddaughter, believe they descend from Paikea, an apical ancestor who escaped death when his canoe capsized by riding to shore on

the back of a whale and established a chiefly patrilineage in which succession has been reckoned by a rule of primogeniture.

The movie is very much a fantasy in Todorov's (1973) sense that its strange and improbable events are meant to provoke awe but also hesitation in Paikea's society as well as in the audience who are both left uncertain about the truth-value of their meaning, reality, or authenticity (see also Hokuwhitu 2008).[7] That is to say, in Frye's terms, the movie foregrounds a romantic heroine who saves the Maori people. Her agency is superior in degree to society, the environment, and to us. She moves through worlds, the rules of which are slightly suspended for her. Her acts of courage and endurance, which are unnatural to most, are taken for granted by her, and the enchanted weapons, talking animals, and talismans of power that she encounters or deploys do not violate order. Her exploits are the stuff of legend, folktale, and so forth. But, at the same time, she is merely a tween, a young girl, and a daughter who has parents and grandparents, like us.

The opening titles and first scene of *Whale Rider*, thus, combine realism with mystery. We first see underwater images, hear sounds of a whale serenaded by dark, foreboding music. A young female voice speaks: "In the old days, the land was waiting, waiting to be filled up, waiting for someone to love it . . . waiting for a leader. He came on the back of a whale, our ancestor, Paikea." In a hospital delivery room, the intimate, realistic drama of reproduction and family are played out. A mother, held by her husband, attended by a doctor, writhes in pain. The father looks worried. Twins are being born, but what is interesting are the close-ups and the narrative point of view they imply. We see the baby's face. We see the baby's eye. We get a blurry view of the (m)other and the father's grief. We see as through the eyes of the newborn, the surviving, second born twin, who is given the name of the culture hero, Paikea, by her father, after her twin brother and mother both die. The grandparents get out of a sedan, together with Rawiri, the father's younger brother and walk up to the modern building. The girl's voiceover returns: "Everybody was waiting for the firstborn boy to lead us. But he died and I didn't." A senior woman begins a mourning chant for the deceased mother in the Maori vernacular.

The scene shifts to the hallway where Koro, the father's father, argues with his son, Porourangi. The senior man is searching for an heir who will redeem the people from modernity. The frame is once again filled with close-ups of faces. They embrace. The younger man cries. The senior man is interested in nothing more than to see the dead grandson, the heir. Porourangi yells at him, "I've got a child. Her name is Paikea!" a name his father finds intolerable. Porourangi stalks off, leaving Koro to raise the surviving twin, Paikea, loathe as he is to do so.

Twelve or so years pass. Grandfather now rides with his happy granddaughter on a bike down a road between lush, green rolling fields and the ocean. He has become reconciled to her, and she has shown herself to have leadership qualities in the community and to be interested in the ancestors. Her father, having forsaken his obligations as firstborn son and chiefly heir, for instance, to build the ceremonial canoe, the clan *waka*, returns from Germany, where he has become an artist. We see the huge, unfinished canoe at dawn and hear Pai's voice, "My father gave up on carving his canoe after I was born." In the kitchen, Porourangi interrupts his breakfast. His father walks by, puts on his rubber boots and leaves the house. He rushes off to help him repair the blocked septic tank at the community house, the *marae*. Koro's moral leadership is superior in degree to his society. He takes care of his granddaughter in his family but cannot control his son. He looks after his community and ceremonial house, the *marae*. But lacking an heir, he is not superior to society. The Maori, for their part, are shown as living ordinary, rather than ignorant or desperately poor, lives. They are portrayed as living in a realistic mode of low mimesis.

One afternoon, boys in Pai's class laugh at her. Koro smacks one of them across the back of his head, having just pulled up on his bike to collect Pai from school. Once home, Koro starts to clean an outboard motor. Pai asks him about the origin of the Whale Rider's whale because she has to start preparing a speech for a competition at school. The whale, Koro explains, came from Hawaiiki a long time ago. He shows her the strands of which the outboard's pull rope is made. Each one, he tells her, quoting a Maori adage about Paikea, is like an ancestor. Woven together, they are strong and go "all the way back to that whale of yours." The unfinished canoe appears momentarily in the background of the scene. Koro yanks the rope to start up the motor. It snaps. He goes to get more rope. Pai ties a knot and mends the broken pieces. Ominous music begins. She attaches the rope to the starter spool and yanks it. She calls proudly to her grandfather, "It's working! It's working!" But he gets angry. "I don't want you to do that again. It's dangerous." She, as we clearly see, is hurt by his outburst. Pai possesses an extraordinary, perhaps supernatural, capacity, we are meant to conclude, that ties to her the ancestors, like her namesake, perhaps. Or, has she just fixed the motor, which is dangerous to do? At the same time, however, she is a girl with human feelings. Her grandfather, suffice it to say, recalls both Bligh's and Hale's worst intransigence and insensitivities.

The family assembles to watch a slide show that Pororaungi is to present of his art. Koro has invited Pai's teacher, a young woman, hoping to introduce her to his widower son. Some images appear of Pororaungi with a white woman and he explains that it is his German girlfriend who is pregnant.

Koro turns on the light. The group breaks up. He is angry that he has not been told about the woman and angry that his son is so disloyal to his Maori responsibilities, leaving his clan canoe unfinished. "Your work," he explodes, "is souvenirs! You have obligations!" The son contends that his father doesn't know who he is. "I know who you were born to be!" Koro snaps back. "Take your daughter. She is of no use to me." Pai runs out of the house to the empty canoe, trailed by her father. Pororaungi explains to her that the leader that Koro wants does not exist. "He wants a prophet" and that Koro hoped he would be that prophet, which he can't be. Pai answers, "Me neither" and bursts into tears. They hug and Pororaungi invites her to come back to Germany with him.

Koro, the grandfather, rides Pai around on his bike on the lawn in front of his house. She is leaving with her father. She hugs Koro who reciprocates tenderly, retreats inside the house, and watches through a window as Pai hugs Rawiti, her uncle, and her grandmother, Nanny Flowers. The family is troubled by the departure. Father and daughter drive off as Koro announces that he wants to gather the rest of Pai's cohort together, the firstborn boys only, and start to train them to be Maori leaders and choose a successor from among them. "When she was born," he tells his wife, referring to his granddaughter, "that's when things went wrong for us. [Now] . . . we will find the answer." On the road, meanwhile, Pai looks out to sea from the car and sees her father's canoe. They drive on, and we begin to hear the song of a whale. Pai's attention is drawn to the breakers. We see a huge whale swimming beneath the surface. She tells her father to stop the car and runs off to look at the sea. "I have to go home," she tells him. He hugs her, knowingly, as her gaze remains fixed on the ocean. Pai has heard the cry of the totem. She is a romantic heroine. Her moral standing vis a vis nature, others in her society and even us, her audience, is superior. Koro's moral agency is perhaps more compromised. He has diagnosed a problem in the community, or for the community, the lack of an heir. But, try as he may, he cannot do anything to correct it.

Pai finds her grandfather immersed in his leadership training project at the marae, teaching *haka* chants to the boys and how to wield the ceremonial lance (*taieha*). When she tries to join, he heatedly rebuffs her. Imperturbable, she practices by herself, despite him, and eventually takes her grandmother's kindhearted advice to go to Rawiti, her father's younger brother, for private lessons. Her tenacity comes to a head when the boys chant for parents and well wishers in the marae. The father of Hemi, one of the boys, comes back from town to see his son perform. The boy finishes, and the father immediately goes off with his crew of young gangbanger men to drink. Abandoned, Hemi is broken-hearted. Paikea has been walking about practicing moves with her staff and finds her friend moping. She tries to offer

sympathy but only makes him angry. He charges her with his taieha and they fight. Paikea knocks Hemi's stick out of his hands and it falls to the ground, at which moment Koro, who has overheard the clacking of the sticks inside, appears and picks up the weapon. Seething, he screams to Pai,

> Do you know what you've done? . . . You've broken the *tapu* on this *marae*, the one place it is always upheld! The knowledge . . . passed down from my grandfather to me, you've broken! . . . You're not sorry. Right from the beginning you knew this wasn't for you. But you kept coming back! Do you want me to fail? Do you want these boys to fail?

He demands, in his rage, that she apologize, and turns away. Pai shows the skill of a boy, and the moral agency of a heroic leader. Her grandfather, by contrast, fails to see what we have surely begun to recognize about Pai. Although a girl, she is what her grandfather seeks, his heir.

Koro takes half a dozen boys out in a boat to go dive for a whale tooth he has been wearing around his neck. They anchor off shore in front of grey, striated cliffs, which look like a big whale. Koro tosses the tooth into the water and it slowly sinks. Whichever boy retrieves it will be the heir, he tells them, this is the test that will determine the next leader. One by one, the boys dive after it. None succeeds, however, and, as it nestles among the leafy plants on the sea-bottom, Koro collapses into a state of depression. The music is gloomy as he retreats to bed. Pai goes to stay with her uncle and his wife. Koro sits on the edge of his bed, slumped, chanting a dirge-like plaintive call to "the ancient ones. But they weren't listening," Pai explains in a voiceover. In tears, she stands in the clan canoe and begins to chant as well. We see whales beneath the surface swim about in the emerald water. And the music is that of enchantment. Not only is Pai her grandfather's heir, she possesses her namesake's connection to nature. She can move through worlds, whose rules are suspended for her.

In a subsequent scene, Pai is out in the dinghy with her uncle Rawiti, his wife, and two male friends near the spot where Koro tossed the whale's tooth into the water. She asks her uncle where her grandfather lost it and says she will go after it. She dives in and everybody in the boat waits with increasing anxiety, as she stays under the water for what seems to be too long. We see the flowing, green flora and the whale's tooth as Pai thinks about her grandfather's depression while she swims. Her uncle anxiously dives in as his wife looks on. Suddenly, a large lobster appears on the gunwale of the dinghy. Pai

FIGURE 7. **Paikea, in tears, gives her speech about breaking the lineage of chiefs because she is a girl.**

has brought it up for her grandfather. Rather nonchalantly, she also tosses the whale's tooth on top of the crustacean. When her uncle shows it to Nanny Flowers, her grandmother, who is at home folding laundry, he asks her if she will tell Koro the news, which she says she won't do. "He's not ready yet." Ethereal music begins. Wispy, cirrus clouds swirl in the sky. Sand blows lightly up the empty beach. We see the unfinished clan canoe. Pai, it is now confirmed, is Paikea, the whale rider.

In the build up to the movie's climax, Pai wins a prize for the best speech at school and invites her beloved grandfather, who does not appear, to the award presentation. As she and her classmates sing and dance, Koro walks alone on the beach in the dark. He has had a supernatural sense that has drawn him there. Meanwhile, Pai receives her award and begins her speech, which, tears streaming down her face, she dedicates to Koro (Fig. 7). She talks about the lineage of chiefs going back to Paikea, the *Whale Rider*, into which she is born, but which she has broken because of her gender. On the beach, Koro encounters a whole pod of whales lying in the shallow rollers, still alive, but moaning and struggling to breath. "Who is to blame?" he mutters. Meanwhile, Pai is chanting the whaler rider's call to the ancestors for help.

The scene shifts back to the beach, where the family and community have now gathered. Koro is still demanding to know who is to blame. We see through a whale's eyes and then we see a close-up of Pai's eye. She is in bed but has awoken and is upset. She looks out to the beach and sees the beached whales. "I called them and they came. But it wasn't right. They were dying," she thinks to herself. The community is working hard, pouring water over the whales and covering them up with wet sheets. Pai's uncle supports their efforts. Pai herself is seen standing alone in her father's big canoe watching the biggest whale of them all. As her grandfather chants in Maori to the whale, she thinks in a voiceover, "It is Paikea's whale, sent to us because we got in trouble." Koro has the idea that, if they turn the big whale round with a tractor and get it back in the water, the rest of the pod will follow it. Uncle Rawiti runs off to get the men together.

Pai touches a barnacle on the whale's skin (Fig. 8). "Leave it," Koro bellows at her. "You've done enough." She gives him a pained look and withdraws. The men come with a thick rope and attach it to the whale's tale as the rollers drench them. Everyone pushes. The men pull the rope. The tractor pulls. Nanny Flowers chants in Maori. The rope breaks. "He wanted to die," Pai concludes in a voiceover. The community walks back down the beach in the shallows, exhausted and defeated. Pai approaches the whale and feels its skin and barnacles that she kisses with her nose. The music is ethereal and strange. Pai climbs up the barnacles and sits astride the whale's back. Giving the whale a kick with her heel, it responds and slowly begins to move. Uncle Rawiti looks back and notices that the big whale is gone. Nanny Flowers cries out, "Where is she?" She sees the distant image of Pai in the water riding the whale followed by the pod. Koro is wide-eyed by the sight. She looks back at him as the whale takes Pai underwater and resurfaces. "I wasn't scared to die," she thinks in a voiceover. She holds onto a barnacle as the whale pulls her under again. Her grandmother cries on the beach, turns to Koro, who stands alone. The youth of the chiefly training school chant in Maori. Nanny Flowers walks up to Koro and gives him the whale's tooth. "Which one?" he asks. "What do you mean, which one?" she snaps back at him and walks away. Slack jawed, he holds the tooth and finally grasps who his granddaughter is. We see the whales underwater. Pai lets go her grip and drifts off. The music is miraculous, almost new-agey.

Koro answers the phone at home in his bathrobe. The scene shifts to the hospital, where the family drinks tea in the waiting room. Koro sits by Pai's bedside and prays to her in subtitled Maori, "Wise leader, forgive me," he says, "I am just a fledgling new to flight." She wears the necklace with the big whale's tooth. We see images of whales swimming underwater. Pai awakens

FIGURE 8. **Paikea rides the whale.**

and looks at her grandfather who raises his head and looks back at her in shame, perhaps, and love. Now the music has become ominous.

In the final scene, Pai's father's big clan canoe is launched. Its prow, with the *Whale Rider* motif, has been decorated with feathers. The canoe is lifted onto rollers and pushed into the water, Pai's father taking the lead. Men and women, dressed traditionally, eyes flaring, chant a *haka* aggressively. Pai's German wife looks on, pregnant. The great canoe is stroked off by dozens of rowers as Pai, sitting next to her grandfather in the middle, chants in Maori. Pai smiles at her grandfather and thinks, again in a voiceover, that she is part of a long line of chiefs who descend from the whale rider. We see the canoe from behind as it pulls away from us and we hear chanting in Maori set to a contemporary cadence as the closing titles begin over a black background.

Whale Rider is a fantasy that confounds the boundaries between what is real and what is extraordinary. Can we believe the imagery of Pai as Whale Rider? She is ultimately confirmed as a romantic heroine, who fills her grandfather's dreams for tribal/Maori redemption, but the movie cannot but stop short of being credible and realistic. The transformation of an isolated Maori community in remote New Zealand, out of its anomie, alcohol and drug use, generational conflict, global influence, and lack of work and resources cannot be accomplished by a twelve-year-old girl, claiming to be the reincarnation of an ancestral culture-hero. Instead, the meaning of *Whale Rider* can be

coopted into feminism, narratives of the progress of modernity, universalism, and equality. In this sense, *Whale Rider* is not an exception to the view of the moral agency of Pacific Islanders in comic or otherwise inferior modes of low mimesis. In *Whale Rider* a pseudo realism ends in a dramatic act of romantic heroism; that is, we see a Maori community revitalized by little more than its dreams.

Conclusion

The tragic representation of Captain Bligh as superior to others in shipboard society, but not to civilian stratification, and not to the audience's ethical sensibilities, and certainly not to nature, closely matches Frye's criteria of high mimetic leadership. The comic representation of King Hitihiti, however, as ingenuous and intellectually deficient both does and does not fit the criteria of his mode of irony, since "the King" is clearly a regal figure in his society, rather than an absolutely inferior one, and his subjects appear in a productive, fruitful relationship to nature rather than a struggle. Therefore, in this singular exception to his rank, however Bligh ceremonially acknowledges it, the audience[8] is presented with images of two leaders not meant at all to be viewed as equals. Moreover, we are left with Bligh's foibles, the ethical standards of his captaincy that he is represented as disregarding, deficiencies that imply a critique of this moral vision. If Bligh is cruel, so too is the west, in a word. But he is famously redeemed for audiences by Fletcher Christian and his mutineers. The same cannot be said for the Tahitians.

The Rev. Hale is paired with the chiefess Malama in *Hawaii*, and again we are presented with a high mimetic foreground of a morally superior man who nonetheless struggles with great dilemmas. Malama is more complicated than Hitihiti, however, and although she appears as a romantic heroine to a certain extent, she is still relegated to the movie's background. She certainly is afforded moral superiority. We see not one but multiple dimensions of her agency: over local and colonial society, as well as over nature. She also has a moral predicament, which is that she must give up her loving brother–husband to be baptized. She complies with Christianity and Hale, of course, acknowledging their moral superiority, only to defy them surreptitiously. Her secret disinterment and reburial were an act of resistance or in Scott's famous phrase, a weapon of the weak (1985), against missionary authority to show that she had not consented to its dominance. But as Scott argued, such tactics are hidden because of the oppressed, inferiority of the subalterns who employ them.

Now Matt King in *The Descendants* brings this kind of Hollywood colonialism to its fullest, most comprehensive, expression. Here, the Pacific Island-

ers have been entirely removed from the story. All that basically remains of them is their music and, to an extent its hero, who has assimilated them into his "blood" and feels guilty about their exclusion. However, this paternalistic stance, which recalls that of Rev. Hale in *Hawaii*, is made palatable through the voice of an otherwise comic western hero, who is one of, or perhaps inferior to, us, the audience.

Whale Rider was made in New Zealand and not Hollywood. That is to say, it was made outside central norms of the motion picture industry and was meant to appeal to a different market, but it crossed over, and having done so, we can justifiably ask to what extent it challenged or constituted an indie protest against the low mimetic, ironic representation of Pacific Islanders that we saw in *Mutiny on the Bounty* and *Hawaii*. My view, in brief, is that *Whale Rider* does not do anything of the sort. Instead, it features a genre Todorov calls the fantastic, the fantastic being defined for him as a hesitation of characters and readers when encountering events and persons, to know or decide whether they are real. The fantastic is not the uncanny, the grotesque, the magical, or the supernatural in fiction. It depicts a realistic world of living people in which questions arise, questions about the reality of phenomena to characters in that society, but which are not clearly answered, either for them or for us, the audience (Todorov 1973, 33). Pororangi, Pai's father, is skeptical that an heir of the sort Koro seeks can be found. But Koro is left standing immobilized on the beach, watching the improbable image of his granddaughter riding the huge whale just offshore. At the same time, the patent realism of the setting, made up of rusting outboard motors, gang-banger youth, telephones, laundry that must be folded, and the school day, is convincing. Pai is a romantic heroine, a girl who is but cannot be.

In being so contradictory, *Whale Rider* offers no argument for universalism, progressive humanism, or cultural relativism (Lutz and Collins 1993). It rather joins *Mutiny on the Bounty*, *Hawaii*, and *The Descendants* in endorsing the longstanding Orientalist vision espoused by the culture industry (Adorno 1991) of the inferior moral personhood of Pacific Islanders, the vision that rationalized the colonial and now continues to support the neoliberal ambitions of the West over their natural resources, identities, and societies. Also, it is a vision, needless to say, that sells a product.

NOTES

1. I would argue that this is the case not only for Hollywood movies portraying Pacific Islanders (see Wilson 2000; Edwards 2001; Brislin 2003), but for all movies in which nonwestern peoples and cultures appear. For example, see Marchetti 1993; Rollins and O'Connor 1998; Shaheen 2003; Seshagiri 2006.

2. The literature on the representation of Pacific Islanders in Hollywood has been largely written by cultural studies, rather than by anthropology and, thus, has been oriented by literary, not social, theory (e.g. Man 1991; Wilson 2000; Lyons 2006).

3. The very first filming of the story predated the 1935 Irving Thalberg/MGM version: it was a 1915 silent Australian picture. There was also a 1933 New Zealand film *In the Wake of the Bounty,* a primitive, studio-bound early talkie most notable as the first picture of future star Errol Flynn, who played Fletcher Christian. The 1962 version was directed by Lewis Milestone, who replaced Carol Reed early on location shooting. The screenplay was written by Charles Lederer (with uncredited input from Eric Ambler, William L. Driscoll, Borden Chase, John Gay, and Ben Hecht. *Mutiny on the Bounty* was filmed in the Ultra Panavision 70 widescreen process, the first motion picture so credited. It is notable for its location photography in the South Pacific and its musical score by Bronislaw Kaper. When the movie premiered in the United States, it opened to mostly negative reviews. The 1962 movie was nominated for seven Oscars but won none.

4. Actually, Bligh was unusually progressive for a Royal Navy officer of his time and cared deeply for his crew, carefully noting the decent rations and overall good health and morale of the crew, even to the point of requiring dances and music each evening to help keep the crews spirits up.

5. The *New York Times* reviewer, Vincent Canby, wrote "Not since Rev. Mr. Davidson went after Sadie Thompson has Protestant Christian proselytism come off so poorly on screen." <http://movies.nytimes.com/movie/review?res=9E02E4D7143BE63ABC4952DFB667838D679EDE> This latter reference is to the (1928) silent film *Sadie Thompson* in which a young prostitute (played by Gloria Swanson) encounters a zealous missionary in American Samoa who wants to take her back home to San Francisco.

6. The movie grossed US$41 million. Keisha Castle-Hughes, then aged twelve, was nominated for an Oscar for Best Actress and became the youngest nominee. The movie was nominated for twenty-nine other awards and won twenty-eight.

7. Hokuwhitu (2008) complains bitterly about just this issue, which in his view ignores the "violent . . . disruption caused by colonialization" (2008:128) and promulgates a patrilineal, patriarchal fiction that distorts and subjugates Maori masculinity and culture, thus to become a "dangerous film for the project of Maori decolonization" (2008, 133).

8. Although the movie was the sixth-highest grossing film of 1962, it lost money because of a runaway budget.

REFERENCES

Adorno, Theodor
1991 *The culture industry: Selected essays on mass culture,* ed. J.M. Bernstein. London: Routledge.

Aristotle
1953 *The poetics: On the art of fiction,* trans. L.J. Potts. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre
1993 *The field of cultural production: Essays on art and literature*, ed. Randal Johnson. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

Brislin, Tom
2003 "Exotics, erotics and coconuts: Stereotypes of Pacific Islanders." In *Images that injure: Pictorial stereotypes in the media*, ed. Paul M. Lester and Susan D. Ross, 103–12. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Dening, Greg
1998 "'Captain Bligh' as mythic cliché: The films." In *Screening the past: Film and the representation of history*, ed. Tony Barta, 19–44. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Descendants, The
2011/2012 DVD. Directed by Alexander Payne. Beverly Hills, CA: Twentieth Century Fox Home Entertainment LLC.

Douglas, Mary
1970 *Purity and danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo*. New York: Routledge and Keegan Paul.

Durkheim, Emile
1912/1995 *The elementary forms of the religious life*, trans. Karen E. Fields. New York: Free Press.

Edwards, Justin D.
2001 Polynesian paradises: Explorations in the Hollywood island drama. *American Studies in Scandanavia* 33:12–25.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E.
1976 *Witchcraft, oracles and magic among the Azande*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Fortes, Myer
1962 "Ritual and office in tribal society." In *Essays on the ritual of social relations*, ed., Max Gluckman, 53-88. Manchester Univ. Press.

Frye, Northrop
1957 *The anatomy of criticism: Four essays*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

Hawaii
1966 DVD. Directed by George Roy Hill. Beverly Hills, CA: Metro Goldwyn Mayer, 2005

Hemmings, Kaui Hart
2008 *The descendants*. New York: Random House.

Hokuwhitu, Brendan
2008 The death of Koro Paka: "Traditional" Maori patriarchy. *Contemporary Pacific* 20 (1): 115–41.

Ihimaera, Witi
1987 *The whale rider.* Auckland: Reed.

Levi-Strauss, Claude
1967 "The story of Asdiwal." In *The structural study of myth and totemism*, ed. E. Leach, 1–47. London: Tavistock.

Lutz, Catherine, and Jane Collins
1993 *Reading National Geographic*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Lyons, Paul
2006 *American pacificism: Oceania in the US imagination.* New York: Routledge.

Man, Glenn K.S.
1991 Hollywood Images of the Pacific. *East–West Film Journal* 5 (2): 16–27.

Marchetti, G.
1993 *Romance and the new "yellow peril": Race, sex and discursive strategies in Hollywood fiction*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Michener, James
1959 *Hawaii*. New York: Random House.

Mutiny on the Bounty
1962 DVD. Directed by Carol Reed. Beverly Hills, CA: Warner Brothers, 2006.

Nordhoff, Charles, and James N. Hall
1932 *Mutiny on the bounty*. New York: Little Brown.

Ortner, Sherry
2012 Against Hollywood: American Independent Film as a Critical Cultural Movement. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 2 (2): 1–21.

Pew, Curtis E.
2000 Mutiny on the Bounty (ex-Bethis). *Journal of Maritime Law and Commerce* 31 (4): 609–14.

Read, K.E.
1955 Morality and the concept of the person among the Gahuku-Gama. *Oceania* 25 (4): 233–82.

Rollins, Peter C., and John E. O'Connor
1998 *Hollywood's Indian: The portrayal of the Native American in film*. Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky Press.

Scott, James
1985 *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.

Seshagiri, Urmila
2006 Modernity's (Yellow) Perils: Dr. Fu-Manchu and English Race Paranoia. *Cultural Critique* 62:162–94.

Shaheen, Jack G.
2003 *Reel bad Arabs: How Hollywood vilifies a people*. Northampten, MA.: Olive Branch Press

Smith, Bernard
1960/1985 *European vision and the South Pacific, 1768–1850. A study in the history of art and ideas*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Todorov, Tzvetan
1973 *The fantastic: A structural approach to a literary genre*. Cleveland, OH: Case Western Reserve Univ. Press.

Whale Rider
2002 DVD. Directed by Niki Caro. Culver City, CA.: Columbia TriStar Home Entertainment, 2003.

Wilson, Rob
2000 *Reimagining the American Pacific: From South Pacific to Bamboo Ridge and beyond*. Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press.

FROM COLONIAL POMP TO TOURISM REALITY: COMMODIFICATION AND CANNIBALIZATION OF THE FIJIAN FIREWALKING CEREMONY

Guido Carlo Pigliasco
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

> In 1935 the rite [firewalking] was performed before two members of the British Medical Association. The eminent doctors examined the men carefully before and after the ceremony. . . . The men of Mbengga [sic], not knowing of these learned disputations, unconcernedly carry on the strange custom of their ancestors (Luis Marden, *National Geographic*, October 1958: 560–61).

> The Fijians had another way of disposing of the bodies. They ate them. . . . This was a culture devoted to killing, and when there wasn't an enemy around to meet their needs, chiefs took to killing the commoners among them (J. Maarten Troost, *Getting Stoned with Savages: A Trip through the Islands of Fiji and Vanuatu*, 2006, 175).

Introduction

The Fijian firewalking ceremony (*vilavilairevo*), traditionally performed only by members of the Sawau community on the island of Beqa, is a prime example of a propitiation ritual that has become romanticized and subsequently commodified to suit the requirements of tourism. Over the last two centuries, the ceremony has been shaped by the requirements of tourism as well as those of colonial pomp and circumstance, finally emerging as a

Pacific Studies, Vol. 38, Nos. 1/2—Apr./Aug. 2015

signature brand statement of Fijian national culture (Pigliasco and Colatanavanua 2005; Pigliasco 2010; Pigliasco and Lipp 2011). Vilavilairevo, literally "jumping into the earth oven," belongs to that set of topics haphazardly pillaged and investigated by scientists, psychologists, folklorists, missionaries, travel writers, and anthropologists. This traditional cultural expression, owned by the Naivilaqata priestly clan of the Sawau community of Beqa, has been often misconceived and misrepresented, with the result of a degradation and debasement of their beliefs and actions.[1]

The earliest commentators on the cross-cultural phenomenon of Fijian firewalking speculated about the body–mind relationship of people undergoing the ordeal. Some early scholars found the "paranormal" aspect of firewalking especially alluring, whereas others attempted "scientific" observations. The history of scientific investigation of the firewalk is largely a history of skepticism, however. Some recorded the temperature of the bed of burning coals or hot rocks (Haggard 1903), determined how long the feet of the firewalkers were in contact with the fire, and measured the flow of blood to their feet and the thickness of their calluses (Marden 1958: 560–61; see also Danforth 1989, 208). In Beqa, Fulton (1903, 191) took samples of the stones used by firewalkers.[2] Some early observers tried walking on fire themselves.[3] A few burned their trousers (Langley 1901), and in 1892, Lady Thurston casually dropped her handkerchief in the fire to see if it would burn (Lindt 1893, 52; Jackson 1894, 73; Thomson 1894, 204).

An even greater interest in the sensational and spectacular emerges in the travel and tourist literature. These articles are essential for understanding the dialogical construction of the modern spectacle from the point of view of the tourist. A clichéd equation stands out in some of the anthropological literature as well: vilavilairevo equals tourism. Most of the accounts place the vilavilairevo ceremony at the heart of their arguments on commodification and staged or emergent authenticity (Thompson 1973; Rajotte 1978a,b; Britton 1979; Henning-Brown 1984; Crick 1989; Smith 1989; Burns 1993, 1994, 2003; Stymeist 1996; Linnekin 1997; Wood 1997; Stanley 1998; see also Sarah Oram, unpubl. manuscript, The impact of tourism on two Fijian villages: A comparison of Rukua and Lalati on Beqa Island, Fiji, Jesus College, Cambridge Univ., 1997). "Emergent authenticity" is a term coined by Cohen (1988), stressing one aspect of the wider phenomenon of "invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). It connotes that "a cultural product, or trait thereof, which is at one point generally judged as contrived or inauthentic, may, in the course of time, become generally recognized as authentic even by experts" (Cohen 1988: 279–80).

My initial interest in studying tourism from an anthropological perspective was to look at the intersection of intellectual property and cultural tourism to disentangle the intertwined topics of property, commodification, tradition,

and change on the island of Beqa and understand the ways in which the vilavilairevo ceremony is reshaped. More recently, I also became interested in understanding how tourism reaches and changes the relationship between cultural products and the society that produces them. In Mortensen and Nicholas's (2010, 11) words, "Nearly everywhere, tourism makes the potential commodity value of cultural heritage more apparent and more accessible."

In the contemporary context of media promotion and the burgeoning industry of world tourism, indigenous rituals that have become commodified represent a well-defined and highly active point of contact between local and global realities. In such ritual performances, and in the organizational and discursive practices that support them, indigenous and globalized systems of identity, economics, law, and aesthetics interact in dialogic processes of representation and transformation.

Here, I intend to examine how culture, taste, and values may function to legitimate the power of dominant cultural and social forces in representing traditional cultural expressions like the vilavilairevo ceremony of the Sawau people and what impacts these have. Although a preoccupation with authenticity has motivated much of the contemporary writing on tourism, the issue Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994) observe appears to be more one of "authentication," that is, who has the power to represent whom. Said (1978), Foucault (1980), Appadurai (1986), Marcus and Myers (1995), Trask (1993), and others suggest that the power to represent or to consume other cultures is a form of "domination." In this paper, however, I employ the concept of cultural cannibalization, a western ideological device, a colonial tool, and a particular tourist gaze to consume, and to represent for popular consumption, the alien Other in Fiji and Oceania in general.

Accidental Cannibals, Exotic Arenas

Early colonial accounts indicate that the vilavilairevo ceremony was being performed to entertain colonial representatives and foreign dignitaries visiting Fiji by the end of the nineteenth century (NM 1885; Lindt 1893; Thomson 1894; Hocken 1898; Jackson 1899; Haggard 1903; Allardyce 1904). All accounts mention the name of the native intermediary who arranged for vilavilairevo to be exhibited on the Island of Beqa: Jonacani Dabea, the Turaga-ni-Lewa i Taukei mai Rewa (Native Stipendiary Magistrate of Rewa), a *bete* (member of the priestly clan) originally from Rukua village in Beqa (NM 1885; Lindt 1893; Thomson 1894; CF 1907). Whether the first colonial officials who traveled to Beqa to witness the vilavilairevo were emulating the grand voyages of Stendhal or were just proto-tourists, Jonacani Dabea can be seen as the first "impresario" of the vilavilairevo spectacle (Pigliasco 2010) (Fig. 1).

FIGURE 1. **Jonacani Dabea (third from right) with a group of firewalkers, probably at Korowa, Beqa. Courtesy Rod Ewins's private collection.[4]**

As a result of missionary and colonial activity and education, money became a main factor of change in Pacific island economies as people pursued wealth and prestige. Boyd (1985), for example, argues that the emergence of the *singsing bisnis* in Papua New Guinea's Eastern Highlands should be understood within the context of post-colonial tourist pressures that radically altered the political economy of the region. The Fijian village economy differs from capitalist economy thus, commodification is not the best term for explaining the monetization of the vilavilairevo ceremony. Diachronically, it appears to have been an innocuous economic process. It allows the whole community to be engaged, while preserving and emphasizing the authority structure and traditional knowledge of the social order and sociocultural relationships (*kila ni bula vakaveiwekani kei naitovo*) as the chief, the Tui Sawau, and the Naivilaqata *turaga ni matataqali* (head of the priestly clan) direct the mode and volume of production.

The entrepreneurship related to the vilavilairevo ceremony represents a small-scale cash-generating enterprise, which is expected to yield substantial long-term financial returns to the participants and their kin. Unlike Papua New Guinea's singsing, the returns and prestige accumulated with the vilavilairevo in Beqa are communally shared. However, a tendency toward more self-interested endeavors emerged in the early 1970s among a new cat-

egory of entrepreneurs and promotional agents. Currently, seven groups from the Sawau *yavusa* are performing vilavilairevo on a regular basis, approved by the Tui Sawau and the Naivilaqata priestly clan elders in Dakuibeqa, for a total of more than one hundred male individuals between fifteen and sixty-five years old entitled to perform it. There are five groups on Beqa: three from Dakuibeqa, one from Naceva, and one from Soliyaga;[5] outside Beqa, there are two groups: one from the neighbor island of Yanuca and one from Lepanoni settlement in Deuba on Viti Levu.

The interplay between romance and realism, along with the construction of authenticity, is a complex representational process reflecting past international folklore exhibitions, human showcases, and exotic antiquities. Between the end of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century, exotic postcards marked genuineness. They circulated idealized images of natives while promoting tourism (Desmond 1999, 43). Generally only available at remote tourist locations, they became specimens and trophies guaranteeing reality (Stewart 1984). To be alluring, they had to mix exotic scenery with exotic natives, preferably depicted as primitives living in the past.

Colonial photography is more than mere representation or objectification but is, according to Bacchilega (2007, 13, 19), a form of "translation." Lutz and Collins argue that, "the multiplicity of looks is at the root of a photo's ambiguity, each gaze potentially suggesting a different way of viewing the scene" (1993, 215). For example, postcards moved across oceans reproducing the racial theories and stereotypes that assisted European expansionism and the binary opposition of civility versus savagery (Maxwell 1999, 9, 14). In Fiji, rare postcards showing the vilavilairevo ceremony represented the exotic to tourists who wanted to see real natives in their native environment doing real native things (Desmond 1999, 120) (Fig. 2).

What matters, Bacchilega (2007, 20) points out, is that "these stereotypical images were accepted as 'real'," and the coded realism of photographs of faraway places and peoples was thus seen to provide more powerful "evidence" than words (Maxwell 1999, 11). In Lutz and Collins' (1993, 215) words, "we are captured by the temptation to view the photographs as more real than the world or at least as a comfortable substitute for it." The situation in the past was not much different from the situation in contemporary times. Baudrillard (2001) observes that, in the era of the media and consumer society, people have fewer and fewer relationships to external reality; they are caught up in the play of images. Brookfield notes (1989) that the developed world loves the Pacific that it has created through its own mythology. Thus, cannibals, headhunters, indigenous warriors, and "profane" rituals have been domi-

FIGURE 2. **Firewalking at Korowa on Beqa. Courtesy of Rod Ewins's private collection.**

nant in the play of images since the advent of cultural tourism. In tourist postmodern reality, the Fijian firewalkers have been often misrepresented and conflated with cannibals and sorcerers by both tourist practitioners (McDermott 1978) and anthropologists.[6] As Mortensen and Nicholas (2010, 11) point out, "it takes but a moment to snap and upload a picture of a sacred site to a travel blog. What are the implications and effects of such

FIGURE 3. **A postcard on sale in the hotels and airports in Fiji. The routinized presentation of the firewalking evening show at the Naviti Resort on Viti Levu's Coral Coast is designed to elicit cannibal nostalgia in a tongue-in-cheek manner: "For those who would like to take photos you can move in a little bit closer, take a quick one . . . move in closer, but not too close! These men haven't had a white man for years . . . one white man was cooked in this kind of pit, that was long time ago, the missionary Mr. Thomas Baker, if you go to the [Fiji] Museum, you will only see a bit of the sole of his shoes, the cannibals they ate his shoes too, good chewing gum! [audience laughing]."[7]**

practices that may threaten the special character of a ritual performance? When, how and to whom does it matter?" (Fig. 3).

The time of cannibal tours, it seems, has not ended yet but merely been reformulated for the fast-paced modern capitalist economy. Lindenbaum and others argue that primitivism, and especially the icon of the cannibal, retains much of its ideological force (MacCannell 1992b, 19; Schutte 2003, 473; Lindenbaum 2004, 491). Lutkehaus (1989, 423), for example, points out the metaphysical aspect of the western fascination with the exotic "Primitive Other" when a group of rich tourists cruising up the "mysterious" Sepik River in Papua New Guinea are caught by the camera of Dennis O'Rourcke in his much-discussed docu-film *Cannibal Tours* (1981). MacCannell (1988:45 in

FIGURE 4. **The cover of the Arts Village 2005 brochure. Courtesy of the Arts Village.**

Lutkehaus 1989, 427) observes that, "a lesson of the film is that the New Guineans experience their myths as myths, while the tourists experience their myths as symptoms of hysteria" (Fig. 4).

O'Rourke believes that voyeurism and nostalgia are both fueling myths like those of the Noble Savage and cannibalism (see Kilgour 1998, 247). In more recent times, to serve cultural tourists with a spoonful of nostalgia, instead of "importing" the tourists to the village, in Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's

FIGURE 5. **Firewalking show at the Beqa Lagoon Resort. Photography by the author.**

words (1998, 61), "the village is exported." There are different ways in which the tourist site produces the desired effect. The largest resorts and the Arts Village host firewalking shows in "firewalking arenas" lit by *tiki* torches.[8] Bleachers under a semicircular thatched roof are about ten feet away from the pit in the middle of the arena. A statuesque Fijian welcomes the public at the entrance to the arenas at the Warwick Hotel and at Fijian-Shangri-La Resorts. The arenas resemble movie sets more than open-air stages; they are transformed into recognizable versions of the exotic landscapes seen in films and reality shows such as *Survivor* (see Stanley 1998, 20).

At Beqa Lagoon Resort on Beqa Island, shows are held once a week at sunset, a few yards from the beach. Combining the wild and the civilized, the atmosphere is very colonial-chic with tiki torches blowing in the breeze and rattan chairs placed for the occasion around the *lovo* (fire pit). The guests usually emerge from the bar's veranda with their aperitifs and cameras a few minutes before the firewalkers make their colorful entrance. There are no restrictions on the guests, who circulate during the show, taking pictures and even touching the firewalkers' feet. Right after the show, before dinner is served, guests mingle and have their photographs taken with the firewalkers. This temporary intimacy allows guests to ask questions, usually about the firewalkers' "paranormal" power and analgesia (Fig. 5).

FIGURE 6. **The Royal Davui webpage promoting their firewalking show for their guests.**

A similar mise-en-scène is offered at the Royal Davui on Ugaga Island just across from Beqa, one of the top five luxury resorts in Fiji. The resort's online advertisement promises a "*new* legendary Fijian Firewalking experience," subverting the clichéd image of the *dauvila* in the pit by offering just a close up of a young dauvila wearing a colorful ceremonial wreath (*salusalu*), creating a sense of intimacy. Here, the guests descend from the Banyan Bar & Lounge at their discretion; there are no announcements, stage managers, recitations of the legend, or assigned seating area. This also allows a relaxed intimacy as guests stand around the performance space sipping their drinks. The scenes at both these resorts probably contribute to what Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett call "tourism realism" (1994). This kind of realism can be distinguished from the vulgar simulation of authenticity offered at all the other hotels and the Arts Village. This calculated "realism" has enough spectacle mixed with exotic danger to be credible but not too much to disturb the guests (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994). As with the Mayers Ranch performance of the Maasai in East Africa, the example Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett discuss, firewalking becomes experience theater built on improvisational, kinesthetic, tactual, and intimate principles, where indigenous performances and indigenous bodies, detached from their cultural context, are marked, polished, and immediately offered to the guests (Fig. 6).

Cultural Icons, National Symbols

It's been more than a decade since Vilsoni Hereniko, like many other Pacific Island scholars, has pointed out that most Pacific Island nations have a tendency to project stereotyped images incurring in unplanned discrepancies

FIGURE 7. **Souvenirs appropriating the firewalking trope on sale at Nadi's International Airport. Photography by the author.**

between these romantic images and the modernization of the national character (Hereniko 1999, 157). In his analysis of tourism for nation building and the invention of national identity in Fiji, Bossen (2000) observes that the state may become the organizer of cultural reproductions and licensing authority concerning the authenticity and quality of products and souvenirs sold to tourists. Also, the state may become the arbiter of conflicts between ethnic groups that compete with each other and the state for access to the opportunities provided by tourism, as in Fiji's pending Decree to Protect the Indigenous Intellectual Property Rights in Traditional Knowledge and Expressions of Culture (Pigliasco 2009a, 2011) (Fig. 7).

In 1885 and 1892, the firewalking ceremony was performed before a viceregal party, a few colonial officials, various chiefs from Viti Levu, and 500 natives. As Bigay et al. (1981) and Crosby (1988) speculate, it is possible that the village or villages involved received some form of compensation from Thurston's government, although neither Lindt (1893, 51) nor Hocken (1898, 668) mention recompense (Fig. 8).

According to Rukuan elder Aporosa Bulivou, firewalking exhibitions were not yet deterritorialized and commercialized at the time a group of firewalkers from Rukua and Dakuibeqa was invited to participate in the New Zealand International Exhibition held in Christchurch in 1906. They performed nine times under the guidance of Dakuibeqa's *bete levu* Sevanaia Waqasaqa

FIGURE 8. **Jonacani Dabea (fifth from left, bearded man wearing a white *sulu*) organized a vilavilairevo ceremony for a vice-regal party on 1 September 1892 in Nawaisomo, Beqa Island. Among the guests were Governor and Lady Thurston, Chief Medical Officer of the colony Bolton Glanvil Corney and his wife, and Basil Thomson (published in Lindt 1893, 56–57).**

and Rukua's bete Mesui Toganiyadrava; Tui Sawau (Sawau Paramount Chief) Ratu Peceli Vitaukitoga also participated (Aporosa Bulivou, recorded by Mika Tubanavau in 1978, quoted in Crosby 1988, 68). Occasional exhibitions were held outside Beqa in Suva at the Grand Pacific Hotel, Albert Park, Thurston Botanical Gardens, Fiji Museum, and Government House (Figs. 9, 10).

In 1954, Dakuibeqa's firewalkers were called to escort Queen Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh on a special Tasmanian Empire Limited Airways flight from Suva to Auckland. A group of selected firewalkers, mostly from the *mataqali* Naivilaqata, accompanied by the Tui Sawau Ratu Aca Naborisi and his nephew Ratu Timoci Matanitobua, performed the vilavilairevo for them in Fiji and New Zealand (Fig. 11).

The aftermath of Fijian independence in the 1970s is characterized by a strong sense of an "imagined political community" (Rutz 1995, 77). "Tradition" gained in strength as a consequence of new democratic rules

FIGURE 9. **Members of the Sawau community preparing the *lovo* at the New Zealand International Exhibition in Christchurch on 17 December 1906. Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library.**

of political competition between ethnic Fijians and Indo-Fijians, backed by a consenting Methodist Church's ethnonationalist emphasis (Pigliasco 2012). Taking advantage of the inflow of foreign capital and the support of the Fiji Visitors Bureau, indigenous impresarios like Peceli Vitukawalu, known as the first "ambassador" of Fijian firewalking in Fiji and abroad, brought Sawau performers to New Zealand and Hawai'i, welcomed Prince Charles to Fiji, and obtained long-term contracts with hotels and resorts in Fiji (Fig. 12).

Throughout the 1970s, with the support of Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, who is considered the founding father of the modern nation of Fiji, the Sawau firewalkers performed internationally and locally. Most notably, between November and December 1972, bete levu Semi Raikadra, Tui Sawau (Sawau Paramount Chief) Ratu Mitieli Baisagale, Ratu Mara's brother Ratu Lefoni Uluilakeba, and seventeen dauvila from Beqa were invited to participate in a six-week trip to India, sponsored by the Ministry of Commerce of Fiji and the Fiji Visitors Bureau, to attend the Seventy-Second Asia Trade Show. Joketani Cokanasiga, at that time an officer of the Fiji Visitors

FIGURE 10. **Members of the Sawau community preparing the lovo at the Rewa Day celebration held at Syria Park in Nausori, Fiji on 26 July 2013. Courtesy of Felix Colatanavanua.**

Bureau, was in charge of escorting the group to India. As he explains below, Dakuibeqa had ties with the central government because Ratu Mara had married Ro Litia Cakobau Lalabalavu Katoafutoga Tuisawau, better known as Adi Lala, who in turn had a close relationship with the Tui Sawau's family:[9]

> Dakuibeqa, the acknowledged home of *vila*[*vilairevo*] was always closely associated to the Ministry of Fijian Affairs thanks to Ratu Mara and his wife Adi Lala. Ratu Mara established a *vila*[vilairevo] village fund for the domestic shows, and I was the Trustee. What happened is that the firewalkers complained about both their financial and status recognition; thus the housing project took place under the direct superintendence of Ratu Mara, at that time Administrative District Officer in Navua. About ten houses were built with the village fund. I was personally going to Dakuibeqa all the time. (Joketani Cokanasiga, pers. comm.)[10]

If the Asaro "mudmen" are strong contenders for becoming national symbols of Papua New Guinea, despite its enormous linguistic and cultural diversity (Otto and Verloop 1996),[11] the Sawau firewalkers are

FIGURE 11. **Bete levu Semi Raikadra (first on the left, standing) and a group of Sawau firewalkers just before boarding a plane to New Zealand in 1954. Courtesy of Samuela Vakuruivalu.**

no less likely to become national symbols of Fiji, as emerged from a conversation I had with Josefa Tuamoto, director of marketing of the Fiji Visitors Bureau:

> Do you remember the poster "Hot Days, Hot Nights?" We've used the firewalkers in Sydney at Darling Harbour. Would you believe that we had firewalking there? That was years back, before I came into the picture, before I came into the Fiji Visitors Bureau. I know there is documentation there. I think we have done it also in New Zealand. And I don't know whether they [the firewalkers] have been to the U.S. I know they went to Japan. . . . I think in the past that probably might have been the right campaign. Now, with the information available in the Internet, they [the tourists] know what they want. They come in and they say, "okay, I want to go on a tour that also includes firewalking. I want to go in that and I want to see firewalking. . . ." Yeah, most of them [the tourists] know what they want. . . . Essentially the unique icons in Fiji are firewalking and Fiji Water. . . . The challenge for us, though, at the [Fiji Visitors] Bureau, is to make sure we deliver what they [the tourists] want. (Josefa Tuamoto, pers. comm.)

FIGURE 12. **The poster "Hot Days, Hot Nights, Fiji Islands," conceived by the Fiji Visitors Bureau, and photographed in a house in Beqa. Photography by the author.**

Most important, this is also part of the process of reconciliation of the vilavilairevo ceremony, as it moves toward eventually complying with the morals of the wider Fijian community and the Methodist ethnonationalist focus that encourages reinterpretation and renewal rather than removal. In other words, a particular strain of Fijian nationalism within the Methodist church is interested in having the ethnic Fijian community maintain authority over its own sociocultural affairs and tying religious identity to ethnonationalism as tightly as possible (Tomlinson 2009, 166; Pigliasco 2012, 57).

Domesticating the "Myth," Cannibalizing the "Legend"

Elsewhere (Pigliasco 2012), I have explained how Fijian Methodism allowed a wide range of reordering strategies and reinterpretations of

the vilavilairevo, while Pentecostalism has been marking with infamy the Sawau community, denying its members their own agency in safeguarding tradition. The reproduction of tradition among the Sawau and their vilavilairevo practice is causing an unprecedented dogmatic schism between Fiji's Methodist Church and two Pentecostal Churches in the village of Rukua. These Christian cultural dynamics and social tensions surrounding the vilavilairevo created by a denominational opposition are swiftly reshaping local notions of heritage, social sentiment, and social capital, profoundly harming the vilavilairevo ceremony and its representation.

Over time, the western representation of the "myth" or the "legend" of vilavilairevo has distorted the original meaning of a ceremony that has preserved its practice but lost its verbal explanation. Beginning in 1992, I collected more than 200 references ranging over more than 150 years on Beqa and Sawau history and the firewalking ceremony in Beqa and Oceania. One aspect emerging from the negotiation of the Sawau people's cultural heritage is the western classification of the *italanoa* (narrative) of *nai tekitekivu ni vilavilairevo* (how firewalking began) in Beqa as myth, legend, or folktale. In many cultures, it is hard to draw a sharp line between myths and legends: "Clearly, translation—from one language to another, from one culture to another, from one genre to another, from one medium to another, and from one discourse to another—plays a crucial role in transmission of 'traditional' narratives" (Bacchilega 2007, 13, 2010, 3; see also Haring 1995).

The italanoa of vilavilairevo and other Fijian popular italanoa, collected and identified in colonial times as "legends" or "myths," served to imagine and market a new touristic product constructed for non-Fijians, where "tourism operates as a form of translation" (Bacchilega 2007, 16). Building on Bacchilega's analysis of the Hawaiian *mo'olelo* (stories) published in popular magazines and books beginning in the late nineteenth century, I have elsewhere explained how the Fijian italanoa of vilavilairevo has been mistakenly associated with western conceptions of legends, myths, and fairy tales from the past and, hence, misunderstood, trivialized, and, more recently, demonized by church officials (Pigliasco 2012).

The above is an example of what Niranjana (1992, 47) calls "intercultural translation, or the translating of one culture into terms intelligible to another." It is an "epistemic violation," according to Bacchilega (2007, 15) and Spivak (1999, 161), or a "domestication," according to Venuti (1998, 5), in that the colonized world is recodified in terms of the colonizers' world. In the case of the italanoa of vilavilairevo, the epistemic violation or domestication appears to me very selective, pointing at, distorting, or highlighting

only some key aspects of the Sawau immortal italanoa, while ignoring others. If you allow me the pun, the process resembles a sort of cannibalization, where salvageable parts are taken from the original and disabled ceremony, because it is deprived of the offerings (*madrali*) to the patron spirits of Fijian firewalking (*veli*) and managed into an event that is more time efficient and more receptive to aesthetic manipulation.[12] This ongoing process of cultural cannibalization offers a nonthreatening Disneyfied image of Fiji and its cannibal past to the tourist industry. Interestingly, despite the changed context, the indigenous actors cooperate very well, for they generally perceive sociocultural continuity between the old and the new situation.[13]

Film has also proved a particularly powerful form of translation and objectification; and translating cultural norms for the screen, particularly those from isolated or relatively unknown communities, according to Vilsoni Hereniko (2010: 16–17), is a daunting task. In the process of the cultural cannibalization of the vilavilairevo, perhaps Emmy Award-winning filmmaker Tom Vendetti's thirty-minute *Fiji Firewalkers* (2003) stands out. It cheerfully mixes Fijian folklore and village life recodified through a voiceover by new age musician Paul Horn. The film builds to a crescendo with the firewalking ceremony. Although firewalkers from the chiefly village of Dakuibeqa refused to participate in the filming because the script included a surreal cannibalistic ending in which the director, Vendetti himself, is chased and eaten, a group of villagers from Rukua accepted Vendetti's profitable offer in Thomas's words (1994, 64) "imposing the trope of savagism upon themselves, yet in an unserious fashion that makes the term 'denigration' inappropriate." According to my longtime field collaborator Mika Tubanavau, firewalkers also accepted the requirement to wear Tahitian-style firewalking *liku* (skirts) of *Cordyline* leaves, which according to Vendetti were more authentic than the pandanus skirts traditionally worn in Fiji (Mika Tubanavau pers. comm.).

Although tourism certainly operates an ideological framing that has the power to reshape culture to its own needs (MacCannell 1992, 1), a similar or greater abuse comes from the scientists who reframe the local narratives into a different generic shape. For example, in Stymeist's (1996) widely cited "Transformation of Vilavilairevo in Tourism," published by the *Annals of Tourism Research*, the process of cannibalization of the Fijian firewalking ceremony reaches its perfection. Stymeist appears to draw his conjectures about the vilavilairevo embodying "numerous referents to war and cannibalism" (Stymeist 1996, 15) on the basis of an arguably spurious rhymed translation of the italanoa of vilavilairevo:

> "What may thy name be, libertine?/ Methinks a rogue I spy": / The dwarf he sighed and then replied, / "Tui Namoliwai." / "Namoliwai,

> Namoliwai, / Now, harken unto me, / I sought an eel, but thou this night / Mine offering shalt be." / "The clubbing and the baking whole / Will follow in due course: / But these are items of detail / Which call for no discourse" (Davidson 1920, 93).

The italanoa itself is about a gift promised to the storyteller for his stories. Tuiqalita (or Tui Qalita), a bete of the Naivilaqata priestly clan of the Sawau community of Beqa, promised to bring an eel he had seen in a hole upstream in the Namoliwai river region. Tui Namoliwai is the mythical chief of the veli, a term used in Beqa and Fiji to describe fairy creatures or gnomes often found in the mountainous areas of Fiji, and populating Fijian oral histories. Each variant of the tale renegotiates the sequence of verbal utterances, acts, and gestures performed by Tuiqalita and Tui Namoliwai. These include: Tuiqalita promising a gift to the storyteller; Tuiqalita discovering Tui Namoliwai; Tui Namoliwai pleading for his life; Tuiqalita negotiating and accepting the gift of vilavilairevo; Tuiqalita and Tui Namoliwai performing the firewalking; and their agreement and farewell.

However, according to Stymeist, "the many prominent, multivocal references to war and cannibalism in *vilavilairevo* are unmistakable" (Stymeist 1996, 8). In his interpretation, the ritual is about the symbolic "conquering of the earth-oven in which a human being might be buried and baked" (Stymeist 1996, 9). I have elsewhere (Pigliasco 2010) observed that this practice of allegedly "conquering the oven" did not become pervasive and institutionalized among other tribes at war in Fiji who also used earth ovens. In other words, why, in centuries of exo-cannibalism, should this deflecting practice have become established only in Beqa? Beqa is a small island not particularly notorious for cannibalism compared to the provinces of Rewa, Ra, Bau, Somosomo, and Rakiraki. Elsewhere in Fiji, cannibal orgies were also probably infrequent (Derrick 2001, 21) and confined to ceremonial sacrifices in celebration of victory, the launching of a chief's canoe, or the lowering of a chief's mast (Thomson 1968, 103). In addition, as I have also pointed out before (Pigliasco 2010), the Huahine-Raiatean anthropophagic tradition is not very rich, because in Polynesia, human sacrifices were mostly symbolic, involving mutilation and insults in addition to the actual consumption of the flesh of the victims (see Portlock 1789; Mariner 1817; Ellis 1853; Oliver 1974; Valeri 1985; Cook 1999). It appears unlikely that, whether the firewalking ceremony was transmitted from Fiji to Huahine-Ra'iātea or vice versa, an identical ceremony with the same rules and syntactic structure had a completely different function.[14]

In addition, it should be noted that the gruesome details of Fijian cannibal feasts (see Endicott 1923; Diapea 1928; Lockerby 1982; Erskine 1987) were

not necessarily accurate firsthand accounts as claimed but constructions of idealized anthropophagy rituals. For example, William Endicott, third mate on the *Glide*, published a book titled *Wrecked among Cannibals in the Fijis*. An appendix included the story "A Cannibal Feast in the Fiji Islands by an Eye-Witness," supposedly written after having seen such a feast in March 1831. The story was also published in Endicott's home-town newspaper, *The Danvers Courier*, on 16 August 1845.[15] Nowhere in Endicott's original log, conserved at the Peabody Essex Museum, is there "any reference to his having witnessed a cannibal feast" (Obeyesekere 2005, 167). Obeyesekere (2005) believes that who actually wrote the cannibal feast story is not as important as that it was a typical fabrication of ritual, cannibalistic vengeance.

Several scholars have argued that the nineteenth-century ethnographic imagination of cannibalism was a colonizing trope, a tool of empire to create a moral distance from the exotic "Other" (Arens 1979; Hulme 1998; Obeyesekere 1998, 2005; Goldman 1999; Dixon 2001; Kilgour 2001; Lindenbaum 2004; Halvaksz 2006).[16] Another problem emerging from Stymeist's reading is his argument that sitting on the *lovo* emulates a former practice of placing the *bokola* (cannibal victims) in a sitting position and insulting and mutilating them before cooking them (Stymeist 1996, 8). The supposed sitting posture of cannibal victims comes from a single reference in Peter Dillon's description of a cannibal feast he claims to have seen on 6 September 1813 in Bau (Dillon 1829: 14–5 discussed in Clunie 2003, 55; Davidson 1975, 36):[17]

> Fires were prepared and ovens heated for the reception of the bodies of our ill-fated companions, who, as well as the Bow [Bau] chiefs and their slaughtered men, were brought to the fires in the following manner. Two of the Vilear [Wailea] party placed a stick or limb of a tree on their shoulders, over which were thrown the body of their victims, with their legs hanging downwards on one side, and their heads on the other. They were thus carried in triumph to the ovens prepared to receive them. Here they were placed in a sitting posture while the savages sung and danced with joy over their prizes, and fired several musket-balls through each of the corpses, all the muskets of the slain having fallen into their hands. No sooner was this ceremony over than the priests began to cut and dissect those unfortunate men in our presence. Their flesh was immediately placed in the ovens to be baked and prepared as a repast for the victors. (Dillon 1829: 14–15 discussed in Clunie 2003, 55)

Interestingly, no other accounts from seamen, traders, or travelers include a description of bokola placed in such a position inside the lovo. Obeyes-

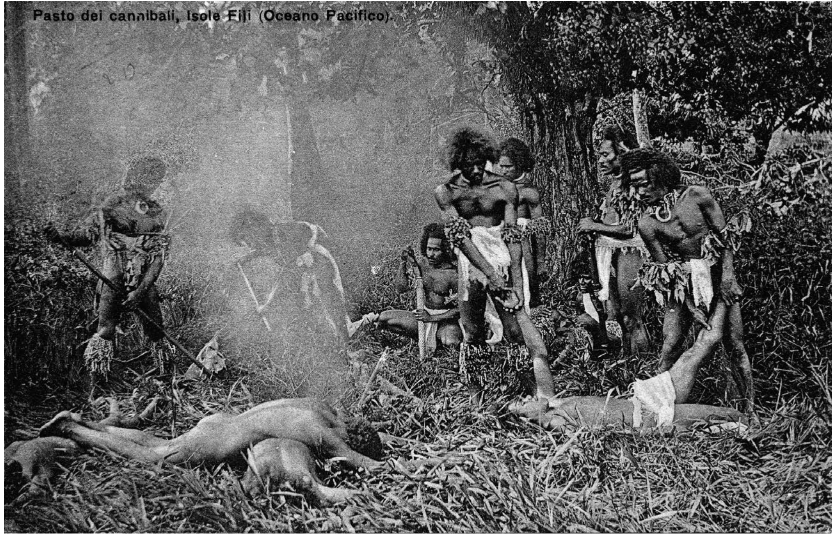

FIGURE 13. **(Cannibal Meal, Fiji Islands Pacific Ocean.) Unused postcard, publisher: Edit. British & Foreign Imports & Exports – Milan, Italy. Copyright 52845. According to Ewins, this is the second staged "cannibal" production of New Zealand photographer Thomas Andrews around 1890. The title he gave to it was "The Banquet." (Courtesy of Rod Ewins's private collection.)**

ekere believes that Dillon, who was holed up during a battle, was unlikely to have seen such activities, and invented the seemingly real account of Fijian man-eating "quite unlike genuine cannibal tricksters" (Obeyesekere 2001, 111) to present himself as a hero in the midst of savages (Obeyesekere 2005: 198–89).[18]

"Cannibal talks" are still one of the most important topics (Fig. 13) in cultural criticism today, for cannibalism pierces discussions of difference and identity, savagery and civilization, and the consequences of Orientalism (Kilgour 2001, vii; Lindenbaum 2004, 476; Obeyesekere 2005, 265). Building on Bacchilega's (2007, 16) observation that "the set of visuals and ideas associated in the tourist's mind with a particular locale" are reinforced by the conflation of messages, it is notable that firewalking is often presented through a variety of jolly reinterpretations of the italanoa (oral account) of the vilavilairevo inside the enclavic tourist space, creating a "circus exotique" atmosphere, as in the Arts Village's 2005 brochure:[19]

> If you are looking for the Fijian Hot Spot, it doesn't get toastier than bare feet, scorching rocks, and one of Fiji's greatest traditions—the Beqa Firewalkers. You can see it at the Arts Village Firewalking Show. Be prepared to be astonished. Be prepared to laugh, but most important, be prepared to have a spectacular experience. This show is a mixture of firewalking, fashion parades, singing, dancing, acrobatics, stunts, storytelling and fighting and is purely for your entertainment. The fire is smoking, the stones are sizzling hot, and the atmosphere is moody. You start to get the feeling that what you're about to witness is not for the faint hearted. Now the firewalkers emerge from the island, chanting. It is suddenly clear that firewalking is a male only practice. One by one, they do the impossible and pass over the stones with grace and pride. Would you walk barefoot through an 850°C (1,562°F) fire? This is not something to be tried at home.

Embodying Postmodern Aesthetics

Communications between artists and consumers are indirect. The mass dissemination of visual messages about cultural products in Fiji and other exotic destinations contributes to a dialogic construction of a meta-culture of newness: the new cultural identity of peoples who are visited by tourists (Urban 2001). Tourism authenticates and renegotiates local cultural products. Through feedback between the market and cultural producers, local cultural expressions are becoming increasingly adapted to the tastes of the audience.

The authentication process happens outside "Bourdieuian space" and right inside enclavic tourist spaces. Nakamura observes that:

> When natives stop acting like natives—that is to say, when they deviate from the stereotypes that have been set up to signify their identities—their "aura" is lost: they are no longer "authentic" (Nakamura 2002, 6).

In other words, in these new, altered realities, the native artist/performer has to respond to a distant alien aesthetic. Witnessing western tourists complaining that the Sawau dauvila (firewalkers) wore trunks under their *kie-kie* (colored pandanus leaf men's skirts), reminded me of what was observed by Silverman (1999, 2004) on the Sepik; an inappropriate ritual attire may offend tourists' sensibilities; however, it does not affect either the ritual efficacy or the ritual practitioner (Fig. 14).

FIGURE 14. **A dauvila from Naceva village performing at the Royal Davui unconcerned about his floral surf trunks under the costume. Photography by the author.**

A major concern of the tourism industry is to anticipate tourists' tastes, applying in tourism advertising and messages a sort of theory of reception aesthetics to meet the consumers' horizon of expectation. Hence, when traditional cultural expressions become commodified and showcased in response to those anticipated tastes, a few questions arise: What is the nature of the aesthetic dialog between performer and audience in cross-cultural encounters? Does the performer apprehend his own aesthetic experience in the reflection provided by the audience's reactions?

The communicative process occurs indirectly between artists and consumers (Fig. 15). The "firewalking impresarios" described above are similar to what Jules-Rosette (1984, 16), Crick (1989, 332), and Van den Berghe (1995, 581) call "middlemen," cultural interpreters and transformers of popular conceptions who renegotiate the cultural product to their own advantage (see Evans 1976; McKean 1976; Van den Berghe 1980; Cohen 1988; Bendix 1989; Nuñez 1989).

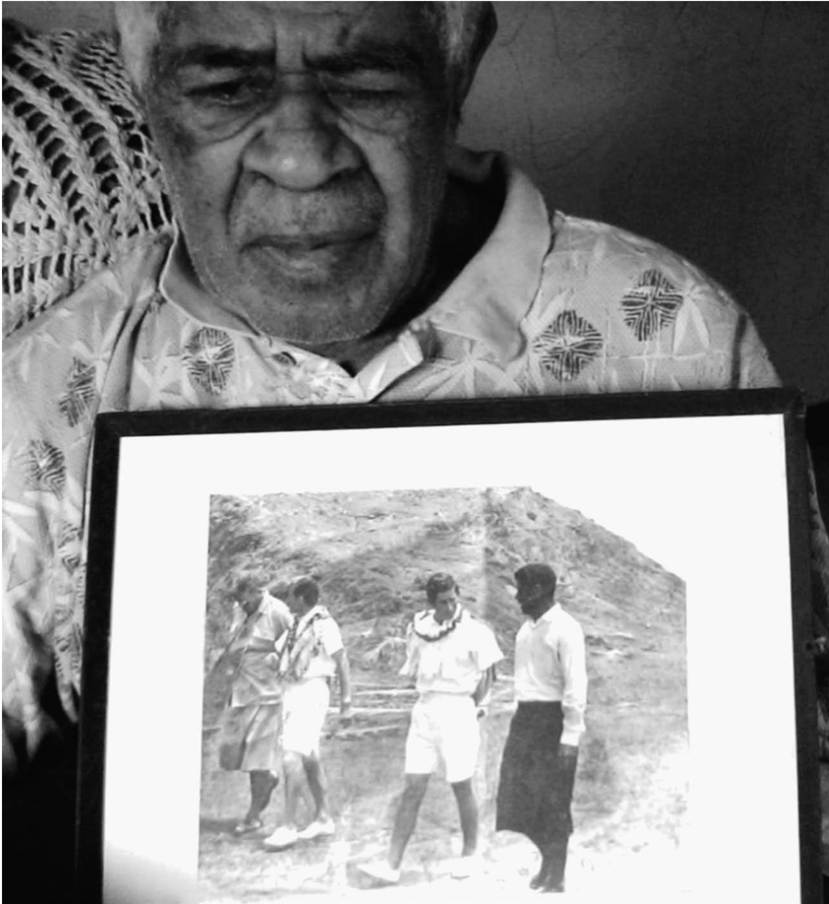

FIGURE 15. **Peceli Vitukawalu holding a picture of Prince Charles (second right) on his visit to Rukua on 12 February 1974; also visible are Peceli himself (first right) and Fiji's Deputy Prime Minister Ratu Penaia Ganilau (first left). Photography by the author.**

I stress the idea that aesthetics in contemporary anthropology is a problem of representation and communication rather than of taste. Jules-Rosette's (1984, 229) work with African tourist art indicates that cultural products are dialogically constructed through mirroring and double reflections between the artists and the audiences. Silverman (1999) suggests that the native artist looks across the aesthetic boundary at the tourists' faces to interpret their reading of the art. Similarly, Bruner observes that Third World South Pacific

cultural displays serve as a "mirror for western fantasies," reflecting back in performance what the tourist desires (Bruner 1991, 228).

Artists and consumers are joint producers of tourist art as a communicative process. The communication is indirect. The pattern resembles that of mass-mediated communication, because the artist/performer may never come into direct contact with the consumer. The consumers, in turn, rely upon middlemen and retailers for their evaluation of what is sold (Jules-Rosette 1984, 194). Studies of the effects of tourism on host societies are replete with examples of cultural products that, through a dialogic feedback process along the market chain to its producers, are becoming increasingly adapted to the tastes of the guests (see Graburn 1984; Jules-Rosette 1984; Cohen 1988; Bendix 1989; Picard 1990; Bruner 1991; Van Den Berghe 1995; de Burlo 1996; Lindberg and Johnson 1997; Silverman 1999; Fillitz 2002; Chhabra 2005). Over the last century, the Sawau iconic performance has been reshaped by the middlemen (their impresarios) and by the western aesthetics reflected in the tourist enclaves that constantly reinterpret and renegotiate ethnic Fijian cultural products to transform them into marketable ones.

Another example of such processes is the employment by Methodist officials in Fiji of a parallel between the Beqan firewalkers and Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego walking through the fiery furnace of Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar. This has become a hoary leitmotiv in church sermons and in the cultural education kindly provided for tourists by hotel emcees as part of a Methodist ethnonationalist emphasis responsible for refashioning ancient beliefs and practices in accordance with the Fijian Methodist Church's dogma in response to an Evangelical emphasis on newness that has recently been trying to ban the firewalking performance in Fiji (Pigliasco 2012). The Methodists' use of the biblical account of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego follows the same pattern illustrated by Toren (1988, 696), instantiating Fijian tradition, and adapting it without denying historical change or doing violence to tradition.

Leach argues that "logically aesthetics and ethics are identical. If we are to understand the ethical rules of a society, it is the aesthetic that we must study" (Leach 1954, 12; see also Arno 2003, 809). The traditionally culture-bound aesthetics of Sawau firewalking performers index their intuition of the *kila ni bula vakayalo* (social, historical cosmos) moving away from mythic reality and toward global modernity. In his early writings, Benedetto Croce (1921)—a Neapolitan thinker who in America is sidestepped and relegated to the shadows of Vico, Gramsci, and Gentile—argued that aesthetics must be identified with intuition, which he used in the Latin sense of achieving knowledge from direct perception or contemplation. Berleant (2002, 20) observes that aesthetic perception plays a fundamental role in the art creator's or performer's

mind, for the “authenticity” of the aesthetic experience “provides a powerful means of reappraising and modulating ancestral cultural experience by digging beneath the layers of accrued meanings and cognitive habits.”

Believing that aesthetics is consistently linked with ritual communication, Arno has more recently argued that the accomplishment of meaning that is outside of language—meaning that draws directly on social experience and spills out of the language that attempts to contain it—has often been talked about as involving intuition. (Arno 2003: 816–17)

Similarly, taking Bakhtin’s (1981, 276) ideas about language and social dialog, Bruner (2005: 170–73) argues that stories are dialogic with culture and history, where tellers and listeners actively engage in an interpretative act to make the story meaningful to themselves and relevant to their own life situations; each story is a dialogic process of many historically situated particular tellings. In this aesthetic abstraction of the commodified product, form and meaning conform to a stereotypical package according to a western sumptuary law of taste.

Conclusions

Jolly (1997, 121) asks if Euro-American fantasies “are mere foreign fictions which bear no relation to the realities of Island life.” Her answer is “unfortunately not. They surely distort the lived reality.” These representations are “an intimate part of the processes of colonization, militarization, and neocolonial dependency.” The Sawau vilavilairevo indexes how representations spurred by the processes of the tourist industry and religious conversion become part of the Sawau realities, narratives, and aesthetics. In Sawau, “reality,” vilavilairevo represents a process through which the past and aspects of Sawau social life derived from the past are revalued in the present, where the western spectator provides a new sort of audience (Lindstrom and White 1994, 14). In other words, although their cultural products are accommodated to a postmodern present, refashioning these products provides them a meaningful connection between past and present (Bankston and Henry 2000: 402–03), reformulating their identity sui generis in important respects (Comaroff and Comarroff 2009, 142).

Borrowing again from Comaroff and Comarroff (2009, 150), ethnicity is inevitably becoming a commodity involving a dialogic construction of narration (Bruner 2005, 170) to achieve tourism reality and shared benefits. Although challenges of cultural loss, misrepresentation, and misappropriation are raised by the situation, and negative aspects of the cultural manifestations of tourism have been a roaring leitmotif of a certain literature, tourism is seen as a viable opportunity for economic development. The vilavilairevo suggests

how staged performances of heritage and the images they produce for the global tourism audience also afford the performers opportunities for asserting various forms of cultural hybridity, creative agency, and aesthetic innovation and for supplementing the community's social capital (Silverman 2004, 339; Lipp 2009; Pigliasco 2010; Pigliasco and Lipp 2011). Bruner argues that performance is "constitutive," because every time heritage or tradition is enacted, it is given a new life, regardless of where that enactment takes place (Bruner 2005, 257), which shows how the heritage industry is a "new mode of cultural production" and its survival depends on intangible cultural property, which lives in the performance (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 150; Pigliasco 2009a, 2010, 2011).

On the other hand, the cultural cannibalization process operated by the state and the tourism industry reshapes, reframes, and recodifies Sawau cultural heritage, fostering "the illusion of no mediation, to produce 'tourist realism' which is itself a mediated effect" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 8). Early colonists feared the indigenous Fijians would disappear completely unless cushioned from the harsh impact of market forces (Fraenkel and Firth 2007, 3). Thomas (1994: 34–35) points out that Fijians are "not only typed as cannibals, but also radically detemporalized, in that the history of their engagement with Europeans is erased." Edmond (1997, 14) reminds us, however, that native cultures did not begin, or begin again, with European contact. There was continuity as well as discontinuity across the rupture caused by the arrival of the colonizer. Over more than two centuries, across Fiji's dramatic changes, the Naivilaqata's gift transformed itself into a utilitarian cultural elaboration, which through the process of cultural cannibalization outlined in this chapter has made "the foreign power indigenous" (Jolly 2005, 138).

A dialogic affection for the colonial authority and a spiritual repositioning spared the vilavilairevo from being outlawed. Refashioning national stereotypes, the hybridization offered by the independent nation of Fiji first, and subsequently by the tourist industry, spared it from extinction. Nevertheless, the most recent external forces operated by the tourism industry and the new Christian beliefs produce alarming modes of interference in which, to paraphrase Tomlinson (2013: 133–34; Robbins 2007), ideologies of rupture and newness are becoming more central to many Christian and western understandings, in contrast to anthropological assumptions of deep cultural continuity.

NOTES

1. Elsewhere (Pigliasco 2007, 2009b, 2010), I have written that my study of the vilavilairevo in Fiji, and comparatively of the *umu tī* (firewalking ceremony) in Ra'iātea, leads me

to suspect that in Beqa the practice had the character of a first fruits ceremony (*isevu*), but is not a typical one. In Beqa, the vilavilairevo was staged whenever they had a large quantity of *masawe* (cordyline rhizomes) to be baked (Thomson 1894, 194; NM 1885, 2; Toganivalu 1914, 2). Oral accounts recognize vilavilairevo as part of a thanksgiving ceremony (Pigliasco 2007, 2009b, 2010; see also Young 1925, 222; Kenn 1949, 26, 32; Crosby 1988). Analysis of the rhizomes and stems of *Cordyline fruticosa* and *Cordyline terminalis* reveals that they contain a soluble polysaccharide composed mainly of fructose that once baked could be stored for long periods. The root was also baked and stored to supply carbohydrates (Pigliasco 2007, 2009b, 2010). Although the observance of taboos has become in the meantime less necessary as a function of Christian practice, until the early 2000s, every time the masawe were cooked, the *bete* (traditional priest) of the Naivilaqata clan offered a small but symbolically important portion of *qalu* or *vakalolo* (a sweet pudding) made of taro mixed with baked cordyline sugar to the *veli* (little gods of firewalking). These *madrali* (offerings) were a necessary condition for the desacralization of the new harvest.

2. Robert Fulton was a physician on a New Zealand ship. He had one of the stones from the *lovo* carried for miles in a palm-leaf basket back to the ship. He tried to cool it off in the sea, but the stone, still hot, fell out of the basket and he had to drop it overboard, conserving only a fragment, later analyzed by Professor Park of the Otago School of Mines (Simpson 1955, 238).

3. Notably, Colonel Gudgeon, Governor of Rarotonga in Rarotonga (Gudgeon 1899: 58–60; Henry 1901, 54; Lang 1901, 454) and George Ely Hall, the Turkish Consul-General, with Commodore Germinot in Taha'a in 1900 (Henry 1901, 54; Lang 1901, 454).

4. Tuck's Post Card. Publisher Raphael Tuck and Sons Ltd.

5. As for the village Rukua, religious divergences and ongoing tensions among villagers caused the sporadic performances to be staged "outside" the village's boundaries at the old settlement of Naduruvesi, often without the explicit consent of the Naivilaqata clan custodians in Dakuibeqa (Pigliasco 2007: 304–05, 2012).

6. Some either simplistic or superficial analyses have attempted to infuse the vilavilairevo with "referents to war and cannibalism" (Stymeist 1996, 15), or "magic" and "idolatry" (Newland 2004, 8).

7. Elaisa "Junior" Cavu, Naviti Resort, Fiji, 23 March 23, 2005, h. 18:30.

8. Fiji's first theme park, Pacific Harbour Cultural Centre (PHCC), less than a mile east of Deuba, modeled after the Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawai'i, was renovated and reopened as Arts Village in 2005. Until then, under the direction of Manoa Rasigatale, impresario, playwright, and a connoisseur of Fiji's ancient traditions, the vilavilairevo ceremony was reshaped and choreographed into the PHCC's signature experience.

9. After Beqa was conquered by Rewa in 1839, the Tui Sawau family acknowledged that they were the subjects of Roko Tui Dreketi, the paramount chief of Rewa Province, to which Beqa belongs (France 1969, 82). When the *masi* (title) of the Tui Sawau was returned to Beqa, the Roko Tui Dreketi and the Tui Sawau Ratu Peceli Vitaukitoga agreed that in commemoration the Tui Dreketi's surname from then on would be changed to one word: Tuisawau.

10. Cokanasiga was formerly an officer of the Fiji Visitors Bureau, then went into politics and served as the Minister for Public Works and Energy (2000–01) and Minister of Home Affairs (2001–04).

11. In the 1960s, a National Geographic Society photographer on assignment in Papua New Guinea paid for a staged performance in the Asaro River valley village of Kurumugi. The name "mudmen" was applied to the performers by tourist agents, and the dances were lengthened (Schechner 1988; Otto and Verloop 1996).

12. See note 1.

13. Tourism's literature is replete with examples of local people interpreting novel situations in traditional terms and, thus, perceiving a continuity of cultural meaning that may escape the tourist-observer (Greenwood 1982, 27; Smith 1982, 134; Goldberg 1983, 488; Cohen 1988, 383; Errington and Gewertz 1989, 51; Picard 1990, 62).

14. See note 1.

15. Sahlins argues that "A Cannibal Feast in the Fiji Islands by an Eye-Witness" was actually written by Endicott's shipmate Henry Fowler, since an "F" is inscribed at the bottom of the newspaper article (Sahlins 2003, 3).

16. Representations of the savage "other" were enormously popular in Europe. Another example is the *Journal of William Lockerby: Sandalwood Trader in the Fijian Islands during the Years 1808–1809*, which contains a gruesome account of a cannibal feast (1992: 44–45, 59–59). William Lockerby was a mate on the *Jenny*. His captain left him stranded in Vanua Levu, where he lived from May 1808 to June 1809 under the protection of the chief of Bua. Obeyesekere argues that, although there is no doubt that he was present in Vanua Levu, his account was not written in Fiji but long after and that he injected gruesome details into his narrative to please the reading public (Obeyesekere 2005: 190–91).

17. Peter Dillon was born in Martinique, the son of an Irish immigrant. A self-proclaimed explorer, raconteur, and discoverer of the fate of the La Pérouse expedition, he sailed to Fiji in 1813 as third mate on the *Hunter* under Captain James Robson to look for sandalwood.

18. An analysis of Dillon's description of the battle also reveals invented names and inconsistencies, such as in the number of dead Europeans (Obeyesekere 2005, 220). Dillon's graphic account was nevertheless used in Maynard and Dumas' *The Whalers* (1937). Maynard was the surgeon of a French whaling ship in New Zealand around 1838. Several of his works about his adventures were edited by his friend Alexandre Dumas (Père), including *Les Baleiniers* (1861, translated in 1937 as *The Whalers*). Dillon's adventures appeared also in George Bayly's *Sea Life Sixty Years Ago* (1885), a collection of sentimental reminiscences based on his unpublished *Journal of Voyages*.

19. A recent webpage on www.artsvillage.com.fj reads: "The stage comes to life with the spectacular meke and fire walking shows. They include the phenomenal Beqa Firewalkers and re-enactments of ancient Fijian legends. This is an extravaganza of stunts, singing, music, dancing, costumes, storytelling and legends" (http://www.artsvillage.com.fj/culture.html [accessed 30 October 2014]).

REFERENCES

Allardyce, William L.
1904 The Fijians and their fire-walking. *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute* 35:71–7, 105–11.

Appadurai, Arjun
1986 Introduction: Commodities and the politics of value. In *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*, ed. A. Appadurai, 3–63. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Arens, William
1979 *The man-eating myth: Anthropology and anthropophagy*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

Arno, Andrew
2003 Aesthetics, intuition, and reference in Fijian ritual communication: Modularity in and out of language. *American Anthropologist* 105 (4): 807–19.

Bacchilega, Cristina
2007 *Legendary Hawai'i and the politics of place: Tradition, translation, and tourism*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.
2010 Introduction: Before and after the symposium. In *Folktales and fairy tales: Translation, colonialism, and cinema*, ed. H. Ku'ualoha, N. Silva, V. Hereniko, and C. Bacchilega, 1–10. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i at Mānoa Library, WEB.

Bakhtin, M. M., and Michael Holquist
1981 *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press.

Bankston, Carl L. III, and Jacques Henry
2000 Spectacles of ethnicity: Festivals and commodification of ethnic culture among Louisiana cajuns. *Sociological Spectrum* 20 (1): 375–407.

Baudrillard, Jean, and Mark Poster
2001 *Selected writings/Jean Baudrillard*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press.

Bayly, George
1885 [1831] *Sea life sixty years ago*. London: Kegan, Paul and Tench.

Bendix, Regina
1989 Tourism and cultural displays: Inventing traditions for whom? *Journal of American Folklore* 102 (April–June): 131–46.

Berleant, Arnold
2002 Notes for a *cultural aesthetic*. In *Koht ja Paik/place and location II, Proceedings of the Estonian Academy of Arts 10*, ed. V. Sarapik, K. Tüür, and M. Laanemets, 19–26. Tallinn, Estonia: Eesti Kunstiakadeemia.

Bigay, John, Freda Rajotte, Jesoni Vitusagavulu, Amelia Ravuvu, Mika Tubanavou, and Mason Green
1981 *Beqa the island of firewalkers*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, Univ. of South Pacific.

Bossen, Claus
2000 Festival mania, tourism and nation building in Fiji: The case of the Hibiscus Festival, 1956–1970. *Contemporary Pacific* 12 (1): 123–54.

Boyd, David J.
1985 The commercialisation of ritual in the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. *Man* 20 (2): 325–40.

Britton, Stephen
1979 Tourism in a peripheral capitalist economy: The case of Fiji. PhD diss., Australian National Uni.

Brookfield, Harold
1989 Global change and the Pacific: Problems for the coming half-century. *Contemporary Pacific* 1:1–18.

Bruner, Edward
1991 Transformation of self in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 18:238–50.
2005 *Culture on tour: Ethnographies of travel*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Bruner, Edward, and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett
1994 Maasai on the lawn: Tourist realism in East Africa. *Cultural Anthropology* 9 (4): 435–70.

Burns, Leah G.
1993 Firewalking on Beqa: A case study which demonstrates touristic influence on social and cultural aspects of the South Pacific world. In *Voyage, découverte, colonisation*, ed. M. Pérez, 203–22. Noumea: C.O.R.A.I.L.
1994 Amidst our people: Touristic impact and local knowledge on Beqa. In *Science of Pacific Island peoples*, ed. J. Morrison, P. Geraghty, and L. Crowl, 25–40. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, Univ. of the South Pacific.
2003 Indigenous responses to tourism in Fiji: What is happening? In *Pacific Island tourism*, ed. D. Harrison, 82–93. New York: Cognizant Communication Corp.

CF
1907 The Beqa fire-walkers. In *Cyclopedia of Fiji* (illustrated), 189–90. Sydney: Cyclopedia Company of Fiji.

Chhabra, Deepak
2005 Defining authenticity and its determinants: Toward an authenticity flow model. *Journal of Travel Research* 44:64–73.

Clunie, Fergus
2003 [1977] *Fijian weapons and warfare*. Suva: Fiji Museum.

Cohen, Erik
1988 Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 15:371–86.

Comaroff, Jean, and John L. Comaroff
2009 *Ethnicity, Inc*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Cook, James
1999 [1773, 1777, 1785] *The journals of Captain James Cook on his voyages of discovery*, ed. J. C. Beaglehole. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press.

Crick, Malcom
1989 Representations of sun, sex, sights, savings and servility: International tourism in the social sciences. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18:307–44.

Croce, Benedetto
1921 *The essence of aesthetic*. London: W. Heinemann.

Crosby, Andrew
1988 Firewalking on Beqa, Fiji. *Hurupaa University of Auckland Student Journal* 9:58–72.

Danforth, Loring
1989 *Firewalking and religious healing: The Anastenaria of Greece and the American firewalking movement*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

Davidson, J. W.
1920 The legend of the vilavilairevo (fire-walking) of the island of Bengga, Fiji. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 29:91–94.

Davidson, James Wightman
1975 *Peter Dillon of Vanikoro: Chevalier of the South Seas*. Melbourne: Oxford Univ. Press.

De Burlo, Chuck
1996 Cultural resistance and ethnic tourism on South Pentecost, Vanuatu. In *Tourism and Indigenous people*, ed. R. Butler and T. Hinch, 257–76. London: International Thomson Business.

Derrick, Ronald Albert
2001 [1946] *A history of Fiji*. Suva: Reprint Government Press.

Desmond, Jane
1999 *Staging tourism: Bodies on display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Diapea, William
1928 *Cannibal Jack: The true autobiography of a white man in the South Seas*. London: G.P. Putnam's Sons (printed from the manuscript in the possession of the Rev. James Hadfield).

Dillon, Peter
1829 *Narrative and successful result of a voyage in the South Seas, performed by order of the government of British India, to ascertain the actual fate of La Pérouse's expedition*. London: Hurst, Chance and Co.

Dixon, Robert
2001 Cannibalizing indigenous texts: Headhunting and fantasy in Ion L. Idriess' Coral Sea Adventures. In *Body trade: Captivity, cannibalism, and colonialism in the Pacific*, ed. B. Creed and J. Hoorn, 112–25. New York: Rutledge.

Dumas, Alexandre
1861 *Les Baleiniers: Voyage aux Terres Antipodiques: Journal du Docteur Maynard*, 2 vols. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères.

Edmond, Rod
1997 *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial discourse from Cook to Gauguin*. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Ellis, William
1853 [1829] *Polynesian researches during a residence of nearly eight years in the Society and Sandwich Islands*, Vol. II. London: Henry G. Bohn.

Endicott, William
1923 *Wrecked among cannibals in the Fijis: A narrative of shipwreck & adventure in the South Seas*. Salem, MA: Marine Research Society.

Errington, Frederick, and Deborah Gewertz
1989 Tourism and anthropology in a post-modern world. *Oceania* 60:37–54.

Erskine, John Elphinstone.
1987 [1853] *Journal of a cruise among the islands of the Western Pacific, including the Feejees and others inhabited by the Polynesian negro races, in Her Majesty's Ship Havannah*. Papakura, NZ: Southern Reprints.

Evans, Nancy H.
1976 Tourism and cross cultural communication. *Annals of Tourism Research* 3:189–98.

Fillitz, Thomas
2002 The notion of art: From regional to distant comparison. In *Anthropology, by comparison*, ed. A. Gingrich and R. Fox, 204–24. Vol. 4. London: Routledge.

Foucault, Michel
1980 *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972–1977*. trans. C. Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books.

Fraenkel, Jon, and Stewart Firth
2007 *From election to coup in Fiji: The 2006 campaign and its aftermath*. Canberra: Australia National Univ. Press.

France, Peter
1969 *The charter of the land: Custom and colonization in Fiji*. Melbourne: Oxford Univ. Press.

Fulton, Robert
1903 An account of the Fiji fire-walking ceremony, or vilavilairevo, with a probable explanation of the mystery. *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* 35:187–201 (read before the Otago Institute, 23 September 1902).

Goldberg, Alan
1983 Identity and experience in Haitian voodoo shows. *Annals of Tourism Research* 10 (4): 479–95.

Goldman, Laurence R.
1999 From pot to polemic: Uses and abuses of cannibalism. In *The anthropology of cannibalism*, ed. L. R. Goldman, 1–26. Westport, CT: Bergin and Harvey.

Graburn, Nelson H.
1984 The evolution of tourist arts. *Annals of Tourism Research* 11:393–419.

Greenwood, Davydd J.
1982 Cultural "authenticity." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 6 (3): 27–8.

Gudgeon, Walter E.
1899 Te Umu-ti, or fire-walking ceremony. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 8:58–60.

Haggard, Alfred Vernon H.
1903 [1902] Correspondence: Extract from a letter from Lieut. Vernon H. Haggard, R.N., HMS *Royal Arthur*, Australian Squadron (August 24th, 1902, Suva, Viti Levu). *Folklore* 14:88–89.

Halvaksz, Jamon
2006 Cannibalistic imaginaries: Mining the natural and science body in Papua New Guinea. *Contemporary Pacific* 18 (2): 335–59.

Haring, Lee
1995 Pieces for a shabby hut. In *Folklore, literature, and cultural theory: Collected essays*, ed. C. L. Preston, 187–203. New York: Garland.

Henning-Brown, Carolyn
1984 Tourism and ethnic competition in a ritual form: The firewalkers of Fiji. *Oceania* 54 (3): 223–44.

Henry, Teuira
1901 More about fire-walking. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 10:53–4.

Hereniko, Vilsoni
1999 Representations of cultural identities. In *Inside out: Literature, cultural politics, and identity in the New Pacific*, ed. V. Hereniko and R. Wilson, 137–66. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
2010 Cultural translation and filmmaking in the Pacific. In *Folktales and fairy tales: Translation, colonialism, and cinema*, ed. H. Kuʻualoha, N. Silva, V. Hereniko, and C. Bacchilega, 1–10. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa Library, WEB.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger
1983 *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Hocken, Thomas M.
1898 An account of the Fiji fire ceremony. *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* 31:667–72.

Hulme, Peter
1998 Introduction. The cannibal scene. In *Cannibalism and the colonial world*, ed. F. Barker, P. Hulme, and M. Iversen, 1–38. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Jackson, Arthur F.
1894 A Fijian legend of the origin of the "vilavilairevo" or "fire ceremony." *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 3:72–75.
1899 Firewalking in Fiji, Japan, India and Mauritius. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 8:188–96.

Jolly, Margaret
1997 From Point Venus to Bali Ha'i: Eroticism and exoticism in representations of the Pacific. In *Sites of desire, economies of pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. L. Manderson and M. Jolly, 99–122. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
2005 Beyond the horizon? Nationalisms, feminisms, and globalization in the Pacific. *Ethnohistory* 52 (1): 138–66.

Jules-Rosette, Bennetta
1984 *The messages of tourist art: An African semiotic system in comparative perspective*. New York: Plenum Press.

Kenn, Charles W.
1949 *Fire-walking from the inside*. Los Angeles: Franklin Thomas.

Kilgour, M.
1998 The function of cannibalism at the present time. In *Cannibalism and the colonial world*, ed. F. Barker, P. Hulme, and M. Iversen, 238–60. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
2001 Foreword. In *Eating their words. Cannibalism and the boundaries of identity*, ed. K. Guest, vii–viii. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara
1998 *Destination culture: Tourism, museums, and heritage*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Lang, Andrew
1901 Walking through fire. In *Magic and religion*, ed. A. Lang, 270–94. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

Langley, Samuel Pierpont
1901 Collectanea: The fire walk ceremony in Tahiti. *Folk-Lore* 12 (4): 446–55.

Leach, Edmund Ronald
1954 *Political systems of Highland Burma: A study of Kachin social structure*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Lindberg, Kreg, and Rebecca Johnson
1997 Modeling resident attitudes toward tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 24 (2): 402–24.

Lindenbaum, Shirley
2004 Thinking about cannibalism. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33:475–98.

Lindstrom, Lamont, and Geoffrey White
1994 Cultural policy: An introduction. In *Culture, kastom, tradition: Developing cultural policy in Melanesia*, ed. L. Lindstrom and G. White, 67–81. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, Univ. of the South Pacific.

Lindt, J. W.
1893 The fire ordeal at Beqa, Fiji Islands. *Royal Geographic Society of Australasia* (Victoria Branch) 11(August): 45–58.

Linnekin, Jocelyn
1997 Consuming cultures: Tourism and the commodification of cultural identity in the island Pacific. In *Tourism, ethnicity, and the state in Asian and Pacific societies*, ed. M. Picard and R. Wood, 215–50. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai‘i Press.

Lipp, Thorolf
2009 Das turmspringen der Sa in Vanuatu: Ritual, spiel oder spektakel? Eine dramatologische perspektive. In *Theatralisierungen der Gesellschaft*, ed. H. Willems, 305–30. Wiesbanden: VS Verlag.

Lockerby, William
1982 [1925] *The journal of William Lockerby: Sandalwood trader in the Fijian Islands during the years 1808–1809*, ed. E. Im Thurn and L. Wharton. Suva: Fiji Times and Herald.

Lutkehaus, Nancy C.
1989 "Excuse me, everything is not all right": On ethnography, film and representation. *Cultural Anthropology* 4 (4): 422–37 [An interview with filmmaker Dennis O'Rourke]

Lutz, Catherine, and Jane Lou Collins
1993 *Reading National Geographic*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

MacCannell, Dean
1992 Cannibalism today. In *Empty meeting grounds*, ed. D. MacCannell, 17–73. London: Routledge.
1992 *Empty meeting grounds: The tourist papers.* London: Routledge.

Marcus, George E., and Fred R. Myers
1995 *The traffic in culture: Refiguring art and anthropology*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Marden, Luis
1958 The islands called Fiji: Men walk on fiery rocks and women sing to turtles in Britain's Pacific colony. *National Geographic* 114 (4): 526–61.

Mariner, William
1817 *An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands in the South Pacific Ocean*. With an original grammar and vocabulary of their language. Compiled and arranged from the extensive communications of Mr. William Mariner, several years resident in those islands. London: J. Martin.

Maxwell, Anne
1999 *Colonial photography and exhibitions: Representations of the "native" and the making of European identities*. London: Leicester Univ. Press.

Maynard, Felix, and Alexandre Dumas
1937 *The whalers.* transl. F.W. Reed. London: Hutchinson.

McDermott, John W.
1978 Cannibalism, firewalking, witchcraft and other wigglies. In *How to get lost and found in Fiji*, ed. B.L. Hughes-McDermott, 158–67. Honolulu: Orafa Publishing Company, Inc.

McKean, Philip F.
1976 An anthropological analysis of the culture-brokers of Bali: Guides, tourists and Balinese. Joint UNESCO/IBDR Seminar on the Social and Cultural Impact of Tourism, Washington, DC, 8–10 December, 1976.

Mortensen, Lena, and George Nicholas
2010 Riding the tourism train? Navigating intellectual property, heritage, and community-based approaches to cultural tourism. *Anthropology News* 51 (8): 11–2.

Nakamura, Lisa
2002 *Cybertypes: Race, ethnicity, and identity on the internet*. New York: Routledge.

Newland, Lynda
2004 Turning the spirits into witchcraft: Pentecostalism in Fijian villages. *Oceania* 75 (1): 1–18.

Niranjana, Tejaswini
1992 *Siting translation: History, post-structuralism, and the colonial context*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

NM
1885 Ai Vola I Tukutuku Vaka Viti. *Na Mata* (November 30): 1–3.

Nuñez, Theron
1989 Touristic studies in anthropological perspective. In *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism*, ed. V.L. Smith, 265–79. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.

Obeyesekere, Gananath
1998 Cannibal feasts in nineteenth-century Fiji: Seamen's yarns and the ethnographic imagination. In *Cannibalism and the colonial world*, ed. F. Barker, P. Hulme, and M. Iversen, 63–86. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
2001 Narratives of the self: Chevalier Peter Dillon's Fijian cannibal adventures. In *Body trade: Captivity, cannibalism and colonialism in the Pacific*, ed. B. Creed and J. Hoorn, 69–111. New York: Routledge.
2005 *Cannibal talk: The man-eating myth and human sacrifice in the South Seas*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Oliver, Douglas L.
1974 *Ancient Tahitian society: Ethnography*. Vol. 1. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press.

Otto, Ton, and Robert Verloop
1996 The Asaro Mudmen: Local property, public culture? *Contemporary Pacific* 8 (2): 349–86.

Picard, Michel
1990 Cultural tourism in Bali: Cultural performances as tourist attraction. *Indonesia* 49 (37): 37–74.

Pigliasco, Guido Carlo
2007 The custodians of the gift: Intangible cultural property and commodification of the Fijian firewalking ceremony. PhD diss., Univ. of Hawai‘i.
2009a Intangible cultural property, tangible databases, visible debates: The Sawau project. *International Journal of Cultural Property* 16 (3): 255–69.
2009b Na Vilavilairevo: The Fijian firewalking ceremony. *Domodomo, The Journal of the Fiji Museum* 22 (1 and 2): 1–86.
2010 We branded ourselves long ago: Intangible cultural property and commodification of Fijian firewalking. *Oceania* 80 (2): 237–57.
2011 Are the grassroots growing? Intangible cultural heritage lawmaking in Fiji and Oceania. In *Made in Oceania: Social movements, cultural heritage and the state in the Pacific*, ed. K. Rio and E. Hviding, 322–37. Oxford: Sean Kingston.
2012 Are they evil?: Denominational competition and cultural demonization on a Fijian island. *People and Culture in Oceania* 28:45–68.

Pigliasco, Guido Carlo, and Felix Colatanavanua, dirs.
2005 A Ituvatuva Ni Vakadidike E Sawau (The Sawau project). Suva: Institute of Fijian Language and Culture.

Pigliasco, Guido Carlo, and Thorolf Lipp
2011 The islands have memory: Reflections on two collaborative projects in contemporary Oceania. *Contemporary Pacific* 23 (2): 371–410.

Portlock, Nathaniel
1789 *A voyage round the world: But more particularly to the North-West Coast of America; Performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, in the King George and Queen Charlotte, Captains Portlock and Dixon*. London: J. Stockdale and G. Goulding.

Rajotte, Freda
1978a A case study: The impact of tourism upon vilavilairevo (firewalking). Peacesat Conference on the Impact of Tourism Development in the Pacific, Rarotonga, Session 5, 3 May, pp. 1–3.
1978b The impact of tourism, the culture of Fiji. Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, Discussion Paper No. 33:20.

Robbins, Joel
2007 Continuity thinking and the problem of Christian culture: Belief, time and the anthropology of Christianity. *Current Anthropology* 48:5–38.

Rutz, Henry J.
1995 Occupying the headwaters of tradition: Rhetorical strategies of nation making in Fiji. In *Nation making: Emergent identities in postcolonial Melanesia*, ed. R. Foster, 71–93. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press.

Sahlins, Marshall
2003 Artificially maintained controversies: Global warming and Fijian cannibalism. *Anthropology Today* 19 (3): 3–5.

Said, Edward W.
1978 *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Schechner, Richard
1988 *Performance theory*. New York: Routledge.

Schutte, Gerhard
2003 Tourists and tribes in the "new" South Africa. *Ethnohistory* 50 (3): 473–88.

Silverman, Eric K.
1999 Tourist art and the crafting of identity in the Sepik River (Papua New Guinea). In *Unpacking culture: Art and commodity in colonial and postcolonial worlds*, ed. R.B. Phillips and C.B. Steiner, 51–66. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.
2004 Cannibalizing, commodifying, and creating culture: power and creativity in Sepik River tourism. In *Globalization and culture change in the Pacific Islands*, ed. V. Lockwood, 339–57. New York: Prentice-Hall.

Simpson, Colin
1955 The fire-walkers of Fiji. In *Islands of men: A six part book about life in Melanesia*, ed. Colin Simpson, 213–48. Sydney: Angus & Robertson.

Smith, M. Estellie
1982 The process of sociocultural continuity. *Current Anthropology* 23 (2): 127–42.

Smith, Valene L.
1989 Introduction. In *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism*. 2nd ed., ed. V.L. Smith, 1–17. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty
1999 *A critique of postcolonial reason: Toward a history of the vanishing present*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

Stanley, Nick
1998 *Being ourselves for you: The global display of cultures*. London: Middlesex Univ. Press.

Stewart, Susan
1984 *On longing: Narratives of the miniature, the gigantic, the souvenir, the collection*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press.

Stymeist, David H.
1996 Transformation of vilavilairevo in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 23:1–18.

Thomas, Nicholas.
1994 *Colonialism's culture: Anthropology, travel, and government*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

Thompson, Peter
1973 Some real and unreal social effects of tourism in Fiji. Tourism in Fiji, Ray Parkinson memorial lecture. Paper presented at the University of the South Pacific.

Thomson, Basil
1894 The fiery furnace. In *South Sea yarns*, ed. Basil Thomson, 194–207. Papakura, NZ: R. McMillan.
1968 [1908] The Fijians: A study of the decay of customs. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall.

Toganivalu, Deve
1914 The fire-walkers (a vilavilairevo). Paper presented at the Transactions of the Fijian Society (trans. G.A.F.W. Beauclerc).

Tomlinson, Matt
2009 *In God's image: The metaculture of Fijian Christianity*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.
2013 The generation of the now: Denominational politics in Fijian Christianity. In *Christian politics in Oceania*, ed. M. Tomlinson and D. McDougall, 78–102. New York: Berghahn Books.

Toren, Christina
1988 Making the present, revealing the past: The mutability and continuity of tradition as process. *Man* 23 (4): 696–717.

Trask, Haunani-Kay
1993 *From a native daughter: Colonialism and sovereignty in Hawai'i*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press.

Troost, J. Maarten
2006 *Getting stoned with savages: A trip through the islands of Fiji and Vanuatu*. New York: Broadway Books.

Urban, Greg
2001 *Metaculture: How culture moves through the world*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press.

Valeri, Valerio
1985 *Kingship and sacrifice: Ritual and society in ancient Hawai'i*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Van den Berghe, Pierre
1980 Tourism as ethnic relations: A case study of Cuzco, Peru. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 3 (6): 345–91.
1995 Marketing Mayas: Ethnic tourism promotion in Mexico. *Annals of Tourism Research* 22 (3): 568–88.

Vendetti, Tom
2003 *Fiji firewalkers*. Produced by Tom Vendetti and Atunasia Laqeretabua.

Venuti, Lawrence
1998 *The scandals of translation: Towards an ethics of difference*. London: Routledge.

Wood, Robert E.
1997 Tourism and the state: Ethnic options and the constructions of otherness. In *Tourism, ethnicity, and the state in Asian and Pacific societies*, ed. M. Picard and R. Wood, 1–34. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press.

Young, J. L.
1925 The Umu-Ti: Ceremonial fire walking as practiced in the eastern Pacific. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 34:214–22.

OH, THOSE POOR ISLANDERS AND THREATS TO AN IDYLLIC LIFE ON A BEAUTIFUL ISLAND!

Juliana Flinn
University of Arkansas at Little Rock

ANTHROPOLOGISTS MAY ARGUE THAT INDIGENOUS GROUPS are not passive pawns at the mercy of outside forces but active agents who creatively incorporate outside institutions for local purposes and influence the course of their lifeways (e.g., Sahlins 1999), but as Lutz and Collins (1993) indicate with *National Geographic* photographs, popular media representations are another matter. Such representations tend to reveal more about the cultural beliefs and attitudes of the media and its audience than they convey about the reality of another way of life (Desmond 1999; Kahn 2011). This is certainly the case for internet information, blogs, and news articles about Pollap, a Micronesian atoll in Chuuk State. These are the sites people would find by conducting a basic, nonacademic, nonscholarly search for information about the place; collectively they present a composite representation of the island through popular media. This is a relatively new source of representation; previously information about this part of the Pacific for general audiences would have been available largely through *National Geographic* and perhaps occasional newspaper articles. Visitors could share photographs and stories with a circle of friends and acquaintances, but now these can be widely disseminated over the internet. Furthermore, islander voices and their own representations can be shared and communicated to fellow islanders scattered throughout the United States as well as to outsiders.

Aside from a few sites with geographical and tide information, and references to some academic publications, Google searches on Pollap yielded

Pacific Studies, Vol. 38, Nos. 1/2—Apr./Aug. 2015

primarily articles about disasters, references to the traditional art of navigation, a few Peace Corps volunteer reminiscences, a scattering of entries by Pollapese, a few travel promotions, and photographs. Entries by Pollapese tend to focus on the beauty of the island and feeling connected with family back home. Peace Corps entries highlight an idyllic way of life not available in the United States. They evoke stereotypical romantic images of Pacific islands with pristine beaches, kindly natives, exotic dress and dance, a simplified way of life free of the stresses of the modern world, a warm and benign environment, and a set of customs unencumbered by Puritan morality. A couple of articles relate to Pollap's heritage in regard to the art of navigation and, thus, recognize the existence of a traditional store of knowledge. These, together with the travel descriptions and photographs, all in one respect or another romanticize the island way of life and appear to fulfill western dreams and fantasies about islanders living more closely with nature in some sort of paradise (Gillis 2004). The articles about the disasters, however, portray the islanders as helpless victims in need of assistance from the outside, without agency themselves. When there is discussion of a response to the event, the actors are outsiders; nowhere have I found a discussion of how islanders themselves have attempted to cope or deal with these problems.

Tiny, Remote, and Isolated

Pollap (formerly officially spelled Pulap, and still showing up as such in some articles) is part of a coral atoll in the western part of Chuuk State in the Caroline Islands chain. It is admittedly tiny, and from a western perspective at least, isolated and remote. A typical description from a website depicts the atoll as "a ring-shaped coral reef which has closely spaced islands on it encircling a lagoon."[1] The lagoon measures about twelve square miles, and Pollap, the northernmost of three islets along the reef, measures only 0.262 square miles in area (Bryan 1971). The land supports horticulture, with taro and breadfruit as the major crops, and the reef, lagoon, and surrounding ocean provide a range of marine resources. Although still largely oriented toward subsistence fishing and gardening, islanders increasingly consume imported rice and purchase foreign goods such as cloth, lanterns, building supplies, and even motor boats in recent years. Lacking significant cash crops, paid jobs (aside from school teachers), or industry are certainly characteristics that can contribute to an image of being obscure with little, if anything, to offer the outside world. It may be deemed primitive, lacking modern amenities, or representative of a simpler life, more closely connected with nature. In either case, it is remote from western existence and obscure.

The earliest written representation of Pollap and a name still occasionally seen is “Los Martires.”[2] This was the result of the first recorded foreign interaction with people of the atoll in 1565 when, in an encounter with the islanders, a couple of Spanish sailors were killed and the place was named in their memory (Anonymous 1887), leaving an image of the islanders as savage and warlike. It was more than 200 years before another recorded visit, but the name “Los Martires” still recurs from time to time. The only other historical reference that surfaced in the Google search was one about the sinking of a Japanese ship that took place not too far from Pollap, but the focus is on the ships involved rather than the islands.[3] In other words, the place is historically obscure.

The lack of western contact can be explained in part by the relative remoteness and tiny size of the island. For some, such as Peace Corps volunteers and occasional tourists (and for me, an anthropologist), the remoteness is part of the charm. In other contexts, however, remote translates as obscure, with negative connotations. In one instance, Pollap was even used to represent the epitome of obscure. A 2004 *Daily News* article skeptical of the value of educational toys used the game GeoSafari World Challenge and the tedium of 7,500 questions with the comment, “How fascinating is that 6,784th query about the Pulap Atoll?” as the example of useless information about unimportant and irrelevant places in the world.[4] Pollap wasn’t even intriguing enough to warrant being the 7,000th or 7,500th question. Furthermore, a site about the atoll’s geography, with data from the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency,[5] cites “no data” for several categories, such as population figures and elevations, thus contributing to the small and obscure image.

A Micronesian government site describes the island group Pollap as being part of “small, low-lying atolls reachable by field trip ships and small plane by some”[6] (though Pollap is not reachable by plane). Being a tiny place presumably contributes to obscurity, as does the fact that it is not readily accessible. A wiki article points out that travel to the area “is difficult due to the lack of reliable transportation.”[7] Again the implication is one of being remote, without any frequent or predictable ship or plane schedule. No mention is made in either site of the possibility of islanders traveling in their own canoes, only via field trip ship or airplane. The article also focuses on transportation from center hubs to outer islands rather than the many ways islanders are connected with each other in a complex web of regional relationships. The US Department of Health and Human Services lists the atoll (with the old spelling and, thus, not current with the accepted local style) as an isolated/hardship site,[8] and the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources lists it as a protected area (Dahl 1986, 30). These all lay out a picture of a small, remote, obscure place isolated from much of the rest

of the world and in need of protection. From an outside perspective, at least, this is certainly a version of the reality of Pollap and neighboring islands, especially in comparison with many other parts of the world.

One might even construe the references to my anthropological work and the work of others scattered on the web as further evidence of the remoteness and obscurity of the island tinged with the notions of it being an exotic place.[9] After all, that's the stereotype of what anthropologists do. Furthermore, even though much of this scholarly work examines culture change and the impact of contact with a series of foreign administration, there is still a strong thread of tradition and emphasis on local efforts to retain an older way of life that runs through those publications. The stress tends to rest on what is unusual and traditional about the island. At least it accords some agency to the islanders with analyses of ways they have been negotiating a position for themselves in the contemporary world, something that is absent in more popular representations.

Unique and Traditional

These days it is not just outsiders posting on the internet. Pollapese themselves have taken advantage of internet opportunities to reflect on their home and articulate their vision of their way of life. Many have been immigrating to the United States for schooling and for work and learning to use the internet. Their voices become mingled with others when examining imagery on websites. Obscure is certainly not the way the place is represented by the islanders themselves unless one thinks of "unique" or "special" as connotations of obscure. Certainly for Pollapese, obscure does not imply irrelevant but exceptional. For example, one site extolls the island of Pollap as follows: "Our way of living and lifestyle is very far different from all places' and island's lifestyles. . . ."[10] The same site highlights a sense of island unity: "there is one culture, one religion, one traditional lifestyle, one language." From my own ethnographic experience, I have learned how Pollapese present their community as being unified, in contrast to other places, where, for example, a community may be divided into different religious groups. They also speak with pride about having retained traditional ways that others have lost. Specific symbols Pollapese included on the web are their canoes and the style of dress, the latter of which is described as "the simplest way." We will see that the style of dress—loincloths for men and lavalavas for women—recurs in many non-islander representations as well, as do canoes along with navigational skill. The small size of the island is acknowledged on the islander site, but it is coupled with comments about the beauty of the place and the hospitality of the islanders: "you will find friendly people offering you the best

of our local food and coconuts.... So, come and enjoy visiting our small and beautiful island, Pollap Island."

Other postings by Pollapese focus on longing for home and the beauty of the island, with "I miss my very beautiful island" being a common lament.[11] Although most postings are in that vein, an intriguing variant by one islander pointed out that they were going to lose their home once it sank (presumably referencing their awareness of news about global warming; see below) and that they should, therefore, return at least to visit and drink coconut toddy (for an extended discussion of media representations of climate change, see Kempf, this volume). Specific evidence for beauty tends to be beaches: "your sparkling white sand," for example, and "your white beaches." Peace emerged a couple of times: "your peaceful sweet touch" and "the most peaceful island that no one compares to." I know from fieldwork that maintaining "peace" (i.e., fostering harmonious relationships) is highly valued. Pollapese often tout their unity, and they believe this to be a sign of their ability to maintain such good relationships. Pollap as a place, as an island, appears also to subsume people such that the land is said to be "the place for dad and mom" and "the place of my ancestors." It is also a "place of tradition," in line with the idea that their ways are unique and special, in part because of having retained traditional ways. (See McGavin, this volume, on the influence of non-Pacific-Islander imagery of the Pacific on Pacific Islanders.)

In a posting by islanders about Pollap's first Peace Corps volunteer, islander traditional dress emerges again as a key symbol, as does the contrast between Pollapese and other islanders.[12] The article points out that volunteers were warned not to return to the port town wearing a loincloth, the Pollapese male dress and a custom abandoned years earlier in the central islands. Yet the volunteer nonetheless followed Pollapese custom, not only wearing the loincloth on the island but also on the ship as it arrived at the dock, marking him as at least partially Pollapese. According to the post, although the man "was white on the outside, he was definitely brown on the inside. He loved Pulap and never forgot it!"

Not surprisingly, Peace Corps volunteers themselves comment on customs contrasting with their own. Generosity unlike what is found in capitalist America is one example; a returned volunteer described the "odd custom on Pollap which goes something like—if a person of higher status tells you they like something of yours, you are obligated to give that something to the person."[13] In shorter postings, others commented on the generosity of their host families and the relationships built with them.[14] I found a few attempts to connect with other volunteers and discuss potentially shared experiences and relationships.

These attempts to connect along with other aspects of postings by and about Peace Corps volunteers imply or outright state that their relationships and experiences with Pollapese changed them, especially the extent to which they adopted Pollapese ways. The volunteer who arrived in town with a loincloth is, in another posting, described by islanders admiringly for violating Peace Corps policy by sailing with Pollapese.[15] This is one of the articles that explicitly mentions a spiritual change: "His life, view of life, the way he lived his life; it all changed as a result of his living and teaching there. . . ." And "Pulap became [his] 'spiritual home'—as it did for many of the first Peace Corps Volunteers (PCVs) who were fortunate enough to have the gift of living in remote islands with knowledgeable people who are kind and gracious."

A former volunteer who worked both in the Western Islands, which includes Pollap, and Namonuito, to the north, in describing the area also focuses on its difference from other places, at least in Chuuk, pointing out that others have great difficulty understanding their language and that the islanders retain traditional dress (Ridgell 1991, 3). Dress is often cited as an example of retention of tradition (as is navigation), perhaps because it is so visible and because it violates western notions of modesty. The male loincloth reveals a man's buttocks, and the female lavalava reveals a woman's breasts. What better symbol of difference? Furthermore, the way of life is presented as "simplified" (Ridgell 1991, 3), lacking electricity, plumbing, toilets, and telephones, and with little access to money. The description verges on romanticizing a simplified way of life rather than decrying the poverty of the islands.

I was a Peace Corps Volunteer myself, although not on Pollap, but Onoun, in the Namonuito Atoll to the north of Pollap. Many of my students were Pollapese, however, as was the principal at the junior high school where I taught. My own writing in the form of letters, journals, and a brief discussion in one publication (Flinn 1998:97–102) reflects many of the same themes. I wanted to live in the most "traditional" site and to work with people as different from me as possible, living another way of life, and in a remote site. I conflated being remote with being more traditional and having undergone less change through contact with western change agents. Ideally I wanted to work on Pollap or one of the other Western Islands, but those were not options. Onoun was spoken of as the most traditional of the available sites, and one of the major pieces of evidence provided had to do with dress: women still wore lavalavas and men still wore loincloths.

These texts from Peace Corps volunteers say at least as much about their writers as they do the islanders. Pervading these texts runs a yearning for an idyllic alternative to American life, for a simpler life less encumbered with

material goods and more laden with warm, generous relationships (see Lutkehaus, this volume). Furthermore, the Peace Corps volunteer texts in particular resemble aspects of the text written by the Civil Affairs Officer in the Marshall Islands, discussed by Carucci (this volume). The authors tend to idealize a way of life unavailable in the United States, a way of life steeped in traditions in danger of being lost or overtaken by western ways, and a place inhabited by gracious and considerate native people. They posit a people living out of time in spiritual harmony and innocence.

Timeless and Exotic Tourist Paradise

Exotic locales draw more than Peace Corps volunteers and anthropologists; they also draw tourists (see Pigliasco, this volume). Places such as Hawai'i and Tahiti are the well-known Pacific tropical vacation spots, but little-known places have allure for tourists as well. Obscure may well even be part of the attraction for some. Pollap is not a common tourist destination, small and remote as it is, but one site touting a cruise that would include it, describes the beauty of the island in ways that evoke a tropical paradise: "a perfect islet with a shallow aquamarine lagoon to our right and the deep indigo Pacific to our left."[16] A mention is also made of the place being "traditional," but the main point about their tradition is Pollapese skill in navigation and canoe construction. Mention of Pollapese expertise pales in comparison, however, with commentary about the "men of Satawal, famed for their mastery of ocean navigation without the use of instruments, [who] still voyage between the islands of Micronesia in outrigger canoes, steering by the sun, stars, and swells," probably because of the fame of Mau Piailug. Pollap is portrayed as part of the area in which these skills are still alive and practiced. Mau Piailug shared this knowledge with Hawaiians and made possible the famed voyages of the Hokule'a. Thus at least the navigational skills of this obscure part of the world became both noticed and valued by outsiders.

The remoteness may be framed as an attraction for some travelers as "remote" becomes cast as "exotic": "Exotic Micronesia Cruise Tours Departing Soon."[17] In this particular article, the cruise becomes labeled an "expedition," and "each far-flung island destination offers rare opportunities for discovery, including historical sites, incomparable diving and rarely visited cultures." In other words, isolated, remote, and obscure all become opportunities for tourists to join the ranks of explorers (for a discussion of one such explorer, see Lepowsky, this issue), because the text hints at a relatively untouched and unchanging way of life in these places. A description of the atoll found in a couple of travel sites likewise implies tradition, exotic ways, and timelessness: "Aside from being renowned navigators, the inhabitants

of Pulap Atoll are known for their colorful time-honored dances and finely made handicrafts. Go snorkeling and diving and scan for inhabitants of the reef including sharks, turtles, manta rays and a profusion of brightly colored fish."[18]

Even a commercial company with tours focusing on diving advertises in the same vein, speaking of the outer islands, including Pollap, as "abound with the pristine beauty and isolation of Oceania," again turning isolation into an attraction and romanticizing a "pristine beauty" supposedly untainted by the outside world. In fact, the ad continues with, "Each island awaits our visits with welcoming anticipations and are ready to show onboard guests the magic and wonders that hold these people to their distant shores so far removed from the intense bustle of a modern world."[19] These conditions supposedly then create a "dream cruise." The islanders are romanticized as well: "Make new friends with the warm, easy-going natives of Pulap Atoll, . . ."[20] Reports about one of these dive trips very explicitly describes dancing and "traditional" dress, with the suggestion of the exotic, and in much more detail than the diving:

> The complete populace of about 800 Pulapese gathered at their field & meeting house, & shortly afterwards a big group of male dancers led off with traditional chanting & dancing, dressed in various attires of coconut fronds & the male 'thu' or loin cloth. The dancing soon picked up tempo & got everyone stirred into cheering & applause. The men were followed by a large group of approximately 30 women. This group continued the entertainment for another 1½ hours dressed in hand-made lava-lava's around their hips & many types of mwar-mwars on their heads & over their bare breasts.[21]

Mentioning women's hips and bare breasts heightens not only the exoticness but implies some sort of natural sexuality.

In the same vein, Zegrahm Expeditions touts its company's ability to take people to "remote and intriguing destinations," including Pollap, where tourists can have an "adventure" and find "tiny islets" (where small becomes an attraction in and of itself) and "emerald lagoons."[22] At times, descriptions given for Pollap have even been applied elsewhere—to more developed and less isolated places such as Tonowas, in Chuuk Lagoon—presumably to heighten the appeal of the latter.[23]

Other types of sites reinforce this timeless, traditional, and exotic image: one displays a pounding stone with a note about "traditional" uses,[24] and other sites with photographs for sale portray an idealized exotic tropical paradise. Most of these photographs are by Wolfgang Kaehler,[25] with some by Anthony

Marais,[26] and they present an image of Pollap as a traditional place seemingly untouched by the rest of the world and full of almost stereotypical exotic Pacific Islander imagery: the bare-breasted maiden, the man in a loincloth, dancers in grass skirts and flowers, a thatched boathouse. The captions routinely speak of "traditional" and "native": traditional dance, native boys, traditional dress, native girl. Each caption has at least one, if not both, of those labels. There are only rare photographs of the cement or wood houses and none of the Catholic church or elementary school representing the influence of the outside word. Rather, coconut trees along the beach with the lagoon in the background, smiling girls wearing flower garlands, other girls assembling garlands, a canoe being built, thatched roofs—these are the selections portrayed along with dancing and "natives." A minor point but nonetheless telling is the old spelling of the island, "Pulap," in each caption rather than the up-to-date "Pollap." The message is of a place lost in time, unaffected by the outside world.

The Google search also picked up the use of one of Kaehler's photographs in a psychology textbook in a chapter on emotion right beside the section labeled "Happiness." Although the photo itself is not one of domestic life but rather of islanders hanging out intrigued with the visitors who have presumably arrived with the photographer, the caption nonetheless explains that "domestic violence is rare" probably because "family life takes place in the open" and "relatives and neighbors who witness angry outbursts can step in" (Myers 2004, 522). This certainly romanticizes the situation, especially as the photo sits next to the word "happiness," and it ignores the complexity of who is entitled to "step in" to deal with domestic abuse. This is all aside from the fact that the scene—abounding with people—is not one of domestic life and does not portray an extended family.

These photographs by professional photographers, many of which are for sale on the internet, stand in marked contrast to those taken by a Peace Corps volunteer and to the captions he chose. First of all, specific names are often attached to the people in the latter photos rather than the label "native." And even when the volunteer visited nearby islands and did not record people's names, the captions became "woman weaving a lavalava" or "man shaving" rather than "native woman in lavalava" or "native man shaving."

Movie and television representations of Pacific Islanders discussed by others in the volume (Lipset, Schachter, Pearson, this volume) carry some of these same images of the tropical paradise, "native" customs, and family relationship. For example, movies display men in loincloths, topless women, outrigger canoes, generous chiefs, and a man kneeling to his sacred mother. These seem to be typical images of Pacific Island tradition, with an implied promise of a paradise—at least before being contaminated by outsiders—with

happy natives, a more free and open sexuality, and people busy with their quaint and colorful ways riding in canoes, dancing, and weaving flower garlands.

Source of Expertise

Many of the travel sites reference the atoll as a place where traditional canoe building and navigation are still practiced, and a number of other sites not explicitly dealing with travel focus on the navigational tradition of the island, thus recognizing at least this area of expertise on the part of Pollapese. Pollap is mentioned as the founder of the Weriyeng school of navigation, such as in a 2007 Hawaiian newspaper article about Hawaiians to be initiated as navigators on Satawal, Piailug's home island.[27] The same article acknowledges that this master navigator learned from the Weriyeng school. A religion wiki mentions Pollap ("or nearby islands") as the place where the initiation ceremony originated,[28] and an article from the Bishop Museum also mentions Pollap as where a school of navigation originated,[29] but there is otherwise no mention of the island's connection with navigation or its recent ceremonies. Rather, the emphasis is largely on Mau Piailug of Satawal and his teaching of Hawaiians.[30] A Wikipedia article about Chuuk[31] has a brief mention of Pollap. Although it points out the remoteness of the place, the main point is navigation: Pollap and nearby Polowat "are considered to have some of the best navigators and ocean-going outrigger canoes in the Pacific," and the area has two ongoing schools of navigation, including Weriyeng.

A ceremony that took place on Pollap to initiate navigators was reported at least by the Micronesian government in 2006.[32] Reference can also be found to earlier ceremonies beginning in the 1990s, decades after the practice had seemingly been abandoned. The ceremony had been deemed pagan, but with resurgence in pride in their island's heritage and perhaps also because of outside recognition of the value of their expertise, the ceremony had been revived. The language in the web article is revealing, however, because the verb used is "ordained" rather than the word "initiated" that I'd heard used by Pollapese speaking English in connection with this ritual and in at least some articles.[33] Perhaps "initiation" has too many connotations of paganism whereas "ordination" implies a consistency with western religion. The word "tradition" is used several times, reinforcing the image of the place as a repository of old customs.

Although the traditional navigation is a type of expertise, the emphasis in the websites is on the knowledge almost as an abstract entity and one that has been passed down unchanging, almost mechanically, from one generation to

the next. A sense of agency seems to be lacking, and there seems to be no place for creativity. It verges on condescending about these clever natives who have held on to exotic customs.

The only other mentions I found of islander expertise recognized twenty-five years of service of a Pollapese nun[34] and the linguistic work of Paulina Yourupi at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. At least in these two instances, we see a focus on individual Pollapese and their accomplishments. The latter woman has posted some information about herself and the Pollapese language.[35] A couple of articles about the language based on work she supervised appear,[36] as does an article about her being a recipient of an Endangered Language Fund award to develop a Pollapese orthography and a database of Pollapese language materials.[37] This certainly acknowledges agency on the part of an educated islander while at the same time highlighting the remoteness of the place. At least in this context of endangered languages, obscurity does not equate with irrelevance.

Impoverished and Helpless

In other types of articles, however, Pollap is portrayed as poor, endangered, battered by natural disasters, susceptible to epidemics—and essentially powerless to deal with these problems on its own. Apparently lacking in relevant abilities, the islanders are in need of external assistance and expertise. Outer Islands Partnership, for example, mentions how remote and isolated places such as Pollap have "very little contact with the outside world except for the occasional government-run boat that comes twice a year,"[38] seemingly oblivious to the very navigational activity touted by other sites. The "outside world" doesn't even appear to include neighboring islands or other outer atolls. Instead, the nearest "outside" locations seem to be the westernized port towns. Furthermore, Pollap, along with its neighbors, is listed as among "the most impoverished." As evidence, the islanders are said to "have very little access to the educational, health care, and economic development opportunities which are concentrated in the main commercial centers." About the only positive statement, and one that posits at least some agency, concerns family: "Their strong familial ties enable them to thrive amidst the poverty." "Lack of jobs" is cited as a sign of poverty, but without mention of their ability to feed themselves with subsistence horticulture and fishing or to build houses from local materials. "No health clinics" is cited as another sign, despite the presence of trained health aides and an array of indigenous medications and therapeutic practices. There is also no mention of efforts of local islanders to secure funds for local development projects, such as the desalinization pump Pollapese leaders managed to obtain and have installed

to contend with the possibility of another drought. Here obscure implies non-western, lacking western markers of societal well-being, and therefore poor and in need of external assistance.

A mission website lauding the efforts of one of their doctors in saving the life of a Pollap child wrote that since the parents were "living on an isolated island, they had no way to communicate their need for help."[39] This is despite the fact that the islanders can radio the main island for assistance, which may come in the form of medical advice, a physician sent to the island, or a ship called to bring a patient into the hospital. Pollapese also consult islanders with medical training on their own and nearby islands.

Pollapese are also portrayed as helpless victims of disasters in websites and news articles on the web. For example, a storm "battered" the island, the ocean "washed over" it, and an epidemic "hit" the community. These articles tend to use strong verbs for an external force acting on the island, and usually the object is indeed the island rather than islanders. In an article about a typhoon (*New York Times* November 29, 1990, p. A17), the typhoon "hit Micronesia homes," "battered" the islands, and "destroyed nearly every home on Pulap." And the only mention of the impact on the people was that the islanders were left "homeless." Even more telling, however, is that there was no mention of efforts islanders took to protect themselves or to recover. They were victims and nothing more.

Even though Pollap is cited as the origin of a school of navigation in many sites and its islanders touted as knowledgeable about canoes and navigation in the travel sites, sailing disasters in which Pollapese had to be rescued are highlighted in other sites.[40] Strong, active verbs are again associated with outsiders and with forces—but not with the islanders: "Misadventure Overcomes Twenty-five Canoemen from Pulap: Tragedy at Sea" and "a heavy storm struck," for example. About the strongest statement made with Pollapese as the subject is that "the men bailed frantically," in which "frantically" serves to weaken a sense of deliberate Pollapese agency. And rather than explore any focused, strategic, deliberate actions, based on knowledge, skill, and experience that the sailors made, the article instead characterizes them as passive: "the crews were forced to lash down their masts and sails" and "all were half swamped by the waves" and the "canoes were scattered." When action is actually ascribed to Pollapese, it trivializes the them: the sailors "indicated their preference to proceed to the Truk District center rather than to be dropped at their home island, as they wished to procure cigarettes." An article from 1999 mentions the National Guard "rescuing" four Pollapese, again without any reference to actions on the part of the sailors themselves to contend with their predicament.[41] Similar language can be found with regard to an attempted rescue in 2009.[42]

Another type of disaster, discussed in analogous fashion, is epidemics. One article references the 1982 outbreak of cholera which began on Pollap and neighboring islands and in which eleven people died.[43] The language of the article is almost exclusively passive so that it is unclear who has agency. For example, it mentions "control measures" but not who promulgated or implemented them. A flu outbreak was discussed in much stronger language: it "hit" Pollap in 2003 and "more than a hundred and sixty people . . . are said to be suffering from the illness,"[44] and no mention is made of local efforts to deal with the situation. Rather, only an external foundation on Guam is mentioned as addressing the problem by raising money to send drugs. Even when the islanders are spoken of in active terms, they are still portrayed as victims: "Pollap residents will have to journey by motorboat to pick up the supplies." It may be subtle, but "will have to journey" accords less agency even than the simple "will journey" or "can journey." Despite other articles about the navigational skills of these islanders, Pollapese are here portrayed as having to resort to a difficult endeavor.

Several articles reference global warming, rising sea levels, and disappearing atolls. In fact, searching "Pulap Atoll" on Google news archives yielded eight articles, six of which are from the summer of 2007 and variants on the same story of a global warming problem. The threatened sites are described as "idyllic picture postcard flat coral islets of beach and palm trees."[45] And a comment following the article lamented that "many a low lying tropical paradise will be sadly lost." The problem is that "the ocean has washed over Pulap Atoll" and "salt water has killed the taro plants." Historically when disaster has struck, neighbors assist, but the article only mentions "disaster teams" bringing assistance. External forces strike the island—a place that is isolated and idyllic, inhabited by lovely islanders who care about their children and families but are helpless in the face of these forces. Either they lack western training or their own local ways are ineffective, so that they are in need of outside assistance. It is as though they are children, relatively innocent, unskilled, and uneducated, who need the benevolent caretaking of parents.

Other articles and sites contribute to this image of the islanders being in need. A presentation about "Impacts of Climate Change on Coastal Infrastructures" with some photographs of Pollapese seawalls (deemed inadequate) cites problems with local activity, including "inadequate knowledge," "crude construction," and the ineffectiveness of "traditional systems."[46] Another article reports on outer islanders needing a ship to come provide medical and dental care.[47] Yet another laments the situation of an elementary school Pollapese girl in Florida being unprepared for reading.[48]

Conclusion

What sort of composite image of Pollap emerges from these nonscholarly representations? The internet and various websites provide for a wide variety of voices and communication with a vast audience. Some postings may be news articles, others personal musings; some voices come from islanders, others from visitors, sojourners, or even strangers. These sites are likely to be the major source of information about the island, given the role of the internet in our society. Seen through a variety of lenses on the web, then, what sort of a place is Pollap? Certainly it is portrayed as small, remote, and isolated, and these traits lend themselves to both romantic and realistic castings. Pollap at times is obscure in the sense of being irrelevant, but for some people, such as Peace Corps volunteers, it is a refuge from a harried, materialist way of life and a catalyst for spiritual change. One lens reveals a romantic and idyllic island, with the warm, blue waters and stretch of beaches, another a place of intrigue, so clearly representing another way of life, a simpler way of life. The style of dress, with its undertones of sexuality, is a visible symbol, both for outsiders and for islanders themselves. Canoes and navigation represent areas of knowledge and skill valued by outsiders. The place is represented as a repository of traditional knowledge, contributing to a romantic image; it does not mark them as savage or backward but as guardians of knowledge lost to others. Mau and Satawal have garnered most of the publicity, but Pollap's role is nonetheless frequently acknowledged. In the absence of Mau's endeavors and accomplishments, however, it is doubtful the island would have received such attention.

Yet there is almost a museum quality to the navigational abilities. Islander expertise is relegated to a timeless era, with islanders tied to tradition rather than engaged with the modern world, experts in their own ways but unsophisticated in western ones. Furthermore, there is little connection made between the navigational abilities and ties, connections, travel, and trade among the islands. The ocean remains as a barrier, isolating islanders, rather than serving as roadways connecting them. Thus, many other representations of Pollap highlight the backwardness of the island. Using conventional wisdom about modernization and development, Pollap is cast as poor because it lacks so much. A Peace Corps volunteer might romanticize this as a simple life, but missions and development organizations cast it as poverty.

In sum, Pollapese in these articles are not represented as actors. Rather, they are at the mercy of epidemics, global warming, and typhoons. They seem to be incapable of dealing with any of these catastrophes themselves or with the help of neighboring islanders. Active verbs are reserved for the external forces and for the foreigners planning or carrying out the necessary

assistance. Romantic islands with bare-breasted maidens, white beaches, balmy weather, a slow pace of life, exotic customs, sailing canoes, and close families make for great vacations or life-altering experiences for intrepid Peace Corps volunteers (and presumably anthropologists as well), but these islanders are also seen as almost caught in the past, somewhat naive and innocent, living a simple, noble way of life, and thus lacking in the ability and knowledge to contend with problems that threaten this way of life. The beauty of the place is endangered by global warming and storms, the people themselves are susceptible to illness, and traditions are threatened by outside encroachment, and the image emerging from these internet sites is that help—if it comes—arrives from the outside. Like intelligent but innocent children, unskilled in the ways of the world, they need guidance from those with more experience. They are not accorded agency, despite—or perhaps because of—the supposed idyllic, harmonious, and traditional way of life.

NOTES

1. www.getamap.net/maps/federated_states_of_Micronesia/chuuk/_pulap_atoll/ (accessed July 28, 2011).

2. e.g., www.getamap.net/maps/federated_states_of_Micronesia/chuuk/_pulap_atoll/ (accessed July 28, 2011).

3. One place this reference can be found is www.fact-index.com/u/us/uss_tunny_ss_282_.html (accessed July 28, 2011).

4. www.nydailynews.com/archives/opinions/2004/12/05/2004-12-05_can_we_please_put_some_fun_i.html (accessed September 9, 2010).

5. www.geographic.org/geographic_names/name.php?uni=-4972736&fid=1825&c=federated_states_of_micronesia (accessed July 28, 2011).

6. www.fsmgov.org/press/pr06280a.htm (accessed August 21, 2011).

7. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chuuk.

8. dcp.psc.gov/eccis/documents/PPM06_006.pdf (accessed July 28, 2011).

9. The work of a Japanese anthropologist and a few other academic pieces appeared on Google as well. Examples include work by Komatsu at ir.minpaku.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10502/3450/1/KHB_006_021.pdf (accessed July 28, 2011) and www.trussel.com/kir/s_arch.htm (accessed July 28, 2011), and Pritchard at research.com.myfwc.com/engine/download_redirection_process.asp?file=78pritchard_1304.pdf&objid+30971&dltype=publication (accessed July 28, 2011).

10. ambo2k10.tripod.com (accessed February 23, 2010).

11. pollapisland.blogspot.com/2006/10/pollap-island.html (accessed September 8, 2010).

12. chuukhighschool.blogspot.com (accessed January 10, 2011).

13. melissadrinkman.blogspot.com/2007/07/reflections.html (accessed January 10, 2011).

14. chuukhighschool.blogspot.com (accessed January 10, 2011).

15. chuukhighschool.blogspot.com (accessed January 10, 2011).

16. www.zeco.com/destinations/Micronesia_cruise_vacation (accessed September 8, 2010).

17. news.wooeb.cnews.wooeb.com/NewsStory.aspx?id+485113 (accessed July 28, 2011).

18. One site where this description is found is www.e-travel.ie/destination.php?destId=4&sec=1&Port=938 (accessed July 28, 2011).

19. www.thorfinn.net/bookings/all-packages/pan-micro-cruises/ (accessed July 28, 2011).

20. www.thorfinn.scubalinx.com (accessed July 28, 2011).

21. www.usdivetravel.com/V-TRUK-Thorfinn.html (accessed July 28, 2011).

22. www.smallshipadventure.com/micronesia_zoe.php (accessed July 28, 2011).

23. www.naturexp.com/demo/detailed_itinerary/itinerary_legends-of-pacific.html (accessed July 28, 2011).

24. www.pbif.org/WebGallery/Default.aspx?directory=2211&action=View&sortorder=Ascending&dirsortorder=Ascending&file=2788 (accessed July 28, 2011).

25. e.g., wkaehlerphoto.com (accessed September 13, 2011).

26. e.g., www.chinci.com/travel/pax/q/4041770/Pulap+Atoll/FM/Micronesia/0/ (accessed July 28, 2011).

27. archives.starbulletin.com/2007/03/17/news/story04.html (accessed January 13, 2011).

28. religion.wikia.com/wiki/Pwo (accessed January 13, 2011).

29. www.bishopmuseum.org/media/2008/pr08059.html (accessed August 21, 2011).

30. e.g., en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mau_Piailug (accessed August 21, 2011), where the Werieng navigation school is mentioned as originating on Pollap in a note at the end of the article.

31. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chuuk (accessed January 13, 2011).

32. www.fsmgov.org/press/pro7o7oc.htm (accessed February 23, 2010).

33. e.g., www.samlow.com/sail-nav/CEREMONY.htm (accessed January 13, 2011).

34. http://www.charlottediocese.net/n/features/53-roknewspager-local/533-seven-sisters-of-mercy-celebrate-jubilees (accessed September 8, 2010).

35. www.ling.hawaii.edu/~uhdoc/pollapese/ (accessed September 8, 2010).

36. www.drangle.com/~james/papers/pollapese-sounds.pdf (accessed September 8, 2010) and zeromorph.blogspot.com/2009/02/pollapese.html (accessed September 8, 2010).

37. www.endangeredlanguagefund.org/pdf/ELF_November_2008_newsletter.pdf (accessed September 8, 2010).

38. outerislands.org (accessed September 8, 2010).

39. www.canvasback.org/index.cfm/article_8.htm (accessed September 8, 2010).

40. http://www.pacificdigitallibrary.org/cgi-bin/pdl?e=d-000off-pdl--00-2--0--010---4-------0-1l--10en-50---20-info---00-3-1-00bySR-0-0-000utfZz-8-00&a=d&cl=CL1&d=HASH01aed374aad073a93[96]39a.14 (accessed July 28, 2011).

41. archives.starbulletin.com/1999/04/28/news/briefs/html (accessed July 28, 2011).

42. e.g., www.allvoices.com/news/2554400/s/28962798-2-missing-boys-in-chuuk-found-alive-in-canoe (accessed August 21, 2011), and bild-art.de/kpress/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=624 (accessed August 21, 2011).

43. cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/00001171.htm (accessed January 14, 2011).

44. www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=6711 (accessed November 17, 2010).

45. www.usatoday.com/travel/destinations/2007-07-16-disappearing-islands_N.htm (accessed September 9, 2010).

46. environscope.iges.or.jp/modules/envirolib/ (accessed July 28, 2011).

47. www.henrykellam.com/reports/FSM_Health.pdf (accessed July 28, 2011).

48. www.prel.org/products/paced/summer10/15_ask_rel-p.pdf (accessed September 23, 2011).

REFERENCES

Anonymous

1887 The first European visit to Truk: account of Arellano's visit of 1565. Micronesian Seminar. In *Colección de documentos Inéditos*, trans. Francis X. Hezel, 3:11–25. Madrid: Ravadeneyra.

Bryan, Edwin H., Jr.

1971 *Guide to place names in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*. Honolulu: Pacific Scientific Information Center, Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Dahl, Arthur L.
1986 *Review of the protected areas system in Oceania*. Gland, Switzerland: IUCN.

Desmond, Jane
1999 *Staging tourism: Bodies on display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Flinn, Juliana
1998 Single woman, married woman, mother, or me? Defining family and identity in the field. In *Fieldwork and families: Constructing new models for ethnographic research*, ed. Juliana Flinn, Leslie Marshall, and Jocelyn Armstrong, 96–109. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press.

Gillis, John
2004 *Islands of the mind: How the human imagination created the Atlantic World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kahn, Miriam
2011 *Tahiti beyond the postcard: Power, place, and everyday life*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press.

Lutz, Catherine A., and Jane L. Collins
1993 *Reading National Geographic*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Myers, David G.
2004 *Psychology*. New York: Worth Publishers.

Ridgell, Reilly
1991 *Bending to the trade winds: Stories of the Peace Corps experience in Micronesia*. Guam: Univ. of Guam Press.

Sahlins, Marshall
1999 What is anthropological enlightenment? Some lessons of the twentieth century. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28:i–xxiii.

REPRESENTATION AS DISASTER: MAPPING ISLANDS, CLIMATE CHANGE, AND DISPLACEMENT IN OCEANIA

Wolfgang Kempf
University of Goettingen

Introduction

Pacific islands and island states figure prominently in the global media landscape, especially when it comes to picturing how climate change and sea-level rise will play out in the future. Dramatic representations dominate, invoking images of catastrophe, decline, and loss. The direct linkage between Pacific islands and sea-level rise accords centrality to tropes of inundation and submergence—in combination with scenarios of displacement, flight, and resettlement, which envisage the depopulating not only of single islands but of entire island states as well. This discursive construction derives its tragic momentum from the conviction that deprivation and perdition are waiting in the wings and are, in any event, inescapable. One thing is certain: media depictions of this kind are alarmist, simplistic, and heavily exaggerated (see, e.g., Barnett and Campbell 2010: 167–74; Connell 2003, 90; Farbotko 2005: 286–87; Nunn 2009, 182). At the same time, the findings of climate research leave no doubt that the future of many island states and their populations is highly likely to be one of severe imperilment (see Nurse et al. 2014). My study is situated within this conflicting terrain of media representations and scientific constructions.

The focus will be on how depiction of the consequences of climate change and sea-level rise for the islands, peoples, and states of the Pacific plays out at the interface of media and popular scientific communication. Works popularizing science differ from their cutting-edge counterparts in the specific ways

Pacific Studies, Vol. 38, Nos. 1/2—Apr./Aug. 2015

in which complex matters are disseminated and (inevitably) simplified, so that these matters can be brought to a wider lay public and not remain confined to a small pool of experts. Broad impact and market orientation mean that popular scientific publications fall chiefly within the ambit of the global media, despite the fact that validation for such depictions is often secured by adopting scientific rationales or by referencing the international scientific community.

I will exemplify this contention on the popular scientific work *The Atlas of Climate Change: Mapping the World's Greatest Challenge* (Dow and Downing 2011). Perusal of this work is an object lesson in how representations of the consequences of sea-level rise for the Pacific island states are being lifted in their entirety from media reports (see Dow and Downing 2011: 68–69). Thus, it is hardly surprising to find centrality accorded to Bikeman and Tebua Tarawa (Kiribati), the Carteret Islands (Papua New Guinea), Tégua (Vanuatu), and the island state of Tuvalu—to name the four most widely known media icons of a linkage between climate change, Pacific islands, disappearance, and displacement. Accordingly, this atlas presents a discursive distillation, reinforcing, upgrading, and stabilizing what are no more than a series of truncations, exaggerations, and essentializations—not to say downright alarmism—peddled by the media under the ordering principles of exemplification, categorization, and systemization. I will show that, when addressing the issue of climate change and sea-level rise at the interface between media and popular scientific communication, what we find is less an appropriate representation of disaster than a disaster of representation.

In this study, I shall be tapping into a wider field of investigation of climate change and its representation in the global media (see Boykoff 2011; Carvalho 2007; Hulme 2009: 211–47; Neverla and Schäfer 2012; Moser and Dilling 2007; Weingart, Engels, and Pansegrau 2000, 2008). Central to this research agenda is identifying the reasons for a general disconnect between scientific and media constructions of climate change. Here media experts point to the complex and variable models of a heterogeneous climate science, but they also stress the systemic maxims constraining production and presentation of news in a globalized media landscape.

Especially important in this connection is the fact that climate itself as well as climate change and sea-level rise are scientific abstractions, mathematical constructs that are fleshed out and rendered comprehensible in the form of global averages and fluctuations about the norm. Thus, climate is to be understood as the average weather, recorded in a certain region over a certain period of time. What we call global warming refers to higher global mean temperatures due to increased emissions of greenhouse gases (chiefly carbon dioxide) since the onset of industrialization.

It is now an established scientific finding that human activities contribute significantly to observed changes in the earth's climate system. One of the consequences of global warming is a long-term trend to higher sea levels caused by a combination of thermal expansion of seawater and the melting of diverse ice masses, such as glaciers and ice sheets (Rahmstorf 2010a, 2010b). But global average values, changes in the chemical composition of the atmosphere, the gradual rising of surface temperatures, and the trend to ever-higher sea levels are not things that are directly apparent to the senses, nor can they be observed in our daily lives (see Barnett 2005, 216; Hamblyn 2009, 231, 234; Hulme 2009: 3–9; Neverla and Schäfer 2012: 16–17). It is the very abstraction and latency of these asserted phenomena and processes that complicate media communication and, by implication, their social reception as well.

The problematic of media translation and communication of science's current understanding of the forces driving climate change is further complicated by the structures, conditions, and prevailing standards of journalistic activity (see especially Boykoff 2011; Weingart, Engels, and Pansegrau 2000, 2008). Hence, market calculations and competitive pressures require global media to transform scientific facts into topics possessing news value. So today's media resort to elements of construction, such as eventfulness, visualization, personalization, immediacy, actuality, dramatic impact, and (not least) sensation value. In doing so, they accept losing sight of overarching structures or of long-term but unspectacular developments, even as they conjure up almost phantasmagoric landscapes of visible effects, of looming dangers, and of catastrophes in the making, most of which have no scientific backing (Boykoff 2011: 101–6; Weingart, Engels, and Pansegrau 2000, 2008, 17).

The islands of the Pacific are a convenient foil for the global media when it comes to producing and marketing representations of climate change and sea-level rise that, on the one hand, convey a sense of (ever heightening) drama and, on the other, purport to be anchored in the here and now. Historical cum geographic imaginings of islands as isolated, small, accessible, and vulnerable entities play a key role in the serial production of alarmist reports of inundation, disappearance, and displacement. As I hope to demonstrate more explicitly in the following section, these media narratives of recent provenance perpetuate—in combination with climate change and sea-level rise—the same colonial constructions, Eurocentric imagery, and continental projections that have long characterized Western discourses on islands (see Barnett and Campbell 2010; Besnier 2009, 61; Edmond and Smith 2003; Farbotko 2010a, 2010b; Gillis 2003; Howe 2000; Lazrus 2012, 287; Nunn 2004).

Building Blocks of Representation

My primary focus will be on modalities of media representation of Pacific islands and/or island states in the context of climate change and sea-level rise. The economic imperative to manufacture news value in combination with journalistic norms of representation and media-specific usage and the continuing efficacy of Western-continental discourses—these, in short, are the benchmarks by which the global media operate. This modus operandi is based, in my view, on three principles: insularity, concretion, and alterity. I will show that these three principles are best seen as building blocks in a discursive formation linking the islands and island states of the Pacific to scenarios of imminent climatic catastrophe.

The principle of insularity refers to the spatial remoteness, singularity, and bounded nature of islands. Distance, isolation, and limited size have long been key prerequisites making for Western-continental constructions of islands as paradise and utopia (Edmond and Smith 2003: 1–3). Echoes of earlier historical models can be detected today in the idealizing images put out by the tourist industry (see Kahn 2004, 2011) or else in plans for alternative ecological projects (see Farbotko 2010a), although it remains generally true that islands—in the contemporary context of globally networked modernity—are more strongly associated with stagnation, marginality, vulnerability, and loss (see Edmond and Smith 2003, 8). These latter categorizations predominate, too, in mass media narratives on the fatal consequences of climate change and sea-level rise for Pacific islands (see Barnett and Campbell 2010: 155–58; Farbotko 2005: 281, 284–85; 2010b, 52). The concomitant distanced image of a place that is not only bounded and calculable but also a useful model for complexities on a global scale suggests, moreover, that many media depictions construe insularity, within the continuity of Western-continental constructions of islands, as laboratories (Farbotko 2010b: 53–54; cf. Edmond and Smith 2003, 3).[1] Islands are deployed here with the aim of manufacturing knowledge and truth about a complex environmental problematic; at the same time, they are distanced and turned into delimited spaces of evidence holding a moral lesson for consumption by a global public (see Farbotko 2010b: 47, 53–55). The fact that the value of insularity has long been questioned as an analytic concept within the social and cultural sciences (see especially Hauʻofa 1994; Nero 1997; Edmond and Smith 2003) is irrelevant from the perspective of the media, dominated as it is by the struggle for public attention and market share—unsurprising, therefore, that insularity offers the media a suitable terrain for positioning and giving graphic expression to the immediacy of climate catastrophe (cf. Weingart, Engels, and Pansegrau 2008: 88–89).

Concretion, the second principle, subscribes to the idea that islands, owing to their delimited nature, their singularity, and their relatively small size, are intrinsically transparent and graspable (Edmond and Smith 2003: 2–3). Also, the analogy with a laboratory insinuates that islands, in view of their bounded nature, are suitable vehicles for rendering concrete and simplifying complex matters (cf. Farbotko 2010b, 54, 58). In this sense, the reporting of climate change instrumentalizes the Pacific islands and the small island states, reconfiguring the complexity and abstract nature of global climate change in terms of the regional. This "regionalization" is accompanied by construction of a temporal order, a sequencing of events. This has the effect of drawing together the (barely imaginable) time line of the future consequences of climate change and sea-level rise and channeling it into a readily comprehensible narrative confined to the present. By recourse to these stratagems—turning complex developments into events, units of comprehensibility, and an exclusive focus on the present—it becomes possible to narratively order the phenomenon of global climate change while, at the same time, visualizing it and rendering it accessible to a wider public; moreover, continuity and consistency in what is reported are conducive to improving news value (Weingart, Engels, and Pansegrau 2008: 94–100). The authorization of media constructions is effected mainly by reference to scientific expertise (see Boykoff 2011:106–7; Weingart, Engels, and Pansegrau 2008: 92, 101–4). The not infrequent effect of this procedure is to amplify into a media-specific metaphor of climate catastrophe the widespread discursive linkage between islands and vulnerability (see Barnett and Campbell 2010, 2).

The principle of alterity focuses on the construction of Otherness in relation to the self. This relation is characterized by a power structure constituting and specifying the Other in opposition to the self. From a Western-continental perspective, islands (and their inhabitants as well) are systematically recast as Others. This process of Othering assigns to them a subordinate position. Hence it is that islands stand for vulnerability, inferiority, smallness, and loss; they lie at the margins of modernity, and they assume the role of early warning signposts and end up being turned into places of experimental knowledge production and validation under laboratory-like conditions. Alterity sheds light on the spatial and temporal order of power within popular representations of the climate crisis and its consequences for the Pacific islands and island states (cf. Barnett and Campbell 2010, 165). A key indicator, in this connection, is the construction of a number of global "firsts"—from the first islands to have already fallen victim to inundation and disappeared below the waves, through the first climate refugees to have seen themselves forced from their home islands, to the first nation-state to have been (or on the brink of being) engulfed in its entirety (see, e.g., Farbotko 2010b; Farbotko

and Lazrus 2012; Kempf 2009). The spatial distance and isolation of islands, as generated by media conceptions of insularity, also conduces to discursive construction of temporal gradations. In this way, islands are fashioned into remote temporal spaces where climate catastrophe in the present presages a fateful future of the entire world.[2] Constructing an insular chronotope as a microcosm of Planet Earth anticipates what climate change will mean for the industrialized metropolitan states in the mirror of the Other (cf. Connell 2003; Farbotko 2010b). Alterity structures the relations and power constellations pervading this terrain. Subordination, distance, reduction, limitation, and dispensability act here as structural prerequisites for global insight/far-sight but also for constitutings of superiority and, not least, for hegemony in the defining of knowledge and truth by continental power formations. Spatial and temporal distance from the immediacy of climate catastrophe in Oceania, such as is created by these discursive orders, creates windows of opportunity and room for maneuver as a way of confirming the hegemony of the industrialized states (cf. Farbotko 2005, 285; 2010b). If alterity is a core principle of media representation, it is primarily because—reflected in the mirror of vulnerability, powerlessness, and extinction of other insular entities—we find primacy, agency, and resources being ascribed to Western-continental power centers for the purpose of finding answers to and relief from a spatially and temporally remote present of a climate catastrophe in the making.

An Island Typology through the Lens of Climate Change

Insularity, concretion, and alterity—these three principles offer a lens through which to view media constructions of a current climate crisis in Oceania. My concern is to achieve a comparative overview especially of those islands or island states in the Pacific that have—in recent history—advanced to become the best-known examples of inundation, disappearance, and displacement as measured by global circulation. In order to keep such a comparative perspective methodologically manageable, I confine myself here to *The Atlas of Climate Change* (Dow and Downing 2011). Not only does this standard resource claim to give a clearly written and graphic account of all scientific data and facts relevant to global warming and its consequences, but it combines this claim with the goal of bringing this thematic complex to as many consumers of popular science as possible. Since the original sources, from which the case studies from Oceania are derived, consist chiefly of articles and reports appearing in the global media, I view the section of the atlas dealing with sea-level rise as an interface between contemporary media representations and their typifications in popular science. If I choose to highlight this interface, it is because I believe that here a further norming and

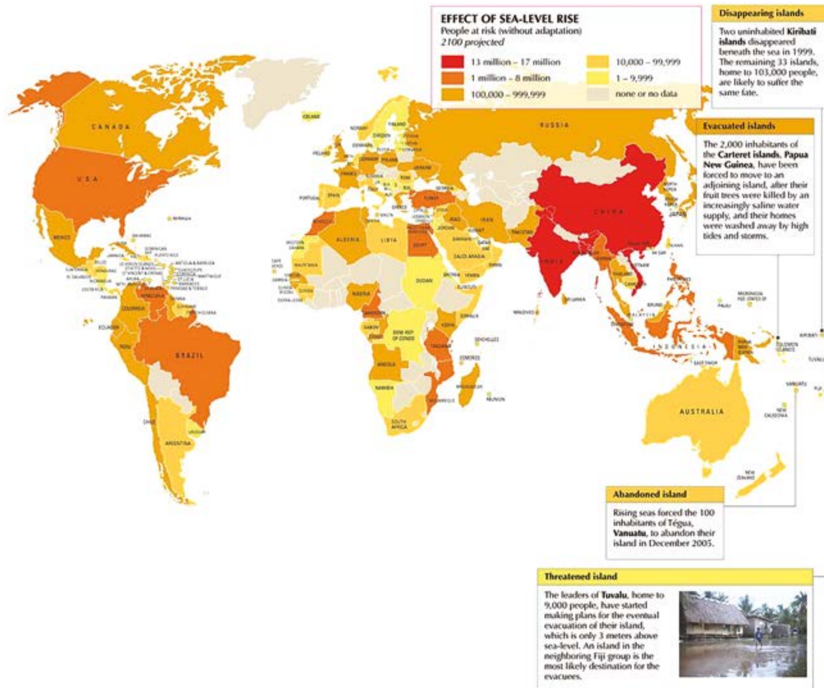

FIGURE 1. **Representations of Sea-Level Rise and the Consequences for Pacific Islands. From *The Atlas of Climate Change*, 3rd ed., by Kirstin Dow and Thomas E. Downing, pp. 68–69. Copyright © 2011 Myriad Editions Ltd (www.MyriadEditions.com).**

authorization of media-produced global cases is being effected by forms of popular presentation that simulate a systemizing scientific approach.

I have chosen to focus primarily on the manner in which Oceania is represented in the chapter "Rising Sea Levels" (Dow and Downing 2011: 68–69). The plate (reproduced here; see Fig. 1) surveys on a global scale the potential risks facing coastal regions and islands. A map of the world gives the global distribution (as well as a numerical breakdown) of the millions of people who will have become directly affected by sea-level rise, inundation, and the loss of land by 2100. Expanded sections treat certain parts of Oceania for their illustrative value.[3] Here Dow and Downing offer a typology plotting the scale on which sea-level rise will potentially impact the islands in this region. Their categories foresee four scenarios: (1) disappearing islands, (2) evacuated islands, (3) abandoned island, and (4) threatened island (see Dow and

Downing 2011, 69). Particularly informative are the concrete case studies under this typology. Thus, the authors, in the case of disappearing islands, have chosen two uninhabited islands, namely, Bikeman and Tebua Tarawa in Kiribati; in the case of evacuated, that is, resettled islanders, their choice has fallen on the Carteret Islands in Papua New Guinea; in the case of abandoned islands, on Tégua in Vanuatu; and in the case of threatened islands, on the island state of Tuvalu. The above representations of islands and island states, plus the concomitant concrete references to climate change and sea-level rise, will be the subject of the following analysis.

The Islands of Bikeman and Tebua Tarawa (Kiribati)

The first category is "disappearing islands." The pertinent text runs as follows: "Two uninhabited Kiribati islands disappeared beneath the sea in 1999. The remaining 33 islands, home to 103,000 people, are likely to suffer the same fate" (Dow and Dowing 2011, 69). The authors cite as their source a BBC story filed by environmental correspondent Alex Kirby on June 14, 1999, in which the "disappearance"—untrue actually, contrary to what the media assert[4]—of these two uninhabited islands, namely, Bikeman (or Te Abanuea) and Tebua Tarawa, both located in the lagoon of Tarawa atoll, was attributed to rising sea levels brought on by climate change (see Kirby 1999). The cited BBC story is, in turn, a summary of a report that had appeared the day before in the weekend edition of *The Independent*, headlined "They're going under. Two islands have disappeared beneath the Pacific Ocean—sunk by global warming. This is just the beginning" (Lean 1999).

This theme of two uninhabited islands disappearing below the waves in Kiribati first surfaced in the printed media toward the end of the 1990s (cf. Connell 2003, 99). Reports about Bikeman and Tebua Tarawa, it is apparent with hindsight, are among the earlier witnesses of a journalistic endeavor to encapsulate in concrete images the consequences of global warming for the Pacific region—in a way calculated to gain maximum attention. Journalists like Lean and Kirby construed the disappearance of these uninhabited islands as a visible harbinger of a worldwide crisis. The loss of the two islands should, they claimed, make clear that climate change was playing out in the present, marking the beginning of a development that would menace small island states and the coastal regions of large countries alike.

The media's construction of the first tiny, uninhabited islands to fall victim to rising sea levels was rapidly noted and diversely received. Aside from routine dissemination via the usual journalistic channels, the idea was also taken up by, for example, the documentary film *Rising Waters: Global*

Warming and the Fate of the Pacific Islands (Torrice 2000). This film opens with a sequence of an I-Kiribati man wading knee deep over what purports to be the submerged island of Bikeman, leaving viewers in no doubt as to the threat posed to Pacific islands by sea-level rise. And Stephen Royle, the author of a standard work—*A Geography of Islands: Small Island Insularity* (2001)—cited the press report carried by *The Independent* on the sinking of Bikeman and Tebua Tarawa as a way of indicating how sea-level rise was increasingly impacting low-lying atolls (see Royle 2001, 39). Years later, the media construction of two disappeared Kiribati islands also gained entry into *The Atlas of Climate Change* already mentioned. Once the disappearing islands had found inclusion in this work of popular science as a case study, their primary function now became to illustrate the real threat an entire Pacific nation was facing from an encroaching ocean.

But however rapidly these reports of the shared fate of Bikeman and Tebua Tarawa were spread and however eagerly they were taken over, doubts concerning accuracy followed hard on their heels. The geographer John Connell (2003: 99–101), one of the first to address the alarmist tone of the media coverage of climate change impacts on the Pacific island states, was especially skeptical about the media's preferred version of events, namely, that the disappearance of Bikeman was a response to sea-level rise. Connell objected that no consideration had been given to a possible role for human-induced environmental changes in the wake of local development projects. He was alluding to the construction of the Dai Nippon Causeway (so called) connecting Betio and Bairiki, which was much more likely to have triggered the transformation of Bikeman than sea-level rise (Connell 2003, 100).

Causeways in Kiribati, rather than bridges, provide a transport link (usually roads) between the islands within an atoll. On Tarawa, the construction of causeways has been an integral part of urban development, which comes with its own history (and also problematic) of ecological fault lines and confrontations between landowners and political leadership (see Bryant-Tokalau 1993, 156; Itaia 1987: 214–15; Macdonald 1982, 177, 272; Takaio 1993, 282). The Dai Nippon Causeway, the longest of its kind in Kiribati, was opened in July 1987 (Gillie 1991). Its construction altered the flow dynamics of waves and sand, affecting the sedimentary deposits within the lagoon. The resultant impeded flow of water between lagoon and open ocean, in the opinion of experts and of many in the local population, has to be seen as the primary reason behind the massive changes to the small island of Bikeman (see Connell 2003, 100, 105; Nunn 2009: 170–71) (see also Fig. 2).

The case of Bikeman illustrates how media coverage, bent as it usually is on attributing the ecological transformations of Pacific islands to sea-level rise, displaces all other dynamics and historically attested *wechselwirkungen*

FIGURE 2. **The Island of Bikeman in the Lagoon of Tarawa, Kiribati. Photo: W. Kempf (2010).**

(interaction) between land, sea, and people (see also Bonnelykke Robertson and Rubow 2014: 62, 65–68). But the question remains of what, in the final analysis, led to the flooding of Tebua Tarawa, the second uninhabited island at the northern end of Tarawa. Now, several experts are willing to entertain the possibility of sea-level rise as a cause (see Aung, Awnesh, and Prasad 2009, 204; Nunn 2009, 171). But no concrete scientific investigation is available. Also in need of clarification is whether the flooding of two small islands within a single lagoon, events occurring at roughly the same time, could be due to such different causes.

Nor should the dynamic underpinning media representations be ignored in any way. There is much to suggest that the attribution of Bikeman's and Tebua Tarawa's disappearance to sea-level rise bears the imprint chiefly of journalistic narrative strategy. Being remote, small, uninhabited, and dispensable, the two islands could be turned by the global media—in the years around the new millennium—into paradigm cases where the perilous consequences of global warming could be graphically revealed to the world. Based on such media representations, *The Atlas of Climate Change* was induced to include under the rubric of rising sea levels the category of disappearing islands. Condensed into a popular scientific case study, the "disappearance"

of these two Kiribati islands is portrayed as heralding a bleak future for the entire archipelago.

Migration and Resettlement: The Carteret Islands in Papua New Guinea

Remaining with *The Atlas of Climate Change*, let us examine the second category: "Evacuated islands." A case study is adduced for exemplary purposes: "The 2,000 inhabitants of the Carteret islands, Papua New Guinea, have been forced to move to an adjoining island, after their fruit trees were killed by an increasingly saline water supply, and their homes were washed away by high tides and storms" (Dow and Downing 2011, 69). The coauthors give as their source an article posted by Robinson, Rowe, and Khan (2006) on "Jamaica Gleaner Online" (a website). In this article, the problems the Carteret Islands are currently encountering are linked to sea-level rise on a global scale. The question is then asked if developments in the Pacific are not a window into the future for the low-lying regions and coastlines of Jamaica. The above quotation forms the point of departure for my analysis of media constructions of the Carteret Islands and its people as victims bearing the brunt of climate change. Two contentions rub shoulders in such a representation. The first is that the effects of climate change and sea-level rise have, to a greater or lesser extent, rendered the Carteret Islands uninhabitable. The second is that the islanders have had, therefore, to be resettled on another island. I shall argue, to the contrary, that such an account cannot withstand differentiated scrutiny.

The Carteret Group (also known as Tulun or Kilinailau) comprises six inhabited islands northeast of Bougainville in Papua New Guinea. The ancestors of the present inhabitants of the Carteret Islands are thought to have arrived there some three hundred or four hundred years ago, coming from the Hanahan region in the northeast of Buka Island. The Carteret islanders were known to be struggling to cope with a deteriorating environment. At the end of the 1960s, the Australian administration, then the authority, monitored the situation by dispatching patrols and collecting data on population trends and the economy but also on environmental problems. Plans were hatched by the administration to resettle the people of the Carteret Islands (at their own request); these, however, came to nothing, as no suitable land could be found (O'Collins 1990, 250, 254). At the beginning of the 1980s, the provincial government (which by then had taken over from the Australians) set up the Atoll Resettlement Project. The plan was to evacuate a limited number of families from the Carterets, Takuu, Nuguria, Nukumanu, and Nissan and resettle them on Bougainville in the vicinity of Arawa

(see O'Collins 1990, 255, 258; cf. Connell 1990, 153). As it happened, persons from the Carterets and Nissan who had relocated to Bougainville under this project withdrew from it the moment civil war broke out in 1989 (Bourke and Betitis 2003, 49; Rakova 2009).

As for what really lies behind the changes to the environment registered on the Carteret Islands, no expert consensus exists (see Barnett and Campbell 2010, 173). Early reports and appraisals by Connell (1990, 154) and O'Collins (1990, 247) incline toward global warming and rising sea levels. Bourke and Betitis (2003: 28–29, 50) are more cautious, noting, for example, that no linkage between erosion and sea-level rise has ever been demonstrated. To what extent plate tectonic movements and other factors furnish an alternative explanation for the continuing crisis in the Careret Islands remains unclear (see, e.g., Rakova, Patron, and Williams 2009; Roberts 2002). In a recent publication Ursula Rakova (a spokeswoman from the Carteret Islands) attributes the environmental changes on the Carteret Islands mainly to climate change and sea-level rise (see Rakova 2014: 269, 271).

The paucity of scientific investigations and substantiated results has in no way prevented the global media from stylizing the inhabitants of the Carteret Islands as "some of the world's first climate refugees" (see, e.g., Cooney 2009; Morton 2009; Parry 2006; Vidal 2005). But such a characterization is misleading in manifold respects. As already pointed out, it is unclear that the transformed environment of the Carteret Islands can be attributed solely to climate change and sea-level rise (Barnett and Campbell 2010, 173). But what *is* clear by now is that categories like "environmental refugees" or "climatic refugees" are imprecise and therefore problematic (see Castles 2002, 2010; Farbotko and Lazrus 2012; Kempf 2009). Moreover, the narrow horizon of a media account turning on flight, disappearance, and catastrophe has had the effect of completely airbrushing out of the picture an earlier history of mobility, migration, and resettlement within the region (see Connell 1990; O'Collins 1990). In the concrete case of the Carteret islanders, it is additionally clear, as shown by a glance at the background political circumstances, that this is a case of a relocation spread over many years—in no sense, then, can it be described as a precipitous flight of refugees.

In 2001, the Autonomous Government of Bougainville announced contingency plans for the relocation of the Carteret islanders. Two years later, the national government pledged its support. Since then, there has been a spate of press releases at regular intervals, announcing that resettlement was about to proceed and would soon be completed. But no concrete measures were ever taken. The passivity of state institutions, in combination with a worsening of the environmental problems and repeated shortfalls in the food supply, finally made the Council of Elders of the Carteret Islands set

up—the year was 2006—a nongovernmental organization it named Tulele Peisa (or "Sailing the Waves on Our Own") (see Tulele Peisa Inc. 2009). The original goal of this body was, over a period of many years, to resettle on an entirely voluntary basis the bulk of the Carteret islanders on Bougainville. But it was only during 2009 that Tulele Peisa could, with the help of the Catholic Church, relocate the first five families to Tinputz on Bougainville. Two families did stay, but the other three appear to have returned to the Carteret Islands (Kilvert 2010; Tweedie 2009). Meanwhile, another twenty families had moved to Bougainville, acting evidently on their own initiative (Rakova 2009). Current figures list seven families (totaling eighty-six persons) as having settled down permanently in Woroav/Tinputz on Bougainville. Tulele Peisa plans to resume relocating the remaining 1,700 Carteret Islanders in 2016.[5] It is precisely these delays and the setbacks that drive home just how far the Carteret islanders are from embracing a comprehensive solution.

Although in recent years (2012–2014) the Carteret Islands have attracted less mass media coverage than earlier, it is fair to say that media constructions linking the first climate refugees to global warming and sea-level rise are remarkably tenacious—and this despite the basically unresolved causes of the decades-long environmental crisis, despite the evident multiplicity of migration flows, and despite the fact that—in view of the staggered nature of the resettlement process—talk of a collective flight is clearly unjustified. In their role as laboratory islands for purposes of concretion of sea-level rise, inundation, and collective displacement, the Carterets have become (at one and the same time) dispensable and indispensable for the global media. *The Atlas of Climate Change* has seized on this media-created case—the intrinsic news value of the Carteret Islands—and fashioned from it a second category of evacuated islands. Despite never talking explicitly of climate refugees, the atlas dwells (heuristically and in concrete detail) on the loss of land and livelihood as well as the necessity to collectively resettle the local population. The ordering principle is that of evacuation, and the contention is that the islanders have already been rescued from the consequences of sea-level rise.

The Island of Tégua in Vanuatu

A third issue addressed in *The Atlas of Climate Change* is a resettlement project in the island state of Vanuatu. Under the category "abandoned island," the atlas supplies the following information: "Rising seas forced the 100 inhabitants of Tégua, Vanuatu, to abandon their island in December 2005" (Dow and Downing 2011, 69). The only source the coauthors give is the

link www.sidsnet.org/1f.html, which accesses the website of the "Small Island Developing States Network," an international association of small island states. The evidence furnished in support of this claim is extremely vague. A press report headlined "Pacific: Global Warming Already Affects Low-Lying Islands" and dated December 12, 2005, to which it would appear that this citation refers, requires much trawling through the Web to access. But what is more to the point is that the atlas's description of the situation on Tégua has no basis in fact. The inhabitants of Tégua have not left their island. Rather, they were, under the terms of an aid project promoting adaptation to climate change, supported in a decision they had already made to relocate away from the coast onto higher ground. Therefore, to portray this as a case of an "abandoned island" is unwarranted.

Relocation within Tégua itself took place under a project called "Capacity Building for the Development of Adaptation Measures in Pacific Islands Countries" (CBDAMPIC), paid for out of developmental funds from the Canadian government and overseen by the Secretariate of the Pacific Regional Environment (SPREP). This three-year project set itself the goal of improving the living conditions of the inhabitants of Pacific islands, thus bolstering local abilities to counter the hazards—present and future—of climate change (Nakalevu 2006). To advance this goal, pilot projects were initiated in four different Pacific states. A series of structural measures, all of which played a role in advancing the project as a whole, were (with the eye of hindsight) positively received (see Barnett and Campbell 2010: 127–30).

The specific challenges confronting the community on Tégua largely contributed to its being singled out for one of the three pilot projects in Vanuatu. The islanders—estimates of their numbers range between fifty and one hundred—lived on a coastal strip much exposed to erosion and inundation. Aside from rampant disease, to which the often-flooded and waterlogged area of settlement was prone, shortage of drinking water ranked among the most urgent problems. Since no water bodies of any size exist on Tégua, the population was entirely dependent on rainwater—hence, the aim of the CBDAMPIC program became to provide corrugated iron roofing and water tanks as structural prerequisites for the goal of resettling the population inland on higher ground. In August 2005, this new settlement on Tégua could be officially inaugurated (see Nakalevu 2006: 56–61).

Tégua attracted global attention through a press release put out by the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) in December 2005 on the occasion of the 11th World Climate Conference in the Canadian city of Montreal. The claim was advanced that the resettled Téguan islanders were the world's first refugees to have been driven to flight by the havoc wrought by climate change (see UNEP 2005). This media construction

was presumably the source of further reports along the same lines, which finally resulted in Tégua gaining inclusion in *The Atlas of Climate Change* as an "abandoned island." Generally, we may ask why it is that from the CBDAMPIC project, involving a total of four countries and a large number of national pilot projects, only Tégua was selected for presentation to the global public as a success story for adaptation to climate change. Thus—to take the case of Vanuatu alone—there were two other pilot projects, one of which had likewise foreseen the relocation of islanders. And yet no information on the progress of these latter resettlement measures and no stock taking of their success or otherwise were forthcoming in the CBDAMPIC project's final report.

To designate the inhabitants of Tégua as climate change refugees is to succumb to the same conceptual straitjacketing referred to earlier in my discussion of the Carteret Islands. Factors such as earlier migration flows and contemporary demographic movements have been overlooked, and—not for the first time—we see how misleading the original accounts in the press releases in fact were, as when it was reported, for example, that the entire Téguan community had been evacuated to higher ground to escape the ravages of climate change. A study by SPREP on the situation of the Téguan community one and a half years after conclusion of the pilot project showed that several families were still in the process of resettling (Nakalevu and Philips 2007). Thus, talk of a dramatic flight of refugees is wholly exaggerated. Relocation to Tégua was finally concluded in 2008 (C. Mondragon, pers. comm., 2011).[6]

It remains unclear to what extent Tégua's environmental problems are actually (or solely) due to climate change and sea-level rise. As is so often the case, here too the statements made are based on gross generalizations that omit from consideration other possible factors, such as earthquakes, vertical tectonic movements, and wave activity (Ballu et al. 2011; C. Mondragon, pers. comm., 2011). Depictions that pander to alarmism and our craving for the dramatic usually attract more attention than do balanced or complex analyses. And so a project that could certainly claim to be strengthening the resilience of the Téguan community against future environmental hazards was pounced on by UNEP and the media and then subverted into a flight scenario triggered by acute risk to life and limb from climate change and sea-level rise. But presumably it was this very media construction that lies behind Tégua's inclusion for heuristic purposes in *The Atlas of Climate Change*. Thus could be treated and authorized, by systematic inclusion in the color chart under the category of "abandoned island," yet another concrete case of collective displacement of Pacific Islanders by rising sea levels.

The Case of Tuvalu

"Threatened island" is the last of the four categories reproduced in the color chart on sea-level rise in *The Atlas of Climate Change*. Again we are treated to an illustration of this purported problematic: "The leaders of Tuvalu, home to 9,000 people, have started making plans for the eventual evacuation of their island, which is only 3 meters above sea-level. An island in the neighboring Fiji group is the most likely destination for the evacuees" (Dow and Downing 2011, 69). This description, let me quickly point out, is fundamentally flawed. Tuvalu is not an island but rather an independent island state in the southwestern Pacific. Barely half of the population lives on the main atoll, Funafuti; the rest are scattered across the other eight islands that make up the territory of this small Pacific nation.[7]

The evidence that Dow and Downing chiefly cite takes the form of a press article from February 20, 2006, headlined "Move Tuvalu Population to a Fiji Island to Ensure Survival, Scientist Says" (see Tuvalu News 2006).[8] It reports the position of Don Kennedy, a committed advocate of Tuvalu, who—at a forum on climate refugees held in the Australian city of Melbourne—had urged that the population of this atoll state be resettled on the island of Kioa in the northeast of Fiji. Kennedy, one of whose parents was from Tuvalu, had previously floated plans to that effect and passed them on to Tuvalu's government (Paton 2009, 122). The then prime minister of Tuvalu, Maatia Toafa, had reacted cautiously. The government he headed favored a different approach, that of exposing the industrialized countries as the chief culprits responsible for global warming. Plans for resettling the population were secondary, even if government members had agreed among themselves to keep an eye out for available land in Australia or New Zealand (Taafaki 2007, 281). Earlier ideas of possibly evacuating Tuvaluans to Fiji, in the event of a full-fledged climate-related crisis, were set aside in the wake of the military coup of 2000 (Barnett 2002, 27). Recent studies in Tuvalu indicate that the government's reluctance to draw up plans for migration and resettlement might also reflect domestic considerations—large parts of the population feel deeply bound to their country, both culturally and socially; given the longstanding nature of these ties, they are unwilling to relocate to foreign shores (see Gemenne and Shen 2009; Mortreux and Barnett 2009).

The question why, in the event of a possible resettlement of Tuvaluans, the island of Kioa in Fiji was specifically singled out—a circumstance also apparent in the cited passage from *The Atlas of Climate Change*—is best answered by a brief excursion into colonial history. When Kioa went up for sale in 1946, residents of Vaitupu in Tuvalu had enlisted the help of the colonial administration to purchase this Fijian island. The father of Don

Kennedy, Donald Gilbert Kennedy—who before the war had founded and then headed the national school on Vaitupu before going on to become an administrative officer in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony—had, at the time, drawn the Vaitupuans' attention to Kioa and recommended its acquisition as an investment with future potential (see Koch 1978; Teaiwa 1997; White 1965). Prompted not least by his family background, Don Kennedy probably felt himself predestined for the role of mediator and advocate, propagating volcanic Kioa as a suitable place of refuge for the population of the atoll state Tuvalu.[9] If, bearing in mind these background circumstances, we return to the passage from *The Atlas of Climate Change* heading this section, it becomes instantly clear that collectively resettling the inhabitants of Tuvalu was the idea, first and foremost, of a private individual; it did not reflect official planning by the political authorities. Likewise, the statement that there was an island available in Fiji to which the migrants from Tuvalu could very probably relocate simply ignores the historical and political realities of both countries, Fiji and Tuvalu.

Both the journalistic narrative and its subsequent refinement for inclusion in *The Atlas of Climate Change* target a very special segment from the global roundabout of media representations of Tuvalu. That said, intimations can be found—in narrative and subsequent refinement alike—of prevalent discursive patterns in respect of Tuvalu‘s role as a diagnostic instrument demonstrating the immediacy of climate change (see especially Farbotko 2010b; Farbotko and Lazrus 2012). Thus, we are given to understand that the inherent vulnerability of Tuvalu's low-lying atolls, against a background problematic of sea-level rise, leaves the political principals no choice but to proceed with plans for a collective evacuation of this island nation, consigning Tuvaluans to a future existence as climate refugees. In this discursive terrain, the physical inevitability of sea-level rise directly sets in motion concrete planning by the authorities for collective flight by the local population. The construction of Tuvaluans as climate refugees, it has been countered, leaves no room for the multiplicity, divergence, and efficacy of indigenous ideas, practices, and capacities (see Farbotko 2005, 280; Farbotko and Lazrus 2012: 382–83).

Especially important is that *The Atlas of Climate Change* saw fit to classify Tuvalu as a "threatened island." Whereas the three other categories purport to refer to past events—Bikeman and Tebua Tarawa have recently disappeared, the entire population of the Carteret Islands was forced to seek refuge on a neighboring island, and the inhabitants of Tégua have already abandoned their island—what this last category envisages is an ongoing process. To this let me add that Tuvalu, as a "threatened island," is the only case to be dignified by a photographic image (see Fig. 1). The photograph shows

a child wading through an inundated area. Two houses in the background strengthen the impression that settled land has been flooded. In combination with the statements about the planned evacuation of Tuvalu, this image illustrates the urgency of an environmental crisis already happening, even as it anticipates a coming identity for Tuvalu's people as climate refugees (see Farbotko and Lazrus 2012, 383). This representation, therefore, is merely a variant on media constructions of Tuvalu as an island laboratory that would chiefly link this island state and its people to scenarios of vulnerability, disappearance, and displacement, furnishing concrete evidence of the perils and impacts of climate change (see Barnett and Campbell 2010; Connell 2003; Farbotko 2005, 2010a, 2010b; Farbotko and Lazrus 2012).

The Basics of Representation

Representation of the risks and ramifications of sea-level rise for Pacific islands, such as is found in the plate in *The Atlas of Climate Change*, rests solely on information supplied by the global media. So it is hardly surprising to find the disappearance of islands and the displacement of their peoples being foregrounded. Finally, speaking in the concrete case of how Oceania is represented, what we are left with is the systematization of a media construction turning on a looming climate catastrophe. Finding the alarmism and hyperbole of a media discourse being categorized and authorized in the pages of what is, after all, a reference work, seeking to communicate to a wider public what science currently knows about anthropogenic climate change, is among the truly astonishing achievements of this atlas.

The categories operated with here—disappearing islands, evacuated islands, abandoned island, and threatened island—parade, in one way or another, the vulnerability of islands and the status of their inhabitants as victims and climate refugees. Whereas the second and the third categories posit collective resettlements by Carteret and Tégua Islanders that have already occurred, the first and the fourth envisage future displacements of the entire populations of Kiribati and Tuvalu. The causes invoked, in both cases, are past, present, or coming scenarios of inundation and/or disappearance of islands as a direct consequence of sea-level rise. But it must be pointed out that such causalities give an inadequate and, for the most part, contestable account of the effects of sea-level rise. Barnett and Campbell get to the heart of the matter when they state, "[It] is worth noting that in almost all places it will not be sea-level rise that is the primary climate change related driver of social problems in the region, rather it will be changes in the timing and magnitude of precipitation, and in the frequency and intensity of extreme events that will have the most immediate social impacts" (Barnett and Campbell

2010: 167–68). The simplistic accounts proffered by the global media and popular science attempt, on the contrary, to take a global phenomenon like sea-level rise—abstract by nature, difficult to comprehend, and operating across vast tracks of time—and make it graspable and newsworthy through a strategy of compaction, eventfulness, and accentuating the here and now. From an analytic perspective, therefore, the attempt to directly link disappearance and displacement to ongoing sea-level rise furnishes an important clue to popular and media constructions of climate catastrophe.

The plate on sea-level rise shows insularity being articulated in a specific way—for all the abundance of information on islands or groups of islands, there is no mention of modern state structures. This lopsided reading of insularity is especially evident in the case of Tuvalu, where we find this sovereign state being identified as a single island rather than as the archipelago it actually is. The same holds for Kiribati and Vanuatu, also sovereign states but here classified as groups of islands. As for Papua New Guinea and how this entire country is to be classified, we are left in the dark. This systematic exclusion of modern political structures in the Pacific, a practice transcending even the conventions of the underlying media reportage, only strengthens the impression we are given of distance, remoteness, limitation, and otherness. If contemporary understanding of insularity is based, among other things, on stagnation and marginality, then the conception of a premodern island world, removed from any form of postcolonial nation building and not part of any present-day state structure, only compounds an initial distortion by adding a historically and politically antiquated dimension. Such constructions support the image of islands and groups of islands as natural, bypassed, and vulnerable counterpoles to the world of industrialized modernity. The concomitant construction of islands as other spaces simultaneously stabilizes the imagined discourse of island laboratories as remote, bounded, and timeless but readily inspectable places where knowledge is produced of the real consequences of climate change and sea-level rise. Insularity is thus an essential tool in the media production and marketing of climate catastrophe.

Turning now to the issue of concretion, in *The Atlas of Climate Change* this takes the form of a typology of (invariably) short descriptions. The elaboration of such a systematic order, together with the prominence given to a few case studies, does little more than simplify and glide over the surface of matters of great complexity. The quadrupling of island laboratories—each one operating a bounded experimental logic of its own—is a force multiplier when it comes to demonstrating the real dangers posed worldwide by sea-level rise. The systematic arrangement of comparable dramatic events and catastrophe scenarios, either played out in the recent past or projected into

the near future, makes the environmental crisis seem all the more concrete, probable, and believable. The authors of the atlas not only have opted to pursue the media's own strategy of concretizing an otherwise abstract global climate problematic, in terms of the regional and the episodic, but also have chosen to emphasize the factor of continuity, with its demonstrated capacity to positively influence news value. As shown by earlier studies of how the global media represent the consequences of climate change for the Pacific islands and island states, it is always the same islands or island states, along with the ecological and social catastrophes allegedly unfolding there, that are mentioned in this connection—principally the Pacific state of Tuvalu but also the Carteret Islands in Papua New Guinea, the islands of Bikeman and Tebua Tarawa in Kiribati, and (though more rarely) the island of Tégua in Vanuatu (see Barnett and Campbell 2010; Connell 1990, 2003, 2004; Farbotko 2005, 2010a, 2010b; Farbotko and Lazrus 2012; Nunn 2009). Characteristic of this co-optation and systematization of the above media icons of disappearance, doom, and displacement by the atlas is the fact that a media representation—erected anyway on a platform of simplification and sensation—becomes only further customized and overblown. The universalizing compass of a work that attempts, with the help of graphics, maps, and analyses, to present scientific facts in a readily understandable form lends added authority to this account.

The principle of alterity is written into the very way the plate is set out. In the middle is a world map showing the continental landmasses. A color code indicates the various population segments that may be threatened by rising sea levels in 2100. The Oceanian region is, as it happens, confined to the right-hand side of the page. Mostly shown are the southwestern parts of Oceania. The four case studies plus the classifications and descriptions are clearly highlighted. Whereas the consequences of sea-level rise in the main portion of the world map are projected into 2100, the remote and isolated Pacific islands are assigned the function of visualizing a catastrophe in a future that has long since begun there—in the extreme periphery. This depiction illustrates the praxis of Western-continental constitutings of the Other in relation to the self. Deemed to be remote, graspable, vulnerable, and dispensable, islands are turned into spaces of otherness, closed laboratories that enable a distanced view of the catastrophic effects of climate change and sea-level rise. Such positionings are based on a power gradient; they enforce inferiority and miniaturization as a condition for reflexivity relating to the self. Thus, islands (or island states) constitute—as a world *en miniature*, as *pars pro toto*—the power, the knowledge, and the agency of the industrialized metropolitan states reflected in the mirror of the disappearance and displacement of Others.

Conclusions

Catastrophe scenarios abound in the links the media have drawn between climate change and the islands and/or island states in the Pacific. This is due, in large part, to the long-term structures of Western-continental constructions of islands but also the economic conditions under which the media operate, with constant pressure to produce and communicate items of news. As an interface between media and popular scientific representations, the color chart on sea-level rise in *The Atlas of Climate Change* is symptomatic of this contemporary discourse. In it, selected media reports on the consequences of climate change and sea-level rise are ordered and authorized under the rubric of popular science, in the course of which they are adapted to fit the general receptivity of a wider, interested public. If the atlas demonstrates anything, it is that assigning categories to media representations and thereby overstating the latter is not necessarily the best way to produce objectively reliable tabulations. The opposite is true. Not a single case study given in the color chart on sea-level rise in the atlas withstands closer inspection. The step from processing media representations into popular scientific models of exemplary value, purporting to portray climate catastrophe in graspable and demonstrable terms, leads directly to a disaster of representation.

This media practice of representation, with its one-sided focus on catastrophes, is harmful over the longer term. The construction of Pacific islands and island states as *pars pro toto*, with one part standing proxy *for* the whole, closes our eyes to a conceptual horizon that would view the individual regions of Oceania as geographically, politically, historically, and culturally specific parts *of* the whole. The latter would be an essential prerequisite if we were to recognize, take seriously, and strengthen local agency but also the available potential for resilience and adaptation in the face of the risks that climate change and sea-level rise will undoubtedly pose.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The intellectual foundations on which this article draws were developed during a visiting professorship with the Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology of the University of Vienna in the summer semester of 2010. An earlier German version of this text appeared in "Novara—Contributions to Research on the Pacific," a series published by the Austrian South Pacific Society. In clarifying some geographical, historical, and/or cultural details involving the various case studies, the help of Mike Goldsmith, Steffen Herrmann, and Carlos Mondragon proved invaluable. For their

attentive reading of and valuable suggestions to the English version of my article, I wish to thank Niko Besnier, Nancy Lutkehaus, Jim Roscoe, and Judith Schachter. My particular thanks go to Elfriede Hermann for her insightful critiques and support. Responsibility for the views in this article is, of course, mine alone.

NOTES

1. Hence, for example, the metaphorical equation of Pacific islands with “canaries in the coal mine” evokes not just the image of the island as a warning sign against existential hazards but also the notion that islands are interchangeable or expendable and so—not unlike laboratory animals—exploitable for purposes of an overriding epistemological gain (cf. Barnett and Campbell 2010: 168–69; Farbotko 2010b: 53–55; Hamblyn 2009: 230–31).

2. Parallels to the popular construction of Easter Island as a microcosm of an ecologically stricken planet are evident. While the image of the island stands, in this case, for an ecological and cultural collapse brought about by the indigenous population itself, the Western-continental projection of the global environmental problematic onto a particular Pacific island falls back—here as elsewhere—on the image of the island as laboratory and world *en miniature* (see Haun 2008, 240).

3. *The Atlas of Climate Change: Mapping the World’s Greatest Challenge* was first published in 2006. Now in its third and revised edition, the layout of the “Rising Sea Levels” color chart has been significantly modified, yet the four case studies (and their descriptions) have been left unaltered (cf. Dow and Downing 2007, 63; 2011, 68–69).

4. The island Bikeman, for all the massive ecological changes it has undoubtedly undergone, continues to be visible above the waves (cf. Bonnelykke Robertson and Rubow 2014). For that reason, I prefer to talk of transformation instead of “submergence” and “disappearance” (Fig. 2).

5. Embassy of Finland in Canberra, Australia, personal communication, January 15, 2015, cf. Rakova (2014, 270).

6. Wolfgang Behringer commented on this much-protracted resettlement on Tégua in his book *A Cultural History of Climate* as follows: “After the island-dwellers had cashed in their aid money from a climate fund, they even refused to move to higher land within the same atoll” (Behringer 2010, 201). The first point to make is that Tégua is not an atoll but an uplifted island; nor is this a mere quibble since resettlement “to higher land” could hardly take place on an atoll. Second, it would seem rather dubious scientific practice to fix on a single media report without checking its reliability and impute to the inhabitants of this island a misuse of aid moneys without making allowance for the cultural context of relocation in this particular case.

7. The latest census from 2002 indicates a total population of 9.561 persons; on this point, see the Government of Tuvalu, Central Statistics Division, www.spc.int/prism/country/tv/stats/Census%20&%20Surveys/Census_index.htm, June 9, 2011.

8. The article additionally contains a link to another online article from an Australian newspaper (*The Age*, August 2004), supplying further background details on the planned resettlement project (see Mascall 2004).

9. To be sure, among the inhabitants of Kioa, the idea elicited mixed feelings. Especially the notion that Kioa might become a refuge not only for those living on the island of Vaitupu but for the whole of Tuvalu as well was greeted with skepticism, given the size of the undertaking (Paton 2009, 122). Worth pointing out, in this connection, is that decisions about Kioa's future are the sole prerogative of Vaitupuans and cannot be taken by Tuvalu's government (M. Goldsmith, pers. comm.).

REFERENCES

Aung, Than, Singh Awnesh, and Uma Prasad

2009 A study of sea-level changes in the Kiribati area for the last 16 years. Weather 64 (8): 203–6.

Ballu, Valérie, Marie-Noelle Bouin, Patricia Siméoni, et al.

2011 Comparing the role of absolute sea-level rise and vertical tectonic motions in coastal flooding, Torres Islands (Vanuatu). *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 108 (32): 13019–22.

Barnett, Jon

2002 Rethinking development in response to climate change in Oceania. *Pacific Ecologist* 1: 25–28.

2005 Titanic states? Impacts and responses to climate change in the Pacific Islands. *Journal of International Affairs* 59: 203–19.

Barnett, Jon, and John Campbell

2010 *Climate change and small island states: Power, knowledge and the South Pacific*. London: Earthscan.

Behringer, Wolfgang

2010 *A cultural history of climate*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Besnier, Niko

2009 *Gossip and the everyday production of politics*. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press.

Bonnelykke Robertson, Maria Louise, and Cecilie Rubow

2014 Engaged world-making: Movements of sand, sea, and people at two Pacific islands. In *Anthropology and nature*, ed. Kirsten Hastrup, 62–78. New York: Routledge.

Bourke, Mike, and Thomas Betitis

2003 Sustainability of agriculture in Bougainville Province, Papua New Guinea. Report by the Land Management Group, Department of Human Geography,

Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National Univ.,, Canberra. http://rspas.anu.edu.au/papers/lmg/SustainAg_Bvill_text.pdf.

Boykoff, Maxwell T.
2011 *Who speaks for the climate? Making sense of media reporting on climate change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bryant-Tokalau, Jenny J.
1993 What future Pacific cities? The challenge in managing urban environments. In *The margin fades: Geographical itineraries in a world of islands*, ed. Eric Waddell and Patrick D. Nunn, 151–65. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies.

Carvalho, Anabela
2007 Ideological cultures and media discourses on scientific knowledge: Rereading news on climate change. *Public Understanding of Science* 16 (2): 223–43.

Castles, Stephen
2002 Environmental change and forced migration: Making sense of the debate. *UNHCR Working Paper No.70* 70: 1–14.
2010 Afterword: What now? Climate-induced displacement after Copenhagen. In *Climate change and displacement: Multidisciplinary perspectives*, ed. Jane McAdam, 239–46. Oxford: Hart Publishing.

Connell, John
1990 The Carteret Islands: Precedents of the greenhouse effect. *Geography* 75: 152–54.
2003 Losing ground? Tuvalu, the greenhouse effect and the garbage can. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 44 (2): 89–107.
2004 Environmental change, economic development, and emigration in Tuvalu. In *Globalization and culture change in the Pacific Islands*, ed. Victoria S. Lockwood, 260–72. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Cooney, Campbell
2009 Bougainville works to relocate “climate refugees.” *ABC News*. www.abc.net.au/news/stories/2009/02/13/2491415.htm, May 11, 2009.

Dow, Kirstin, and Thomas E. Downing
2007 *The atlas of climate change: Mapping the world’s greatest challenge*. Rev. and updated. London: Earthscan.
2011 *The atlas of climate change: Mapping the world’s greatest challenge*. 3rd ed. London: Earthscan.

Edmond, Rod, and Vanessa Smith
2003 Editors’ introduction. In *Islands in history and representation*, ed. Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith, 1–18. London: Routledge.

Farbotko, Carol

2005 Tuvalu and climate change: Constructions of environmental displacement in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. *Geografiska Annaler B* 87 (4): 279–93.

2010a "The global warming clock is ticking so see these places while you can": Voyeuristic tourism and model environmental citizens on Tuvalu's disappearing islands. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 31: 224–38.

2010b Wishful sinking: Disappearing islands, climate refugees and cosmopolitan experimentation. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 51 (1): 47–60.

Farbotko, Carol, and Heather Lazrus

2012 The first climate refugees? Contesting global narratives of climate change in Tuvalu. *Global Environmental Change* 22: 382–90.

Gemenne, Francois, and Shawn Shen

2009 Tuvalu and New Zealand: Case study report. Environmental Change and Forced Migration Scenarios. www.each-for.eu/documents/CSR_Tuvalu_090215.pdf, July 5, 2011.

Gillie, Richard D.

1991 Beach profile surveys on Betio and Bairiki and along the Nippon Causeway, South Tarawa, Kiribati. SOPAC Preliminary Report 37, Coastal and Nearshore Programme. Kiribati: SOPAC Technical Secretariat.

Gillis, John R.

2003 Taking history offshore: Atlantic islands in European minds, 1400–1800. In *Islands in history and representation*, ed. Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith, 19–31. London: Routledge.

Hamblyn, Richard

2009 The whistleblower and the canary: Rhetorical constructions of climate change. *Journal of Historical Geography* 35: 223–36.

Haun, Beverly

2008 *Inventing "Easter Island."* Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press.

Hau'ofa, Epeli

1994 Our sea of islands. *The Contemporary Pacific* 6: 148–61.

Howe, K. L.

2000 *Nature, culture and history: The "knowing" of Oceania*. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press.

Hulme, Mike

2009 *Why we disagree about climate change: Understanding controversy, inaction and opportunity*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Itaia, Maunaa
1987 Squatters on South Tarawa, Kiribati. In *In Search of a home*, ed. L. Mason and P. Hereniko, 206–29. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, Univ. of the South Pacific.

Kahn, Miriam
2004 Placing Tahitian identities: Rooted in land and enmeshed in representations. In *Globalization and culture change in the Pacific Islands*, ed. Victoria S. Lockwood, 285–306. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.
2011 *Tahiti beyond the postcard: Power, place, and everyday life*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press.

Kempf, Wolfgang
2009 A sea of environmental refugees? Oceania in an age of climate change. In *Form, Macht, Differenz: Motive und Felder ethnologischen Forschens*, ed. Elfriede Hermann, Karin Klenke, and Michael Dickhardt, 191–205. Göttingen: Univ. of Göttingen.

Kilvert, Andrew
2010 PNG losing island homes. *The Northern Rivers Echo*. www.echonews.com.au/story/2010/10/14/png-neighbours-losing-their-island-homes, May 25, 2011.

Kirby, Alex
1999 Islands disappear under rising seas. *BBC News*. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/low/science/nature/368892.stm, December 4, 2009.

Koch, Klaus-Friedrich
1978 *Logs in the currents of the sea: Neli Lifuka's story of Kioa and the Vaitupu colonists*. Canberra: Australian National Univ. Press.

Lazrus, Heather
2012 Sea change: Island communities and climate change. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41: 285–301.

Lean, Geoffrey
1999 They're going under. *The Independent*. www.independent.co.uk/life-style/theyre-going-under-1099931.html, May 13, 2010.

Macdonald, Barry K.
1982 *Cinderellas of the empire: Towards a history of Kiribati and Tuvalu*. Canberra: Australian National Univ. Press.

Mascall, Sharon
2004 Tuvalu's tides divide scientists. www.theage.com.au/articles/2004/08/24/1093246516150.html, December 4, 2009.

Morton, Adam
2009 First climate refugees start move to new Island home. *The Age*. www.theage.com.au/national/first-climate-refugees-start-move-to-new-island-home-20090728-e06x.html, October 20, 2009.

Mortreux, Colette, and Jon Barnett
2009 Climate change, migration and adaptation in Funafuti, Tuvalu. *Global Environmental Change* 19: 105–12.

Moser, Susanne C., and Lisa Dilling
2007 *Creating a climate for change: Communicating climate change and facilitating social change*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Nakalevu, Taito
2006 Final report. CBDAMPIC Project. Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme. www.sprep.org/climate_change/PYCC/documents/CBDAMPIC.pdf, May 11, 2010.

Nakalevu, Taito, and Brian Phillips
2007 Post relocation survey report: Tegua Community, Torba Province, Vanuatu. Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme. http://lyris.sprep.org/att/IRC/eCOPIES/Countries/Vanuatu/73.pdf, May 11, 2010.

Nero, Karen L.
1997 The end of insularity. In *The Cambridge history of the Pacific Islanders*, ed. Donald Denoon and Malama Meleisea, 439–67. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Neverla, Irene, and Mike S. Schäfer
2012 Einleitung: Der Klimawandel und das "Medien-Klima." In *Das Medien-Klima: Fragen und Befunde der kommunikationswissenschaftlichen Klimaforschung*, ed. Irene Neverla and Mike S. Schäfer, 9–25. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Nunn, Patrick D.
2004 Through a mist on the ocean: Human understanding of island environments. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 95 (3): 311–25.
2009 *Vanished islands and hidden continents of the Pacific*. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press.

Nurse, Leonard A., et al.
2014 Small islands. In *Climate change 2014: Impacts, adaptation, and vulnerability. Part B: Regional aspects*, ed. V. R. Barros, C. B. Field, D. J. Dokken, et al., 1613–54. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

O'Collins, Maev
1990 Carteret Islanders at the Atolls Resettlement Scheme: A response to land loss and population growth. In *Implications of expected climate changes in the South*

Pacific region: An overview, ed. J. C. Pernetta and P. J. Hughes, 247–69. Nairobi: United Nations Environment Program.

Parry, Richard L.
2006 The last tide could come at any time: Then these islands at the end of the earth will simply vanish. *Timesonline*. www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/article759319.ece, December 15, 2009.

Paton, Kathryn L.
2009 At home or abroad: Tuvaluans shaping a Tuvaluan future. Wellington: Master's thesis, Victoria Univ. of Wellington.

Rahmstorf, Stefan
2010a Climate change—State of the science. www.pik-potsdam.de/~stefan/warming facts.pdf, June 16, 2010.
2010b A new view on sea level rise. www.nature.com/climate/2010/1004/pdf/climate.2010.29.pdf, January 31, 2013.

Rakova, Ursula
2009 How-to guide for environmental refugees: Carteret Islanders' own in-depth relocation plan. *OurWorld 2.0, World Refugee Day Special Report*. http://ourworld.unu.edu/en/how-to-guide-for-environmental-refugees, May 25, 2011.
2014 The sinking Carteret Islands. Leading change in climate change adaptation and resilience in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea. In *Land Solutions for Climate Displacements*, ed. Scott Leckie, 268–90. London: Routledge.

Rakova, Ursula, Luis Patron, and Citt Williams
2009 How-to guide for environmental refugees. Human rights: Climate change, environment, indigenous people, oceans. http://ourworld.unu.edu/en/how-to-guide-for-environmental-refugees, January 23, 2015.

Roberts, Greg
2002 Islanders face rising seas with nowhere to go. *Sydney Morning Herald*. www.smh.com.au/articles/2002/03/29/1017206152551.html, July 5, 2011.

Robinson, Edward, Deborah-Ann C. Rowe, and Shakira A. Khan
2006 Dwindling coastlines—Hazards of the Jamaican coastline—Beach erosion: A response to rising sea level? *Jamaica Gleaner Online*. http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20060127/news/news1.html, December 4, 2009.

Royle, Stephen A.
2001 *A geography of islands: Small island insularity*. London: Routledge.

Taafaki, Tauaasa
2007 Polynesia in review: Issues and events, 1 July 2005 to 30 June 2006. *The Contemporary Pacific* 19 (1): 276–86.

Takaio, Abureti
1993 Kain Tarawa. In *Atoll politics: The Republic of Kiribati*, ed. Howard van Trease, 278–84. Suva: Macmillan Brown Center for Pacific Studies and Institute of Pacific Studies, Univ. of the South Pacific.

Teaiwa, Teresia K.
1997 Rabi and Kioa: Peripheral minority communities in Fiji. In *Fiji in transition*, vol. 1, ed. Brij V. Lal and Tomasi R. Vakatora, 130–52. Suva: Univ. of the South Pacific.

Torrice, Andrea
2000 Rising waters: Global warming and the fate of the Pacific Islands. Documentary, 57 minutes. Bullfrog Films. Torrice Productions.

Tulele Peisa Inc.
2009 Carterets Integrated Relocation Program Bougainville, Papua New Guinea. Project proposal. http://ourworld.unu.edu/en/wp-content/uploads/2009/06/carterets-integrated-relocation-program-proposal.pdf, January 20, 2010.

Tuvalu News
2006 Move Tuvalu population to a Fiji island to ensure survival, scientist says. www.tuvaluislands.com/news/archived/2006/2006-02-20.htm, July 5, 2011.

Tweedie, Neil
2009 Carteret Islands: "The sea is killing our island paradise." *Telegraph*. www.telegraph.co.uk/earth/carteret-islands/6771651/The-sea-is-killing-our-island-paradise.html, July 5, 2011.

United Nations Environment Program
2005 Pacific Island villagers first climate change "refugees." www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?DocumentID=459&ArticleID=5066&1=en, July 5, 2011.

Vidal, John
2005 Pacific Atlantis: First climate change refugees. *The Guardian*. www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2005/nov/25/science.climatechange, July 21, 2008.

Weingart, Peter, Anita Engels, and Petra Pansegrau
2000 Risks of communication: Discourses on climate change in science, politics, and the mass media. *Public Understanding of Science* 9: 261–83.
2008 *Von der Hypothese zur Katastrophe: Der anthropogene Klimawandel im Diskurs zwischen Wissenschaft, Politik und Massenmedien*. Opladen: Budrich.

White, G. M.
1965 *Kioa: An Ellice community in Fiji*. Eugene: Univ. of Oregon.

RECLAIMING PARADISE: CINEMA AND HAWAIIAN NATIONHOOD[1]

Judith Schachter
Carnegie Mellon University

PRISTINE GREEN CLIFFS and clear blue water, sun, sand, and sensual women: these images of the South Seas have presented Hawai'i to the world for over three centuries. Epitomizing the romance of a far-away island, Hawai'i has come to seem accessible to visitors, tourists, businessmen, and, in this paper, generations of filmmakers.

In this essay, I make a case for the persistence of images of "paradise" in contemporary portrayals of Hawaiian nationhood. I counter the assumption of a trajectory from romance to reality. Instead, I point to the reclamation of the romantic in order to assert present Native Hawaiian realities—the reality of a struggle for cultural autonomy, political sovereignty, and a "reorganized" place in the global arena.[2] Films made by activists turn the depictions associated with Western conquest into an attack against visual domination by imperial outsiders—the *malihini* (strangers) behind the camera. Indigenous filmmakers adapt the trope of paradise to an interpretation of Native Hawaiian nationhood in the present.

Recurring in films of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, the trope defines a concept of nation in a context of bids for self-determination. The concept refers specifically to land, the *'āina*, that is the source of kinship and community. While outside observers have painted pictures of an Edenic environment for centuries, I show that the deceptively similar evocation of landscape harbors a newly resistant movement, representing a distinctly Hawaiian vision. The films I discuss can be viewed as components in

Pacific Studies, Vol. 38, Nos. 1/2—Apr./Aug. 2015

the creation of an indigenous cinema. To the extent that they are successful, these films attract an audience, garner funding, and win acknowledgment of their messages.

When it comes to Hawai'i, there is an enormous amount of available visual material. From the many accounts by Cook and his sailors to the popular television program *Hawaii Five-O,* pictures of the islands circulate widely, familiarly, and appealingly. These generally obscure the threat that visual appropriation poses under pleasing images of pleasure and harmony. In the films I analyze, background becomes foreground, constituting a sharp critique of the history behind romantic portrayals. The critique may be implicit, embedded in plot or symbol, or it may be deliberate, the primary subject of a film; in either instance, the appropriation of image signifies a response to hegemonic control of representations. Visual exploitation of the islands as an *ideal* for the continent is reversed, and "continent" forms the mirror against which the islands assert an identity. "Through film, issues of national identity and concern to Pacific Islanders are raised and disseminated," Vilsoni Hereniko, a Rotuman filmmaker, writes. He continues: these films "present a Pacific perspective on history and Pacific politics that eclipses the romantic images on celluloid that pervade South Seas cinema from the 1890s to the 1990s."[3] Eclipse but do not erase.

I do not delineate the long legacy of films about Hawai'i; that has been done elsewhere.[4] As a starting point, I discuss two iconic productions that in different ways exploit the romance of the Pacific in the context of the island with a colonial relationship to the United States. Rodgers and Hammerstein's *South Pacific* and George Roy Hill's *Hawaii* reimagine the trope of paradise under the familiarity that came with World War II and intensified statehood debates.

In the main part of the paper, I explore the persistence of romance in films that convey the reality of contemporary Hawai'i. Specifically, I analyze films in which reality is deeply embedded in a relationship to the past of intrusion, takeover, and ultimate control by the United States. This includes films made by outsiders as well as insiders and demonstrates the sharing of visual conventions in those films. My conclusion extends the discussion of visual hegemony and the possibilities for creating a Native Hawaiian cinema in the face of funding constraints, the power of Hollywood, and the complexity of what nationhood can mean in an American state.

Love in Paradise

Stereotypes of the South Pacific go back to early explorers and especially Captain James Cook with his boats full of image makers.[5] That devastating contact

released a flood of images that circulated around the world in the nineteenth century, the high tide of imperial intrusions into the Pacific (See Lepowsky; Lutkehaus, this issue). Particularly relevant to the case of Hawai'i, nineteenth century images conveyed a place the United States had a right to manage, make productive, and eventually effectively colonize. The ruling trope remains *paradise*, a place of softness and sweetness conveniently reinterpreted by US observers as a "pear ripe for plucking."[6] By the end of the nineteenth century, the spread of visual technology made film a primary medium for representing Hawai'i in the frame of enduring South Seas imagery.

From ethnological to documentary and, without much pause, to feature films, celluloid images reinforced a romantic representation of the islands that became an American territory in 1900. Feature films depended on inherited visual conventions to depict a place that was both a distant reality and a fond dream for viewers.

"Between 1920 and 1939 more than fifty feature films were made in or about Hawai'i," Jane Desmond notes in *Staging Tourism*. The films to which she refers were produced and distributed by major Hollywood studios. And they tended to play on the same themes: "A genre of South Seas island romance was particularly popular, often featuring interracial romance between native women and Caucasian men (businessmen, shipwreck victims) visiting the islands."[7] Heterosexual relationships symbolize the romance of the islands, at once epitomizing and obscuring the reality of sexual and racial encounters. The Second World War brought a new era: depictions of paradise reflected the impact of a war in which thousands of Americans reached Hawai'i, and US imperialism expanded its thrust.

In 1949, five short years after the end of the war, Rodgers and Hammerstein produced the play *South Pacific,* based on James Michener's 1947 *Tales of the South Pacific*. The Broadway play introduced themes and characters that gained pervasive influence on subsequent depictions of the South Seas. Nine years later the film version fixed romance to a place shattered by the realities of war. The place is not identified, but naval personnel, a Polynesian-looking supporting cast, and references to the danger of a Japanese invasion evoke the Hawaiian archipelago, where thousands of US servicemen and civilian workers spent the war years.[8] Scenes filmed on the gorgeous coast of Kaua'i substantiate the image of paradise that Hawai'i represented for a weary American public.[9] Yet what is remarkable about *South Pacific* is the twist in the familiar trope: this "Eden" in the Pacific carefully teaches a lesson about race and gender on the mainland—at home.[10] Remembered for a romantic narrative enhanced by music, the film initiates a reflection on the reality of US presence in the Pacific that in later films turned into vivid condemnation of American imperialism, militarism, and consumerism.

There are two romances in *South Pacific*. In one, Navy nurse Nellie Forbush falls in love with Emile De Becque, a handsome longtime resident of the island. In the other, Bloody Mary induces Lieutenant Joseph Cable to meet her daughter, the lithe and lightly brown Liat.[11] Linked by a dream of love in paradise, the dual stories expose the complexities of romance across racial and cultural boundaries.[12]

Nellie discovers the secret that De Becque harbors, when she learns that two dark-skinned children are his by a native woman. A girl from Little Rock, she finds it impossible to cross the "racial" barrier until De Becque proves himself to be a war hero. And, of course, he is French and not native—not the dark male whose presence even the daring Rodgers and Hammerstein avoid. In that case, the barriers to romance are national (or cultural—from Little Rock to Paris) and they easily fall. The barriers for Cable are entirely different, and his love story ends tragically, or inevitably, with his death. Unlike the heroic, and sometimes less than heroic, white males who did and do populate Hollywood films set in the Pacific, Cable sees his interracial romance through the lens of the racism he learned on the East Coast of the United States.

Cable meets Liat on Bali Ha'i, the "one perfect island" on a distant horizon. Clouded in mist and mystery, across a Technicolor-blue ocean, Bali Ha'i is a symbol for the distant and desirable—frequently seen but not ultimately accessible. Cable's story exposes the unattainable nature of perfection, the distance of Bali Ha'i from the lessons learned at home: a carefully taught and culturally acceptable racism. The contrast with the successful outcome of Nellie's romance further underlines the fault lines in the United States by region and class. Lieutenant Cable's elite Philadelphia upbringing keeps him more distant than does Nellie's provincial background from attaining the dream of the South Seas. Under its bright romantic coloring, *South Pacific* asks questions about a United States whose future was increasingly tied to the Pacific Islands. In the film, South Seas stereotypes of harmony and generosity show up an imperial nation whose values are the opposite.

Images subsumed under the trope of paradise became more significant as the United States expanded its strategic interests in the "sea of islands."[13] In Hawai'i, debates over statehood brought such visions to the forefront, where they influenced questions about the status of the place the United States occupied. The popularity of the tourist destination, the impact of jet travel, and the simple appeal of a tropical island to an urbanizing nation added to the already popular genre: Hawai'i became subject and site of hundreds of presentations to the American public, while politicians argued over statehood.[14]

A legislative act brought the Pacific island close to home in 1959, and subsequent filmmakers modified the trope of paradise by grounding the vision in

presumably faithful references to Hawaiian history. Paradise did not get lost but appeared in the depiction of antagonists and protagonists in that history. George Roy Hill's 1966 *Hawaii* is a prime example.[15]

Like *South Pacific*, Hill's film drew its themes and figures from James Michener, this time from his big novel that told the story of Hawai‘i from the beginning of time until the mid-1950s (the book was published just before statehood in 1959). The story draws on Michener's account of the arrival of American Calvinist missionaries in 1820 and transforms the dichotomy of good and evil into a kind of trouble-in-paradise tale. The romance in *Hawaii* is less between a white man and a dark-skinned woman, or between lovers whose cultures keep them apart, than a romance of redemption. While the turmoil experienced by the white characters dominates the moral dimension of the film (see Lipset, this issue), the Polynesian figures are not totally silenced, nor are they excluded from being beneficently *saved*. In a final acknowledgment of native culture, the *ali‘i nui*, Queen Malama, is redeemed when she turns back to custom.

Despite the role of Native Hawaiians, *Hawaii* remains the story of the West and of the United States in particular. Paradise is the place in which "we" change by choice, while the natives are changed by "us." Like *South Pacific*, the 1966 film was an enormous box office hit, but unlike the earlier film, it brings Hawai‘i forward as a special case, an island of diverse inhabitants who struggle to attain an ideal of harmony.[16] In this respect, Hill's film redoes the trope by making social relations the constituents of paradise.

Less than a decade later, a Hawaiian cultural renaissance would alter representations of the archipelago in enduring ways. By then, too, the impact of persistent imagery affected the visions of insider as well as outsider filmmakers. As Margaret Jolly put it, filmmakers—both native and nonnative—saw through dual lenses. "Indigenous and foreign representations of the place and its people are now not so much separate visions as they are 'double visions,' in the sense of both stereoscopy and blurred edges."[17] This dilemma affects the creation of an indigenous film industry in Hawai‘i or, better perhaps, the creation of cinema that represents an indigenous vision of "paradise." Working through the dilemma made land and not love central to the meanings of paradise.

Land/‘Āina in Paradise

In 2009, Catherine Bauknight presented a film with the same title as George Roy Hill's 1966 blockbuster. Her *Hawaii,* however, has a subtitle that reveals its distance from a Hollywood production. *A Voice for Sovereignty* places Bauknight's film in a new era, one of bids for self-determination on the part

of Native Hawaiians. According to Bauknight's Web site: "This is the first documentary to feature Native Hawaiian's journey to sustain their culture, spirituality, and connection to the land."[18]

In my reading, her claim of "first" refers to the connections the film makes of culture to spirituality and of spirituality to land. With this as her overriding theme, Bauknight gathers the voices of a range of Native Hawaiians, *kanaka maoli*, whose stated identities are rooted in the land. Thus the film moves the argument for sovereignty away from the elite, the lawyers and politicians who speak in public, and brings it home to the ordinary resident—those who especially suffer from the desecration and devastation of the ʻāina. Behind the narrative lies a familiar vision: Bauknight's *Hawaii* presents a paradise lost image, vividly detailing an intrusion onto the shores of the archipelago by bulldozers, motorcycles, and speedboats—the screaming noise of modern technology. The "once-perfect island" does not lie in a distant mystical haze, but close at hand and subject to the whims of those who enter.

The film opens with an elderly Hawaiian man performing a traditional chant on the white sandy shore of a blue ocean. Contrasting scenes carry the narrative. A scene of men on motorcycles roaring their way into land marked as sacred is followed by a lone Hawaiian man contemplating the plumeria in his garden. "We fish and gather from the mountain," says an individual, standing by the side of a road. "We've done that all our lives." A shot of consumers, box stores, and parking lots precedes a view of children looking shyly into the camera. And so it goes: intruders spoil paradise with disregard, greed, and ignorance, while Native Hawaiians speak of the beauty and the generosity of the ʻāina. *Hawaii: A Voice for Sovereignty* is not a simple Manichean tale of good and evil, but the arrangement of scenes resonates with that enduring interpretation of Pacific Island history.[19]

Catherine Bauknight is not a native of the islands, nor does she claim to be. She does take the position of outsider advocate for Native Hawaiian sovereignty, and that leads to a certain ambiguity not only in the content but also in the distribution of the film.

With its first showing, *Hawaii: A Voice for Sovereignty* entered a political arena. Even before the film reached an audience in Hawaiʻi, Bauknight brought the production to a quite different environment: the US federal government. There, in the nation's capital, prominent figures from the islands and from the mainland attended a private showing. The event occurred in the White House visitor's center: "the screening also included a ritual that celebrated the new home of the statue of the legendary Hawaiian King Kamehameha in the Center's Emancipation Hall."[20] A statue of Hawaiʻi's famed monarch marked a recognition of the Hawaiian nation by the United States that had little to do with (and perhaps was meant to distract from) the

debate in Congress over a bill proposing a "reorganization" of the relationship between Hawai'i and the United States.[21] The opening in Washington DC attached *Hawaii* to a pressing political issue and, in the face of a congressional bill, emphasized a meaning of sovereignty—and nationhood—Bauknight downplays. Two months later the film opened in Maui and viewers witnessed a cinematic presentation of the lush, green-blue South Seas landscape the tourist bureau of the "valley island" touts.[22]

The film opened on Father's Day, 2009, not a trivial choice. Celebration of the place entangled with events marking an emblematic American holiday. Moreover, the location—the Sand Dance pavilion at a Maui resort—echoes the more famous mainland Sundance film festival. The sponsors of the festival talk of "the power of creativity to enlighten" and of the film's presentation of a "reality" few malihini know, but the emphasis on outsider consumption complicates the relationship of Bauknight's film to an indigenous production.[23] Cautiously avoiding debates over the status of *nation*, the film presents sovereignty as a return to customary modes of subsistence.

Bauknight shies away from the romantic implications of her images of the islands. Ultimately, she is less concerned with Native Hawaiian sovereignty than with the devastating impact of the West on native environments (see Kempf; Flinn, this issue). In an interview soon after the film opened, Bauknight extended the message of *Hawaii* to a global situation of climate change and loss of sustainability: "to be separated from their culture, land and spirituality could result in *the extinction of a culture*. These are extremely critical issues not only for the Hawaiians but for the entire global community as well" [emphasis added].[24]

The film turns the spotlight from politics to culture and from the particular to the general. Committed to the cause of saving native cultures across the globe, Bauknight depicts the ruin of a way of life by using the visual conventions that have romanticized Pacific Islands for centuries (see Lutkehaus; Flinn, this issue). These conventions shift the imperialist narrative to a pro-environmentalist stance, and the route to redeeming a once-perfect island lies in restoring self-sustainability—*malama 'āina*, care for the land. In *Hawaii: The Voice of Sovereignty* the Bali Ha'i of Rodgers and Hammerstein's *South Pacific* persists as the ideal the Western world at once yearns for and spoils.

Bauknight's film is neither about the conquest of a nation nor a plea for asserting national identity. That may be the burden native filmmakers uniquely bear—as Vilsoni Hereniko claims. In "Representations of cultural identities," he draws attention to the increasing importance of native-made media that represent identity. "Through film, issues of national identity and concern to Pacific Islanders are raised and disseminated. Merata Mita's *Patu*,

Albert Wendt's book-made-into-film *Flying Fox in a Freedom Tree*, and Puhipau and Joan Lauder's documentary *Act of War* present a Pacific perspective on history and Pacific politics that eclipses the romantic images on celluloid that pervade South Seas cinema from the 1890s to the 1990s."[25]

The documentary *Act of War: The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation* came out in 1993, a response to the hundredth-year anniversary of the overthrow of Queen Liliʻuokalani by US military forces. The subtitle announces the history the film will deliver. Yet returning to Hereniko's point: does the film's imagery actually "eclipse" romance or does it rather exploit familiar tropes in order to fight back against appropriation by outsiders?

In contrast to *Hawaii: A Voice for Sovereignty, Act of War* was produced and distributed by a Native Hawaiian company, Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina, or Eyes of the Land. The company is affiliated with a consortium of indigenous media companies, Vision Maker Media, whose Web site announces: "Vision Maker Media shares Native stories with the world that represent the cultures, experiences, and values of American Indians and Alaska natives." Vision Maker Media receives major funding from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and from the National Endowment for the Arts.[26] Benefiting from financial support, *Act of War* is lavish, technically sophisticated, and a highly dramatic rendering of "a historical event of which few Americans are aware."[27] At 58 minutes long, the film fits a television timeslot and potentially reaches a wide audience.

Much is filmed in documentary style, offering a straightforward presentation of the history of the islands. But *Act of War* is a documentary with an agenda, and the outrage of US conquest demands the techniques of drama: conflict and resolution; villains and heroes; fateful decisions and noble reactions. Reconstructions and reenactments (Queen Liliʻuokalani at the piano, for instance) bring the history alive, engaging an audience in the *actuality* of events. The narrative arc is clear, as the story moves from a condition of well being through the forceful overthrow of a nation to a return to harmony—*pono* of land and people. Pono means good, righteous, excellent, and harmonious (Kameʻeleihiwa 1992). The form the return takes is unmistakable: only restoration of political sovereignty will restore the original state of well being to the islands.

To convey that "original state," the film draws on South Seas imagery but in this case not sand, sun, and sea. The stereotypical imagery in *Act of War* refers to social relations and to the interactions that constitute a *people*. This is both an important difference from and an important extension of the significance of romantic images that have described the Pacific for centuries. Shunning blue ocean and green hillsides, coconut palms and sinewy bodies to convey a prelapsarian state, *Act of War* highlights the performed collectivity

that evokes the state as *lāhui*, Native Hawaiian nationhood. To convey this condition, the film draws on enduring depictions of sociability, welcome, and generosity that as thoroughly represent Bali Haʻi as misty mountains in the distance.

The images are appropriated by indigenous filmmakers who cooperate through Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina. If we accept the arguments Faye Ginsburg has made about indigenous media, therein lies the importance of *Act of War:* the control of production and distribution by indigenous people. Her discussion of Igloolik Isuma, an Inuit-controlled production company, can be applied to Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina: "indigenous people are using screen media not to mask but to recuperate their own collective stories and histories."[28] Producer, director, and actors cooperate in "taking back" or "giving vitality to" images that have been diffused about them for decades. These films revise without rejecting a long history of "romantic images on celluloid."

Like Igloolik Isuma's most famous production *Atanarjuat* (2000), *Act of War* received numerous prizes and continues to be shown on television, in classrooms, and at special events. Unlike the Inuit film, with its adaptation of features of Hollywood entertainment, *Act of War* did not achieve wide box office success. Subsequent films produced through Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina similarly emphasize documentary style educational films and semi-ethnographic accounts of custom, told from a native point of view. A robust and impressive list, this raises further questions: is it that shunning Hollywood-type productions asserts the *reality* in indigenous cinema? That in order to reclaim the romance imposed by Western observers for centuries, indigenous media makers privilege information over entertainment? Essentially, is the process of *recuperation* seen to be best served by one form of filmmaking and not another? I approach an answer in the next section.

From "Paradise" to Nationhood

In 2009, the release year of *Hawaii: A Voice for Sovereignty*, a film called *Pidgin: The Voice of Hawaiʻi* came out. The echoing subtitles hint at similar goals, but the concept of voice also forecasts an important difference between the two films. *Pidgin* is a collaborative effort of Kanalu Young, a Native Hawaiian activist and professor at the University of Hawaiʻi (now deceased; the film is dedicated to him), and Marlene Booth, a filmmaker and also a professor at the University of Hawaiʻi. Like the coincidentally timed *Hawaii*, *Pidgin* portrays a community whose features distinguish it from the romantic vision perpetuated by Western filmmakers. *Pidgin* tells the story of a shared way of speaking and of a language that evolved over time, from the plantation workers of the nineteenth century to the local population of the

twenty-first century. If *Hawaii* argues for the restoration of traditional ways of sustaining land, *Pidgin* looks to shared language as the heart of a restored Hawaiian nationhood. *Pidgin* diverges from Bauknight's film by including the locals along with the kanaka maoli as primary actors.

Playful, humorous, and enlivened by the antics of pidgin guerilla Lee Tonouchi, *Pidgin* seems at first sight to reject past portraits of the South Seas and the quintessential paradise, Hawai‘i. Clowning is not ordinarily an element of that trope, and cartoons have almost always been bad press for Native Hawaiians. A surprising exception occurred in 2002, when Disney released the animated feature *Lilo and Stitch,* with its drawn figures rather than "real" characters. *Lilo and Stitch* was a hit, and not least among the Native Hawaiians I know. The Disney production company cleverly used humor not to mock but to represent customs and interactions, apparently succeeding with local viewers in the islands (see Pearson, this issue). Moreover, the film makes fun of predecessors—the embarrassing Elvis Presley vehicle, *Blue Hawaii*, for instance, takes on new meanings when Stitch learns to play the ukulele. Small, awkward, and alien, Stitch acquires Hawaiian values in a series of lessons that contradict the easy assumption of *aloha* or "Hawaiian at Heart."[29] At the end of the film, the little fellow is welcomed into the family, a member of the *‘ohana*.

Like *Lilo and Stitch*, *Pidgin* uses animation, cartooning, and humor to break down pictures of Hawai‘i that embed the island in a misty aura of paradise. While the Disney vehicle transforms enduring (mostly cinematic) stereotypes through the science fiction framework of an alien's perspective on Hawaiian custom, the Young and Booth film uses familiar stereotypes in the interest of taking back the history of Hawai‘i's people from the nineteenth to the early twenty-first century. In both instances, however, mockery of stereotypical imagery accentuates the complexity of contemporary Hawai‘i and its legacy of visits from strangers who penetrate, alter, and imitate the customs they encounter. Moreover, the diverse display of "talk" in *Pidgin* illuminates the longer story of intrusion by foreigners who alternately resist and accept the terms of entry into Hawaiian culture—the story cheerfully told in Disney's film, with its happy ending. Humorous as *Pidgin* is, the documentary does not have a happy ending. Rather, the film provides a realistic assessment of the role that language can play in enforcing divisions when, and if, its many speakers are silenced. The point of *Pidgin* is to give voice and to turn shared language into a political act.

Pidgin is fast and funny. Scene follows scene, in rapid succession, with the result that pidgin seems to be all over the place. Members of distinct groups—a Japanese, a Filipino, a *haole* (Caucasian)—recite "to be or not to be" in pidgin accented with ethnic inflections. The Shakespearean lines

unify the speakers and draw an audience of outsiders into the routine. Other scenes exclude strangers, defined in the film as non-pidgin speakers. A scene in which teenagers sit at a beach and speak in quick staccato to one another closes out the person who only understands Standard English. The association between Standard English and a history of discrimination is supported by the inclusion of a case against two newscasters who were fired because they sounded "local" and by interviews with adults who remember being punished for speaking pidgin in school. And always the documentary conventions, interviews, and borrowed footage are deflated by a subsequent antic episode: Lee Tonouchi rapping in pidgin or mocking his teachers.

The informational content of indigenous media is also mocked. In one scene, four scholars sit at a picnic bench, trees and ocean in the background. They discuss linguistic structures and admit hesitation about using pidgin in certain settings. Like much else in *Pidgin*, the scene operates at several levels. The language is analyzed, as is its role in the social hierarchies of Hawai'i. Simultaneously, the location of this scholarly conversation reminds a viewer of stereotypes that have long characterized Hawai'i—swaying palms and blue water. In fact, this is not the only beach scene in the film or the only teasing reference to images inherited from the past.

The cover of the DVD is revealing. Two tanned and toned male surfers face the camera, a sepia print behind the title. The stereotypical native "boy surfer" seems an odd introduction to a film about language and a shared linguistic community. An episode, however, illuminates the cover and extends the concept of nationhood in *Pidgin*. In that scene, a bunch of visitors try to surf at a wave-ridden shore. Quickly they are chased away by another group, local by looks, behavior, and, notably, speech. The tone is light-hearted—no one is really threatening or threatened—but the gist is serious. As the locals pursue the malihini, the chase acquires broader implications: the possession of a sport by those to whom it originally belonged. Like pidgin itself, the claim to the beach is a claim to history, to insider status, and to rules of inclusion and exclusion.[30] Those rules reiterate the concept of nationhood the film upholds—a collectivity based on language and not on the ethnic or racial categories imposed by corporate, academic, or government elites.

Pidgin, says Tonouchi, "provides our Hawaiian roots." And the film consistently reminds the viewer of the source of those roots: the waves of newcomers who sustained the economic institutions of the archipelago through backbreaking work in cane and pineapple fields. Young and Booth stress, and show through old footage, the key role of plantation workers for whom pidgin offered a route to shared consciousness and, eventually, formed the basis for a *local* identity. Scenes of workers and, equally, of teenagers, surfers,

and shoppers, offer a history of Hawai'i that replaces a vague and Western-generated "perfect island" with the specifics of social interaction (Hawaiian pono) in a class-based setting.

In its emphasis on ordinary individuals—the everyday residents of the islands—*Pidgin* indirectly addresses the overthrow of the Hawaiian nation by the United States. That is, for most of the film the energy of the *local,* expressed in speech, counteracts the assumption of complete Americanization, with its measures of worth through demeanor, dialect, and dress. Tonouchi's antics wave in the face of homogenization according to an American model and, in Ginsburg's phrase, *talk back* to media conventions that have reduced diversity to an effortless "melting pot."

The film also has footage of the march in 1993 that marked the anniversary of the overthrow, a march in which Young participated. The crowds in that footage bear Hawaiian flags, wear traditional clothing, and carry placards that protest the continued occupation of an independent nation. Young's prominence in that footage indicates the wider message of *Pidgin*: that the source of Hawaiian nationhood lies not in kanaka maoli exclusivity but in the gathering of forces rooted in a polyglot, multicultural past. Yet the fact that the parade scene replicates representations of the march in *Act of War* argues for the significance of visual conventions that condemn American imperialism by exploiting "old" imagery.

In some ways, *Pidgin* has its own romantic flavor, represented in the honorable (and moral—see Lipset, this issue) aspects of the local working-class population. The film does not fight directly against the wrongs perpetuated by the United States and it does not obey the strict definition of an indigenous film—one made by members of an indigenous group. Booth is not kanaka maoli, and Young demonstrates his composite background when he shifts from Standard English to Hawaiian to pidgin in the film. While Young illustrates the fluidity of identity, other filmmakers took on the task of creating a distinctly Native Hawaiian mode of representation.

Native Hawaiian activist and filmmaker Anne Keala Kelly inspired a good deal of that effort. In 2008, she released a film she had been working on for 10 years, *Noho Hewa: The Wrongful Occupation of Hawai'i*.[31] The film is a powerful attack against the pollution of Hawai'i by corporate, military, and tourist interests. A freeway there, a housing development here, and endless shopping centers cover the graves of kānaka maoli, despite meetings, protests, and well-meaning developers. Kelly tells the story of the rape of the 'āina in a series of vignettes: individuals shouting at a town meeting; a scholar speaking in front of a military plane; shoppers ignoring the sign pointing to a burial ground; and, notably, the large Wal-Mart constructed on top of ancestral graves.

A tale of desecration, ignorance, and arrogance, *Noho Hewa* does not reduce protagonist and antagonist to one-dimensional figures. Rather, the range of incidents Kelly includes depict a lack of consensus, competing interests, the pull of temptation to which ordinary individuals succumb. In one scene, for instance, protestors yell at a Native Hawaiian woman who wants to shop in the Wal-Mart. She goes in anyway: cheap prices are a strong draw and economic stringency may outweigh a spiritual attachment to the land on which the box store sits. In another scene, young men stop a car from entering what is a designated sacred space. The local girls in the car shout expletives at them. Who cares, they say clearly—and realistically—about the dead?

Verbal battles alternate with protest marches, interviews with the shouts of teenagers; a developer explains how his resort will help the economy and a crowd asks how the violation of sacred land can help anyone. The film does not array good against bad characters, but it does make the villain of the piece unmistakable. Multinational corporations, real estate developers, the state government, and, last but not least, the US military trample over "paradise" thoughtlessly and greedily. Each institution offers the temptation of progress, an apple proffered in a uncertain economy, and each puts vested interests ahead of care for the ʻāina. Like temptation in its original formulation, the poison in the apple may not be immediately apparent, intensifying its evil impact.

The specific target is the United States, the military, capitalist, and consumer-based nation that denigrated Hawaiian culture and stole Hawaiian land. In the words of a reviewer: "Kelly makes the case that native Hawaiians face systematic obliteration at the hands of an American system that promotes militarism, tourism and over development."[32] While *Noho Hewa* shares with *Act of War* an accusation against the United States, Kelly's film focuses less on the loss of political sovereignty than on the blatant disrespect for land upon which Hawaiian nationhood is based. The outstanding trope in *Noho Hewa* is the land, ʻāina, the core of Native Hawaiian culture and the victim of US greed. In the depiction of land, Kelly's film recalls generations of images in the Western canon: pristine and green acreage, lush forests, and high cliffs that rest against an azure sky. But these images are used to convey the tragedy of loss under US rule.

Similar in some respects to Bauknight's use of land to represent a prelapsarian state, Kelly adds a distinctly kanaka maoli interpretation. *Noho Hewa* presents an interpretation of land as kin, the extension of relational affiliation from people to place. When land is desecrated, the film shows, social relationships collapse, pulling up the roots of Native Hawaiian collectivity. With its complex story of competition over land,

differences within and not just between kamaʻāinana and malihini groups, *Noho Hewa* argues that only a new consensus can redeem the way of life lost beneath box stores, military installations, and rampant materialism.

The film is not slick, and it contains none of the high-tech animation or effects that *Act of War* uses. On first sight, *Noho Hewa* looks amateurish, a hand-held camera moving from scene to scene, jumpily and often nonsequentially. According to one reviewer, the film looks "raw and unscripted" and another calls it "raw and passionate."[33] Both comments are positive, implying that the blunt YouTube style increases the power of the film. Kelly's is a view of Hawaiʻi that is rarely seen, and her images are "the stuff of sleepless nights rather than placid fantasies."[34]

From Kelly's point of view, however, comments about the film's amateur look underline another issue, that of financing and funding. The look of *Noho Hewa* suggests a lack of resources, which Kelly mentions as a downfall for indigenous film. Whether she chose the look in order to make the point about financial stringency or whether she was strapped by lack of funding does not vitiate her primary position. In an interview two years after the film appeared, she remarks (with as much irony as optimism): "I'm looking for someone with the resources to invest in my work and by doing that invest in Hawaiian filmmaking. And whoever does that is going to make more than their money back—they're going to make history."[35] But the deck remains stacked against highly funded indigenous film.

Anne Keala Kelly received a Master's degree in filmmaking from the University of Southern California. Her degree did not bring her the reward of major funding, limiting her work to a documentary genre. Kelly's situation is not unusual: "most Hawaiian directors have been working in that form, largely because feature-length, theatrical films are prohibitively expensive to produce."[36] "That was the most unfunny movie I will ever make," Kelly remarks about *Noho Hewa*. "The next will be a political comedy."[37] Whether or not political comedy actually constitutes her next work, Kelly suggests that restriction to the documentary genre keeps Native Hawaiian (and other indigenous) filmmakers in a "subject" relationship. In her view, indigenous filmmakers are colonized by corporate interests, Hollywood controlled media, and well-funded independent work. Until indigenous media cross the boundary out of the local into the global, the genre runs the risk of remaining subsidiary, separatist, and stored away. Limited to educational or informational films, indigenous filmmakers remain *minor* compared with those who make popular films, stunning epics, and high-revenue features.[38]

Two Sides of Paradise

The seizing of Hawaiʻi by well-funded filmmakers continues, and with it the perpetuation of an imagined Eden. At the same time, these newer media adapt Bali Haʻi to contemporary concerns. The far-away island still provides a lesson to the West, but its components are new. A Hawaiian cultural renaissance in the 1970s slowly but surely influenced films made by non-Hawaiians, who climbed on the bandwagon of bids for independence, for a return to customary modes of subsistence, and for restoration of the land. In 2009, the same year as *Pidgin* and Bauknight's *Hawaii*, a film called *Barbarian Princess* appeared in an International Film Festival in Honolulu. Two years later, the extremely successful *The Descendants* drew large audiences around the world. Otherwise different, the films share an effort to tell the real story of Hawaiʻi through a focus on individuals whose experiences exemplify the presence of the United States in the islands. Furby's originally titled *Barbarian Princess* occupies the conventional heroic mold: a royal figure battling for a nation against the call of love and passion. *The Descendants*, by contrast, features a central figure marked by troubles, by split affiliations, and by an excruciating dilemma: the "hero" is not even king of his castle.

The film about "one of Hawaiʻi's most beloved princesses" caused controversy, not least because of its title.[39] The filmmaker, Marc Furby, changed the title for its distribution on the mainland, where it appeared as *Princess Kaiulani*. Furby is not Native Hawaiian, though he is married to a Hawaiian.[40] Reversing the tradition of romanticized histories like George Roy Hill's *Hawaii*, by transferring the moral energy from "outsider" to "native," Furby yet maintains the spirit of a South Seas romance. The film follows the life of the designated successor to the Hawaiian throne as she tries to save her nation. In the end, her love for a Caucasian man succumbs to duty, and she returns home to Hawaiʻi, only to find the nation defeated by the military might of the United States. Princess Kaʻiulani died at 23, in 1899, the year before Hawaiʻi was annexed to the United States. The film ends with her death.

Furby claims that the only fictional element is the love affair. Like its many predecessors, however, *Princess Kaiulani* offers a version of Bali Haʻi. Not shrouded in distant mist, the imagined island here is a place where women are strong, people are united in loyalty to a nation, and tanned young men speak their native tongue. If Bali Haʻi in *South Pacific* taught a lesson about racism, Furby's "perfect island" teaches the lesson of feminism, of loyalty, and of duty. Furby makes no secret of his politics, and of his commitment

to telling Native Hawaiian history. At the same time, he bows to the conventions of Western feature film, emphasizing the tragic fate of a beautiful princess. The actor who plays the princess, Q'orianka Kilcher, is a Peruvian-Swiss human rights advocate, a choice that blurs Hawaiian history into contemporary grassroots activism and that pushes aside the significance to Native Hawaiians of a vanished monarchy.

George Clooney and Alexander Payne tried something more ambitious in *The Descendants*. The 2011 film takes place in the present and refers to incendiary disputes over land currently occurring in Hawai'i. Based on a novel by a Hawaiian writer, Kaui Hart Hemmings, the film embeds the story of 'āina in the details of a family drama—the fictional element that carries the plot.[41] Narrative devices—adultery, recalcitrant teenagers, and disputatious kin—blur the existence of a distinct Hawaiian dilemma into the universals that sustain a Hollywood blockbuster.

The main figure, Matt King (played by Clooney), is the descendant of a haole banker and a Hawaiian princess, and he is the trustee of a gorgeous sweep of land on Kaua'i. The plot has two threads: one is King's discovery of his wife's adultery, and the other is the decision he faces about 25,000 acres of virgin land. Developers are begging for the land, tempting King away from the trust nature of his inheritance.[42] The two plots intersect when he discovers that his wife's lover is a middleman in the real estate deal. But she is no longer alive, and the opening shot of a sailboat skimming the waves off famed Waikiki Beach evokes the stereotypical Hawai'i and anticipates the tragedy that is to come.

But any hint of paradise is immediately disturbed. "Fuck paradise," Matt King says, and the viewer sees a parade of figures: a woman in a wheelchair, an old Asian man, a homeless person with her dog on the beach. The film shuns the stereotypical trope further by showing rain in Hawai'i, mist on the beaches, wet roads, and crowded residential neighborhoods. As Jeffrey Geiger writes about an earlier film, "much like a flimsy Hollywood set, there is both a front and a back to paradise."[43] The "front" is the land on Kaua'i, an interpretation underlined by the camera's loving gaze over green mountains, placid cows, temple stones, and aquamarine ocean. The "back" exists not only in the early scenes of dampness and despair, but also in the dilemma an individual faces in the presence of paradise. The dilemma comes not from the intrusion of race, as it did for Cable in *South Pacific*, but from an intrusion of profit into King's view of his "one perfect island."

In the end, King decides not to sell the land—a sign of the redemption that plays out through the final scenes. Redemption, too, is a familiar aspect of Pacific Island media: a white man is redeemed by refraining from spoiling paradise with his sexual or financial greed (see Lipset; Lutkehaus, this issue).

King is also redeemed in a perfectly American sense: he forgives his wife her love affair and he embraces his daughters over a carton of ice cream.

The Descendants is without question the story of Hawaiʻi told by non-Hawaiians. Payne and Clooney tried hard to bridge the gap: before filming, for instance, they held a ritual to gain the consensus of local Hawaiians, and they consulted with Native Hawaiian storytellers in adapting the novel for a movie. The gaps remain. There are no Native Hawaiians in the film except for one passenger on the plane to Kauaʻi. The dilemma King faces concerning his trust is not given enough detail to distinguish it from the problems faced by any rich family on the mainland. And to the extent that the infidelity of his wife and their mother dominates the interactions between King and his children, this is very simply a Hollywood tale.

Supporters of the film cite the background music as evidence of the Hawaiian presence in the film. Furthermore, based on the discussion of land in the film, critics praise the realistic picture of a place usually trivialized as "paradise." *The Descendants* certainly moves beyond romantic depictions of the islands, shunning the legacy of the 1966 *Hawaii* and its many successors. "Fuck paradise" announces the new view of Hawaiʻi that will unroll in the remainder of the film. The white hero is tormented by his wife's secret life and not by an attraction to the "dark" woman of conventional South Seas drama. King's story involves a journey to forbearance (he forgives his wife) and to acceptance of responsibility for the trust he inherited. Yet the realism—the antiparadise aspect—of the narrative is limited by a focus on the upper 1% and a disappearance of the 99% who appear in the opening scenes. The poor and homeless vanish, as do the indigenous residents of Hawaiʻi.

Land is there, but the cultural meaning of ʻāina plays little part in the King family battle over real estate development. In the end, *The Descendants* falls between cracks: a family drama balanced against a historical and contemporary issue that is crucial to the people who do not appear in the film. Shunning the meaning of trust land for Native Hawaiians and pushing a domestic drama to the forefront, the film remains, in Geiger's words, "a reflection both of the fascination and the deep distrust that marked America's relationship to the South Pacific."[44]

The film attempts to diminish the tension between fascination and distrust by normalizing life in the Pacific Island state. In focusing on King's problems with kin, the film brings Bali Haʻi close to home and affirms the assimilation of Hawaiʻi into the United States. Disputes over property reduce fascination with the "exotic" to a realistic account of contemporary American life. At the same time, King's decision to preserve the land on Kauaʻi, undeveloped and pristine, recalls the particular history of US–Hawaiʻi relationships and the

role of land in that relationship. The film resolves the matter of *distrust* by implying the acknowledgment of indigenous rights accorded by a *trust*.

The Payne–Clooney film does not repeat the worst of earlier depictions—the easy conquest of native woman by white man, the wildness of savages tamed by the good Christian civilizer, the lazy native lying in the sun or surfing a wave. *The Descendants* does, however, relinquish ʻāina to land and Hawaiʻi to the United States. In that sense, realism represents an island in which descendants of a Hawaiian–haole elite transmit land, resources, and power to succeeding generations—an appropriated Bali Haʻi.

Retaking Bali Haʻi

"I have come around and now I'm working on a comedy," Kelly said in 2010. "I couldn't be funny with *Noho Hewa*. There's nothing funny happening in front of the camera. So I had to think about what's my best chance to get a theatrical film made and not sell out?"[45]

In advocating the production of a blockbuster, if granted the resources, Kelly tests the boundaries between speaking/filming in a Hawaiian voice and bending to the conventions a feature film demands. Her remarks suggest an ironic glance at the impact of spectacular epics, given the importance of "minority discourse" to the assertion of cultural and political autonomy. Her speculations about mass-market media stand against current alternatives to that Western-dominated genre: on the one side, educational and informational documentaries and, on the other side, the digitalized productions increasingly distributed across the Internet.

The mission statement of Nā Maka o ka ʻāina suggests the difficulty of making "theatrical film" and maintaining an indigenous voice. "We exist to document and give voice and face to traditional and contemporary Hawaiian culture, history, language, art, music, environment and the politics of independence and sovereignty."[46] In giving voice to Native Hawaiians, the company produces mainly educational and instructional videos. Yet the list is impressive, and the videos are widely distributed; moreover, the range of subjects offers a full account of the reality of Hawaiian history, including present bids for sovereignty. Revival of custom, respect for the wisdom of elders (*kūpuna*), and acknowledgment of the values of the past constitute the "paradise lost" in these indigenous productions. As in *Act of War* and *Noho Hewa*, the documentary form both facilitates and frames the cinematic representation of a new nationhood.

Digital technology and the Internet provide an alternative mode for giving voice to traditional and contemporary Hawaiian culture. Recent productions steer away from Western cinema conventions to create an aesthetic that

represents a distinctly Hawaiian reality. Visually and verbally, these videos "speak" Hawaiian, drawing forth the lessons of a community and a cultural constituency. Ty Sanga's 2009 *Stones* is an excellent example: abstract images evoke the lineaments of an ancient Hawaiian myth and the words are in Hawaiian (*ʻolelo Hawaiʻi*). The film won a prize at the Maui Film Festival, but it is not easy to interpret, and distribution is limited. In the end, Kelly may be right—that "for Hawaiian cinema to truly break out, it needs that one big theatrical hit."

Her conclusion requires that the filmmaker negotiate a way between the conventions that create a "hit" and the visual images that represent a distinctly indigenous perspective. A big theatrical hit certainly counteracts the marginalization of indigenous film and its relegation to festivals, classrooms, and an occasional television show. But can the romantic comedy Kelly yearns to make convey the realities of US imperialism that fuel her role as a Native Hawaiian activist? The answer may be that just as the bid for sovereignty is a battle for ʻāina—the land that incorporates care, kinship, and community in an environment of pristine green cliffs and pure blue ocean—so the bid for a new cinema entails reclaiming images of paradise. The project does not reject stereotypical images of the South Seas but rather occupies the meaning of those images. "Paradise" is appropriated, not a utopia or a garden innocent of sin but rather the locus and the distillation of relationships that bind human beings to ʻāina. For Hawaiʻi, from the eighteenth century on, the perception of paradise tempted outsiders who disguised their motives behind the claim of preserving Bali Haʻi, justification for armed conquest, annexation, and statehood. In the media produced by Bauknight, Kelly, and Booth and Young, the "taking" of paradise undercuts the imperial legacy of that trope.

Kelly's film, *Noho Hewa*, offers a vivid portrayal of the many destructive ways in which the United States occupies a once independent nation. An interpretation of nationhood emerges from the film's condemnation of militarization, consumerism, and exploitation of the land: Hawaiian lāhui is the protagonist to these antagonist elements. Bauknight's *Hawaii: A Voice for Sovereignty* similarly bases its argument on land and cultural relationships with the land, but its message links the Hawaiian situation to a global disaster in which the United States is only one of several perpetrators. *Pidgin: The Voice of Hawaiʻi* differs from the other two in its emphasis on language rather than land. Like the other two, however, the film creates a nation in opposition to the imperial power whose presence spans centuries. *Pidgin* advocates the local, encompassing ethnic identities and the working-class history of the archipelago. The film announces that pidgin provides our Hawaiian roots, and an emergent Hawaiian nationhood is based on shared language. The film

offers an alternative to the view that a reorganized Native Hawaiian government is the only appropriate goal in the twenty-first century.

Of the three films, Bauknight's comes closest to an essentialist version of nationhood: a return to traditional modes of subsistence and survival. In its emphasis on paradise lost couched in terms of a "vanishing culture," *Hawaii* evokes an essential Hawai'i, predating the intrusion of the West. Yet Bauknight modifies the cultural essentialism by considering Hawai'i the victim of contemporary failures to respond to global warming.

Noho Hewa presents an interpretation of nationhood that skirts the problems of essentializing by focusing on power, control by elites, protests by commoners, and fights that disrupt communities of presumed shared interest. This is a picture of struggle, not just against an *outside* force—too often simply defined—but implicating competing desires within. *Noho Hewa* is about war, though not about an act of war. Kelly's film presents the constant battling that constitutes nationhood, and *Noho Hewa* displaces the fixed figment of both imperial and indigenous imagining.

Pidgin, in its distinctive format, avoids essentializing a "pure" Hawai'i, a nation innocent of conflict, envy, and evil. Straying far from the political on its surface, *Pidgin* is deeply political in its content: the nation that film portrays is a sharp contrast to the "ethnonationalism" implied in a more directly political film like *Act of War*.[47]

In the contemporary context, Native Hawaiian filmmakers are undertaking the task of constructing a nation that can, in the future, set the terms for an Oceanic cultural—and thus political—unity. In this task, there is no more consensus among filmmakers, or in their crafts, than there is in any other genre that moves a people from colonialism to nationhood. It is exactly the diversity of representations that sets the groundwork for bringing Bali Ha'i back from its distance on the horizon.

NOTES

1. For: *From Romance to Reality: Representations of Pacific Islands and Islanders.*

2. In 2000, Senator Daniel Akaka introduced a bill in Congress for "Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization." After being introduced every subsequent year, the bill died in Congress in 2012.

3. Hereniko (1994, 423).

4. See, for example, Mawyer (1998) for a summary of early films, beginning in 1898.

5. Smith's *European Vision and the South Pacific* provides a classic history of pictorial appropriation of the Pacific Islands.

6. A pear ripe for plucking was the image the US Minister to Hawaiʻi used for justifying armed take over of the throne in 1893; quoted in Kent (1993, 63).

7. Desmond (1999, 109).

8. Bailey and Farber (1992).

9. Reyes (1995, 107).

10. I refer to the song in the film, "You have to be carefully taught," an unambiguous commentary on racism in the United States.

11. Jolly argues persuasively that Liat is not Polynesian, but rather represents a Tonkinese and reflects the migration of Tonkinese to the Pacific Island; Jolly (1997: 112–113).

12. Bhabha and Burgin refer to the latent homoeroticism in the film, which in fact can serve the same function of reducing romance to individual encounters (Bhabha and Burgin 1992, 73).

13. I borrow the phrase from Hauʻofa (1994).

14. "During the 1940s, sixteen feature films were made in or about Hawaiʻi," writes Jane Desmond, who adds: "during the next decade this number more than doubled to thirty-eight" (Desmond 1999, 132).

15. Lipset's piece in this collection provides a detailed analysis of Hill's *Hawaii*.

16. The diversity was ameliorated by the benign image of the native: Polynesians, light-skinned and docile; see Jolly (1997) and Mawyer (1998).

17. Jolly (2007, 509).

18. Catherine Bauknight, cbauknight@othilamedia.com.

19. Smith (1985, Chapter 11).

20. http://www.catherinebauknight.com/pressrelease.htm.

21. See note 2.

22. http://www.gohawaii.com/maui.

23. http://www.catherinebauknight.com/pressrelease.htm.

24. info@hawaii-nation.org.

25. Hereniko (1994, 423).

26. http://www.nativetelecom.org.

27. http://www.hawaiianvoice.com.

28. Ginsburg (2002, 40). In the same essay, Ginsburg notes that media uniquely provide a way of talking back "through the categories that have been created to contain indigenous people" (Ginsburg 2002, 51).

29. Hall (2005).

30. In 2011, Isaiah Helekunihi Walker published *Waves of Resistance: Surfing and History in Hawai'i,* a book that expands the thesis implied in the *Pidgin* scene. "Decades later, the media were labeling Hawaiian surfers as violent extremists who terrorized haole surfers on the North Shore. Yet Hawaiians contested, rewrote, or creatively negotiated with these stereotypes in the waves;" http://www.uhpress.hawaii.edu/p-7459-9780824835477.aspx

31. *Noho* means to occupy and *hewa* means wrong in Hawaiian.

32. info@hawaii-nation.org.

33. http://pacific.scoop.co.nz/2010/01/militant-film-on-occupation-of-hawaii-wins-special-festival-jury-prize/.

34. Teaiwa (2011, 313).

35. http://honoluluweekly.com/cover/2010/08/toward-a-native-cinema/.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. See Kupferman (2011, 162) on the problems and the potentials of a "minority discourse" in filmmaking.

39. http://honoluluweekly.com/cover/2010/08/toward-a-native-cinema/.

40. He is not more precise about her background.

41. "I was inspired by historical facts and current events, yet this book is a marriage of reality and fiction, and fiction wears the pants in this family" (Hemmings 2011, *Acknowledgments*).

42. Though this is not stated explicitly, the land King "owns" is held in trust for the Native Hawaiian people.

43. Geiger (2002, 104).

44. Ibid., 116.

45. http://honoluluweekly.com/cover/2010/08/toward-a-native-cinema/.

46. http://www.hawaiianvoice.com/who-we-are/.

47. The term is used by Nicholas Thomas (1997).

REFERENCES

Bailey, B. and D. Farber
1992 *The first strange place: The alchemy of race and sex in World War II Hawaii.* New York: Free Press.

Bhabha, H. and V. Burgin
1992 Visualizing theory. *Visual Anthropology Review* 8 (1): 71–8.

Desmond, Jane
1999 *Staging tourism: Bodies on display from Waikiki to Sea World.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Geiger, Jeffrey
2002 Imagined islands: *White Shadows in the South Seas* and cultural ambivalence. *Cinema Journal* 41 (3): 98–121.

Ginsburg, Faye
2002 Screen memories: Resignifying the traditional in indigenous media. In *Media worlds: Anthropology on new terrain*. ed. F. Ginsburg, L. Abu-Lughod, and B. Larkin, 39–57. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hall, Lisa Kahaleole
2005 "Hawaiian at heart" and other fictions. *The Contemporary Pacific* 17 (2): 404–13.

Hau'ofa, Epeli
1994 Our sea of islands. *The Contemporary Pacific* 6 (1): 148–61.

Hemmings, Kaui Hart
2011 *The descendants*. New York: Random House Trade Paperback Edition.

Hereniko, Vilsoni
1994 Representations of cultural identities. In *Tides of history*, ed. K.R. Howe, R.C. Kiste, and B. V. Lal, 406–34. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Jolly, Margaret
1997 From Point Venus to Bali Hai. In *Sites of desire, economies of pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific,* ed. L. Manderson and M. Jolly, 99–122. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jolly, Margaret
2007 Imagining Oceania: Indigenous and foreign representations of a sea of islands. *The Contemporary Pacific* 19 (2): 508–45.

Kame'eleihiwa, Lilikalā
1992 *Native land and foreign desires*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Kent, Noel
1993 *Hawaii: Islands under the influence*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Kupferman, David W.
2011 On location at a nonentity: Reading Hollywood's "Micronesia." *The Contemporary Pacific* 23 (1): 141–68.

Mawyer, Alexander
1998 From photons to electrons: The film guide "Moving images of the Pacific Islands." *The Contemporary Pacific* 10 (2): 457–64.

Reyes, L. I.
1995 *Made in paradise: Hollywood's films of Hawai'i and the South Seas*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing.

Smith, Bernard
1985 *European vision and the South Pacific*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Teaiwa, Teresia
2011 Multimedia Review. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 12 (3): 312–4.

Thomas, Nicholas
1997 Nations' endings: From citizenship to shopping? In *Narratives of nation in the South Pacific*, ed. Ton Otto and Nicholas Thomas, 211–9. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers.

ROMANTICISM AND REALITY ON *THE GC*: TRANSNATIONAL MĀORI ON THE GOLD COAST

Sarina Pearson
University of Auckland

Introduction

DURING THE DARK AND CHILLY autumn months of 2012, New Zealanders settled in front of their televisions to watch a new reality series titled *The GC*. Set on Australia's tropical Gold Coast, it followed the exploits of eleven attractive twenty-something Māori, who, like increasing numbers of New Zealanders, have elected to settle in Australia in search of greater economic opportunity and adventure (Green, Power, and Jang 2008). In the days and weeks following the series' premiere, water cooler chatter and online commentary across the country reached fever pitch. Critics reviled *The GC*'s "structured reality format," loathed the cast's awkward often self-conscious performances, and condemned the series' emphasis upon continuous night clubbing, excessive drinking, and relentless preening. *New Zealand Herald* journalist Paul Little described the men on the series as

> heavily and badly tattooed—there's not a lot of dignity in having "Wassup" written on your chest. They drink too much, dress badly, objectify the opposite sex, are obsessed with their appearance, dance badly, over-groom, overestimate their own abilities and believe the world is waiting for them to reveal their greatness, blame everyone else for failures that are their own responsibility, accessorize badly, lack ambition and are incapable of expressing themselves coherently. And that's their good points (2012).

Pacific Studies, Vol. 38, Nos. 1/2—Apr./Aug. 2015

Detractors established a "Cancel *The GC*" Facebook page, where demands to take the trashy, cringe-inducing series off the air kept pace with and occasionally outstripped "likes" on *The GC*'s official Facebook page. Fans bit back, accusing critics of racist mean-spiritedness. They argued that *The GC* not only reflected how as many as one in five Māori now live in or were born in Australia[1] but that its cast (however tanned and impossibly toned) offered New Zealand audiences a welcome change from the usual televisual fare of Māori deprivation and distress. *New Zealand Herald* business commentator Fran O'Sullivan wrote,

> The great thing about TV3's new reality show *The GC* is how it openly shows young go-for-it Mozzies (Māori Aussies) having a really good time. Instead of wallowing in some tribal backwater, they have skipped across the Tasman to build successful entrepreneurial futures alongside other Kiwis in Australia and enjoy the "sun, surf and sex" lifestyles (2012).

O'Sullivan was far from alone. Annabelle Lee-Harris, a producer for the critically acclaimed current affairs program *Native Affairs* on New Zealand's indigenous broadcaster Māori Television tweeted,

> Stay in NZ with the other 83 k unemployed youth or go to *The GC* where everyone has $ and lives in bikinis? Seems like a no brainer #TheGC … You can't deny Māori have a far better quality of life on #TheGC. It may seem shallow but actually their kids aint gonna get glue ear etc. (Lee-Harris in Stoddart 2012).

For some weeks the nation appeared significantly divided. Debates about whether the series deserved public funding, whether it was trash, who it appealed to, and who it offended were influenced by an implicit set of assumptions and expectations. Elsewhere I have argued that these assumptions and expectations constitute a coercive and persistent primitivism that influences rhetoric about representation and representation itself in the Pacific (Pearson 2013). Manifest in both liberal and conservative discourse, this primitivism narrowly envisions legitimate and authentic indigeneity as traditional, spiritual, properly outside regimes of commodification, and ideally untainted by Western conventions such as genre (Pearson 2013).

The GC drew fire because it violated virtually all of these tenets, envisioning Māori as transnational subjects who were occasionally indistinguishable in terms of affect, aspiration, or appearance from countless international reality television stars, eschewing BBC sobriety in favor of MTV slickness on prime-time commercial television. Nevertheless, despite or more likely because it offered a radically different televisual imagescape of Māori, the series attracted and maintained a significant Māori and Pasifika audience over not just one season but two, with a third just confirmed at the time of writing.

This article argues that the divisive nature of *The GC* and discourses surrounding the series, including heated and at times ugly debates over squandered taxpayer dollars and more reflexive but nevertheless anxiety-ridden discussions about Māori modernity, offers a unique opportunity to explore how romanticism (figured here as primitivism) and "reality" (in its various guises) figure in contemporary Pacific representation and cultural politics.

The Controversy

The initial disagreements about the social and artistic merits of *The GC* described at the outset were almost immediately compounded by accusations of mismanaged taxpayer funds. Under pressure from an Official Information Act request by *National Business Review Online* journalist Rod Vaughan (Keall 2012), public service television funding agency New Zealand on Air (NZOA) revealed that it had originally approved a proposal for an eight-part observational documentary series proposal titled *Golden Mozzies,* which bore only superficial resemblance to *The GC* (Frewen 2012; Little 2012; Wichtel 2012). Whereas *Golden Mozzies* proposed to document how seven Māori who left New Zealand less than a decade ago have found financial and personal success as small-business owners, managers, sales representatives, and administrators in Queensland, Season 1 of *The GC* featured a cast of eleven, eight of whom had Māori ancestry, who now live and work on the Gold Coast as entertainers (both aspiring and established), personal trainers, glamour models, and laborers and property investors. Dispatching *Golden Mozzies*' claims to sober social documentary, *The GC* instead emulated MTV reality television franchises *Jersey Shore* (2009–12), *Geordie Shore* (2011–present), and *The Only Way is Essex* (2010–present). These series share the signature and recurring trope of a group of photogenic strangers forced to share domestic living arrangements under near-constant surveillance. Relatively thin on plot, they emphasize romance and stage events or circumstances designed to maximize interpersonal conflict. On *The GC,* core cast members Tame, of Tuhoe tribal descent; Jade and Zane, both from Ngati Porou; and their non-Māori girlfriends Jessi and Rosie lived in a luxury apartment forty stories above the boutiques and nightclubs of Broad Beach. A constellation of ancillary characters, including DJ Tuini, also known as Elyse Minhinnick of Ngati Te Ata descent; vocalists Jade Louise of Ngai Te Rangi/Ngai Tamanuhiri descent[2] and Nuz from Te Arawa; aspiring stripper/rapper Nate; and personal trainers Cole of Rongowhakaata, Rongomaiwahine, and Tuhoe descent and Alby of Te Whanau a Apanui descent, orbited the apartment (referred to as the *whare,* Māori for house) to varying degrees. Together, the core cast members spent a significant amount of time grooming, partying,

hooking up, breaking up, gossiping, and arguing about whose turn it was to clean the kitchen, while the peripheral cast members provided potential love interest, comedic relief, and eventually more substantive narratives about the challenges of displacement and transnational indigenous identity.

Media commentator Tom Frewen (2012) took NZOA to task for failing to enforce its own codes of compliance. His carefully documented litany of discrepancies between the proposal and the ensuing series, while undeniably cause for public dismay, nevertheless looked depressingly like a lack of accountability in yet another government organization. The intensity and divisiveness of the debate seemed oddly out of proportion to an instance of noncompliance involving $420,000. Perhaps, as television blogger Chris Philpott suggested, public outrage could be traced to the perception that NZOA's failure was more fundamental. Its mission statement at the time aimed "to champion local content through skillful investment in quality New Zealand broadcasting" (Philpott 2012).[3] Philpott and his sizable community of online sympathizers contended that while NZOA may have made a shrewd financial investment in *The GC,* quality had been sacrificed at the altar of crass commercialism in the process.

Uncomfortable Bedfellows: Public Service Broadcasting and Reality Television

Quality, or rather a lack of it, animated a significant amount of the online commentary about the show. Responses to various blogs and articles referred to the series as "useless," "embarrassing," "rubbish," "trash," "crap," or perhaps most common and damning, "s**t." Critics also freely and frequently expressed resentment over what they perceived to be a waste of their tax money (and more than a few demanded a refund). Underlying much of the commentary about wasted taxpayer dollars on trash television seemed to be a sense that public service broadcasting and reality television were fundamentally incommensurable. One respondent to Kiwipolitico's blog titled "*The GC*: This is what we've come to admire?," identified only as "Jade," reinforced the perceived incommensurability between public service broadcasting and reality television when she emphatically asserted that "reality television was not quality television" ("Jade" in Stoddart 2012).

The GC was not the first prime-time reality television format adaptation to receive public funding from NZOA. In 2001 NZOA granted $480,000 to *Pioneer House* (2001), a historical reenactment format adapted from the UK where a modern-day family is "transported" back in time to live domestic life as it was a century ago (NZOA 2001). Set in a turn-of-last-century suburban Auckland villa, viewers tuned in each week to see how the Feyen family from

Palmerston North met the various challenges of living middle-class Pākehā[4] life as Victorians (NZOA 2001). *Pioneer House* attracted an average audience of 628,000 viewers per week, placing it as the most viewed show financed by NZOA in 2001. It generated little controversy, saw no public debate about taxpayer funding, and won a Qantas Media Award.[5] NZOA then funded *Colonial House* in 2003. The American format originally devised to historically reenact life in Plymouth Colony circa 1628 was adapted to recreate some of the challenges New Zealand's early European settlers faced circa 1852. Again, the series attracted little public scrutiny and no negative criticism.

The relative lack of controversy over publicly funding these format adaptations, both of which cost NZOA almost as much as *The GC,* can be partly attributed to, despite being reality television series, *Pioneer House* and *Colonial House* looking a lot like conventional public service broadcasting, or near enough to pass muster. They presented themselves as social experiments, guided by academic experts who authenticated the historical validity of their educational premise and offered audiences authoritative analytical commentary. Furthermore, both series had been commissioned by overseas public broadcasting organizations: *1900 House* (1999), on which *Pioneer House* was based, by Channel 4 in the United Kingdom, and *Colonial House* (2004) by PBS in the United States. In short, reality television did not appear to be incommensurable with public service broadcasting as long as it did not look excessively commercial.

Both *Pioneer House* and *Colonial House* could be regarded as part of public service broadcasting's broader experimentation with reality television, or what industry insiders tend to refer to as "popular factual" programming, and they are not alone. Format adaptation has long been acknowledged as a way of strategically mitigating the economic risks associated with contemporary television production while enabling the production of locally specific narratives (Waisbord 2004; Moran 1998). Māori program makers in New Zealand, in particular, have adapted a range of transnational formats, including reality television, to produce popular local indigenous content, often with critical success. For example, *Waka Reo* (2005–08), on indigenous broadcaster Māori Television, built an audience by reworking the global television format of *Survivor* (Smith 2011; Smith and de Bruin 2012: 305).[6] Another popular program, *Ho Mai Te Pakipaki,* is an adapted version of the *Idol* talent contest format (Abel 2013).

Organizations like NZOA face a seemingly intractable paradox. Audiences consistently articulate a desire for quality television documentary (a phenomenon easier to discern than to define), but desiring quality documentary and watching it (at least in significant numbers) are two rather different things. Given the increasingly precarious nature of ratings for stand-alone quality

documentaries and documentary series in New Zealand since the 1990s (NZOA 2012), one might be forgiven for concluding that survey respondents agree quality documentary television ought to exist but that they are not necessarily willing to watch it. Generic hybridity enables funders and broadcasters to broaden the appeal of their programming so that they can attract larger audiences, but there are some limits to the kind of hybridity that gains critical acceptance.

Tolerance for generic experimentation and indigeneity seems to be tolerated and even celebrated if it appears to be strategically negotiating with, subordinating, or subverting popular commercial paradigms to empower indigenous and minority representation. However, this tolerance wanes when minority interests appear to be sublimated to commercial values and interests. For example, NZOA did not face controversy over funding *Pioneer House* and *Colonial House;* however, it was interrogated over funding *NZ Idol,* which was a local version of the transnational *Idol* franchise (Perrott 2004). *Idol,* critics contended, was "too commercial." They inferred that its production in New Zealand would likely produce derivative, standardized fare—the type of programming that would best be left to the commercial market. NZOA defended its decision to loan (rather than grant outright) the series' producers $1.6 million on the basis that without public funding, series like *NZ Idol,* which have broad popular appeal and cultural nationalist value, would not be made. Their decision was partly vindicated when a third of all New Zealanders watched the finale of Season 1 (Zwaan and de Bruin 2013: 3). Despite its transnational format, de Bruin argued, *NZ Idol* successfully pried open a space for the production of contemporary postcolonial locality, giving young Māori and Pasifika greater national visibility on prime time (2012: 239). Historically, ethnic minorities and indigenous groups have been marginalized by a broadcast culture that is overdetermined by colonial history, privileging and normalizing a "homogenous and Eurocentric expression of cultural belonging" (Smith 2006: 27). If left to the market, it is likely that New Zealand audiences would have been tuning in, as they have, to episodes of *American Idol* and *Australian Idol* rather than *NZ Idol.*

The divisiveness that characterized *The GC* could be seen as an extension and amplification of earlier debates over the value of format adaptations like *NZ Idol. The GC,* however, seemed to attract more intense condemnation, particularly from critics who accused the cast of being "plastic." "Plastic Māori" is a term often used to describe assimilated Māori with little cultural knowledge, especially about language *(te reo),* custom *(tikanga),* and genealogy *(whakapapa).* It is also used to refer to Māori who live outside of New Zealand. In this case it could also be seen to refer to a sense that Māori

authenticity had been subordinated to the stylistic and aesthetic imperatives of transnational format television.

Just a Bad Copy?

Comparisons among *The GC, Jersey Shore,* and *Geordie Shore* were engendered by *The GC*'s beachside location, its emphasis on gym-hardened male physiques, its distinctive lexicon, and its ethnic subcultural focus. These comparisons were justified in many respects but not all. Like Mike "The Situation" Sorrentino from *Jersey Shore,* Tame was often interviewed bare chested, educating viewers on the finer points of his personal vernacular. On *Jersey Shore,* unattractive women were referred to as "grenades," men pursuing women for sex was called "creepin," and "smooshing" referred to the outcome of a successful "creep." On *The GC,* mates were referred to as "neffs," attractive girls were "aunties," and girlfriends were "mumsies." On all three series, the cast members would drink, dance, flirt, and fight; however, *Jersey Shore* and *Geordie Shore* were more sexually suggestive than *The GC.*

Although Tame was not exactly like Mike "The Situation" or his *Jersey Shore* castmate Pauly D, scopically and performatively they seemed more similar than dissimilar. Their physiognomy, musculature, and tattoos often rendered them virtually interchangeable. The contrived, awkward qualities of unscripted reality television, widely understood to be manufactured for dramatic effect, or according to Poniewozik (2006), "fudged," caused audiences to view these reality television performances as equally inauthentic.

The GC also radically transformed the aesthetics and economics of televisual indigeneity by co-opting signature elements from another MTV series, *The Hills* (2006–10). At first glance, *The Hills* may seem like an unlikely comparison.[7] It featured glamorous lifestyles in the culture industries like some parts of *The GC,* but its undisputed star was Lauren Conrad, a rich white girl from Orange County who moved to Los Angeles in pursuit of fame and fortune in the fashion industry. The series followed Conrad and her coterie through their days as interns or entry-level workers and through their nights in the myriad chic clubs and restaurants of West Los Angeles.

The Hills rejected the low-fidelity, unpolished, observational video documentary and surveillance aesthetics typically used by shows like *Jersey Shore* to enhance their claims to "reality." Instead, it expressly imitated the aesthetics of scripted drama, emulating the highly cinematic look of director Michael Mann (Gay 2008). The camera work was steady and stylishly smooth. The lighting was soft, controlled, and always flattering. Transitions between locations and characters were often signaled by variable-speed aerial tracking shots. Its overall production values were undeniably lush and

expensive (Leppert and Wilson 2008). Leppert and Wilson argued that *The Hills* used this aesthetic, along with soap opera conventions, to "adapt earlier modes of female stardom to the genre of reality programming" (2008, para 1). The overall effect, they argued, was to produce Conrad as a new kind of phenomenon: an ordinary girl who simultaneously produced the intimacy of reality television (Biressi and Nunn 2005) and transcended the garden variety celetoid (Rojek 2001).[8] She became a star in "what…appears to be a fictionalized narrative of her own life" (Leppert and Wilson 2008, para 19).

The GC imitates *The Hills*' cinematic production values, producing similarly enhanced effects. Critics may have characterized the storyline as thin and banal, but like it or hate it, most commentators agreed that the series served up a half broadcast hour of visual spectacle. The cast was young, attractive, and affluent. They inhabited a glamorous and exciting beachside city. Several narrative arcs, such as Cole's heroic efforts to open his specialized MMA training gym, reinforced the value of ambition, hard work, and risk. *The GC*'s aesthetics did not produce televisual "reality" so much as a cinematically intensified extraordinary version of ordinary transnational lives.

Whether this type of hyperaestheticization was axiomatically progressive is debatable, but it certainly was unprecedented (Wichtel 2012). By using an aesthetic closely tied to big-budget feature film production and the representation of young privileged white women, *The GC* radically reconfigured the visual repertoire historically used to denote indigeneity.

To New Zealand audiences who have been trained by decades of national television to expect images of Māori authenticity to accord with a set of established visual and narrative tropes, Tame and company no longer coded as quintessentially Māori. Although these tropes vary, they are typically premised upon "fix[ing] Indigeneity within an unrecoverable past of fetishized tradition, propinquity with nature, and immutable connections to land…" (Coombes et al. 2011: 475). Far from "home" in their executive suite, at the flash bar in Broad Beach, or opening an upscale gym, the cast of *The GC* failed to fulfill the critical audience's expectations, which continue to be shaped in many respects by the structural symbolic relation between the modern West and the primitive rest, a relation Trouillot (2003) referred to as the "Savage slot."

Originally conceptualized in relation to anthropology and its late-twentieth-century disciplinary crisis, which was precipitated by the vicissitudes of modernity and postmodern critique, the savage slot continues to be a useful idea because romanticism endures as a powerful conceptual force in the contemporary Pacific. While romanticism retains some of its early twentieth-century antecedents, imagining Pacific peoples properly outside of time and history as in classic films of the 1920s, such as *Moana: Romance of a Golden*

Age (1925), it has also proven highly adaptive imagining proper, authentic Pacific representation to eschew commodification, commercialism, genre, or traces of contemporary popular global culture (Pearson 2013).

Unlike the locally celebrated and popular film *BOY* (2010), which also "refused to deliver more domesticated ideas of Indigenous culture" (Smith 2012: 67) by incorporating elements of global popular culture, including Michael Jackson and The Hulk, *The GC* seemed to test notions of authenticity and romanticism more thoroughly. Its critics failed to warm to its use of global mediated idioms to represent modern, mobile, deterritorialized Māori subjectivities and experiences.

Online and anecdotally, *The GC* attracted criticism from both Pākehā and Māori. A number of negative online comments were written by critics who identified themselves as Māori or expressed embarrassment on behalf of Māori. However, a disproportionate number of critical responses, particularly those voicing concern about wasting taxpayer money and the inauthenticity of the show, appear to have come from middle-class, middle-aged Pākehā sources. Considering that Season 1 of *The GC* is reported to have attracted an average of 92,000 young Māori and Pasifika viewers, the divide between the series' critics and its fans appears to have fractured along fault lines of age and ethnicity.

A significant number of online critics claim to have either watched the first ten minutes of *The GC*'s debut episode or to have decided not to watch the series on the basis of its premise or its promotional material. The ratings reflect initial curiosity about the show, with an audience of about 375,000 that drops to a low of just under 250,000 midway through and recovers to 325,000 by the first season's finale. For the nonindigenous audience members who tuned in beyond the first episode, *The GC* may not have delivered expected images of indigeneity but ironically offered something uncomfortably and perhaps unexpectedly familiar.

Unsettling Narratives on *The GC*

When Little (2012) wrote "the negative reaction to *The GC* wasn't that of decent folk shocked at some uncouth behavior. It was the horror of the monster confronted with its own reflection," he meant that outraged New Zealand audiences were hypocrites, failing to detect their own complicity in the world *The GC* represented. Read another way, however, Little's comment could also be interpreted to mean that *The GC* foregrounded the loss and disconnection of migration not just of Māori but for many Pākehā as well.

New Zealand settler subjects have been described as "uneasy, unsettled [and] uncomfortable" (Smith 2011: 111), perhaps more so in the present

because debates about the morality (or rather immorality) of settlement have received increasing public attention (Bell 2006: 256). The legitimacy of Pākehā claims to peoplehood has been cast into doubt because Māori dispute the legality of settler claims to territory. The chief instrument through which these disputes have been expressed is the Treaty of Waitangi Settlements Process, whereby Māori have sought redress and financial compensation for historical breaches of their agreement with the Crown. Territory is particularly significant in this equation because of longstanding conceptions of culture and legitimacy arising from "sedentarism" (Bell 2006: 254).

Sedentarism refers to the deeply "rooted" and taken-for-granted modern metaphysical relation between people and territory (Malkki 1992; Bell 2006). Authentic culture, according to sedentarism, is produced through sustained interactions between a people and their geographic environment. Migration therefore is seen as a rupture of this natural order. Uprooted and transplanted (however carefully) onto foreign soil, the morality and validity of settler cultures is forever regarded as precarious.

At first glance, DJ Tuini's storyline on the first season of *The GC* served as a stirring tale about the cultural losses migration and settlement exact. Raised in Australia, established Brisbane DJ Tuini (Elyse Minhinnick) has little Māori cultural knowledge or experience. In an early episode she struggles to pronounce *kia ora* (a Māori greeting) and *hangi* (Māori for an earthen oven). However, inspired by meeting Tame and other castmates, she expresses a desire to meet her New Zealand–based *whanau* and visit her *marae.* Her father, who left New Zealand under traumatic and tragic circumstances more than twenty years previously, agrees to return with her. In the penultimate episode, they both arrive at Tahuna *marae* in Waiuku and speak with *kuia* (a Māori female elder) Dame Nganeko Minhinnick, who is welcoming but formidable. Their initial exchange is warm but terse. Afterward, Elyse, her father, and her auntie visit her grandmother's and uncles' graves at the *urupa* (Māori for cemetery or burial ground). These sequences reaffirm DJ Tuini's Māori identity by observing and representing her genealogical ties to this ancestral place. In this way, *The GC* reaffirms the fundamental aspects of Māori identity and belonging through *whakapapa.*[9] The sequence, however, also functions as a reminder of the fragility of cultural belonging and performance. DJ Tuini is profoundly alienated from her *Māoritanga.* The fact that she lives in another world is underscored by the way she teeters up to the *whare tipuna* in her dramatic makeup, big-city fashion, and stiletto hills, past a woman and child sitting on the floor weaving flax.[10] Her awkward uncertainty is palpable. She is "home" but not at home. For settler audiences who may have themselves made the pilgrimage "home" to the "mother" country, DJ Tuini's vague expression of unease as she struggles to pronounce Māori

words might have seemed uncannily familiar, offering an unexpected opportunity to reflect upon their own historical processes of severing ties with one place and settling in another.

DJ Tuini's return to her *marae* has potentially more significant and confronting symbolic consequences for settler subjectivity than simply an opportunity to identify with her and to reflexively contemplate displacement and loss. These consequences might account in some sense for the intensely negative reaction some critics had to what Little (2012) describes as the sensation of "looking in the mirror." Settler identity is constructed in relation to a specific iteration of indigeneity. Although the realities are far more complex, the populist and commonsense version of Māori continues to envision them as primordial because of their relationship to Aotearoa New Zealand. Settlers lay privileged claim to belonging because of their historical relationship with Māori, codified in part at least by the Treaty of Waitangi, which permitted permanent settlement and cultural "partnership." When Māori are represented as migrants, their primordial ties undermined by displacement and the tangible loss of distinctive cultural practices (*te reo, tikanga,* and *whakapapa*), settler identities, already uneasy, potentially become more precarious. Without their privileged relation to Māori primordialism, settlers may find it difficult to differentiate themselves from mere migrants whose claims to belonging are particularly tenuous in New Zealand.[11] Admittedly, there's little solid proof that audiences felt threatened in this way; however, Little's mirror comment, in conjunction with *The GC* producer Bailey Mackey's view that "negative comments often say more about the people making the comment than…what the show is doing" (2013), and the depth of feeling the series engendered suggest that middle-class, middle-aged critics were responding to more than just misappropriated public funds.

Fans of *The GC* were considerably less vocal online and in the media more generally; however, there were a number of self-identified Māori who described *The GC* as a welcome intervention in a mediascape primarily focused upon representing indigenous communities as deprived and distressed. There were also, to be fair, a number of Māori critics who detested the show, usually citing its inauthenticity and superficiality as key issues. To critics who argued that the show lacked "realism" and "Māori don't even live like that," Mackey responded:

> Yeah, well I've got an overwhelming response that suggests that they do. I think what the issue here could be is that we're not used to seeing Māori in primetime mainstream living like that. Too often, you know we sit at the top of some really bad statistics and it's easier to shine the light on those statistics. Yet when we present Māori in a different way that even some Māori find it hard to come to terms with sometimes that sort of a big paradigm shift or perspective shift is hard to take (2012).

For some viewers, however, the series' lack of realism was not an issue. Unperturbed by *The GC*'s failure to "accurately" represent the quotidian struggles of trans-Tasman Māori, Māori students in my postgraduate media studies seminar at Auckland University reported that their Māori friends enjoyed the show because of rather than despite its glamour and glossiness—a sentiment apparently shared by Kelly Tahiwi, whose Facebook comment read, "It's plastic as…but that's why we love *The GC*!" (2012).

More than 40% of Māori watching television on the night of *The GC*'s premiere tuned in (Keall 2012). In their commentary and viewing numbers, younger Māori and Pasifika fans expressed an appetite for and a desire to see images that do not conform to the constraints of primitivist expectation and the savage slot. They were not an audience necessarily receptive to the hallmark aesthetics and content of quality documentary. *The GC* offered an appealing and complex vision of transnational Māori modernity substantively, stylistically, and politically.

Season 2

Throughout the controversy, NZOA remained unrepentant about its funding decision, asserting that *The GC* met the agency's key objectives of showing "positive, confident Māori in prime time on a commercial channel…to a younger audience" (NZOA 2012). They do not appear to have been asked to fund a second season. In 2013 Māori broadcast funding agency Te Mangai Paho (TMP) announced that it would step in to fund a second season of *The GC*. Clearly keen to retain if not build upon the Māori and Pasifika audience that watched Season 1, TMP appeared to be capitalizing upon the momentum that would potentially be lost if NZOA declined to court further controversy. Acknowledging that *The GC* did not meet TMP's minimum requirements for Māori language content, they required the show to increase its use of Māori. However, the organization did not appear to place any other restrictions on the show's format adaptation, its cast, or its aesthetics. This could be seen as TMP's endorsement of the show's overall approach. Furthermore, the symbolic value of Season 1 as an intervention in debates about national public service broadcasting, commercialism, and indigeneity could be seen in Season 2's provocative new title card, which read,

WARNING
THIS MEAN-AS PROGRAMME HAS
HOT AUNTIES
AND NEFFS
AND CUZZIES THAT HAVE JOBS
MĀORI STEREOTYPES

WERE HARMED IN THE MAKING
OF THIS TELEVISION SHOW
AND MAY NOT BE SUITABLE
FOR SOME VIEWERS

Season 2 of *The GC* was greeted by comparative silence. Viewing numbers were about half of Season 1, possibly as a result of fewer Pākehā viewers, although strong enough for TV3 to announce a third season in its 2015 lineup. Facebook likes on *The GC*'s official page stabilized above 53,000, whereas "Cancel *The GC*" stalled at 9,700. When TMP agreed to fund the show, there was a public perception that the show was now a special-interest program, of interest principally to Māori. The same taxpayer dollars were being "squandered" insofar as general taxation pays for both NZOA and TMP. The non-Māori audience members, however, no longer felt that the show was relevant to them; therefore, they may have declined to comment further. This could be seen as an example of how biculturalism tends to divide Pākehā from Māori rather than bring them into relation with each other (Bell 2006, 258).

Conclusion

The controversy over *The GC* began as outrage over the public funding of what many felt was trash television. When critics argued that quality public service broadcasting and format adaption were incommensurable, they neglected to acknowledge that taxpayer dollars had already funded several format adaptations in the past, two of which generated little negative criticism. These series, *Pioneer House* and *Colonial House,* were consistent with settler-centric notions of national history and culture. Both series conformed to the stylistic expectations and assumptions of quality public television. *The GC,* however, was significantly at odds with the expectations and assumptions about appropriate and acceptable Māori televisual representation. Its highly stylized aesthetic; its use of recognizable reality television structure, premise, and narrative focus; and its unrepentant commercial appeal not only alienated many viewers but also exposed how romanticist notions of autochthony, primordialism, purity, tradition, and spirituality are translated into an aesthetic that privileges noncommercial, nongenre, realist representation. Tame and his fellow GC castmates were in many respects illegible according to the narrative and aesthetic constraints of New Zealand quality television. As a result, many critics argued, middle-class, middle-aged New Zealanders of European descent took offense.

To characterize the controversy over *The GC* as one that neatly divided middle-class, middle-aged European New Zealanders from young Māori

and Pasifika is too simplistic. The series clearly had supporters and detractors in both communities. The public discourse surrounding the show, however, including how the funding agencies NZOA and TMP rationalized their support, appeared to characterize the split as motivated in part by age and ethnicity. The series also potentially challenged Pākehā settler identities by representing Māori as deterritorialized migrants, calling into question Pākehā senses of self.

The GC was not necessarily a good television series. It was contrived, repetitive, often boring, and stilted. If the ratings data are accurate, however, the show appealed to an audience that national television has historically struggled to attract. Young Māori and Pasifika commentators did not appear to be phased by the show's lack of realism; instead, part of its appeal was its symbolic capital as a prime-time series showing young, attractive Māori having fun and taking ambitious risks that occasionally pay off (in the case of Cole's gym venture). Adapting an overseas format may have standardized or assimilated Māori into a generic transnational flow of television, but it also sutured Māori into that flow, permitting expressions of modernity that previous regimes of representation have often suppressed or ignored. In the case of *The GC,* the divisive furor may have been less about taxpayers funding trash television and more about ongoing tensions between romantic primitivist expectations about Pacific representation and contemporary realities of indigenous and settler transnational modernity.

NOTES

1. Since the 1990s there has been a sustained exodus of New Zealanders seeking greater prosperity overseas, particularly across the Tasman (Bedford et al. 2000). In 2006 almost 12% of New Zealand citizens resided in Australia (Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2007). The figure for Māori has tended to trend significantly higher. Some estimates suggest that one in six individuals claiming Māori ancestry were either born in or are now living in Australia (Hamer 2011: 47). Others like Black Inc Media, which produced *The GC,* suggest that the figure is closer to one in five. Queensland now has more Māori than New Zealand's fourth-largest city, Hamilton.

2. One of the major storylines toward the end of Season 1 of *The GC* explains how Jade Louise, who has no Māori ancestry, is the *whangai* (Māori customary adoption) child of Māori parents living in Australia (Keane 2013).

3. In its current 2015 avatar, NZOA has changed its mission statement to read "to champion local content that engages, stimulates, and satisfies intended audiences."

4. Pākehā is a contested term, but it is commonly used to refer to white New Zealanders, specifically settlers of British descent.

5. Amy West describes it as adhering so closely to the British series upon which it was based as to feel "like the re-enactment of someone else's history" (West 2012: 113).

6. Another example would be the supernatural drama series *Mataku;* see Glynn and Tyson (2007).

7. Barry Hill (2012) notes in passing that *The GC* bears more resemblance to *The Hills* than to *Jersey Shore.*

8. Rojek (2001) defines "celetoid as the term for any form of compressed, concentrated, attributed celebrity. I distinguish celetoids from celebrities because, generally the latter enjoy a more durable career with the public" (20).

9. *Whakapapa* expresses genealogical ties, social relations, and connection to place (Rāwiri 2013).

10. The *whare tipuna* is one of the buildings on a *marae.* It is the ancestral house where meetings take place.

11. For example, Chinese who have been present in New Zealand since the midnineteenth century are almost always referred to as migrants, not settlers (Pearson 2011).

REFERENCES

Abel, Sue
2013 Māaori television, its Pākehā audience and issues of decolonialization. *Studies in Australasian Cinema* 7 (2–3): 111–21.

Barry Hill, Rebecca
2012 Reality bites on *The GC. New Zealand Herald,* accessed June 4, 2014. http://www.nzherald.co.nz/entertainment/news/article.cfm?c_id=1501119&objectid=10802972.

Bedford, Richard, Elsie Ho, and Jacqueline Lidgard
2000 *International migration in New Zealand: Context, components and policy issues.* Hamilton, NZ: Univ. of Waikato, Population Studies Centre.

Bell, Avril
2006 Bifurcation or entanglement? Settler identity and biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Continuum* 20 (2): 253–68.

Biressi, Anita, and Heather Nunn
2005 *Reality TV: Realism and revelation.* London: Wallflower Press.

Coombes, Brad
2011 The challenges of and from indigenous geographies. In *A companion to social geography,* ed. Vincent J. Del Casino, Jr., Mary E. Thomas, Paul Cloke, and Ruth Panelli, 472–89. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.

de Bruin, Joost
2012 Nation building through format adaptation. In *Global television formats: Understanding television across borders,* ed. Tasha Oren and Sharon Shahaf, 223–41. London: Routledge.

Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
2007 New Zealand movement. In *Population flows: Immigration aspects, 2005–06 edition.* Belconnen, A.C.T.: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs. http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/popflows2005-6/Ch4.pdf.

Frewen, Tom
2012 Storm about to blow up over Gold Coast. *Scoop,* http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/HL1205/S00035/storm-about-to-blow-up-over-gold-coast.htm.

Gay, Jason
2008 Are they for real?! *Rolling Stone* 1052:41–46.

Glynn, Kevin, and A. F. Tyson
2007 Indigeneity, media and cultural globalization: The case of Mataku, or the Maori X-Files. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 10 (2): 205–24.

Green, Alison E., Mary R. Power, and Deannah M. Jang
2008 Trans-Tasman migration: New Zealanders' explanations for their move. *New Zealand Geographer* 64 (1): 34–45.

Hamer, Paul
2011 The split Totara: Te Reo Māori and trans-Tasman migration. *Te Reo* 54:45–69.

Keall, Chris
2012 NZ on Air releases original proposal for documentary that morphed into reality show *The GC. The National Business Review,* http://www.nbr.co.nz/article/nz-air-releases-original-proposal-gc-ck-119116.

Keane, Basil
2013 Whāngai—Customary fostering and adoption. *Te Ara—The Encyclopedia of New Zealand,* accessed April 12, 2014. http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/whangai-customary-fostering-and-adoption.

Leppert, Alice, and Julie Wilson
2008 Living the hills life: Lauren Conrad as reality star, soap opera heroine and brand. *Genders* 48:1–21.

Little, Paul
2012 Aussies in glass houses are throwing stones. *New Zealand Herald,* accessed June 10, 2014. http://www.nzherald.co.nz/opinion/news/article.cfm?c_id=466&objectid=10812010.

Mackey, Bailey
2012 Interview. *Te Ahi Kaa* (May 20), Radio New Zealand National.

Mackey, Bailey
2013 Interview. *Craccum,* issue 13, http://craccum.ausa.auckland.ac.nz/?p=3438.

Malkki, Liisa
1992 National geographic: The rooting of peoples and the territorialization of national identity among scholars and refugees. *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (1): 24–44.

Moran, Albert
1998 *Copycat TV: Globalization, program formats, and cultural identity,* Luton, UK: Univ. of Luton Press.

New Zealand on Air (NZOA)
2001 Annual report, accessed January 13, 2015. http://www.nzonair.govt.nz/corporate-document-library/ar01-02/.

New Zealand on Air (NZOA)
2012 New Zealand on Air documentary funding policy discussion paper, accessed January 10, 2015. http://www.nzonair.govt.nz/document-library/tv-documentary-funding-police-discussion-paper-june-2012/.

O'Sullivan, Fran
2012 Cast off the negativity and Māori can thrive. *New Zealand Herald,* June 2, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10810155.

Pearson, Sarina
2011 How many FOBS you know "flow" like this? Parody, popular music and articulations of "Asian" belonging. In *Home, land and sea: Situating music in Aotearoa New Zealand,* ed. Glenda Keam and Tony Mitchell, 89–103. Auckland: Pearson.

Pearson, Sarina
2013 Persistent primitivisms: Popular and academic discourses about Pacific and Māori cinema and television. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 122 (1): 21–44.

Perrott, Alan
2004 NZOA defends *Idol* cash. Musicnet.nz, accessed January 15, 2015. http://www.muzic.net.nz/news/598/nz-on-air-defends-idol-cash.

Philpott, Chris
2012 *The GC* divides the nation. Stuff.co.nz, accessed August 12, 2014. http://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/tv-radio/6851086/The-GC-divides-the-nation.

Poniewozik, James
2006 How reality TV fakes it. *Time* 167 (6): 60.

Rāwiri, Taonui
2013 Whakapapa—Genealogy. *Te Ara—The Encyclopedia of New Zealand,* http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/whakapapa-genealogy.

Rojek, Chris
2001 *Celebrity.* London: Reaktion.

Smith, Jo T.
2006 Parallel quotidian flows: Māori television on air. *New Zealand Journal of Media Studies* 9 (2): 27–35.

Smith, Jo T.
2011 Aotearoa/New Zealand: An unsettled state in a sea of islands. *Settler Colonial Studies* 1 (1): 111–31.

Smith, Jo T.
2012 Shaking the frame: Taika Waititi's anti-anthropological edge. *New Zealand Journal of Media Studies* 13 (1): 66–76.

Smith, Jo T., and Joost de Bruin
2012 *Survivor*-styled indigeneity in two reality television programmes from Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Australasian Journal of Popular Culture* 1 (3): 297–311.

Stoddart, Lew
2012 *The GC:* Is this what we've come to admire?" *Kiwipolitico,* accessed August 2013. http://www.kiwipolitico.com/?s=The+GC&x=0&y=0.

Tahiwi, Kelly
2012 *The GC* Facebook page, comment 2 May, accessed January 15, 2015. https://www.facebook.com/TheGConTV3/posts/335969569803516?comment_id=3088849&offset=400&total_comments=490&comment_tracking={%22tn%22%3A%22R9%22}.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph
1991 Anthropology and the savage slot: The poetics and politics of otherness. In *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, ed. Richard Fox, 17–44. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Waisbord, Silvio
2004 McTV: Understanding the global popularity of television formats. *Television and New Media* 5 (4): 359–83.

West, Amy
2012 Adventures in *One Land*: Reorienting colonial relations in reality-history television. *CSAA 2011 Conference Proceedings: Cultural ReOrientations and Comparative Colonialities. International Centre for Muslim and non-Muslim Understanding.*

Accessed August 12, 2014. http://www.unisa.edu.au/documents/eass/mnm/csaa-proceedings/csaa-2011-conference proceedings.pdf#page=116.

Wichtel, Diana
2012 *The GC* and 20 years of Shortland Street." *The Listener,* May 19, accessed August 15, 2014, http://www.listener.co.nz/commentary/television/diana-wichtel-the-gc-and-20-years-of-shortland-street/.

Zwaan, Koos, and Joost de Bruin
2013 *Adapting idols: Authenticity, identity and performance in a global television format.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

REPRESENTATIONS OF PACIFIC ISLANDER IDENTITY: OURS AND THEIRS[1]

Mi meri Lavongai;	[I am a Lavongai woman;
Mi Kokomo.	I am a Hornbill.]

—*Author's acknowledgment*

Kirsten McGavin
University of Queensland

Introduction

UNSPOILT WHITE SANDY BEACHES and turquoise water, a gentle breeze blowing through the overhanging coconut palms, the song of a ukulele accompanying the gently breaking waves. Add in a fruity cocktail served in a hollowed-out pineapple and choose your waiter: a beautiful "hula girl" wearing a polished coconut bikini top or a bronzed "cabana boy" bearing a perfect white smile. This is a Pacific—and other tropical—Island "paradise" imagined and perpetuated for decades by popular media and tourism marketing in Western countries (Connell 2003, 554; Feldman 2011, 46; Nelson 2007, 1; White 2007, 25). However, a more intimate understanding of the Pacific points to the inadequacies of stereotypes like these (White 2007, 29). Pacific beaches of white powdery sand are joined by stretches of Island coastline consisting of stone; shelly, coarse grains; or black, volcanic sand. A falling coconut can cause damage to property and create severe personal injury (Barss 1984, 990; Mulford, Oberli, and Tovosia 2001, 33), so it is not advised to lie beneath a coconut tree. Coconut bras are neither readily available nor

Pacific Studies, Vol. 38, Nos. 1/2—Apr./Aug. 2015

generally desired and, unlike women, exist in a strictly limited size range. A perfect smile? Chewing betel nut (a common practice in parts of the Pacific) stains teeth red and eventually to black (Norton 1998, 81).

I argue that it is from somewhere in between these two sets of imagery (i.e., the stereotypical representations and the reality of the Islands) that Pacific Islanders[2]—especially those of us in the diaspora—draw, create, and perceive our identities.

Many diasporic peoples are present in a "third space": in the case of Islanders living in Australia, not an Island space and yet not a fully westernized space either (Amoamo 2011,1255; Bhabha 1994; Christiansen 2000: 189–90). This type of hybrid positioning enables diasporic Islanders to draw on cues both from Island reality (e.g., experiences, memories, etc.) and from imaginings of Island life (e.g., film and television, tourism marketing material, etc.) in order to shape ideas about "authentic" Islander identity (Christiansen 2000, 189). This idea may also be reinforced by diasporic groups, for example, having limited access to Island materials for "traditional" dress or not having critical mass in terms of vernacular language speakers and therefore filling these "voids" with concepts derived from other material, such as movies, media, and promotional pamphlets. Further, it is within this third space that movement between ethnic and panethnic categories becomes increasingly fluid.

With these issues in mind, throughout this article I present various representations—particularly self-representations—of Pacific Islanders and the issues surrounding these. In doing so, I describe circumstances in which Islanders utilize or respond to what are often Outsiders' stereotypes of Pasifika places and people. Such stereotypes emerge through tourism marketing material, popular media (including film and television), and other institutions, images often created, controlled, and utilized by non–Pacific Islanders (see Lipset and Pearson in this issue). To illustrate this, I use a series of anecdotal case studies, including a climate change rally, informal social gatherings positioned adjacent to more formal gatherings like community meetings, and online forums. In particular, I draw data from field research in Aotearoa New Zealand, in the New Guinea Islands, and among Pacific Islanders in Australia, specifically Queensland. Research participants were of Pacific Islander descent, some having been born in Australia and spending most of their lives here, others having migrated more recently (and not necessarily directly from their Pacific Island "home").

I turn now to a précis of my position as a person of New Guinea Island descent and a member of Queensland's Pacific Island diaspora. In doing so, I give context to the data presented in this article and highlight the theoretical frameworks I use for its later analysis.

Mi kokomo: Insider, Islander Anthropology

As per my opening acknowledgment, I am a Tungak woman and member of the Kokomo (Hornbill) clan of Lavongai in Papua New Guinea. I am also an Aotearoa New Zealand Pakeha woman. It is the way of many Pacific Islander scholars to use genealogy and positioning as part of an introduction (whether in person or in writing) and/or as part of the research process itself (Anae 2010, 222; George 2010, 241; Tengan, Ka'ili, and Fonoti 2010, 140; Uperesa 2010, 280). Other researchers, such as Pacific Islander scholar Christiansen (2000, 188) and "Black" feminist anthropologists Bolles (2001), Gilliam (2001), McClaurin (2001), and Slocum (2001), also argue the importance of doing so, asserting that exposing authors' and speakers' ethnocultural identities adds visibility to people other than westernized, "White" males who have historically dominated academia. An important implication of this for my research is that, as a woman of Pacific Islander descent practicing Insider anthropology, I draw on my own socialized cultural understanding and experiences to bring insight to "traditional" ethnographic research examples and case studies highlighted throughout this article. Indeed, as a person of Pacific Islander descent who lives in the Australian-based diaspora, I bring a unique personal/academic perspective to the shifting emphases on ethnic and panethnic identity in diasporic settings.

One way these identities are invoked is through the use of material culture, and, as I later explain, it is useful to have an understanding of the dynamics of Insider and Outsider perspectives in relation to the use of such objects (see Lutkehaus in this issue). For example, both popular media and Western academia have been historically ethnocentric, exoticizing Indigenous[3] peoples[4] through applying etic ideals to representations of these groups (McClaurin 2001; Peers and Brown 2003, 1; Smith 2012). Hakiwai (1995, 286) describes the inadequacies of applying a solely etic point of view to cultural artifacts, using museums—founded on Western academic disciplines and the exploits of colonialism—as an example: regarding objects more as souvenirs than as innately important cultural entities means that historically museums were either willingly or innately oblivious to the intangible elements of cultural identity, particularly in relation to material objects. This example is particularly apt, as it provides partial definition to the general superficiality of much tourism marketing and the stereotypical representations therein of Islands and Islanders. Images like the one described in my introductory paragraph are testament to this. Indeed, applying emic knowledge within cultural research practices is the modern (or postmodern) challenge of today's museums and academic discourses alike (Hastrup 1992; Horwood and Wilson 2008; McClaurin 2001; Merton

1972; Morris 1994; Narayan 1997; Salmond 1983, 320; Smith 2012; Trask 1993).

Interestingly, though, as the case studies in this article show, Islanders in diasporic settings sometimes invoke their panethnic identities through using material culture in a way that is typically categorized as superficial and reflective of Outsider viewpoints, effectively using stereotypical "props" to highlight ethnic belonging (see Pigliasco in this issue).

I now provide a brief description of Queensland and its diasporic Pacific Islander communities. In highlighting this backdrop to my later case studies, I elucidate the presence of an internally diverse panethnicity that lies in opposition to the homogenized Islander culture that has tended to emerge from stereotypical notions of an "authentic" Pacific.

Queensland and Pacific Islanders

Queensland, more so than any other state in Australia, has had a long affiliation with the Pacific, due in part to its geographical proximity to the region and the presence of Australia's Melanesian Indigenous peoples, Torres Strait Islanders. The state also has a long and continuing history with Australian South Sea Islanders, the Australian-born descendants of the Pacific Islanders from a range of countries (including but not limited to Papua New Guinea, Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu) who were forcibly brought to Australia in the mid-nineteenth century as plantation laborers (Mackay and District Australian South Sea Islander Association Protocols Guide 2000, 2; Miller 2010; Moore 2001, 167). Queensland's Pacific Islander population is the largest in Australia, with significant communities of Papua New Guineans, Samoans, Australian South Sea Islanders, Tongans, and Aotearoa New Zealand Maoris.[5] According to the 2006[6] census[7] (which allows respondents to claim up to two ancestries), 86,671 responses (1.68 percent of a total 5,157,898 Queensland-based responses) to the question of ancestry related to Oceania. Australia is a former colonial administrator of Papua New Guinea and has a continuing trade and aid relationship with many Pacific states in the region, including the controversial "Pacific Solution," an agreement under which asylum seekers to Australia are sent to offshore detention centers in Nauru and the New Guinea Islands while their visa applications are processed (Connell 2006, 55). Finally, the Pacific region (especially countries such as Fiji and Vanuatu) is one of Australia's favorite tourist destinations (Harrison 2004, 9). Importantly, regardless of visas or statistical responses on entry cards, Islanders visit the Islands not as tourists but as part of a "homecoming" that strengthens their ethnocultural identity.

Within the Queensland-based Pacific Island diaspora, Islanders maintain their individual ethnic identity while simultaneously expressing their panethnic Islander identity. Community groups of which I am a part (including the Pacific Islander Reference Group, the Pacific Islander Workers Network of Queensland, and the Pacific Youth Association Queensland) are testament to this, with Islanders from Aotearoa New Zealand, the Cook Islands, Fiji, Hawaii, Kiribati, Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti, and Tuvalu unifying on the basis of shared heritage and ancestry. Indeed, at the first community forum conducted by the Pacific Youth Association of Queensland in 2008, community Elders stated that despite our linguistic and cultural diversity, it was our way of being Islanders that united us and that, united, we Islanders could make a positive difference for our youth and our communities at large.

Interestingly, this type of panethnicity,[8] formed through an ideal of "unity in diversity," is common in diasporic communities in order for them to obtain social and/or political goals (Eriksen 2002, 53). For diasporic communities, it may be beneficial to band together with other people from different Island groups/nations and pool resources in order to adequately provide for the continued cultural development and intergenerational transmission of "traditional" knowledge (Christiansen 2000: 189–90). Without this grouping together, in some cases there might be limited or no access to Elders or knowledge or a deficit of young people interested in learning "traditional" ways and customary knowledge (Christiansen 2000: 189–90). As well, the pooling together of resources may also be a reflection of "traditional" cultural practices in the "homeland" (Seraphin 2011, 32), and in adhering to this practice, communities may be asserting their links to these. The panethnic qualities of "Islander" draw on Islands and Islander stereotypes in such a way that concepts of "authenticity" (of both the Islanders and the stereotypes) are strengthened. This leads to new types of "authentic" Islander identity, constructed in the diasporic "third space" between "home" Islands and Western nations.

Indeed, the very notion of diasporic communities suggests that the "primary identity [of those peoples forming part of a diaspora] connects them to their ancestral country, even if they have lived their entire lives elsewhere," and this identity is arguably strengthened in causes of political and/or civil rights (Eriksen 2002, 152). This idea is particularly relevant, as it not only serves to partially explain the processes involved in the construction of diasporic identity but also highlights the ways in which Islanders claim and negotiate representations of ourselves. It is significant that members of diasporic communities sometimes develop a romanticized, paradisiacal view of the "homeland" that is asserted through transnationalism (Christiansen 2000, 189; Jeffery 2007, 952, 959, 964) and reinforced through media and

tourism material. Others see more reality than stereotype but may draw on idealistic stereotypes of Islands and Islanders as part of a game or song or to raise awareness of a cause (Christiansen 2000, 189; Jeffery 2007, 952; Kirsch 2001, 167). Some of these elements are evidenced in the following case studies.

Case Studies

Each of the following case studies[9] is set in Queensland, Australia, and describes circumstances under which Islanders express their identities in ways that may mirror stereotypes of Islanders. I describe events surrounding a political rally and a social gathering (which I supplement with a description of aspects of a Pacific Island community meeting and a glimpse into a separate community event). As well, I explain the issues surrounding new forms of "Nesian" identity as a reflection of the panethnicity of the Pasifika diaspora, specifically online. Throughout these case studies, it is evident that Islanders use various representations of themselves in order to reinforce political causes and to strengthen transnationalist ideals—and therefore our Islander identities within the diaspora. Significantly, the same "props" (or elements of material culture) used by Islanders in different circumstances to invoke and express Islander identities are the same types used in popular media representations of Pasifika.

Pacific Islanders and Climate Change

In December 2009, Oxfam held a rally in Queensland's capital city, Brisbane, to raise awareness about climate change and, in particular, its effects on Pacific Island nations (see Kempf in this issue). In preparation for this rally and specifically to gain promotional images for its campaign to help prevent climate change, Oxfam encouraged local Pacific Islander community groups to meet in the city square in front of the town hall to learn more about the ensuing rally and pose for photographs. It is this photograph session and its relationship to the climate change awareness rally that I focus on.

The e-mailed invitation I received (via a fellow committee member of a Pacific Island association) for the rally stated, "It is important to have representation of people from the Pasifika, to be part of the day. We could go in our Vaka Pasifika[10] T/shirts or our Island mumus and island shirt style." Likewise, the e-mailed invitation I received for the promotional shoot stated that Oxfam would be conducting the session in order to promote the Walk Against Warming rally amongst the general community. Again, from an Islander Elder, the e-mail I received read, "[Oxfam] are particularly keen to have

Pacific Islanders in the [photographs] . . . they are encouraging us to bring our guitars and sing, have flowers in our hair, so bring families and friends."

On receiving the invitation, I wondered whether I should "dress up" in a meri blaus[11], wear shell jewelry, and carry my bilum[12]; whether I would arrive at work on the day in full dress and head over to the promotional shoot already in "costume"; or whether I should work in regular clothes and change into my meri blaus when I arrived on scene at the scheduled 11 a.m. I soon decided that none of us should have to stage our "authenticity" as Islanders in that way in order to show our support for the cause in question. However, as an anthropologist, I was interested in observing the ways in which others would respond to the invitation's request.

On the day of the photograph shoot, there were present Islanders from Fiji, Kiribati, and Papua New Guinea. Oxfam had arranged for a photographer, at least one liaison person, and a supporter (or living "prop") in a polar bear costume. The weather that day was very hot, and, meeting in the middle of the city square (devoid of grass and any significant shade), the glare was tremendous. A strategically unveiled ice sculpture of Earth and several large cardboard placards completed the scene. Almost immediately on arriving, we (the Islanders) were presented with props: leis and ukuleles. Interestingly, the props were provided by one of the Pacific community leaders present. And although the ukuleles were out of tune, we were encouraged by the photographer to play the instruments and to dance.

I contend that the use of props was an attempt to establish in an immediate visual manner that climate change affects *Pacific Islanders*. Why was it not enough that we, as diasporic Islanders, appear in the photographs in our everyday Western dress? Why did we have to become parodies of ourselves in order to fully represent our ethnocultural identities? In terms of identity construction within diasporic communities, the conscious and explicit use of "props" may be perceived as being either supportive of or detracting from the intangible value of material culture. For example, using "props" is supportive of the value of material culture because, in this case, their use results from Islanders addressing the question of how our identities as Islanders can be conveyed visually. That a physical object has the ability to encourage its viewers to interpret someone's ethnocultural identity in an immediate time frame is powerful (see Lutkehaus in this issue).

However, for similar reasons, using props could be perceived as derogatory because it shows that the mere act of wearing a lei or playing a ukulele strengthens Pacific Islander identity. This mirrors the actions of some Outsiders and tourists who don leis, mumus, "Hawaiian" shirts, and "grass skirts" as fancy dress for parties or acquire these things as souvenirs of their visits to the Pacific region. As Morgado (2003, 79) attests, "The close association

of the peculiar stylistic features of the Hawaiian shirt with mass tourism and souvenir products" has led to its becoming an "archetypical caricature" that is "inexorably linked to the stereotype of the tourist as sartorial nerd." In the same way, the photographer's need for us to dance and play the ukulele in order that she could acquire "more natural shots" was also questionable, as it was clearly a staged scene, drawing on like stereotypes.

Do actions like these really strengthen our identity as Islanders, or do they instead strengthen other people's preconceived notions of us and our ethnocultural "authenticity"? Wikitera and Bremner (2009, 53) argue that interactions involving what some may recognize as "staged authenticity" may actually serve as new avenues for the strengthening of "traditional" customary practices—although the authors' field examples were drawn not from instances like the Oxfam photo shoot, where the façade of cultural identity is paramount, but rather from Maori cultural tourism, where Maoris engage with tourists using "traditional" methods (see Pigliasco in this issue). Despite these conflicting ideas and examples, Islanders at the Oxfam photo shoot remained in active control of our images: Oxfam encouraged the use of props, but so did a community leader, and the props were supplied not by Oxfam but by a community Elder. Indeed, the props simultaneously held a variety of meanings and connotations both internal and external to Islander constructions of our identity. Shaping representations of ourselves in this way shows that Islanders are able to contribute to others' perceptions of us in ways that benefit ourselves. In this case, such imagery was used in order to raise political awareness of the climate change–related plight faced both by Islanders in the "homelands" and by us: Islanders in the diaspora who have transnational links

At the time, the topic of "climate change refugees" was particularly in vogue, and it is fitting that members of the New Guinea Islands and Kiribati were present, given that villages in both countries had recently been relocated due to rising sea levels (Brindal 2008). Like some academics, Tuvaluan community members with whom I have spoken (whose "home" country is also adversely affected by rising sea levels) dispute the validity of the term "climate change refugee." However, the events that spawn the concept are serious and have led to the type of transnationalism exemplified by Islanders' participation in the above-mentioned rally and promotional meet. This is not surprising considering that many diasporic people maintain kinship, social, and economic ties to "home" Islands (Agnew 2005; Allahar 2002).

Which Island Identity?

In 2010, I attended an aunt's fiftieth birthday at a clubhouse on Brisbane's north side. As is usual for many Islander gatherings, there was prayer, singing,

music, dancing, and the sharing of food and stories. Amongst it all were the younger members of our family performing the hula, their ensemble complete with colorful plastic leis and synthetic grass skirts whose strands grew stiff with static as the dance progressed. Later, during the speeches, an uncle provided commentary on the dance, proclaiming it to be evidence of our strong and beautiful Island heritage. The hula is often performed by diasporic Papua New Guinean communities at major events and social gatherings, such as milestone birthdays, weddings, and Independence Day, and as much as possible in uniform dress. This is despite the fact that there is no "traditional" hula from Papua New Guinea. The use of the hula in this way not only represents "appropriated" evidence to strengthen diasporic Papua New Guinean identity but also is an expression of Pacific Islander panethnicity.

Darlene[13] is an Australian South Sea Islander in her mid-thirties. When I later spoke with her about my community performing the hula as a means to express our Papua New Guinean identity, Darlene responded by saying that her community also uses the hula in the same fashion. It is especially interesting that Australian South Sea Islanders also use the hula as demonstration of their Islander identity because of their history of being a conglomerate of various Pacific Islander ancestries now seen as a single ethnic group and with centuries of lived ties anchoring them to Australia. In this way, the hula becomes a panethnic symbol of Pacific Islander identity, regardless of specific Islander heritage.

Indeed, in "borrowing" aspects of other Island cultures, diasporic Islanders affirm their own distinct culture, highlight the commonalities of Islander cultures as part of the wider Islander community, and support Islanders' connections to each other. Sara[14] is a Samoan woman in her late teens who was present at the 2008 conference "Being In-between." Although at the time I met her my aunt's birthday had not yet taken place, we discussed similar occurrences within each of our communities. Sara explained that such cases of emergent "authenticity" (as I define them) are an expected part of "being 'Nesian,'" a term predicated on the panethnic qualities of the label "Islander" and based on the root meanings of "Melanesian" ("black Islands"), "Micronesian" ("small Islands"), and "Polynesian" ("many Islands").

The "props" used throughout the hula dance at my aunt's party—and at other events like it—are further testament to the assertion that "appropriating" cultural aspects of other Island cultures is a key part of expressing diasporic Islander identity. For example, the use of grass skirts and leis, both of which were made from types of plastic rather than "traditionally" acquired materials (combined with the performance of an "appropriated" dance), reveals some of the underlying issues that may face cultural groups of the diaspora: the lack of Elders to serve as teachers of specific Papua

New Guinean dances, the lack of "authentic" materials with which to construct "traditional" dress, and the lack of time—or willingness—to impart existing knowledge of *bilas*[15]constructions to younger generations. People utilize what is available in order to express and reinforce Islander identity in the diaspora. For example, I have witnessed an increasing use of lolly leis rather than flower leis to be given to Elders and special guests at both community events and social gatherings. Lolly leis were given at Vaka Pasifika 2011, the Deception Bay Pasifika Festival 2012, and the Pacific Island Women's Forum 2013, and Malu,[16] a Samoan woman in her thirties, is just one of many examples of Islanders living in Brisbane who used lolly leis at their birthday parties.

Similarly, Alice,[17] a Tuvaluan Elder living in Aotearoa New Zealand, gave plastic flower leis to family and special guests at her eightieth birthday party in 2012 (at which I was present), while many of her guests wore floral shirts and "traditional" Tuvaluan dresses over the top of jeans or track pants, boots, and long-sleeve T-shirts. Performers at her party included i-Kiribati, Papua New Guineans, Samoans, Tongans, and Tuvaluans—with one dancer being of Tuvaluan descent and wearing Kiribati "traditional" dress while performing a "traditional" Tongan dance. I asked family members about their reasons for having such a broad cultural mix of performances. Their response indicated that the representation of various Island cultures was to acknowledge Alice's family connections to different parts of the Pacific and to highlight their identification with a broader Pacific Islander identity.

This assertion was the same as that expressed by organizing committee members of the Papua New Guinean Independence Day celebrations in Brisbane in 2005 and 2006, when I asked why we had Polynesian dancers as part of the performance lineup. Many attendees also joined the dance at the sidelines, cheered, and waved Papua New Guinean flags, as they had done for other performances on the day. The committee members explained that as Papua New Guineans, we are all Pacific Islanders and that having a selection of dancers from across the Pacific shows recognition that we are part of this larger community of Islanders.

Further to this point, diasporic Islanders utilize a shared vocabulary from across the Pacific. Indeed, throughout my research, I have observed a panethnic understanding and use of a wide variety of inter-Island terms. The terms "Aloha," "bula," and "talofa" (Hawaiian, Fijian, and Tuvaluan/Samoan terms, respectively, for "hello") were used by many Islanders as greetings, regardless of which Island groups were represented in the interaction. Mumu (usually spelt muumuu) were often used to refer to the colorful, loose, smock-style dress popular in the Islands but is also a term used in Papua New Guinea

to describe a traditional earth-oven style of cooking. In the same manner, hangi (Maori), umu (Samoa), lovo (Fiji), and mumu (Papua New Guinea) are used and understood widely as "traditional" methods of cooking using an "earth oven." Similarly, lavalava (parts of Polynesia), laplap (Papua New Guinea), and sulu (Fiji), all terms referring to a sarong-type garment, were often used interchangeably by a large number of individual Islanders with whom I spoke.

Clearly, these are examples of the ways in which Islanders use stereotypical concepts to strengthen ethnocultural identity within and across "traditional" Island group boundaries, and within the diaspora, this arguably signifies circumstances of emergent "authenticity." The commonalities throughout these examples include the use of dancing, language, "traditional" dress, and *bilas* as expressions of Islander identity. The intricacies of these, including "appropriation" and how these elements are actually executed, highlight the ways in which aspects of customary practice are adjusted to suit life and resources in diasporic settings, with different climates, differing resources, and various connections to broader communities and "homelands." Unlike the staged "authenticity" arguably present in the previous case study (see "Pacific Islanders and Climate Change"), I contend that these are cases of strong emergent "authenticity" because the intended audience of these family-based social gatherings (and community events) were not Outsiders but, rather, other Islanders. This is a key point, further demonstrated by the multivocal use of props in ways that are less "kitsch" than in the previous example and more a genuine expression of Islander identity and panethnic solidarity. Arguably, this type of self-representation is less contested and more aligned with the positive use of material culture within panethnic Islander identity construction, interpretation, and expression.

As previously noted, "Nesian" is an emerging term being used in many online fora and social networking sites to denote a person of Islander descent. Although the emergence of the term "Nesian" is concentrated in groups of younger people, it is the same sentiment as expressed by community leaders of various Island groups at Pasifika meetings, specifically that held by the Pacific Youth Association of Queensland. As mentioned previously, Elders at the meeting argued that despite the cultural and linguistic differences present in Pacific groups, our similarities as Islanders gave cause for our unification and that as Islanders we could enact positive change for our youth and communities. Indeed, the Pacific Youth Association of Queensland recognizes that within the diaspora, it may be difficult for young Islanders to maintain practical connections to "traditional" customary practices. For this reason, it is one of the Pacific Youth Association of Queensland's missions to create spaces and events that enable young

Pacific Islanders to strengthen their Islander identities through building connections with Elders from all Pasifika groups, especially in relation to "traditional" customary practices. This concept, like ideas about "Nesian" identity, justifies and constructs a panethnic Islander identity that has been the focus of my discussion.

Becoming "Nesian," Online

> "Melanesia, Polynesia, Micronesia. . . . We are all ONE people. . . . We are all NESIANS"
> —"I am Pasifika" Facebook page, posted February 7, 2013

Social researcher Dr. Liza Hopkins (pers. comm., 2008) posits that the ethnocultural identities of young people in diasporic communities are shaped by a process of deterritorialization (i.e., separating identity from specific physical places) and reterritorialization into virtual spaces (i.e., online). As a result of having undergone this process, Hopkins (pers. comm., 2008) contends that diasporic community members are able to assert multiple, concurrent identities. Further to this point, I argue, "with the use of . . . [online] technology there is a reduced need to associate a traditional ethnic identity with time spent in an actual place, as the online community can be accessed and interacted with, at any location in the world where there is access to the internet" (McGavin 2008). The increasingly popular use of social networking platforms such as Bebo, Facebook, and MySpace is testament to the notion that online communities of like people provide virtual spaces where people can support, strengthen, and negotiate their own and others' ethnocultural identities (McGavin 2008).

This key point is exemplified in a range of forwarded e-mails, online forums, "games," and MySpace and Facebook pages that outline socially designated criteria for particular ethnic identities. For example, "you know you're Samoan when. . ." is an online forum thread and open-stimulus question on several blogs and social media pages that encourages people to engage with this topic. An excerpt of one of the most thorough responses follows:

> "Your Mother says that at 25, you're too young to have a boyfriend"; "You run into a mountain of shoes blocking the front door"; "You find a life-time supply of saimigi (instant noodles) in the kitchen cupboards"; "You have a huge gap between your first two toes (excessive slipper wear)"; "You're the only ones swimming at the public pools with t-shirts on"; "You make that funny kissing sound with your lips when you're trying to get someone's attention (Fa'amiki)"; "Your Grandmother thinks Samoan massage and Vicks Vapo-Rub is the miracle cure for everything (including broken bones . . .)"
> —Posted on "Teuialilo ou loimata's blog" (www.myspace.com/eonosailealofa/blog/385080221), 2008

Interestingly, some of the responses in other Island forums, relating to Papua New Guinea and Fiji (amongst others), include identical responses:

> "You have sat in a 4-seater car with up to 8 other people"; "You run into a mountain of Slippers blocking the front door"; "You have a huge gap between your first two toes (excessive thong wear)"; "You make that funny kissing sound with your lips when you're trying to get someone's attention"; "You can speak with your face - eg. Twitch like a rabbit to ask, Where you going?"; and "Your Grandmother thinks Vicks Vapo-Rub is the miracle cure for everything (including broken bones . . .)"
> —Posted in response to "You know you're Papua New Guinean when . . ." by user Kofi Kwin (www.pnginusa.org/forums/index.php?showtopic=206), 2005

> "Ur [*sic*] Mother says that at 25, u'r [*sic*] too young to have a boyfriend"; "U [*sic*] run into a mountain of shoes blocking the front door to the house"; "U [*sic*] go to the islands rich and come back poor"; and "U [*sic*] know the difference between all the different types of corned beefs!"
> —Posted in response to "You know you're Fijian when . . ." by user Caginitoba (http://online.myfijifriends.com/profiles/blogs/you-know-youre-a-fijian-when), 2010

The fact that some of these responses appear to be direct quotes from other lists (e.g., the use of Vicks as an all-purpose medicine) is evidence of strengthening panethnic identity, especially within virtual spaces, in both negative and positive ways. Additional responses on these and similar Web pages clearly demonstrate that these lists of Islander attributes are designed to be humorous, and this further exemplifies the Islander representation/panethnic connection: members of the worldwide Pacific Island diaspora (as well as Islanders who still live in "home" Islands) strengthen their ethnocultural and panethnic identities through the use of humorous self-representation in the virtual world. In this way, there is striking similarity between the ways panethnic identity is formed in the "third space" of the diaspora and the virtual space of the online world. In both cases, Islanders demonstrate agency (as described by Kempf and Hermann 2005) in asserting their identities. The elements used in these expressions of identity are multivocal, complex, and key aspects in simultaneously strengthening "home" Island identity and linking to a broader diasporic panethnicity.

Representing Pasifika

In March 2013, I attended the Pacific Islander Women's Forum, south of Brisbane. There were approximately 100 women present, of various

Pacific backgrounds and a wide range of ages. During the day, I spoke briefly with Narelle,[18] a "mixed" Tongan-Samoan woman in her early twenties who, in response to hearing about my interest in the ways in which Islanders self-represent and are represented by others, felt compelled to explain her point of view. She told me, "We Islanders are joyful and happy, friendly—even though the media depicts us as big and scary and violent." She seemed dejected as she spoke, but her statement ignores the nonaggressive ways in which Islanders are often represented in tourism media: as benign, extra-friendly people willing to serve; the beginning of Narelle's sentence reinforces this stereotype. (Interestingly, in a subsequent discussion I had a few days later with Jeremy,[19] a Papua New Guinean man in his mid-thirties, he asserted, "We [Islanders] *are* big, scary, and violent," although he ended his comment with a laugh.) Another woman who spoke to our group at the forum was Lucy,[20] a woman of Fijian descent in her mid-twenties. Her comments took Narelle's assertions further, contending that "we Islanders are genetically blessed: to be an Islander means that you are joyful; loving; happy; calm, cool and collected; and a team player." Further, she added that it was our "birthright" as Islanders to embody these characteristics.

My experience at the Pacific Islander Women's Forum nicely summarized the case studies in the previous section: Islanders are aware of stereotypes about us, and we highlight various versions of these in ways that suit our own purpose. These are stereotypes of dress, appearance, behavior, practice, language, terminology, and attitude. Whether to rally together in a unified way or to use humor in acknowledging self-deprecating stereotypes about Islanders, there is agency in the ways that Islanders self-represent. Each empirical example on which I have drawn includes various symbols of the expression of Islander identity.

Of particular relevance to these examples is the notion that Islander identity relies largely on the Lamarckian view that behavior or actions contribute to, lead to, or are the prerequisite for a particular identity category (Watson 1990). This is the case whether Islanders are "representing" their individual ethnocultural identity or their panethnic identity as Pacific Islanders; in effect, these characteristics, behaviors, attitudes, "props," or communities construct "who is an Islander" and "who is not." Rather than being essentialist in nature, I argue that these are constructivist interpretations and expressions of Islander identity. Significantly, although such constructions occur within diasporic communities, they may also shape expressions of identity in the "home" Island (Otis 2001). As Gold and Nawyn (2012, 245) state, "Once formed in the diaspora, panethnic identities may be extended transnationally to migrant-sending societies."

In general, stereotypes are simplified assumptions about people or places and will necessarily differ from much of the range of reality. As Watson (1990, 27) attests, although stereotypes are formed through people associating memorable traits with certain groups, "the permutations [of these representations] are nearly endless." Stereotypes often signify perceived group boundaries and points of difference and may stem from a single point of factual evidence (Feldman 2011: 44–45) but do not and cannot represent the range of reality.

Many of the stereotypical representations of the Pacific and its peoples are based on westernized concepts of an island "paradise," particularly as reinforced by tourism marketing material and through popular media. Such representations may be skewed toward Outsiders' ideas of Islanders being "close to nature" and "primitive." My previous research (McGavin 2007) offers an analysis of a New Guinea Island tourism website to this effect. At the time of analysis, the website was typical of tourism marketing material that exoticized and homogenized Indigenous peoples and showed "Islanders as an attraction, rather than as instigators of and participants in tourism practices" (McGavin 2007, 252). This latter point is particularly pertinent to critical analyses of the influence of popular media, including television shows, such as *Magnum PI* (1980–1988), *Hawaii Five-O* (1968–1980), and *Fantasy Island* (1978–1984), and movies, such as *Blue Hawaii* (1961), *Robinson Crusoe* (1997), and *South Pacific* (1958), which position Islanders more as part of the scenery than as active players (see Lipset in this issue).

Some perceptions of Islanders are quite negative, ranging from "uncivilized" and "violent" to "cannibals" (McGavin 2007, 140, 304; Sherwood 2012, 11). However, although stereotypes are often associated with negative representation (Metcalf 2005, 171), this is not always the case in relation to imagined perceptions of the Pacific. Indeed, what are often Outsiders' perceptions of "authentic" Islandscapes—which many times include "authentic" Islanders as part of their backdrop—are quite relevant to this discussion. One of the most prevalent stereotypes is that the Pacific offers visitors (but not always residents) an Earthly paradise, an idea that is reinforced through undertaking a basic Google image search for "paradise on earth," which results in a plethora of photographs reminiscent of the scene I described in this article's opening paragraph (see Flinn in this issue). The virtues of the Pacific are further evidenced through Outsiders' perceptions of Islanders as "beautiful," "friendly," and "relaxed," although the first of these characteristic relies on westernized notions of aesthetics and sometimes becomes sexualized and/or infused with expectations of servitude (Desmond 1999; Trask and Trask 1992).

The notion that for Islandscapes to be "authentic" they must be "unspoilt" suggests that Western influence somehow contaminates a place and its people (Feldman 2011, 43). In this way, ideas about exotic Islandscapes and the Islanders who inhabit these spaces are reinforced (Connell 2003). Indeed, there is a duality to the Western perception of Islands and Islanders as portrayed and reinforced through travel writing, literature, and film: at once, Islands are paradise and isolated, harsh landscapes; Islanders are both happy servants and dangerous "savages" (Connell 2003: 564–70).

The concurrent nature of these different sets of imageries hints at the complexity of the expression and representation of identity. In turn, this leads me to question the nature of a gap between emergent and staged "authenticity" and custom versus kitsch: as Wikitera and Bremner (2009:53) put it, is it staged "authenticity" or "just being ourselves"?

Conclusion

Those of us who identify as Islanders within the diaspora are influenced by the same images and stereotypical ideas about Pacific Islanders as non–Pacific Islanders. From international tourism marketing and television programming to film and advertising, stereotypical messages about the Pacific and its peoples shape ideas about what constitutes "authentic" Islander identity (see Pearson in this issue). However, many Pacific Islanders in the diaspora also have access to family and community ties, providing both solid and intangible links to the Pacific region (Butler 2003:318), thus enabling us to understand the reality of diversity of the Pacific and its peoples. We visit the islands not as tourists but as part of a "homecoming." It is this difference, I contend, that makes Islanders in the diaspora more able to grasp both the stereotype and the reality and to play each one off the other in different circumstances in an expression of our identity.

Representations of Pacific Islanders may not be a case of "ours or theirs" but more a case of "ours *and* theirs," without these categories being mutually exclusive. Representations of Pacific Islanders may come from Insider or Outsider sources. However, regardless of their source of "origin," the initial positive or negative connotations of these representations may be negotiated in various situations by Islanders demonstrating agency over their own images in order to achieve certain goals. As exemplified by the case studies, I argue that (1) the intended audience (i.e., whether this is a family-based Insider audience or a non–Pacific Islander Outsider audience) and (2) the purpose of the event (i.e., an informal social gathering or a political meet) influences whether the invocation of

a panethnic identity is perceived as a transnationalist expression of identity or a staged play on hollow stereotypes—whether or not this involves active Islander agency.

The perpetuation of stereotypical constructions of Pasifika may reinforce what may be Outsiders' skewed ideas of the "ideal" Pasifika. However, diasporic Islanders' active use and manipulation of these stereotypical ideas leads to the emergent panethnic identities that construct diasporic Islanders situated either as *between* host and guest or as *simultaneously* host and guest. The use of Insider anthropology is particularly fitting in exploring representations of Islands and Islanders, as this serves to counterbalance the inadequacies of the aforementioned stereotypes and brings insight to the ways that these stereotypes are used within Islander groups. Indeed, it is from this emic viewpoint, from within the diaspora, that panethnic identities such as "Nesian" emerge and are negotiated.

NOTES

1. This research was supported by funding received from the University of Queensland, Professor David Trigger, and Ms. Lesley Bryant. Further collaboration and development of ideas was facilitated by the receipt of an Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania Pacific Islands Scholars Fund travel scholarship award.

2. Throughout this article, I define "Pacific Islanders" as any person of Melanesian, Micronesian, or Polynesian descent. Because of the categorization of Torres Strait Islanders as Indigenous, I exclude this group from any discussion of diasporic identity in Australia.

3. I capitalize "Indigenous" in keeping with Australian academic conventions.

4. I use "peoples" to acknowledge the diversity of ethnic groups and nations within political states.

5. Henceforth throughout this article, Aotearoa New Zealand Maoris are referred to as "Maoris."

6. At the time of writing this article, 2011 census data relating to ancestry had not been published.

7. Available at www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/censushome.nsf/home/census?opendocument &navpos=10.

8. Also referenced as "'Nesian' identity" within this article.

9. Aspects of these or similar case studies are also discussed—with alternative emphasis and different analysis—in McGavin (2014).

10. Vaka Pasifika (meaning "voyage" or "way of the Pacific") is the name given to a (diasporic) Pacific Islander community event in which various Islander communities come together to showcase their individual cultures, highlight their similarities, and pool cultural resources for the benefit of young Islander people.

11. Emerging "authentic" missionary-style dress or long blouse from Papua New Guinea (usually constructed from bright, colorful, and/or floral fabric).

12. A bilum is a "traditional" bag from Papua New Guinea and is widely perceived as being symbolic of Papua New Guinean connection or heritage.

13. Pseudonym used.

14. Pseudonym used.

15. "Traditional" dress; what is usually referred to by Outsiders as "grass skirts."

16. Pseudonym used.

17. Pseudonym used.

18. Pseudonym used.

19. Pseudonym used.

20. Pseudonym used.

REFERENCES

Agnew, V.
2005 *Diaspora, memory and identity: A search for home*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Allahar, A.
2002 Diasporic identity: Myth, culture and the politics of home. A special issue of *Identity: The Journal of the Society for Research on Identity Formation*.

Amoamo, M.
2011 Tourism and hybridity: Revisiting Bhabha's third space. *Annals of Tourism Research* 38 (4): 1254–73.

Anae, M.
2010 Teu Le Va: Toward a native anthropology. *Pacific Studies* 33 (2/3): 222–40.

Barss, P.
1984 Injuries due to falling coconuts. *Journal of Trauma* 24 (11): 990–1.

Bhabha, H.
1994 *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.

Bolles, A. L.
2001 Seeking the ancestors: Forging a black feminist tradition in anthropology. In *Black feminist anthropology: Theory, politics, praxis and poetics*, ed. I. McClaurin, 24–48. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Brindal, E.
2008 Climate change refugees the forgotten people. *The Age*. www.theage.com.au/opinion/climate-change-refugees-the-forgotten-people-20080617-2s5b.html?page=--1. Accessed December 19, 2010.

Butler, R.
2003 Relationships between tourism and diasporas: Influences and patterns. *Espace, Populations, Societes* 21 (2): 317–26.

Christiansen, A.
2000 Cultural hybridity, gender and identity: A Pacific Islander woman in the academy. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 21 (3): 187–96.

Connell, J.
2003 Island dreaming: The contemplation of Polynesian paradise. *Journal of Historical Geography* 29 (4): 554–81.

2006 Nauru: The first failed Pacific state? *The Roundtable: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs* 95 (383): 47–63.

Desmond, J.
1999 *Staging tourism: Bodies on display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Eriksen, T. H.
2002 *Ethnicity and nationalism*. London: Pluto Press.

Feldman, J.
2011 Producing and consuming "unspoilt" Tobago: Paradise discourse and cultural tourism in the Caribbean. *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 16 (1): 41–66.

George, L.
2010 The interweaving of people, time and place: Whakapapa as context and method. *Pacific Studies* 33 (2/3): 241–58.

Gilliam, A. M.
2001 A black, feminist perspective on the sexual commodification of women in the new global culture. In *Black feminist anthropology: Theory, politics, praxis and poetics*, ed. I. McClaurin, 150–86. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Gold, S., and S. Nawyn
2012 *International handbook of migration studies*. London: Routledge.

Hakiwai, A. T.
1995 The search for legitimacy: Museums in Aotearoa New Zealand—A Maori viewpoint. In *Proceedings of the International Conference on Anthropology and the Museum*, ed. L. Tsong-yuan, 283–94. Taiwan: Taiwan Museum.

Harrison, D.
2004 Tourism in Pacific Islands. *Journal of Pacific Studies* 26 (1): 1–28.

Hastrup, K.
1992 Writing ethnography: State of the art. In *Anthropology and autobiography*, ed. J. Okely and H. Callaway, 115–32. New York: Routledge.

Horwood, M., and C. Wilson
2008 *Te Ara Tapu: Sacred journeys: Whanganui Regional Museum Taonga Maori Collection*. Auckland: Random House.

Jeffery, L.
2007 How a plantation became paradise: Changing representations of the homeland among displaced Chagos Islanders. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 13 (4): 951–68.

Kempf, W., and E. Hermann
2005 Reconfigurations of place and ethnicity: Positionings, performances and politics of relocated Banabans in Fiji. *Oceania* 75 (4): 368–86.

Kirsch, S.
2001 Environmental disaster, culture loss and the law. *Current Anthropology* 42 (2): 167–98.

Mackay and District Australian South Sea Islander Association
2000 *Protocols guide: Drumming the story: It's our business!* Mackay: Payne Print.

McClaurin, I., ed.
2001 *Black feminist anthropology: Theory, politics, praxis and poetics.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

McGavin, K.
2007 Tourism, gender and ethnicity in West New Britain: The challenges and dynamics of Islander identities. PhD diss., Univ. of Queensland.
2008 *First generation Australian or second generation migrant: Youth identity in the third space*. Brisbane: Youth Affairs Network of Queensland.
2014 Being Nesian: Pacific Islander identity in Australia. *The Contemporary Pacific* 26 (1): 126–54.

Merton, R. K.
1972 Insiders and outsiders: A chapter in the sociology of knowledge. *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (1): 9–47.

Metcalf, P.
2005 *Anthropology: The basics*. London: Routledge.

Miller, I.
2010 *Sugar slaves*. www.qhatlas.com.au/content/sugar-slaves. Accessed May 20, 2012.

Moore, C.
2001 The South Sea Islanders of Mackay, Queensland, Australia. In *Endangered peoples of Oceania: Struggles to survive and thrive*, ed. J. Fitzpatrick, 167–82. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Morgado, M.
2003 From kitsch to chic: The transformation of Hawaiian shirt aesthetics. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 21: 75–88.

Morris, B.
1994 *Anthropology of the self: The individual in cultural perspective*. London: Pluto Press.

Mulford, J., H. Oberli, and S. Tovosia
2001 Coconut palm-related injuries in the Pacific Islands. *ANZ Journal of Surgery* 71 (1): 32–4.

Narayan, K.
1997 How native is a "native" anthropologist? In *Situated lives: Gender and culture in everyday life*, ed. L. Lamphere, H. Ragone, and P. Zavella, 23–41. New York: Routledge.

Nelson, V.
2007 Traces of the past: The cycle of expectation in Caribbean tourism representations. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 5 (1): 1–16.

Norton, S.
1998 Betel: Consumption and consequences. *Journal of the American Academy of Dermatology* 38 (1): 81–88.

Otis, E.
2001 The reach and limits of Asian panethnic identity: The dynamics of gender, race, and class in a community-based organization. *Qualitative Sociology* 24 (3): 349–79.

Peers, L., and A. K. Brown
2003 *Museums and source communities: A Routledge reader*. London: Routledge.

Salmond, A.
1983 The study of traditional Maori society: The state of the art. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 93 (3): 309–32.

Seraphin, W.
2011 Tapping into cultural resources: A case for Haitian resilience and viability outside of Haiti and in the American classroom. *Black Diaspora Review* 2 (2): 27–35.

Sherwood, D.
2012 What's cooking tonight? You are, Your Highness: Cannibal Isle for Charles. *Daily Star Sunday*, September 2, 11.

Slocum, K.
2001 Negotiating identity and black feminist politics in Caribbean research. In *Black feminist anthropology: Theory, politics, praxis and poetics*, ed. I. McClaurin, 126–49. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Smith, L. T.
2012 *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. 2nd ed. London: Zed Books.

Tengan, T., T. Ka'ili, and R. Fonoti
2010 Genealogies: Articulating indigenous anthropology in/of Oceania. *Pacific Studies* 33 (2/3): 139–67.

Trask, H. K.
1993 From a native daughter. In *From a native daughter: Colonialism and sovereignty in Hawaii*,147–59. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press.

Trask, H. K., and M. Trask
1992 The Aloha industry: For Hawaiian women, tourism is not a neutral industry. *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 16 (4). http://www.culturalsurvival.org/ourpublications/csq/article/the-aloha-industry-for-hawaiian-women-tourism-not-a-neutral-industry.

Uperesa, F. L.
2010 A different weight: Tension and promise in "indigenous anthropology." *Pacific Studies* 33 (2/3): 280–300.

Watson, J.
1990 Other people do other things: Lamarckian identities in Kainantu Subdistrict, Papua New Guinea. In *Cultural identity and ethnicity in the Pacific*, ed. J. Linnekin and L. Poyer, 17–42. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

White, C.
2007 More authentic than thou: Authenticity and othering in Fiji tourism discourse. *Tourist Studies* 7 (1): 25–49.

Wikitera, K., and H. Bremner
2009 Maori cultural tourism or just being ourselves? Validating cultural inheritance. *London Journal of Tourism, Sport and Creative Industries* 2 (1): 53–61.

FROM ROMANCE TO REALITY: AN EPILOGUE

Niko Besnier
University of Amsterdam

If we have learned anything from intellectual debates of the last half century, it is that representations are political acts, even when (and perhaps particularly when) they are deployed in the most innocent ways. Beyond this simple recognition, however, lies a host of complexities: Whose politics? Politics for what purposes? How does this politics fare when representations change hands, are exported to different contexts, are recycled and reclaimed by different agents for different purposes? Some representations have extraordinary longevity, clinging to the places, peoples, and things they are supposed to represent like a parasite. Others travel though time and space but can undergo sometimes surprisingly radical transformations. Those who are represented can appropriate the representations of which they are the object and turn their political meaning on their heads, but this can also backfire.

The contributions to this special issue explore various aspects of these complex dynamics in the context of the Pacific Islands, the last major area of the world that, historically, Europeans were largely ignorant of until the famous voyages of exploration of the late eighteenth century took place as the old continent was in the thick of the Enlightenment but Romanticism was beginning to critique some of the fundamental assumptions of this revolution. As is now well-known, the images, texts, and even people brought back by these voyages created a sensation in European courts, salons, and theaters, presaging two centuries of Western fascination with the Pacific Islands, a fascination whose emotional underpinnings have been as diverse as they have been consequential for all involved (Dening 1980; Smith 1989). But Europeans

Pacific Studies, Vol. 38, Nos. 1/2—Apr./Aug. 2015

were not the only ones to engage with the newly "discovered" Others. Once the pale strangers appeared in their odd-looking sea crafts, with their equally odd and unpredictable behaviors, simultaneously friendly and hostile (Lepowsky), they became the object of islanders' puzzlements, imaginings, and hypotheses. White people, after all, do not have a monopoly on representing others.

Pacific Islanders had not waited for Europeans to barge onto their shores to nurture consequential engagements with one another. Their ocean has long been a "sea of islands," to use Hau'ofa's (1994) memorable phrase, a vast network of people, things, relations, and histories for which the ocean was a conduit rather than an obstacle. This network was informed by its own politics of representation, which for centuries and millennia informed and set the course of interisland relations. As Salmond (2008) has demonstrated, during many early contacts between Western travelers and islanders, the white sailors were often relegated to the status of bystanders while islanders whom the ship captains had taken on board as pilots were the ones who conducted the negotiations with the inhabitants of the islands where the ships called, conversing from one Polynesian language to another. Even though the Western navigators later would later take the credit for them, these encounters were being conducted as part of an ongoing conversation among islanders, which had been ongoing since before the arrival of the European ships. Even after contacts between Westerners and islanders had ceased to be a novelty, these dynamics did not stop: islanders, whether captured, as Sunday and Monday were by Benjamin Morrell; "inveigled," like Jack Woahoo and Tomme Otaheite; or willing adventure seekers, like Garry Garry, continued to act as important agents in the early emergence of a global Pacific (Lepowsky).

Then as now, islands stand for deeply seated anxieties in the modern Western imagination, such as the end of civilization, be it through Malthusian overpopulation, irresponsible depredation, conflict (witness Diamond's [2005] exceedingly problematic version of Rapanui history), nuclear annihilation (with its repeated rehearsals in the Marshall Islands and French Polynesia), or global warming. Popular representations of flooding, disappearing islands, and primitive populations living in harmony with nature but being forced to relocate, all of which have deeply problematic relationships to the lived realities concerned, invoke doomsday scenarios that strike a deep chord in the Western imaginary (Flinn, Kempf). Interestingly, they bring together in complex ways two images of islands, one of radical alterity, the other of profound identification, a complexity reminiscent of the problem of alterity and identification in both classical anthropology (Douglas 1966) and psychoanalysis (Kristeva 1982).

The forces with which representations are associated have a determinative effect on their visibility (or hearability) and longevity. While some representations are backed up by tremendous structures of power, giving them ascendance on both the represented and the competing representations, others have no army and navy, and no money, to help them claim and retain a voice. Thus, big-budget Hollywood productions that claim to represent the political realities in Hawai'i, but are sanitized of all significant politics, command large audiences worldwide, while films by indigenous filmmakers that foreground the struggles over Hawaiian sovereignty often disappear immediately after their initial release (Schachter, Lipset).

Representations can become lost in the darkness of time for many reasons. They may not benefit from the potential longevity that literacy can bestow on them. They may be expressed in languages that are generally unnoticed in the world's centers of domination, as was the case of nineteenth-century ethnographic works about the Pacific by Jan Stanisław Kubary, who wrote in Polish, and Nikolai Miklukho-Maclay, who wrote in Russian (Webster 1985). Alternatively, representations may be ignored because they emerge from the bottom of the social ladder; thus, we know little about what the "unofficial whites" of the colonial era knew and thought about Pacific Islanders, whose lives were intermingled with their own in many cases (recall Stoler 1995 and Gouda 1996 on better-known parts of the colonial world). Alternatively, some representations can fall victim to the vagaries of history. Thus, we know little about relations between Japanese and Micronesians during the two-and-a-half decades of Micronesia's Japanese administration (Carucci, Flinn), other than that they left a deep imprint on islanders, because the post–World War II US military administration actively obliterated all signs of Japanese presence, a process in which the large number of American anthropologists and linguists who descended upon the area were actively complicit.

In other contexts, information technologies have engendered a proliferation of representations that prior to the age in which we live might have died a quiet death. Blogs, Web sites, and other materials found in cyberspace have added voices to traditional print media, which reiterate clichés and romantic depictions, potentially contributing to the "museumification" of culture. Thus, the representation of Pollap navigational knowledge on travelers' and Peace Corps volunteers' Web sites as timeless tradition to be preserved before it disappears overshadows problematically the fact that islanders use this knowledge in their active engagement with real-life circumstances (Flinn). In another context, television ends up having the opposite effect, disrupting the genealogy of received ideas and challenging their self-evidence, to the great displeasure of some (Pearson). If we anthropologists are to develop an

understanding of the "history of the present" (Lutkehaus), we must contend with these representations, which compete with their own more nuanced understanding of islanders' lived realities, and go beyond simply "debunking" them as incorrect or ideologically laden.

Representations travel unpredictably, not only through time but also across genres and from one voice to the other, in a pattern strikingly reminiscent of Bakhtinian dialogism (Bakhtin 1981 [1930s]): utterances passing from one voice to another or from one genre to another and potentially acquiring, at each stage, different intentions and relationships to context. The most egregious example is plagiarism, illustrated here by Edgar Allen Poe's plagiarism of Benjamin Morrell (Lepowsky). More subtly, the Sawau Fijians' performances of fire-walking in tourist resorts, which are accompanied by the emcee's predictable repetition of tired old clichés about the performers' alleged cannibalism and savagery, distill an entire history of colonialism, state formation, and commodification of authenticity but also the necessity to make a living, all of which are coconstructed by performers, emcees, and tourist audiences (Pigliasco). Tropes can become entirely reified to the point that they can take on a life of their own, representing the represented without even alluding to it, and not even need the reality of what they are supposed to represent because they are in dialogue with other realities: such is the classic case of Orientalist painters and poets dialoguing with one another while painting or rhapsodizing about market or harem scenes in Cairo or Damascus (Said 1978). Alternatively, tropes can be transformed through dialogic repetition, and because control of these dynamics is singularly elusive, the transformations themselves can take unpredictable paths.

It is along these paths that the boundaries between "romance" and "reality," between fiction and history, and between the real and the imagined lose their self-evidence. One kind of representation invokes another kind, as works of documentation are based on works of fiction, and vice versa (Lepowsky, Lutkehaus), and as romance may be closer to islanders' lived realities than works that purport to represent "the facts" (Carucci). The result is a blurring of boundaries, reminiscent again of Bakhtinian dialogism and demanding that the act of knowledge production be the focus of close attention, as anthropologists in the 1980s urged us to consider (Clifford and Marcus 1986). But here the contributors to this special issue go much further than simply remarking that all representations are partial; they invite us to explore the relationship among different representations, their uptake by those whose lives are represented, the paths along which representations travel, and the politics that generate them and that they engender.

It is not only representations that travel but also the people who are represented. They are never stuck in place but rather migrate, relocate, and

regroup, generating new social formations consisting of migrants of different origins that find strength in their commonalities, as Pacific Islanders do in such migrant locations as New Zealand and Australia (McGavin). In these efforts, dominant and enduring representations of Pacific Islanders, such happiness, generosity, and being in the habit of wearing flowers in one's hair, are co-opted as badges of emerging identifications and new forms of solidarity. Representations thus are not "owned" but instead operate as floating signifiers, available to different agents for different purposes.

But these agentive moves are not without potential problems. The obverse of the image of the friendly guitar-strumming islander is that of the frightening and violent warrior, an image that is all too common in the mainstream imagination in New Zealand and Australia, where it offers a facile explanation for the alleged violence of immigrant and indigenous underclasses. Similar images emerge in some manifestations of the indigeneity movement in Hawai'i, in which men seek to regain the "warrior masculinity" of which two centuries of colonialism and half a century of the tourism industry has robbed them, replacing it with undulating hula girls draping flower garlands around the necks of hotel patrons (Tengan 2008). We find them, in circumstances of lesser political tension, on T-shirts worn in the islands, depicting tattooed and loin-clothed island warriors of hyperdeveloped muscularities, brandishing whatever accoutrements are iconic of the local context (pig-tusk necklaces, clubs, tattoos, etc.), and posing menacingly under the announcement "Samoan (Tongan, Fijian, Hawaiian) warrior" or "pride" or "native" (Besnier 2011: 197–99).

When these images are recycled and glamorized in yet other contexts, who represents whom is no longer a straightforward question. Such is the case of the deeply controversial emergence, since the 1990s, of the "sport haka," vigorous display of muscular might through a Māori choreographed performance that opens rugby matches involving New Zealanders (mostly performed outside New Zealand). Samoan, Fijian, and Tongan rugby teams soon followed suit with their own "traditional war dances." In the case of the New Zealand All Blacks, this spectacle of warriorhood, ostensibly designed to intimidate the opposing team, is performed by a mixture of Māori, Pacific Islander, and Pākehā (white) athletes, so who is the subject and who is the object of representation are profoundly equivocal questions. (In fact, if the Ngāti Toa tribe's claim that the haka in question is their property is substantiated, the probability of anyone being self-represented by its performance on the rugby pitch is virtually nil.) To complicate matters, the incorporation of these performances in the panoply of rugby teams' self-representations is the result of corporate strategies that see in them a particularly successful way of selling images to a global public.

But then these representations can backfire in sometimes surprising ways. When a New Zealand reality television program depicts young Māori transplants in Australia as ordinary trans-Tasman migrants, indistinguishable from other New Zealanders, trying to make a living on Australia's touristy and glittery Gold Coast, the show sparks a flurry of accusations (Pearson). These are "plastic Māori," badly tattooed and mostly interested in money, sex, and their appearance, rather than being interested, as Māori people should be, in traditional dancing and singing, speech making on the *marae, te reo* (the Māori language), and other iconic aspects of *Māoritanga.* Who, then, decides when a Māori person is plastic or real, and on what basis? Is realness forever prisoner of a highly reified and ahistorical representation of indigenous identity, which itself is the joint creation of indigenous revivalism and Western representations of indigeneity?

What this case illustrates vividly is that representations not only are the product of politics but also generate politics. Such is also the case of representations of Pacific Islanders as poster children of global warming—the fact that rising sea levels may endanger more populous areas of the world, such as Manhattan, Tokyo, and Bangladesh, notwithstanding. These representations generate complex entanglements within the societies being represented. In low-lying Tuvalu, a favorite focus of works like the *World Atlas of Climate Change* (Kempf), the representation of the country as a "victim" of global warming (which often views it as a single island instead of a group of nine) has been met with surprisingly diverse reactions (Besnier 2009: 59–63). Some have embraced the discourse of victimhood in the face of the imminent disappearance of their homeland due to global warming to promote agendas that precede the emergence of global warming as a world problem (e.g., labor migration that is seriously impeded by stringent visa requirements). Other Tuvaluans react impatiently to Westerners' obsession with global warming, emphasizing that what Tuvalu needs is better health care, better interisland transportation (the two are connected: better transportation to ensure that breached births are not fatal), better sanitation, and better access to education opportunities. What is interesting is that these conflicting uptakes have little or nothing to do with the intentions of the compilers of works like the *World Atlas of Climate Change.* Again, the politics of representation undergoes radical transformation as the context changes.

This special issue offers a model for an anthropological engagement with the complexities of representation, which pays equal attention to form, politics, and the relationship of representations to regimes of truth, conventions of fiction, and the imagination. The contributors demonstrate that multiple parties are involved in any act of representation and that their entanglement

can take on unpredictable qualities that deserve the kind of ethnography we have come to call our own: a recognition of the multiplicity of perspectives, an understanding of culture as porous and complex, and an approach to people's lives as informed by social, cultural, historical, and political dynamics.

REFERENCES

Bakhtin, Mikhail M.
1981 [1930s] *The dialogic imagination: Four essays,* ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press.

Besnier, Niko
2009 *Gossip and the everyday production of politics.* Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press.

Besnier, Niko
2011 *On the edge of the global: Modern anxieties in a Pacific Island nation.* Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press.

Clifford, James, and George E. Marcus, eds.
1984 *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Dening, Greg
1980 *Islands and beaches, discourse on a silent land: Marquesas, 1774–1880.* Honolulu: Univ. Press of Hawai'i.

Diamond, Jarred
2005 *Collapse: How societies choose to fail or succeed.* New York: Penguin.

Douglas, Mary
1966 *Purity and danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Gouda, Frances
1996 *Dutch culture overseas: Colonial practice in the Netherlands Indies, 1900–1942.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam Univ. Press.

Hau'ofa, 'Epeli
1994 Our sea of islands. *The Contemporary Pacific* 6:148–61.

Kristeva, Julia
1982 [1980] *Powers of horror: An essay on abjection,* trans. Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

Said, Edward W.
1978 *Orientalism.* New York: Vintage.

Salmond, Anne
2008 Voyaging exchanges: Tahitian pilots and European navigators. In *Canoes of the grand ocean,* ed. Anne Di Piazza and Erik Pearthree, 23–46. Oxford, UK: Archeopress.

Smith, Bernard
1989 *European vision and the South Pacific, 1768–1850: A study in the history of art and ideas,* 2nd ed. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.

Stoler, Ann L.
1995 *Race and the education of desire: Foucault's history of sexuality and the colonial order of things.* Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press.

Tengan, Ty Kāwika
2008 *Native men remade: Gender and nation in contemporary Hawai'i.* Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press.

Webster, E. M.
1985 *The moon man: A biography of Miklouho-Maclay.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

CONTRIBUTORS

Nancy Lutkehaus, University of Southern California. Email: lutkehau@usc.edu.

Judith Schachter, Carnegie Mellon University. Email: jm1e@andrew.cmu.edu.

Maria Lepowsky, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Email: lepowsky@wisc.edu.

Laurence M. Carucci, Montana State University. Email: amaca@montana.edu.

David Lipset, University of Minnesota. Email: lipse001@umn.edu.

Guido Carlo Pigliasco, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Email: guido@hawaii.edu.

Juliana Flinn, University of Arkansas at Little Rock. Email: jbflinn@ualr.edu.

Wolfgang Kempf, University of Goettingen. Email: wkempf@uni-goettingen.de.

Sarina Pearson, University of Auckland. Email: s.pearson@auckland.ac.nz.

Kirsten McGavin, University of Queensland. Email: kmcgavin@uq.edu.au.

Niko Besnier, University of Amsterdam. Email: n.besnier@uva.nl.

Pacific Studies, Vol. 38, Nos. 1/2—Apr./Aug. 2015