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PACIFIC STUDIES

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ʻIOLANI PALACE: SPACES OF KINGSHIP IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY HAWAIʻI

Stacy L. Kamehiro
University of California, Santa Cruz

This paper explores indigenous colonial architectural patronage in Hawaiʻi through King David Kalākaua's building project, ʻIolani Palace, which constituted the political center of Hawaiʻi during the last decades of the sovereign monarchy and into the twentieth century when Hawaiʻi became an American state. This paper examines intersections of global socio-political forces and indigenous agency and suggests that the design, purpose and location of the palace projected an image of Hawaiʻi as a modern independent nation vis-à-vis other enlightened nations while it also functioned as a sacred chiefly structure that presented the king as a legitimate political and religious authority in Hawaiian terms.

Introduction: Cross-Cultural Translations*

AN EMBLEM OF HAWAIIAN HISTORY AND POLITICAL AUTHORITY since the late nineteenth century, ʻIolani Palace (built 1879–1882), located in Honolulu on the island of Oʻahu, has been a constant central fixture in the political and cultural theater of Hawaiʻi. Alternatively described as "American Florentine," "American Composite," and "French Rococo" in style (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* [*PCA*] 24 September 1881; Farrell 1936, 21) (Fig. 1), this palace served as mònarchical seat from 1883–1893 during the reigns of King David Kalākaua (r. 1874–1891) and his successor Queen Lydia Liliʻuokalani (r. 1891–1893). It later functioned as the legislative halls and executive offices for the Provisional Government that overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 and established the Republic of Hawaiʻi in 1894 and

FIGURE 1. **'Iolani Palace, Honolulu, O'ahu.** Photograph S. L. Kamehiro, 2001.

continued as the administrative center of the Territory of Hawai'i upon annexation of the region by the United States in 1898. When Hawai'i became the fiftieth American state in 1959, 'Iolani Palace remained the political center until a new State Capitol building was erected nearby in 1969. In the 1970s, the building was restored and, in 1978, was opened to the public as a historic house museum. Despite the fact that 'Iolani Palace persists as a key symbol of Hawaiian history and culture, providing the site for sovereignty events and commemorations of royalty and Hawaiian history, few critical analyses of this structure have been published.[1]

It may well be that late nineteenth-century Hawaiian architecture and indigenous architectural patronage, more generally, have not received significant art historical attention due, in part, to the notion that after a century of contact with non-Hawaiians beginning in the late eighteenth century, indigenous visual culture was too Westernized to be "authentically" Hawaiian. The dearth of scholarly attention paid to colonial Hawaiian visual culture suggests that, because of its clear and pervasive Western references, it has been dismissed as evidence of the decline of "traditional" Native culture and its assimilation into global cultural, economic, and political systems. Based on similar assumptions about the hegemony of colonial culture, some descriptions of introduced influences on indigenous cultures attribute the ultimate loss of local autonomy to the indigenous people themselves; their "fatal

attraction" to irresistible foreign goods originating in initial encounters (see Thomas 1991, 85–87). While the far-reaching impact of colonialism cannot and should not be ignored, Hawaiian cultural forms, nationalist or other, did not simply or inevitably adopt forms resembling those of a "dominant" culture due to ideological coercion (see Thomas 1991, 83–84). The language of coercion and domination, fatal attraction, and naïve acquiescence does not satisfactorily characterize cultural change and exchange in Hawai'i or other colonial cultures.

Interpreting colonialism and its ensuing cultural transformations primarily in terms of globalization relies too heavily on metahistorical narratives that "reduce the heterogeneity and contradictions in the world of the colonizers while ignoring the practical effect of the colonial discourse on those colonized" (Merle 1997, 131). These political economy interpretations emphasize how political and cultural bodies are incorporated into the world system, underscoring global economies and inequities. Colonial processes were highly variable in the Pacific; they were conditioned by the nature and motivations of both colonizing and colonized entities and the agency of key actors in creating environments conducive to collaboration or resistance (Munro 1993, 120–121; see Thomas 1997, 46, 51). In other words, Western capitalism and culture did not expand, and were not received, uniformly (Eisenstadt 1973, 95–115; Grimshaw 1997, 124; Linnekin 1991, 209). Anthropologist Nicholas Thomas (1994, 8–9) points out that much early scholarship on postcolonialism, inspired largely by Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), presented a totalizing view of colonization, much in the same way that world system approaches represent global forces as over-determining. Without carefully acknowledging the cultural and historical specificity of colonial cultures, some postcolonial theorists assumed a monolithic narrative that homogenized all colonial predicaments and processes. Elaborating on this notion, historian Patricia Grimshaw (1997, 124) states: "Failing to ground their observations in the specificities of historical situations, with all their particular contestations and ambiguities, . . .colonial theorists have colluded in the creation of a story that disguises much that it purports to explain."[2]

One must be wary of overprivileging colonial agency and ignoring the possibility that indigenous expressions respond to phenomena other than those imposed externally. Indigenous populations did react to colonial presences, but this is not the sum of their cultural and political sensibilities. Hawaiian nationalist culture was not exclusively dichotomized along the lines of Hawai'i *"versus"* the West, nor did it position the West as "the best" (i.e., the only model worthy of consideration). Furthermore, Hawaiian society was never unmarked by internal social cleavages and political contests and cannot, therefore, be understood as an undivided, homogenous entity with a unified

will and subjectivity. At the same time, "culturalist" or "structural historical" approaches to syncretic cultural processes, which prioritize symbolic structures of meaning and action existing prior to contact to explain local response (Linnekin 1991, 205–207), are also inadequate; these fail to account for the interpretative changes in objects and ideas that occur with prolonged cultural interaction. Because this interpretive strategy confines actors "within the nativist space of enduring traditional categories, capable only of assimilating novel context to preexisting forms" (Thomas 1997, 38), structural history cannot adequately explain processes and products of cultural change and translation.

Focusing on 'Iolani Palace located in Honolulu, Hawai'i, this study emphasizes the critical and conditional relationships between local subjectivity, indigenous agency and global dynamics in the production of visual and spatial cultural forms. Kalākaua (1836–1891) initiated this architectural commission during his rule as the constitutional monarch of the independent Hawaiian nation. He was a high chief whose ancestors had served Kamehameha I (c.1758–1819), the first ruler of the unified Hawaiian archipelago. Kalākaua sought to instill a sense of cultural and national pride among the Native population, notably through the visual, verbal, and performing arts. In fact, his reign has been described as "The First Hawaiian Renaissance" (Buck 1993, 110).

In part, this king's nation-building projects, in general, and the building of 'Iolani Palace, in particular, responded to intensifying European and American colonizing activities during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Prior to this time, the major colonial powers in the region—France, England, and the United States—had maintained an informal presence.[3] The impetus to gain formal colonies escalated when Germany entered the region as a colonial power in the 1880s, causing other nations to make definitive territorial claims (Munro 1993, 115–117). The ensuing annexations and partitions unsettled Native Hawaiian leaders, especially in light of the growing foreign population in Hawai'i and threats of annexation by the United States. At the same time, the symbols of chiefliness formalized in 'Iolani Palace directly addressed the internal cleavage in Hawaiian politics involving competing chiefly lineages. Since the late eighteenth century, the Kamehameha kings had ruled Hawai'i. Upon the death of King William Charles Lunalilo, grandson of a half-brother to Kamehameha I, in 1874, no royal successor had been named, leading to the need to elect a subsequent ruler from an eligible pool of high-ranking chiefs. When Kalākaua announced his candidacy for the kingship, and even following his election, competing chiefs (namely Kamehameha descendents and supporters who believed the throne rightly

belonged to them) contested his right to rule. Their arguments were based on genealogical seniority; rivals argued that Kalākaua lacked sufficient genealogical purity to properly lead the Hawaiian people. Much of Kalākaua's national cultural program served to address this opposition.

Addressing the inadequacy of interpreting colonial architectural production and cultural change as simply reactive, rather than active and deliberate, responses to historical and colonial processes, this paper suggests that, through the function and location of his palace, as well as the design, embellishments, and technological innovations incorporated into the structure, Kalākaua made manifest his vision of himself as both an internationally recognized ruler (to counter colonial threats to Hawaiian sovereignty) and an exalted political and religious authority in Hawaiian terms (as a response to political divisions internal to the Native Hawaiian chiefly community). Kalākaua's 'Iolani Palace is best understood in the context of global historical and cultural conditions in conjunction with local systems of meaning and political agendas.

'Iolani Palace as National and International Symbol

'Iolani Palace is the structure Kalākaua built to replace a smaller royal building of the same name erected in 1844 and used by Kings Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli), IV (Alexander Liholiho), and V (Lota Kapuāiwa), Lunalilo, and Kalākaua (Chang et al. 1977, 17; Friends of 'Iolani Palace [FIP] 1972, 1).[4] While many commentators attribute Kalākaua's aspirations to erect a palace to his desire to match the grand elegance of the royal courts he visited in 1881 during his world tour,[5] it was in the planning stages well before his departure; upon accepting his royal office in 1874, Kalākaua immediately made arrangements for his new palace (Jay 1992, 25; Peterson 1963, 96). He instructed architect Robert Lishman (1831–1902) of Sydney, Australia, to make plans to substantially renovate the existing building in 1874,[6] but the 1878 Hawaiian Legislature appropriated $50,000 for a new royal home (Kuykendall 1956, 204).

Built of plastered brick and iron with concrete block trimmings, 'Iolani Palace is a heavy rectangular structure (the ground plan[7] is 120 feet by 140 feet) of two main levels plus an attic and a basement. Four towers, each approximately 60 feet high, flank the deep verandas (which encircle the second and third stories) and towers 80 feet high are located at the front and rear entrances. A square campanile with concave outlines caps each tower and Corinthian columns line the two main levels. A 6-foot wide trench resembling a moat encloses the base, providing the basement with light and

air (*PCA* 3 January 1880; Taylor 1927, 27). Several architects and builders contributed to the design of the palace. Thomas J. Baker prepared the original plan in 1879 and estimated costs to be $65,000 (Judd 1975, 119). After Baker was discharged, Charles J. Wall finished the drawings and continued the work during 1880. With Robert and Stirling and Edward Bedford Thomas, Isaac Moore completed the project and corrected many of the errors created by the previous builders.[8] George Lucas supervised the carpentry, using fine imported (e.g., American walnut and white cedar) and Hawaiian (*koa*, *kou*, *kamani*, and *'ohi'a*) woods. The sophisticated mansard roofs and the detailed brickwork, moldings, and wrought-iron were completed in time for Kalākaua's coronation ceremony on 12 February 1883, for which the palace served as centerpiece.

The building was considered a symbol of great national importance and, therefore, worthy of great expenditures. Royalist supporters believed Kalākaua required an abode suitable to his high station. Before its completion, the *Advertiser* (24 September 1881) published a description of the palace stating: "There is a promise that our Sovereign will be provided with apartments suitable for the reception of the distinguished personages he is from time to time called upon to entertain, and with a residence suitable to his position and dignity." Backers of the king desired to produce the most accomplished architectural monument in the kingdom, one that would rival the great mansions of the highly successful resident *haole* (white, or foreign) businessmen. The *PCA* (3 January 1880), a pro-government newspaper, announced, ". . .it will be in all respects by far the finest and most imposing building in the Islands, an honor and ornament to our capital city, and a fitting abode for Royalty." Kalākaua's vision of nationhood did not picture Hawai'i enduring as a separate or secluded island state, but instead was premised on Hawai'i's right to join the international community of nations. The planners of 'Iolani Palace believed an internationally recognized king and nation should have a political center comparable to those of other states. 'Iolani Palace also functioned to prove the wealth and achievements of the kingdom. Economic prosperity, stimulated by the 1875 Reciprocity Treaty that allowed Hawaiian sugar to be sold in the United States duty-free, enabled the funding of the new building (and encouraged infrastructural expansion in general). Kalākaua celebrated the success of the kingdom through the ostentatious palace and the extravagant display of expensive decorations and interior fittings (see Neil 1972, 14–16).

The building was truly intended as a symbol of cosmopolitanism meant to attract international attention. Its profusion of gold leaf, silks, satins, fine China, exotic wood furnishings, and gifts from Queen Victoria, Napoleon III,

and other European rulers, which had been received by Kalākaua and his predecessors, contributed to this effect (Hackler 1993, 12; Hoover 1994; Taylor 1927, 39, 45). Complementing the palace's ambiance of internationalism were the decorations of foreign orders bestowed upon Kalākaua by Japan, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Spain, Italy, Venezuela, Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, Portugal, and Thailand. These hung on the walls of the Throne Room,[9] displayed with the Hawaiian Royal Orders. Each decoration was mounted on escutcheons in gilded oval frames, surmounted by Hawai'i's and each nation's coat of arms. Portraits of rulers and notable individuals from Hawai'i and foreign states (such as Rear Admiral Richard D. Thomas, Lord Beaconsfield, and William Gladstone of Great Britain; Alexander II of Russia; Napoleon III and Louis Philippe of France; and Frederick William III of Prussia), juxtaposed with likenesses of Hawaiian chiefs and royalty,[10] adorned the walls of the Dining Room and Grand Hall. Corresponding to the European tradition of representing royal lineages through the display of portraits, Kalakaua's display of foreign royal portraits along with his own (and his family and chiefly predecessors) established him as part of this international royal lineage—he was their heir and equal.

Kalākaua played an active role in planning and furnishing the palace. Correspondence housed in the State Archives of Hawai'i indicate the degree to which the king was involved with the preparation of the palace, from the overall design to the smallest details (e.g., furniture, dishes, towels, etc.).[11] He carefully selected furnishings and materials from Europe, the United States, Asia, and the Middle East during his World Tour of 1881 and, at the time of his coronation, ordered art works and portraits for the palace (Hackler 1971, 39–49; *PCA* 17 June 1882; Stone 1963, 42). The king incorporated technical innovations and modern inventions such as the use of concrete blocks (which was fairly new to masons throughout the world),[12] sheet glass, a telephone system (the first in Honolulu), modern indoor plumbing, and electric lighting ('Iolani had electricity before the White House or Buckingham Palace; Daws 1980, 152; Hackler 1993, 7–8).

'Iolani Palace was the proper center for the cosmopolitan city of Honolulu. Contemporary Hawaiian publications described Honolulu in the 1880s as no longer a "small city, or a one-horse town" but, rather, "a modern city, laid out upon the best American and European plans" (*Paradise of the Pacific* 1888; see *Honolulu Business Directory* 1888). The palace, then, served as a political center in a modern city and a modern state. It pronounced the place of the Hawaiian nation in the world order. Kalākaua's building formed a part of his efforts to preserve Hawai'i as an independent nation and to make it visible to all.

Chiefly Structures and Sacred Spaces

While the 'Iolani Palace could boast of its international style and furnishings and its modern building fabrication, it nonetheless was a *Hawaiian chiefly* structure. The forms, functions, and significations of indigenous architecture must, therefore, be carefully considered in an analysis of the palace. The homes of chiefs were distinguished by height and girth according to rank (Charlot 1979, 27). Descriptions of domiciles in Lahaina, Maui, from the first quarter of the nineteenth century, for instance, indicate that the homes of lower-ranking families were only 4 to 6 feet high, while chiefs' residences were 18 to 20 feet high (Stewart 1828, 128, 137). *Pou hana*, denoting the ridge post, indicated a person's status in figurative speech and suggests the intimate social identification between a chief and his or her house (Buck 1957, 86; Charlot 1979, 27). Similar to Ali'iolani Hale, a structure erected in 1874 intended to serve as a royal residence but used instead as the kingdom's administrative center, 'Iolani Palace towered over the surrounding buildings and perhaps was intended to be the tallest building in the kingdom. An architectural manifestation of the theme of "heights" expressed in poetry, 'Iolani's elevation allegorized superior chiefly status (Charlot 1979, 28–30; Brigham 1899, 58). And, like other chiefly homes, the palace possessed a name and spiritual identity.

Kalākaua retained the name adopted by his nativist predecessor Kamehameha V (1830–1872) for the former 'Iolani Palace. Kamehameha V chose "'Iolani" because it signified the *io*, a species of hawk endemic to the island of Hawai'i, the homeland of great chiefs and, therefore, itself symbolic of chiefs (Pukui et al. 1975, 57; Taylor 1927, 8). The high flight of this hawk, likewise, denoted the elevated status of chiefs; it soared so high it was believed to be "all-seeing" and able to engage the realm of the gods (Farrell 1936, 13). Kamehameha V originally entertained the name "St. Alexander Place," after his brother and royal predecessor Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV, 1834–1863) but, in 1863, selected 'Iolani—one of Alexander Liholiho's Hawaiian names. Kamehameha II (Liholiho, 1796–1824) also possessed this name, given to him by his father Kamehameha I (Pukui et al. 1974, 56–57; Taylor 1927, 8). Thus, the appellation contained genealogical reference, alluding to a renowned ruling dynasty.

The palace grounds resembled a *kauhale*, a chiefly residential building complex frequently surrounded by a fence or wall (Fig. 2). In addition to the homes of chiefs and retainers, buildings in a kauhale had specialized functions: temple (*heiau*), men's eating house (*hale mua*),[13] women's eating house (*hale 'aina*), sleeping house (*hale moe*), menstrual house (*hale pea*), storage building (*hale hoahu* or *hale papa'a*), work house (*hale kuku*), and so on (see

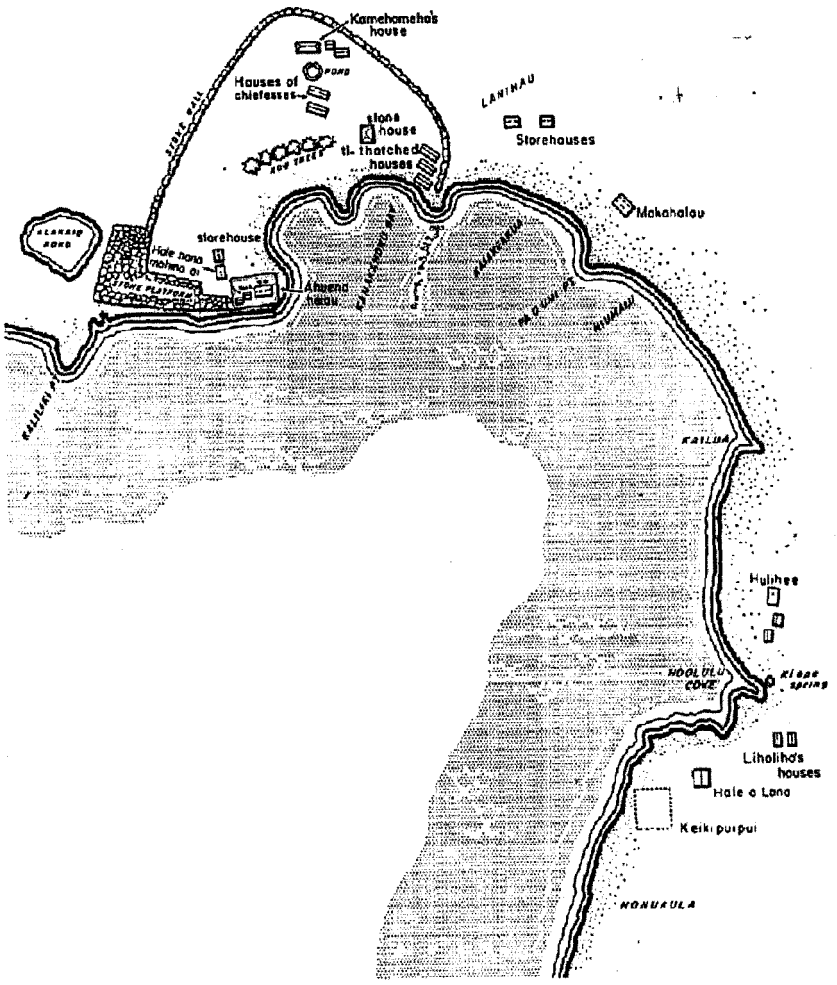

FIGURE 2. **Kamakahonu, the chiefly compound (*kauhale*) of King Kamehameha I, 1813–1819. Map by Paul Rockwood.** From 'I'i 1959. Bishop Museum.

Kirch 1985, 6). The 'Iolani building complex was similarly comprised of multiple buildings on its grounds that were enclosed by an 8-foot high coral block wall. In addition to the palace, there was a 10-room personal residence used by the royal family called Hale Ākala.[14] Since the time of the Kamehamehas, many chiefs maintained homes in and near the 'Iolani

enclosure (Allen 1978, 9; Taylor 1927, 11–12).[15] Walter Coote, a visitor to Honolulu in 1879, described the early palace complex as a walled compound containing a dozen wood structures, one of which belonged to Kalākaua (Coote 1882, 91–92).

The palace building itself adapted some of the roles of both the hale mua (men's eating house) and temple. In traditional chiefly compounds, the size of the hale mua indicated the chief's rank and served as an audience chamber as well as a space in which men prepared and ate their foods. Markers called *pūlo'ulo'u*, sticks or spears surmounted by a bark-cloth covered ball that warned passersby against trespass (Daggett 1990, 33; Rose 1980, 167), distinguished the hale mua as a sacred, restricted (*kapu*) space. Like an eating house, 'Iolani Palace's size and the rows of kapu markers capping the second story verandah railings (Fig. 3), which were designed by Kalākaua[16] and cast by the Honolulu Iron Works, marked the building as a sacred space, intended for more formal and "official" uses such as state dinners and receptions (see Charlot 1979, 30). Added some time in the 1880s, cast-iron lamps flanking the bases of the stairways leading to the front and rear entrance vestibules amplified the reference to sacred space; each capped by three round glass globes, the lamps resemble pūlo'ulo'u and have pūlo'ulo'u motifs cast around their shafts (Figs. 1,4).[17]

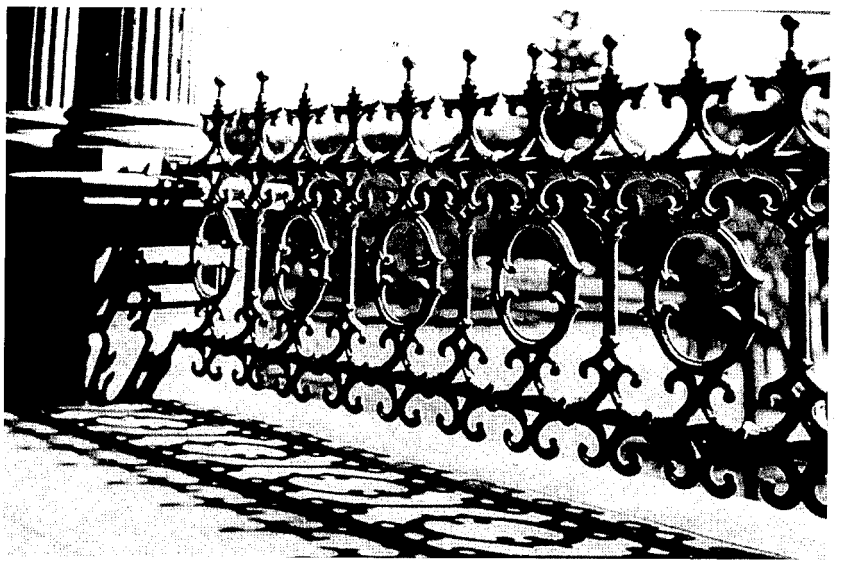

FIGURE 3. **Second story verandah railings with *pūlo'ulo'u* motif.** Photograph by J. Boucher. State Archives of Hawai'i.

FIGURE 4. **Detail of lamppost showing *pūlo'ulo'u* design.** Photograph by S. L. Kamehiro, 2001.

Furthermore, Kalākaua and his queen (Kapi'olani) did not live in the palace, but preferred to reside in an adjacent building, the Hale 'Ākala (Allen 1978, 20; Horton 1978, 25; see Fig. 5). Hale 'Ākala was the modern adaptation of the sleeping house (hale moe) found in traditional chiefly compounds (Malo 1951, 29). Previous rulers also reserved their palace buildings for public functions, simultaneously maintaining more modest living quarters. Kings Kamehameha III, IV, and V and Lunalilo lived in small cottages in their chiefly enclosures, surrounded by the dwelling structures of their retainers (Farrell 1936, 14; Hackler 1993, 3; Neil 1972, 13), but entertained and held audiences in their main palace structures. At other locations in the Hawaiian Islands, high chiefs built or owned Western-styled structures, but actually lived in smaller wood or traditional grass homes. Ruth Ke'elikōlani (of the Kamehameha line of chiefs), for example, inherited the Western-styled Hulihe'e Palace in Kona (which was originally part of Kamehameha I's royal compound); although she entertained and housed visitors at this palace, she lived in the large grass house adjacent (Jay 1992, 26–29; Swenson and Midkiff 1979, 12). When Kalākaua visited Ruth, he ate at the palace but slept in Ruth's grass house (Swenson and Midkiff 1979, 13), suggesting that late nineteenth-century chiefs did in fact perceive palaces as somewhat analogous to the traditional hale mua (eating house), and the dwelling building to the

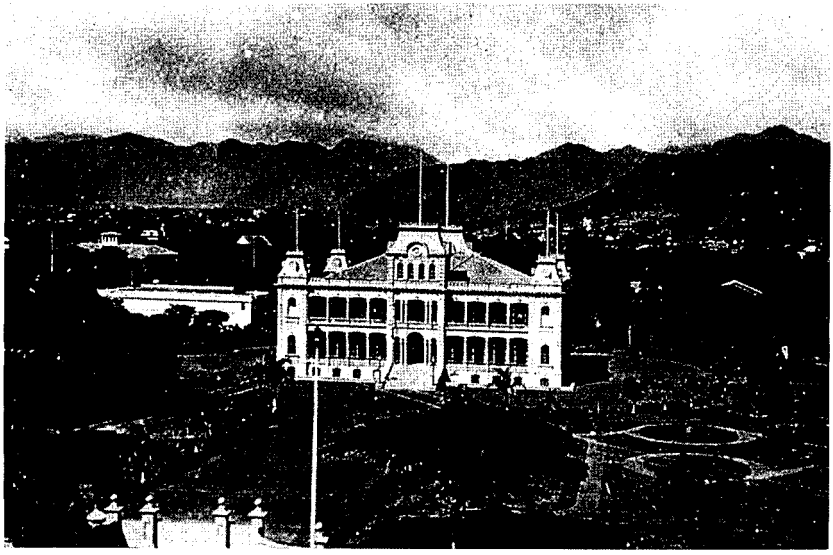

FIGURE 5. **'Iolani Palace, Honolulu, O'ahu, mid-1880s. Hale 'Ākala is located to the left of the Palace.** State Archives of Hawai'i.

hale moe (sleeping house). 'Iolani Palace and Hale 'Ākala continued such functional distinctions, as the former accommodated state receptions and events while the latter provided a more informal residence.

Like a chiefly compound, a tall wall defined the perimeter of the 'Iolani Palace grounds. This heavy 8-foot high coral block wall was reminiscent of pre- and early contact period chiefly enclosures, which were carefully selected and closed off as *kapu*, sacred areas (see Fig. 2) (Charlot 1979, 27, 30). Moreover, the wall incorporated vertical pillars surmounted by stone spheres, another manifestation of pūlo'ulo'u (Fig. 5). On special occasions, such as the King's return from his World Tour, the gateways were decorated and crowned with an arch. This post and arch construction resembled the doors of pre- and early contact chiefly homes. Such doors were framed on each side by vertical posts, capped by an arch or crescent, denoted by the term *hoaka* (Kamakau in Buck 1957, 100–101). The palace's entrance vestibules and doorways (Figs. 1, 6) shared a similar construction, having two posts capped with an arch. Hoaka was intimately associated with chiefs; it denoted "glory," "bright," and "splendid" in Hawaiian verbal and visual language, offering a poetic and visual metaphor for the revered genealogy of chiefs (Kaeppler 1985, 109). Tom Cummins (1984, 7–13) argues that crescent motifs so prevalent on Hawaiian feather cloaks referred to the arching form of a rainbow,

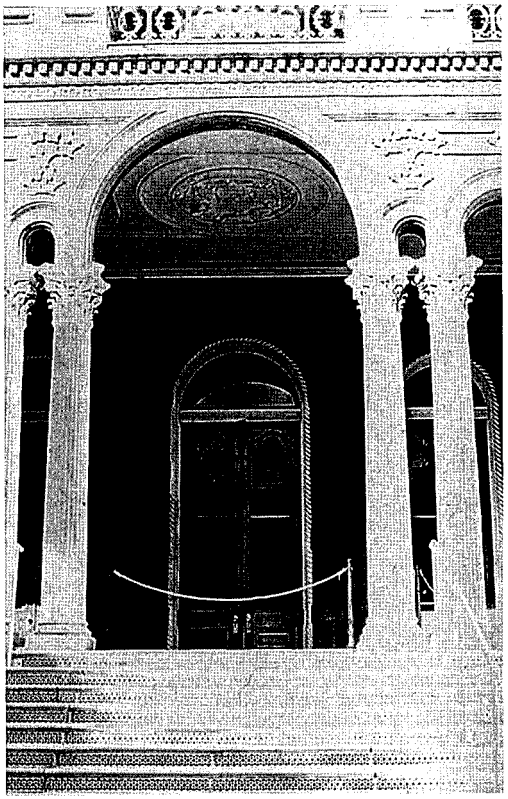

FIGURE 6. **Arched vestibule and entrance of 'Iolani Palace.** Photograph by S. L. Kamehiro, 2001.

which in turn signified high chiefs and the chiefly kin relations that produced the highest-ranking offspring. Similarly, E. S. Craighill Handy (1965, 41) interprets the shape of feather cloaks as inverted crescents and suggests that great chiefs were identified through their cloaks or capes, images of inverted rainbows representing "the sign of the alii's [(chief's)] magnetism, power and sacredness." Kaeppler (1982), likewise, sees hoaka as a key aesthetic concept and form in Hawaiian sculpted figures and drums. Arched forms seem to have been the prerogative of chiefs, and those featured on feather garments and sculpture conveyed similar meanings to arches found in architecture. Not to discount the prevalence of arched portals in contemporary Western architecture, this formal element may have had multiple significations in Hawai'i, providing a modern translation of the arched door. In view of the

nationalist and nativist sentiments evoked by the palace, it is not surprising to find that a mid-nineteenth-century Hawaiian-English dictionary supplied this additional translation of hoaka: "Glory, as of a people, i.e., their liberty; freedom" (Andrews 2003, 160).

As noted above, the palace adapted, to some extent, the symbolic function of a temple. As Polynesian Religious Studies scholar John Charlot observes, the site for 'Iolani Palace was meaningfully selected for religious and political reasons, as were earlier chiefly structures. Building locations were "chosen by experts versed in ritual and codes for reading the meaning of the land. The house itself was built by other experts. A series of ceremonies marked the stages through completion and dedication" (Charlot 1979, 27).[18] A public address written by Chief Justice and Privy Council member C. G. Harris, followed by a more detailed speech in Hawaiian presented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs John M. Kapena[19] during the Masonic cornerstone laying ceremony for the new palace, made explicit the sacred and chiefly associations held by the palace location (Harris 1880; Kapena 1879). The speakers not only detailed the previous notable residents of the site but stated that the palace was believed to be situated on the site of an ancient temple, or *heiau*, called Ka'ahaimauli (see Black 1981, 18; Chang et al. 1977, 19; FIP 1972, 1–2).[20] Building a chiefly structure on a sacred temple site was not uncommon; Kaniakapupu (c.1843), Kamehameha III's country residence in Nu'uanu (northwest of the palace), was also constructed over an ancient heiau and chief Kekūanaō'a's home in the 'Iolani grounds, Hanailoia, was located on Ka'ahaimauli itself (Jay 1992, 19; Kapena 1879).

The palace's lateral axis intersects the line of sight between the ocean and the great temple site Pūowaina (today commonly known as Punchbowl; see Fig. 7), a kapu volcanic crater setting where human sacrifices were formerly conducted (Charlot 1979, 30; Pukui et al. 1975, 195). Heiau were abundant in pre- and early contact Honolulu (Kamakau 1976, 144). In addition to the great temples of Pūowaina and Ka'ahaimauli, two other temples were located nearby—Kanela'au and Mana; these heiau, which acted as the outposts for the main temple at Pūowaina, may have extended into the 'Iolani grounds. The heiau at Mana was situated about one-half block from the palace. Its name translates as "supernatural, or divine, power" and also refers to a specific type of heiau. In earlier times, human sacrifices were first drowned then taken to Kanela'au and later to an altar at the summit of Pūowaina (Sterling and Summers 1978, 291). Sacrificial victims were those who transgressed either of the two main divisions of *kapu* (prohibitions)—kapu of the gods (*kapu akua*) and the godly kapu of chiefs (*kapu akua ali'i*) of the three highest ranks. These chiefs were considered "chief gods" (*poe' akua*) or "god chiefs" (*ali'i akua*). If their kapu were breached, the violators were burned. Those

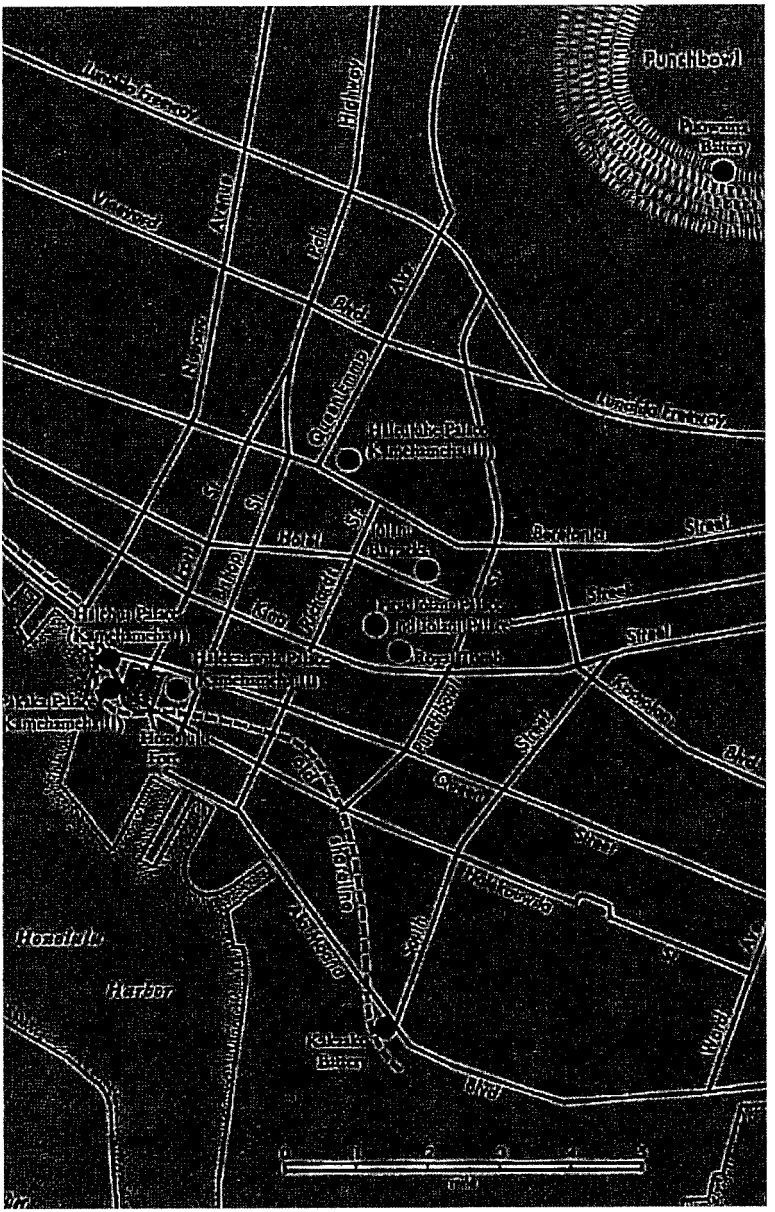

FIGURE 7. **Map of present-day Honolulu showing approximate locations of ten historic structures.** Map by James A. Bier. From Judd 1975. Pacific Books, Palo Alto, CA.

who defied the kapu of gods were also burned (Kamakau 1991, 25). Human sacrifices appeased the gods of the ruling chief (Kelsey n.d., 819; Lyons 1901, 192; McAllister 1933, 82). Its setting among a series of important temple sites informed the meaning of the palace in light of Kalākaua's nativist-nationalist agenda. By associating himself, through his palace, with sacrosanct spaces and restrictive chiefly prohibitions, he presented himself as a political and religious leader of the highest station, countering the claims of his Native detractors.

Considered the greatest class of temples, *heiau po'o kanaka* were frequently built between shore and mountain ranges on former temple sites. Rituals performed at such heiau served to increase the population, enhance public health, preserve peace, and secure success at war (Kamakau 1865 in Stokes 1991, 33). Like a heiau po'o kanaka, 'Iolani Palace was situated on a plain between the mountains and the sea (Figs. 5, 7) and was built on or near at least one temple site, reinforcing the identity of the palace as a modern translation of a heiau (see Charlot 1979, 31).[21] In the traditional Hawaiian religio-political system, the paramount ruler was a trained ritual specialist who was required to perform the necessary temple rites securing the productivity of the land and people. The chief was the intermediary between the people and the gods, and the welfare of all depended on him (or her). Chiefliness was contingent upon the productive channeling of *mana*, a dynamic force associated with power and authority that originates from divine sources (see Pukui and Elbert 1986, 235) and is necessary for maintaining a thriving world. Good chiefs were generous, kind, and supportive of their people. They maintained fishponds, irrigation systems, temples, etc., for the benefit of the chiefdom. The rule of bad chiefs resulted in disaster; they were cruel, self-serving, and prone to overthrow (Linnekin 1991, 223–224).

Kalākaua's palace resonated with indigenous conceptions of good chiefly rule. Possessing the right to officiate in a temple as both a chief and a priest was one of the indications that a person was of sacred status and, therefore, a true leader (Beckwith 1970, 376). Kalākaua himself was a recognized priest (*kahuna*), known (and criticized by some) for reviving traditional religious practices. In erecting the palace as a temple linked to historic sacred sites, Kalākaua continued the time-honored practice of building sacred structures for the chiefdom's (the nation's) welfare. This was a particularly timely and profound expression of *aloha* by the king to his people. Since the 1819 overthrow of the kapu system (the former religious order), many major religious sites had been destroyed or neglected, replaced by architectural monuments such as the Kawaiaha'o Church,[22] and during the course of the nineteenth century Native Hawaiians felt increasingly alienated from their chiefs (see

Osorio 2002). 'Iolani Palace conveyed what Thomas (1994, 155) considers to be the most important element of Polynesian chieftainship: "a kind of auspiciousness manifest especially in agricultural fertility and more broadly in successful fishing and good health." Presenting himself as priest-king presiding in his temple-palace, Kalākaua demonstrated his role as a true and able Hawaiian ruler.

Through 'Iolani Palace's symbolic location and visual elements, the king countered the claims of his Native opponents and effectively portrayed himself as a "good chief" of sacred pedigree, worthy of rule. The imagery in the arched, etched sheet-crystal panels of the front and rear portal transoms specifically manifest these conceptions of the king (Fig. 8). Clusters of taro leaves flank the central image in the transoms. Taro (*kalo, Colocasia esculenta*) was a Hawaiian staple, deemed "the staff of life," and was designated the national dish. The taro leaf motif referenced the chief as the source of life. As the progenitor of the people and the land, the chief's descent from the gods—the divine course of life—was also denoted by the taro symbol (Bishop 1958, 12). At the center of the glass panel was the Hawaiian coat of arms. The scroll forming its lower border bears an early version of the national motto: "Ua mau ka [ke] ea o ka 'aina i ka pono," which translates as "The life breath of the land has endured through rightness," portraying Hawaiian kings as "good chiefs."[23] The taro motif and national motto were surmounted by an arch, hoaka; the images are meaningfully juxtaposed, as together they formalize the chief's divine ancestry (hoaka) necessary to maintain the prosperity of the land and people (taro).

The inclusion of the area known as Pohukaina contributed to the perception of 'Iolani Palace as a sacred space. Pohukaina was the residence and birthplace of high chiefs[24] and a famous chiefly burial site, also known as "The Royal Tomb." Chiefly birth and residence sites were considered hallowed ground, retaining the mana of the chiefs with which they were associated. As a chiefly burial site, Pohukaina resonated with extraordinary mana as well. Kapena spoke to this fact in his address delivered during the palace cornerstone laying ceremony. The tomb was a coral block building with a single entrance and no windows. Kamehameha II and his favorite wife Kamamalu were interred here in 1825 after their bodies were returned from London, where they died in 1824. Ka'ahumanu (Premier, or *kuhina nui*, and Kamehameha I's favorite wife, d.1832), Kamehameha III (d.1854), Abner Paki (a Kamehameha descendent and father of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, d. 1855), Kamehameha IV (d. 1863), and others were buried in the tomb with lesser chiefs interred nearby (Farrell 1936, 46; O'Brien 1949, 24). The body of John Young (c.1749–1835), advisor (of British descent) to Kamehameha I and governor of several of the islands, was placed at the entrance to the tomb

FIGURE 8. **Etched sheet crystal entrances to 'Iolani Palace.** Photograph by George Bacon, 'Iolani Palace Collection. Photo courtesy The Friends of 'Iolani Palace.

in 1835.[25] Although the bodies were later moved to the larger Royal Mausoleum in a midnight torchlight procession on 30 October 1865 (*The Friend* November 1865; *PCA* 4 November 1865), other ancestral relics were believed to be located at the burial site, including the bones of an ancient chief brought from the famous heiau Hale o Keawe on the island of Hawai'i (FIP 1972, 2). Kalākaua restricted access to the area to prevent desecration of the ancestral remains and ordered it to be planted with ferns and flowers (Hackler 1993, 29–30).[26]

Pohukaina also referenced the secret chiefly burial cave of legendary fame on O'ahu. Considered a hiding cave (*ana huna*), Pohukaina cave was concealed to protect the chiefly remains and possessions stored therein from defilement (Kamakau 1964, 38; Sterling and Summers 1978, 175–176). The primary cave entrances are at Ka'a'awa in the Ko'olauloa District on the windward side of the island. These were said to be connected to others at Kalihi, Pū'iwa, Ha'ilikulamanu, and elsewhere in the Kona District to the south (*Ke Au Hou*, 28 June 1911). Additional entrances in other O'ahu districts were described as connected by underground passages. Native Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau indicated people could traverse the island through these caves, and legendary narratives described the supernatural geography here (see Kamakau 1870; Kamakau 1964, 38–39; Sterling and Summers 1978, 152, 175–176). Concerning the 'Iolani site, ethno-historical sources identify an underground entrance to the cave in the Pohukaina area of the palace compound, possibly linked to the old Royal Tomb (McAllister 1933; Sterling and Summers 1978, 176). The palace was, therefore, physically and conceptually connected with sites related to both the welfare of the living (i.e., heiau) and the past (i.e., chiefly births and burials).

'Iolani Palace itself incorporated hallowed materials containing rich historical reference, further contributing to its sacred quality. Kalākaua brought stones from Kūki'i heiau in Puna, Hawai'i to Honolulu in 1877 to be included in the foundation of the palace (Pukui et al. 1974, 57, 121). Kūki'i was located in an area noted for its volcanic activity—a location hosting numerous temple sites (James 1995, 61). 'Umi, Kalākaua's heroic ancestor of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, was credited with building Kūki'i during an era of peace and prosperity in his chiefdom. Establishing his kin relation to 'Umi, and ultimately his divine genealogy, was vital to Kalākaua's efforts to legitimize his claim to the throne. In 1889, for instance, Kalākaua published the *Kumulipo*, a genealogical chant of over 2,000 lines that records the divine ancestry of the great chief Lonoikamakahiki, from whom Kalākaua claimed descent, to 'Umi (see Beckwith 1970, 310–313; Kamakau 1991, 155–56; Kamakau 1992, 1–21). 'Umi was famous for his fishing, farming, and circuiting his chiefdom with the intention of developing industry and public

works. He was also recognized for his piety, which, in part, was evidenced by his erecting and refurbishing of many heiau.[27] 'Umi's heiau, such as that at Kūki'i, were distinguished from other temples by the use of hewn stones, for which this chief became famous (Fornander 1996, 100–101). At the turn of the century, Native informants told ethnologist John F. G. Stokes (1991, 152) the stones making up the platform of Kūki'i heiau were very carefully cut and closely laid, reflecting not only a significant architectural accomplishment but also 'Umi's control of labor and resources and the peaceful and productive nature of his reign, which allowed for the undertaking of intensive, well-crafted projects. 'Umi may have believed that this building innovation was pleasing to the gods, since "[a]ncient Hawaiians assumed that the *akua* (gods) were favorably influenced by specific features of heiau design" (Dye 1991, 3).

Temple building specialists (*kahuna kuhikuhipu'uone*) "combined a study of Hawaiian political history, especially the careers of successful chiefs, with a knowledge of variation in heiau plans through the ages. On this basis, they formulated theories about the ability of particular heiau features to aid specific chiefly ambitions" (Dye 1991, 3). In using stones from 'Umi's Kūki'i heiau in the construction of 'Iolani Palace, Kalākaua not only perpetuated the honored chiefly practice of building sacred structures but also materially linked this practice with the building projects of his famous ancestor. As enduring materials and objects, such as stones, held the mana of those with whom they were associated, Kalākaua incorporated a concrete and sacred architectural manifestation of his indisputably popular and successful ancestor to encourage confidence in his own reign and to imbue his rule and his palace with the mana of glowing precedent.[28]

Temple-Palaces and Divine Kings

The "grand opening" of 'Iolani Palace coincided with Kalākaua's coronation on 12 February 1883 and constituted the primary setting for much of the festivities, which lasted until the 24th of the month (*PCA* 3 February 1883; *PCA* 10 February 1883; *HG* 21 February 1883). These included the coronation ceremony, State Dinner, gathering for the unveiling of the national monument to Kamehameha I, Grand Ball, full dress Grand Lū'au, nightly *hula* performances, and receptions for foreign dignitaries. To mark the occasion, the colonnades were draped in red and white, the king's monogram adorned each pillar, and the national coat of arms flanked the stairway leading to the main entrance. It provided the theater for events intended to leave a lasting impression on the Hawaiian and international communities. Japan's ambassador and suite, consular and diplomatic officials from nations

such as the United States, France, Great Britain, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Portugal, Italy, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Mexico, and Russia, and elite Native and non-Native residents of the kingdom attended the coronation and palace grand opening. These events did not escape the attention of international presses; they were described and illustrated in at least two British newspapers, the *Illustrated London News* (7 April 1883) and *The Graphic* (28 April 1883), and received notice in American publications. Contextualized within the coronation, 'Iolani Palace integrated conceptions of sacred Hawaiian rulership and Western forms denoting sovereign statehood. It intended to garner trust in the king's ability, and right, to properly govern and to bring good fortune to the people; the palace formed part of his statement of kingship.

During the coronation, the king invited the general public to his palace for an open house and *ho'okupu*, a ceremonial gift-giving showing honor and respect to a chief (Pukui et al. 1975, 79). Foods accumulated for the feasts were redistributed to the people, as was customary in the pre- and early contact period. Kalākaua fulfilled his duties as a good chief, as indicated in the Hawaiian proverb, "Ho'i pu'olo no o kahi ali'i" ("one returns with a bundle from the place of the chief") (Seiden 1992, 131). Chiefly wealth and generosity were signs of mana. Kalākaua's palace also attested to the continuity between successful rulers of the past and his own reign. Kapena's speech at the cornerstone-laying ceremony recalled the past prominent servants of the government who had performed their duties on the site of 'Iolani Palace—"those who served and labored for the good of the country and the progress of the nation"—and compared them to the present regime: "Should any one consider that it is a light and easy task to conduct the affairs of our Island government he will be mistaken, for evidently it will require all the skill, the watchful care, the patience, the caution and the industry that can be bestowed in the future, in order to secure the well-being of the people and the prosperity of the Government" (Kapena 1879). Through the coronation, an event infused with the significance of its placement within the 'Iolani grounds, Kalākaua displayed his ability, and the ancestral backing, to accomplish the task.[29]

Not only did the palace symbolize the sacred rule of the king, it also articulated the success and progress of the kingdom. The Western form and technological innovations incorporated into the structure and the very existence of the building testified to Hawai'i's modernity. The two principal speakers at the cornerstone-laying ceremony, Harris and Kapena, detailed the positive changes that had taken place in the course of the century. They compared the 'Iolani Palace region of the past to the contemporary condition of the area

by enumerating the advances made in architecture, city planning, transportation, communication, commerce, and industry. They contrasted earlier periods of warfare and social upheaval with the current era of peace and prosperity brought about by agricultural and industrial development and suggested that this architectural monument was evidence of how far Hawai'i had progressed and would continue to advance under Kalākaua, who "[gave] new life to the land" (Kapena 1879; Harris 1880). 'Iolani Palace could dazzle the resident haole and international audiences assembled for the coronation, as well as impress the Native population. It was an authentically modern and traditional Hawaiian symbol of the state of the nation.

'Iolani Palace, then, synthesized Hawaiian definitions of rulership and internationalist conceptions of modern nationhood in Kalākaua's statement of kingship. While many of the King's Western critics dismissed his nationalist art and architectural projects in terms of his love of extravagant display and desire to imitate Western rulers (see Buck 1993, 75), one cannot accurately describe Kalākaua's art patronage as mere mimicry. His was not an insipid copy-cat modernist nationalism "traditionalized" or "Hawaiianized" through the nostalgic use of visual markers of the Native past. This stately edifice constituted a response to both internal and external pressures on the Hawaiian leadership. Kalākaua's palace speaks to cross-cultural intersections, nationalist claims about distinctiveness and commonality, and the power of individual agency to create meaning and enable action through art and architecture.

NOTES

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1. A notable exception is John Charlot (1979). Some of the themes introduced by Charlot are developed in this paper. Charles E. Peterson (1963) provides a valuable descriptive chronology detailing the building process and conditions and identifies numerous archival references to 'Iolani Palace. Many other writings on the palace present descriptions of the building and the events that took place there.

2. Grimshaw goes on to quote M. Bernstein (1996, 13): "hermeneutics without history can scarcely escape either banality or reductionism."

3. These three nations, however, had established formal representation in Hawai'i in the earlier part of the century. The United States appointed John C. Jones Jr. as "agent of

the United States for commerce and seamen" to represent its interests in the islands in 1820; the British Foreign Office made Captain Richard Charlton "British Consul for the Sandwich, Society and Friendly Islands" in 1824; and Jules Dudoit was appointed Honorary Consul by the French government in 1837 (Kuykendall 1947, 80, 98, 150).

4. The first 'Iolani Palace was built by the Governor of O'ahu, Mataio Kekūanaō'a, in 1844 and was named Hanailoia. King Kamehameha III assumed possession of Hanailoia, which was later renamed 'Iolani (Peterson 1963, 91–92). Plans for a new, more elaborate, palace originated with King Kamehameha V in 1870. He ordered plans from G. Allen Mansfield and Thomas Rowe of Australia. A modified version of these plans was used to build Ali'iolani Hale, which housed the Judiciary and Legislature (Judd 1975, 118–119).

5. Considering himself a cosmopolitan ruler, Kalākaua undertook a world tour in 1881; he was the first head of state to circumnavigate the globe. The purposes of the trip were to secure immigration treaties, foster a positive image of Hawai'i abroad, amplify the prestige of the Hawaiian monarchy, and learn of royal practices in other countries. See Grant in Kalākaua 1990, v; Hooper 1980, 45–46; and Schweizer 1991, 109–112.

6. Cabinet Council Minute Book, 17 April 1874, Archives of Hawai'i (hereafter AH).

7. To date, the original building plans for the Palace have not been found. For floor plans of the basement, first floor and second floor, reconstructing the Palace as it stood in 1887, see FIP 1972, plates VIII, IX, and X.

8. Baker received a personal request from Kalākaua, through his Minister of the Interior Samuel G. Wilder, for plans for a new palace in a letter dated 2 March 1879. See Interior Department File, "Iolani Palace," AH. On the expensive architectural corrections, see *Hawaiian Gazette* (hereafter *HG*), 20 April 1881, and *Report of the Minister of the Interior*, 1882, 27–28 (in Kuykendall 1967, 204). Ultimately, the palace cost approximately $350,000. For a detailed account of each architect's contributions, see Peterson 1963, 96–103.

9. A photograph of the throne room by J. Williams, taken during Kalākaua's reign, was reproduced in Iaukea 1938, 65 and Poole 1948, 10.

10. Most of the European portraits were sent to Hawai'i as gifts from the heads of the various countries during the previous decades. They are reproduced in Hackler 1971. For descriptions and reproductions of the royal Hawaiian portraits, see Hackler 1982.

11. See, for example, Kalākaua to C. H. Judd, 10 April 1882, F. O. & Ex., Local Officials: King and Royal Family, AH.

12. George Frear is credited with producing, in 1865, the first hollow concrete blocks in the United States. Ali'iolani Hale, the Hawaiian Government Building constructed prior to the palace, utilized this innovation in the 1870s (Frost and Frost 1979, 4, 211–212).

13. Religious restrictions regarding foods and eating were enforced at the hale mua. The chief also maintained the altar to his family deities (*'aumakua*) here (see Kirch 1985, 6).

14. Hale 'Ākala, informally referred to as "The Bungalow," was a two-story home designed in the style of a north Indian palace. Its name derived from the pink color of the building: *hale* ("house") and *'ākala* ("pink"). The building was razed in 1919.

15. High chiefess Kekāuluohi (c. 1794–1845), premier and mother of King Lunalilo and wife of Kamehameha I, built her house within the 'Iolani compound on the premises known as Pohukaina (Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini 1974, 106). John Young II's (1810–1835, whose Hawaiian name was Keoni Ana, and who served as premier) home, Kīna'u Hale, was also located on the palace grounds. Kekūanaō (1794–1868), the governor of O'ahu and father of Kamehameha IV and V, built his home called Hāli'imaile on the western corner of the palace compound. The residence of Kamehameha III, Ho'iho'ikea ("Independence," also used by Kamehamehas IV and V, Lunalilo, and Kalākaua), was located in the western portion of the 'Iolani site (Harris 1880; Kapena 1879). He also resided at another house on the other side of the palace (see Jay 1992, 18). Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma used the first 'Iolani Palace for formal occasions but lived in a frame house called Ihikapukalani on the 'Iolani premises.

16. See letters from Henry W. Severance, Hawaiian Consul in San Francisco, to H. A. P. Carter, Minister of the Interior, 8 and 19 October 1881, AH (see also Peterson 1963, 102).

17. In photographs of the palace dating to 1882, the lamp posts are absent. Evidenced in later photographs, a pair of lamps, each with a single sphere resembling pūlo'ulo'u, was added. Eventually, these were replaced with the three-lobed lamps, which can be seen in photographs dating from 1886.

18. Completion of the Palace was celebrated with an elaborate Masonic banquet on St. John's Day, 27 December 1882 (Poole 1948, 10). Masonic motifs decorated the palace interiors (Charlot 1979, 30). The consecration of 'Iolani through Masonic rites and banquets parallels the performance of rituals by religious specialists during the building and completion of chiefly homes. For a full description of the Cornerstone Laying ceremony, see Thrum 1913, 55 and Clemens 1979. On royal involvement in Freemasonry in Hawai'i, see Coombs 1949, 76–79; Gardiner 1990; Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Hawai'i 1929; and Towse 1916, 125–128.

19. Clemens 1979 mistakenly identifies the speaker as John A. Makena. The speaker was in fact John Makini Kapena (1843–1887), the son of a royal advisor, Maniki. He married Emma Malo, daughter of David Malo, the noted Hawaiian historian (Stone 1963, 42), and served as Minister of Finance, Minister of Foreign Affairs, a member of the Board of Education, and Collector General of Customs under Kalākaua. Kapena was also a scholar of Hawaiian culture (Day 1984, 71).

20. The significance of this location is also mentioned in: Charlot 1979, 30; Farrell 1936, 13; Mah 1984, 25; Seeley 1962, 105; Taylor 1927, 10; and Terry 1986, 16.

21. Related to the mountain-ocean orientation is the dual naming of Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma's home that at one time stood within the 'Iolani compound enclosure. The side of their home facing inland (*mauka*) was named Ihikapukalani, and the side facing the ocean (*makai*) was called Ka'uluhinanao (Kapena 1879). Their home in the Nu'uanu Valley in O'ahu also possessed two names, Hānaiakamalama and Kaniakapupu (Hackler 1993, 3; Jay 1992, 19). It is possible that 'Iolani Palace also held two names, corresponding to its mountain-ocean orientation. The Cabinet Council Minutes for 1886 occasionally indicate that meetings took place at Healani Hale. Jacob Adler and Gwynn Barrett (1973, 25) suggest this referred to a section of the palace, or a separate building. They note that Kalākaua's canoe club was called Healani Club, but this seems an unlikely place to conduct

cabinet business. If referencing the palace, Healani Hale may have denoted either the inland or seaward side of 'Iolani.

The houses of high chiefs often had two entrances, one facing the home of the god Kāne, one of the major Hawaiian gods, and the other facing toward Kahiki, the ancestral homeland of the early Hawaiians (Daggett 1990, 57). 'Iolani's alignment between Pūowaina and the Honolulu Bay placed its entrances in close proximity to this orientation. The main entrance points south/southwest, generally facing the direction of Sāmoa, where Kalākaua believed Kahiki to be located (Daggett 1990, 47–48; Fornander 1996, 35).

22. I thank Joshua Bell (personal communication, 2006) for this insight.

23. Another translation is "The life of the land is perpetuated (or reposes) in righteousness" (Charlot 1985, 7). Of this version of the national motto, Roger Rose notes "the third word [had] not yet [been] changed from *ka* to *ke* for grammatical euphony" (Rose 1980, 208).

24. High chiefess Kekāuluohi's home was located in this area (see note 15), and Lilia Piia Namahana (daughter of one of Kamehameha I's wives) also maintained a home here. Ruth Ke'elikōlani, of the Kamehameha chiefly line, was born in Namahana's residence in 1826 (Zambucka 1977, 12).

25. See Kapena 1879. Young, also known as Olohana, served with Kamehameha I's warrior forces attacking northern Hawai'i and O'ahu. He married Kaonaeha, Kamehameha's niece, and was grandfather to Queen Emma, wife of Kamehameha IV (Day 1984, 133). His accomplished status as an *ali'i* is indicated by his burial at Pohukaina in 1835 and, in 1865, his interment at the Royal Mausoleum with Hawai'i's chiefs and royalty.

26. For a complete description of the tomb, see *The Polynesian*, 13 January 1855. Elderly Hawaiians reported in 1848 that many of the caskets contained only stones wrapped in barkcloth and that the chiefly bones had been deposited in protected, secret burials, as was customary (see Sheldon 1848 in O'Brien 1949, 25). The burial mound is presently enclosed by a low brick wall and fence erected in 1930. In 1931, a casket was unearthed near the State Archives building. It contained a woman's body accompanied with burial goods indicating her high status (Allen 1978, 5).

27. He maintained active worship of the gods, enriched the priestly class and magnified the practices of human sacrifice (Beckwith 1970, 391; Fornander 1996, 100–102).

28. Integrating the mana of former chiefs into nineteenth-century chiefly architecture is also evidenced in a home called Halekauwila occupied by Kamehameha III in 1836. Wood from the Hale O Keawe heiau (at Hōnaunau, North Kona, Hawai'i) was used in its construction (Seiden 1992:129).

29. Kalākaua's and 'Iolani's chiefly and sacred presence was sustained into the twentieth century. David K. Bray (born c. 1888) was a kahuna who served as a guide at 'Iolani Palace in the mid-twentieth century. He and other elderly Native Hawaiians believed the Throne Room contained a special mana because of its location on the site of ancient heiau. He regularly offered red hibiscus flowers to Kalākaua's marble bust housed in the Palace (*Paradise of the Pacific* 1955, 11).

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RICHARD GILSON—THE PERFECTIONIST HISTORIAN OF SAMOA*

Doug Munro
Victoria University of Wellington

This is a story of the life, work, and legacy of Richard Gilson, whose massive political history of nineteenth-century Samoa bridged the disciplines of history and anthropology. Gilson, a perfectionist, but to a self-stultifying degree, was unable to bring his project to completion and was therefore passed over for a permanent position at the Australian National University. Unemployed and in difficult personal circumstances, Gilson continued working on his book, but the manuscript was not quite complete when he died of a heart attack, at the age of 37, just as he was getting his life back on track. *Samoa, 1830 to 1900* was completed and seen through the press by his widow and colleagues. A prophetic reviewer remarked that the book stands as "a fitting memorial to a man who so closely identified himself with his vocation and the people of whose history he made himself the chronicler."

RICHARD (DICK) GILSON (1925–1963) could have been almost whatever he liked. He was no sportsman, that is true, but he displayed prodigious intellectual abilities that spanned the physical and social sciences. He could have been a medical doctor, had opportunity's door opened to him. Instead, he embraced academic life, gaining his graduate qualifications in political science; and to make ends meet along the way, he taught inorganic chemistry. He then turned to history and, in the last two years of his short life, redefined himself as a social anthropologist. That such a talented individual could commit himself to a massive political history of nineteenth-century Samoa speaks volumes for those islands and its people. The eventual book, *Samoa, 1830 to 1900*, appeared posthumously, in 1970,[1] and was immediately

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recognized as exceptionally fine work of history. Despite *Samoa, 1830 to 1900* being essentially a product of the 1950s, it is not excessive to say that, all things considered, it remains a landmark in Pacific Islands historiography.[2] Far from being a tract of its time, it has largely withstood the winds of revisionism, and its chapters up to 1884 have not been bettered. Yet Gilson worked under the shadows of personal distress and a family history of heart disease. The manuscript was unfinished at the time of his death in 1963, aged 37, leaving friends and family the melancholy and difficult task of completing the book and seeing it through to publication.

Gilson researched and wrote much of the book during his five-year tenure, from 1952 until 1957, as Research Fellow in Pacific History at the Australian National University (ANU), under the leadership of J.W. (Jim) Davidson. Also a historian of Samoa, Davidson contributed a warm-hearted introduction and a graceful concluding chapter. The introduction imparts a definite sense that the fates were unkind to Gilson and leaves no doubt that his magnum opus had a difficult gestation. Davidson also brings out Gilson's decency as a man and ability as a scholar. At that time, Davidson could only allude to the emotional toll of Gilson's struggle to write and to hold his life together. If ever a book was forged in adversity it was this one. Dick Gilson's life and work invite reflection on the pioneering years of Pacific Islands historiography, and on the personal toll that a great work can exact on its maker and the maker upon himself.

Early Years and Education

Born in Eugene, Oregon, in 1925, Dick was the third and youngest child of Charles and Florence (nèe Quinn). He compensated for an adored older brother, Robert, who had died some years earlier; and Dick must have been aware that he was taking Robert's place. Tragedy struck again with the deaths in quick succession of his parents, leaving him to be brought up by his sister Alice and her husband, Paul Stathem. Such a history of family rupture could well have resulted in profound feelings of insecurity and resentment, but the only discernable carryover into Gilson's later life was a disinclination to be a financial burden on others.

When the time came for further education, Gilson neither expected support from his sister nor would he have accepted it, for the Stathems had three children of their own. Instead, he sought sponsorship and was enrolled at the University of Southern California (USC) in 1944 as a Naval Officer Trainee. It was, initially at least, a favorable arrangement for although nominally on active service for the duration of the War—and thus having veteran status thereafter—Gilson in reality was a full-time university student, but not

initially in political science and anthropology, the subjects with which he is associated. That was a later development. With a medical career in mind, he enrolled as a science student and received straight A's in all his undergraduate courses—except in the two that mattered from a Navy point of view, namely naval organization and physical education.[3] At the conclusion of hostilities, he went on what was called "inactive service" and switched to political science, with a smattering of history and anthropology. He did just as well in his new subjects, despite being active in student affairs and the President of the Independent Student Council in 1946,[4] and graduated A.B. (summa cum laude) in the unusual combination of physical sciences and political science in 1947.

Continuing in political science, again with a smattering of anthropology, Gilson was one of a number of outstanding graduate students who descended on USC immediately after the war.[5] He supported himself as a graduate tutor in inorganic chemistry and as graduate teaching assistant in American history and government. He further demonstrated his breadth of abilities by writing research papers on the governing of minorities in Soviet Asia and on colonial administration in Southeast Asia and brushed up on his French sufficiently to write a master's thesis on "The Development of the Gaullist Movement in France." During the summer semesters, he earned his living by fire spotting for the United States Forestry Service, that boon to impecunious graduate students. He loved the job despite—perhaps even because of—the isolation. Solitude encouraged reading, and his companions were books.

Fulbright Scholar

Why Gilson decided to switch his interests to New Zealand's Pacific Island dependencies is uncertain. Perhaps they arose from a graduate anthropology course he read on "Peoples of the South Pacific," or it is possible that a member or members of faculty encouraged him. Certainly it was a field that was beginning to attract some scholarly attention after the Pacific War and the setting up of the United Nations and the South Pacific Commission. However, there was more to it. The shift from the hard sciences to the social sciences was not because he lacked the opportunity to pursue a medical career. The naval authorities would have paid his tuition, but Gilson had other ideas. Quite simply, he did not want to fight in a war or to chalk up further obligations with the Navy. He wanted to get on with his life and to avoid being drafted, which was a distinct possibility given the hardening of the Cold War abroad and the pressures at home that would soon erupt into full-blown McCarthyism. He deferred the draft, getting clearance to continue his higher education (something he wanted to do anyway), the limit being the completion of a doctorate and, therefore, in 1949 applied for a Fulbright

scholarship to write a doctoral thesis at the London School of Economics. The writing style, as expressed in his research proposal, is inimitably that of the later Gilson, only more prolix:

> The field that I propose to devote research to is that of colonial administration in the South Pacific, *i.e.* the problems of government in dependent areas in relation to the impact of western culture upon that of native populations. The purpose of the investigation is to draw upon the experience of European nations and the United States in the area up to this time to serve as a basis for a comparative study of colonial policy and an evaluation of a future program of administration, particularly in the light of recently assumed responsibilities by the United States in the form of trusteeship in the former Japanese mandates.[6]

He chose London on the misapprehension that the sources were there. His professors exhausted their stock of superlatives in recommending this "outstanding young scholar" who had compiled "one of the highest grade point averages [as an undergraduate] in my recollection." He was, in their estimation, "dependable" and "hardworking," "unusually gifted and intelligent," "especially well qualified to carry on independent study and research" and possessed of "broad interests and easy social graces." For unexplained reasons, he was awarded a Fulbright scholarship to New Zealand, and he arrived in Wellington in October 1949 as part of the inaugural intake of Fulbright graduate students to that destination[7] and for the first time enjoyed being on a generous allowance. Enrolled at VUC in Wellington as a "special student" in political science, Gilson pursued independent study in the history and government of New Zealand, the Cook Islands, and Western Samoa during the long vacation. Thus, he had little contact with other students for the first four months of his stay. He also missed meeting the two VUC academics whose interests most closely corresponded to his own: Ernest Beaglehole, who had published on New Zealand's Island Territories, was on study leave; and Mary Boyd, the Pacific History lecturer, who later became a close friend, was tied up with domestic responsibilities.[8] The timing of his visit was also unfortunate in that he missed the Pacific Science Congress, which was held in Auckland and Christchurch in early 1949. When classes resumed in March, he attended "lecture seminars" in New Zealand government, Australian executive functions, and Pacific history.[9] As chance would have it, the 1950 Pacific history course at VUC was taught by Ruth Allen, a 32-year-old replacement lecturer. There were tragic parallels in their subsequent careers. Allen also worked on a massive book, a history of Nelson province;[10] she too was stalked by the shadow of ill-health (in her case a

long-term kidney disorder); and neither was fated to see their works in print. But that was in the future. Meanwhile, Gilson's stay in Wellington was pivotal: He committed himself to Pacific history, and he met the person whom he married.

That cohesive and agreeable group of Fulbright students did not want for a social life in Wellington. Gilson and fellow Fulbright scholar Fred Simmons stayed for the first six months at Weir House (VUC's residential college) and became very popular. Gilson was extremely good-looking in his early 20s, and contemporaries recall that he was "immensely likeable and fun-loving," an intelligent and charming conversationalist, and "genuine." Although not very athletic and never one to join sporting activities, he enjoyed himself from the sidelines and for a beer in the pub afterward. A fellow student remembers the younger Simmons as the "livelier" of the two, Gilson by contrast showing the seriousness of purpose that was integral to his nature. Another student recalls that Gilson and Simmons were much wider in their thinking and outlook on life than Weir House students, who were often part-timers and whose worlds revolved around sport, work, and study. The two Americans could converse intelligently about anything, and, while they certainly saw things differently from New Zealanders, they were more reflective and less insular.[11]

Little wonder, then, that Gilson caught the eye of a young school teacher, fresh out of teachers' training college. He and Miriam Baird met at a home brew party, as it happened, and he invited her to the cinema. His line was that not all Americans were the urban dwellers and jerks depicted by Hollywood, or words to that effect, and would she care to accompany him to one such viewing? In other ways, too, Gilson made the most of his opportunities in Wellington. By his own account, his easy entry into student life at VUC stemmed from refusing to become a "propagandist" for the American way of life—with which he was becoming disenchanted, in any case. The same, one presumes, applied to the several occasions he accepted invitations to talk about American life on radio, to school girls, and to the Wellington Junior Chamber of Commerce.[12]

New Zealand at that time was an exciting place for anyone with Gilson's interests. There had been problems in New Zealand's Pacific Islands dependencies and the previous Prime Minister Peter Fraser had responded by laying the foundations for a radically new approach to promote self-government. The 1947 Samoa Amendment Act had created a Legislative Assembly where a Samoan majority held the purse-strings. In the Cook Islands, dissatisfaction with New Zealand rule had resulted in damaging criticism from left-wing elements in the New Zealand trade union movement. Internally, there was the vexed issue of the role of local island councils, among

other things.[13] It was a propitious time to visit these places, and Gilson's Fulbright grant stretched far enough to cover the costs of travel and accommodation. The Department of Island Territories—which had so little confidence in its own men-on-the-spot—saw in Gilson a source of informed advice and asked him to write a report on the administration of the Cook Islands. In late May, with Island Territories facilitating his travel plans, Gilson set sail for the islands.[14]

First Experience of the Islands

His fieldwork journals reveal an alert and perceptive observer and bear out Davidson's contention that he mixed easily and made many lasting friendships with both Europeans and Islanders.[15] Unfortunately he arrived too late in Suva to observe the so-called Nasinu Conference, a South Pacific Commission initiative to sponsor a regional identity by organizing a meeting of Pacific Islander elite.[16] Within a couple of days of arriving in Suva, whose humidity he found insufferable, Gilson observed that "one does notice the tension in this place" between Indians and Fijians and went on to observe that "the two cultures and societies, in their present forms, are incompatible." It is noticeable that Gilson's journal picks up the moment he gets to Western Samoa. He clearly related to the place right away. On the day of his arrival "everybody advised me to contact [Jim Davidson] immediately," which he did.[17] Davidson was on secondment from Cambridge University as supernumerary member of the Samoan civil service under the designation Trusteeship Officer; he was also Professor-elect of Pacific History at the new-established Australian National University. That meeting would determine Gilson's future as historian of Samoa and long-term colleague of Davidson in Canberra. In other ways his Samoan sojourn bespoke the shape of things to come as he searched for lost documents and took a political scientist's interest in contemporary affairs. He was a frequent observer of Legislative Assembly debates and made severe criticisms in his journal when confronted with arrogant and foolish behavior in local politics. That aside, he got on with people—both Samoan and European—and dodged the attentions of a young lady who was "a tough one to lose." He identified with the Samoans' aspirations for self-determination, and, while noting the widespread "cynicism" within the expatriate community on that score, he nevertheless displayed considerable compassion for the predicament of the vegetating European who had lived in the islands too long. His diary does not quite reveal the misfits that inhabit the four short stories that Somerset Maugham wrote on the basis of a visit to the Samoas in 1917.[18] All the same, it was not too late in 1950 to find people, whether or not in government employ, who were at odds with their social environment; and Gilson stumbled across his quota.

His four weeks in the Cook Islands were largely taken up in his investigations for his report and research for his eventual thesis, although he found time in the evenings to join friends and listen to classical records. But it was Samoa that captured his heart. Nevertheless, after three months in the islands he was dying to get back to Wellington and to Miriam. By then he had got an extension to his Fulbright award to continue his studies in London. In a crowded last few weeks, he wrote his report for the Department of Island Territories, bade a temporary farewell to Miriam, and took his leave to London.[19]

From London to Canberra

Gilson left Wellington in August 1950, stopping over in Sydney to observe the South Pacific Conference, which inspired his first academic article.[20] Miriam joined him in London, and they were married. They made the half-hour train journey each day to work—Miriam to her school teaching job and Gilson to the Public Records Office or to Livingstone House, where the Records of the London Missionary Society were then held. Enrolled at the London School of Economics and under the supervision of Raymond Firth and Lucy Mair, he worked hard at his thesis on the Cook Islands, becoming an accomplished documentary researcher on a self-taught basis. He thoroughly enjoyed this period of his life and made valuable professional contacts. There was never enough money to do all the things he and Miriam wanted, especially after the second Fulbright grant terminated in June 1951, but they did manage a couple of European tours.

In April 1952, Gilson was awarded a doctoral scholarship in Pacific History at ANU. The following month he did one better and was offered a three-year appointment as Research Fellowship, again in Davidson's Department.[21] He entered the ANU payroll in September 1952 but spent the next six months in London completing his thesis and commencing research on nineteenth-century Samoa. In April 1953, he arrived in Canberra with a 395-page thesis on the Cook Islands, which Davidson later said was of "Ph.D. scope and quality."[22] The reason it was a master's thesis and not a doctoral dissertation was to defer his service requirement with the U.S. Navy. By that stage, Gilson had officially separated from the U.S. Navy, and, although still eligible for the draft, he was not too worried about it, being married and not to the limits of his graduate education. It is not that he approved of Communism. Far from it. But military measures, he reasoned, were not the way to address the "basic question of doing something about the root causes of the spread of Communism in backward areas—where we are most vulnerable."[23] An added attraction of Canberra was that Miriam could be nearer "home" than in the

United States. On their way to Australia, they passed through California, and Gilson was appalled at how McCarthyism had devastated the lives of some of his old friends.[24] So the Canberra appointment made sense in more ways than one: he did not want to live in the United States' rancid political climate; his study of French politics deterred him from making Europe his field of academic specialization; but he did want a job where he could pursue his work on Samoa.[25]

It is not hard to see why Davidson was keen to appoint Gilson. He liked him and respected his ability to the extent that, within a fortnight of first meeting, they had discussed sensitive political matters bearing on Samoa. As well as their shared outlook and interests, Gilson was a proven documentary researcher at a time when archives-based monographs were needed to offset a slender historiography where generalizations had outrun actual research. Between the wars, Pacific studies had focused on ethnography. The small corpus of historical writing during this time was largely imperial history (with a leavening of travelers' tales and reminiscences of the "from my verandah" kind), which Davidson was anxious to displace with the more anthropologically informed study of "multi-cultural situations"—especially when the one existing history of an island group based on solid archival research—Ralph Kuykendall's *The Hawaiian Kingdom*—was weak in defining the structure of local society.[26] Davidson, moreover, felt that many of the explanations in the one academic anthropological text on Samoa—Felix Keesing's *Modern Samoa* (1934)—was "inadequate or, at times, almost meaningless."[27] Gilson's combination of archival experience and fieldwork admirably qualified him as a prospective practitioner of the new ways that Davidson sought to promote, and he shared Davidson's interest in contemporary Pacific events. An added bonus was his interest in the location and preservation of documents, which was a major concern of Davidson's at the time. Gilson's arrival brought the Department's strength to three staff members (the others being Davidson and Francis West), and two Ph.D. students (Colin Newbury and Bernard Smith), all of whom were to pursue distinguished careers.[28]

Canberra was then a fly-blown and somewhat featureless "country town of about 27,000 people [compared to today's 250,000]. . .very raw indeed on the outskirts," hardly becoming of a Federal capital and lacking the comforts and amenities that are now part of its physical and cultural landscape. ANU was even more embryonic: the familiar landmarks—University House, the Menzies Library, the Coombs Building, and the Chancellery—were still in the future. Staff and students were housed in a collection of unprepossessing prefabs known as the Old Hospital Buildings. The quaintness of their set-up, "with Law housed in what had been the Labour Ward and [the geomorphologist] in the operating theatre because it had a sink," inspires a

certain nostalgia for "dear, dead days beyond recall."[29] In reality, the OHB was wretchedly appointed and frigid in winter. The town itself was unsophisticated for the most part, gossipy and heavy drinking.

Although never enamoured of Canberra, the Gilsons did make lasting friendships, such as that with Colin and Norah Forster, another recently married couple with whom they shared a large divided house. It was a good arrangement. Without impinging on each other, the two couples enjoyed many social occasions, and Gilson is remembered as a superb breakfast cook who made "a mean flapjack." The Gilsons were also close friends with the political scientist Robert Chapman and his wife Noeleen. He and Gilson were kindred spirits—compatible in their attitudes, appreciative of each other's enthusiasms and apt to converse well into the night. In a place where people had to make their own amusements, there were some memorable parties, not least when Gilson poured pure alcohol (that had been purloined from the medical school) into a bowl of punch that was sitting near an open fire and nearly set the chimney alight.[30]

Gilson was also a presence within the Department: "he brought an atmosphere of the islands to his work," recalls Niel Gunson, a former student. "His unusual working hours (mid-afternoon to the small hours of the morning), his fondness for Polynesian food and dress, and his fund of anecdotes and knowledge of Pacific personalities, were an inspiration to younger and less experienced Pacific scholars;"[31] and his readiness to share the fruits of his research is legend—and amply testified to in the acknowledgment sections of monographs and journal articles. Gilson also lived up to Davidson's expectation as "an excellent colleague, with a passion for thorough and exact research."[32] But his affability and generosity stopped well short of tolerance for mediocre scholarship, not least in his own specialized field: he applied to others the same impossible standards he set for himself and was downright critical of sloppy research.[33]

Gilson continued with his work on Samoa. "I am," he explained, "concentrating on the political reactions of the Samoans in the European 'contact situation.' I am not interested in diplomatic problems, overseas political issues, tariffs, or the like except insofar as knowledge of them may be useful in providing the general historical context or to the extent that their strictly local aspects may have figured in Samoan political change."[34] Davidson was only slightly exaggerating when he observed that Gilson "ransacked the world for every scrap of evidence relevant to his subject;"[35] testimony to this is the 201 folders of carefully typed research notes on Samoa. Indicative of his anxiety to consult anything and everything, he would call on Margery Jacobs, the Sydney-based historian of German activity in the Pacific, and would borrow her research notes on German Samoa; they were tangential to his

own research, but he insisted on seeing them all the same.[36] Gilson also spent a great deal of time locating documentary material that had been given up as lost, as well as organizing the microfilming for libraries in Australia and New Zealand of Pacific material in British collections. He tracked down, among others, the records of the German colonial administration, in Samoa, and the Gurr Papers, in an Auckland attic.[37] While Harry Maude and Robert Langdon are remembered for Pacific Islands manuscript retrieval and microfilming, there is a tendency to forget that Gilson (and Davidson) were the precursors. At the same time, Gilson was a good academic citizen and willingly put time and effort into giving colleagues a hand. Most notably, he made available the fruits of his Cook Islands and Samoan research to the demographer Norma McArthur and provided detailed comments on her chapter drafts.[38] He also maintained a sizeable correspondence, and one does suspect that such activities served, consciously or not, as a diversion from his real work. Davidson described him as having "a certain thoroughness in his manner and a tendency to build an argument as an Australian bricklayer constructs a wall; the rate of work is not fast but there is no objection to overtime."[39] Realizing that the Samoa book was going to be a long haul and that he needed publications in the meanwhile to ensure the renewal of his Research Fellowship, Gilson extracted a couple of articles from his Cook Islands thesis.[40]

Fieldwork and Back to Canberra

In January 1954, Gilson commenced several months' archival research in Wellington. On this occasion, he was preceded by Miriam, who soon after gave birth to their first child, Helen. In June, Gilson arrived in Apia for fieldwork (with Miriam and Helen following on a "banana boat") and they remained eleven months. Samoa had lost none of its attraction. Nor had Gilson lost his fondness for Polynesian food, and his Samoan was more than adequate for he had taken language lessons before leaving. The Gilsons rented one house, then another, in Apia but otherwise did not live a typical European life, which is to say that they did not do the "colonial thing" of afternoon teas and Friday clubs. Instead, they socialized a great deal with Samoans, and having a young child made them the more acceptable. Gilson traveled extensively around Samoa, taking Miriam and Helen when possible. In addition to fieldwork proper, he kept abreast of contemporary developments in Samoa—just as he had in 1950.[41] Although not a formal observer at the 1954 Constitutional Convention, he gained a detailed appreciation of its proceedings from evening discussions with participants, "though, unfortunately," said Davidson, "he failed to commit his conclusions to writing."[42] As well, this "pleasant, good-looking, rather serious American," as a visitor described him, was unfailingly helpful to fellow fieldworkers.[43]

Gilson also spent some weeks in locating the records of the German administration (1900–1914) and arranging their deposit in the Dominion Archives (now Archives New Zealand). He then bought in to one of those dogfights between academics marking out their turf. Under the misapprehension that a departmental colleague, Francis West, was attempting to muscle in on the work of Marjorie Jacobs, Gilson came close to attempting to block West's access to the records that he had just located.[44] The episode illustrates the sternly disapproving streak in Gilson when he considered that proprieties were being breached. Gilson had come to believe that Jacobs had a prior claim on the study of German colonial policy in the Pacific, including a biography of Governor Wilhelm Solf of Samoa. Adding a sense of urgency was that West was about to take up a Senior Lectureship at VUC, in the same city where the German Samoa records would be held. In fact, West had been planning, since 1953, a more limited study of Solf's governorship of German Samoa, with the family's approval and Davidson's fore-knowledge.[45] Marjorie Jacobs had planned the Solf biography, with the family's blessing, since 1947, but her teaching commitments at the University of Sydney stalled her project and the family, tired of waiting, decided that West should be the recording angel.[46] Ironically, Jacobs never completed her projected work on German Samoa, and West abandoned the Solf biography under the impression that the German colonial records had been destroyed in the Second World War (in fact they had not and, to continue the irony, Jacobs later managed to persuade the authorities in the former Democratic Republic of Germany to permit the microfilming for Australasian libraries of German colonial records relating to the Pacific.)[47] Gilson's misunderstanding of West's intentions suggests a certain lack of collegial discussion within ANU's Department of Pacific History (or was it a case of fieldwork commitments putting them out of touch with each other?). At any rate, all these years later West is astonished that Gilson could have misunderstood his intentions to the extent he did.[48]

Back in Canberra, in April 1955, the pressures were beginning to mount and the bubble was soon to burst. On top of everything else, Gilson began work on the German records that he had salvaged. Trudy Newbury was hired on a twelve-month contract for the massive task of translating them into English. As she progressed, Gilson summarized her translations. That too was a big job involving almost 1,100 typed pages.[49] By then he was getting frustrated by the departmental duties that were always coming his way, by his sense of temporary status in not being tenured, and by the slowness with which he was converting his research into writing, not to mention hostility from the ANU anthropologist Derek Freeman. Colin Newbury, a student in the department and Trudy's husband, recalls that Gilson "occasionally got pretty wound up with himself and with others,"[50] and that Trudy sometimes

found him a hard taskmaster as the accumulated pressures brought out a side of his character not evident in his student days.

A sense of being suffocated by the prospect of wading his way through mountains of documents in several languages is conveyed by Gilson himself in a letter to Mary Boyd:

> Lordy, I don't know if I'll ever see the last of this stuff on Samoa. My office is bulging with files, notes, etc., and even though we have a departmental assistant—a woman who has been doing the German translation—I don't feel that the load is much lighter. There is so damned much in Samoan. So far I've concentrated mainly on the Gurr Papers, which are terrific—well beyond my expectations, now that I can [see] what is there. At first the going was heavy and tedious, but by now I've achieved just enough of the vocab pertinent to the political material to get through it much faster. . . . Anyhow, you get the picture—slogging away at a vast quantity of material, with Samoa coming out my ears. How is it possible for one to get tied up over such a small place? Except at the ANU, that is?[51]

Price of Perfection

For much of 1956, Gilson was Acting Head of the department during Davidson's study leave. Davidson was initially concerned that a mere Research Fellow "would find it difficult to get his view accepted by more senior people," but was later to acknowledge that Gilson carried out the duties "meticulously and with unfailing good sense. Indeed, my only reservation was the amount of time he must have spent keeping me informed. . ."[52] In one sense, it was less difficult than it might have been because Gilson had no other staff members to worry about—they were all on study leave or fieldwork—but he had to supervise all the students.[53] This was also the time the department was helping to build up Pacific manuscript and microfilm collections in Australia; thus, Gilson had his hands full on that front as well.

By and large, Gilson rather enjoyed being Acting Head. But it provided a further distraction from his writing, and he was now living on borrowed time, academically. The bottom line was that his Research Fellowship, which had been renewed for two years, would expire in November 1957;[54] and he could not expect appointment to a tenured position unless he had completed his book. Davidson was concerned but guardedly optimistic, telling a mutual friend that Gilson was now "writing hard" but "working against time." Nevertheless, there seemed "a chance [but] by no means a certainty . . . of making his job permanent . . . ."[55] But as the year progressed, it became evident that Gilson was not going to make it.

Colleagues were aware where the problems lay, their diagnoses differing only in emphasis. Gilson was a meticulous scholar and a perfectionist to a marked degree; there was always something else he had to know before committing himself to a conclusion. He was, moreover, dealing with an intrinsically difficult topic on which he had accumulated an enormous quantity of material: the thousands of pages of laboriously typed research notes are a tribute to his massive industry (and to a certain lack of proportion). Such was Gilson's concern that every statement and pronouncement have the correct nuance that he could literally spend hours getting a single sentence right. Nor did the tangled nature of nineteenth-century Samoa sit easily with his conviction that historical writing was a discipline where compression and elaboration were complementary. It got to the point where his perfectionism became self-stultifying, the book grew out of control, and anguished colleagues looked on helplessly as the deadline came and went.[56]

But there is more to it. The problem was that Gilson's project was too big and ambitious to be completed within the allotted time, at least as the intended monograph. The outline of nineteenth-century Samoan history had been etched, but the existing texts on Samoa were traditional imperial histories about international rivalries that gave little insight into indigenous affairs, as were the numerous travelers' tales and reminiscences of the "from my verandah" kind. The only solid ethnography was August Krämer's *The Samoan Islands*. He also had to actually find important sources and arrange for their deposit in libraries, which took time. His thorough and exhaustive research allowed no cutting of corners. Then there were all the departmental duties that came his way. Even taking into account Gilson's tendency to find distractions, there was insufficient opportunity, in little over five years, for actual writing. He did, in one way, leave his run until too late, and Davidson did urge him to start writing. But given the scale and complexity of his project, he was not in a position to start writing in earnest until 1956—after his fieldwork, and while still working on the German colonial records and the Gurr Papers, and when he was Acting Head of Department. By then, of course, time was too short, and he found himself under enormous pressure.

What he should have done, as Davidson pointed out more than once, was to cut the topic to suit the time available by reducing either the chronological span or the thematic range. The idea was that Gilson should submit part of his work in thesis form and arrangements were made in 1954 for his admission by ANU as a Ph.D. student. (It was a common enough arrangement in those days at ANU for a member of faculty to be doing a Ph.D.) He let his doctoral candidacy lapse but renewed it in August 1957, the idea being that he complete a thesis by the end of January 1958. That would enable him to creditably apply for an upcoming tenured position, which Davidson was

confident that he would secure, and open the way to his writing the more comprehensive book. Davidson, in fact, did everything humanly possible to retain Gilson. He had the highest regard for Gilson's abilities, confirmation of which he had received on his way to London on study leave the previous year. Stopping off in Los Angeles, a number of USC professors entertained him royally, for no other reason than his association with one of their favorite former students.[57]

Realizing that Gilson needed more time, Davidson embarked on an 11-hour tactical ploy. He pointed out that Gilson was an "an exceptional case," having performed many duties not usually expected of a Research Fellow, including the location of documentary sources and the Acting Headship of the Department on a fairly frequent basis. But it was also spelled out that, despite urgings, Gilson had done very little writing during Davidson's study leave. This was not, in Davidson's words, "wholly satisfactory," and there may have been a feeling that Gilson, as a member of faculty, had the edge over the typical Ph.D. student straight out of an honors degree. In any event, Gilson was given a grant-in-aid at the rate of his salary for a further four months, with the expectation that he finish his manuscript.[58]

But again Gilson failed to deliver. He was too embarrassed to ask for further consideration; but Davidson made a final attempt to keep him on the staff:

> Mr. Gilson has refrained from making any request himself for an extension, but it has been clear to me for some little time that it will not be possible to consider his candidature for a permanent Fellowship for several months more. I should, therefore, like the Board [of Graduate Studies] to consider extending the period of the grant-in-aid for a further two months. When I informed Gilson that I proposed to take this action he asked me to make it clear that he would rather forego an extension of the grant-in-aid than cause the University any embarrassment. Despite Gilson's scruples, I feel that there is a very good case for this extension and I hope it will be agreed to. I would only add that this extension, if granted, will definitely be the last one.[59]

Davidson's recommendation was accepted. But Gilson was still unable to complete on time, not the least was because, in a moment of despair turned into madness, he destroyed some 200 pages of text that he felt were not up to scratch.[60] He was now out of a job and had little prospect of finding another academic position, at least in the short term. He seemed to be living his life backward. Less than ten years after being a star graduate student at

the University of Southern California, with the academic world seemingly there for the taking, Gilson's universe had unraveled.

Years of Turmoil

When the gods withdraw their favor, they do so with a vengeance. The next few years were very difficult for the Gilsons. Although Gilson did not especially like Canberra, he had nowhere else to go. There were now two children (Helen, aged four, and Michael, almost two) and the only source of family income was Miriam's job as a research assistant in demography at ANU; this hardly amounted to a living wage for that size of family and their savings were soon exhausted. Gilson's unusual working hours were an added strain because it was difficult to keep young children quiet when someone was trying to sleep by day and work at night—and Michael was a lively boy whose antics frequently exasperated his overwrought father. Paradoxically, Gilson's writing slowed appreciably once he was out of a job and freed from departmental responsibilities. By midyear he was becoming very reticent about his thesis, assuring a worried Davidson that it would soon be finished but never nominating a date. Subconsciously he was finding ways to avoid writing, as friends recognized.[61] His mind wandered and at one point he toyed with the idea of coauthoring, with Harry Maude, a book on the Peruvian slave trade—which Maude eventually published in his retirement.[62] At other times he hankered to revise his Cook Islands thesis for publication. A growing despondency produced, or more probably intensified, fatalism about his family history of heart attacks. Certain that he was sitting on a time-bomb and would die young, he allowed his health to deteriorate and put on weight. The result of these difficult emotional times was a disabling listlessness, escapism and diminished self-esteem, which is brought out by his close friend Ron Crocombe, then a Ph.D. student in Davidson's department:

> He used to come to our apartment a lot at night and chat and chain-smoke and drink awful quantities of black coffee. He was not well, far overweight and did not exercise. . . When he came home [my wife] Marjie would feed him and chat but eventually give up and go to bed, and when I could not last any longer (at early hours of the morning) I would also say to Dick I had to sleep and that he was welcome to stay and I'd leave more coffee and biscuits out and sometimes he would just stay on alone in the lounge. To say he was in a daze would be wrong. He always had fascinating and insightful things to talk about, and he was a charming and highly intelligent person. And yet in some ways he was in a daze or suffering from a

> blockage. . . .Miriam, who really loved Dick but despaired about his inability to finish things, made a special point of saying to me several times that if I let Dick come around all the time I would never get my thesis written (but it's hard to throw friends out when they turn up and say "Could you just spare me a minute to discuss x or y" and then stay on till 3 a.m., always saying ten times a night "I must go. Let's just have one more coffee and then I'll go," but didn't).[63]

Another friend who sustained Gilson was his former neighbor, Colin Forster. Gilson was by then in a very depressed frame of mind and needed all the help he could get, so he would phone Forster from time to time, and the two would go to the pub and talk about Gilson's situation. It was good therapy and, while not solving Gilson's problems, certainly eased the pressure.[64] But the compassion of friends could only go so far. It got to be too much, and Gilson became somewhat reclusive. His status as a doctoral student meant that he kept his office in the department, which he preferred to use at night—partly to get some peace and quiet and because he felt embarrassed and wanted to avoid people. Davidson tried to keep the door open for Gilson's reappointment, assuring that he stood a chance if he completed the manuscript of his book by early 1959. It will never be known whether Gilson could, as he said, have completed a thesis expeditiously had he not redirected his attention to the book. Actually, Davidson kept the Senior Fellowship (a tenured appointment) open well beyond that time.[65] Gilson continued to be unrealistic about the completion of the book, telling Harry Maude in August 1959 that he expected to have it written by the end of the year when in fact he was nowhere that far advanced.[66] Davidson was finally compelled, in 1960, to fill the vacant position that he had been keeping open for Gilson, and it went to Francis West. Once again Gilson missed the metaphorical bus despite the driver waiting for him.

It was ghastly (for Miriam as well), and the accumulated stresses drove Gilson to the edge of a nervous breakdown. Being out of work and unable to make headway on his manuscript were body blows to Gilson's self-esteem. At least his status as a Ph.D. student enabled him to maintain his office in the Old Hospital Buildings, but probably the harder he tried to write, the less he was able to do so. A frequent enough paradox of writing is the correlation between getting behind schedule and an inclination to find distractions, or else the constipated writer simply gags. Gilson would slink into his office at night and often end up reading detective novels, while probably hating himself for it.[67] His only earnings for over two years came from writing for encyclopedias, which would only have amounted to pocket money. Gilson did far more of this than is evident from the bibliography of his writings, the

reason being that a change in editorial plans resulted in *Encyclopedia Britannica* not publishing several of the entries he had written.[68] We can hope he was paid for everything he was commissioned to write, whether or not it was actually published.

Somehow Gilson managed to maintain a semblance of composure. When relaxed he was still a great raconteur and a witty conversationalist. And his sense of humor was alive and well, if sometimes grim. He could not stand the neighbors on one side, who were English immigrants of the "whingeing Pom" variety. They went away one weekend so Gilson stripped their plum trees, to give them valid cause to whine. Nor did he forsake a sense of parental obligation (or his Americanisms). His daughter Helen recalls that he insisted that she and her brother Michael go to school with "doorstop" sandwiches stuffed with wholesome filling, as any good American parent would do for his children. Their schoolmates often teased them for being different and giggled when the contents of the sandwiches spilled out. All Helen and Michael wanted was thin white bread with a smear of Vegemite like everyone else, rather than the nourishing creations of their conscientious father.

All the same, it was a miserable time for Gilson, and the agony compounded in March 1960 when ANU discovered that its employer's contribution to Gilson's superannuation premiums had been overpaid to the extent of £234. 18s. 6d, of which some £148 related to 1959 when he was not even a staff member. Although aware of Gilson's "precarious financial state," ANU wanted to be refunded with 5% interest. It would have been reasonable in the circumstances to tell the university to pay for its own mistakes and to be more careful in the future, or at least to have demurred over the 5% interest. But Gilson was in no position to argue, much less stand his ground, because this would prejudice the possibility of upcoming work for ANU. Fortuitously, Davidson wanted someone to compile a calendar of manuscripts in New Zealand collections relating to the Pacific Islands. Harry Maude was unable to do it during his upcoming study leave, and Gilson, who was in reserve, got the job. With this in mind, he prevailed upon ANU that the repayments, plus interest, be paid in equal fortnightly installments from the beginning of September 1960, when he would possibly be in work again, until the end of the following year.[69] He never mentioned any of this to Miriam, who only found out when I innocently raised the matter some 40 years later. By now, he desperately needed a break from Canberra, and his family needed a break from him.

On the Mend

In New Zealand, Gilson stayed with his parents-in-law, received treatment for his emotional state, and renewed old acquaintances. He also wrote his

only book review[70] and worked his way through the archival records, sending regular progress reports to Harry Maude, and he ordered microfilms on behalf of the department.[71] Much of the previously scattered manuscript material had by then been deposited in the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington and in the Auckland Institute and Museum, which simplified matters.[72] Nevertheless, Gilson had a difficult time in rehabilitating himself. In order to make enough money to repay his superannuation debts, he took casual work in wool stores and on the wharves, which he initially found very tiring.[73] There was also a "schmozzle" that resulted in Gilson finding alternative accommodation in the near-city suburb of Thorndon, a short walk from the Turnbull Library. This was something else that Gilson concealed from Miriam, as did her parents for that matter—and successfully, because some forty years later she was unable to tell me anything about that either. Nevertheless, Gilson's fragile emotional state must have been disconcerting and productive of unease within the household: In those days in New Zealand people were not supposed to have near-nervous breakdowns, especially someone married into the family, and not the least when the father-in-law happened to be the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand.[74] Gilson was still a bit fragile when he returned to Canberra in early 1961, but at least his batteries were recharged and his morale restored to the extent that he could say that the "demons" that had possessed him over the past few years had been exorcised.[75] With renewed enthusiasm, Gilson got stuck into his writing: "he works like a beaver on a split second schedule," said Harry Maude, "and is in imminent danger of completing his thesis."[76] He maintained his night-owl habits of sleeping by day and working by night, and by the end of the year, it would appear that thirteen of the eventual sixteen chapters of his book were typed up in their final form.[77]

By that time, Gilson was happily preparing to return to California. He had sent an SOS message to Russell Caldwell, who had taught him history at USC, explaining his predicament. A horrified Caldwell urged Gilson to break with Australia and return to California before he ended up on the academic scrapheap. The Los Angeles State College (now California State University at Los Angeles) was rapidly expanding, and Caldwell suggested that he approach the Department of History for a teaching position. In short order, Gilson was offered an Assistant Professorship in anthropology, which he took up in early 1962.[78] Thus, the political scientist-cum-historian was now to formally redefine himself as a social anthropologist.

Quite apart from needing the job, Gilson was more than ready to go back to California. Canberra and some of its people were not altogether to his taste, and it had been very much on his mind that Miriam had been the breadwinner for the past four years. An immediate problem was how to pay

for the fares to California. Fortunately, Gilson had always collected stamps: One of his Samoan ones turned out to be valuable, and he sold it for over £500.[79] But the Gilsons' tribulations were not quite over. As seemed to be the pattern of any change of address, Gilson went first. He unexpectedly left Miriam to a torrid time that tested even her resolve and inner strength. She tired herself out in finishing a manuscript and in looking after Helen, who had gone down with rheumatic fever. Shortly before the departure date, Miriam drove the family car to Melbourne where she could sell it for a better price. Returning by air to Canberra, there was further drama when the plane circled Canberra for an hour and a half, diverted to Sydney to be grounded for a further two hours, and then back to Canberra. Looking very weary, she and the children departed that same day for Wellington, to visit her parents before going on to California; but the last minute rush must have undermined her resistance because she contracted hepatitis A, and Michael got a light dose. Too ill to move, she and the children stayed with her brother in Wellington for the next two months. Gilson meanwhile was going frantic in Los Angeles, sending postcards every other day. Nor was the adjustment to California altogether easy for Miriam. She couldn't imagine a life outside the workforce and this caused initial difficulty when Gilson said, "For goodness sake, let me support you for a while." As it happened, it took Miriam a while to find work, which was not at all to her liking.[80]

Otherwise, things were looking up. Gilson was well on the mend as he got on with his job and renewed old acquaintances. A frequent visitor to the Gilson household was his former USC mentor in anthropology, J. E. (Joe) Weckler, an unhappy man and who committed suicide the following year. Unsurprisingly, the conversationalist and raconteur in Gilson were alive and well, and he was capable of incredibly long, sustained discussions with his old friend. He enjoyed his teaching, liked the students, and put a great deal of effort into his job. He also taught a course at UCLA, to save up enough to put a deposit on a house. He and Miriam finally decided on a typically Los Angeles ranch-style house and signed a contract. The gods, it seemed, were smiling on the Gilsons once again.

Salvaging a Lifetime's Work

Then came that fateful day, 29 April 1963, which put an end to those "happy and hopeful months" in California. The night before Gilson, had been out of sorts and grumpy, and six-year-old Michael, with the heightened perception that children sometimes have, told his sister that something was definitely not right. Gilson went to work the following morning still feeling unwell. He drove home directly after a lecture and asked Miriam to run the bath.

She returned to find him collapsed on the dining room floor. An ambulance was called, but he was probably dead on the spot. With "unexpected and distressing finality," as a distraught Miriam put it,[81] his heart had done what he always knew it would. Miriam was simply devastated. None of their Canberra friends would have been surprised, much less critical, had she left Gilson and taken the children to New Zealand. Buoyed by her strong Christian convictions, she had stood by him; and just when their life was taking an upward trajectory, he was taken from her.

Likewise, Gilson's death was a grievous blow to his friends and to scholarship. His book on nineteenth-century Samoa was unfinished, and his intended work on the German period in Samoa would never get off the ground. As Davidson sadly recorded shortly afterward, "His death, at the early age of thirty-seven, removes a scholar whose work bridged history and anthropology, who had shown real originality of thought, and who was—sometimes to a fault—meticulous in both his writing and research."[82] But Gilson was not going to sink without trace if Miriam could help it, and she set about salvaging his unpublished work. The first fruits were not long in coming. Two weeks before his death, Gilson had presented a conference paper on Samoan descent groups, which was promptly published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.[83] The journal's editor Murray Groves (a former departmental colleague in Canberra) paid handsome tribute to him in a prefatory note:

> . . .we publish his manuscript here just as he left it, because it throws much light on a subject which badly needs illumination. Gilson knew intimately, and probably understood better than any other scholar, the intricate and detailed processes of political and social maneuver, negotiation and conflict which have long been characteristic of Western Samoan society and about which archival sources, such as the Lands and Titles Courts, provide ample testimony. . . . [H]e sought above all to understand the nature of Samoan society. [84]

In conclusion, Groves looked forward to "the publication of the larger work which Dick Gilson [had] laboured for many years, a definitive history of Samoan society . . . ."

The article was indeed an appetizer to the main course, but it was a long time between servings, despite the first thirteen chapters being in final form. It was eventually agreed that Miriam would finish the book while Davidson would oversee the editorial work and guide the manuscript through to publication. This was a sensible division because Miriam had often discussed the book with Gilson and was familiar with his handwriting and how he thought.[85]

Helen has vivid childhood memories of Gilson's prolonged discussions over what words to use, with Miriam as his "ear." She and Michael used to think, "Oh no, not this boring adult conversation again." Chapters 14 ("Political Free-for-all, 1876–1879") and 15 ("The Failure of International Concessions") were in draft form. Chapter 16 ("The Condominium") was unfinished. "From these drafts," Davidson explains, "and often exiguous indications of intended documentation, Miriam Gilson constructed a text",[86] and it was no easy task in making sense of Gilson's handwritten corrections and the interleaved amendments and additions on small slips of paper.[87] The publisher no longer has the file relating to Gilson's book; hence, one cannot trace its progress into print. The few surviving records indicate that the manuscript was ready for publication in late 1968 and finally published in early to mid-1970. In order to keep the retail price under ten dollars, the intended print run of 2,000 was increased to 2,500.[88]

Publication took longer than anyone expected—partly because the final chapter was intractable but largely because of Davidson's other activities. Under intense pressure to complete his own book on Western Samoa, he poured his efforts into that; in any case it was a prior commitment. Further delays resulted from Davidson's frequent absences from Canberra on study leave and constitutional advising duties.[89] Miriam started to become concerned. Davidson certainly took longer than he should have to see the work through the publication process, and the publisher's tardiness in getting copy to the printer caused further delay.[90] In those days the route from submission to final printing was lengthy, a case in point being Margaret Kiddle's history of the western district of Victoria. She completed the manuscript weeks before her death in 1958, at age forty-three, and the eventual book took a full three years to appear.[91]

Davidson has been taken to task in some quarters for his handling of Gilson's manuscript. Francis West, a departmental colleague, is appalled that Davidson gave one of his Ph.D. students access to Gilson's unpublished work.[92] Others besides West have been critical that Davidson made liberal use of Gilson's manuscript in his own book on Samoa. The background is somewhat complex. Davidson originally intended to write a "relatively brief account" (approximately 60,000 words) of the political development of Western Samoa from his first involvement in the affairs of the territory in 1947, until the eve of independence in 1961. He always intended to have a contextualizing section on Samoan society and on the history of Samoan relations with the outside world up to 1945, and initially he supposed that this could be covered in some 14,000–15,000 words.[93] Instead, he wrote a far bigger book, containing some 160,000 words of text. What were originally conceived as the introductory chapters—the political history of Western

Samoa to 1946, in 14,000–15,000 words—became four substantial chapters in their own right.[94] The first two chapters—"The Traditional Polity" and "The Impact of the West 1830–1900"—drew heavily on Gilson's work.

Did this "masterly exercise in condensation," as Harry Maude described it,[95] amount to the improper use of a late colleague's unpublished manuscript? Were Davidson's chapters on the nineteenth-century background, as someone once said to me, simply "Gilson written better"? Actually, Davidson put a good deal of his own research into these chapters; this can be specifically documented for the chapter on the impact of the West.[96] Davidson, moreover, repeatedly acknowledges his indebtedness, to both Gilson's manuscript and research notes; and Miriam, whose view is the one that matters, does not feel that his use of her late husband's work was "illegitimate."[97] What is not generally appreciated is the checking of footnotes and the simplification of their form (though not their content) amounted to a great deal of hidden work for Davidson and his research assistants, and Davidson did complete the unfinished final chapter. Nonetheless, the publisher was mistaken when he said a few years later that "There is, in fact, a great deal more of Jim in the last five [sic] chapters of that book than we hope the reader would be aware of, but Jim did his best to achieve a kind of pastiche between himself and Gilson, which make the break between those chapters and the rest of the book hardly distinguishable."[98] Those final three chapters were presented essentially as they were at the time of Gilson's death, although considerably tidied up.

Assessments of *Samoa, 1830 to 1900*

Davidson resisted the idea that Gilson's manuscript be sent to outside readers, arguing that those best able to judge were in his own department.[99] So how did academic reviewers react to this technically unrefereed publication? Quite simply, *Samoa, 1830 to 1900* received a standing ovation.[100] The reviewers warmly welcomed this "massive and indispensable book on an island state during a period . . . no less fascinating than crucial" (Deryck Scarr), with its rare combination of historical research and anthropological insight (Mary Boyd; Francis West). In "what must be the best account of Samoan social organization ever written" (Graham Harrison), Gilson had came to grips with the complexity of Samoa and did "an admirable and commendable job of explaining this complexity and showing how it was affected and how it affected events during seventy years of the nineteenth century" (Judith Huntsman). It was "micro-history but macro-scholarship" (Allan Healy). Not the least, Gilson's "ability to encapsulate paragraphs of meaning in a few words" (Angus Ross) would have been vindication for his concern for fidelity to every nuance of interpretation. In short, it was "a fitting memorial

to a man who so closely identified himself with his vocation and the people of whose history he made himself the chronicler" (G. B. Milner). There was the occasional cavil. One reviewer felt that the oral testimony collected by Gilson was more a social charter than actual history and that "this kind of material really records the ethnographic present rather than the historical past" (West; cf. Harrison). Nevertheless, "Few scholars, probably, would emerge from a posthumous book of this scope and complexity with the credit that Gilson does" (Scarr).

Indeed, as Davidson said, the earlier chapters achieve a "superb" level of analysis.[101] Getting a grip on Samoan motivations was anything but easy given, that "few, if any, Europeans of the time understood the intricacies of the Samoan social order or, in consequence, the nature of the system of conflict and choice which defined and limited the range of action open to Samoans in the conduct of the relations with foreigners." The mastery of his source material and the correction of its European bias in the first two chapters on the Samoan way of life and its structure are exemplary. It is fortunate that the first two chapters survived in their original form; the publisher originally envisaged a much shorter book and wanted to omit the ethnographic chapters. In a rare lapse of literary judgment, Davidson initially suggested that they be summarized and the original versions published separately as journal articles, but eventually these chapters were retained in their original form.[102] The following pair of chapters, on Christianity and the Samoan influence on the church (not the church's influence on Samoans!), are probably the highpoints. The chapter on the American adventurer, Albert B. Steinberger, is a masterly unraveling of the interplay between personality and issues, intrigue and principle. While the historian Barry Rigby conclusively proved that Steinberger was an accomplished con man—which many contemporaries had suspected, and what Davidson could never bring himself to admit—Gilson anticipated Rigby's analysis without having seen crucial documents relating to the activities of H.M.S. *Barracouta*.[103]

The only criticism on a point of substance has been Tuiatua Tupua Tamasese's discussion of the "riddles" of Samoan history—namely, the impediments to historical research imposed by Samoans' use of allusive language and "deliberate ambiguity," coupled with their tendency to withhold delicate information in the interest of a sanitized and idealized past. He takes Gilson—and to a lesser extent Davidson—to task for erring in the matter of title succession.[104] Although precious in the way he expresses himself, Tamasese is probably correct in his specific complaints. But by singling out Gilson for criticism, he is paying him the backhanded compliment of acknowledging Dick as the preeminent *papalagi* historian of Samoa—for if Gilson was capable of being misled by duplicitous Samoans, then what hope is there for anyone else?

Samoa, 1830 to 1900 has something of a reputation for being a difficult read. It is actually an extremely well-written book, apart from a falling off toward the end. Rather than calling the book difficult, it would be better to say that Gilson's "ability to encapsulate paragraphs of meaning in a few words" gives the text a certain solidity and weightiness. It is not what might be described as bedtime reading. For all the vitality and power of its prose, *Samoa, 1830 to 1900* puts even the informed reader's powers of concentration to the test. The middle chapters especially, where complex scenarios are related in a densely constructed narrative, are best read in short bursts. That said, there are passages where sparkle and erudition intermingle, for example the seven-page section on "Economic prospects." But as Miriam stressed to me, a book that is finished by another hand can never be the one its author intended.[105] (In the same way Gibbon's *Memoirs* and Collingwood's *The Idea of History* are editors' constructions from incomplete manuscripts, and what would each book have been had the author lived to see its completion?) The final three chapters of *Samoa, 1830 to 1900* are probably poor approximations to what Gilson would have written had he lived. To compound the problem, Gilson had consciously drafted these chapters more "summarily"—otherwise the book would have grown completely out of control, but the effect was to give the impression of a rush to the finishing line. Imperfect it is, and heavy-going, but a masterpiece nonetheless. His unfinished symphony, so to speak, had assumed more the character of Beethoven's mighty Ninth Symphony, the *Choral*, which is meant to be experienced rather than enjoyed. To quote from one consumer report (Peter Hempenstall), "I have always admired his book on Samoa as being closer to the Davidson model than JWD himself was, in that it is a sensitive reading of the cultural possibilities within Samoan history last century which I have never found wanting after all my other researches into the place and the people."[106] Another admirer is the Samoan historian Damon Salesa, who describes *Samoa, 1830 to 1900* as "a special book." He often finds himself turning to it, "not only for its richness of sources, and the richness of sources, and the strength of its interpretation, but also as a book which has a wonderful sense of the detail of Samoan life, and perhaps most rarely, a sense of the irony of (Samoan) history. . . . It has kept its feet surely for decades, and I expect that it will last in a way virtually unique amongst works of Pacific historiography."[107]

A piece of historical writing always reflects to some degree the personality behind it, and particularly so with *Samoa, 1830 to 1900*. The carefully weighed conclusions, exactness of word and phrase, and the massive research that underpins the enterprise are palpably the work of a raconteur, an enthusiast for his subject, and above all a perfectionist. Jim Davidson mentions Gilson's

quest for "clarity and precision,"[108] and Harry Maude, in his letter of condolence to Miriam, praised his breadth and depth of "knowledge and. . .his ability to isolate what was important from the surrounding mass of detail." But, he added, "If only we could have prevented his commendable striving for perfectionism from gradually turning into an obsession that tended to frustrate his every effort."[109] And Gilson certainly had the personality attributes of the perfectionist. He was principled and conscientious, was demanding of others *and* of himself in professional contexts, as well as having a well-developed sense of right and wrong. Hence, his disapproval, during his 1950 visits to Western Samoa, of the lassitude of a New Zealand official whose "main occupation appear[ed] to be reading magazines over a bottle of beer at the Apia Club," and his shocked disbelief at the spectacle of one of the two *Fautua* (royal princes) reading a comic: "Small wonder that people deplore his backwardness about asserting himself."[110] Indeed, Gilson was a stern moral enforcer with firmly held views on the operational ethics of research and writing. He was not pleased with Derek Freeman's essay on the Siovili cult. Freeman did say that he was "grateful for information made available to me by W. N. Gunson and R. P. Gilson . . ." when in fact he had been given all the relevant references that the pair had located in the London Missionary Society records. Freeman then cited these sources as if they were his own discoveries. Gilson regarded this insufficiency of acknowledgment as downright dishonesty. He was also dismayed at the interpretation that was put on the cult leader reading Dr. Johnson's *The Rambler*, feeling that Freeman had indulged in unwarranted speculation and had knowingly sacrificed accuracy for the sake of literary flourish.[111]

Such attributes and injunctions carried over into his research and writing. At one level was the thoroughness of his investigations and the integrity of his conclusions; for these reasons the term "obsessive detail" does not quite capture Gilson's purpose. It was not an obsession with detail for detail's sake but a principled concern with accuracy—which mutated into a counterproductive obsession with an unattainable perfectionism. A by-product of this perfectionism was Gilson's eternal quest for exactly the right choice of word and phrase which strongly resembles the overtly moral dimension that George Orwell applied to his own writing, founded on a sense of obligation and duty to avoid carelessness and ambiguity, and to eschew the overworked metaphor and the hackneyed phrase.[112] Here is an object lesson for the allusive, evasive and deliberately ambiguous Samoans, referred to by Tamasese. At another level was a blend of the professional historian's stolidity and the storyteller's sparkle, not to mention his shrewd understanding of human motivation and a sure eye for a charlatan. His exposé of Aaron Van Camp as an unprincipled scoundrel is all too accurate. Nor was he fooled by John Williams, the intrepid pioneering missionary of legend, who is depicted

as timorous and being guided by "considerations of expediency."[113] Gilson poured his personality into his book, and the writing indeed proclaims the man.

There was a fortuitous epilogue. By coincidence, an Oxford graduate student Paul Kennedy (who went on to write the hugely successful *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*) was researching a dissertation on the events leading up to the partition of the Samoan Islands, since published.[114] With no foreknowledge of Gilson's work, Kennedy submitted his thesis in 1970, the same year that Gilson's book appeared. Kennedy acknowledged that Gilson's (and Davidson's) work on Samoa showed that the study of Pacific history was heading in a different and preferable direction to his own traditional Great Power approach—which was fine for a European setting but inadequate for handling multicultural situations.[115] Kennedy's narrative begins in earnest in 1884, when Gilson's was tapering off. The research for both works, however, has the same depth of detail and analysis. Gilson is much surer on the culture contact situation, while Kennedy far better relates how Samoa was a component in the complex global interplay of great power rivalries. Thus, two completely independent studies, coming from different intellectual traditions, complement each other and give nineteenth-century Samoa richness unparalleled in Pacific Islands historiography. What is now needed, as Rigby suggests, is a study "to bridge that gap between . . . Gilson's kind of local history and Paul Kennedy's kind of international history," and, thus, elucidate the relationship between the periphery and the metropolis.[116]

The Cook Islands Book

Gilson's thesis on the Cook Islands was also prepared for publication. For years, it had been recognized as the authority on Cook Islands history. Ron Crocombe was aware that New Zealand's Department of Island Territories' copy was in constant demand by scholars and officials and he had urged Gilson to get it into print. But Gilson wanted to revise and shorten it, something that his work on Samoa had precluded.[117] A way out presented itself when Davidson recommended him as the contributor of the Cook Islands section to a historical survey of New Zealand's record in the Pacific Islands.[118] Gilson's death delayed that project, and the substitute author produced indifferent chapters, which made the publication of his thesis the more urgent [119] (A similar situation occurred when Clement Goodfellow's suicide, in 1966, "deprived the second volume of the *Oxford History of South Africa* of two chapters and considerably weakened its political backbone."[120]) At Miriam's request, the task fell to Ron Crocombe, who had discussed the intended changes with Gilson in 1959.[121] The manuscript was reduced by

one-third, and Crocombe added material on local government, social organization, and culture change in the outer islands. The editing and revisions were duly completed, and arrangements were made for joint publication by the University of the South Pacific's Institute of Pacific Studies (of which Crocombe was Director) and Victoria University of Wellington (VUW).

It was another long haul. The manuscript was submitted to VUW's cash-strapped Publication Committee in late 1974. The committee was sympathetic but hesitant, for financial reasons and because the text was somewhat dated. It was also worried about the size of the market for a specialized book on such a small island group. Various printing alternatives were considered during 1975 and 1976, and in early 1977 it was agreed in principle to proceed. The following year, arrangements were made that the Central Printery at ANU should produce the book. Then there was proofreading and indexing. In all, it took some four and a half years between the submission of the manuscript and its publication, and not without recurring acrimony between Wellington and Canberra; but in early July 1980, Victoria University Press had the pleasure at last of sending Miriam a copy.[122] The book lacked the depth and finesse of its predecessor but remains the best survey of Cook Islands history to 1950, largely by default.[123]

Family Fortunes

Dick Gilson's academic career has a certain riches to rags quality about it. The exceptional graduate student who was awarded successive Fulbright scholarships and moved to a coveted position at the Australian National University was brought low by his handling of an unmanageable project. It is neither fair nor accurate to regard him as the gentleman-scholar type, where it was not important whether he ever produced. To the contrary, Gilson did not take this easy choice. He drove himself too hard and was at once his greatest critic and worst enemy. He was an indefatigable researcher whose home and office bulged with research notes. He was a perfectionist whose attention to detail and nuance proved to be a stumbling block in the face of a project of such scale and complexity as the political history of nineteenth-century Samoa. The same perfectionism that delayed the result also produced a work of lasting quality. It was his misfortune not to have found a way to cut his topic to fit the format of a Ph.D. thesis, the successful completion of which would have ensured his continued employment to expand his subject into a book. Rather, Gilson collided with a system that demanded outcomes from nontenured academics, while their tenured counterparts remained in their jobs whether or not they produced. At the same time, Gilson was capable of finding distractions, often from altruistic motives, and

was too sociable for his own good. Nevertheless, substantial parts of the book had been written when he found himself out of work in mid-1958. Despite the trying times that followed, Helen remembers her father as the same "compassionate person who often helped and listened to other people, despite his own worries." Harry Maude said as much six months after Gilson's death; and then he added, "Dick was in my opinion the best Pacific historian we have had and Davidson, who is a shrewd critic, has described his effort on Samoa as the best history of any island group yet written. In a way it killed him."[124]

Gilson's premature death left his life's work in limbo. The eventual publication of his two books brought belated, if generous, recognition. The other dimension to the incompleteness of his short earthly existence was his family being left high and dry. Helen was nine and Michael was six at the time of his death. Miriam's inner strength, which living with Gilson's problems had often required, again came to the fore. She returned to New Zealand and took a teaching job at Wellington East Girls' College.[125] In 1964, she was appointed to a lectureship in sociology at Victoria University, a position for which she was hesitant about applying, because her disciplinary qualifications and experience lay elsewhere. But Robert Chapman, who was now back in Auckland, insisted that she throw her hat in the ring, and he backed his judgment with an unequivocal and detailed referee's report.[126] He was endorsed by Jerzy Zubrzycki (her Canberra coauthor), and by W. B. (Mick) Borrie (Miriam's Head of Department at ANU) who gave his assurance that, despite her lack of formal qualifications, Miriam's appointment would never be regretted. "He was certainly right about that," observed Miriam's new boss.[127]

Her career blossomed, despite the pressures of single motherhood. A competent and supportive colleague, she injected a demographic component into the department's teaching, enrolled for a Ph.D., and published the results of her work with Zubrzycki.[128] On a visit to New Zealand, Jim Davidson called on Miriam and was delighted to find that she was doing so well and living in a pleasant house overlooking Evans Bay; he had feared that she would be incarcerated with two children in a wretched state house. In 1970, Miriam married William Vosburgh, a visiting Fulbright professor. By this time, she had been promoted to Senior Lecturer and could look forward to an eventual Readership. Her departure for Pennsylvania left a yawning gap in the department; and all these years later, former colleagues remember her with enormous affection.[129] At her new place of abode, Miriam put the finishing touches on her Ph.D. thesis on family and social change in New Zealand.[130] Just as Gilson's thesis was of value to the Department of Island Territories, so was Miriam's to education policy analysts in New Zealand. She was appointed to the Sociology Department at Villanova University. Starting from scratch all over again as an Assistant Professor, she worked her way up

the ranks, served as Department Chair for a decade, and went into semiretirement in 1993 as Emeritus Professor. The trajectory of her career, as Robert Chapman said to me, "was very much the rise of the deserving."[131]

The children—although they are no longer that—achieved what Gilson originally wanted for himself: they went to medical school and graduated as "real doctors." Helen, who remained in New Zealand, was awarded her Doctorate in Medicine and is currently teaching at the Otago Medicial School's campus in Wellington.[132] Helen made a telling observation in saying that history was perhaps the wrong discipline for her father. Many laboratory scientists, she told me, are also perfectionists: they go back and repeat an experiment until they get a result or else to confirm the result. The big difference is that multiple interpretations are possible with historical scholarship, which can cause logjams of the sort her father experienced, whereas laboratory experimentation admits only one "answer." Medicine is a bit different, Helen hastened to point out: it is an art as well as a science.[133] For his part, Michael moved to the United States with Miriam and, in time, was also drawn to medicine, after completing an engineering degree at Princeton. The implications are not lost on family friends that he became a cardiology specialist, but Michael points out that his choice was probably steered by "the actions of his [father's] life rather than the mechanism of his death." That is to say, while Michael makes no claim to being a perfectionist, he does see the decision to undergo the rigors of medical school test and prove himself as something he inherited from the father.

Finalé

It can be anticipated that time will be posthumously kind to Dick Gilson, as life was often unkind to him. Despite his premonition of untimely demise, his books have enabled him to cheat death in a way he certainly never anticipated. *Samoa, 1830–1900* has not been, and perhaps never will be, superseded as the great text on nineteenth-century Samoa. Such is its soundness and thoroughness, not to mention its sheer scale, that it has had the Beethoven-like quality of inhibiting would-be imitators. Some of the details may be open to correction or qualification, and conclusions here and there might be modified. But the work as a whole remains unchallenged; no one has attempted a similar feat; and every author who strays into nineteenth-century Samoa is indebted to Gilson having been there beforehand.[134] He was, said Colin Newbury, "an exemplary scholar, anthropologist, and historian."[135] Gilson's other legacy lies in the achievements of his widow and children, which provide a measure of consolation about this decent man and able scholar who died too young.

Even so, one suspects *Samoa, 1830 to 1900* is read less often than it ought to be. Specialists on Samoa will find it indispensable, but I doubt whether the book is routinely read by Pacific historians. To do so would lead to the elementary realization that the many alleged new ways were, in fact, the norm among members of the Davidson school. Whether the older generation of Canberra scholars sought to be sensitive to the ethnographic dimension of cross-cultural encounters, and careful not to interpret them in European terms, is not a matter of debate. Nor did they use pretentious jargon, often coupled with insufficient research into the documentary record, much less write about fractured moments on the basis of isolated evidence;[136] and Kerry Howe is right to point out the "reductive moralising" and shallowness of those postcolonialists who "read and deconstruct a single paragraph and find in it every possible sin such as racism, sexism, culturalism."[137] Jim Davidson was perfectly aware how difficult it was "to use documents written by Europeans as a guide to the realities of non-Western society," and Gilson no less so. To repeat, "few, if any, Europeans at the time understood the intricacies of the Samoan social order or in consequence, the nature of the system of conflict and choice which defined and limited the range of action open to Samoans in the conduct of their relations with foreigners." Of *Samoa, 1830 to 1900*, the social anthropologist Judith Huntsman unequivocally stated *at the time* that Gilson "combined perceptive interpretation of diverse historical documents and sophisticated anthropological description to analyse the complex interrelationships of Samoans and Europeans and to explain what happened in Samoan between 1830 and 1900."[138] Gilson more than satisfies the recent calls for ethnographically sensitive readings and attention to the interpretative dimensions of archival material, both in intention and result. Moreover, the positionality of historians, which has long been recognized in the historical profession, is easily explained in Gilson's case. He wrote a marvellous book, which will always be worth reading—not the least, as John Clive remarked in a different context, because, like *Samoa mo Samoa*, it imparts "the powerful impact of that encounter between personal commitment and scholarly curiosity which lies at the heart of all great history, from the Greeks to the present."[139]

Abbreviations in Endnotes

ANU	Australian National University
IT	Records of the New Zealand Department of Island Territories, Archives New Zealand, Wellington
JPH	*Journal of Pacific History*
JPS	*Journal of the Polynesian Society*

NBAC	Noel Butlin Archives Centre, Canberra
NLA	National Library of Australia, Canberra
PMB	Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Manuscripts Series microfilm
USC	University of Southern California
VUC/VUW	Victoria University College/Victoria University of Wellington

NOTES

* Many of the unreferenced details come from discussions and correspondence with Dick Gilson's widow (Miriam Gilson Vosburgh) and daughter (Helen Carter), and from comments on the first draft by his son (Michael Gilson). I am most grateful for the family's willingness to assist. Thanks are also extended Paul C. Kovich of the University of Southern California for help at the Los Angeles end and to Susan Woodburn, then the Special Collections Librarian of the University of Adelaide, for facilitating access to the Maude Papers. Comments on earlier drafts by Mary Boyd, Ron Crocombe, Robert Chapman, Niel Gunson, Peter Hempenstall, Clive Moore, Barry Rigby, and Francis West made all the difference to the final outcome. The individuals who told me what they knew about Gilson, and to whom I am extremely grateful, are identified in the endnotes.

1. R. P. Gilson, *Samoa, 1830 to 1900: The Politics of a Multi-cultural Community*, with an "Introduction" and "Conclusion" by J. W. Davidson (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1970).

2. For an assessment, see Doug Munro, "Disentangling Samoan History: The contributions of Gilson and Davidson." In *Texts and Contexts: Reflections in Pacific Islands Historiography*, edited by Doug Munro and Brij V. Lal (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 225–37.

3. The details in this section are largely taken from interviews with Robert and Noeline Chapman (Auckland, 22 July 1999) and Miriam Gilson Vosburgh (Wellington, 22 February 2000) and from various records in Gilson's Australian National University file (no. 6.2.3.12). The latter is held in the ANU Central Archives. Documents from this source are henceforth abbreviated to file and folio number as follows: Gilson's 1952 CV, 6.2.3.12, f.17; Gilson's student record at USC, 6.2.3.12, f.112; Gilson to Registrar, 30 October 1957, 6.3.12, [f. 120a].

4. As well as membership of two honorary societies, Blue Key and Phi Eta Sigma, Dick was President of the Independent Student Council in 1946. Paul C. Kovich, pers. comm., 6 May 2000; *El Rodeo 1947*, published by the Associated Students of the University of Southern California (copy provided by Susan Hikida, USC Assistant Archivist). Little else is known of Dick's involvement in USC student affairs. See Miriam Gilson to J. W. Davidson, 16 November 1968, PMB 1009.

5. Carl Q. Christol (Distinguished Emeritus Professor of International Law and Political Science, USC), pers. comm., 10 May 2000.

6. Gilson, "Statement of Purpose to Study Abroad," R. P. Gilson's file, Wellington, Fulbright New Zealand. (Gail Wilson facilitated access to these records.)

7. Joan Druett, *Fulbright in New Zealand* (Wellington: New Zealand-United States Educational Foundation, 1988), 121.

8. Ernest Beaglehole, "Trusteeship and New Zealand's Pacific Dependencies," *JPS* 56, no. 2 (1947): 128–157; Mary Boyd, pers. comm., 18 March 2000.

9. Gilson, Report to Fulbright Foundation, 12 August 1950, Gilson's Fulbright File. Dick's student record at VUC could not be traced. Probably one does not exist given the informal nature of his studies.

10. Ruth Allen, *Nelson: A History of Early Settlement*, edited by J. C. Beaglehole (Wellington: A. W. & A. H. Reed, 1965).

11. Telephone discussions with Peter Stannard (8 April 2000) and Ian Cross (4 May 2000), and discussion with Bruce Brown (8 April 2006). R. S. (Bob) Parker, who supervised Dick's long vacation reading programme and then taught one of his courses at VUC, also attests to the "attractiveness of his character" (telephone discussion, 20 April 2000). Not much else could be discovered of Dick's student activities in Wellington. He does not find his way into the VUC student magazines (*Salient* and *Cappicade*), and he rates but a solitary mention in *Weir House Magazine*, 1950, 52.

12. Gilson, Report to Fulbright Foundation, 12 August 1950, in Gilson's Fulbright file. Radio New Zealand's Sound Archive does not hold recordings of any of Dick's radio talks. He also wrote a number of articles on New Zealand life and politics for American publications, but I have been unable to locate any such needles in that haystack.

13. Rachel Barrowman, *Mason: A Life of R. A. K. Mason* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2003), 295–97. Fraser's policies are discussed in Michael Bassett with Michael King, *Tomorrow Comes the Song: A Life of Peter Fraser* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001), chs. 14 and 16.

14. Gilson, Report to Fulbright Foundation, 12 August 1950; R. T. G. Patrick to W. Tailby, 19 April 1950, IT, W239, 86/1/37.

15. Davidson, "Introduction," viii. Gilson's three 1950 Fieldwork Journals, on which this section is based, were loaned to me by Miriam Gilson Vosburgh. His movements in the Islands were: Fiji (3–5 June and 31 July to 2 August), Tonga (6–9 June and 30 July), Niue (9–10 June), Samoa (11–29 June and 29–30 July), and Cook Islands (29 June to 29 July).

16. Greg Fry, "The South Pacific 'Experiment': Reflections on the Origins of Regional Identity," *JPH* 32, no. 2 (1997): 180–202.

17. Gilson, Fieldwork Journal, 11 June 1950; Davidson to his mother, 15 June 1950, Davidson Papers, NLA, MS 5105, Box 65.

18. Ted Morgan, *Somerset Maugham* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1980), 213–17.

19. R. P. Gilson, "Notes on Rarotongan Administration (for New Zealand Government, 1950)," 26 pp. (copy in PMB 1009, reel 7); *Evening Post* (Wellington), 10 August 1950: 5.

20. "The South Pacific Commission: One Aspect of Regional Security," *World Affairs Interpreter* (1950): 181–90 (reprinted by the Caribbean Commission, 1951). Later that year, he published some results of his fieldwork: "Some Administrative Problems in the Cook Islands," *South Pacific* (December 1950): 213–15, 232.

21. Extract from Minutes of the Board of Graduate Studies, 9 May 1952, 6.2.3.12, f.17(a); extract from Minutes of the Interim Council, 27 June 1952, 6.2.3.12, f.26.

22. R. P. Gilson, "The Administration of the Cook Islands (Rarotonga)," M.Sc. (Econ) thesis, University of London, 1952; Davidson to Deputy Registrar, 20 November 1957, 6.2.3.12, f.123.

23. Quoted in Davidson, "Introduction," viii.

24. Ellen W. Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

25. Miriam Gilson Vosburgh, pers. comms., 2 August 2000, 26 October 2000; Ron Crocombe, pers. comm., 25 June 2000.

26. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, Vol 1: 1778–1854: Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1938). The second and third volumes, covering the years to 1893, were published in 1953 and 1967, respectively, and the final volume was completed with the help of Charles Hunter. See Jonathan K. Osorio, "Living in Archives and Dreams: the histories of Kuykendall and Daws." In *Texts and Contexts*, edited by Munro and Lal, 191–201.

27. J. W. Davidson, "Understanding Pacific History: The Participant as Historian." In *The Feel of Truth*, edited by Peter Munz (Wellington: A. W. & A. H. Reed, 1969), 32.

28. Australian National University, *Report of the Council for the period 1 January, 1952, to 31 December, 1952* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1954), 31.

29. O. H. K. Spate, "Early Days at ANU: An Anecdotage," *ANU Reporter* 24 February 1989: 4.

30. Norah Forster, pers. comm., 27 June 2000 (Norah Forster became a Senior Research Fellow in Pacific History at ANU; Colin Forster, then a Ph.D. student, became Professor of Economic History in the Faculties, ANU); Robert and Noeline Chapman, interview, 15 July 1999 (the late Robert Chapman was Emeritus Professor of Political Studies, University of Auckland).

31. W. N. Gunson, Review (of *Samoa, 1830 to 1900*), in *Historical Studies*, 15, no. 61 (1973): 794.

32. Davidson to G. R. Powles (New Zealand High Commissioner, Western Samoa), 21 June 1954, Davidson Papers, NLA, MS 5105, Box 43.

33. H. E. Maude to Jason Horn, 23 August 1959, Maude Papers, Series J.

34. Gilson to J. B. Wright, 20 March 1954, IT 1, W239 86/1/37.

35. Davidson, "Introduction," vii.

36. Margery Jacobs, telephone discussion, 20 November 2000.

37. German Colonial Archives, microfilms in Archives New Zealand, R5682–R5961; Papers of E. W. Gurr, Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-0056.

38. Norma McArthur, *Island Populations of the Pacific* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1967), v, 362.

39. Quoted in Nancy Phelan, *Pieces of Heaven: In the South Seas* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1996), 33.

40. R. P. Gilson, "The Background of New Zealand's Early Land Policy in Rarotonga," *JPS* 74, no. 3 (1955): 267–80; Gilson, "Negotiations Leading to British Intervention in Rarotonga (Cook Islands)," *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand* 7, no. 25 (1955): 62–80.

41. Gilson to Boyd, 31 August 1954 and 24 September 1954 (provided by Mary Boyd).

42. Davidson, "Introduction," ix.

43. Many details in this paragraph were related or confirmed by Mary Boyd, who herself was engaged in fieldwork in Western Samoa, October 1954 to March 1955. Dick's helpfulness is attested to by another fieldworker, the linguist G. B. Milner, in his review of *Samoa, 1830 to 1900*, in *JPH* 6 (1971): 223, and pers. comm., 27 July 2000. The description of the "rather serious" Gilson is from Phelan, *Pieces of Heaven*, 33.

44. Correspondence between Gilson to Michael Standish (the National Archivist of New Zealand), 20 January to 2 March 1955, NA 4/2, Archives New Zealand.

45. Correspondence concerning the biography of Wilhelm Solf, 1953–1954, West Papers, NLA, MS 9471, Series 1, Folder 3; Davidson to Wright, 21 June 1954, Davidson Papers, NLA, MS 5105, Box 43.

46. See Peter Hempenstall and Paula Tanaka Mochida, *The Lost Man: Wilhelm Solf in German history* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 21.

47. Marjorie Jacobs, "German Colonial Archives: New Guinea and Samoa in the Deutsches Zentralarchiv," *JPH* 6 (1971): 151–161; Jacobs, "Further Archives from Potsdam," *JPH* 12, no. 1 (1977): 86–92.

48. Francis West, pers. comm., 3 March 2001.

49. "Western Samoa: English Summaries of Papers Relating to German Administration, 1900–1914," PMB 479; Australian National University, *Report of the Interim Council for the Period 1st January, 1955, to 31st December, 1955* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1956), 41.

50. Colin Newbury, pers. comm., 24 April 2000.

51. Gilson to Boyd, 2 September 1955 (provided by Mary Boyd).

52. Davidson to his mother, 30 July 1955, Davidson Papers, NLA, MS 5105, Box 66; Davidson, "Introduction," vii; Davidson to Deputy Registrar, 20 November 1957, 6.2.3.12, f.123. Dick's three surviving letters to Davidson during this period are in the Davidson Papers, NLA, MS 5105, Box 1.

53. *Report of the Council of the Australain National University for the Year Ending 31st December 1956* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1957), 45–46.

54. Minutes of the Board of General Studies, 29 July 1955 (591/1955), ANU Central Archives; Acting Registrar to Gilson, 15 August 1955, 6.2.3.12, f.107.

55. Davidson to Boyd, 7 March 1957 (provided by Mary Boyd).

56. Davidson, "Introduction," x; Gunson, review in *Historical Studies*, 794; Harry Maude, interview (Canberra, 15 September 1997); Ron Crocombe, pers. comm., 6 June 1999; Francis West, pers. comm., 15 June 1999; Robert Chapman, interview (Auckland, 15 July 1999); Colin Newbury, pers. comm., 26 April 2000. Another such example concerns Jill Craigie's unfinished 300,000-word manuscript on the British suffragette movement. See Carl Rollyson, *To Be A Woman: The Life of Jill Craigie* (London: Aurum, 2005), 316–22.

57. Davidson to his mother, 3 June 1956, Davidson Papers, NLA 5105, Box 66.

58. Gilson to Registrar, 14 August, 6.2.3.12, f.114; Registrar to Gilson, 28 October 1957, 6.3.2.12, f.121; Davidson to Deputy Registrar, 20 November 1957, 6.2.3.12, f.123; Registrar to Gilson, 9 December 1957, 6.2.3.12, f.125.

59. Davidson to Registrar, 20 February 1958, 6.2.3.12, f.130.

60. Davidson to Raymond Firth, 23 July 1958, Records Room, Division of Pacific and Asian History, ANU, Davidson Papers, U.K. Universities folder.

61. Mary Boyd, commenting on a draft of this paper; Ron Crocombe, pers. comm., 25 June 2000.

62. Maude to Davidson, 21 May 1959, Maude Papers, Series C/10. Maude produced the book many years later in his retirement. H. E. Maude, *Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862–1864* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1981).

63. Ron Crocombe, pers. comm., 6 June 1999. Crocombe is Emeritus Professor of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.

64. Colin Forster, telephone discussion, 3 September 2000.

65. Deputy Registrar to Vice Chancellor, 9 March 1960, 6.2.3.12, f.143; Davidson to Maude, 28 February 1960, Maude Papers, Series J.

66. Maude to Horn, 23 August 1959, Maude Papers, Series J.

67. Francis West, pers. comm., 24 November 2000.

68. Encyclopaedia Britannia International to Marney Dunn, 3 December 1968 (PMB 1009, reel 1); *Samoa, 1830 to 1900*, ix, xiii.

69. Deputy Registrar to Gilson, 10 March 1960, 6.2.3.12, f.144; Davidson to Acting Registrar, 27 July 1960, Personal File of H. E. Maude, ANU Central Archives, 6.2.3.26, f.84; Davidson to Accountant, 10 August 1960, 6.2.3.12, f.148; Maude to Gilbert Archey (Director of the Auckland Institute and Museum), 28 September 1960, Maude Papers, Series J.

70. Review (of W.P. Morrell, *Britain in the Pacific Islands* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960].) In *Pacific Viewpoint* 2, no. 1 (1960): 116-17.

71. Gilson to Maude, 21 September, 7 October, 27 October, 13 November, 16 November, 1960, Maude Papers, Series J; *Report to the Council of the Australian National University for the Year Ending 31st December, 1960* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1961), 77.

72. Maude to Davidson, 14 September 1960, Maude Papers, Series J; Maude to Gilson, 28 September 1960, Davidson Papers, NLA, MS 5105, Box 54.

73. Gilson to Maude, 25 December 1960, Maude Papers, Series J.

74. See Maude to Gilson, 17 December 1960, Maude Papers, Series J; Miriam Gilson Vosburgh, pers. comm., 30 October 2000.

75. Francis West, pers. comm., 24 November 2000.

76. Quoted in Niel Gunson, "An Introduction to Pacific History." In *Pacific Islands History: Journeys and Transformations* (Canberra: Journal of Pacific History, Inc., 1992), 8 & n.24.

77. Maude to Ethel Drus (formerly a Research Fellow in the Department), 31 March 1961; Miriam Gilson to Maude, 25 May [1963], both in Maude Papers, Series J.

78. Russell [Caldwell] to Gilson, 26 October 1961, Davidson Papers, NLA, MS 5105, Box 57; Maude to Standish, 31 December 1961, NA N/6, Archives New Zealand.

79. Davidson to Standish, 29 March 1962, Archives New Zealand, NA 4/2; Miriam Gilson Vosburgh, pers. comm., 26 October 2000.

80. Edna [Gilbert], (Secretary, Department of Pacific History) to Maude, 14 June 1962, Maude Papers, Series J; Miriam Gilson Vosburgh, interview, 22 February 2000; Helen Carter, telephone discussion, 19 October 2000.

81. Miriam Gilson to Maude, Maude Papers, Series J.

82. "Departmental Annual Report, 1963" [Department of Pacific History, ANU], (cyclostyled), ANU Central Records, 2.1.8.2, Part 2.

83. Richard P. Gilson, "Samoa Descent Groups: A Structural Outline," *JPS* 72: 4 (1963): 372–77.

84. [Murray Groves]. In *JPS* 72:372. Groves' imaginative editorship of the *JPS* is outlined in M. P. K. Sorrenson, *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society over 100 Years* (Auckland: Polynesian Society, 1992), 123.

85. I recall these details from a conversation with Jim Davidson in 1972. They were confirmed by Miriam Gilson Vosburgh (interview, 22 February 2000), and Colin Forster (telephone discussion, 3 September 2000).

86. Davidson, "Introduction," x.

87. See PMB 1009, reels 3 and 4.

88. There are a small number of memos and letters, July to December 1968, relating to the book in the Gilson Papers (PMB 1009, reel 1), and a memo from Davidson, dated 15 October 1969, to the Republic of Nauru Fund Committee, asking for a contribution to the publisher of $700 in addition to the $300 offered by the Research School of Pacific Studies (Maude Papers, Series C/24). Davidson showed me the galley proofs when I was visiting Canberra in late 1969. *Samoa, 1830 to 1900* was remaindered in 1981.

89. Davidson to Paul Gabites, 18 November 1966, 19 March 1968, Davidson Papers, Canberra, NBAC, Q25/18.

90. Davidson to Lauofo Meti, 19 February 1969, 6 August, Davidson Papers, NBAC, Q25/18. The revisions were completed in 1968. "Annual Report, 1968" [of the Department of Pacific History, ANU] (cyclostyled), 2.1.8.6, Part 2.

91. R. M. Crawford, "Margaret Loch Kiddle." In Margaret Kiddle, *Men of Yesterday: A Social History of the Western District of Victoria, 1834–1890* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1961), ix–xii. Margaret Kiddle's (1914–1958) life is a story of immense courage. She literally lived for her book. Suffering from a congenital kidney complaint and kept alive by a dialysis machine, she finished her book in considerable pain and discomfort. Upon the completion of her manuscript, she told her doctor to "turn that thing off" and turned her face to the wall. Russel Ward, *A Radical Life: The Autobiography of Russel Ward* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1988), 230.

92. Francis West, pers. comm., 6 February 2001.

93. Davidson to Michael Turnbull (Editor of Longmans Australia), 9 August 1960; and chapter outline of "Samoa mo Samoa: The Attainment of Samoan Independence," Davidson Papers, NLA, MS 5105, Box 46.

94. J. W. Davidson, *Samoa mo Samoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Samoa* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1967).

95. Maude, [undated, handwritten comments], Davidson Papers, NLA, MS 5105, Box 11.

96. See the folder "Ch III summary notes," Davidson Papers, NLA, MS 5105, Box 11. Davidson's handwritten notes from Gilson's manuscript are in the Davidson Papers, NLA, MS 5105, Box 32.

97. Davidson, *Samoa mo Samoa*, xi, 436, 442 (on two occasions), 443; Miriam Gilson Vosburgh, interview, 22 February 2000.

98. Frank Eyre (Editor of Oxford University Press, Melbourne) to O. H. K. Spate, 31 January 1974, Spate Papers, NLA, MS 7886, 7/3/2. Davidson's Departmental colleague, Niel Gunson, confirms that Davidson worked hard on those final chapters (telephone discussion, 16 November 2000). Margaret Kiddle's *Men of Yesterday* was also the subject of speculation and misinformation. The manuscript was edited for publication by John La Nauze, who became "widely credited with having carried out major revision" when in fact the posthumous changes amounted to "the addition of two or three paragraphs and occasional abridgement of Kiddle's prose." Patricia Grimshaw and Jane Carey, "Kathleen Fitzpatrick (1905–1990), Margaret Kiddle (1914–1958) and Australian History after the Second World War," *Gender and History* 13, no. 2 (2001): 366; also John Mulvaney, "Second Discussion Session," in *Max Crawford's School of History*, ed. Stuart Macintyre and Peter McPhee (Melbourne: History Department, University of Melbourne, 2000), 69. La Nauze himself was probably the source of these rumors: despite assuring readers that "This is Margaret Kiddle's book, not a book based on her manuscript," he nonetheless left the impression that the manuscript required more editorial input than was the case. J. A. La Nauze, "Preface," Kiddle, *Men of Yesterday*, xii.

99. Davidson to Eyre, 25 January 1965, Davidson Papers, NBAC, Q25/19.

100. Mary Boyd, *Australian Outlook* 24, no. 3 (1970): 351–352; W. N. Gunson, *Historical Studies* 15, no. 61 (1973): 794–795; Graham Harrison, *ANU Historical Journal* 9 (1972): 49; A. M. Healy, *Oceania* 41, no. 4 (1971): 315–316; Judith W. Huntsman, *JPS* 80, no. 3 (1971): 391–394; G. B. Milner, *JPH* 6 (1971): 223–224; Angus Ross, *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 57, no. 4 (1971): 336–337; Deryck Scarr, *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 16, no. 3 (1971): 458–459; Francis West, *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies* 10, no. 2 (1972): 169–170.

101. Davidson, "Introduction," x.

102. Davidson to Eyre, 25 January 1965, Davidson Papers, NBAC, Q25/19.

103. See Barry Rigby, "Private Interests and the Origins of American Involvement in Samoa, 1872–1877," *JPH* 8 (1973): 75–87.

104. Tuiatua Tupua Tamasese, "The Riddle in Samoan History," *JPH* 29, no. 1 (1994): 66–79.

105. This very issue is discussed by George Bernard and Penry Williams, "Preface" to Jennifer Loach, *Henry VI* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), vii–x.

106. Peter Hempenstall (Professor of History, University of Canterbury), pers. comm., 3 April 2000.

107. Damon Salesa, pers. comm., 28 May 2001.

108. Davidson, "Introduction," x.

109. Maude to Miriam Gilson, May 1963 (handwritten draft), Maude Papers, Series J.

110. Gilson, Fieldwork Journal, 17–18 June, 28 June 1950.

111. J. D. Freeman, "The Joe Gimlet or Siovili Cult: An Episode in the History of Early Samoa." In *Anthropology in the South Pacific: Essays in Honour of H. D. Skinner* edited by J. D. Freeman and W. R. Geddes (New Plymouth, New Zealand: Polynesian Society, 1959), 185n, 198.

112. Michael Shelden, *Orwell: The Authorised Biography* (London, 1991), 430–32.

113. Gilson, *Samoa, 1830 to 1900*, 69, 75 (Williams), 233–39 (van Camp).

114. Paul M. Kennedy, *The Samoan Tangle: A Study of Anglo-German-American relations, 1884–1900* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1974).

115. Paul Kennedy (Dilworth Professor of History, Yale University), pers. comm., 5 April 2000.

116. Barry Rigby, "The Origins of American Expansion in Hawaii and Samoa, 1865–1900," *International History Review* 10, no. 2 (1988): 235&n.

117. Ron Crocombe, "Editor's preface," to Richard Gilson, *The Cook Islands, 1820–1950* (Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press, 1980), vi; Davidson to J. B. Wright, 22 September 1953, and L. J. Davies to Anthony Alpers 28 February 1964, both in IT W239, 86/1/37; Miriam Gilson Vosburgh, interview, 22 February 2000.

118. Angus Ross to Davidson, 10 July 1961, Davidson Papers, Canberra, NBAC, Q25/24.

119. Angus Ross (ed.), *New Zealand's Record in the Pacific in the Twentieth Century* (Auckland, 1969), 24–59, 60–114. See Davidson's acerbic review in *JPH* 5 (1970): 229–231.

120. Christopher Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble Books, 1988), 150; Ronald Hyam, "The Study of Imperial and Commonwealth History at Cambridge, 1881–1981: Founding Fathers and Pioneer Research Students," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 29, no. 3 (2001): 92, 102n.93.

121. Ron Crocombe, pers. comm., 28 March 2000; Miriam Gilson Vosburgh, pers. comm., 2 June 2000.

122. These details are taken from the minutes of the VUW Publication Committee, vol. 2, 1973–1979; and VUW Press's file on the book. (Fergus Barrowman facilitated access to those records.) The difficulties under which the committee operated are outlined in Rachel Barrowman, *Victoria University of Wellington, 1899–1999: A History* (Wellington: Victoria University Press in association with the Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1999), 300–302.

123. The nearest thing to a history of the Cook Islands at that point was Ernest Beaglehole, *Social Change in the South Pacific—Rarotonga and Aitutaki* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957). Dick Scott's *Years of the Pooh-Bah: A Cook Island history* (Wellington: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991) is an account of New Zealand rule in the Cook Islands with a wonderfully irreverent take on foolish New Zealand "viceroys." Some competent theses on the Cook Islands have been written, but the published scholarly output on this island group remains small.

124. Quoted in Susan Woodburn, *Where Our Hearts Still Lie: A life of Harry and Honor Maude in the Pacific Islands* (Adelaide: Crawford House, 2003), 254, n.26.

125. Mollie D. Gambrill, *Our First Fifty Years: A History of Wellington East Girls' College* (Wellington: Jubilee Committee of Wellington Girls' East College, 1975), 108.

126. Noeline Chapman, telephone discussion, 5 March 2000; Robert Chapman, telephone discussion, 18 April 2000, and pers. comm., 12 June 2000.

127. Jim Robb, "Some Thoughts on Beginnings," *New Zealand Sociology* 11:2(1996): 326–327.

128. See Miriam Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki, *The Foreign-Language Press in Australia, 1848–1964* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1967); Miriam Gilson, "Population Growth in Post-War New Zealand." In *Social Process in New Zealand: Readings in Sociology*, edited by John Forster (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1969), 29–48.

129. Telephone discussions in mid-April 2000 with Geraldine Boyce and Betty Findlayson (former Departmental Secretaries), David Boardman (Lecturer, now Senior Lecturer), David Pearson (Lecturer, now Reader), and Jim Robb (former Head of Department).

130. Published as *The New Zealand Family and Social Change: A Trend Analysis* (Wellington: Department of Sociology and Social Work, Victoria University of Wellington, 1978; reissued 1988), and partially summarized as "The Changing New Zealand Family: A Demographic Analysis." In *Marriage and the Family in New Zealand*, edited by Stewart Houston (Wellington: Sweet & Maxwell, 1970), 41–65.

131. Robert Chapman, telephone discussion, 18 April 2000. For all that, Miriam goes unmentioned in Hughes Beryl and Sheila Akerman, *Redbrick and Bluestockings: Women at Vic, 1899–1993* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1993).

132. Helen Carter, "Community Based Care for Very Dependent Elderly Persons: An Alternative to Continual Care Hospitalisation," MD dissertation, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1994.

133. To my knowledge the only other historian to have taught science subjects as well as history at university level was A. P. Newton (1873–1942), the Rhodes Professor of Imperial History at the University of London, who was earlier an Assistant Lecturer in Physics. Margaret Marion Spector, "A. P. Newton." In *Some Historians of Modern Britain*, edited by Herman Ausubel, J. B. Brebner, and Erling M. Hunt (New York: Dryden Press, 1951), 286–305.

134. E.g. Malama Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa* (Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1987), ch. 2; Joan Druett, *In the Wake of Madness: The Murderous Voyage of the Whaleship Sharon* (Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 2003), 264.

135. Colin Newbury, *Patrons, Clients, and Empire: Chieftaincy and over-rule in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), viii.

136. E.g. Elizabeth Edwards, 'Time and Space on the Quarterdeck: Two Samoan Photographs by Captain W. Acland." In *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, edited by Elizabeth Edwards (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 107–129.

137. Quoted in Malcolm Wood, "Oh Islands in the Sun," *Massey Research* (October 2005): 25.

138. Huntsman, Review (of *Samoa, 1830 to 1900*), 391 (see n. 100).

139. John Clive, *Not by Fact Alone: Essays on the Writing and Reading of History* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1991), 47.

FISHING AND FIESTAS IN GUAM: AN EXPLORATORY NOTE ON THE REINFORCEMENT OF CULTURAL TRADITIONS

Thomas K. Pinhey
University of Hawai'i at Hilo

Donald H. Rubinstein
Micronesian Area Research Center
University of Guam

Stephen M. Vaughn
University of Guam

USING SURVEY DATA FROM A PURPOSIVE SAMPLE OF GUAM FISHERS ($n = 100$), we explored the association between ethnicity and providing fish for fiestas in Guam. The results of the analysis suggested that Chamorro fishers are more likely than fishers of other ethnic subpopulations to contribute the fish they catch for fiestas and that Caucasian fishers are more likely to sell the fish they catch. Household income did not influence traditional patterns of fish distribution among Guam's indigenous Chamorro population, but the number of years an individual lived in a village was significantly associated with giving fish to annual family fiestas.

This exploratory note describes the patterns of fish distribution for Guam's extensive Asian-Pacific population and elaborates the relevance of the distribution of fish for the retention and maintenance of long-standing cultural traditions. A review of the literature in this general area of study reveals several reports commenting on the lack of social and cultural analyses of fishing practices in Guam (Amesbury and Callaghan 1981; Guam Coastal Management Program 1978; Polovian et al. 1985), to include the absence of

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studies focusing on contemporary Chamorros' normative practices of fish distribution (see Vaughn, Rubinstein, and Pinhey 2000:24). Drawing on an early account by Amesbury and Callaghan (1979:11), one perspective concerning the distribution of fish in Guam supports the argument that the cultural tradition of providing fish for family fiestas has been maintained:

> Although subsistence fishing is not as prevalent in Guam as it once was, it can be said with some certainty that the majority of fish caught by local fishermen does not enter the monetary market. The funerals, marriages, christenings, and fiestas still exist much as they have for hundreds of years. For large segments of the population, fishing still provides supplementary income, family nutrition, recreation, and an integral part of family and community life and reinforcement of cultural traditions.

To be sure, there are nineteen villages in Guam and each of these villages hosts at least one annual fiesta where families prepare food that is available to the entire island community (see Crumrine 1982). Thus, one hypothesis is that the distribution of fish remains an important aspect of the long-standing cultural tradition of fiesta and that members of the Chamorro fishing community continue to catch and distribute fish to family members who host these annual celebrations, thus reinforcing and maintaining Chamorro cultural traditions.

The alternate perspective is that the Westernization of Guam and the accompanying change from a subsistence economy to a wage-based system has disrupted several traditional cultural patterns and that fish are now more likely to be sold rather than given to family fiestas. There is strong evidence supporting the argument that the Westernization of Guam has disrupted several traditional cultural patterns. For example, some traditional Chamorro funerary customs are being supplanted by Westernized funeral practices (see Pinhey and Ellison 1997), and the shift to a wage-based system has contributed to dramatic changes in eating patterns, resulting in significantly higher rates of obesity (Pinhey, Rubinstein, and Colfax 1997) and a greater prevalence of diabetes mellitus among Guam's indigenous Chamorros (Pinhey, Heathcote, and Craig 1997).

The Westernization of Guam and the shift to a wage-based economy should also influence the effects of income on whether or not individuals would give the fish they caught to those hosting fiestas. On one hand, if a person's household had a high average income, that individual might be more disposed to providing fish for fiestas. On the other hand, if an individual's household income is relatively low, that person might be more likely to keep and consume the fish or sell them.

Another potential influence on whether individuals would give fish for fiestas possibly centers on the length of time an individual or family had resided in a particular village in Guam. If an individual or family lived in a village for several years, it is likely that they would experience social integration into the normative expectations of that village. Thus, they may be more likely to participate in fiestas and to contribute fish they caught to their neighbors or to family members who were hosting fiestas.

The competing perspectives described above form the bases for the exploratory hypotheses of this brief study. In summary, if the maintenance of traditional Chamorro cultural patterns remains for fish distribution, we should anticipate that Chamorro fishers would continue to contribute the fish they caught to family fiestas. We also suspect that individuals residing in a village over a period of time would be more likely than others to provide fish to family fiestas. Alternately, if Westernization has disrupted Chamorro cultural patterns, we should anticipate that Chamorro fishers would be more likely to sell the fish they caught rather than distribute them to family members who were hosting annual fiestas. As well, when contrasted with Chamorro residents, it seems likely that Westerners living in Guam would be inclined to sell their fish rather than give them to fiestas, unless they had lived in a village for a particularly long time.

The study begins with a description of the sampling techniques and the measures used for the analysis, and continues with a discussion of the analytical strategy. We then present the results of the study, and then discuss the findings of the analysis as they may pertain to theory and future research.

Methods

We conducted a purposive sampling of subsistence and sports fishers between December 1997 and June 1999. Purposive sampling is an appropriate method for selecting difficult-to-reach and specialized populations, such as fishers (see Babbie 2004, 183). This kind of sampling selects cases with specific purposes in mind and is appropriate when investigators must select respondents who are especially informative about particular behaviors and topics. Three trained interviewers administered and completed structured interviews with 100 fishers at one of the four boat ramps located about the island. Table 1 presents a summary of the characteristics of the individuals responding to the survey.

Among other questions, interviewers asked respondents whether they ever gave the fish they caught to specific individuals, organizations, or events. This was an open-ended question, and the final categories that emerged from the answers given by respondents included: *i)* for fiestas (37.6%); *ii)* to friends

TABLE 1. **Socioeconomic and Demographic Characteristics of Fishers in Guam***

Variable	Number of Cases	Percent
Ethnicity		
Chamorro	40	41.2
Filipino	7	7.2
Asian	3	3.1
Micronesian	17	17.5
White	23	23.7
Other ethnicity	7	7.2
Total	97	100.0
Age (years)		
30 or younger	19	19.2
31–35	18	18.2
36–40	13	13.1
41–45	16	16.2
46 or older	33	33.3
Total	99	100.0
Marital status		
Married	62	62.6
Consensual	5	5.1
Never married	17	17.2
Divorced/separated	15	15.2
Total	99	100.0
Education		
Less than high school	7	7.6
High school graduate	44	47.8
College graduate	41	44.6
Total	99	100.0
Household income**		
35,000 or less	22	30.1
36,000–50,000	19	26.0
51,000–65,000	9	12.3
66,000 or greater	23	31.5
Total	73	100.0

*Fishers in Guam tend to be somewhat older, reporting a modal age of 46 years and greater. The mean age of fishers in Guam is 41.42 years (not shown in Table 1). The mean years for education for fishers in Guam is 13.23 years (not shown in Table 1), and their average annual household income is thus relatively high. The mean average annual household income for fishers in Guam is US$62,227.40 (not shown in Table 1).
**Amounts shown in US dollars.

as gifts (4.3%); *iii)* to the Church (8.6%); and *iv)* do not give fish to others (38.3%). The "gives fish to fiestas" response was binary coded (gives fish = 1, all others = 0) for later use in statistical analyses.

We also asked respondents whether they ever sold the fish they caught. This was a fixed-choice question with response categories of "yes" and "no."

Approximately 40% of the sample said that they did not sell the fish that they caught. This response was binary coded for later statistical analyses.

Interviewers asked respondents how many years they had lived in their current village. The mean number of years for the sample was 17.5 years with a standard deviation of 15.6 years. We anticipated that the longer an individual reported having lived in a particular village, the more likely that individual would be to contribute fish to fiestas.

We also asked respondents to indicate the total annual income of their households. The mean income for households was US$62,227.40, with a standard deviation of US$55,564.98. As noted previously, we anticipated that family income might influence an individual's choice concerning selling or giving fish for a fiesta.

Ethnicity is self-reported. Final ethnic categories include Chamorros (41.2%), Filipinos (7.2%), Asians (3.1%), Micronesians (17.5%), whites (23.7%), and others (7.2%). Each ethnic category was binary coded for the analysis (i.e., specific ethnic group = 1, all others = 0).

We used Cramer's V to assess associations for giving and selling fish by the ethnicity of respondents. Note that for 2 × 2 tables, Cramer's V is equivalent to ϕ (see Kerlinger and Lee 2000, 235), which achieves positive and negative values. Finally, we report Pearson's coefficient of correlation for giving and selling fish with self-reported total income of households and length of time living in a particular village during the year before the survey.

Results

As shown in Table 2, Chamorro ethnicity is associated with giving fish to fiestas ($V = .362$, $p < 0.05$). However, Filipino ethnicity ($V = -.301$, $p < 0.05$) and Micronesian ethnicity ($-.246$, $p < 0.10$) were each significantly less likely to give fish to family fiestas. As anticipated, white respondents were more likely to sell their fish ($V = .307$, $p < 0.05$). Since white respondents may have not resided in Guam over a long period, their integration into village life is not likely to be complete. Thus, they may be less likely to contribute fish to family fiestas and may be more likely to sell the fish they catch.

Presented in Table 3 are Pearson's correlation coefficients that assess associations between household income, years lived in a village in Guam, and giving fish to fiestas and selling fish. As may be seen, the longer individuals have lived in a village, the greater the likelihood that they will give fish to fiestas ($r = .252$, $p < 0.05$). Household income was not significantly associated with giving fish or selling fish. As well, the number of years an individual lived in a village was not significantly associated with selling fish.

TABLE 2. **Cramer's V for Giving Fish to Fiestas and Selling Fish by Ethnicity ($n = 48$)**

Ethnicity	Gives Fish	Sells Fish
Chamorro	.362*	−.080
Filipino	−.301*	.120
Micronesian	−.246†	−.155
White	.231	.307*
Asian	−.184	.024
Others	−.114	−.122

*$p < 0.05$; †$p < 0.10$.

TABLE 3. **Bivariate Pearson Correlations for Giving Fish to Fiestas, Selling Fish, Years Lived in Village, and Household Income**

Variable	Gives Fish	Sells Fish
Household income	.202 (36)	.026 (70)
Years in village	.252* (50)	.028 (94)

*$p < 0.05$ (one-tailed tests)

Finally, we sought to examine the relationship between ethnicity and household income and the time individual fishers had lived in a village on Guam. As may be seen in Table 4, Micronesian fishers had relatively lower household incomes ($r = -.266$, $p < 0.05$) and white respondents had relatively higher household incomes ($r = .299$, $p < 0.05$). As might be predicted, Chamorro ethnicity was associated with longer residence in a village on Guam ($r = .471$, $p < 0.01$), whereas white fishers indicated significantly less time living in a village ($r = -.257$, $p < 0.05$).

TABLE 4. **Pearson's Correlations for Household Income and Length of Time Lived in a Village by Ethnicity**

Variable	Household Income	Time Lived in Village
Chamorro	−.077 (71)	.471** (96)
Filipino	.006 (71)	−.051 (96)
Asian	−.039 (71)	−.157 (96)
Micronesian	−.266* (71)	−.142 (96)
White	.299* (71)	−.257* (96)
Others	.020 (71)	−.113 (96)

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$

Discussion and Conclusion

We began this exploratory note by remarking on the dearth of research on fishing practices in Guam. This study makes a modest contribution to the literature by using data from a purposive sampling of Guam fishers to explore the relationship between ethnicity and patterns of fish distribution. Drawing from previous reports, we investigated the possibility that traditional cultural patterns associated with providing fish for annual fiestas in Guam had diminished because of the shift to Westernization and a wage-based economy. However, the results of the analysis suggest that the traditional cultural patterns associated with providing fish for annual fiestas remained relatively strong within Guam's extensive Chamorro community.

We found that Chamorro fishers were more likely to report giving fish for fiestas and that Micronesian and Filipino respondents were significantly less likely to report that they provided fish for fiestas. In that Micronesian fishers reported significantly lower household earnings than did other ethnic groupings, it is possible that the fish they catch are consumed within their families. We also discovered that Caucasian fishers, who are presumably Western in their orientation, were more likely to say they sold the fish they caught.

Our finding that household income did not influence traditional patterns of fish distribution among Guam's indigenous Chamorro population is particularly remarkable. This finding suggests that the strength of the traditional Chamorro practice of giving fish for fiestas may be greater than the influence of earnings. Thus, the patterns associated with giving fish for fiestas may be similar to the strength of the exchange patterns (*chenchuli*) that are associated with traditional Chamorro funerary customs (see Pinhey and Ellison 1997 and Rogers 1995 for review).[1] To be sure, Fafchamps (1992, 147) notes that solidarity mechanisms typically result in the "principle of reciprocity." Thus, providing fish to fiesta celebrations ultimately results in a process of exchange, which enhances solidarity among villages and families.

What are the implications of these findings for future research and theory? First, our findings provide support for the conjecture that some traditional Chamorro cultural patterns remain strong in Guam. The particular pattern revealed here—the distribution of fish for fiestas—also suggests an interaction pattern where fishing and fiestas reinforce the ongoing cultural custom of exchange within villages, thus strengthening social ties and mutual obligations, which are known to influence participants positively (Pinhey and Ellison 1997). Future researchers may wish to more thoroughly examine these potential patterns using larger and more extensive data sets.

Finally, the potential limitations of the study deserve mention. The data analyzed here are from a small purposive sample, and larger probability samples might have yielded different relationships and results. Future

researchers may wish to devise a means for generating large probability samples that are representative of all individuals who fish in Guam. This limitation aside, the results of the present analysis support the contention that some traditional Chamorro cultural practices remain strong in Guam. In summary, our findings suggest that Chamorro fishers continue to provide fish for annual fiestas, thus retaining a long-standing cultural tradition.

NOTES

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1. Rogers (1995, 38) defines *chenchule'* as a mandatory obligation between individuals, which may be understood as the giving of gifts or services that obligates the recipient to reciprocate to the giver.

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INTEGRATING GENDER INTO PUBLIC EXPENDITURE: LESSONS FROM THE REPUBLIC OF THE MARSHALL ISLANDS

Rhonda Sharp
University of South Australia

Sanjugta Vas Dev
Flinders University

In 2003, the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) became the first Pacific Island government to introduce a gender budget initiative (GBI) as a strategy for promoting gender equality. Important enabling factors which facilitated the GBI included the RMI's matrilineal culture, its strong women's nongovernment organizations (NGO) base and a raft of budgetary reforms seeking to increase transparency and accountability. However, a poorly resourced women's office within the government, low numbers of women holding political office, and the absence of key gender accountability mechanisms limited the success of the initiative. The most significant constraining factor was the RMI's budgetary context, including the uncertainty created by the US-RMI Compact negotiations. A key lesson for other countries is that GBIs, like any budgetary reform process, encounter a range of problems in changing budgetary processes and decision making, including a lack of political will of the government.

Introduction

IN 2003, the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) became the first Pacific Island Country and Territory (PICT) government to introduce a gender budget initiative (GBI) as a strategy for promoting gender equality. Gender equality was enshrined as a fundamental principle by PICT governments in the 1994 Noumea Declaration, which established the Pacific Platform of Action (PPA) as the region's plan for women's social and economic development. The PPA was revised in 2004, and GBIs were identified as

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a key strategy in its implementation.[1] The purpose of these initiatives is to make government budgets more responsive to their different impacts on women and men, boys and girls. A gender perspective is utilized to "follow the money" throughout the different phases of the budgetary and policy decision-making processes.[2] The budget is important in the pursuit of gender equality and women's empowerment because it is the means through which policies are implemented; it is where government promises are turned into actions. In this respect, the budget can be viewed as a mirror, expressed in financial terms, of the social and economic priorities of a country.

Engaging with the government budget is fundamentally a political activity, and considerable political will and accountability is required of governments to transform their gender equality commitments into funded policies and programs. Political will and accountability is assisted by the presence of women in the decision-making structures of government and active civil society groups, among other things. It is also enhanced by transparent and accountable budgetary institutions and practices. Few of these conditions had a strong presence in the RMI, suggesting that a GBI would be a risky project to undertake. Nevertheless, the RMI GBI achieved a degree of success. First, it raised awareness and understandings of gender issues in budgets and policies among government officials and women's nongovernment organizations (NGO). Secondly, the initiative contributed to government transparency and accountability for its budgetary and policy impacts on gender equality in several ways. These included increased use and availability of gender-disaggregated statistics, the undertaking of research and analysis of an important gender issue, and the engagement of civil society in the budgetary decision-making process. Third, the initiative provided an agenda for budgetary and policy change for promoting gender equality by identifying funds that could be reallocated to programs that could positively impact on teenage pregnancy. It also fostered an appreciation among the government officials and NGO participants in the project of the need for a cross-agency policy and budgetary responses to gender issues. The questions that this paper addresses are: what made these achievements of the RMI GBI possible? And what are the lessons for other PICTs embarking on a similar strategy?

Background to the RMI Gender-Responsive Budget Initiative

Budgets matter because they have profound impacts on the social and economic fabric of a country. As the Asian Development Bank (ADB) argues, "government budgets have a central role in the planning and control of countries" and are powerful policy tools that can affect social equity (ADB

2001, 1). The RMI GBI, externally initiated by the ADB, emphasized this perspective. The ADB justified its choice of the RMI for a gender budget pilot in the Pacific in terms of its policy agenda. The bank's terms of reference situated the initiative as "coordinating with the ADB's ongoing assistance in finance, planning and economic reform, particularly in the development of sound public management systems" (ADB 2001, Appendix A). In particular, a GBI provided the opportunity to enhance one of the pillars of public expenditure management, namely an increased role for civil society in the policy and budgetary process. Consequently, the ADB approached the RMI government, resulting in an agreement that the RMI Ministry of Finance would coordinate the pilot with technical assistance provided by external consultants and participation by local NGOs.[3]

The ADB's technical assistance package for the RMI gender budget pilot comprised two key stages. The first involved an assessment by the technical assistance team of the foundations for a successful GBI in the RMI. This included identifying the socioeconomic situation of Marshallese women and girls; auditing government policies and social conditions influencing gender equality; and assessing the budgetary context of the RMI. The assessment was undertaken to ascertain key factors that would both constrain and progress the development of a GBI within the government. The second stage of the initiative drew on the principles of action research and entailed the active participation of a core group of government officials. These included joint Ministry of Finance project coordinators (which included an Assistant Secretary of the Ministry), the Women's Desk Officer from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and NGO representatives. This local group worked with the technical advisors under the umbrella of a steering committee responsible for the design and implementation of the project. The principles of action research allowed the various stakeholders involved reflexively to adjust the parameters and strategies of the initiative according to changing circumstances, as well to acquire new data and understandings. The development of workshops for NGOs and government officials from various ministries comprised a key aspect of this second stage of the technical assistance. These workshops, discussed in detail below, were designed to build capacity and raise awareness around both gender and budgetary issues in the RMI, with the aim of engaging policymakers and civil society in the technical and conceptual aspects of implementing a GBI.

Foundations of the Gender Budget Initiative: Women's Status, Gender Equality Mechanisms, and Budgetary Politics in the RMI

Various conditions, or what we label "enabling" foundations, in a country's social, economic, and political environment are important for the success

of a GBI. These enabling foundations comprise both gender-specific and broader factors that assist and promote the achievement of such initiatives in securing positive budgetary outcomes for women and girls. In reality, enabling foundations are often accompanied by "constraining" or weaker foundations that work against the success of the GBI. In the RMI, a combination of enabling and constraining foundations proved important in shaping the strategies and goals of the initiative, as well as determining its ultimate success. The RMI's matrilineal culture, the strong women's NGO base, and a measure of commitment by the government to gender equality were enabling factors. At the same time, a poorly resourced women's office within the government, low numbers of women holding political office, and the absence of key gender accountability mechanisms served as constraining foundations and limited the success of the initiative. It was further apparent at the outset of the project that a potentially significant constraining factor was the RMI's budgetary context, including a weak institutional framework, lack of resources, and the uncertainty created by the US-RMI Compact negotiations. These factors are explained in detail below.

Paradox of Women's Inequality within a Matrilineal Society

Most PICTs have experienced growing economic and social inequalities and conflicts arising from the exclusion of various categories of their citizenry from the benefits of "development" (Naidu 2002). In the RMI, where only limited development has been achieved, few resources are available for promoting the economic and social position of women and girls. In the country's tiny economy, the state plays a pervasive role, and aid and compensation from the United States are its mainstay. Moreover, in spite of levels of aid that are among the highest in the world on a per capita basis, the economy has registered many years of low or negative growth (ADB 2006).[4] In the view of one commentator, this top-down, supply-driven approach to social service delivery has resulted in a state of apathy and sense of dependency across the society (Dugue 2003). In the view of the Asian Development Bank (2006), extended family ties and close relationships within the small population have kept pervasive poverty from being a major problem. Nevertheless, considerable inequity exists, including inequalities between men and women, although it is contended here that the strong matrilineal culture has served as a buffer to some of its consequences.

In the RMI's matrilineal society, women have always played important roles that have been clearly defined in the traditional system.[5] The image of mother—and more significantly that of sister—provides the underlying framework for thinking about and acting in social relations (McArthur

2004, 58). The Marshallese woman is the foundation of the family, responsible for the welfare of its members. Her duties include child care, food preparation, and household chores preserving family ties, as well as fulfilling obligations to community groups such as the church. More important, Marshallese women possess rights of land ownership and inheritance, and these rights are recognized in the country's constitution (South Pacific Commission 1995, 89, 97).

While it is evident that the traditional roles of women continue to be recognized and respected (Pacific Services Region 2005), it also understood that the status of women in the changing environment of the RMI is continually evolving (South Pacific Commission 1995). One Marshallese commentator describes the traditional gender relations in the RMI as being "disrupted by" a historical continuum of factors ranging from "the early traders and whalers right up to contemporary processes of globalization and the various changes it produces" (Maddison 2003, 4). Similarly, Dugue (2003) observes that, in recent years, the migration of many Marshallese to the urban population centers of Majuro and Ebeye and the consequent increased exposure to non-Marshallese values and culture have helped weaken the traditional cultural norms and organization that have been central to the society. Such observations have led to a local perception that "gender relations between men and women in the RMI have long departed from the traditional language and culture" (Maddison 2003, 6).

Women's current socioeconomic status in the context of RMI development is less clear than it has been in the past (Global Education, no date). It has been observed that, over the past thirty-five years, women have significantly improved their economic status relative to men, although significant gender gaps in education, wages, and employment continue to exist (Graham and Paul 2002).[6] Others argue that "the traditional authority exercised by women has declined" (U.S. Department of State 2006), and this is manifested in their low participation in the Marshallese labor market, as well as their limited access to services including education and health.[7] For example, reproductive health services are available at both hospitals in Majuro and Ebeye, but the prenatal, natal, and postnatal services in the outer islands are rudimentary (EPPSO 2003, 47).[8] The current lack of services builds on a history of severe health issues resulting from atomic testing that took place on the atolls in the 1950s.[9]

Other services for women including those related to domestic violence and teenage pregnancy were also limited. The U.S. Department of State (2006) identified violence against women as a serious human rights issue in the RMI. This report cited a 2003 report issued by the leading women's

NGO Women United in the Marshall Islands (WUTMI), showing that more than 80% of women had been affected by spousal abuse. Similarly the incidence of teenage pregnancy in the RMI continues to be the highest among the PICTs. The rate of pregnancy among young women and girls aged under twenty years rose from 20% to 22% between 2000 and 2002 (Chutaru 2003, 11).[10] According to the Economic Policy, Planning, and Statistics Office (EPPSO), poor standards of education, high school drop-out rates, a lack of guidance from parents, and underutilization of family planning practices are contributing factors to the high incidence of teenage pregnancy (EPPSO 2003, 5).

The traditional matrilineal culture, which remains highly relevant to contemporary Marshallese society, served as an enabling foundation for the GBI by providing it with a basis for sympathy and support. At the same time, it is important to recognize that the contemporary socioeconomic status of Marshallese women and girls is subject to a variety of pressures, which are manifested in gender gaps in education, employment, government services, and high teenage pregnancy rates. Such gaps partly reflect weak or absent gender equality mechanisms within government.

Gender Equality Mechanisms within Government

A number of weak gender equality foundations were identified within the Marshallese state at the outset of the initiative. One of these was the relatively low representation of women in the RMI's key decision-making structures of government. Certainly there are no legal impediments to women's participation in government and politics. Moreover, there is a trend toward more women taking up key government positions within the bureaucracy, indicating that women are increasingly influencing politics and development (Graham and Paul 2002). However, an array of factors including women's cultural responsibilities and the generally early age of pregnancies make it particularly difficult for women to obtain political qualifications and experience (U.S. Department of State 2006). Consequently, the numbers of Marshallese women in the formal institutions of power remain low.[11] This situation raised dilemmas for the GBI including how a male-dominated legislature (the Nitijela) might initiate and allocate resources to policies and programs advancing gender equality.

At the same time, it is important to recognize that gender politics in the RMI is highly influenced by kinship ties, which play a significant role within the state. McArthur argues that the boundary between the nation-state and kinship is blurred in the RMI, and the latter, in effect, provides a system of social relations through which people make sense of, and act within, the

modern nation-state (McArthur 2004, 79). Kinship provides alternative, informal avenues of power through which women can influence government decision making. This was demonstrated on several occasions throughout the course of the project.[12] While the low representation of women in the formal realm of politics was a constraining influence on the success of the project, kinship ties on occasions provided an avenue for gender budgeting to be promoted within government.

A further constraint for the GBI was the lack of women's policy machinery within government. In order to consolidate the improvements and ameliorate some of the growing concerns surrounding gender issues, the RMI government established the Women's Desk in 1979. During the period of the gender-responsive budget initiative, the Women's Desk (located within the Ministry of Internal Affairs) had the enormous task of coordinating all government activities concerning women and development, despite a severe lack of resources and inside-government gender expertise. It employed one full-time staff member and had a total budget of US$50,000.[13] In 2002, after the salary of the Women's Desk Officer was deducted, the remaining budget was largely allocated to supporting the Women United in the Marshall Islands (WUTMI) NGO conference. Consequently, there were no financial or human resources available to target problems specifically affecting Marshallese women and girls such as those related to health and education. Moreover, the RMI women's policy expired in 2001, signalling a lack of policy direction and commitment to allocating resources for gender equality.

At the time of the GBI, the RMI government was not a signatory to the UN Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).[14] This signaled a low formal commitment to gender equality by the RMI government. This was further demonstrated by the lack of up-to-date gender-disaggregated data and gender-sensitive indicators in all spheres to establish and monitor progress around gender equality. The establishment at a later date of the EPPSO by the Nitijela of the RMI in January 2003 was to prove important in remedying this problem.

Some gender equality mechanisms did exist at the international, regional, and national levels which the initiative drew on. The RMI government was a signatory to the Pacific Platform of Action as well as the Convention on the Rights of the Child. These public commitments provided regional and international mechanisms of accountability for civil society and bureaucrats to refer to when promoting the importance of the GBI among the higher echelons of government. Other mechanisms of accountability included the RMI National Plan, Vision 2018, which incorporated the principle of gender equality; however, there appeared to be very little awareness of Vision 2018

among senior public sector decision makers or civil society even though it was developed utilizing a wide-ranging consultation process.[15]

One of most important enabling foundations for the GBI in the Marshall Islands was the country's emergent NGO base and, in particular, the surge in the formation of Marshallese women's groups (Graham and Paul 2002). WUTMI was established in 1987 as the key umbrella group representing grassroots women's NGOs throughout the country. Although mainly involved in projects preparing younger women to take their role in society as mothers and businesswomen (EPPSO 2003, 290), WUTMI nevertheless had a key political role to play. At the time the GBI was being developed, WUTMI was on the rise after several years of being defunded by the government. It had won a significant U.S. grant and held a successful conference in the early phase of the GBI. For the RMI GBI, the involvement of civil society, and more specifically WUTMI, acted as one of the main accountability mechanisms for the initiative. The WUTMI representative on the gender budget steering committee proved to be a crucial voice in shaping the initiative and ensuring that a budget bid was developed. The NGO sector was an important source of research on the issue of teenage pregnancy, which became the focus of the GBI. WUTMI publicly supported the initiative by ensuring its members attended the gender budget workshops where the budget allocations were scrutinized. It also promoted the project, including gaining media coverage. Furthermore, the active participation of WUTMI in the initiative led to senior bureaucrats indicating in their workshop evaluations that they had developed a greater appreciation of the potential accountability role of NGOs in the budget process.

Budgetary Foundations of the Gender Budget Initiative

The RMI's budgetary context manifested a variety of constraints as well as certain opportunities for the initiative to succeed. Many developing countries, including those in the Pacific region, are undergoing significant restructuring and institutional changes to their budgetary and policy processes with the introduction of a raft of governance reforms. In the RMI, these include institutional strengthening of the Ministry of Finance with the introduction of computerized systems, the piloting of performance-based budgeting systems, and the development of planning processes. In practice, these "good governance" reforms have often been biased in favor of the agendas of international financial institutions and donors. However, as Hewitt and Mukhopadhyay (2002) argue, the process of ensuring that goods and services are delivered to people in a fair, efficient, and effective way through

the implementation of the principles of transparency, accountability, and participation is an underpinning rationale for GBIs.

In this sense, good governance is an important component of sustainable human development and poverty alleviation in that it widens opportunities through making information accessible and available (transparency), decreases the incentives for corruption and mismanagement through calling the government to task (accountability), and supports a more participatory approach to the design, implementation, and evaluation of policies and programs (Hewitt and Mukhopadhyay 2002, 58). These processes were not well developed in the RMI, with an ADB report concluding that budget preparation, presentation, and reporting were below minimum international standards (ADB 2000, 11). The introduction of a GBI at a time when new budgetary processes were being implemented in the RMI had the positive effect of allowing gender issues to get in on the ground floor of these changes. The constraining factor, however, was that the GBI was competing for time and resources within a Ministry of Finance that was being stretched to its capacity. Also, despite the introduction of a number of reforms, the budgetary system still lacked minimal standards of transparency and accountability, including the absence of any published budget papers.

As the GBI progressed, it became increasingly evident that the RMI's political and economic environment was ultimately critical in determining the degree of its success. According to the ADB, the RMI is a highly aid-dependent nation that "faces some of the most daunting development challenges of any country in the world" (2006). The main factor influencing the country's political and economic context and coloring "nearly every story on the Marshall Islands" (Johnson 2004, 127) is the Compact with the United States.[16] For several generations, the population has been accustomed to being provided for by the U.S. administration through the Compact. U.S. payments for occupancy of the Kwajelin base (US$180 million over 1986–1999), compensation for injuries arising from nuclear testing in various atolls (at least $250 million), and other agreed payments and grant support for programs under the Compact totaled over US$1 billion between the signing of the agreement in 1986 and the termination of its first fifteen-year phase in 1999 (Fraenkel 2002, 299). Compact funds make up 55% of the current government budget, and millions more are added to the economy through U.S. federal programs (Johnson 2004, 127). Other sources of revenue are limited.[17]

The budgetary dependence of the RMI mirrors its political dependence on the United States. Under the Compact, the United States has full authority and responsibility for security and defense of the Marshall Islands and continues to use one of the country's atolls as an army base. During the

course of the GBI this agreement was being renegotiated for the next fifteen years. The extensive negotiation around the Compact and the delay in finalizing the agreement negatively impacted on the formulation and execution of the 2003–04 budget of the RMI, which in turn undermined the gender-responsive budget initiative.

Another factor that had adverse implications for the GBI was the political uncertainty evident throughout the final phases of the project in 2003. Marshallese citizens live with an emergent democratic political system combined with a hierarchical traditional culture. In November of 2003, the ruling United Democratic Party (UDP) was returned to power in national elections, with President Note (UDP) resuming office. Although this was a predictable outcome, 2003 as an election year contributed to ministerial changes (most notably, the Minister of Finance changed during the course of the project) and fostered a degree of uncertainty in relation to developing and implementing new programs and systems. This created somewhat shaky foundations for the GBI. On the other hand, an election year offers increased opportunities to call a government to task for its gender equality commitments. This was recognized, for example, by the project's steering committee's action plan, which included radio broadcasts on the GBI's focus area—teenage pregnancy—and activities to ensure that the new Finance Minister was briefed about the project.

The Compact, the reforms occurring within Treasury, and the national election had an increasingly significant and often contradictory influence on the outcomes of the gender budget project. For example, a tough economic backdrop, as evidenced by business bailouts and increased poverty rates, made it imperative to secure a satisfactory Compact package (Johnson 2004, 127). Such an outcome was congruent with a gender-responsive budget. However, RMI–U.S. Compact negotiations contributed to the collapse of the normal budgetary processes in the year of the pilot project, making budgetary changes promoting gender equality particularly problematic. In sum, the combined effect of the budgetary context was to provide relatively weak economic and political foundations for the implementation of the GBI. Enabling factors, however, did emerge at different phases of the initiative, including an increased emphasis on transparent budgetary processes, a measure of political accountability during an election year, and the much publicized Compact negotiations.

Implementing the Gender Budget Initiative

The budgetary context, combined with other enabling and constraining foundations, was imperative in shaping the outcomes of the GBI. However,

the design and the implementation of the project were also pivotal in the initiative's degree of success.

The starting point of the design and implementation of the RMI GBI was to ensure the participation of the local stakeholders in what was an externally initiated and donor-funded project. This was crucial for several reasons, most important, the promotion of local ownership of the initiative. Local ownership of the project was based on the premise that development must be driven by those who seek to develop—"it cannot be done to others on behalf of third parties" (Davenport 2000, 1).

Several strategies were incorporated into the project's methodology to deal with promoting local ownership, the most important being the responsibility of the RMI steering committee for developing a proposal to take the project forward in a way that was tailored to the RMI context. In addition, an international mentorship program was developed to support the committee members to drive the project. Other strategies included the use of "local voices" in training, whereby local presenters and researchers were used as much as possible, and conducting training in the Marshallese language where possible.

A second pivotal factor in designing the project was the lessons of the Commonwealth Secretariat GBIs, which had been piloted in several countries including the island states of Sri Lanka, Barbados, and St. Kitts and Nevis.[18] The Marshallese initiative, like many of its Commonwealth predecessors, was institutionally located "inside government," and more specifically was coordinated by the Ministry of Finance with several ministries participating in the project, including the national statistical office (EPPSO) and the Chief Secretary's Office as well as line ministries delivering the relevant programs, in order to draw upon key stakeholders and resources within the state. Another key lesson drawn from the Commonwealth GBIs was the crucial role of civil society in ensuring positive outcomes from "inside-government" initiatives. The Marshallese steering committee was aware from the outset that, while the Ministry of Finance must be an integral part of driving the project given their expertise in budgetary processes and input into the formulation of the budget, civil society is equally essential, since finance ministries are not good at championing the gender sensitivity of budgets. Accordingly, the RMI Ministry of Finance adopted a strategy of broadening its gender expertise and stakeholder base by including a representative from WUTMI on the steering committee and within the mentorship program.

A third lesson drawn from the Commonwealth gender budget pilots was the need to have clear goals and to design the strategies accordingly (Sharp

2002). It was understood by the steering committee that GBIs running over a single budget cycle are mainly limited to raising awareness about the gender issues and impacts of policies and budgets. As a result, the committee worked on the understanding that a gender analysis of the budget, which was the focus of training workshops, does not by itself result in the formulation of a more gender-sensitive budget (Sharp and Broomhill 1990; Hofbauer 2003). Strategically engaging with the budget decision-making process would be necessary if the pilot initiative were to achieve goals other that raising awareness of gender issues in budgets.

These lessons were incorporated into the RMI initiative through the development of a conceptual framework at the outset of the project. This framework articulated the goals of the initiative as well as identifying the strategies that would be used to promote them.[19] These core and interrelated goals of the RMI gender-responsive budget initiative were (1) raising awareness and understandings of gender issues in budgets and policies; (2) promoting greater government transparency and accountability for its budgetary and policy impacts on gender equality; and (3) changing budgets and policies so that gender equality is promoted. Training workshops for government officials and civil society representatives as well as an international mentoring program for members of the steering committee (which included an intensive five-day planning process while visiting Australia) were key strategies utilized in the implementation of the project's goals.

In an attempt to promote the first goal, for example, the first government workshops began with the presentation of gender-disaggregated data derived from the national census by the national statistician, followed by a presentation of the factors that have shaped gender relations in the country by a local researcher. This enabled stakeholders to develop an understanding of the current gender gaps and the historical influences on gender relations in the RMI. In combination with an exercise where the participants identified examples of the potential gender impacts of their ministry's activities, these workshops sought to promote a deeper awareness of gender relations in the RMI and their implications for policy.

The second goal of calling governments to task for the impacts of their policies and budgets on gender equality and women's empowerment proved more difficult. An example from the NGO workshop involving participants from WUTMI illustrates the significance of civil society in strengthening gender-related budgetary accountability. At this workshop, a budget role-play took place in which NGO delegates "acted" as government officials and civil society representatives. Those acting out government roles were assigned to different ministry "teams" that represented the actual ministries

participating in the project (finance, resources and development, internal affairs, health, and education). The objective of the game was for the different "ministries" to achieve a budgetary outcome that enabled them to implement a program around the issue of teenage pregnancy. Participants learned that, as line ministries, they must properly justify their arguments to Finance, and as NGOs, they have the important task of monitoring government actions for signs of corruption as well as questioning policies and programs around their gender impacts.

This game was developed to illustrate the importance of the budget in gender outcomes and the crucial advocacy role of NGOs. It also highlighted the key political and economic elements of the development of budget proposals, the significance of cross-ministry gender issues, and the importance of the budgetary context in shaping gender-responsive budget initiatives. In extending these capability-strengthening exercises to Marshallese NGOs, the project succeeded in providing them with an elementary knowledge of how government budgets work and some basic tools for holding the government to task on its gender equality commitments.[20] As one NGO workshop participant expressed it:

> Now I've got a good understanding of gender responsive budget[ing], I, as a member of a NGO, can put pressure on the government to be more sensitive and more aware of issues that affect women. (Sharp, Vas Dev, and Spoehr 2003, 67)

The final goal, changing funding and programs to deliver better teenage pregnancy services, was the most problematic for a one-year pilot project. Teenage pregnancy was chosen by the steering committee because it was a topic of community concern for which support could be garnered both within government and in the community. Focusing on a single issue (teenage pregnancy) was thought to be the best way to make some change to the budget within a year. The gender budget analysis revealed only two existing government programs to address teenage pregnancy. Subsequent discussion with ministries also revealed that, although most ministries' budgets did not directly focus on teenage pregnancy, the work of almost all ministries potentially impacted on teenage pregnancy. For example, the Ministry of Education led a program to train school nurses, while the Ministry of Health conducted various reproductive health and family planning programs and dealt with treatment of rape victims. The initiative generated an understanding of teenage pregnancy as an important cross-cutting issue that had diverse impacts across all sectors of RMI society. This led to a greater interest among

participants from both the government and NGO sectors in the issue and, significantly, an awareness of how the budget can have impacts on teenage pregnancy beyond teenage-pregnancy-specific programs.

In the process of establishing the cross-ministry nature of teenage pregnancy, the budget analysis generated a lively discussion among participants in which a multiplicity of issues emerged, such as lack of funding and the complexity of trying to develop a coordinated policy approach. The discussion concluded with the decision to develop a coordinated cross-agency budget bid for teenage pregnancy. The development of this bid became the strategy through which the participating ministry teams could promote the third goal of changing budgets, whether it be through new funding, a reallocation of funding, or better coordination of resources across ministries.

Two meetings were held between these ministries and the Chief Secretary's Office, the latter being a key player in deciding which budget bids would be supported. During these meetings, each ministry had the opportunity to map out their funding allocations for programs and outputs directly or indirectly impacting on teenage pregnancy. The process of sharing information about the programs being conducted enabled the ministries to identify some duplications and gaps in programs on teenage pregnancy. At the same time, however, the bureaucratic politics around ownership of the teenage pregnancy program and a lack of strong leadership by the Ministry of Finance contributed to a breakdown of communication among those involved in the budget project and posed an obstacle to any further achievement. The course of events demonstrated to participants the realities of negotiating around the budget and the importance of political will and accountability in its outcomes.

Nevertheless some budgetary changes did take place as a direct result of the capacity-building exercises. For example, the Ministry of Internal Affairs identified a reallocation of funds that could be spent on a teenage pregnancy program. Unfortunately, this did not occur because the Women's Desk Officer—a member of the project's steering committee—was shifted from her position toward the end of the pilot project, a key time in the budget process, and the opportunity was lost when a less experienced officer took over with the result that the funds did not get spent on time. In a more successful example, the Ministry of Education decided to target a federal U.S. grant received for health education among adolescents to the issue of teenage pregnancy. While the bid for new funding for teenage pregnancy was not successful, some budgetary and policy changes were achieved by redirecting resources to change the type and quality of teenage pregnancy services delivered by the government.

Conclusion

The RMI GBI, the first of its kind in the Pacific, provides important lessons particularly for those PICTs seeking to implement the Revised Pacific Platform for Action on the Advancement of Women and Gender Equality 2005–2015. The broad lesson is that there is no single approach or blueprint for making budgets respond to gender issues and inequalities. Each society has to find its own way to make connections between its budget and its prevailing pattern of gender inequality in order to make the necessary changes. In particular, an understanding of the factors that provide opportunities for the project to succeed and recognition of the constraints to its success are important in assisting the various stakeholders to determine which strategies to take in formulating a GBI suitable for their country's conditions.

The RMI's unique socioeconomic and cultural circumstances underpinning women's status in the society, along with gender equality mechanisms within the state and the budgetary and political context, had a marked effect on the achievements of the project. One of the key lessons relevant to other PICTs seeking to introduce similar initiatives is the importance of understanding how these factors served as enabling or constraining foundations to the GBI. In the RMI case, the low levels of women's parliamentary representation, the lack of government services for problems affecting women and girls, a poorly resourced women's office within government, and a budgetary system that lacked minimal standards of transparency and accountability were important constraining factors. At the same time, the country's matrilineal culture and kinship ties (evident within the political sphere), the formal gender equality mechanisms that did exist at the national, regional, and international levels, the active participation of WUTMI, budgetary reforms that facilitated gender transparency and accountability, and an election year provided a buffer against the impact of the constraining factors and fostered the initiative's measure of success.

The design of the GBI also played a role in its qualified success. Three lessons in particular can be drawn from the RMI case for other PICTs establishing similar projects. The first was the importance of developing local ownership of externally funded and proposed initiatives. When asked about improving capacity-building initiatives at a multistakeholder workshop hosted by the Pacific Islands Association of NGOs in 1999, many participants maintained that they should have a Pacific definition and a conceptual framework that reflected their organizations' view of the world (Low and Davenport 2002). The incorporation of local voices through the GBI's steering committee, which was mentored and given oversight of the project, facilitated local ownership. A second lesson was the crucial contribution of civil society

in such projects. WUTMI was an important and positive force in the RMI gender equality foundations and fundamental to the achievements of the initiative. Even the most committed government officials require a strong mandate from the community to foster gender equality and women's empowerment in society. Moreover, governments more generally tend to deliver gender justice through their budgets only if considerable pressure is exerted on them (Sharp 1999). However, as others have noted, while there is room for optimism that civil society groups can make a significant contribution to various applied budget initiatives, in many cases, further progress on skills development in budget analysis will be necessary and thereby entail significant assistance (Krafchik 2002). This will be a critical ingredient in the success of further gender-responsive budget initiatives in the Pacific.[21]

A third lesson of the RMI experience can be drawn from the important insights into bridging the gap between analyzing budgets for gender impacts and changing budgets to make them more gender sensitive, which is an issue for gender-responsive budget initiatives worldwide. It is now widely acknowledged that a gender analysis of the budget does not by itself result in the formulation of a gender-sensitive budget (Sharp and Broomhill 1990; Hofbauer 2003). The RMI's adoption of a conceptual framework that linked strategies to goals facilitated an explicit understanding that the initiative needed to go beyond a gender *analysis* of the budget to achieving gender-sensitive budgetary *changes*. The steering committee's preparedness to entertain a budget bid on teenage pregnancy combined with the positive response of key ministries resulted in some budgetary changes. While minimal outcomes were achieved in terms of changing the budget, some important foundations were laid for future initiatives. For example, the initiative challenged the stand-alone or "silo" mentality that existed among government officials in the RMI that was entrenched by the lack of formal cross-ministry mechanisms available to deal with cross-cutting issues. This opened opportunities for greater cooperation between ministries in the future, which is important for improved gender outcomes because women's desks and ministries invariably have very limited resources and ultimately rely on alliances with other ministries to implement gender-sensitive programs and budgets.

Ultimately, it was the broader budgetary context in the form of the politics of the RMI–U.S. Compact negotiations that contributed to the collapse of the normal budgetary processes in the year of the project, making significant budgetary and policy changes largely impossible. The powerful ramifications of the Compact agreement on budgetary decision processes highlighted the political nature of budget decisions which gender-responsive budget initiatives, like all budgetary reform processes, must negotiate in order to change policies and budgets.

NOTES

1. In August 2004, the PPA was revised at the 9th Triennial Conference on Pacific Women and the Second Pacific Ministers Meeting on Women in Nadi, Fiji. A key theme of these discussions was the emphasis on adequate resources. More specifically the Pacific Secretariat called on Pacific governments and administrations "to further strengthen their commitment towards increasing resource allocations to the various national women's machineries to assist them in the full and effective implementation of the Revised Pacific Platform for Action" (Secretariat of the Pacific Community 2004, 8). GBIs were identified as a key strategy for implementing the revised PPA. See Sharp (2005) for a discussion of the three countries—Samoa, Fiji and the RMI—that introduced some form of a GBI prior to the revised PPA.

2. The idea of incorporating a gender perspective into government budgets gained momentum internationally in 1995 when the United Nations (Beijing) Platform of Action for Women recommended that governments systematically assess how women benefit from government expenditures and adjust budgets so that there is equality of access to public sector expenditures (UNIFEM 2000, 112). Some type of GBI has now been introduced in over 60 countries across all continents of the world (Sharp 2005; Rubin and Bartle 2005).

3. The technical assistance was part of a regional technical assistance project "Youth- and Gender-Sensitive Public Expenditure Management in the Pacific." The RMI was the pilot for a GBI, and Samoa was a youth and gender budget pilot initiative. The technical assistance was provided by a small team of academics from the University of South Australia, Australia, who drew on international best practice to provide training and advice to senior government officials and NGOs.

4. Statistics from the Asian Development Bank (2006) reveal that economic growth in 2003 stood at 1.8% (and 4% in 2006). Per capita growth in 2003 was –2% (compared to 0.04% in 2006).

5. The exception is the Enewetak atoll, which is patrilineal.

6. For example in 1967, less than 4% of adult females were high school educated. By 1999, this had increased nearly tenfold to over 33%, while the male rate increased by only about four times. Additionally, while only 15% of adult females were employed in the RMI in 1967, over one-third of them were employed in 1999. Meanwhile, this rate actually dropped for males, clearly showing that women's "market share" of the RMI labor market increased relative to men. The female to male wage ratio, a quotient of females' to males' mean wages, increased over time. According to 2002 survey data, females earned US67 cents for every dollar earned by males, a sizeable increase from US58 cents in 1980. At the same time, a significant gender wage gap continues to exist.

7. With regards to the labor market, it is evident that, while many educated women hold prominent positions, particularly in government (U.S. Department of State 2006), and female workers remain prevalent particularly in the private sector, many remain in low-paying jobs with little prospect for advancement (U.S. Department of State 2006). Similarly, with regards to women and education in the RMI, data from the Economic Policy, Planning and Statistics Office (EPPSO) reveals that the high school drop-out rate

amongst female students was 43.3%, while it was 38.7% for male students in 2002–2003. While the factors accounting for such statistics remain beyond the scope of this paper, the practice of early marriage and teenage pregnancies have been cited as forcing female students to abandon their studies (EPPSO 2003).

8. Traditional Marshallese medicine and cultural practices regarding pregnancy, birth, and child care remain strong. Modern medical care supplements Marshallese medicine, especially in areas of health care that remain located in traditional spheres.

9. On 1 March 1954, the United States exploded an atomic bomb, code-named Bravo, which dropped its nuclear fallout on populated islands of the northern Marshalls. The immediate results were burns, hair loss, nasty sores that did not heal, and subsequent stillbirths and "jelly baby" births. In the period immediately following the incident, women from the atoll of Rongelap reported to U.S. health monitoring teams that they were producing "jelly babies," or malformed foetuses, which were expelled after four or five months of pregnancy, although sometimes full-term, which was very distressing to these mothers. The long-term results were cancers, especially high rates of cancer of the goiter, and goiter nodules, with the ongoing effect of stunted growth and reduced immunities of children born 20 and 30 years after the explosion (Pollock 2004).

10. Figures from EPPSO indicate that this had declined to 17% in 2003.

11. Hence, in 2003 for instance, one female mayor was elected in the various atolls (compared to 23 males); one women senator was elected to the RMI parliament (the Nitijela; compared to 33 males; EPPSO 2003, 30); and in 2005, there were no women judges in the country (U.S. Department of State 2006).

12. For example, the first NGO workshop for the project was organized at the Parliament and was disrupted half an hour before it began by an instruction that the President would be using the room booked for the workshop. The women were subsequently crammed into a much smaller room and had to sit on the floor due to the lack of space. The workshop began with a round asking the women to name a key gender issue in the RMI. The first speaker, a prominent Marshallese woman, said what had just happened was a key gender issue and indicated that this message needed to be taken to those who had shifted the workshop out of its scheduled room. Soon afterward we were informed that the original room would be available immediately.

13. In December 2004, the Women's Desk was physically relocated to the newly built government-owned Women's Training, Marketing and Information Center. The center is an ADB-funded loan project, which comprises a vocational training institute that addresses particular training areas. The center is to be used for the marketing of handicrafts and to store resources to be used for research or training purposes. To date, no Women's Information Desk officer has been officially appointed, although two staff people are employed in that capacity.

14. In recent times, several UN Human Rights conventions including CEDAW have been considered by the Nitijela. At the WUTMI Seventh General Assembly for Women in October 2004, a resolution was submitted to the Nitijela with a list of actions the government needed to take to promote gender equality in the RMI. One of these actions was the

ratification of CEDAW. In March 2005, the government conducted a forum addressing gender equality where the ratification of CEDAW was a central issue. To date, however, the RMI has not ratified CEDAW.

15. Vision 2018 was established in 2001 by the Marshallese government as a socioeconomic road map for the country to achieve developed status. It refers to gender equality as a strategy to achieve this objective in several capacities. For example, it notes: "The strategies that will be implemented will be those aimed at providing equal job opportunities, equal access to education, better health care and family planning, ensuring better nutrition for women. Policies and programs will be pursued for the protection of women's rights including those relating to eliminating domestic violence, providing child support and protecting matrilineal land rights" (p 52).

16. The islands were governed under U.S. administration as part of the UN Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands for four decades from around 1947 and were given independence in 1986. As part of the independence agreement, the Marshall Islands and the United States entered into a Compact of Free Association, which contains economic and political agreements. Despite severe economic dependence on the United States, the agreement gave the RMI considerable political autonomy with full internal self-government and significant authority over foreign affairs, while the United States retains long-term "strategic denial" rights over the territory.

17. The government is the major employer, followed by the commercial and retail sectors. The construction industry is expanding, but there is limited domestic production, with the most significant sectors being fisheries, copra, handicrafts, and subsistence agriculture. The export base of the RMI is very narrow, with imports of US$60 million far outweighing exports of US$8 million in the fiscal year 2001 (Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2003).

18. The Commonwealth Secretariat pilot initiative to integrate gender into national budgetary processes in Commonwealth countries was endorsed at the 1996 regular meeting of Commonwealth Ministers of Women's Affairs. See Commonwealth Secretariat (1999) and Elson (1999) for an overview of the specific projects completed and tools of analysis.

19. See the final report by Sharp, Vas Dev, and Spoehr (2003) for details of this framework.

20. In June 2006, WUTMI held a conference on civil society and the budget, which resulted in the production of a manual *A Guide to Applied Budget Analysis in the Republic of the Marshall Islands* funded by the Asia Foundation and the ADB. The manual was compiled primarily to provide the basic information and resources from which budget literacy training and lectures aimed at the civil sector could be developed in an effort to increase civil society understanding of budgets. The conference and the subsequent manual can be viewed as an important step in the accountability role of Marshallese women's NGOs that the GBI sought to promote.

21. Subsequent to the GBI, WUTMI has undertaken further capacity building in budget analysis with the Applied Budget Project. See www.wutmi.org for further information about this project.

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BOOK REVIEW FORUM

Robert J. Foster, *Materializing the Nation: Commodities, Consumption, and Media in Papua New Guinea.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002. Pp. x, 202, photographs, notes, references, index. US$44.95 cloth; $22.95 paper.

Review: CHRISTINE DUREAU
UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

To Die For?

THE NATION-STATE AS NORM GENERATES A SYLLOGISM, *viz.*, the international system is one of nation-states; Papua New Guinea (PNG) (or wherever) is a state; therefore PNG (or . . .) is a nation. (If not, it ought to be.) Such logic renders statehood problematic for many places made independent by post-WWII decolonization, especially those characterized by cultural and linguistic diversity, limited shared histories, and little else in the way of the markers highlighted by stereotypical nationalist discourse. How to persuade a citizenry to loyalty to, feeling towards, a sense of belonging within, and community with an entity that is more extensive than, and/or transects, precolonial imaginative, political, strategic, economic, and social orientations, constituting erstwhile others as conationals as against former kin, allies, or heretofore unconsidered others as Others? To use Benedict Anderson's iconic phrase, how might such states develop the imagined communities of the nation? What might this thing, "PNG," be beyond the Third World residuum of an obsolete geopolitical era? The challenge appears one of naturalizing the manifestly contrived.

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Following Anderson's analysis of the nation as "a model . . . eminently capable of being copied and introduced into circumstances wholly unlike those in which it originated," Foster (34) has long reflected upon this as a project for states and their elites, one of making nations out of diverse populations who do not imagine themselves as mutually sovereign, fraternal, or bounded communities (see Anderson 1991:6–7). Such work refutes presumptions that Melanesia is doomed by the insularity of premodern worldviews to the chaos of "weak states." Foster explicitly and implicitly addresses ethnocentric assumptions of intractable locality and tribalism held by First World politicians, media, developers, and others and challenges the continuing stress on the immense diversity of these areas as mitigating against concord and thus against mature participation in the international system. The approach is sustained in this work, as in his analysis of a paternalistic departing Australian colonial power's efforts to instill rationalist, modernist understandings of national currencies and capitalist accumulation or in his accounts of local responses to international depictions of PNG as violent. Several chapters counter assumptions that the nation is unattainable: *au contraire*, it is "clearly present in PNG—not only as a rhetorical figure of speech . . . but also as a frame of reference for staging a whole range of collective and personal identities. This book seeks, first of all, to support this assertion" (4). There is, in fact, much more.

Many scholars now conceptualize the nation as process, practice, and discourse. Such antiessentialist approaches maintain that nations are imagined rather than empirical communities; nations construed as fixed and definite are in fact shifting and ambiguous, always in process of becoming. Few have attended these issues in so nuanced a manner as Foster with his refusal of the moral voice of much writing on nationalism and analyses of the boundless possibilities of these discursive creations. This book reflects this subtle approach, tracing his developing thought from 1992 to the present, with chapters covering everything from postage cancellation marks and injunctions against spitting betel nut—"rendering natural and taken for granted a set of particular and historical premises about social life" and conjoining notions of "collective *and* personal identity" (26)—to what must be the most banal of banal nationalisms as expressed in advertising agencies' persuasions to drink Pepsi or Coke and become real Papua New Guineans in the process.

Foster has long referenced Anderson's germinal *Imagined Communities* (1991) and here continues his engagement with its arguments about the pivotal role of capitalist communication media in the development of nationalism. In earlier eras, Anderson argues, this was facilitated by the

proliferation of newspapers such that simultaneous acts of reading/consuming newspapers awakened readers to a sense of belonging to a shared, particular, nation:

> [E]ach communicant [reader] is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated . . . by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion (1991, 65).

Foster extends this treatment to more contemporary media (especially in Chapters 3 to 5), including radio and television, particularly as employed by the advertising industry, and the ways in which consumption of brand-name commodities might stimulate a sense of nation. He provides a delicious PNG analogue to Anderson's "shared space-time of an imagined national community" in a national fun-run in which "small groups of identically shirted runners [in Shell and Coca-Cola T-shirts sold at Shell petrol stations] together left starting lines in Port Moresby, Lae, Goroko, Mt. Hagen, Rabaul, Daru, and Wewak" (93).

Advertisements serve as important vehicles for a mélange of images of the nation, potential identities and the (post?) modern hybridities of tradition. Foster is less concerned with their seductive content than with their general form, whereby "the social relations of commodity consumption implied by ads entail particular definitions of personhood on the one hand, and of community on the other" (65). His focus is on consumers participating in the construction of advertisements' meaning, so that some commodities come to be qualified "as somehow Papua New Guinean, as embodiments and/or possessions of 'the nation.' They imply, furthermore, that to consume these commodities is to appropriate the quality of Papua New Guineaness as an attribute of one's person" (66).

"Consumption practices," he writes, "have the capacity to link personal and collective identities in compelling fashion" (117), an argument made particularly clearly in Chapter 5, where he locates PNG within historical and international examples of how something like a school lunch can mark one as belonging or not belonging to the nation. Of such quotidian practices are identities and senses of self made. Here is a repeated theme—the making of identities tied to the emergence of new kinds of persons. Indeed, Foster proffers something of a response to Anderson's question about why people will die for the nation in his account of how "nations become entangled with lived identities . . . aspects of embodied being" (117).

There are ironies upon ironies in this. Perhaps the greatest lies in the crucial place of capitalist ideologies of individualism and freedom in the

emergence of national persons (27–29, 65, 88 *passim*). In PNG, the individual self, although "not the only image available" (89), is apparently in coprocess with developing national identities, and Foster describes the construction of a nation in which "the totality of which one is a member and one's identity as an individual imply each other" (27). It is particularly striking, in a part of the world renowned for models of personhood grounded in collectivities, that the construction of the greater community should be contingent on the avoidance of such forms of sociality. So, this place of partible personhood and community building through elaborate exchange practices and ideologies of reciprocity marks its nationhood through emerging norms of individual personhood and private consumption (e.g., 27, 31, 75). Unlike indigenous production and exchange practices, in which objects mark and create productive, kin, affinal, and other forms of relationship, commodities are, or can be, rendered neutral by their homogenization and divorce from obvious productive and other forms of relationship. They could, as Foster writes elsewhere, "belong to everyone," thus opening the scope of those to whom one may imagine oneself as "related or not related" (1995, 24).

And, in the context of consumption possibilities, "not related" is seductive. In Port Moresby, some people prefer to drink soft drinks alone, an almost secretive consumption. (I am reminded of fieldwork anecdotes about a family who extinguished their lamps when they had store food to eat so as to avoid sharing it with nearby kin.) In doing so, perhaps, like Anderson's newspaper readers, they perceive themselves part of a community of autonomous, discrete fellow drinkers whom they do not know. So, these commercial artifacts sponsor, speak to or of the nation and, in so doing, undermine local ontologies. Without wanting to read too much into Foster's careful argument, I gain a sense here of that more Victorian notion of consumption—of things used up, spent, wasted away. In contrast to classical ethnographic descriptions of transactions answering earlier transactions and instigating future ones, some of these solitary pleasures seem like endpoints, refusals to invest in the further sociality that might be expressed in the alternative act of sharing a soft drink. And when they do share these things, still, "this is not the Melanesia we all know . . ., for the sociocultural contexts in which . . . *Coke* is consumed is often, like the *Coke* itself . . . an artifact of the spread of capitalism and its temporal routines" (161).

Not that Papua New Guineans are incipient clones of Western individuals. Rather, the making of identities draws upon the alternative ideal types of dividuality and individuality. Foster says that "Melanesians enact aspects of both ideal types, redefining in the process conventional possibilities for personal and collective identities" (90). Whatever forms Papua New Guinean images of national persons may take, then, even avowedly individualist

identities are compelled to engage with traditional dividualist understandings, outcomes of "the syncretic tensions between different notions of persons and bodies" (101).

Such practices entail enmeshment in the global political economy. Notwithstanding legislation requiring all commercial advertising to be locally produced (63), the nation often seems to be articulated by the extranational. Advertisements on behalf of transnational corporations (TNCs), which certainly have few if any PNG shareholders, deploy classical idioms of indigenous tradition to "present constructs of 'the nation' and perforce to define the terms of membership in 'the nation'" (63). See, for example, how the Shell oil company conflates itself to the nation by pulling together the red, black, and gold of the national athletic uniform and its corporate logo in an advertisement screened during prime-time news (91–92). Or the ways that soft-drink corporations sponsor cultural events, thereby "[identifying] their products not only with the multicultural nation(-state), but also with modernity itself" (165).

Such features cannot but evoke questions of ideology, of the manufacture and manipulation of ideals, identities, and selves. Of course, people use such meanings and images, appropriating and subverting them in the living of lives, a point that this book makes clearly (e.g., 161–165). Still, I find myself wanting more questions about consciousness, inequalities, experiences of advertisements and other artifacts, and indices of the nation. Foster leaves me uncertain how some, many, or most Papua New Guineans conceptualize their nation. In part this is because of the extent to which he privileges textual analysis—postage stamp marks, spectacular images of massed dancers, law week speeches, letters to the editor, among many others. So, for example, in Chapter 3, "Print Advertisements and Nation Making," Foster asserts his interest in the advertisement readers' participation in meaning-making but relies on his own interpretations of images and content. These are enticing analyses, but I want to know what about them their local readers saw, thought, and remarked upon and how they were incorporated into their social practices and cultural expressions.

This is an issue of ethnographic depth—I find myself wanting more with each glimpse of people's lives. For me, the data are somewhat too widely spread, lightly contextualized. What does drinking Coke or smoking Gold tobacco mean diversely or uniformly? How are they located in ontologies and daily practice? How might, say, the drivers and few PNG consumers of the POSH travel service's chauffeured cars view the national parliament building pictured in a POSH advertisement (81–82)? There are tantalizing excerpts from interviews about advertisements but these are brief, few, and minimally contextualized. Make no mistake—this is a request for more, rather than a quarrel with Foster's argument.

Foster admits this reliance on texts (106–107), while noting their dual potential: if advertising motifs can be creatively appropriated, signaling limits to ideological manipulation, he also acknowledges the endless possibilities or pressures to remake bodies and selves in more atomized forms, rejecting the "romance of resistance" (Abu-Lughod 1990) that demands consistent ethnographic revelation of indigenous subversion. If this does not substantially engage with issues of consciousness or answer the need for more ethnography, it is a salutary reminder of the complex social actions of texts themselves. And if Foster does not himself provide focussed ethnography, he draws upon a significant and growing body of work by other ethnographers.

Foster briefly returns to the issue at the very end of the book, asking about the scope and suitability of ethnographic methods to understand national and global phenomena. He suggests that anthropologists pursue possibilities for greater collaborative research along the lines of Marcus's multisited ethnography. Such an approach would enable fine-grained interpretations of the kind I seek alongside more broad-ranging arguments of the kind proffered in this book.

Foster's ideas about the relationship between national consciousness and nationalism in PNG remain elusive. He is critical of Otto and Thomas (1997, 1) for distinguishing Melanesian states as developing a "national consciousness . . . a collective imagining . . . [that] may be too dilute politically to constitute an -ism, yet deeply consequential for the ways in which people understand their biographical locations and attach value and meanings to a variety of practices." Yet he only touches on nationalism *qua* nationalism with its exclusive inclusiveness, gendered values, claims of equality informed by competitiveness, and idioms of kinship encapsulating potential violence.

This may be somewhat unfair semantics. What is the test of nationalism? Is it dying and killing for the nation? Going berserk at the winning of an Olympic medal? Standing to attention while the national anthem plays? No, says Foster, who is more concerned with "the various means by which the nation enters into the daily lives of ordinary people as a frame of reference for thinking and acting reflexively" (17–18) than with such "rah-rah" nationalism. He calls on Billig's arguments about banal nationalism's infiltration of consciousness by the insinuation of unremarkable markers of the nation into everyday life, such that the nation becomes a hegemonic frame of reference, a largely unselfconscious, naturalized idiom that may undergird periodic nationalist explosions (19). In such work, hypernationalist consciousness, jingoism, etc., are latent within, rather than definitive markers of, nationalism. My query here is whether Foster follows Billig in seeing such chauvinism as perhaps also quiescent in PNG's banal nationalism.

Further, what might be the social and political costs of banal or other forms of nationalism in PNG? If the nation frames identity making, it implies exclusiveness as much as inclusiveness, others as much as selves, problematizing not only other nations but local groups who do not fit within the imagined nation (e.g., Gilroy 1987). A materialized, consumerist nation implies particular forms of exclusion. Foster highlights the making of different identities far more than the making of economic, status, or other disparities. He observes that commodity consumption "predicates relations among . . . individuals by categorizing them as either fellow consumers, and thus alike, or as consumers with unshared consumption practices, and thus different." In so doing, it "can provide the means for producing simultaneously both a national consumption community *and* subcommunities of consumption" (78–79). However, people find themselves with significantly unequal capacities to consume, excluding some from particular subcommunities and potentially marking others as more or less legitimate citizens. If most can consume a can of Coke sometimes, there are those who cannot, either because of cost or remoteness, and some who can do so less regularly than others. And even fewer can afford the more costly status-linked consumption of the individualist modernity accompanying nation-making in PNG. Such uneven consumption patterns evoke the question, "Who is the nation?"

The answer seems somewhat inconsistent in keeping with the shifting terrain of much nationalist imagination (and perhaps reflecting the different times in which these chapters were written). Sometimes the nation seems to be all Papua New Guineans, as, for example, when Foster insists that "the production of a national frame of reference . . . happens through commodity consumption and commercial media that cross boundaries between town and village, elites and masses" (19). At other times it is "the steadily growing population of school-educated, urban-dwelling, wage-earning citizens" (63), elsewhere (85) "metropolitan Papua New Guineans."

This variability matches the unevenness of consumption. Overall, nation-making seems somewhat, albeit not exclusively, urban or bourgeois in character, motored by the readers of newspapers, literate writers of letters to newspapers with their limited circulation, owners and watchers of televisions, and consumers of advertised products. Those he describes as dying in the name of the nation were university students, and the most overtly nationalist text, "a familiar modern instance of nationalism incubated abroad" (127), was written by a student studying overseas. This echoes ethnographies of contemporary PNG class-making (e.g., Gewertz and Errington 1999; Anderson and Connolly 1992), which map urban- and class-based contractions of kin ties and the growing nuclearization of families, attempts

by entrepreneurs and higher income wage-earners to loosen economic obligations, the growth of savings accounts, etc. Nation-making and individuation, then, seem to sit comfortably with class making, a shift to more modernist, capitalist modes of inequality.

Foster notes both the high cost of some consumer products and the budget products that are widely consumed, so it will not do to read consumer citizenship as exclusive to the relatively affluent. However, I wonder about the outcomes of a marriage of nation and consumption that entails constructing not just different but unequal communities of consumption. Consider his analysis of corporate sponsorship of athletics. He notes that the imagery employed in such advertising both ties the corporation's products to the nation and represents the athletes' bodies as autonomous and agentive, granted axiomatic equality by the rules of competition but ultimately ranked as winners (94–95). I would add that it also marks some as losers and wonder whether differentiation into "subcommunities of consumption" marks an analogous stratified consumer nation, presaging a future of failed or unworthy citizens. Certainly, there are other hints of exclusion. For example, discussions about betel nut can construe it as indigenous in opposition to a "Western culture [that] . . . introduced its deadly poisons like alcohol and cigarettes." Simultaneously, though, Highlanders, being "new to betel nut" and thus ignorant about how to chew "hygienically," are imaginatively excluded from the community of proper, disciplined betel chewers (104, quoting call-back radio).

Foster partially addresses these issues in Chapter 6, which considers attempts to fashion transnational subjectivities in response to local perceptions of locality, remoteness, or skin color and awareness of international stereotypes of PNG as a dangerous place. This chapter, written for this volume, highlights the double or divided self of diversely located postcolonial persons who attempt to "fashion themselves as cosmopolitan subjects" (148). In it, he brings together a society that perceives itself as remote and marginal, the Urapmin of West Sepik, and ceremonial nation-making in the PNG leg of the 2000 Olympics torch relay. In both cases, Papua New Guineans engage with the transnational, respectively, the world religion of Christianity and the ultimate global sporting event. Here, he reminds us of the interplay of agency and constraint (which seems muted in the first few chapters) as Papua New Guineans make themselves in conditions not entirely of their own making.

This volume offers far more than I can attend to here—creative tensions between and juxtapositions of tradition and modernity, the sheer materiality of being a PNG national, and implicit questions about shifts between ideology and hegemony, among others. Above all, Foster suggests much about emergent ideas about sociality and cultural practice as tied to the making of a nation. He raises important theoretical questions that transcend

the specific case of PNG to engage global issues of commercialized nationhood. The book addresses fluid neoteric processes, so it is early to make definitive pronouncements about the forms and scope of PNG nationhood, a temptation he avoids. Rather, he provokes questions about modern modes of being, about cultural translations of inescapable global models, and about the contemporary forms of postcolonial, national, and traditionalist discourse in Melanesian states and beyond. I see this as a foundational work, provoking questions for the multisited ethnography of nationhood that Foster suggests. Finally, I suggest that it is important because it demonstrates the ambiguous, contingent, evolving imagined nation of PNG *in process*.

At risk of seeming terminally romantic, it is hard not to be regretful about this commercialized nationhood. Anderson (1991, 7, punctuation changed) observes of earlier nationalisms the puzzle that so many people have been willing "not so much to kill, as to . . . die for such limited imaginings. These deaths bring us abruptly face to face with the central problem posed by nationalism: what makes the shrunken imaginings of recent history . . . generate such colossal sacrifices"? Consider, then, the even more limited, half-aware community of banal nationalism. As Billig (1995, 6, 7) argues "[o]ne point needs stressing: banal does not imply benign." One shudders at the thought that people may some day kill or die for the symbols of the caffeine- and sugar-laced drinks that mark TNC profit-making as much as they do creative bricolage and cultural dialectic.

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Review: PETER LARMOUR
AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

The Democracy We Know and Love

ROBERT FOSTER'S METHOD is to hang a sophisticated theoretical discussion around publicity campaigns or pageants in Papua New Guinea (PNG). The campaigns include one by the government for the new national currency, the kina, and one by Pepsi, for the soft drink. The pageants are exemplary public ceremonies that provide opportunities for individual grandstanding. They include Law Week, a Fun Run, and an Olympic Torch Relay. The pageants themselves are rather, well, lame—but that's the point of the "banal nationalism" and everyday consumption that Foster is interested in. His discussion, in contrast to the pageants themselves, is deft, original, and generous-minded. The last chapter shifts the method slightly, as Foster draws on responses to a pilot survey of soft drink consumption he organized for Pepsi.

Reflecting its origins in journal articles, the book is oriented to the professional concerns of anthropology. Foster addresses professional debates in the anthropological discipline about "fetish" and "fieldwork." Concerns with the media and globalization also reflect his interest in cultural studies, and the book nicely joins these two disciplines. There is also a kind of background Marxism, expressed in the language ("capitalism" and "commodity") rather than the argument, and concerned with relations of consumption rather than old-style production.

In the Introduction, Foster also does a deft job on two staples of political science—"state" and "nation"—twin ideas that have framed much Australian worrying and exasperation about PNG since the 1990s. The Australian Prime Minister, taking his cue from Washington think tanks, has started talking about PNG as a potential "failed state." To stave off this possibility, Australia

has developed an Enhanced Cooperation Program (ECP) that put 150 Australian police back on patrol in Port Moresby and Bougainville, and 45 Australian officials in "line" (rather than advisory) jobs in the PNG government. They were meant to deal with sensitive subjects such as public finance, accountability, and border security. The ECP was unpopular with the PNG elite. It provoked an outburst of nonbanal, anticolonial nationalism, complaints about Australian arrogance and insensitivity, and deployment of "weapons of the weak." It all came to a head, or foot, when Sir Michael Somare, PNG's first and also current Prime Minister, transited through Brisbane airport on a private visit. A full-fledged diplomatic incident flared up after Somare refused to remove his shoes for inspection by airport security guards, and the Australian government refused to apologize for its officials' insistence that he did so. The incident was called, in Canberra, "Shoegate," though it had a distinctly post-9/11 character.

The ECP has since been put on hold after the PNG High Court found in late May 2005 that the immunity from prosecution granted to the Australian officials violated the PNG constitution. But the Program seems to have support of Port Moresby waiters and taxi drivers (the typical informants of the brief visitor). They cited more police patrols, tidier police stations, and fewer bashings of suspects inside them. The teary public farewells to the Australian police at Port Moresby airport provided another pageant, and another occasion for Papua New Guineans to feel bad about themselves. (Foster is good on this—especially PNG's evil twins of fuzzy wuzzy angel and crazed *raskol*).

I have been reading Foster's book on a brief trip to Madang and Port Moresby, turning on hotel televisions to check Foster's data. I can report that Boroko Motors is now selling customer service rather than "Wheels for the Nation." Bushell's tea is being sociably consumed by mixed groups of young and old in various provincial settings, as Foster's respondent, the schoolteacher Elizabeth Solomon, would probably have endorsed. However, Pepsi is still resolutely leering at teenage girls in tight jeans. I've also been hearing again and again about those 800 languages and other commonplaces of what Foster calls "the PNG we know and love." Foster was discussing two guys sharing a bottle of soft drink. In that case the anthropological commonplaces are the compulsion towards reciprocity, and anxiety about body fluids. Their political science counterparts might include election campaigns and clan voting. In the political science of "the PNG we know and love," multiple candidates campaign by mobilizing traditional solidarities, split their opponents' support by endorsing dummy candidates, and win with a small percentage of the vote.

But things have been happening to elections in PNG, in Bougainville, and more generally. Bougainvilleans have just been voting for the president of

their "autonomous government," which is the product of negotiations to end the long-running civil war (Francis Kabui won). The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) recently showed Francis Ona, leader of the Bougainville rebellion, on the campaign trail in Arawa. He has come down the mountain and is campaigning like a conventional politician—natty golf shirt, standing on the back of a truck, "loud yeller" in hand. The posters carried by his followers call on Australia (and "PNG") to leave the island. Later, he vigorously pushes the TV cameraman off the podium. So far so familiar—even the cult leader has to campaign. But he is actually campaigning against the election, indeed any election. He has become a king—His Royal Highness King Francis Dominic Dateransy Domanaa, King of the Royal Kingdom of Me'ekamui. He has a couple of weird expatriate monarchists helping him. Prince Jeffrey Richards of Rockhampton and Lord James Nesbitt of London flew in illegally from Australia last September. It is all somehow linked up to plans to restart mining in Bougainville, and a pyramid savings scheme run by Noah Musingku called U Vistract which has left Bougainvillean investors asking: Where's my money? This is a kind of perfect storm of the Melanesian cults, campaigns, and global scams we know and love.

Meanwhile, in Port Moresby the national elite has been trying some "constitutional engineering." Under the new Organic Law on the Integrity of Political Parties and Candidates (OLIPPAC), minor, almost technical, changes are intended to ramify outwards to change the behavior of candidates, their relationships with each other and voters, and government policy. One change is "preferential voting." Under the "first past the post" system used in the last general election, and more recently in Bougainville, the candidate with the largest number of votes wins. With a large number of candidates courting very small blocs, that winning plurality can be quite small—as low, in one case, as 8%. By implication, 92% did not vote for the winner, who owes them nothing. Under preferential systems, like those used in Australian elections to the House of Representatives (but not the Senate), voters rank candidates, thereby expressing their preferences among them: first, second, third. (PNG has decided to limit preferences to three, which seems a little mean.)

If a candidate gets 50% or more of the first preferences, he or she wins. If no one manages to, then the candidate with the least number of first preferences is dropped from the count, and his or her votes distributed among the others according to their second preferences. Through several iterations, someone will emerge with a majority and, it is argued, that winner may take a wider view of his or her constituency responsibilities—looking beyond core supporters.

The argument for preferential voting is that it encourages candidates to look outside their local, primordial, or clan base to seek the second and third preferences of other voters, as these may become decisive as the count develops. It also encourages candidates to cooperate with each other. In Australia, it is called "swapping preferences": I will encourage my voters to deliver their second preferences to you, if you do the same for me.

The introduction of the new Organic Law on Elections and Political Parties was promoted by a rather lame, Foster-style advertising campaign, funded by the European Union and staffed by offspring of the national elite with public relations skills. The "grassroots" cartoonist was enlisted to explain the law's virtues. A bumper sticker enjoined against self-interested voting. The campaign was partnered by Transparency International, the anticorruption NGO whose chair, the late Sir Anthony Siaguru, had been a long-time advocate of electoral reform.

The new preferential system will be introduced at the next general election, but has been tried in by-elections since 2002. The level of election violence has certainly fallen sharply in these by-elections, but it is too early to tell how the successful candidates will use their mandates in a more expansive and cooperative way. A similar system introduced in Fiji for the 1988 election produced unexpected results—a single-party government, little support for cooperation across ethnic lines, and eventually another coup.

Foster discusses state and nation as a pair. A political scientist might add a third term: "democracy." Foster's engaging approach invites us to wonder what anthropology-cum-cultural-studies of democracy look like. Democracy does not appear much in the current book, except in its egalitarian sense. We have already had distinguished anthropologists writing about politics in the series of UPNG election studies. The election itself is full of the grandstanding and anxiety that Foster found in his pageants—indeed the Fun Run and Torch Relay already attracted opportunistic politicians and formed part of their campaigns.

Voting is of course individual, secretive, and supposed to be a matter of individual calculation. Election studies of PNG regularly show how the process is often in fact collective, out in the open, and coerced. (Indeed some of the formal apparatus of the election encouraged a communal approach: I remember the electoral roll in Enga in the early 1980s listing people by clan.) An ABC TV story about the recent general election in the Southern Highlands showed local leaders doing deals about how their followers would vote, candidates' offsiders cheerfully filling in voting papers in bulk, and ballot boxes set on fire. Yet elections are one of the enduring institutions in PNG. They intersect with another collective but individuating event, the national census.

Except of course they often contradict each other—many more people seem to vote than are recorded as adults in the census. The cynical interpretation is that people are voting more than once. The innocent interpretation is that the roll fails to keep up with people coming of age.

The introduction of preferential voting may also create opportunities for research on what Foster describes as the anthropological consensus on the Melanesian sense of self. Melanesians are supposed to see themselves not as individuals, but as a unique nexus of relationships. Rather than defining themselves as members of a reified "clan," and voting for that, how will people spread their three preferences around? Will preferences give a different, more inclusive, shape to what Foster, following Anderson, might call an "imagined community of voting?"

Review: MARIANNE ELISABETH LIEN
UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

MATERIALIZING THE NATION offers a "bottom-up" view of nation making. Unlike most books on nation building that tend to privilege state formation and political processes, Foster draws attention to everyday nation formation or what he calls the "banal aspects of nation making." Through this approach he aims to demonstrate "how the nation emerges—not as a particular narrative or a particular imaginative construct—but as a frame of reference available for defining and communicating identities" (16).

Papua New Guinea (PNG) may not appear as the most obvious choice for scholars with an interest in nation formation. As Foster notes, it is indeed a weak state, a state of extraordinary ethnolinguistic pluralism, a peripheral postcolony; in short, a place that may appear as a "failed imitation of more established, more homogeneous Western nations" (3). Yet, Foster argues convincingly that this should not lead us to dismiss PNG as a relevant case for a study of nation and identity. On the contrary, as his account demonstrates, latecomers to the work of nation making such as PNG offer unique opportunities for studying how ideas of nationhood take hold in conjunction with advertising, consumption, and new media technologies. As the script is more-or-less established by more powerful and well-established states, the processes at hand may provide an insight to contradictions and dilemmas that take place as local meanings and institutions are reconfigured within a global format. Thus, the analysis of nation formation becomes also an account of globalizing processes.

Five of seven empirical chapters have been previously published as journal articles elsewhere, between 1992 and 1999, and Foster collected

some of the material back in the 1980s. Nation formation and commodity consumption are highly dynamic processes, especially perhaps in PNG. Yet the ethnographic material is presented and analyzed as if the various events were taking place more or less at the same time. (Dates are provided, but the time span between events is rarely utilized analytically.) As a consequence, opportunities for a more systematic longitudinal analysis implied in such long-term engagement are not realized but are replaced by a temporal approach that resembles the more traditional "ethnographic present." This makes the book more fragmented and less sensitive to the temporal (or sequential) dimension of nation building than one would hope for in an analysis that seeks to demonstrate how a nation emerges.

Foster draws upon a broad range of discursive empirical sources (public information, advertising, grade school books) as well as other ethnographic accounts. His core material, however, is texts and images collected from PNG and Australian print media and advertising, and sourced to a large extent through the Internet. Through extensive use of such sources, Foster is able to describe in detail key events such as the planning of PNG's Olympic torch relay in 2000 and state-sponsored educational programs against spitting and betel-nut chewing. This methodological strategy would hardly have been as successful if Foster was not already familiar with Melanesia through extensive fieldwork (Foster 1995). Yet, his methodological approach raises some questions about the role of ethnographic practice and fieldwork in what appears to be "an era of globalization." These issues are discussed briefly in the concluding chapter, but I am not convinced that this book provides a good model for dealing with such methodological challenges. I will return to these issues below. But first, I shall discuss more substantially a few among the broad range of interesting topics that Foster brings up.

Money is a key element in the integration of PNG as a modern nation state; it is one of the most significant (and perhaps first) items associated with state governance that is likely to reach people in rural areas. Locally, the colonial history of PNG has even been narrated in terms of currency shifts. Among Foster's New Ireland informants (mentioned only briefly), previous shifts of government are recollected by the phrase: "first we had marks, then shillings, then dollars" (55). Now, they also have *kina* and *toea*, national currency that refers to pearl shells (from Pidgin) and arm-shells (Motu) respectively. In an intriguing semiotic analysis of the notes, as well as the planning for their name and design, Foster shows (Chapter 2) how the design of coins and currency reflects the PNG state's aim to achieve a synthesis of culturally diverse elements drawn from different locations within the nation state, "thereby expressing both the unity of the nation . . . and the parity of its constituent parts" (46). Thus, PNG currency may be seen as the material

embodiment of an encounter between the past and the present. This analysis of the introduction of national currency is original and offers great potential for cross-cultural comparison.

But how do different people use these kina notes? And to what extent do they replace, or combine with, more traditional forms of exchange? Foster provides an interesting historical trajectory for the current monetarization. Around the turn of the twentieth century, German colonial administrators banned the use of shell money (59). Sixty years later, the Reserve Bank of Australia distributed educational pamphlets emphasizing an ethics of industry and frugality in order to encourage Papua New Guineans to appropriate modern currency. But what are the strategies applied by the state today? The transformation from a nonmarket economy to an economy based on standardized currency is indeed significant and often accompanied by various instruments of power *beyond* mere currency design. A more thorough discussion of this relation in terms of power and forms of resistance would have been instructive. The chapter would also have benefited from a more grounded presentation of various local interpretations and uses of PNG currency today.

Similar questions may be posed in relation to subsequent chapters. To this reader, the author's reliance on texts and images sourced from the Internet, newspapers, and ads, rather than more "thick description" of living, acting people, remains a problem throughout most of the book. The use of texts and images is inspired and creative, and Foster's interpretations are often illuminating and theoretically interesting. Yet, too often his conclusions about the interplay of mass communication, commodity consumption, and nation formation remain more like hypothetical speculations than ethnographically founded claims. This is particularly problematic in Part II, which consists of three chapters illuminating various aspects of commercial nation making.

Chapter 3 focuses upon print advertisements from national newspapers and an in-flight magazine. Concerned with the way the advertisement format (its rhetorical form rather than content) "presupposes and naturalizes a structure of social relations characteristic of commodity consumption in capitalist societies" (65), Foster argues that specific definitions of personhood and community (as reflected in ads) "potentially supplement, if not displace, definitions of personhood and community grounded in social relations of kinship and locality" (65). If such displacement actually takes place, it is indeed a very significant process, and very relevant to current debates about the mechanisms of globalizing processes (Wilk 1995; Lien 2003; Meyer 2002). One would want to know more about how it happens, to whom, under what circumstances, and with what kinds of implications at the individual and village level. But unfortunately, the focus of this chapter is not people in

Papua New Guinea, but the ads themselves. In these ads, commodities are systematically linked with nationhood, and the boundaries of "markets" as imagined by marketing executives are often conflated with the boundaries of an imagined PNG nation, as the Papua New Guinean reader of print adverts is generously included in a national collective ("we're proud to be your airline PNG") or compared to others by virtue of assumed similarities ("He likes to eat rice and tinfish . . . . There are two million others like him in Papua New Guinea"). Based on such observations, Foster argues that mass commodity consumption may function as a practical training ground for the development of a national consciousness through the relation of possession that is thus established between one's identity and external objects. He writes: "One 'belongs to' a nation or 'possesses' a national culture much as one has or possesses commodities. When such 'having' (or 'not-having') becomes the dominant, taken-for-granted mode in which one relates to the object world, the idea of being a national citizen who 'has' and/or 'needs' a national culture follows unproblematically" (84). If he is right (and he may well be), it would be an example of nation formation qualitatively different from comparable processes that took place, for example, in European nations throughout the nineteenth century when commodity advertising was far less prominent than it is in PNG today. But is he right? Would the alleged "need" for a national culture really follow that unproblematically from the possession of objects? An answer would require a much more thoroughly grounded ethnography than this book provides.

Another problem implicit in this chapter concerns the penetration of printed ads. Foster explicitly states that he is not concerned with the intentions of the advertisers themselves or with the ads' effects on purchasing decisions. He is not even concerned with the messages of particular ads, but rather "with the rhetorical form common to all ads" (66). Thus, as the creative directors of ad agencies are mostly "expatriate executives" (89), Foster's analysis concerns, in effect, the global script underlying practically all contemporary adverts, executed through a transnational expert system of advertising professionals (Moeran 1996; Lien 1997). That this format provides a potential "training ground" for nation formation is plausible, but it all depends on exposure. How many Papua New Guineans are likely to read newspapers on a regular basis? In an endnote, he reveals that the *Post-Courier* (the source of many of his examples) reaches only 3 to 4% of the total population. Foster adds that readers are mostly the emerging middle class of urban PNG—the population of main concern in this particular chapter. But for successful nation formation to happen, 3 to 4% of all state citizens is hardly sufficient. What would it take for this minority to convince their fellow citizens? How would such negotiations take place?

In a recent study of the transformative potential of globalizing processes, I have focused on the ways in which state and European Union (EU) regulations are negotiated and to some extent resisted in a remote fishing village in northern Norway (Lien 2003). This approach exposed fundamental differences between an urban Norwegian architect and local residents in ways of seeing the world, the place, and its role in relation to other places. Rather than treating the emerging urban middle class as continuous with the PNG nation, I would encourage the author to draw attention precisely towards such *dis*continuities, internal boundaries, or points of resistance, because it is precisely in such intermediate zones, fields, or moments that the unique shape of PNG as a novel nation state is likely to take place.

In Chapter 5 (and in parts of Chapter 1), the analysis is more narrowly confined to a focus on the body and an emergent discourse on health. The ad material inspires a fascinating account of the way state propaganda redefines the boundaries of its citizens' bodies (e.g., by aiming to prevent public spitting) and how "these boundaries are made conterminous with the skin" (193). Once the body is individuated, separated from other bodies, "the control of these boundaries is presented as a matter of *personal* choice" (103). In a Foucauldian manner, Foster demonstrates how the state and commercial actors, intentionally or not, exert the message of discipline through fitness, hygiene, and temperance.

In Chapter 5, Foster is more explicit than in previous chapters about the limitations of his textual approach. According to the author, "a nuanced ethnographic approach to the discourse of health would focus resolutely on both the actual practices of producing and receiving commercial mass media" (89). This chapter, once a previously published article, "anticipates such an ethnography" (89). These are reasonable reflections, but do they apply to the book as a whole? As a reader, I found it disappointing that such an ethnography is never realized in subsequent chapters. I do not argue that articles should not be republished as a collection, but I feel that the overall analysis would have benefited immensely from a thorough revision of the collected articles in which their respective topics and conclusions could be juxtaposed. Such a revision would probably have sorted out what appears to this reader as problematic discontinuities as one moves from one chapter to the next.

While Chapters 3 and 4 discuss commodity advertisements as fairly straightforward agents in nation formation, Chapter 5 takes a more nuanced perspective, questioning the extent to which consumption of national brand goods produces civic consciousness at all. Drawing on Daniel Miller's classic *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (1987), Foster maintains that common consumption, at best, "might engender a diffuse and diluted sense

of collective affinity—the sort of recognition, if any, that someone affords someone who drinks the same brand of beer" (116). What then, is the place of consumption practices in nation making? Foster's reflections on the importance of what he calls the "microphysics of learning to belong" (a term he borrows from Linde-Laursen) are worth referring to at length. First, "consumption practices have the capacity to operate as powerful vehicles for materializing nationality" (117). Second, "mass consumption provides a vocabulary and model for communicating the equivalence of nations and of individuals" (118). Third, Foster maintains that "consumption practices enact various relationships between tradition and modernity" (119), relations that are central to all national narratives. Foster's interpretation of selected examples of contemporary adverts in PNG underpins these claims. Yet, the adverts can hardly demonstrate more than potential implications. Whether or not consumption practices actually work this way in contemporary PNG remains to be seen.

Part Three, entitled "Nation Making in This Era of Globalization," is in my opinion the most stimulating part of the book. Its two chapters are the only ones not published elsewhere, and together with the Introduction they serve to enhance the analytical coherence of the book as a whole. Chapter 6 starts out with a discussion of marginality and globalization in the Melanesian and Polynesian regions. Arguing that PNG is a "country of stay-at-homes relatively speaking," Foster then examines "how people staying at home attempt to assert translocality, to participate in imagined communities of global proportion" (134–135). His chosen examples serve this purpose well. I particularly enjoyed the account of the prelude to the 2000 Olympic torch relay. Sourced mainly from various media and the Internet, the narrative still portrays the events in sufficient detail. The account thus exemplifies how transnational communication technologies, themselves a dimension of globalizing processes, constitute novel opportunities for retrieving and collecting ethnographic material. The event exemplifies how global rituals evoke, and are informed by, existing relations of power and mutual distrust, in this case between PNG and Australia. This is another ethnographic case that would lend itself to cross-cultural analysis, especially as the topic has been popular among anthropologists for some time (MacAloon 1991; Klausen 1999). The chapter is a revealing account of the way global rituals take on a local twist, and how regional conflicts inform the interpretation of events.

Chapter 7 asks the timely questions: "What conceptual tools are available to us as anthropologists in trying to trace and understand multiple perspectives within a global commodityscape? And how are we to accomplish the task as ethnographers in the field" (153)? Yet, the answers provided are hardly original in the light of abundant literature on this issue in the years

prior to the book's publication, but then again the whole chapter is remarkably unambitious. According to the author, "This chapter, then, is admittedly premature. It is a first attempt to delineate the perspectives of people located differently in a transnational soft drink commodityscape" (155). He then presents some preliminary findings on recent acquisitions and global takeovers in the PNG soft drink market and some results of his own survey on food and beverage consumption, but neither is presented with the accuracy and depth needed for a serious review. Towards the end of the chapter, Foster returns to the initial inquiry about ethnographic practice. Armed with recent references addressing similar issues (from Gupta and Ferguson, Marcus, and Appadurai), Foster raises the question of techniques and tactics available to "fieldworking anthropologists for apprehending the sociocultural complexity of global flows" (172). Foster's own contribution to this methodological toolkit reflects George Marcus' idea of multisited fieldwork (1998) with a twist. More precisely, he suggests "collaborative fieldwork" (172) in different field-sites—sites that are constructed in fields of unequal power relations. There is nothing wrong with this idea, and it may serve as a practical solution to the logistic challenges of multisited fieldwork, but it hardly addresses the more basic challenges involved in doing ethnographies that take transnational connections seriously. One cannot help but wish that Foster's experience in attempting to do precisely that would have prompted him to say something more.

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Response: ROBERT J. FOSTER
UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER

GIVEN AN ACADEMIC ECONOMY that inflates the value of publishing but discounts the hard work of reading, I express special thanks to all three reviewers for the time, effort, and collegiality represented by their stimulating provocations. These comments highlight important issues about the fate and future of nation making in Papua New Guinea (PNG) and elsewhere. They also raise broad and urgent questions about how social researchers might analytically imagine and methodologically apprehend contemporary practices of nation making in circumstances of uneven and unequal globalization.

Let me begin with the how question. Both the anthropologists, Lien and Dureau, predictably but rightly ask for greater ethnographic depth. They recognize my claim that "the nation" serves as a frame of reference for staging personal and collective identities, but they seek thicker descriptions of how a national frame of reference might—at particular times, in particular contexts, for particular people—rub uneasily against other frames of reference, frames of locality or kinship, for instance. Fair enough. What self-respecting Melanesianist anthropologist is going to argue against the fundamental virtues of ethnography? My aim is to encourage and not to suppress ethnographic inquiry into how the nation emerges as an aspect of everyday life in PNG—in rural areas as well as urban ones, among elites as well as the fabled "grassroots." It is through such studies, I hope, that the significance of my more general insistence on paying attention to mass media

and commercial culture as sites where the nation materializes, not always in a flattering light, will be borne out. The results will no doubt complicate my claim. Consider, for example, one such recent ethnographic examination of how consumption of tinned fish and tea in a remote area of Western Province involves a process of nation *unmaking*, a way for Gogodala people to imagine a transnational relationship with Europeans based on Christianity and perforce to criticize and challenge the precepts of the PNG nation-state (Dundon 2004).

I admit, then, the ethnographic limitations of some of my observations, particularly regarding the ontological corollaries of commodity consumption (about which more presently). These observations might indeed enjoy the status, as Lien suggests, of informed hypotheses (not necessarily a drawback for a book seeking to outline theoretical and comparative perspectives on nation making). But I make no apology for my extensive use and analysis of "texts"—advertisements, coins and currency, postage stamps, pop songs, and so forth, for two reasons, one general and the other specific to PNG. First, as both Lien and Dureau recognize, these texts rehearse a global script that conditions and constrains nation making regardless of the creativity with which people in PNG or elsewhere render that script. For example, as Lien notes, advertising in PNG as elsewhere reflects the practices of a "transnational expert system of advertising professionals." No matter how particular their local manifestations, then, these texts indicate "social forces of a larger scale, forces whose sociology demands attention if we are to make sense of the worlds we study without parochializing and, worse yet, exoticizing them" (Comaroff and Comaroff 2003, 151). Put differently, the first step in understanding how "the nation" materializes in PNG lies in acknowledging the manifest presence of familiar, globally diffused symbolic tokens now apparently deemed necessary in order for any nation to make itself legible.

Second, this kind of text has so far largely been ignored by anthropologists whose fieldwork in PNG has directed attention elsewhere. Lien is correct to emphasize the novel opportunities that transnational communication technologies present for retrieving ethnographic material, but less accurate in claiming that the texts and images discussed in the book were "sourced to a large extent through the Internet." The great bulk of this material was acquired during the course of five separate trips to PNG between 1990 and 2000, the last of which put me in Port Moresby in the days surrounding the PNG leg of the Olympic Torch Relay. When I first began examining such material the only place in the United States to consult back issues of the *Post Courier* (then PNG's only daily newspaper) was in the microfilm reading room of the Library of Congress. Now scholars can search LexisNexis and other databases from their laptop computers. Even so, LexisNexis erases

the advertisements! There is an ineluctable ephemerality to everyday commercial culture (and not only in PNG) that belies its significance for understanding histories of social and cultural change.

A small example: In 1991 I recorded an epic PNG-made television advertisement for a product of Nestlé, one of the world's largest transnational food and beverage corporations. The several-minutes-long ad, a step-by-step set of instructions, introduced audiences to the use of Maggi brand bouillon cubes. These cubes were represented as inexpensive ingredients for enhancing family meals of boiled meat and tubers. Anyone who has observed the incorporation of instant (ramen) noodles and flavor packets into PNG foodways—not to mention other nutritionally dubious items such as lamb flaps and soft drinks—would concede that the ad merits documentation and preservation. The creative director of the agency responsible for the ad later told me that he received a personal note of thanks from a Nestlé vice-president for opening up a new market in PNG. Social forces of a larger scale, indeed.

Lien and Dureau appreciate the insights gained from looking at mass media texts. For some anthropologists, however, dismissal of "textual analysis" is regrettably still a means to distance and defend themselves from the taint of "cultural studies." Here is where I am less sympathetic to the knee-jerk invocations of the virtue of ethnography—to the insistence "that *any* knowledge derived at first-hand proximity to natives has an *a priori* privilege" (Comaroff and Comaroff 2003, 153); for in PNG, at least, ethnography has painfully little to say about mass media, commercial or otherwise. Years ago I complained that since its debut in 1986, broadcast television had escaped the serious attention of anthropologists working in PNG (Foster 1999). The suspect is still at large. Anthropologists can learn from visual and cultural studies—or media studies or textual analysis—without abandoning a commitment to "grounded" ethnography by giving greater attention to the forms of non–face-to-face communication that impinge upon the lifeworlds of Papua New Guineans today. Nor are the two exercises mutually exclusive; texts do, despite once-fashionable claims to the contrary, have authors. My attempts to pay attention to letters to the editor and comments on phone-in radio shows suggest ways to monitor public discourse about the media in the media, that is, to examine media texts for clues about how people's sense of themselves as Papua New Guineans responds to media representations and vice-versa. Such a strategy promises to reveal how PNG materializes in virtual space as well as in the "real" places (themselves always under construction) presumably studied by "real" anthropologists (ditto).

Both Lien and Dureau also raise questions of what as well as of how. What does it mean to say that the nation emerges as a frame of reference

for defining personal and collective identities? Is this equivalent to saying that a "national culture" is "forming," or that civic consciousness or political nationalism (as opposed to ethnic nationalism) is "developing"? The questions deserve clarification inasmuch as the essays in my book, written for different purposes over a period of ten years, offer multiple and discontinuous answers. For example, I have come to see the notion of national culture, however defined, as irremediably problematic, always at risk of elision with the nationalist's definition of "a culture" as a shared way of life distinctive and common to a group of people living in a single demarcated territory. By this definition, of course, it is difficult to argue the existence of a Papua New Guinean national culture. The objection is obvious: too much diversity. But this way of thinking about national culture as shared culture raises intractable questions, such as just how much sharing is necessary before we can say a national culture exists. Lien observes that the daily PNG newspapers reach a tiny percentage of the population: "for successful nation formation to happen, 3 to 4% of all state citizens is hardly sufficient." What percentage would be sufficient? The question is itself a function of thinking of national cultures as organic formations or engineered assemblages of shared traits, of nation building as a cumulative process of progressive enculturation. And it only gets murkier when the question is applied to subjective states: when can we say that national or civic consciousness, or a shared sense of belonging and fellowship, definitively exists? How do we measure love of country?

I suggest, with Bashkow (2004, 452), that we need to move away from notions of culture (and cultural boundaries) "motivated by sharedness." Toward what? My attempt to substitute *nation making* for nation building was intended to highlight the ways in which a particular kind of imaginative construct—"the nation"—was variously produced and circulated, contested and accepted (Foster 1995). Nation making in this sense is inevitably ongoing and open-ended precisely because the persuasive force of any particular imaginative construct is *not* uniformly shared. What is shared, no doubt partially and imperfectly, is a framework or point of reference in terms of which people can articulate, sometimes oppositionally, their sense of things. Accordingly, it is fair (if perverse) to say that in PNG, "the nation" as an imaginative construct often materializes in the performance of its repudiation—as when Kaiyape Wilson, Jeffrey Clark's Pangia collaborator, told the anthropologist "I hate PNG" (Clark 1997, 74). Kaiyape Wilson was complaining about government inefficiency and corruption as impediments to development; he confessed feelings of shame about PNG. His confession effectively illustrated what Robbins (1998) has called "negative nationalism," the imagination of PNG as a morally and materially deficient community. While there are rare instances in which "the nation" emerges in PNG infused with the sort of positive affective charge commonly associated with

nationalism—during the Olympic Torch relay, for example, or in the immediate aftermath of the Sandline crisis—it might well be that "the nation" emerges in PNG primarily as a result of negative nationalism or "narration against the nation" (Clark 1997, 74). As Larmour suggests with his reference to the weepy sendoff of Australian police at the Port Moresby airport, the nation often materializes in PNG through harsh self-criticism and sundry occasions "for Papua New Guineans to feel bad about themselves." Hardly what we usually mean by nation building or the formation of a national culture.

Nation making in places like PNG, latecomers to the status of nation-state, highlights the ways in which a dominant model of "the nation" imported from abroad finds a new home in already existing circumstances—or not. It is in this encounter—the encounter with everyday technologies of nation making that both Lien and Dureau understandably wish were more thickly described—that one might glimpse alternative frames of reference for staging personal and collective identities. I have tended to define this alternative starkly, following the lead of Marilyn Strathern (1988), as one between incommensurate forms of personhood. My point has been to supplement Anderson's (1991) well-known arguments with the claim that an ideology of possessive individualism creates an elective affinity between nationalism and consumerism. It is this claim that motivates my interest in looking at commodity consumption as a site where national and personal identities become entangled. Such entanglement is clear enough from the various advertisements that I discuss in which commodities and, by extension, their consumers are semiotically qualified as national. Rhetorically qualified, if not experientially, Lien and Dureau would likely add.

While I have distinguished between the semiotic logic of an ad and what readers might themselves construe as the ad's meaning, I have perhaps been less explicit in emphasizing that ads—or commodity consumption, more generally—mark only one of many sites where Papua New Guineans must negotiate the ontological precepts of individualism or liberal personhood. These negotiations, however subversive, resistant, or heroic, are all part of a process of "encompassment" whereby Papua New Guineans engage the agents of Western modernity (LiPuma 2000). This process involves a set of recurring institutions not unique to PNG—missions, schools, courts, and so forth. Silverman (1999) has even suggested that the production of tourist art involves new forms of individuation. How the process of encompassment unfolds is of course subject to local variation and increasingly to the well-trained focus of ethnographic inquiry in PNG (e.g., Knauft 2002). But the comparative value of such ethnography depends on explicit conceptualization of how encompassment potentially changes the terms for

staging personal and collective identities. Hence the import of Anderson's proposition in the revised version of *Imagined Communities* that maps, museums, and censuses materialize the nation according to a logic of seriality, thereby construing individuals and collectivities as aggregable components of a single category series. Which brings us to the elections that Larmour, the political scientist, predictably but rightly asks us to consider.

In one of the election studies to which Larmour refers, I have contributed some ethnographic notes on how voting—the actual casting of a vote in the national election—can enlist people in a performance of individuation: "the process of 'singling out' or disconnecting a person from the nexus of social relations that defines his or her identity and positing for that person a new identity as a discrete and autonomous individual, in short, a citizen" (Foster 1996:158). The ritual structure of voting in rural New Ireland in 1992 facilitated this process in several ways, most notably by requiring persons—roll called by residential unit but one by one and *in alphabetical order*—to enter a cordoned-off area and to mark their ballots privately, hidden by the makeshift voting booth that stood in plain view of the public gathered to observe the event. I remember well the visible unease and discomfort with which men, and especially women, comported themselves as they walked forward, alone and watched, toward and into the voting area. It was the unsettling dream of Melanesian personhood—standing solitary as a self-determining individual cut loose from a network of self-activating moral relations.

This particular election moment was surely not typical of voting throughout PNG. First of all, the voters were choosing mainly between two and only two candidates, an almost unheard-of situation in PNG, where a dozen or more candidates each supported by a small bloc often contest a single parliamentary seat. Indeed, this binary opposition had the almost equally unheard-of effect of making political party affiliations a meaningful form of collective identity (temporarily, at least). More to Larmour's point, the pressure exerted on voters (not to mention election officials) to line up behind a candidate according to "clan" identity was minimal. In fact, exhortations to vote one's own preference regardless of one's kin's preferences were explicitly issued at party rallies. There was certainly nothing like the brute intimidation of "gunpoint democracy" described by Standish (1996) in the same volume for the elections in Simbu province (see also Standish 2002). Will limited preferential voting better accommodate Melanesian personhood and bring the electoral process in the turbulent highlands closer to the ideal (albeit realized imperfectly) that I observed in the islands?

I am not confident about this possibility, largely because I do not think that "gunpoint democracy" is an inevitable by-product of resilient conventions of Melanesian personhood or even of newly invented "clans." Instead, I am inclined to see it as a spiraling consequence and cause of the failure

of state agents and agencies to live up to the promise of "development" expected by "the people" in whose name the state putatively operates. It is this particular failure (accelerated through the 1990s by the rollback of state services) that accounts for the authoritarian tactics by which many candidates and incumbents attempt to appropriate whatever state resources remain for highly noninclusive purposes. It is also this failure that accounts for the way in which many voters sell their loyalty to patrons (or their forests to foreign developers) who distribute the greatest largesse, often after sampling the largesse of other would-be patrons. As I suggested in *Materializing the Nation*, it is this delegitimating failure (rather than any other rival nation-state) that defines the state as the Other with reference to which the nation materializes, namely, as "we, the people," whom the state has betrayed. As Larmour points out, a hint of popular (as opposed to official) nationalism can be sensed in the support of the Enhanced Cooperation Program by ordinary folks, much as IMF intervention was earlier greeted in some quarters as a welcome imposition of discipline on profligate and corrupt state officials.

Exclusion, as Dureau insists, is the issue. Sir Julius Chan, former Prime Minister, several years ago dubbed PNG "a nation of beggars," a reference to the country's dependency on foreign aid. (Perspective: Australia gives PNG about 500 million Australian dollars in aid annually; the war in Iraq is now calculated to cost the U.S. military about US$10 billion a month.) Chan's condemnation of the nation's fiscal dependency echoes the rhetoric of emerging PNG middle class members who recast the moral claims on their wealth made by kin as expressions of a handout mentality (see Gewertz and Errington 1999). The sort of autonomy and self-sufficiency championed by economic nationalists thus rides comfortably alongside bourgeois demands that "the (little) people" take care of themselves. Class making and nation making go hand in hand, I agree. Exclusion from the promise of development, tangibly in the form of desirable but unattainable goods and services, can also generate Others besides the state, another point that Dureau makes well in considering the offspring of a marriage between nationalism and consumerism. For definitions of citizenship in terms of participation in a community of consumption inevitably question the status of those without the means to consume or to consume properly, without the capacity to join even the most humble community of consumption. Are these people, whether urban migrants or rural villagers, second-class citizens? Are they even part of the nation? The questions pertain, moreover, to the nation itself: what kind of nation has no McDonald's let alone a Starbucks (a condition PNG shares with most sub-Saharan African countries)?

Not all responses to exclusion take the form of a violent Simbu-style contest to capture state resources. Disengagement and disaffection are options, too. It is exclusion from the material promises of an independent and

sovereign nation-state that generates the sentiment of Kaiyape Wilson's blunt assertion: "I hate PNG." Here, admittedly, indigenous notions of personhood are at work, inasmuch as this exclusion is understood as a failure to act on one's moral obligations. Wardlow (2005) thus describes the resentment and indignation of Huli men aroused by businessmen, politicians, and mining corporations thought to have renounced their promises. This resentment and indignation motivate and even justify acts of physical violence including armed holdups as attempts to enforce relationships of reciprocity. Somewhat differently, Lattas (2006) has described the search for alternative forms of government carried on by members of the Pomio Kivung movement who communicate with their dead ancestors. Rather than negotiating the frustrations of a state that has failed them, Kivung members create their own version of law and order in search of not only cargo, but also "the utopian promise of government." Elsewhere in rural PNG, in places regarded by their residents as "last places" to enjoy development, withdrawal from the nation and state of PNG is a utopian promise tendered in the guise of belonging to a vast sacred community, a Christian religious community that transcends territorial as well as racial boundaries (Dundon 2004; Robbins 2004). In urban centers as well as rural villages, fast money scams and pyramid schemes with names like Money Rain and Windfall, sometimes endorsed by government officials and other elites, entice gullible investors with promises of quick and fat returns.

Experience of exclusion—of frustrated expectations of modernity—is not exclusive to PNG. James Ferguson (1999) has written, for example, with compassionate insight and wide relevance about the experience of decline in Zambia during the 1980s. Ferguson characterizes this experience as "abjection," the sense of being thrown down and humiliated. Such is the feeling of Zambians who, having glimpsed the passage from "developing" to "developed" world, now see themselves as cut off from the world society envisaged by the cheerleaders of first modernization and later globalization. Cognate sentiments were conveyed by my friends in the Tanga Islands, New Ireland Province, when I visited in 2002. One man, a former seminarian, told me in plain English, "We are going backwards," a view my friend Somanil Funil summed up in the phrase, "Back to stage one." And I shared their sense of disconnection as I wondered when the now once-weekly plane would arrive when it failed to turn up on the day appointed for my departure. In 1984, when I first visited Tanga, planes (plural) came and went five days a week. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to say that most Tangans were abject. No "Afro-castrophism" for them (Fraenkel 2003). Indeed, I exhibited more despair than they did, registering their experience of decline in terms of a global race to the bottom, a teleology of underdevelopment. By contrast,

my Tangan friends professed—sometimes in the dark shadows of evening discussions, since there was little kerosene left to buy at local trade stores—a keen sense of historical contingency. They did not understand the present as the future foretold, any more than sixty or so years before they would have predicted World War II, or twenty years before they would have anticipated the discovery of one of the world's largest gold deposits on a nearby island. Hey, you never know.

The lesson that I take from my conversations in Tanga can be applied to current debates about the nation-state in PNG and elsewhere. We need to get outside our modernist narratives of progress and development replete with their metaphors of growth and construction—"nation building" and the "formation of national cultures." In so doing, we need to find alternatives to the current rhetoric of failed states and weak nations, a rhetoric that inverts the familiar modernist narratives and thereby continues the exclusion of PNG and Zambia from full membership in world society, an exclusion upon which the inequalities of colonialism were premised and reproduced. It makes little sense to see PNG as a failed version of Western nation-states when Western nation-states themselves no longer approach (if they ever did) the ideals of a democratic "imagined community." Divided into "global cities" and disconnected hinterlands, fortified private enclaves and decaying public spaces, Western nation-states struggle with their own internal economic and cultural divisions. Chomsky (2006) has gone so far as to label the United States (unilateral nation builder and self-designated promoter of democracy) as a failed state, unable to protect its citizens from violence and unaccountable to both public opinion and international law. The modernist project of a global system of sovereign territorial states coupled with nations defined by shared political or ethnic cultures is in tatters. Yet, the nation persists as a salient frame of reference for staging personal and collective identities, for articulating visions—sometimes terrifying—of citizenship and peoplehood. Is this persistence anything more than the artifact of a dull political imagination?

In an era of transnational corporations and religious movements, mobile technologies and populations, rogue militias and activist NGOs, border-crossing migrants and media (not to mention "illicit flows" of all sorts; see Van Schendel and Abraham 2005), the future of nation making is not its present and surely not its past. Anderson has noted the portability and modularity of the vehicles available for imagining the nation. I have tried to track their operation in PNG. There are limits to the effectiveness of these vehicles—limits imposed not only by conventions of relational personhood, but also by globalized political and economic rules, new forms of imperialism and capitalism. But the question remains, and not only with regard to PNG:

if not a nation-state (failed, fragile, or otherwise), and if not the reassertion of "primordial" tribalism, then, well, what? What are the complex congeries of affinities and ideologies, networks and organizations of various scale, that signal a "postnational social formation" (Appadurai 1996). Places like PNG, my interlocutors in this dialogue have confirmed, are useful vantage points from which to address this important question. The challenge that this question poses to Pacific studies—and especially Melanesianist anthropology—will most certainly require methods that are multidisciplinary and multisited, comparative and historical. But there is a more basic challenge relative to which methodological concerns seem trivial. Can scholars and citizens alike, in and beyond the Pacific (and certainly in the United States) muster a critical spirit and political will strong enough to resist the abuse of power that passes itself off as democracy and to overcome the hopelessness of witnessing decline and disconnection on a daily basis?

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REVIEWS

J. H. Liu, T. McCreanor, T. McIntosh, and T. Teaiwa, eds., *New Zealand Identities: Departures and Destinations*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2005. Pp. 304.

Reviewed by Melani Anae, University of Auckland

THE EDITORS OF THIS VOLUME state that it "seeks to engage thinking from a variety of disciplines in dialogue around the topics of national and ethnic identities in New Zealand. We wanted to produce an interconnected series of conversations, each with its own voice reflecting not only discipline-specific knowledge and values, but also a deep sense of commitment to sharing this understanding with others. It is hoped that readers will reflect upon the different positions and sources of knowing" (11).

I found most of the articles, which had been collected from submissions calling for papers in 2004, individually informative and often provocative in not only challenging conventional notions about identity at the individual, group, and national levels, but also collectively, their "agree to disagree" approach regarding disciplinary approaches, positions, styles, and pitch. An experimental approach indeed, as the last chapter, "100% Pure Conjecture: Accounts of Our Future State(s)," illustrates (Frame, Molisa, Taylor, Toia, Liu Shueng). But then, this obviously was the intention of the editors—that this book would mirror the flux in identity positioning, vacillations, hybridity and diverse perspectives mirrored in both the title and content matter of papers regarding the subject matter, New Zealand identities, in order "to reach an appreciation of identity as a question rather than a statement, a point of departure rather than a destination" (15). And on this the editors have succeeded.

An informative and useful preface and introduction that theorizes the dynamics of identity construction is followed by 15 chapters by both individuals (10) and groups (5) of contributors, and ends with a short but excellent afterword by the race relations commissioner that provides an apt summary for the whole volume: "There are signs of the fluidity of ethnic identity, and the evolution of new identities. There is a recognition that identity is a means of defending and contesting existing power relationships, and of perpetuating or challenging exclusion" (292).

The contributors come from a variety of ethnicities and disciplines, although both are relatively "balanced" in that of the 23 authors, there are 11 immigrants from Britain, China, the United States, and Malaysia, who are now naturalized New Zealanders or permanent residents, and 12 authors born in New Zealand; and 12 of European stock, 3 Maori, 3 Pacific Islanders, and 5 Asian. As the editors state, "an unlikely assortment of folk, from disciplines of anthropology (Levine, Mallon), Asian studies (Ip, Pang), cultural geography (Barclay), demography (Zodgekar), environmental studies, history (Byrnes, McGie), Maori studies (Borrell), Pacific studies (Teaiwa), political science and international relations (Capie), psychology (McCreanor, Liu, Ward, Lin), religious studies (Morris), sociology (Pearson, McIntosh), and a team from Landcare Research Ltd. (Frame, Molisa, Taylor, Toia, Liu Shueng)."

All articles address the issue of New Zealand identities and the three major themes—that identities are dynamic and multilayered; that identities are socially constructed; and that identities carry ideology (Pearson, Levine, Barclay, Teaiwa/Mallon, McCreanor, Byrnes and Zodkegar). And most directly addressed the macropolitics (Liu, Morris, Capie/McGhie) and micropolitics of group-based identities (Ward/Lin, Borrell, McIntosh, Ip/Pang).

What are New Zealand identities? A big ask and a mighty effort. But for this reader the volume was not saying anything that those of us born and bred in New Zealand but with different ethnicities didn't know already. What this volume lacked was more perspectives on the politics of identity and transnational identities. More contributions from Maori and Pacific contributors would not have gone amiss, especially with regard to tangata whenua status of the former and historical and economic connections between New Zealand and the South Pacific regarding the latter. A chapter or two focusing on inter/intra ethnicity and a look at the saliency of primordial (read emotional) versus circumstantialist underpinnings of ethnicity would have revealed and exposed the inter/intra ethnic identity nuances involved in New Zealand identities, and thus highlight the need for more in-depth critical analysis of

the salience of ethnic identity in New Zealand today (Anae 1998a). Moreover, the insights to be gleaned from Merton's status sets and Kopytoff's immanent/circumstantial existential identities (both cited in Anae 1998b) would have helped us understand why some individual/group social identities are more important than others, thereby providing some sense of committed direction towards the finality, or the existence of unchanging or secured identities for some individuals and groups (Anae 1998a).

As Tapu Misa points out (*NZ Herald,* 8 March 2006), "History is full of examples of ethnic groups who have been named, and defined by contrasting others. . . .Why does identity matter? Why does so much of contemporary politics converge on identity?"

There is never going to be a commonly shared understanding of a static, unitary "inclusive national identity" among all New Zealanders. As shown in this volume, this will fluctuate according to context and over space and time. But we must be wary of labels and processes regarding imagined identities that will subjugate tangata whenua and other ethnic minority groups in this process. What I am reminded of when reading the collection of essays in this book is Sahlins' notion of "structural work" or the structural-cum-symbolic amplification of minor differences (Sahlins 2005). "What we have is structural relays of various sorts endowing local parties with collective identities and the opposing collectives with local or interpersonal sentiments. In the occurrence, the small-scale struggles (particularistic interests) are transformed into abstract universalistic ideals and irreconcilable causes-to-die-for, their outcome depending now on the larger correlation of forces. This is how small-scale, interpersonal or factional disputes are turned into large-scale struggles between nations, kingdoms or their totalized like—thus making macro histories out of micro histories and vice versa" (Sahlins 2005).

Finally, let me say that despite my reservations, the strength of this book is that it most definitely makes us think through identity issues in New Zealand, and represents an important start in illustrating that respect for the value or mana of each person and group in our society and respect for our diversity rather than a fear of diversity can go a long way in our understanding of why a unitary national identity for any nation-state is extremely and necessarily problematic.

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John Pule and Nicholas Thomas, *Hiapo: Past and Present in Niuean Barkcloth*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005. Pp. 159, illus., bib. US$59.95.

By Ping-Ann Addo, University of Massachusetts Boston

THIS STUNNING BOOK, presented in hardcover and muted colors, is a challenging and enlightening encounter with the history, and present, of *hiapo*, Niuean barkcloth. It presents personal and analytical accounts of the authors' quest, over the course of a decade, to locate and connect physically with hiapo in museums in North America, Britain, Australia, and Niue. The book juxtaposes their distinct analyses of how history sits in hiapo and of how the textile has (necessarily) been routed to and through the world of Western colonial and missionary interactions and their temples—museums and churches. Thomas's and Pule's project is not a categorization but a sensitive, interdisciplinary recontextualization of hiapo from museum-mummified objects to life-giving and life-given entities. Hiapo are given a subject position, and become "key characters" that tell their own tales. As anthropologists of art and objects have long been telling us, things have varied meanings in different sociopolitical contexts and are made to speak through people: tales of missionary conversion, colonization, academic research, and object fetishization. Pule's poetic prose speaks from within the pieces and Thomas's more formal tone seems to weave a historical anthropological tendency towards categorization around them; both voices are direct and critical. Folio pictures are iconic images of ships, fronds, and radial and floral designs from certain hiapo discussed throughout. Figures include shots of the authors in storage rooms, of hiapo in situ, colonial depictions of the island, the contemporary Niuean Parliament house, and a hiapo worn by a trader's wife in the form of a *tiputa*. Included are 35 full-color plates of hiapo, 15 of tiputa, 6 etchings by Pule, and a helpful map detailing locales in Niue as well as the island's location in the Pacific Ocean.

Thomas has penned the introduction, which discusses various identities that people have given hiapo: intentional works of art, missionary projects, embodiment of the globalizing forces of colonialism, and the localized

complexity of identities, both native Niuean and missionary—where "missionary" could also mean Native Pacific. Those who find Pule challenging to read as a poet and a novelist may find his prose in this book easier to grasp in this chapter for it is clear *what* he is talking about from the context created by the images and histories presented in this book. Just as Pule helps share the life within hiapo, so too he gives life to new words. A particularly interesting one is "dominative" (domin/native?). Like "alter/native" (used by Teresia Teaiwa, among other authors of Pacific Islander ancestry), it highlights indigenous agency in power struggles over, and by, Pacific lands and people. Pule states: "Black is the dominative pigment in hiapo." And so it is. The book's cover and most of the plates have a black background, a design feature that makes the yellow, tan, brown, and orange of hiapo more vibrant and in keeping with Pule's earthly metaphors.

Pule's "Desire Lives in Hiapo" chapter gifts us with his honest delivery of his interactions with the hiapo presented, pictured, remembered, and dreamed. Reading this chapter is like reading (Pule's) poetry; it is truly a watershed between Thomas's more academically toned, yet sincerely questioning chapters. Herein we get what no museum catalog or church record can give us: a Niuean's trek home from abroad, encounters with the gardens from whence he and hiapo both came, snapshots of Pule's notebook sketches during these encounters, and photographs taken in his parents' house yard in Liku village. We learn that hiapo is a living thing and that it can do remarkable things: it grows from soil, needs soil, and becomes soil for artistry. It possesses, or perhaps constitutes, skin; it has been darkened with heat, by smoking; and it toughens, stiffens, and dries (46). It is capable of, and is remembered in, death: "it must be exhumed" (38) from museum storage, memory, and Western history. The politics of museum collecting, categorization, and policing Pacific valuables is poignantly felt when Pule makes statements like museum lights "are designed to further disfigure indigenous treasures" (34) and hiapo is "admired so much by other cultures that they are kept in storage" (26).

If Pule provides insight into *what* hiapo is, Thomas's second chapter "'Savage Island' Hiapo" suggests *why* hiapo is. Like Polynesian barkcloth in general, hiapo were not created simply in order to be decorated; objects were animated by *mana,* for recording the lushness of forests and the strangeness of Europeans, and were produced for ceremony, sale, or the London Missionary Society's promotion of their spiritual project's success among a people who had resisted them "savagely" until well into the 1800s. Ambivalence colors the encounters that Niueans on the island have with a couple of the works: Tamakautoga—a place name written prominently on one particularly striking hiapo (pictured: 118)—is a village where Pule and Thomas meet

an old couple. The wife becomes alert and remembers kin whose names are written on the hiapo in words and the husband becomes thoughtful and emotional as he studies an image of the piece. The old man copies a portion of the script down, keeping this aspect of family history for himself. Thomas states: "the written names constitute their and our point of engagement with the work and nothing was said, about the future of the European man, or about the plants of the fist for the matter." Neither elderly one mentions the obviously Western connections of the image of a white man seated on a backed chair or of the compass depicted next to him" (68).

I welcome Thomas's criticality and even his correcting of the long-accepted, but possibly speculative art historicization of tiputa as distinctly Tahitian cloths. Tiputa, the painted ponchos, are, today, widely attributed to a Tahitian style, if not invention. Thomas critiques Simon Kooijman's "path-breaking and valuable survey of Polynesian tapa" (151, n) for being too ready to attribute authorship of tiputa entirely to Tahiti, where they have been most abundantly found and most frequently attributed. Indeed, the book's first photograph is of a Western trader's wife in a tiputa from Niue. This is poignant indeed as the context in which Thomas seems to want readers to appreciate hiapo is as a material manifestation of pasts that we construct today.

Pule's six etchings (featured in plates that constitute the book's final chapter) do not resemble hiapo, but they do benefit from being presented alongside them, for we are reminded that all creativity is linked to some convention. These and other paintings by the passionate Pule have been re-contextualized together in the "Savage Island Hiapo" Exhibit, which Thomas curated at the Djamu Gallery, Sydney (December 1998–January 1999) to bring people together in pointed social interaction around objects. Thomas talks of the process of "retroactive signification" that constitutes their project—indeed, any project—about Niuean hiapo. Indeed, there is recognizable consistency in methodological and technical execution of the project: sharing images of objects and recording and analyzing subjects' interactions with them. The methods parallel each other, whether applied in a village in Niue or in a gallery in Sydney.

This book is well worth the read and the time to look, and relook, at the exquisitely photographed hiapo and tiputa throughout. The authors' interlocking chapters and interdisciplinary word play are a delight to reflect on. This is probably not the book for readers who are looking for process or textile production information, but all readers will come away touched and enlightened. As a text it is far more an interpretive and critical analysis of Niuean history—constructed, denied; written, spoken; gendered, spiritual. It encapsulates a probing journey through the storerooms of museums

as reflected upon by two men whose professional and political stances about art and nationalism are clearly transmitted through a deep and intellectual friendship. It serves many purposes for readers: a beautifully pictured and specialized work that goes far beyond the coffee table book form to be an analytical text—and a teachable text—about powerful works of art. It is a testament to the strength of interdisciplinarity in Pacific Islands research. We need more art books and anthropology texts like this one.

Joel Robbins, *Becoming Sinners: Christianity and Moral Torment in a Papua New Guinea Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Reviewed by: RICHARD SCAGLION
UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

BECOMING SINNERS is an ethnographically rich and theoretically sophisticated account of competing moral orders in a situation of rapid cultural change. Over the past few decades, the Urapmin of Papua New Guinea have experienced dramatic cultural transformations. Living in a remote area, they lacked development opportunities and were without direct missionary influence. However, in the 1960s they began sending young men to study with Baptist missionaries who lived in nearby communities. By the late 1970s the Urapmin experienced an intense Christian revival focused on sin, ecstatic spiritual experience, and millenarian expectation. But their adopted Christian beliefs did not integrate well with the values that previously underpinned their lives, and today the Urapmin wrestle with the moral problem of how they are to live as good people. Robbins's analysis of the Urapmin's dilemma takes a fresh and intellectually rich approach to the study of cultural change.

His story of the Urapmin's conversion and present moral struggles is engaging and poignant. It begins with an account of a 1991 Christmas season in which the Urapmin were very troubled. As they planned holiday church services and other communal rituals, it became increasingly clear that their community was deeply divided. A multinational mining company's prospecting had resulted in unequal employment opportunities that had caused friction between two village sections. The Urapmin interpreted these conflicts as resulting from their own depravity and sinfulness. Because they believed that the Second Coming was imminent and that only those who were morally ready would be saved, there seemed little chance of avoiding an impending crisis until a local leader devised an ingenious plan. In an extension of a traditional practice, the two feuding sections of the village exchanged equivalent goods to "buy the anger or shame" of the other party. But what

resolved one crisis led to another. In honoring the indigenous system, Urapmin simultaneously failed its devout Christians, creating further moral difficulties.

How did these contrasting cultural models come to coexist in the same society? Indigenous models of exchange relationships were adequate for interpreting the few contacts with Europeans that occurred before the imposition of colonial authority. During the colonial era, the Urapmin successfully fit new circumstances into traditional modes of understanding; i.e., the colonial notion of "law" seemed to equate with the indigenous category of "taboo," and the Urapmin were determined to be "lawful." After a series of development failures and increasing marginalization within the region, many Urapmin, believing that the church would better their lives, converted to an evangelical Christianity. There soon followed a "second-stage" conversion with a Christian revival that included ecstatic experiences, spirit possession, glossolalia, healing, prophetic dreams, and visions. According to Robbins, the dominant narrative of contemporary Urapmin life is the imminent return of Jesus and the "rapture" it will trigger, together with an "overwhelming concern with personal and communal moral self-regulation."

The first part of the book explains how this new Christian culture rapidly assumed centrality in Urapmin life, while the second part explores how the Urapmin retain older cultural notions along with the new. Although Christianity has replaced most traditional Urapmin religious belief and practice, it has not fundamentally changed how people live and relate to one another. Although the Urapmin fully appreciate the individualist nature of Christian personal salvation, at the same time they view their community-oriented daily activities (including their church) in traditional, social relational terms. Robbins delves into Christian and persisting Urapmin notions of space, time, morality, and sociality to show how traditional moral thinking and social norms make achieving the ideal Christian life impossible, while at the same time Christianity condemns many traditional acts as sinful. Although the Urapmin frequently struggle with this contradiction, the two systems have not formed any stable synthesis.

To account for the Urapmin case in theoretical terms, Robbins employs three models of cultural transformation from Sahlins's work to show how the Urapmin did not assimilate Christianity by adjusting it to older categories of understanding, nor did they transform the relationship among old categories to accommodate their conversion. In short, they adopted Christianity on its own terms, without any attempt at cultural integration. Robbins calls this model "adoption," since it implies accepting something new without prejudging the consequences for what was there before. To this framework, Robbins adds Dumont's concern with the paramount values of a culture and

how they are (re)configured, thereby seamlessly integrating structural and moral approaches to cultural transformations. Robbins's model is a brilliant analysis of how the Urapmin have fashioned a hybrid culture with disparate elements brought together but not reconciled, a situation accounting for their moral dilemmas.

In this rapidly shrinking world, why do Melanesianists persist in studying small, remote, and seemingly insulated peoples like the Urapmin? This ethnography shows why. It offers theoretically interesting ways to think about how cultures are intertwined and how they change, and demonstrates how much can be learned from societies that seem far removed from the centers of modernity but are still affected by them.

In sum, this volume is a major contribution to Melanesian ethnography, religious experience, and culture change. It is one of a very small group of detailed anthropological studies that report on Christianity as a lived religion, and gives insight into how people cope with the effects of globalization, and the moral struggles they experience in its wake. While theoretically sophisticated, the book is clearly written and suitable for students. It is highly recommended.

BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLANDS PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, APRIL 2003 TO AUGUST 2003

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

Aerts, Theo. *Traditional Religion in Melanesia.* Port Moresby: U. Papua New Guinea, 1998.

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BOOKS NOTED

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

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BOOKS NOTED

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CONTRIBUTORS

Ping-Ann Addo, Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts Boston, 100 Morrissey Blvd., Boston, MA 02125. Fax: (617)287-6857. E-mail: ping-ann.addo@umb.edu.

Melani Anae, Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland, New Zealand. Fax: 64 9 3737420. E-mail: m.anae@auckland.ac.nz.

Christine Dureau, Department of Anthropology, The University of Auckland, PB 92019, Auckland 1, New Zealand. Fax: +64 9-373-7441. E-mail: cm.dureau@auckland.ac.nz.

Robert J. Foster, Department of Anthropology, University of Rochester, Rochester, NY 14627-0161 USA. Fax: (585) 273-5331. E-mail: Robert.Foster@Rochester.edu.

Stacy L. Kamehiro, History of Art and Visual Culture Department Porter Faculty Services, University of California, 1156 High Street, Santa Cruz, CA 95064. E-mail: kamehiro@ucsc.edu.

Peter Larmour, Crawford School of Economics and Government, Australian National University, McCoy Circuit, ACTON ACT 0200, Australia. Fax +61 2 61255555. E-mail: peter.larmour@anu.edu.au.

Marianne Elisabeth Lien, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Oslo, Postboks 1091 Blindern, 0317 Oslo, Norway. E-mail: m.e.lien@sai.uio.no.

Doug Munro, History Programme, Victoria University of Wellington, PO Box 600, Wellington, New Zealand. Fax: 64-4-463 5261. E-mail: munro47@yahoo.com.

Thomas K. Pinhey, Department of Sociology, University of Hawai'i at Hilo, 200 West Kawili St., Hilo, HI 96720-4091 USA. E-mail: pinhey@hawaii.edu.

Don Rubinstein, University of Guam. Mailing address: UOG Station, Mangilao, Guam 96923. Fax: (671) 734-7403. E-mail: rubinste@uog9.uog.edu.

Richard Scaglion, Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260 USA. E-mail: scaglion@pitt.edu.

Rhonda Sharp, Hawke Research Institute for Sustainable Societies, University of South Australia, GPO Box 2471, Adelaide SA 5001 Australia. Fax: +61 8 8302 4660. E-mail: rhonda.sharp@unisa.edu.au.

Sanjugta Vas Dev, School of Political and International Studies, Flinders University of South Australia, PO Box 2100, Adelaide SA 5001 Australia. Fax: +61 8 8303 6309. E-mail: sanjugta.vasdev@flinders.edu.au.

Stephen M. Vaughn, 4311 Tosca Rd, Woodland Hills, CA 91364 USA. E-mail: stephen.vaughn@sbcglobal.net.