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PACIFIC STUDIES

Vol. 31, No. 1

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MANGAIA IN THE COLONIAL WORLD, 1863–1899

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This paper analyzes letters written between 1863 and 1899 from the island of Mangaia in the Cook Islands. Collectively, they provide insights into how the people of Mangaia managed their relationships with the outside world, especially with British authorities in the Pacific. These letters are discussed in conjunction with other documents from the colonial archives in order to achieve a more balanced understanding of the way Mangaians acted upon the cultural values inherited from their ancestors in the context of an increasing assertion of foreign control over their island. These vernacular letters articulate a long-hidden subaltern history of Mangaia.

FROM 1888 UNTIL THE COMMENCEMENT of the twentieth century, the Cook Islands, including the southern island of Mangaia, were a British Protectorate although the Resident was a New Zealander, and his office was funded by the New Zealand Government. In 1901 the Cook Islands were formally annexed to New Zealand. This colonial relationship continued until 1965, when the Cook Islands became self-governing in free association with New Zealand. Since then the relationship between the countries has continued to evolve to the point that the Cook Islands is now effectively independent, although its people retain New Zealand citizenship and other privileges indicative of a “special relationship” existing between the two nations (Gilson 1980: 104; Scott 1991: 86–87, 298, 301; Ama et al. 2003: 334–335).

Mangaia’s own relations with the *Papa’a* (European) world began much earlier when Captain Cook attempted to land there on his third Pacific voyage in 1777. Occasional visits by whalers constituted the main contact between Mangaia and the outside world in the following decades until the London Missionary Society (LMS) attempted to land missionaries from the Society Islands in 1823, without success. The following year they tried again,

landing two unmarried men from Taha'a, Davida and Ti'ere (or Ti'are), on the island. They were accepted by the ruling chiefs and granted their protection. From that point on Mangaia fell into the orbit of the LMS, receiving periodic reinforcements of its missionary staff, along with brief supervising visits from English missionaries, in particular the peripatetic John Williams. From 1845 the Society based an English missionary family on Mangaia to oversee the local church. The church, however, remained under the protective mantle of the ruling chiefs of the island. The island's autonomy officially ended with the proclamation of the Protectorate, and later annexation, although the chiefs retained an important role in the local government of their island. A notable feature of Mangaia's government during the colonial period was the maintenance of chiefly control of lands in place of the determination of titles by the Cook Islands Land Court established under the New Zealand colonial administration.¹

The continuing assertion by Mangaians of their right to reach their own decisions according to customary practices and beliefs has been a constant theme of the island's relations with outsiders, whether missionaries, colonial administrators, or even members of the postcolonial Cook Islands Government. This essay explores episodes in Mangaia's relations with the Papa'a world during the latter half of the nineteenth century, starting with the kidnapping of Mangaians by Peruvian slavers in 1863 and ending during the later years of the Protectorate period when the island had already become part of New Zealand's zone of economic and political interests. Each episode reveals the different challenges faced by Mangaia's leaders and people as they attempted to pursue a course of action that they considered appropriate for their own society and its well-being.

An important part of this historical study is the contribution made to an understanding of Mangaian assertions of autonomy by the writings of the local actors themselves. These texts can be found scattered through the colonial archives and among the papers of the LMS. The emphasis on local historical voices reflects the practice of Subaltern Studies, which also rewrites history "from the distinct and separate point of view" of the people themselves, and uses "unconventional or neglected sources" such as "previously unexamined colonial administrative documents."² Mangaia's subaltern documents, written in *te tara Mangaia* (the Mangaian language), are rare. Frequently their place is taken by official translations in English, the originals either destroyed or perhaps taken possession of by the translators whose own versions were considered acceptable substitutes for the voices of the Mangaian writers themselves. In this essay, attention has been given to those episodes for which vernacular texts still survive. These works, and more

especially the cultural values expressed within them, give the best opportunity to understand Mangaia's relationship to the colonial world as the Mangians themselves understood it since, as Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986: 16) observes: "Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world."

The struggle to sustain some degree of autonomy within a colonial world links these hidden Mangaian texts to other subaltern voices in the Pacific. One important body of such writing is being produced by indigenous scholars in Aotearoa New Zealand whose ancestors long ago migrated from out of the southern Cook Islands and the Austral Islands (Kirch 2000: 213, 277; Kirch and Green 2001: 61). For these *whanaunga* (relations, connections), to use the New Zealand Māori kinship term, "language is the core of our Maori culture and mana. Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Maori (The language is the life force of the mana Maori)." It is a *taonga* (treasure, heirloom): "the very soul of the Maori people" (Te Reo Maori Report 1986: 34).³ The role of language as upholding "mana Maori" in Aotearoa New Zealand suggests that an effective, balanced study of historical sources for the Māori people of Mangaia should similarly resist writing solely "in terms of the coloniser's precepts" and "the coloniser's agenda," in favor of a historiography that attends to the continuing influence upon Mangaian agendas and actions exerted by "the Māori value system" inherited from their ancestors (Durie 1998: 62).⁴ Those subaltern values are most accurately expressed through sources written in te tara Mangaia.

The development of a Mangaian body of writing began during the LMS period. In common with other missionary societies, the LMS laid much stress both on missionaries learning local languages and on the development of written languages and the acquisition of literacy by locals so they could read vernacular versions of the Bible (see Gunson 1978: 237–247, 255–266). The LMS, from their headquarters in Rarotonga, put much effort into the translation of the Bible for the whole of the Cook Islands. Sections of the New Testament in Rarotongan Māori became available from 1828, and the first edition of the Bible in that language was distributed in 1852 in islands such as Mangaia. The earliest Mangaian letter found so far (written to the LMS) dates from 1841, 17 years after the arrival of the first missionaries (Reilly 2007: 36). Besides letters, Mangaian Christians, such as the 'orometua (missionary, pastor) Mamae, also wrote much ethnographic information especially for William Wyatt Gill, the Papa'ā missionary who served on Mangaia from 1852 to 1872 (e.g., Reilly 1993a, 1993b, 2003). Thus the scattered letters written to different colonial agents form part of a larger

body of indigenous language texts, very few of which have been published.⁵ The following essay reproduces the letters written to different officials in part to bring to light for Manganian people today a hidden part of their own inheritance and in part to juxtapose them with the far more abundant records produced by the Papa'a colonial world itself.

Up until annexation Mangania's primary relationship with the larger world of Papa'a colonization was mediated through the resident English missionary family (the same family might reside there for between 10 and 20 years). Something is known of the Manganian attitude to the LMS through the letters the church community (the *'ekalesia*) wrote to the Society's London directors. The Manganian writers describe themselves as brothers and sisters of their brethren in the English church, emphasizing their close familial ties. The mission family on Mangania was understood as having left its own *kōpū* (clan, family) to come out and live among the Manganian community as a gesture of *aro'a* (loving kindness). Such gestures clearly established an ongoing and reciprocal relationship between the English and Manganian churches. Not surprisingly, the Manganian church and its leaders expected that they could ask for and receive expressions of such *aro'a*, not only in the form of staffing but also other help, such as material goods, whenever they should have need of it (Reilly 2007). This familial relationship with the LMS was to inform Mangania's attitudes and understandings of the world during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Slavers from Peru

In 1863 the Governor of New Zealand, Sir George Grey, received an emotional plea from the leaders of Mangania, who had just then experienced a visit from Peruvian slavers in search of human cargo. This is the first letter reproduced below (Governor 1863). Grey's advocacy of "a 'British Pacific Ocean'" and support for the education of Pacific peoples were well known and led to a number of such chiefly appeals being sent to him, including a request in 1865 to extend British Protection to Rarotonga (Ross 1964: 41–51, 66; Gilson 1980: 43). During 1862 and 1863 Peruvian vessels visited Pacific islands in search of laborers to work in their agricultural sector, which was desperate for workers of any description (Maude 1986: 1–2). Some came voluntarily, but most were recruited using deception or were kidnapped (Maude 1986: 193). International opinion very quickly realized the recruitment scheme was little more than "a slave trade," and it was brought to an end (Maude 1986: 144–149). Of the 3,634 Pacific people recruited by fair means or foul, 3,125 survived to reach Peru, but only 157 of them ever returned alive to a Polynesian island (Maude 1986: 164, 191).

Letter I

Mangaia 1863 Mareti 11

‘E leta teia nā te Ariki mā te au kavana i te ‘enua rā i Mangaia.

E te kavana ē: tē tātā atu nei mātou kiā kōtou i te aronga mana, mā te aronga tao‘onga i nuzelanina, e tauturuturu mai kōtou i tō mātou nei tūmatetenga i ngā marama i topa akenei.

Tērā taua tūmatetenga nei. ‘E aronga tangata nō mātou, kua riro i tēta‘i pa‘ī keiā tangata. Tērā mai tō rātou au ingoa. Ko Davida tēta‘i, ‘e ariki ‘aia, ‘e tamaiti nā te Ariki, nā Nūmangātini. Tērā tēta‘i, ko Teao, ‘e Ariki ‘oki ‘aia. Tērā ēta‘i, ko Ruringa, ko Tangiri, ‘e puke tangata ‘ekalesia rāua. Tērā tēta‘i ko Kirikino, ‘e tangata ‘ua ‘aia, kāre ona ‘e tao‘onga. Ka toko rima rātou, kua riro i te keiā ia, ko taua tūmatetenga ia nō mātou nei. I te marama ia Januari i te rā 25, 1863, i riro kē ai rātou. ‘E sabati te rā i tae mai ai taua pa‘ī rā i ō mātou nei, ‘oe atūra tō mātou vaka i runga i taua pa‘ī rā, toko 8 rātou i te ‘aerenga, i runga i taua pa‘ī rā, ‘oki māira ‘e toko toru, ki uta, riro atūra ‘e toko rima. I kokoti‘ia te taura i te ‘ere i tō rātou vaka, ‘akatere atūra te pa‘ī, e ngaro atūra.

Ē teiane, e te Gavana ē! E aro‘a mai koe i ā mātou, ko au teia ko Nūmangātini, te Ariki o Mangaia nei, e kave atu koe i te tuatua i Beritane, e kimi mai kōtou i taku tamaiti, ē tōku au tangata. Ko tā mātou ia tuatua kia koe, kia ora ana.

Nā te Ariki mā te au Gavana i Mangaia.

Mangaia, 11 March 1863

This is a letter from the Ariki (king) and the kavana (governors) of the island of Mangaia.

O Governor, we are writing to you and the aronga mana (assembly of mana) and the office holders of New Zealand, to seek your assistance in our distress during the months that have just passed.

This is the reason for our distress. A party of our people has been taken away by a people stealing ship. These are their names: Davida, an ariki, the son of the Ariki, Nūmangātini; Teao, also an ariki;⁶ Ruringa and Tangiri, members of the ‘ekalesia; and Kirikino, just a man, who does not hold a title. The five of them were taken by that thief, and that is the cause of our grief. They were taken away on January 25, 1863. It was the Sabbath day when that ship arrived, and our canoe paddled out to that ship, with eight crew, who went on board that vessel: three returned to land, the other five were taken away. The rope tying their canoe was cut, and the ship sailed away, and disappeared.

And now, o Governor, show aro'a for us, and to me, Nūmangātini, the Ariki of Mangaia. Convey the information to Britain, and look for my son, and for my people. We say this to you, greetings.

The Ariki and the Governors of Mangaia.

The "*pa'i keiā tangata*" (people stealing ship) that took the five men has been identified as the "three-masted 312-ton frigate *Empresa*," which left Callao, Peru, on November 22, 1862 bound for the Marquesas and Cook Islands (Maude 1986: 32, 44, 186). Nūmangātini would eventually be reunited with his son and heir. Two years after these events the resident missionary, William Wyatt Gill, was pleased to report that Davida had returned from Tahiti, where he had been repatriated following the termination of the recruitment scheme in Peru. Gill added: "You may imagine the aged king's joy at once more beholding the face of his son" (Gill 1865). Unfortunately, Davida died around 1872, predeceasing his father; his son would inherit the office of ariki (Harris 1879a).

Nūmangātini's appeal to the Governor of New Zealand assumes a certain equivalence between the British and the Mangaiaans. The Governor is simply called "te kavana," without any further qualification: the same title as used in the letter for the chiefly leaders of Mangaia themselves. Such an assumption of equality is doubtless premised on the familial relationship Mangaiaans shared with the LMS and its local representatives. The island's leaders call on Grey to demonstrate aro'a for them; the same language is deployed to describe the nature of their relationship with the LMS. As used in this letter aro'a is an important cultural value implying a mutual recognition of humanity, with one party showing compassion for the other, thereby establishing a relationship of reciprocal caring between them.⁷ In this context Mangaia's leaders, long taught to view England in a positive light by the LMS, sought and expected Grey's assistance as the nearest representative of Queen Victoria's Imperial Government.

The letter reveals much about the indigenous authority structure then in place in Mangaia. At its apex is the ariki, Nūmangātini, representing the island to outsiders, along with his six kavana. These were the chiefs of the six *puna* (districts) of the Mangaia who were responsible for the overall management of the lands and people.⁸ Together the ariki and kavana formed the *aronga mana*, the collective name for the government of the island. In the letter they seem to assume that the same kind of system exists in Aotearoa; addressing their letter to the Governor, the *aronga mana*, and the *aronga tao'onga* (group of titled leaders).⁹ This may simply have been a diplomatic courtesy on the part of Mangaia's own government, who recognized the existence of an equivalent hierarchy in New Zealand.¹⁰ In listing the kidnap

victims Nūmangātini begins with those of high rank, the two ariki, followed by members of the Christian community, and ends with “*e tangata ‘ua*” (just a man); in other words, a commoner, without rank. While addressing a tragedy brought upon Mangaia by outsiders, the letter reveals the maintenance of a coherent internal hierarchy based firmly upon chiefly principles of rule inherited from the island’s pre-Christian era. The letter’s content also demonstrates a continuing reliance by the island’s leaders upon a close relationship with Britain and its rulers, first established in the 1820s through the LMS.

Missionary Texts Concerning the Slaver

Mangaia’s Papa‘ā ‘orometua, William Wyatt Gill, became “the principal missionary informant on the activities of the recruiters” in the Pacific, reporting their deeds to newspapers, colonial authorities, and the LMS (Maude 1986: 136). Unfortunately, he was overseas on leave when the slavers kidnapped the men and was only told of the incident by Mangaians who met him on his return at Rarotonga (Gill 1863a, 1863b). Gill provides two important narratives complementing the report sent to the Governor by Nūmangātini and the kavana. The first was written while Gill was still on board the mission ship, *John Williams*, heading to Mangaia (Gill 1863a).

A canoe put off to bring the Captain on shore (over the reef). Unsuspectingly they went on board. They strongly assert that of the six who went on board five were rendered unconscious (by chloroform I presume) and stowed away below. The sixth jumped overboard and got ashore in his canoe. Amongst those taken away is the king’s eldest son and successor. The whole island is mourning for him.

The second account written several months after the event provides a more detailed account of the incident (Gill 1863c).¹¹

From this island five have been stolen. On Sabbath Jany 25th ult a vessel hove in sight and was at first taken for the missionary bark. A canoe paddled by 8 natives put off. On nearing the vessel they discerned their mistake. But upon being assured that it was an american whaler, the natives foolishly made fast their canoe and five of them clambered on deck. Drugged spirits were given to each of them, and they stood looking vacantly over the ship’s side at their friends. The three below now found that the rope had been cut by

the white men, and fearing for the safety of their companions on deck they shouted lustily to them to throw themselves overboard and swim to the canoe. One of the five had sense enough left to attempt to pull off his shirt, but was kept prisoner by the white men. This slaver immediately made all sail and was speedily out of sight. One of the five stolen is the favourite son and intended successor of the king, who is a very aged man.

The method of rendering the victims unconscious once they boarded the vessel was employed by the ship's doctor, Dr Inglehart (or Englehart). According to Maude (1986: 34–35, 44), he would give the intended victims a drink of brandy laced with opium in order to stupefy them. Unusually, the doctor along with other ship's crew were later tried, and while Inglehart was able to escape Peru's jurisdiction before trial, he, along with the captain and a British seaman, were found guilty on various charges of using force and violence; the latter two were sentenced to prison terms of six and four years, respectively, though the rest of the crew was released (Maude 1986: 155). Part of the explanation for the willingness of the Mंगाians to board the *Empresa* reflects their experience of visiting vessels. In this case, the men had initially thought the ship was the LMS bark, the *John Williams*, which travelled between mission stations picking up and dropping off supplies and staff. They ventured out expecting Gill to be on board (Gill 1984: 339). However, they were lured closer to the Peruvian slaver by reassurances that it was in fact a visiting American whaler. The latter vessels were well known to Mंगाians, who generally seem to have had positive relations with them. Local people engaged in extensive trade, and many young men were recruited as crew over the years, thus explaining why the slaver pretended to be one.¹² Perhaps the most significant feature of the letter from Nūmangātini and the kavana was its date. It was written the week before Gill's return, thus highlighting the political autonomy of Mंगाia's indigenous system of government. They did not need to await their missionary's return before initiating an appeal to Britain's Pacific representatives.

A Troublesome Trader

The proclamation in 1888 of a British Protectorate over the southern Cook Islands had long been campaigned for by New Zealand, where both government and business interests supported the growing trade between Auckland and Rarotonga.¹³ However, that year Makea, an ariki on Rarotonga, fearing French invasion from its possessions in the neighboring Society Islands, petitioned Great Britain for protection. Her appeal finally convinced the

Imperial Government of the need to act. Because of New Zealand's previous offer to pay for a British Consul in the Cook Islands, negotiations were opened between Britain and the colonial government, resulting in the appointment of a New Zealander as British Resident in the Protectorate, paid for by the New Zealand Government.

The Resident advised the local chiefly government, though from 1891 no legislation could be enacted without his formal approval (*AJHR*, 1891, A.-3a: 6). The Resident was expected to act as a kind of parent or mentor, helping the local rulers to govern “justly and wisely” for their people, and “for the advance in civilisation and prosperity” (*AJHR*, 1891, A.-3a: 2). While funded by New Zealand, the Resident actually reported to the Governor of New Zealand as the representative of the Imperial Crown. The first Resident, Frederick Moss, had formerly been a Fiji planter and a member of New Zealand's Parliament; he was officially appointed in November 1890 and arrived in Rarotonga in April 1891. Before that British interests were represented by Richard Exham, Acting Vice-Consul (and representative of the Auckland trading company, Donald and Edenborough). Moss was later succeeded in 1898 by W. E. Gudgeon, an officer in the New Zealand colonial militia and a former Māori Land Court Judge.

The following Mangaian letter (Governor 1891a) was written in the aftermath of a major dispute with profound political ramifications for both Mangaia and the LMS. The incident occurred in 1890 when Mangaia's indigenous authorities expelled a British trader, H. W. Pearse, from the island. The New Zealand Governor had actually dispatched Moss unofficially to the Cook Islands to achieve a settlement of this dispute before his appointment as Resident (Gilson 1980: 64). Much of the correspondence surrounding this case, including the following letter, was addressed to Sir J. B. Thurston, High Commissioner and Consul General for the Western Pacific, who as the ranking British colonial official in the Pacific had jurisdiction over the Cook Islands at this time in cases involving British subjects.

Letter II

Mangaia, Mareti 9 1891

Kiā koe e te Kavana teitei te tiaki o te 'au Beritane i teia pā 'enua nei i roto i te moana Pacivika nei kia orana.

E te kavana teitei ē tērā te tuatua kia tae i te marama mareti 7/91 kua 'uipā mātou i tēta'i 'uipā'anga ma'ata, mei Ngā Ariki ē 2 Nga Kavana ē 6 te 'Orometua koia 'oki Ha[r]isi ngā rave'anga'anga ngā diakono te tangata katoatoa. Teia te tū o tā mātou tuatua 'anga e tā'okota'i iā mātou kia meitaki mātou ē kia 'au i teianeī rā kua 'au kua kore te riri tēta'i ē tēta'i mei ngā Ariki ngā Kavana e tae 'ua atu i te tangata katoa.

Teia te tuatua tē 'akakite atu nei mātou kiā koe kua 'akatika ia ē ka rave te au Papa'a i tā rātou au 'anga'anga koia 'oki te 'oko'oko 'apinga i roto i te 'enua mā te tika ē te tau i raro ake i te Ture 'enua ē te Reva Beritāne. Ētē 'akakite atu nei mātou i te tuatua 'openga kia kite koe kua vai ngā 'Are toa. Teia tēta'i tuatua ka vai 'ua rāi tō mātou māketē tei 'akamou'ia e tō mātou ai metua.

'Tira 'ua kia orana.

Ngā Ariki

Ngā Kavana

Mangaia

The following is an accompanying translation made by the then-resident missionary, G. A. Harris.

Mangaia, Hervey Islands, March 9 1891

To His Excellency the Chief Commissioner of the Western Pacific. Salutation to you Honoured Sir.

On March 7th we received your letter & we held a great meeting on the subject concerning which you wrote us. There were present 2 Kings, 6 Chiefs, the European missionary Haresi [Harris], & his staff of workers [more accurately, the workers, the deacons, all the people]. I am glad to inform your Excellency that we have succeeded in obtaining peace for Mangaia. The animosity between the Kings, Chiefs & people caused by the disturbances of the Whites & the stores exists now no longer, as we are now united once again all over the Island.

We are glad also to inform you that we have acceded to your request to allow the Whites to do their work, that is their trading on the land under our own just & reasonable laws & under also the British Flag. The stores formerly closed are now opened by us, but our Market House for the trading of any foreign vessels which may arrive here will not be closed — this arrangement being in accordance with the words of our forefathers.

Kings

Chiefs

(of) Mangaia

This letter was written by the aronga mana comprising the two ariki, the more dominant Metuakore Tione (John) Trego (usually addressed in colonial documents as King John or John Trego) and No'oroa, the son of Davida (Tavita) who had been seized by the Peruvian slaver, along with the six

district kavana. The letter referred to by the Mangaian leaders was written to the ariki by Thurston the previous year. He had expressed concern at their treatment of Pearse, stressing “that it is wrong and most imprudent for you to allow any person to be prevented from trading and to be driven away.” While he was happy to hear their complaints he warned them that they had laid themselves open to action for damages (Governor 1890a). The Mangaian letter and an accompanying one from Harris may be seen as a response to Thurston’s admonitions. The Mangaians recognized Thurston’s status as “*kavana teitei*” (high-ranking governor) and his important role as the “*tiaki*” (guardian, custodian) of the British “*au*” (authority, government) within the Pacific. Whereas Mangaian letters to the LMS had always presumed a familial relationship of equality between them, this response makes it plain that the indigenous Mangaian authorities recognized the power that lay behind Thurston’s patronizing advice. The island’s indigenous leaders were clearly aware that they had to address these outside authorities with far greater deference and respect than had been the case when Nūmangātini appealed to Grey in 1863.

The Pearse incident had its origins in a long-standing Mangaian policy aimed at excluding foreign traders from permanently living on their island.¹⁴ When Captain Bourke of the Royal Navy arrived in Her Majesty’s ship (hereinafter HMS) *Hyacinth* and proclaimed the Protectorate status in Mangaia on 29 November 1888, the island’s leaders had asked him if this meant that they had now to permit foreigners to live there. He reportedly advised them that such persons could come to Mangaia provided they obeyed the island’s local laws.¹⁵

From 1891, under the Protectorate, the leaders of each island were organized as Island Councils (in te tara Mangaia called *te ‘Uipā’anga*). These bodies determined their own internal laws, but all new legislation had to be approved by the Resident in Rarotonga (Gilson 1980: 63–64; Scott 1991: 48–49). In Mangaia, the Council comprised the traditional leaders, the two Ariki and the six kavana, who formed the permanent Government of Mangaia (variously called “*te Pū ... o Mangaia*” or “*te ‘Au o Mangaia*”). Additional members included the ‘*Akavānui*’ (judges) appointed for each puna (district), as well as elected representatives drawn from the island’s ‘*ui rangatira*’.¹⁶ Speaking in Mangaia, Moss had promised that if the local government acted “justly and with consideration for others,” he would not interfere in their activities (Moss 1891). Clearly, for Moss and his masters, the Pearse case justified such interference.

The Mangaian letter alludes to the local laws when it refers to “*te Ture ‘enua*” (also known as “*Ture nō te ‘Enua*” [Law of the Land] [AJHR, 1892, A.-3: 11]). Such law, as stated in the letter, was founded upon “*te tika ē te*

tau.” Harris translates this important phrase as “just & reasonable.” Tika includes ideas of truth, fairness, justice, equity: *tau* refers to being right, proper, correct, appropriate, suitable, or fitting (Buse with Taringa 1995: 469, 490; Savage 1980: 363, 379; Shibata 1999: 298, 319). Thus the governing laws of Mangaia’s polity were premised upon a core philosophy of justice and equity for all people, applied in ways that were appropriate or fitting to the particular case. The letter goes on to join such law with that of Britain’s imperial authority (represented by its national flag): “*te Ture ‘enua ē te Reva Beritāne*” (literally, the law [of the] land and the British flag). While Mangaians thought they had fairly applied their “*Ture ‘enua*” to Pearse, Thurston’s comments show how the “*Reva Beritāne*” in reality acted to constrain the autonomy of such local law when it came to British subjects. This external pressure parallels a continuing internal tension in the Protectorate between the Resident and islands such as Mangaia that sought to enhance their local authority at the expense of Moss’s.¹⁷

The events leading up to Pearse’s expulsion can be summarized as follows. Pearse had arrived in Mangaia as a representative of the Auckland trading company, Donald and Edenborough, in September 1889, leasing property for one year from Ata, the kavana of Kei’ā district. Initially, Pearse’s relations with the local authorities were good, but he came into dispute with the ruling chiefs when he refused to obey some of their laws. His actions and attitudes seem to have aroused various tensions and resentments within the island community, fueled by various allegations including his sexual improprieties with local women, and perhaps more significantly, his verbal abuse of some of the island’s leaders, including one of the ariki. Pearse also failed to pay his landlord, Ata, kavana of Kei’ā district, the agreed rent. The arrival of a second trader who was supported by one of the other kavana, Vaipo of Ivirua, initiated a series of disputes among the kavana and people of Mangaia, with two factions appearing, each supporting one of the traders. The backing by different kavana suggests pre-existing geopolitical rivalries may have come into play in this dispute. Harris believed that Pearse encouraged these disputes and sought the overthrow of one of the two ariki of the island, presumably in support of those leaders who favored his residence. With the threat of actual violence breaking out between the disputing kavana and their followers, the authorities acted to expel both traders.¹⁸ For Mangaians, who feared that the arrival of Europeans also portended the loss of their lands, this solution must have been especially welcome.

The letter refers to this time of conflict, alluding to the feelings of anger (“*riri*”) that involved everyone on the island, from the ruling leaders downwards. Harris’s translation adds extra detail not in the original, referring

to Europeans and their trading stores as the cause of this contention. Thurston's criticisms, coupled no doubt with the danger of legal actions, prompted Mangaian leaders to try to reunite the island community. That Thurston's letter was taken very seriously is shown by the extraordinary nature of the ensuing meeting, with all the chiefs and church leaders assembling together to discuss its content. At this important juncture, Mangaians responded by seeking a broad consensus agreed to by both its secular and religious leaders. Traditionally, Mangaian society had always aspired to just such an agreement between what they considered the two arms of political authority. The resulting peace was believed to lead not only to general harmony but greater prosperity for all. The term 'au (translated in the nineteenth century as government, authority) encapsulated these deeper social values: in traditional Mangaian society, the 'au referred to the highest ranking secular leader, also called the mangaia,¹⁹ whose authority lasted just so long as tranquil relations were maintained among the various kin groups. Any subsequent outbreak of violence shattered the social order, which had then to await a new mangaia, whose reign would ensure prosperity.²⁰ Seen in this light, it is not surprising that the letter writers informed Thurston with much relief and pleasure that their efforts at reunification (*"e tā'okota'i"*) in order to achieve good feelings and peace (*"kia meitaki mātou ē kia 'au"*) had been successful: there was peace (*"kua 'au"*) between everyone. By doing so they had achieved the state of tranquil social relations that Mangaian society traditionally aspired to. Whereas the LMS supported such island-wide initiatives, demonstrated by Harris's participation in these processes, Mangaians were to find that Britain's rulers in the Pacific took a quite different view.

Attitudes of the Colonial Authorities

What seemed a reasonable solution to a dangerous rift in the island's polity was viewed by British authorities as the rough handling of a British subject going about his lawful business. They viewed the acts of the Mangaians as unreasonable and arbitrary. The language hints throughout at the cultural and racial distinctions that officials perceived to exist between themselves and the Mangaians — a far cry from the warm familial bonds of the LMS. Writing to Moss in February 1891, the New Zealand Governor, Lord Onslow, was very clear that the Mangaians had to be taught a lesson.

You will make it clear that, while recognising to the full their right to frame their own laws and to govern themselves, Her Majesty's Government cannot allow agreements to be broken which have

been formally entered into between the natives and Her Majesty's subjects; and, while using every effort to persuade the natives to admit European traders on the condition of obeying the laws, you will impress upon the *ariki*s that, if they give Europeans documents authorising them to do certain acts in the islands, Her Majesty's Government will require them to respect those engagements.

In the event that no satisfactory settlement could be reached Moss was to require compensation from the Mangaian authorities for Pearse's losses (Seddon 1891b).

Moss initially threatened Mangaia's leaders with having to pay \$2,390, "and such further sum as your contumacy may render necessary," but he eventually allowed Mangaians to pay \$1,390 (equivalent to £208 10 s.) in installments; "the lowest sum" he thought permissible. While some of Mangaia's leaders, such as Vaipo, were prepared to pay, others were incensed at Moss's demand. Ngariu, kavana of Tamarua, reportedly exclaimed that "he was ruler of his own land and not Mr. Moss" and refused to contribute. He eventually submitted and paid his portion only after Moss had suggested to Mangaia's government that they blockade the roads from Tamarua to prevent trade, while he would make sure that anything already bought by traders was confiscated.²¹

The Governor later made clear to Moss the real motivation for such vigorous responses (Onslow 1892):

the main object of British protection is to encourage British trade & it will not do to let the trading interests be ridden roughshod over by the natives so long as *you* can prevent this all may go well but any real grievance would meet with prompt support from head quarters.

How far such support might go was made very clear by Lord Onslow when giving Moss instructions about his trip through the Cook Islands by a naval vessel in April 1891 (Seddon 1891c).

You will make a point of visiting the islands of Mangaia and Aitutaki, where the recent disturbances have taken place, and I am in hopes that the appearance of a man-of-war will convince the inhabitants of the authority which you now bear, and will enable you to effect a satisfactory settlement of all difficulties.

Warship visits to Mangaia were generally associated with government business (such as proclamations or carrying official communications),

although the ships and crew themselves do not seem to have been viewed as threatening.²² In this case, the presence of a man-of-war appears intended as a reminder to the chiefs that Moss was the local face of British authority and therefore demanded respect for his decisions as Resident. While this display of British might did not occur until after Mangaia's leaders had written to Thurston, it could only have confirmed to the chiefs the correctness of their actions in resiling from their enforcement of their own long-standing laws to exclude foreigners from their land. They had no real choice in permitting such people to live and trade among them. A visiting warship made plain to everyone that behind the minatory letters lay the potential sanction of the Royal Navy. Thus do imperial powers ensure compliance from those they claim to protect.

Despite these pressures the ruling chiefs of Mangaia made it clear at the conclusion of their letter to Thurston that they would not abandon all their old practices established, as they pointed out, by their ancestors (*"tei 'akamou'ia e tō mātou ai metua"*). They retained the market house where foreigners had long been able to land and trade under local supervision. The powerful sanction represented by the deeds and words of the island's *tupuna* (ancestors) in the end stood firm and defended their descendants from the threats made by the guardians of Britain's 'au. Such ancestral authority lay at the heart of all the actions of Mangaia's rulers, who based their decisions on customary usages laid down by previous generations of leaders. The accumulated knowledge and wisdom transmitted from those previous generations helped sustain the chiefs and people of Mangaia in their efforts to retain some measure of autonomy in these encounters with Britain's colonial representatives.

Attitude of the LMS

For the LMS, the Pearse incident was a sore trial of their relationship with both the Mangaian 'ekalesia and the colonial powers. Harris was considered by many of the Papa'a supporters of Pearse as complicit in the actions of the Mangaian authorities against him. Pearse's summary represents the negative Papa'a attitudes toward the role played by missionaries like Harris (Governor 1890b):

It is well known to yourself that Mr Harris has ruled these natives during the last twenty years with an iron hand, and that many applications have been made by natives for his removal, even before the settlement of white men on the Island.²³

Moss too was critical of Harris, calling him "the absolute and unchecked ruler of Mangaia" who had allowed "a most narrow and tyrannical system of church discipline" to prevail, and who had supported Pearse's opponents on the island (*AJHR*, 1891, A.-3a: 8, 11). A more elegant but similarly patronizing view was put forth by New Zealand's Governor (Onslow 1891):

The Aitutakians seem to be like wax in your hands, and it is evident that the "mana" of Mr Harris in Mangaia is broken, which is very satisfactory. I only hope that it may never return; for it is obvious, from experience of affairs in the Cook Islands & elsewhere, that missionary rule is only fit to be the swaddling-band of an infant community, and that its laws press with a tyrannical harshness, when the child is well able to walk alone. At the same time, I am sure that you will deal kindly with these men, who have done much for the civilisation of the natives in the past, and are now in the somewhat humiliating position of seeing their prestige departing, as their pupils acquire a wider knowledge of that world to which they have introduced them.

Like many other Papa'ā in the Pacific, these men saw the British 'orometua as irksome obstacles to be overcome (see Gunson 1978: 290–291). Their criticisms highlight the common European assumption that "natives" are not capable of deciding things for themselves but must naturally be dominated by their Papa'ā advisers. Gunson (1978: 295) clarifies the exact role of missionaries: "Their influence in island politics tended to be indirect and ecclesiastical, in a theocratic sense, rather than political." For liberals like Moss the intrusion of the church into the affairs of the state was something he worked to end in Mangaia.²⁴ He took great pride in describing how he had achieved a separation between them (e.g., *Auckland Star* 1891).

Harris himself set out the issues faced by the Mangaian authorities and described the relationship as he saw it between himself and the indigenous leaders of the island (see Governor 1891b). He described himself as "the adviser of the Kings & Chiefs in relation to difficulties and outside matters which they themselves have not been able to understand or deal with." The *aronga mana* would normally

wait on me & inform me of their action & purposes in regard to their laws & island affairs, sometimes asking my opinion or advice on certain subjects & sometimes merely informing me of what they had done. If it has pleased them to take my advice on any matters brought to me for my judgment they have always bourned the

responsibility of carrying out that advice, or even when it has not pleased them to do so I have not regarded the subject any further.

Harris's description of his own practice over twenty years reflects quite well the strictly advisory role adopted by earlier British 'orometua, in line with LMS precepts "not to take any *active* part in politics" (Gunson 1978: 281 [his emphasis]). Because the resident missionaries themselves embodied the relationship between the 'ekalesia of Mangaia and Britain their advice, as Harris indicates, was closely attended to. In the end, however, the responsibilities of government remained with the aronga mana. Thus in the Pearse incident, Harris in fact chose not to give advice because of a perceived conflict of interest, and left sole responsibility for deciding the appropriate course of action up to the chiefs themselves (Governor 1891b). His actions were in accord with general mission practices in the Pacific as Gunson (1978: 291) notes: "The island states were primarily chiefly in government, and it was the chiefs in their secular role who had the ultimate authority."

Building a Special Relationship

Mangaia's encounters with the British colonial powers did not in the medium term at least intimidate the people or undermine their sense of autonomy. For example, in 1899 Moss's successor, W. E. Gudgeon, felt the need to write the following to the ariki, Metuakore Tione (John) Trego, and to Tangitoru Daniela (Governor 1899a).²⁵ His references to the Federation refer to the Rarotonga-based Cook Islands government of the Protectorate period:

I would remind you that although you have been annexed to the British Crown yet you are more or less a part & portion of the Federation of the Cook Islands and as such are as much [under] the Parliament & laws of the Federation as the people of Rarotonga. This is a point that I wish to impress upon you most particularly as I have heard that in your capacity as British Subjects you deem yourselves in a measure independent of the laws of the Federation.

That same year Daniela and other Mangaian leaders voiced their independence and continuing capacity to take initiatives by offering Lord Ranfurly, the Governor of New Zealand, some land in the district of Keiā.²⁶ The two letters they wrote were translated by Gudgeon (see Governor 1899b).

Letter III

Mangaia, Oneroa, 17th May 1899

Tērā te tara, kia rongo mai koe e te Ariki teitei o te ao tangata nei. Nō tōku kite kiā koe; Te 'akatumu'anga o te tatau 'anga tangata nui o te ao tangata nei kā ta'i. Tērā te potonga one o roto i te manava i Aauau [sic; A'ua'u?].

E aro'a atu kiā koe,

Ko au, ko

Tangitoru Daniela tōku ingoa

Te ingoa o te kāinga 'o Ariari tei roto i Oneroa, Kei'ā.

Here are the words O Mighty Chief of all people. First, I know that you are the root of knowledge of all people. From the heart of an Aauau [or, From the heart of A'ua'u?], I Tangitoru Daniela give to you a piece of land "called Ariari" situated in the settlement of Oneroa in the district of Kei'ā. [I, whose name is Tangitoru Daniela, show aro'a to you.]

A'ua'u was an ancient name for the island of Mangaia. By contrast with the 1863 letter Daniela raises the Governor up much higher, as if he is of far greater status, so that he becomes "ariki teitei" (high-ranking ariki), and the "'akatumu'anga o te tatau 'anga tangata nui o te ao tangata" (more literally perhaps, the source of the vast human knowledge of the human world). Such language reflects the fulsome style used to elevate Thurston and suggests that Mangaians had adopted as a matter of course such honorific rhetoric for all colonial officials. Whereas Mangaians writing to the LMS stressed their closeness by employing familial terms, these official letters positioned the Mangaians in a subordinate position to that occupied by the British representatives. While such language may simply reflect a traditional kind of discourse used for persons of rank now applied to foreign officials, it may also have been employed as a polite way of responding to the superior attitudes adopted by such officials when corresponding with Mangaians. Despite such rhetorical posturing Daniela's offer of Ariari (located on top of the upraised coral *makatea* in Oneroa) was motivated by a feeling of aro'a toward the Governor; the same cultural concept as used for the LMS or Grey in 1863. This suggests that the land being offered to the British was intended to establish a similar ongoing reciprocal relationship between the parties.

The response of the Governor, Lord Ranfurly, shows that he did not understand the cultural meaning of this gesture. Rather he expressed consternation and even bewilderment, which required consultation not only with Richard Seddon, Premier of New Zealand, but eventually with London.

However, on 16 December 1899 the Imperial Government formally communicated their acceptance of the land (Governor 1899c). The award of this land (“Ariari block in Oneroa, Keia: section 5 comprising 3 acres and 29 perches”) to the Government was subsequently confirmed at a sitting of the Cook Islands Native Land Court in Mangaia in 1904 (Mangaia Titles Register, 1888–1975).

Letter IV

Mangaia, Oneroa, 17 May 1899

Kia Ranfurly teia lata [sic] kia orana koe. ‘Ua koa rava i tōku kite ‘anga i te tara mei roto mai i tō’ou va’a e pupū mai ana. Kua rekareka au i tā’au tara ē kua tae mai koe i te Cook Islands nei, e kite i te mata ‘o ngā tupuna o ngā māori New Zealand.

Kāre rava e ngaro pōina iāku kāre ‘oki e pē ‘e auro tikāi. Tā’au tara. Nā Tangitoru Daniela.

Ngā kite

Te-ariki-no‘orooa

Ata

This is a letter to Lord Ranfurly, Greetings. Great was my delight when I listened to the words that flowed from your mouth. I was rejoiced to hear those words. You have also visited the Cook Islands and have seen with your own eyes the ancestors of the New Zealand Maories. This fact will ever be remembered by me and your words will not fade but remain as gold imperishable.

[This is my speech.] From Tangitoru Daniela, [and the witnesses] Te Ariki nohorooa [sic] and Ata

Te Ariki No‘orooa (also known as No‘orooa) was one of the two reigning ariki of the day, along with Metuakore. Ata was the kavana of Kei‘ā district. According to Gudgeon, Daniela (a “Mangaian chief”) had been in Rarotonga and heard Ranfurly speak. Gudgeon helpfully explained that the Governor’s “tara” (words, speech) in the second letter referred “to the migrations of the maori people from these islands to New Zealand” (Governor 1899b). Daniela was clearly moved by Ranfurly’s recognition that the people of the Cook Islands were connected (as ancient tupuna) with the Māori of Aotearoa. For Daniela these words would never be forgotten or perish but rather truly remain like gold (“*Kāre rava e ngaro pōina iāku kāre ‘oki e pē ‘e auro tikāi*”). Gudgeon also thought he saw a deeper play in action, suggesting that Daniela was motivated to offer the land in emulation of the act of Makea who provided the land upon which the Residency was built in Rarotonga, and to provide the Governor with his own residence when visiting Mangaia

(Governor 1899d). These actions appear to have been part of a Manganian concern at this time to establish clearly that they did not come under the mana of Makea who served as Queen (Ariki) of the Federation (that is, head of the Protectorate's Executive Council). For example, in 1892 the "tiaki 'au" (guardians of the government/council) in Mangaia wrote to Moss evidently with the sanction of the Government and Island Council: "We cannot allow Makea, Ariki, to rule over us. We have our own Arikis, also Governors, & Rangatiras of the land, & we shall rule it ourselves" (Governor 1892d; see also Governor 1892e).²⁷

These brief messages between Daniela and the Governor of New Zealand were witnessed and therefore sanctioned by members of the government (No'oroa and Ata). The offer of land is not the action of a single individual perhaps prompted by momentary emotions on hearing the Governor speak. Instead, Daniela and Mangaia's leaders seem to be reaching out through these letters and the offer of land to sustain their reciprocal relationship with representatives of the British 'au, itself built on an even older bond with Britain's 'ekalesia dating back to the 1820s. The reference to being the tupuna of New Zealand's Māori may have been intended to further the connections with New Zealand's Governor to whom the Resident was answerable. Daniela expresses himself in terms of the greatest respect for this representative of Queen Victoria, but he is not intimidated; rather, he explains his actions as manifestations of aro'a toward the Governor. For him and Mangaia's government their gestures signaled a desire to establish a mutually respectful and beneficial relationship. In that sense these two short letters were large in their political significance, being communications intended to establish Mangaia's own special relationship with the British Crown, while at the same time distinguishing it from Rarotonga's authority. For Manganians the writ of Makea and the Federal government did not reach their own shores nor limit their decision-making capacity, whatever the Resident might say.

Conclusion

Visitors to Mangaia today are proudly told of the island's flag given to them by Queen Victoria, along with other symbols of that relationship. Manganians themselves are sometimes called Parate'e (British citizens) (from Paratāne [Great Britain]). These anecdotes that a Papa'ā *manu'iri* (visitor, guest) might hear in conversation with elders and 'are *kōrero* (traditional experts) draw attention to the sustained efforts of the aronga mana and the people of Mangaia over more than a century to manage their relations with various powerful forces in the outside world while at the same time maintaining a notable degree of cultural, economic, and political autonomy.

From the first arrival of the LMS 'orometua in 1824 the island kept alive a complex and often warm connection with representatives of Great Britain. The Mangaian church saw itself as a community embraced within an international Protestant Christian family that could be drawn on for material or moral assistance. A notable manifestation of this family tie was the presence of a British 'orometua in Mangaia, one or more of whom served in Mangaia continuously from 1845 to the early 1900s. However, the relationship in the later nineteenth century with Britain's colonial representatives was more difficult, for these agents regarded Mangaians not as part of a family but rather as "natives" who needed to be admonished and threatened in order to be effectively governed. For the colonial powers a white person, even a trader such as Pearse, was far superior to any Pacific peoples, no matter how sincere their Christian devotion.

This sense of racial differentiation was recognized by Mangaians, who addressed their colonial masters more deferentially than was the case in their earlier correspondence with officials of the LMS. By recognizing this assumption of superiority Mangaians risked, in the words of their New Zealand Māori whanaunga, Moana Jackson, being "reduced ... to bit players in the march of progress and development," made to view themselves and their culture as inferior to that of Europe (Jackson 1998: 71). Mangaia's leaders were well aware that their society and its culture risked becoming marginalized and swallowed up within these new external political and economic relations. Nevertheless, they continued to search for ways to sustain their relationship with these new powers, while at the same time retaining what Jackson calls "their own worth, their own goodness, their own sense of value" (Jackson 1998: 71).

Mangaia's leaders adopted various subaltern strategies, notably the use of politely deferential language with which to grant cautious concessions to outsiders while at the same time continuing other practices sanctioned by long usage. More significantly, they decided to practice *aro'a* upon these officials in order to establish relationships between them and ensure that Mangaian society would continue to have a distinctive place in this new world. Daniela's allusion to ancestral connections with their whanaunga in Aotearoa New Zealand can be understood as one such gesture, creating a bond between that country's Governor and themselves. More substantially still, Mangaia's leaders offered parcels of land to the Imperial Government on their own initiative. By giving the British a small part of their own island, Mangaians demonstrated their commitment to the relationship between themselves and the colonial power while at the same time highlighting their own continuing capacity to take the initiative. These actions were also informed by the need to differentiate Mangaia from Rarotonga's

increasing hegemony as the center of political and economic power under the Protectorate. Not surprisingly, Mangaia's leaders did not consider that the British Resident or Rarotonga's indigenous leaders, who had acquired such prominence in the colonial government, should be able to determine either policies or their administration beyond the shores of their own island. Despite the various external and internal pressures exerted upon them, the people of Mangaia were able to sustain much of the island's customary social, economic, and political patterns—something their descendants proudly continue to this day.

NOTES

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1. This paragraph is collated from various sources including oral information provided from various Mangaians, notably the late Pōkino Aperahama, Pāpāmāmā Aratangi, and Mataora Harry, as well as published works including Aratangi 1986: 77–95; Aratangi 1988: 68–100; Buck 1993: 17–52; Gill 1984: 323–345. Also see Crocombe 1964: 115, 161 for the Land Court in Mangaia.

2. Said 1988: vi. A good example of this approach is Pandey 1988. Said himself went on to compare Subaltern Studies with the work being undertaken “to articulate the hidden or suppressed accounts” of many other marginalized or dispossessed groups throughout the world.

3. These quotations come from a submission to the Waitangi Tribunal concerning *te reo Māori* (the Māori language) and were spoken by the great Ngāpuhi leader, the late Sir James Henare. The *mauri* is that “immaterial ‘life-principle’” of someone or something that ensures its continuing life and prosperity (see Hanson and Hanson 1983: 62–64).

4. These statements were made by the former Chair of the Waitangi Tribunal, E. T. Durie, in respect of New Zealand Pākehā historians who write about Māori history but clearly reflect appropriate practices for cognate societies such as Mangaia. Like the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, indigenous Cook Islanders describe themselves as Māori.

5. A small cluster of Mangaian language texts, chiefly speeches and correspondence, was published in *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*

(hereinafter *AJHR*), 1892, A.-3. More recently, there have been more extensive publications, both in Cook Islands Māori and English, for Rarotonga and other islands, though not for Mangaia itself. Marjorie Crocombe and Kauraka Kauraka are prominent among more recent Cook Islander collectors, editors, and translators of historical and literary material in the vernacular. For a brief survey see Crocombe 2003. A large body of Cook Islands texts held in the Alexander Turnbull Library in New Zealand has been published digitally, though again these do not come from Mangaia: see <http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-HutColl.html>. Teresia Teaiwa kindly drew this digital archive to my attention.

6. The usages of *ariki* in this letter require some clarification of its Mangaian meanings. Before Christianity was accepted the term *ariki* was primarily used to denote the three orders of high priests who acted as mediums for the paramount *atua* (spirit power), Rongo. These orders were the *ariki pā uta* (inland *ariki*), the *ariki pā tai* (sea-side *ariki*), and the *ariki nō te tāpora kai* (*ariki* of the food basket). *Ariki* was also sometimes used to denote someone of rank in the kin groups from which these high priests were customarily selected. The letter's references to Davida and Teao seem to be used in this second sense; indicating younger men, most likely firstborn sons, who descended from the families who had always provided the holders of the old priestly titles. Nūmangātini had himself served as the *ariki pā uta* and *ariki pā tai*. Since the coming of Christianity, the word *Ariki* has been translated by missionaries and later by colonial and postcolonial Cook Islands governments as "King" or "Queen," depending on the gender of the incumbent, all of whom trace their descent back to Nūmangātini himself. These *Ariki* act as the titular head of Mangaian society, the role being performed by Nūmangātini in this letter.

7. A useful explanation of *aro'a* as it is understood in contemporary Cook Islands society can be found in Jonassen 2003: 138.

8. *Kavana* is a transliteration of "governor" and appears to have been coined by the missionaries in place of the older term for these ruling chiefs, the *pava*, perhaps to rid the office of its associations with warfare and other activities that the mission sought to eradicate as inappropriate in the new Christian social order. Interestingly, usages of *pava* can still be found in official papers in the 1890s (e.g., *AJHR*, 1892, A.-3: 8, 11).

9. The *aronga tao'onga* may refer to those other persons of rank in Mangaia below the *kavana*, notably the 'ui rangatira (subdistrict chiefs) responsible for managing sections of the six *puma* under the authority of the *kavana*.

10. At this stage New Zealand was a self-governing British colony with a responsible Government comprising a Premier and Ministers with a majority in the local Parliament and a Governor representing the Imperial Government. This political system did not then include representation of New Zealand Māori. They only acquired some token parliamentary representation in 1867.

11. A slightly different version of Gill 1863c was published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 October 1864.

12. The trader, E. H. Lamont, who visited Mangaia in 1853, reported that ships only "occasionally" called there due to the lack of a safe anchorage. Most traded for animals, fresh fruit, and vegetables. Locals also conducted trade with vessels from Tahiti (Lamont 1867: 80). Mangaian, like other Cook Islanders, were also recruited by visiting American

whalers and other trading ships for their outstanding sailing skills (Gill 1984: 342; Scott 1991: 14–16). That relations between ship and shore were generally friendly can be inferred from individual whaling ship visits described by Maretu (1983: 134–136, 189) and Gill (1876: 351–352).

13. Unless otherwise specified the following two paragraphs are primarily drawn from the following references: Gilson 1980: 57–64, 89; Ross 1964: 234–244; Scott 1991: 34–44.

14. The rest of the section about the Pearse incident, unless otherwise indicated, is a synthesis of the following primary sources: Governor 1890b, 1890c, 1890d, 1890e, 1891b; Seddon 1891a; Auckland Star 1891; Ata 1912. Some of these texts are reproduced in the relevant annual *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*.

15. The relevant part of the proclamation reads: "All laws and customs at present recognised will remain in force, and her (or his) administration over the district (or island) will not be interfered with" (Seddon 1888). This differs slightly from the text found in Governor (1888) and in Gilson (1980: 60 n. 11). The differences reflect the different island contexts where the proclamation was made.

16. The composition and responsibilities of the Council and the official usages in te tara Mangaia quoted in this paragraph can be found in a series of Mangaian language documents in *AJHR*, 1892, A.-3: 3–4, 7, 11–13.

17. A good example of the tension between Rarotonga and Mangaia can be found in the correspondence between the Ariki, Metuakore John Trego, and Moss: Governor, Series 11, Box 1, Record 56. Inwards Despatches from the British Resident Cook Islands. Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga, Wellington Office. These documents are reproduced in *AJHR*, 1893, A.-6: 24–30.

18. Threatened or actual violence has always been a serious matter, especially for Christianized Mangaia, where such disturbances are considered indicative of the island's former 'ētene (heathen) state. See e.g., Gill 1984: 382–383; Reilly 2003: 14. Any widespread violence or warfare in the island's Christian polity would therefore have been a most alarming prospect and one to be avoided at all costs.

19. Examples of this usage of 'au or mangaia as synonyms for the secular leader can be found in Reilly 2003.

20. A useful summary of these ideas can be found in Aratangi 1986: 3–18.

21. Extensive discussions of the fine for expelling Pearse can be found in *AJHR*, 1891, A.-3a: 8–12; *AJHR*, 1899, A.-13. From the late 1870s until annexation in 1901, the local Cook Islands currency was the Chilean dollar (introduced from Tahiti, a major trading partner) (Gilson 1980: 48, 52, 80). The threats used to force Ngariu's compliance are referred to in *AJHR*, 1892, A.-3: 2.

22. The 1892 visit of HMS *Champion* is a good example of such an official call. While one pro-Protectorate chief organized food for the ship's crew, other leaders complained about the Rarotonga regime to the ship's officer bringing letters from Moss. See Governor 1892a,

1892b, 1892c; *AJHR*, 1893, A.-6: 24, 25–26, 27. The custom of giving fresh food to visiting warships continued well into the twentieth century: see *Island Territories* 1963.

23. Pearse's reference to Mangaian attempts to get rid of Harris are difficult to verify from more objective sources. He was after all writing this letter to Vice-Consul Exham, also the local representative for the trading company, Donald and Edenborough, which Pearse himself worked for (Ross 1964: 240). The historian, Richard Gilson (1980: 49), notes that "[Exham and his predecessor] did much to foster European contempt for the authority of the chiefs, ... and broke local laws whenever it suited them." Nevertheless, Harris does seem to have viewed aspects of Mangaian society and its people's morals more darkly than some of his predecessors did. He is critical in his letters of the local church, their faith commitment, the competency of almost all its ministers, and the effectiveness of its structures. He expressed his criticisms to the church, and expelled a number of its members. Such attitudes and practices cannot have endeared him at times to some sections of Mangaia's community. See e.g., Harris 1879b, 1882, 1883.

24. Moss stresses a number of times in his speeches to Mangaians the importance of establishing a strong separation between church and government in Mangaia. It was also enunciated in their new 1891 laws (article 14): see *AJHR*, 1892, A.-3: 3–6, 12.

25. Daniela was an influential community leader. Among other roles he served as Pilot of Oneroa and Clerk of the inaugural Island Council: see Buck 1993: 49; *AJHR*, 1891, A.-3a: 11; *AJHR*, 1892, A.-3: 6.

26. English texts of the following letters are found, along with official responses, in *AJHR*, 1900, A.-3: 1–3.

27. The tiaki 'au are listed: Kakerua, Poito, Miringatangi (Oneroa), Tearo (Tamarua), Kiripaore (Ivirua). These were the 'Akavānui (Judges) on the Island Council: see *AJHR*, 1892, A.-3: 11.

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FAIVA FAKAOLI: THE TONGAN PERFORMANCE ART OF HUMOR

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This essay will critically examine *faiva fakaoli*, literally translated as “the art of funny things,” in a number of separate but connected unique and universal contexts. I wish to make clear right from the outset that this essay is not an exercise in theoretically and practically reviewing the existing literature on humor, nor an attempt to make a comprehensive examination of *what humor is*, i.e., its form and content, nor, for that matter, *what humor does*, i.e., its social function.¹ While the theoretical and practical, ontological and epistemological, or qualitative and utilitarian questions are extremely important, my principal concerns are with *faiva fakaoli*, i.e., the Tongan art of humor. I will situate my topic in the broader theoretical-practical, ontological-epistemological, qualitative-utilitarian contexts of the subject of humor, but only insofar as some of its relevant associated aspects have merged with my investigation of Tongan humor. I hope, then, to contribute some answers to these broader-based, more generalized questions as to, at least, what Tongan humor *is* and *does*. There have emerged some new insights into Tongan humor, amidst many other things, when it is theorized within my new general *tā-vā* (time-space) theory of reality (Kaʻili 2005; Māhina 2003a, 2004b: 186–98; Māhina et al. 2004; Māhina, Kaʻili, and Kaʻili 2006; cf. Adam 1990; Harvey 1990).

Specifically, this Tongan art form will be examined in the wider context of the ontological and epistemological dimensions of *tā* and *vā* (Māhina 2002b, 2004b: 86–98). In ontological terms, *tā* and *vā* are the common medium in which all things are, in a single level of reality, connecting nature, mind, and society. But, in epistemological ways, *tā* and *vā* are social constructs, involving their relative human arrangement within and across cultures. In particular, Tongan arts, like arts in general, are underpinned by *tā* and *vā* as a common medium of

existence and of art as a special way of life. As such, the ontological dimensions of *tā* and *vā* are epistemologically transformed by means of form and content, and are peculiar to each of the arts, as in the individual art forms such as *faiva hele'uhila* (cinema or film), *tufunga faitā* (photography), and *tufunga tātatau* (tattooing), among many others. In an attempt to redefine art in a novel way, I will situate it in the broader context of both the ontology and epistemology of *tā* and *vā*.

In doing so, a number of unexamined issues of immense aesthetic significance such as the form, content, medium, and function of art will be briefly scrutinized. Some specific examples from Tongan performance and material arts will be examined, mainly in view of their universal *tā-vā* basis. Similarly, I will consider the lack of distinction in Tongan thinking between humor as a work of art concerning human absurdities and the laughter arising as the human response to them, as well as the general ambivalence in academic and popular attitudes toward humor. Following, I shall discuss a particular kind of humor by one of the well-known Tongan humorists or comedians, the late Selemā, who effectively produced it in the context of a dream. In this context, both humor and dreams, like art generally, have common investigative, transformative, and communicative capacities which lie in close proximity to both psychoanalysis and hypnosis. While psychoanalysis involves a transformation from the conscious to the unconscious, hypnosis undergoes a movement that begins with a myth and ends with a dream within an environment of total concentration and complete silence (Māhina 2003b). Thus, humor, dreams, and myths have a universal psychoanalytic and hypnotic effect of an extreme therapeutic nature (Māhina 1999b, 2003a; cf. Bott 1972; La Fontaine 1972).

Tā and Vā: Towards a General Time-Space Theory of Reality

THE CRITICAL INQUIRY INTO THE SUBJECT MATTER under investigation, Tongan art of humor, will be conducted in two distinct but related theoretical contexts. In the first instance, Tongan humor will be reflected upon within the general *tā-vā* theory of reality (Māhina 2002b, 2004b; cf. Harvey 1990; Ka'ili 2005, 2007), and, in the second place, I will examine it in the context of the general *tā-vā* theory of art (Māhina 2002b, 2004a), where the latter is a derivative of the former. Both the fundamentality and formality of the general *tā-vā* theory of reality enable it to enter all fields of study, within and across nature, mind, and society. Herein, reality is conveniently divided into nature, mind, and society, where both mind and society are themselves in nature. Based on conflict, the general *tā-vā* theory of reality advances a view that all things in nature, mind, and society stand in eternal relations of exchange.

This view of reality is evident in the general *tā-vā* theory of art, which recognizes the philosophical fact that conflict (or intersection) lies at the heart of all arts (Māhina 1999c; cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979; Helu 1999).

This can be seen in performance and material arts, where conflict exists in the form of *intersection* of lines and spaces of different subject matters, while, in the case of literature, conflict takes place by means of the *interface* of human meanings. Take the performance and material arts *faiva haka* (dance), and *tufunga langafale* (architecture) where conflict is manifested in terms of *intersecting bodily movements* and *interfacing lines and spaces* respectively. Within the context of literature, conflict occurs by way of the *intersection of human meanings*, as in the case of *faiva ta`anga* (poetry) and *faiva fananga* (mythology) both dealing with contradictions in the human situation in a unified, systematic manner. Aesthetically speaking, these conflicting tendencies, whether by means of *intersecting lines and spaces* or in terms of the *meeting point of human meanings*, are symmetrically transformed to produce harmony and beauty (Māhina 2002b, 2005b; cf. Helu 1999; Kaeppler 1993; Moyle 1987).

The general tā-vā theory of reality has, among many others, the following tenets (Māhina 2002a, 2002b, 2004c; cf. Ka`ili 2005; Adam 1990; Harvey 1990):

- that the general tā-vā theory of reality is philosophically-led, empirically-driven, and conflict-based in form and content;
- that reality is divided into nature, mind, and society, where mind and society are both in nature;
- that ontologically tā and vā are the common medium in which all things are, in a single level of reality, spatio-temporality or four-sided dimensionality;
- that epistemologically tā and vā are socially arranged differently in different cultures;
- that the relative coalition of tā and vā across cultures is conflicting in nature;
- that all things in nature, mind, and society stand in eternal relations of exchange to one another, giving rise to conflict or order;
- that conflict and order are permanent features of all things in nature, mind, and society;
- that conflict and order in the form and content of all things in nature, mind, and society are of the same logical status, in that order is itself an expression of conflict;
- that tā and vā are the abstract dimensions of the *fuo* (form) and *uho* (content), of all things, in nature, mind, and society;
- that the *fuo* and *uho* of all things in nature, mind, and society are the concrete dimensions of tā and vā;

- that while *tā* does not exclusively correspond to form and *vā* entirely to space, both entities combined give form and content to all things of the one and only order of being;
- that while *tā-vā* is universal, all things in nature, mind, and society, have nevertheless further myriad and infinitely complex forms in dialectical relation to other countless and multifaceted contents; and
- that *tā* and *vā*, like *fu* and *u* of all things in nature, mind, and society, are inseparable both in mind as in reality.

On the one hand, *tā* and *vā* are ontologically said to be “given” entities in nature and on the other hand, they are epistemologically considered to be “man-made” tendencies. Both their ontological and epistemological dimensions are present in all types of human activity, for example, art as a special form of social practice. Take, for instance, the natural entity of *ongo* (sound), which is, as a subject matter of artistic creation, transformed both symmetrically and rhythmically to *hiva* (music). By the same token, *hiva*, like all products of human creativity and activity, is both natural and social in nature. By virtue of this transformative capacity, the aims of all art forms are concerned with the production of order, a state of affairs that is consciously achieved through the mediation of conflicts. A building is, for example, in a condition of order when all of the equal and opposite forces meet at a common point of intersection. As a counterpoising of equal and opposite forces, this state of order is itself a form of conflict.

***Tā* and *Vā*: Towards a General Time-Space Theory of Art**

Generally, art can be defined as a *tā-vā*, *fu-u* transformation taking place on both the abstract and concrete levels (Māhina 2002a, 2004b). On the general and specific levels, art involves the rhythmic intensification of *tā* and *fu* and symmetrical reorganization of *vā* and *u*, the principal aim of which is to produce harmony and beauty. This brings rhythm, symmetry, harmony, and above all beauty into a common aesthetic focus. Beauty is conditioned by or a function of rhythm, symmetry, and harmony, all of which are qualities internal to art. All these intrinsic qualities come to define art as a special form of social activity, temporally and spatially demarcating it from other forms of social activity.

On the other hand, the impact of art on people constitutes its external qualities. Examples of these in Tongan art are the “divine” feelings of *māfana*, “warmth,” *vela*, “burning fire,” and *tauēlangi*, literally “reaching-the-sky,” i.e., excitement (Māhina 1999c, 2005b, 2007; Māhina and Māhina-Tuai 2007;

cf. Helu 1999; Kaeppler 1993). These feelings are created by Tongan *faiva* (the composite arts of poetry, music, and dance or the fulfilling or uplifting emotions of amusement and laughter triggered by the Tongan art of the ludicrous). As an outcome, these external qualities, inter alia, give rise to what can be called the function of art (Hixon 2000; Kaeppler 1993; Layton 1991; Moyle 1987; Thomas 1995).² These external qualities are themselves the relations which art enters into, as in the case of the healing effect of laughter as an outcome of humor.

The effective rhythmic intensification of *tā* and *fuo* and symmetrical rearrangement of *vā* and *uho* generate a transfiguration from a situation of chaos to a condition of harmony, i.e., a sustained spatio-temporal, substantial-formal movement toward beauty. There are largely two types of *tā-vā* and *fuo-uho*, the one internal and the other external to art. The first type takes place within art and involves a reconstitution of *tā* and *vā* and *fuo-uho*, defining it as a unique way of life. The second type of transformation occurs outside of art, specifically in terms of the effects it has on people or simply its use. In these two distinct but related contexts, art can further be defined as formally a kind of inquiry and practically a means of communication. In aesthetic terms, art is a form of investigation of beauty, which, as a tool of communication, has the tendency to transform conflicts into order, creating a hypnotic nature. Thus, art has both *investigative* and *communicative* tendencies, both of which are commonly underscored by *transformative* capacities of a peculiar spatio-temporal order (Māhina 1999c, 2004a).

Fuo and Uho: Form and Content of Art

As far as art is concerned, the transformation of *tā* and *vā* is manifested in terms of *fuo* and *uho* or their concrete spatio-temporal manifestations (Māhina 2003a, 2005a, 2005b). In other words, *tā* and *vā* are the abstraction of the *fuo* and *uho* of things in reality. There has largely been a failure to make this logical connection between the concrete and abstract levels in aesthetics. Like *tā* and *vā*, either as a common medium of existence or their relative transcultural arrangement, the *fuo* and *uho* of things are inseparable in reality. Where there is *tā*, there is *vā*. By implication, art is four-dimensional; however, existing literature largely treats art as three-dimensional (Māhina 2003b, 2004a; cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979; Helu 1999). To say that all things exist in *tā* and *vā* and that they are essentially spatio-temporal is simply to say that all things are inseparably four-dimensional. Things in nature, mind, and society are either condensed or rarefied by means of form and content, giving rise to their temporal-spatial, formal-substantial variations (Māhina 2002b, 2004a; cf. Baker 1979).

Art forms are spatio-temporally differentiated from one another by means of the form and content of their respective subject matters, such as sound for music and bodily movements for dance. Such a mode of *tā-vā* and *fuo-uho* differentiation is made apparent throughout the whole artistic spectrum. Some instances of local and foreign art forms will be examined to demonstrate their common appeal to the universality of *tā* and *vā* as a basis of art. As visual arts, *faiva hele'uhila* and *tufunga faitā*, for example, deal with images as their common content, while the temporal variations between images themselves make up its form. Both arts are concerned with *moving* and *still* images, respectively. In both film and photography, *maama* (light) is the common medium. As for film or cinema, a distinction between *silent* and *talking* movies is made based on the basis of absence or presence of the added dimension of language. As a medium, light (which is temporally and spatially embodied in terms of lineal and spatial intersection) can be black and white or multiple colors.

The same applies to the art of tattooing, like dance, which is typically yet mistakenly taken to be *body-art*. In fact, the body is merely the medium for *tufunga tātatau*, the traditional Moana or Polynesian art of lineal-spatial (i.e., temporal-spatial, formal-substantial) intersection. Tattooing combines lines (i.e., time, form) and spaces (i.e., content), respectively manifested by way of black-colored ink and the reddish-brownish skin typical of the Moana or Polynesian peoples. In addition, the temporal variations of the associated *kupesi* (complex and elaborate geometric designs) provide its form, defining the rhythm that underlies it as an art form. The *uli* (black) and *kula* (red) colors are fundamental to Moana or Polynesian material arts, and taken to be symbolic not only of women and men but also of the natural qualities and social roles respectively associated with them in the productive and reproductive spheres (Māhina, Ka'ili, and Ka'ili 2006). Apart from tattooing, these two colors are commonly used in the production of *kupesi* in many if not all art forms, e.g., *tufunga lalava*, “*kafa*-cord-lashing” (connected with the material arts *tufunga langafale*, “house-building,” and *tufunga fo'uvaka*, “boat-building”), *koka'anga*, “bark-cloth-making,” and *lālānga*, “weaving,” among many others (Māhina 1999c, 2002b).³

Faiva and Tufunga: Performance and Material Arts

As we shall see, there is a clear universal *tā-vā* underpinning common to all art forms. Generally, Tongan art can be divided into performance and material arts (Māhina 2002b). There may be a third kind, referred to here as *nimamea'a* (fine arts), such as *koka'anga* (bark-cloth-making) and *lālānga*.

Performance and material arts were traditionally practiced by males while *nimamea`a* were practiced by females. Performance arts, or *faiva*, include a number of art forms such as *faiva ta'anga*, *faiva hiva* (music), *faiva haka*, and *faiva fakaoli*, amongst others. On the other hand, material arts (collectively called *tufunga*) include *tufunga langafale*, *tufunga tāmaka* (stone-cutting), *tufunga lalava*, and *tufunga tātatau*, amidst many other art forms. In all, the terms *faiva* and *tufunga* literally mean *beating space*, i.e., time-space, thus bringing both *tā* and *vā* into the whole aesthetic equation.

Aesthetically, these performance and material art forms vary in terms of form, content and medium, and they perform multiple functions with physical, psychological, and social values as means of human communication. These two major art forms, as well as the many subdivisions associated with them, have a clear substantial-formal, spatio-temporal basis. In fact, the terms *faiva* and *tufunga*, like the corresponding *faiva ta'anga* and *tufunga lalava*, basically mean *tā* and *vā*. All these arts, with their *investigative* and *communicative* tendencies, undergo a specific kind of *tā-vā*, *fuo-uho* transformation involving a reconstitution of their form, content, and function which takes place within and outside of them (Māhina 2003a).

***Oli* and *Kata*: Funny and Laughter**

There are problems, in the case of Tonga, regarding the distinction between “the ludicrous” and laughter which demands a settlement as to their respective characteristics. In general terms, the Tongan words *oli* and *kata* can be respectively translated as “funny” and “laughter.” Given their close affinity, it can be argued that the latter is a derivative of the former, as laughter results from being funny. But for there to be a *faiva fakakata*, the art of laughter, then the subject matter is laughter, which is a psychological phenomenon of a different order. As closely related phenomena, humor and laughter operate in such a way that they bring together a range of conflicting physical, psychological, and social tendencies into a common context (Chapman and Foot 1976; Hereniko 1995; Piddington 1963). Both humor and laughter can be considered as peculiar mental conditions, specifically originating in the conflicting relationships between nature, mind, and society.

Humor involves errors in human thinking about reality and is a specific condition of mind as a physically constituted, electro-chemical substance. This opens up a new exciting area for further critical investigation, of the physical operation of the brain and its responses to such emotional stimuli as anger and hunger. Other emotions that elicit physiological responses

are laughter and shame, the respective outcomes of comedy and tragedy. Thus, the brain can be critically examined as a neurological-magnetic, electrochemical, molecular-biological substance at the interface of nature and nurture (Māhina 2002b; cf. Māhina 2002a; 2003a).

However, the psychological process of thinking can create contradictions in the form of awareness, consciousness, or knowledge of reality which are largely brought about by human subjective interests, mental defects, or both. Following Nietzsche and Freud, John Anderson talks about the mind as having competing mental strivings (Anderson 1962; cf. Baker 1979; Māhina 2002b), where laughter, or shame in the case of tragedy, cause conflict. Other mental strivings may include anger, hunger, affection, and sadness. It is the nature of the mind to know or be aware of things in reality. Things in reality are, in turn, independently presented as images to the conscious mind. The presentation of these images is made via the psychological process of thinking, which transmits them as distinct entities in the form of knowledge. These distinct images can be conveyed via their innate qualities or in terms of human interests, which may amount to either objective knowledge or subjective understanding (Māhina 1999a, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a). As a source of conflicts, the latter largely provides a fertile ground for human absurdities, defining the content or subject matter of what is funny as an art form. Laughter is then triggered by the mind being self-conscious that misconception has occurred during the psychological process of thinking. This exemplifies the notion that as a realist opposed to an idealist would say, errors in thinking are a problem of mind but not of reality (Māhina 1999c, 2002a, 2004b; cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979; Helu 1999).

However, this paper does not attempt to examine the nature of humor and laughter. Rather, it examines formal, substantial, and functional relationships as physical, mental, and social entities, which define humor as an art form of some relevance to Tongans.⁴ Unequivocally, humor is at least understood as an art form in Tonga and specifically called *faiva fakaoli*, grouped under the generic classification referred to as *faiva*, i.e., performance art. There has not been consensus regarding a definition of humor as an art form, and this is reflected in varying degrees of ambivalence in both academic and popular attitudes toward humor as a conflicting human phenomenon. This is evidenced by the opposing arguments of classical writers, Renaissance thinkers, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theorists, and modern scholars (Piddington 1963). Despite differences among these theories, they all regard laughter as a form of aggression (Chapman and Foot 1976; Piddington 1963; cf. Hereniko 1995). However, this view may be

more applicable to human conflicts that lead to anger as an expression of violence or aggression than those that give rise to laughter as a unifying mode of celebration.

Regardless of whether humor is taken across cultures as an art form or not, it transforms the spatio-temporal, substantial-temporal conflicts of human absurdities into self-knowledge of one's ignorance, then into some kind of order. This form of order, i.e., self-knowledge, results from the understanding that an error has been committed, and this knowledge becomes a source of celebration through laughter. Laughter is the best medicine because it heals both the body and mind and thus is physically and mentally therapeutic (Māhina 2002a, 2003a; cf. Piddington 1963). Of equal importance is the understanding which renders the art form of humor a form of interpreting the nature of human ignorance. In one sense, especially when humor is treated as a form of violence, the art of criticism can be readily, albeit problematically, regarded as a form of aggression. Criticism can particularly be viewed as aggressive when it involves seeing things as they really are, in a single level of reality, as opposed to observing them as we would like them to be. The opposition between these two states of mind becomes a source of conflict where human ignorance of reality (and of mind) is transformed to real understanding via criticism as a work of art, thereby also qualifying education as an art form (Māhina 1999c, 2008; Māhina, Māhina, and Māhina 2007; Māhina, Potauaine, et al. 2007; Māhina, Seve-Williams, et al. 2007).

While such ambivalence exists, in Tongan culture humor is treated as an art form. As an art form, humor can be defined as a work of the mind in, or a form of investigation of, human absurdities, involving a process of spatio-temporal, substantial-formal transformation from a condition of ignorance to a state of understanding. Quite simply, it is a *tā-vā*, *fu-uho* movement from conflict to harmony, i.e., from humor as a cause of laughter to laughter in itself as a human celebration, an effect, a form of self-knowledge.

By impacting the mind as a physical, electrochemical substance, this internal transformative process creates laughter in a celebratory mode. Like the emotional feeling or psychological state of warmth, "fieriness," or exuberance considered extrinsic to the performance arts of poetry, music, and dance, the act of laughter is merely a response to humor as a work of art.⁵ The effect or impact of laughter on both performer and viewer results in a form of transformation, but it is one that is external to humor as a work of art. In communicative terms, such an effect functions in ways that are psychoanalytic, hypnotic, or therapeutic to both performer and viewer. As

far as humor goes, human absurdities (i.e., contradictory human situations) define its content while the manner in which they are aesthetically revealed constitutes its form.

Faiva Fakaoli and Faiva Fakamamahi: Tongan Performance and Material Arts of Comedy and Tragedy

The conflicting formal, substantial, and functional relationships within and between faiva fakaoli and faiva fakamamahi require a reflection on both Tongan arts of comedy and tragedy. While the former is connected to “the art of funny things,” the latter is concerned with “the art of sad things.” Fakamamahi literally means “in-the-style-of-being-sad” and *mamahi* means being sad (or sadness). Both art forms have conflicting human emotions or thoughts as their common theme or subject matter for aesthetic treatment. In the case of faiva fakaoli, comedy deals with conflicts at the interface of *ngalipoto*, (normality) and *ngalivale* (absurdity) with kata as its effect. On the other hand, faiva fakamamahi, or tragedy, handles contradictions at the intersection of *anga`itangata* (sociality) and *anga`imanu* (animality) with *fakamā* (shame) as its outcome (Māhina, Ka`ili, and Ka`ili 2006; cf. Helu 1999; Māhina 2002b).

Both art forms, comedy and tragedy, thus have a sustained tā-vā, fuo-uho transformation in human thinking from a condition of self-ignorance to a state of self-knowledge (Māhina 2002a; cf. Veatch, 1999). That is, on both abstract and concrete levels, there is symmetrically a sustained albeit intensified spatio-temporal, substantial-formal shift from unconsciousness to consciousness. The experience is, thus, effectively psychoanalytic, hypnotic, or therapeutic (Māhina 2003a). In the case of comedy, however, laughter celebrates awareness of an error committed in the self's thinking about reality, whereas in the case of tragedy, shame is a realization that the self has failed to attain the prescribed and accepted norms of society, having succumbed to behavior typified as animalistic in its *modus operandi*.

Although comedy and tragedy are organized in different ways across cultures, both art forms commonly deal with spatio-temporal, formal-substantial contradictions in human thinking about reality, linking nature, mind, and society. What may be considered funny or sad in one culture may not be viewed either wholly or partially as such in another. Similarly, people in one culture may laugh at or feel ashamed of others following an incident considered funny or sad which may not be regarded as such by members of another cultural group. Undoubtedly, comedy and tragedy are distinct art forms, yet both comic and tragic elements are emphasized in both of them.

The anecdote of the comedian Selemā, recounted in the section, “Misi and Fakaoli: Dream and Humor,” illustrates my point. In this comedy, Selemā awakens to the realization that the events he dreamed were all tragic. His courting of a beautiful French girl, his partaking of a delicious meal, his discovering of gold and, worst still, his discovery that he wet his bed, were a series of tragic events. Yet, these tragedies all added up to something which members of the kava party found to be extremely funny and, therefore, caused great laughter (see, e.g., Veatch, 1999).

The spatio-temporal transition from the unconscious to the conscious runs parallel to that from ignorance to understanding. While ignorance and understanding are dialectical human conditions, order and conflict are opposite spatio-temporal, variously manifested within and across nature, mind, and society. In formal terms, conflict is variously taken to mean chaos, strife, and crisis. Similarly, order is thought to be synonymous with such conditions as harmony, unity, and stasis. Whereas the former takes place by way of intersecting times and spaces, the latter involves their mediating in the process. The attuning of mind and reality, which engages in a spatio-temporal, formal-substantial movement from ignorance to knowledge, leads to understanding things as they objectively are, as opposed to the subjective preference of human interest (see, e.g., Anderson, 1962; Helu, 1999; Māhina, 1999c, 2004b). In the case of art and literature, these abstract intersections of times and spaces manifest themselves concretely by means of lines and surfaces or human meanings (see, e.g., Māhina, 2002b, 2004a).

In more generalized, less formal situations (especially in matters relating to socialization, which primarily involves strict moral instructions, as in childrearing), parents make use of a mechanism similar to the artistic device used in tragedy as an art form. I refer here to the practice of shaming people, conducted at the conflicting, shifting interface of *anga'itangata* and *anga'imanu*. For instance, usually when children seriously misbehave (fighting, stealing, etc.), they are told off for behaving like dogs, pigs, or animals. Some familiar ones include: “*Oku mou kē 'o hangē ha fanga kulī!*” (“You are fighting like dogs!”), “*Oku ke kai 'o hangē ha puaka!*” (“You are eating like pigs!”) (cf. Māhina 2004c). Within this context, children are not equated with dogs or animals *per se*; rather, their behavior is compared to that of dogs or animals.

In Tonga, as in the Pacific, we witness the composite existence of a multiplicity of art forms where their individual rhythms are combined to yield a rhythmic level of an intense nature. This is evident in the case of *faiva ta'anga*, *faiva hiva*, and *faiva haka*, where their respective rhythms are merged, creating another rhythmic level of a more intensified order. There is, naturally, a

close affinity between them. For instance, when a poem is composed, it is then put to music and then choreographed into a dance. Similarly, both the arts of comedy and tragedy are present in the art forms of *faiva fananga* and *faiva lea heliaki*, "proverbs" (Māhina 1999c, 2003b, 2004c).

The Tongan myths of the Turtle Sangone and Canoe Lomipeau are metaphorical records of the individual historical, imperial links between Tonga and Samoa on the one hand and Tonga and `Uvea on the other where each of them is featured in the form of a tragedy and a comedy respectively (Māhina 1992, 1993, 1999b; Māhina and Alatini 2007; cf. Māhina, Ka`ili, and Ka`ili 2006). The same applies to the art of proverbs. A Tongan proverb such as *Lau matangi fai`i fale* (Talking about the wind from inside the house) is comic while one such as *`Oua `e lau kafo, ka e lau lava* (Mind not injury; rather, mind duty) is tragic (Māhina 2004c). While myths are prosaic, proverbs are poetic, and both are essentially rhythmic in relative degrees. Myths and proverbs, like comedy and tragedy, deal with conflicts in the human situation (Māhina 1999b, 2003b, 2004c). In effect, Tongan myths and proverbs can be generally divided into basically two types, the comic and the tragic. However, there have been cases where the comic and the tragic coexist in myth, proverb, or both.

Fananga and Misi: Myth and Dream

While myths and dreams share a lot in common as worlds of pure possibilities, where relations of cause and effect are absent, they are manifestations of the public and private subconscious minds respectively (Bott 1972; cf. Anderson 1962; Helu 1999; Māhina 2003a). As expressions of the human unconsciousness, myths and dreams take place on the collective and individual levels (Helu 1999). They not only relate to the specific humor of interest in this essay but are also directly connected with hypnotism, where both myth and dream are necessarily utilized as an investigative and communicative instrument. Whereas a myth is a collective dream, a dream is an individual myth (Māhina 2003a, 2003b). As psychological processes, myths and dreams represent an actual spatio-temporal transition from the conscious to the subconscious (Māhina 2003a; cf. Bott 1972; Helu 1999). Given the relative absence of logic or relations of cause and effect in them, both myths and dreams are considered worlds where anything is possible (cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979).

In these domains, the actual is, above spatio-temporality, mentally transformed into the potential, i.e., the impossible is transformed into the possible. While a myth is the deliberate creation of the conscious mind or

waking state, a dream is the accidental creation of the unconscious mind or sleeping state. Consciously, a myth is a mental creation that utilizes all the senses, where the collective mind transcends events over and above the single level of reality, to either a higher or lower level of existence. Opposite of a myth is a dream, an accidental creation of the unconscious mind occurring without the senses (Māhina 1999a). The senses are like doorways through which external images of reality freely present themselves to the mind where they are, in turn, mentally or electrochemically processed in terms of their individual qualities. This psychological process epistemologically organizes the ontological distinctions and relations of images or things, or states of affairs. Such complex interplay of mind and reality actively produces knowledge, either in subjective or objective terms, amounting at times to ignorance and confusion and at other times to real understanding (Māhina 2002a, 2003a; cf. Anderson 1962; Baker 1979).

Fananga, Misi, and *Faito'oloto*: Myth, Dream, and Hypnotism

Myths and dreams are transformative, investigative, and communicative in nature, deployed in hypnotism, and regarded as forms of psychoanalysis. Myths and dreams are combined in the context of hypnosis, which is a form of psychoanalysis. Hypnosis, like psychoanalysis, is the study of the mind. In a way, hypnosis initially parallels myth and finally parallels dream. In a similar manner to psychoanalysis, hypnosis operates within the context of the waking mind. As in the case of myth, the hypnotist consciously, though deliberately, engages in the design of a world relatively free of logic and external to the hypnotized. The hypnotized's waking mind is acted upon in conscious and intentional ways by the hypnotist, slowly transforming the conscious mode of the hypnotized to a state of unconsciousness by means of relations having no cause and effect.

During hypnosis, the senses (i.e., hearing, touch, taste, sight, and smell, which channel information about reality to the waking or conscious mind) are increasingly numbed by the creation of an environment of peace and harmony. When the senses of the hypnotized are consciously suppressed through complete silence, hypnotism unconsciously takes on the form of a myth, which is developed into a dream via total concentration. As a transformation process, hypnotism begins with a myth and ends with a dream. Total concentration and complete silence combine to produce an air of freedom, of no logical consequence or, for the same reasons, of no causal relations (Māhina 2003a). In effect, both a myth and a dream take the hypnotized through a *tā-vā*, *fuo-uho* of thoughts, transforming the world of

the here-and-now to the ethereal, yet real, realm of the so-called "divine" experience.

Misi and Fakaoli: Dream and Humor

Through the following story, which has some psychoanalytic implications, we experience the clever deployment of humor as a Tongan art form creatively produced in the context of a dream. The transformative capacities common to both the art form of humor and dream as a state of mind combine to tell us more about their shared investigative and communicative nature. At this point, I would like to retell a story that was told by an elderly man in a *faikava* (Collocott 1927; Feldman 1980; cf. Bott 1972), an informal *kava* drinking I attended many years ago in Tonga. This old man of Fijian descent was *Selemā*, the extremely witty, humorous, and gifted teller and original creator of funny anecdotes. He was known in *faikava* circles all over Tonga for his sense of humor and as an accomplished artist of *faiva fakaoli*. Clowning, usually the forte of older women, like satire (Hau'ofa 1983, 1995), may be considered a generic variation of comedy.

Selemā, gradually tilting up his head and raising his voice, begins to tell his tale. An abrupt change in mood occurs and everyone becomes noticeably quiet in great anticipation as the so-called "wicked-minded" *Selemā* is up, once again, to his usual tricks.

"After drinking a lot of *kava* last night, I staggered to my little coconut-thatched house. Intoxicated and half-awake, I collapsed senselessly onto my bed, a little plain mat on the floor. I had drunk too much of the muddy-colored stuff, you know. Strangely, however, I forgot to pass water or eat any food. Hardly had seconds gone by when I fell into a deep sleep.

Then, I had a dream. I dreamt and dreamt. In my dream, I saw many things; things I had never seen before. First, I saw myself in Paris. There, I was courting an exceedingly beautiful French girl. All of a sudden, however, as we were just about to kiss, I saw myself back in Tonga. I was at a feast sitting at the front table, busily feeding on yams and roasted suckling pigs.

In a blink of an eye, I saw myself walking on ice at the foot of a snowy mountain. Walking and walking, I looked down on the ice. 'Hurrah! Gold!' I exclaimed loudly. In my excitement, I started reaching down to pick up the nuggets. But I simply could not. Ah! So I thought, 'I need something warm; something that would melt the ice. Ha! Ha! Warm water! But from where, when in the midst of

nowhere?' I asked myself. Suddenly, it clicked and I knew what to do. Hurriedly, I started lifting up my long skirt-like wraparound *tupenu*. In no time, I was urinating away on the ice, you see. It was the most refreshingly satisfying experience, with the exception, of course, of having sex. Anyway, the ice melted! With great elation, I quickly reached down."

But the very moment when Selemā touched the gold nuggets, he woke up, instead, holding his balls! By now, he was wide awake. The French beautiful girl was a lie; the great feast was a lie; even the gold was a lie. What was true, though, was that Selemā had simply wetted his *tupenu*!

Everyone's emotions were suspended while they awaited the climax of Selemā's story. When he reached the humorous conclusion of his tale, we could no longer contain ourselves and burst into great laughter, making it a most fulfilling experience. Once again, there was another sudden change in the atmosphere, this time from dead silence to raucous laughter, creating an electrifying and tense feeling of exuberance. This kind of emotional fulfillment is common to most, if not all, kava drinking occasions for relating and debating issues of major cultural and historical significance (see, e.g., Feldman 1980; Collocott 1927). Kava drinking gatherings are also platforms for relaying oral traditions, for engaging in oratory and poetry of unique sophistry and rarity, for telling creative and original stories, jokes, and humor and recasting of old ones, and for singing traditional and contemporary songs of great artistry and beauty.

***Faito'o'atamai* and Fakaoli: Psychoanalysis and Humor**

In separate yet connected formal, substantial, and functional terms, psychoanalysis and humor (which involve a transformation from consciousness to unconsciousness and self-ignorance to self-knowledge respectively) are both investigative and communicative in nature (Māhina 2002a, 2003a, 2005a, 2005b; cf. Bott 1972; Helu 1999). As evident in the preceding story, two separate people or states of mind are featured in two distinct but interlaced domains. Engaged in conversation are Selemā's conscious self and his unconscious mind, respectively situated in the waking domain and the dreaming world. The girl and food seen in his dream are probably images of sexual and hunger instincts deeply seated or suppressed in his subconscious mind. He undergoes a transformation from the waking world to the dream realm where all things were made possible, although not logically connected as they normally are in the waking world.

This breeds an atmosphere of liberation, a freeing up of Selemā's self or mind from the physical, social, and mental constraints of the waking world, which lasts nearly as long as his dream. It is not until Selemā awakes from his state of unconsciousness and deep sleep that he realizes all the things he saw in his dream were an illusion, i.e., they were simply untrue or false. These things all existed only in his mind, which was informed strictly by prior actual experience stored in his subconsciousness. However, he awoke to the unpleasant reality that he actually wetted his tupenu. Although his dream is the subject matter of Selemā's humor, which is a self-inquiry into how his own conscious and subconscious mind works, the two states of affairs, dreaming and laughing, nevertheless combine to yield a multiplicity of healing effects.

Conclusion: Issues and Implications

Dreams and humor are formally, substantially, and functionally related. Dreams, like myths, generate movement from consciousness to unconsciousness. The subject matter for psychoanalysis, or hypnotism for that matter, is inquiry into the workings of the mind (Māhina 2003a; cf. Bott 1972; Helu 1999). Using his dream as his subject matter, Selemā utilizes humor as a form of hypnosis and also psychoanalysis. Everyone, including Selemā, was temporally and spatially transformed through complete silence and total anticipation during the event, which concludes with a fulfilling sense of elation at the end. His dream contains a number of conflicting situations. Their climax reveals a disconnect between his dreaming and waking selves when he realizes that the visions in his dream are not the reality of his wakeful world. The absurdity of the situation causes laughter. Revelation of the contradictory character of the human situation, usually obscured by subjective interests, can be a source of objective knowledge. When a portion of this subjectivity is temporally and spatially, formally and substantially transformed into humor, the creation becomes an artistic celebration of the understanding of human absurdities through laughter. Aesthetically pleasing as a work of art, the experience derived from Tongan humor is both formally revealing and functionally healing.

GLOSSARY OF TONGAN AND OTHER WORDS

anga`imanu—animality

anga`itangata—sociality

faikava—*kava* drinking

- faitā, faiva*—photography, performance art of
faiva—performance art
faito`o`atamai—psychoanalysis
faito`oloto—hypnosis
fakakata—laughter-like
fakamā—shame; shame-like
fakamamahi, faiva—sad things, performance art of; sadness-like; tragedy
fakaoli, faiva—funny things, performance art of; funny-like; comedy;
 humor
fale—house
fananga, faiva—legend(-telling), performance art of
fuo—form; shape; structure
fuo-uho—form-content
fo`uvaka—boat-building, material art of
haka, faiva—dance, performance art of
heliaki—epiphoric and metaphoric device
hele`uhila, faiva—cinema or film, performance art of
hiva, faiva—music, performance art of
kafo—injure; injury
kai—eat; eating
kata—laugh; laughter
kē—fight; fighting; quarrel; quarrelling
koka`anga, nimamea`a—bark-cloth-making, fine art of
kulī—dog
lālanga, nimamea`a—mat-weaving, fine art of
lalava, tufunga—*kafa*-sinnet lashing, material art of
langafale, tufunga—house-building, material art of
lava—possible; able; possibility; ability
lea heliaki, faiva—proverbs, performance art of
mā—shame
maama—light
māfana—warm; warmth
mamahi—sadness
matangi—winds
misi—dream
Moana—localized name of the Polynesians
ngalipoto—normality
ngalivale—absurdity
nimamea`a—fine art
oli—funny

puaka—pig

tā—time; tempo; beat; rhythm; rate; pace; form

ta'anga, faiva—poetry, performance art of

talatupu'a, faiva—myth(-telling), performance art of

tāmaka, tufunga—stone-cutting, material art of

tātatau, tufunga—tattooing, material art of

tā-vā—time-space

tauēlangi—lit. “reaching-the-sky”; excitement

tufunga—material art

tupenu—wrap-around garment

uho—content; substance; space

vā—space; relations; distance; surface

vela—burn; burning; fiery

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This original essay is dedicated to the late Ma'u-i-Lalofonua (Fua Malungahu), a renowned artist of multiple arts, including *faiva fakaoli*, the late Selemā, whose great work of comedy is featured in this essay, and Sela Kāsinga, the greatest living Tongan artist of humor. A long-standing friend and great cultural teacher, Fua Malungahu, taught me many things about the intricacies and complexities of Tongan culture. He was a renowned *tufunga nimatapu* (literally “artist of the sacred hands,” i.e., undertaker) titled Ma'u-i-Lalofonua (literally “Found-in-the-Underworld”). In Tonga, both death and the dead are regarded as more important than life and the living. The handling of death and the dead are taken to be *tapu*, sacred. By virtue of this worldview, man is, therefore, considered to be *'eiki* (divine) upon death. Apart from being an undertaker, orator, and musician, Fua was also an established artist of humor, a comedian.

A shorter version of a longer piece entitled “Psychoanalysis and Tongan Poetry: Their Aesthetic, Investigative and Therapeutic Value” was presented on a number of occasions: Lo'au Research Society (LRS) Conference, Sydney, Australia, 2002; Association of Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO) Conference, Auckland, New Zealand, 2002; Philosophy Weekly Seminar Series, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand, 2002. This shorter version was presented at the Sydney Society of Literature and Aesthetics Conference, 2003, Department of Anthropology Seminar Series, 2005; and Tongan Postgraduate Talanoa Seminar Series, Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Auckland, 2007. Much of the critical feedback in these conferences and seminars was invaluable in rethinking some of my original ideas on this specific subject.

In the production of this essay, I am greatly indebted to a number of institutions, groups, and individuals. On the institutional level, I must register my utmost gratitude to the University of Auckland Research Committee (UARC) and Pacific Arts Committee of Creative NZ for their financial assistance, which gave me the necessary time and space to conduct inquiry on and research into a range of topics of strict aesthetic significance. Equally, I must thank all the kava clubs in Tonga, Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia, Hawai'i and the U.S. for the long nights of tireless *talanoa* (talking-critically-yet-harmoniously), in this case, telling memorable stories of great humor and beautiful singing

and dancing. It was in these artistic contexts that I happened to come across a few individuals endowed with gifts of great wisdom and rare talents, such as Ma'u-'i-Lalofonua (Fua Malungahu), one of whom this essay is duly dedicated. Thank you all for the uplifting experiences from which I came to learn more about the beauty of many art forms, such as music and oratory, which provided me with the substance to reflect in new ways. I must thank members of the Lo'au Research Society (LRS) and Vava'u Academy for Critical Inquiry and Applied Research, Tāpinga'amaana Campus, Tefisi-Nga'akau, Vava'u, particularly Dr Max Rimoldi, Dr Wendy Pond, Dr Viliami Uasikē Lātū, Dr Robin Siale Havea, Dr Sifa Ika, Dr Fiona McCormack, Dr Tēvita Ka'ili, Dr 'Ōpeti Manisela Taliai, 'Inoke Fotu Hu'akau, 'Aisea Nau Matthew Māhina, Malia Talakai, Mele Ha'amoa Māhina 'Alatini and Failo Tāufa, for providing the intellectual platform on which we critically engaged in debating issues with a philosophical bearing on aesthetics. The two anonymous reviewers are duly acknowledged for their critical yet useful commentaries. Lastly, thanks go to my five children, Mele Ha'amoa, Kolokesa Uafā, 'Aisea Nau Matthew, Manuēsina 'Ofaki-Hautolo and Hikule'o Fe'ao-moe-Ako-'i-Kenipela Melaia, for their critical reading and commenting on an earlier draft.

NOTES

1. The subject matter of science deals with the form and content of things in nature, mind, and society, with their function as a different matter altogether. That is, science is primarily concerned with the independent working of things, as opposed to their treatment as we would like them to be.

2. Like the chief concerns of science with the form and content of things across nature, mind, and society, those of art and literature are with their *tā* and *vā* and *fu* and *uho* underpinnings on both the abstract and concrete levels. Their functions are an issue for a separate consideration.

3. It must be pointed out that all the *kupes*i (elaborate and complex designs) used in such art forms as *tufunga tātatau* (tattooing), *tufunga ngaohikulo* (pottery-making), *lālānga* (weaving) and *koka'anga* (bark-cloth-making) are derivatives of the master art of *tufunga lalava*, *kafa*-sinnet-lashing, i.e., line-space intersection. This is in contrast to the common problematic assertion amongst Pacific archaeologists, notably Professor Roger Green, that *kupes*i such as those used in the production of bark-cloth, were derived from the ones associated with Lapita pottery.

4. Very little research has been done on Pacific humor (cf. Piddington 1963), let alone Tongan humor, except the works of a few Pacific scholars such as Epeli Hau'ofa on Pacific satire in general (Hau'ofa 1983, 1995; cf. Hau'ofa 2000, 2005) and Vilisoni Hereniko on Rotuman clowning (1995), informed by a strict sense of idealism, structuralism, and determinism. Hereniko's recent short award-nominated film, *The Land Has Eyes* (2005) is of the same idealist, structuralist, and determinist type. While his two works can be considered an excellent piece of ethnography, they offer very little by way of theory. Moreover, both of his works dwell strictly on *what humor and myth do*, i.e., their extrinsic, social function, more so than *what humor and myth are*, i.e., their intrinsic, aesthetic nature.

5. In Tonga, *faiva fakaoli* is commonly yet mistakenly interchanged with what has also been alluded to as *faiva fakakata* to be Tongan art of humor. Given that *kata* (laughter) is an outcome of *oli* (being funny) as closely related psychological processes, it can be argued that *fakaoli* is a more appropriate term for humor than *fakakata*. But if there is to be a *faiva fakakata* (art of laughter), then *kata* (laughter) is unequivocally its subject matter, and not *oli* (being funny), which is the theme of *faiva fakaoli* (art of funny things).

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JAPAN'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF A U.S. TERRITORY: GUAM, 1941–1944

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Guam's long-unsettled wartime reparations act—now sitting in the U.S. House of Representatives—concerns, among other things, forced-labor mobilization by the Japanese military. This issue has not been systematically studied from written sources of the war years. Based on official documents, this article examines the Japanese Navy's industrial development policies and activities on Guam during the Pacific War, which inevitably involved forced labor. This article substantiates the Japanese Navy's attempt at economic exploitation and its failure, considering Guam's two characteristic features: its status as a former U.S. territory and its location in Japan's Mariana Islands. Under the so-called "organic integration" policy, the navy attempted to administer the *Chamorros* in a manner that would encourage their participation in Japan's war effort. Ironically, "organic integration" came to symbolize Japanese hegemony rather than exemplify a Japanese desire for symbiosis.

Introduction

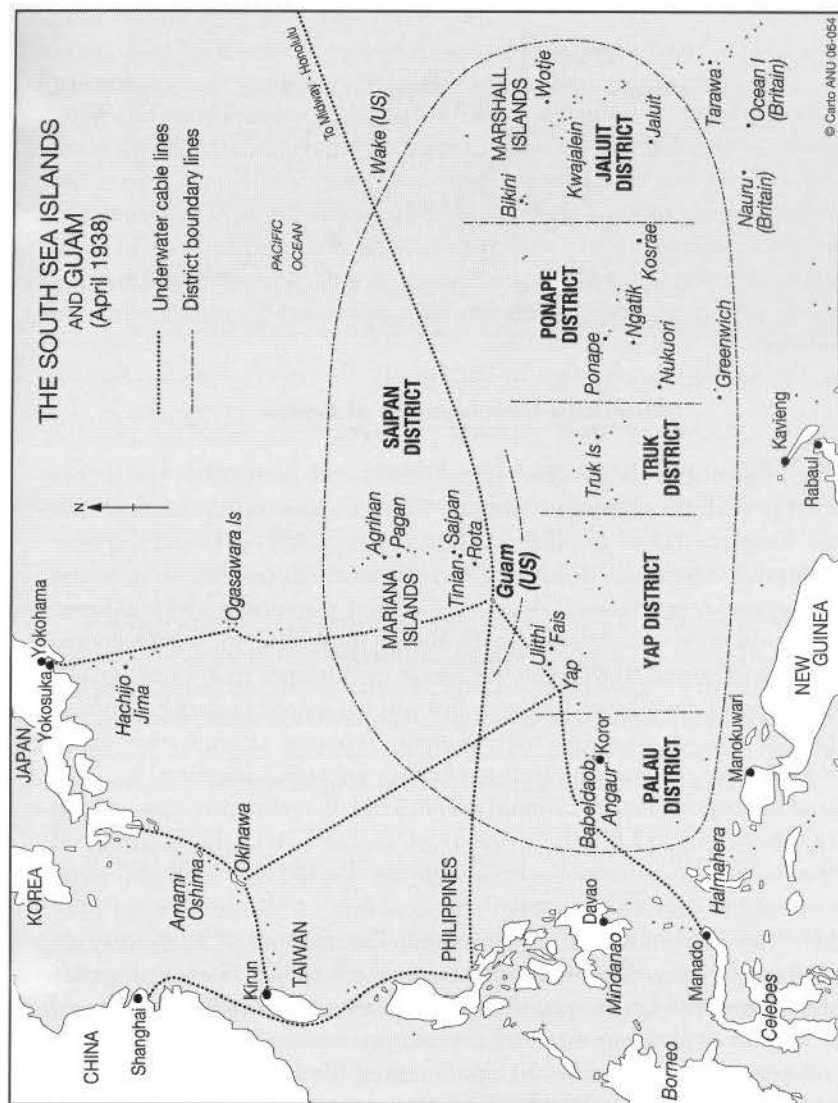
ON DECEMBER 8, 1941 (local time), Guam—then a U.S. territory—was attacked by Japan simultaneously with the attack on Pearl Harbor. On December 10, a force of 2,900 Japanese soldiers landed on Guam, and 6 hours later, Captain G. J. McMillin, Governor of Guam, signed a letter of surrender. The 54th Naval Guard under the Fifth Base Force on Saipan became responsible for guard duty on the island. The Japanese Navy's aim was permanent possession of the island, naming it *Ômiyatō* (the island of the Imperial Court) and integrating it into the South Sea Islands (*Nan'yō Guntō*), Japan's territory and legally a League of Nations Mandate.¹

After 483 U.S. prisoners of war (POWs) and nationals were sent to Japan, the Guam *Minseibu* (the navy's civil administration department) began its administration of 22,000 Chamorro people.² Guam was the only former U.S. territory where the Japanese Navy established an organization for civil administration.³ Governance of the local people was not the main reason for establishing the *Minseibu*. Rather, Japan's goal was to make the greatest possible use of them for achieving Japan's war purpose.

The morass of the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) required Japan to acquire and centralize raw materials for use by its heavy industries in Manchuria, Korea, and Taiwan (all Japanese colonies at the time). The pace of industrialization lagged in the South Sea Islands after 1937. To gain access to additional resources, Japan expanded its war against South East Asia, but the irony of the situation was that the armed expansion then needed further resources. Therefore, military administration policies for the occupied areas were established by the Liaison Conference Between Imperial Headquarters and the Government (*Daihonei Seifu Renraku Kaigi*, November 1941), and the Army (November 1941). Two of the three basic navy administration policies (March 1942) stressed expedited acquisition of vital resources for munitions industries and food self-sufficiency of local military personnel as ways to reduce the economic pressure on the homeland.⁴ It is notable that Japan decided the procurement of a labor force to meet these economic goals should be individually arranged in the occupied areas. Guam was the smallest island under the navy jurisdiction, but there could be no exception to these rules.

Two distinctive features of Guam addressed by the *Minseibu* were that the island was a former U.S. territory, which was now a part of the South Sea Islands, which had been under Japanese rule for twenty-seven years. It became clear to the navy that its planned administration of Guam had to be modified and designed to function in concert with the South Sea Islands, because the goals were also closely related to military operations. Of particular concern was Guam's location in the Marianas, which bordered Japan's national defense line (see Map 1).⁵ These factors characterized the navy's industrialization of Guam, and consequently its labor management.

Another noticeable point was that Japan's ideological slogans formed the corner stone of the *Minseibu*'s industrial policy. The government realized the nature of Japan's aggressive acts toward foreign peoples and the limitations of this approach. Therefore, prior to the war, it provided a war slogan, *onoono sono tokoro o eseshimuru* (to enable each people to find their proper place) under Japan's leadership, as well as the *hakkō ichiu* ideology.⁶ Given the notion of each people's "proper place," Japan attempted to have the races in the Pacific and Asia cooperate with Japan's war effort. In response, the navy's principle was that "administrative and other policies shall be so devised



MAP 1. The South Sea Islands and Guam, April 1938. © Cartography, The Australian National University. Source: Cartographic Services, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University.

as to facilitate the organic integration (*yūkiteki ketsugō*) of the entire region into the Japanese Empire."⁷ "Organic" implied "one," "closed unification," and "logical relationship" with Japan.⁸ The Guam Minseibu focused on possible means for integrating foreign peoples into such situations so as to gain their subjective cooperation according to wartime needs.

The first and second portions of this article examine the contrasting prewar economic policies on Guam and in the other Mariana Islands to meet the navy's expectation of Guam and its role. Within the industrial contexts of the South Sea Islands and Japan's homeland, the third part examines the development plan, method, and results of the Guam Minseibu projects.

As an occupied area with a small population and uncomplicated social and economic structures, Guam shows how Japan's illogical industrial mechanism met with absurdities, which formed and escalated a vicious circle of exploitation.

American Development of Guam

Although Japan speculated about Guam's industrial potential in the preoccupation period, there were no facts on which to base its expectation. The United Kingdom Naval Intelligence Division reported on Guam's prewar agricultural development, describing Guam as a raised coral limestone island possessing no known mineral deposits. Coconut plantations yielded copra, but the world price varied dramatically. Rice, a staple food for the Chamorro people, was imported from Japan because it was cheaper than locally grown rice. Corn was grown twice per year, but was hampered by lack of storage, equipment, and an adequate water supply. Typhoon ravages were major obstacles for agriculture; and deep-sea fishing was hardly practiced.⁹

From the beginning of U.S. naval rule in 1899, the administration was not enthusiastic about industrial development. Instead, it gradually absorbed Chamorro land by enforcing a high land tax. By 1941, federal and naval government-owned land amounted to 19,431 ha, a 30 percent increase in forty years, and one-third of the island. The absence of an islandwide cadastral land survey, short-term land leases, high freight rates, high prices for labor, scarcity of land transport, and the proximity of the Philippines and China as sources of cheap agricultural products discouraged development.¹⁰ For many years, the Agriculture Department of the U.S. naval government ran an agricultural school and school farms, sponsored boys' and girls' agricultural clubs, and sponsored public markets to stress self-sufficiency.¹¹ But according to a Japanese agronomist, the department's experimentation and improvement had not reached the level of "expert research."¹²

Values of Import and Export of Copra from Guam (US\$1,000)

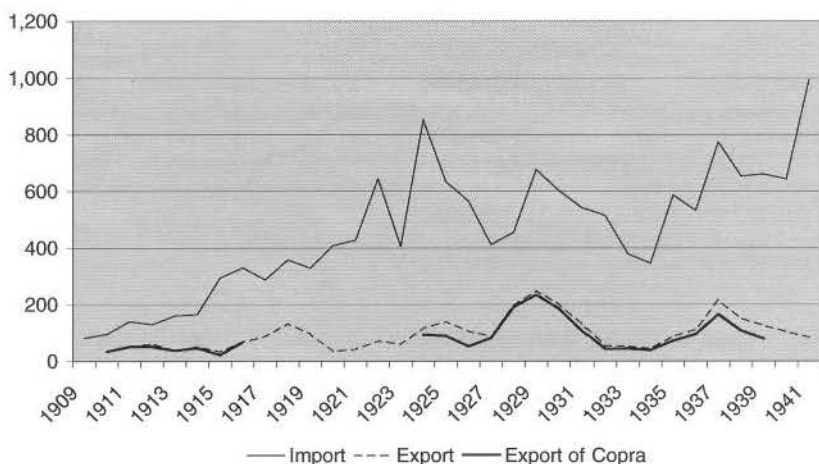


FIGURE 1. Graph of the Import and Export of Guam (US\$1,000).

Source: *The Annual Report of the Governor of Guam, 1909–1940*. Available at the MARC library, University of Guam.

Federal and naval government employment of Chamorros slowly shifted the island economy from agricultural self-sufficiency to cash. In early 1941 the naval government employed 1,200 Chamorro men in infrastructure projects, so most farm work was mainly done by women and children. The U.S. Office of Strategic Services admitted that Guam's prewar economy was "thrown seriously out of gear by the presence of the U.S. naval station work projects."¹³

Copra, Guam's only export commodity, scarcely increased during the thirty-year U.S. era (see Fig. 1). The trade gap was conspicuous in 1940 and 1941; imports were 6.3 times higher in 1940 and 11.8 times higher in 1941 than exports. The importation of rice, wheat, dairy products, sugar, matches, tobacco, and other daily necessities occupied more than 37 percent of total imports. Agriculture on a small scale and large dependence on America's economic strength were characteristic of Guam's economy.

When Japan occupied Guam in 1941, the acreage under cultivation was 1,540 *chō* (one *chō* = 2.45 acres) out of 54,900 *chō*, only 2.8 percent.¹⁴ Another Japanese evaluation defined the self-sufficiency rates for 22,000 Chamorros in terms of output as: rice (10%); corn (30%); sweet potatoes (4 %); others (8 %); and vegetables (4 %) (see Table 1).¹⁵ The navy had to take over the

TABLE 1. Self-Sufficiency Rates on Pre-War Guam.

	Amount Required Per Day (g)	Amount Required Per Year (kg)	Yield (kg)	Shortage (kg)	Rate of Self-Sufficiency (percent)
Corn	180	1,511,100	457,365	1,053,735	30
Sugarcane	180	1,511,100	69,135	1,441,965	4
Potatoes	220	1,846,900	159,555	1,687,345	8
Vegetables	180	1,511,100	59,610	1,451,490	4

Source: Sanbō Honbu 1944: 47 (note 15).

Calculations were made based on a total population of 23,000.

Original miscalculations were corrected by the author.

U.S. responsibility for the people on Guam where serious development by the former administration had not been carried out. Japan had been sacrificing the nation's civilian industrial development, including agriculture, for war industries. Nevertheless, the navy had to institute, through all possible means, a policy of providing imports for the Japanese military, rather than a policy of self-sufficiency. This was a distinctive feature of industrial "Japanization," an approach designed to meet Japan's needs only. For Japan to achieve victory in the war, the Guam Minseibu had to begin development practically from scratch, namely deforestation, soil preparation, irrigation, and a "back-to-the-land" campaign.

Japanese Development of the South Sea Islands

Whatever Guam's economic condition was, the occupation of Guam had multiple meanings for the Japanese Navy related to the South Sea Islands. The first significant fact was that industrial development was taking place in the South Sea Islands at that time, although completely by Japanese efforts and capital. But these purposes were different from the ones the navy needed after hostilities began. This was not only because of development under limited natural circumstances but also because of the intrinsic qualities of economic demands. Although Japan's business activities in the South Sea Islands were generally praised after the war by scholars in both English and Japanese writing, I don't always agree with them. Thus, I need to address this issue first.

David Purcell evaluated Japanese development of industries and commercial operations and determined that high levels of production were achieved.¹⁶ The basis for his opinion is seen in Figures 2–7. Production of copra (mainly in the Marshalls), phosphate (Peleliu and Angaur), dried

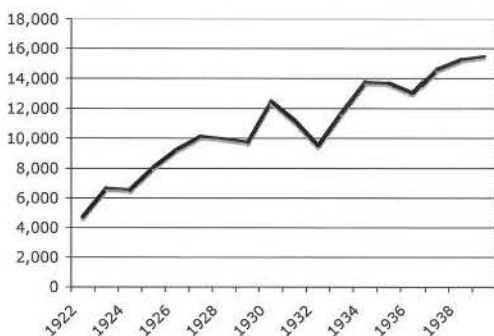
Copra Shipment to Japan (ton)

FIGURE 2. Main Products in the South Sea Islands. Graph of Copra Shipment to Japan (ton). Source: Nan'yōchō 1934: 422-423 (note 112); 1935: 150-151 (note 113); 1941: 144-145 (note 20).

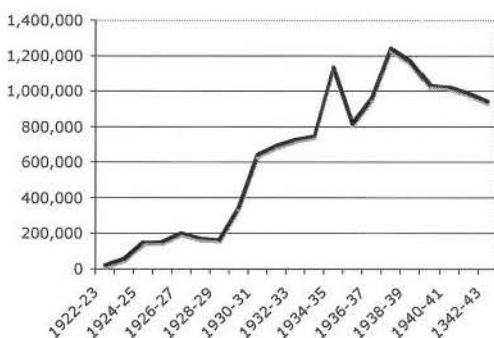
Sugar Output (picul)

FIGURE 3. Main Products in the South Sea Islands. Graph of Sugar Output (picul). Source: Nan'yōchō 1934: 331 (note 112); 1935: 120-121 (note 113); 1938: 110-111 (note 114); 1941: 85 (note 20); "Takumu Daijin seigi Nan'yōchō kansei chū kaisei no ken" 1942 (note 20).

**Dried Bonito Shipment to Japan
(kan)**

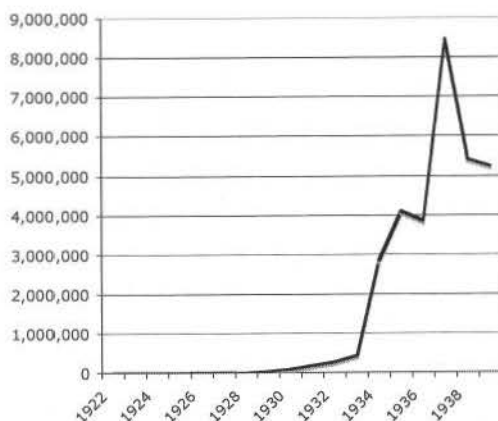


FIGURE 4. Main Products in the South Sea Islands. Graph of Dried Bonito Shipment to Japan (kan). 1 kan = 3.75kg

Source: Nan'yōchō 1934: 422–423 (note 112); 1935: 150–151 (note 113); 1938: 120–121 (note 114); 1941: 144–145 (note 20).

**Phosphate Shipment to Japan
(ton)**

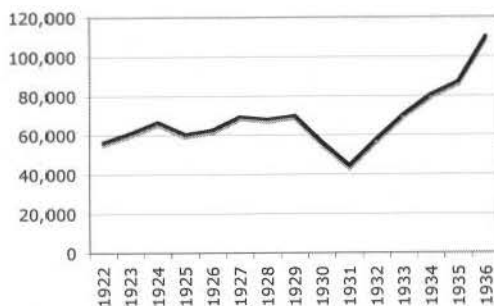


FIGURE 5. Main Products in the South Sea Islands. Graph of Phosphate Shipment to Japan (ton).

Source: Nan'yōchō 1934: 422–423 (note 112); 1935: 150–151 (note 113); 1938: 120–121 (note 114); 1941: 144–145 (note 20).

**Output of Mining Industries
(1,000 tons) and Revenue from
Mining Industries (yen)**

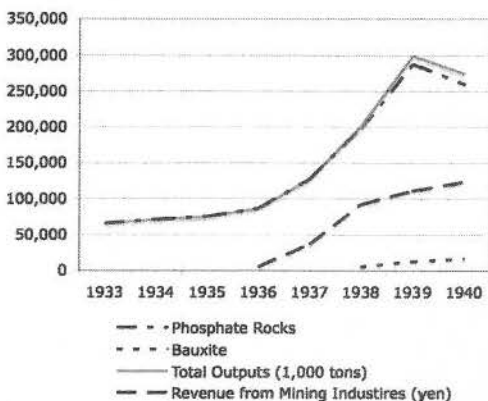


FIGURE 6. Main Products in the South Sea Islands. Graph of Output of Mining Industries (1,000 tons) and Revenue from Mining Industries (yen). (Revenue from Mining Industries includes mining area tax, mining production tax, and mining industry service tax.) Source: "Takumu Daijin seigi Nan'yōchō kansei chū kaisei no ken" 1942 (note 20).

Export of Alcohol to Japan (Yen)

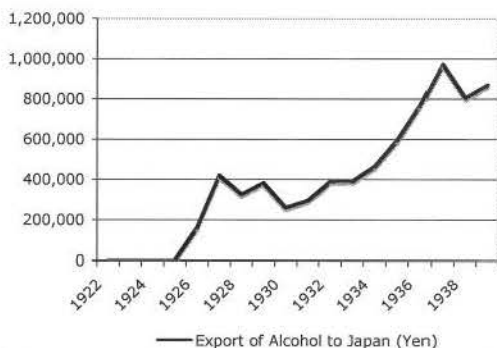


FIGURE 7. Main Products in the South Sea Islands. Graph of Export of Alcohol to Japan (Yen). Source: "Takumu Daijin seigi Nan'yōchō kansei chū kaisei no ken" 1942 (note 20).

bonito (Palau and Truk), and sugar (Saipan and Tinian in the Marianas) rapidly grew and seemed to be flourishing in the South Sea Islands. However, this growth was simply a comparison with the predevelopment period. Mark Peattie and Matsushima Yasukatsu paid special attention to the Nan'yō Kōhatsu Kibushiki Kaisha (South Seas Development Company) in the Mariana Islands and concluded that Japan established an "independent economy" in the mandate.¹⁷ The basis for this was the port clearance tax revenue from exporting sugar and alcohol, a by-product of sugar, which made up a large portion of the Bureau's ordinary revenue (for example, 64 percent in 1932 and 73 percent in 1937). This is compared to a fiscal dependency in 1932, only ten years after civilian government was instituted in 1922.

These favorable descriptions have an element of truth, but development in the South Sea Islands cannot be accurately assessed without considering historical context. The apparently enormous economic development in Japan's mandate was not realized by private businesses without a great deal of effort and budgetary support from the homeland for the South Seas Bureau. The Nan'yō Kōhatsu, financially supported by Tōyō Takushoku, a semi-national colonization company in Chosen, monopolized the sugar industry through access to government land, immigrant labor, and exclusive control of commerce. On the one hand, the Bureau's large investment, the national treasury subsidy between 1922 and 1931, reached 21 million yen.¹⁸ This was nearly 2.7 times more than the amount of 7.9 million yen, which was transferred from the Bureau's special account to the general account of the Japanese government between 1936 and 1943. To make the accounts balance, new taxes, such as income, business, tobacco, and dividend taxes, were applied one after another since 1937 and "other revenue" was annually received from the Ministry of Finance. On the basis of these numbers, we cannot say that the Bureau created an "independent economy."

The interesting question is why the government invested such large amounts to support costly industrial experiments in the South Sea Islands. One answer is that the Japanese Navy's voice was extremely weighty in the management of the mandate, more than equal to the Bureau by reason of the military value of the South Sea Islands. Hiding from international criticism, the navy continued to influence and instruct the Bureau to carry out military plans, including industrialization. Industrialization proceeded first by developing the major islands through Japanese worker immigration; second, by using surplus funds to construct facilities and infrastructure, which were usable and changeable to military use in case of emergency; and third, by fortifying the island as a military based on the assumption of a war.

At the first stage, any industries were important if they could financially support the government's high expenses for administration of the mandate.

At the second stage, when the ten-year plan began in 1936 the Bureau emphasized development of diverse industries through the *Nan'yō Takushoku* (South Seas Colonization Company), a half-government, half-private company to secure budget support for roads, communications, airfields, sea transport, and weather observatories so that the South Sea Islands could serve as southward advance and naval bases.¹⁹ Fisheries were most important for the navy because they could use fishing boats to establish further expansion bases and obtain useful information on neighboring colonial governments in Dutch Indies and New Guinea. The exponential increases of business activity can be seen in Figures 2-7. However, large government subsidies—such as those for fuel—did not mean commercial success.

During the third stage, the five-year plan of 1940 (a revision of the 1935 plan) called for further strengthening of agriculture (pineapples and cassava), fisheries, and forestry products to support military industries at home. To ease a serious deficit in Japan's balance of payments caused by the expensive war industries, the Outline for Enlargement of Production Capacity (December 1938) controlled all productive activities in every corner of the economy. Under this policy, which emphasized quantity over quality, the South Seas Islands were assigned to produce and ship minerals such as bauxite (for aircraft) and phosphate (for fertilizer). Sugarcane was diverted from sugar production in order to manufacture 99 percent alcohol (for fuel, as well as medicines) in response to fuel shortages. Castor-oil plants (medicine), sisal hemp (fiber), derris (insecticide), and cotton, all of which Japan depended on importing from the southern areas, were also compulsorily planted.

In short, the government's myopic vision for its businesses resulted from the pressures of Japan's war in China and expansion to Indochina. The Japanese government and navy's industrial plan exploited the South Seas Islands in order to support the Japanese homeland's wartime economy.

The weakness of the island economy was exposed when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. The war required the Japanese military as well as civilians to make Herculean efforts to produce rice, vegetables, and meats to sustain the population under an impartial self-sufficient policy. But the South Sea Islands were not prepared for this because their industries were devoted to national purposes only, and they depended heavily on the homeland for all life necessities. This included food staples. The Mariana Islands, where Guam was situated, had to confront the most serious problems resulting from food self-sufficiency policies. In addition to 45,922 Japanese (54 percent), out of total Japanese population of 84,478 who lived there in 1940

(compared with 4,609 islanders), some thousands of military laborers were on the islands for naval air base constructions.²⁰ In spite of military needs, the Marianas could not carry out their assignments satisfactorily because of limited land area. Above all, Saipan (185 km²) and Tinian (98 km²) had no excess arable land because more than 90 percent of it had been developed mainly for sugar.²¹ A large amount of sugarcane farmland was given up for two 1,200 m-long airfields in Aslito and Hagoi. Furthermore, repeated planting of sugar cane caused soil exhaustion.²² The Bureau, Saipan Branch and Nan'yō Kōhatsu tried to lease southern Guam from the U.S. naval governors during a brief honeymoon period in the 1930s, but this request was refused.²³ Development of Pagan Island (48.3 km²), Aguijan (7 km²), Anatahan (3 km²), and Agrihan (47 km²), all north of Saipan, was commenced. Nan'yō Kōhatsu did not hesitate to close its three-year-old sugar manufacturing facility on Rota (125 km²) in 1939 to plant vegetables and lumber for Saipan and Tinian. Still Rota was too small to support even the needs of the local military.

In these circumstances, Guam, only forty miles south of Rota, was the object of envy by administrators and businessmen in the Marianas. Before the war, an agricultural technician from Nan'yō Kōhatsu provided a positive estimate to an American journalist:

Guam could produce more and better sugar than Saipan and is also well suited to growing coffee, cacao, tobacco, cotton, pineapple, and, in the rich lowlands, maize (corn) and rice. There is fine timber in the hills of the south. The northern plateau, or those parts of it not needed for airfields, could readily be laid out for sugarcane or coconut plantations. There are no better fishing-grounds in the Pacific than the waters around Guam.²⁴

As compared with the other Mariana Islands, the navy's expectations of Guam were high, due to its size of 514 km²—2.7 times larger than Saipan—and arable soil, flatlands, and irrigation. Military and civilian self-sufficiency including the Japanese staple, rice, could support the navy's plan to use the Marianas as a gateway to the South Sea Islands and as a relay and expansion base. A tiny quantity of some minerals could be helpful in light of unlimited demand. 5,000 Chamorro laborers were already under the navy's control and could be made to work with low wages for the navy's purposes. The navy's relatively optimistic plan was for these workers to be more strongly integrated into Japan's wartime activities. Airfield construction and its expansion all over the South Sea Islands peaked in 1941. The navy needed more airfields for emergency landing. However, it did not begin such construction

on Guam at all for a year after the occupation. Rather, all work on Guam concentrated on food production as a supply base to the Marianas. It is said that Guam was occupied due to its strategic location in the Pacific. However, at least at the early stage of war operations, the highest priority role of Guam was to be a rear supply base along with Rota (the southern Mariana district), while Saipan and Tinian (the northern Mariana district) were air advance bases to the south.

The Minseibu's Development of Guam

According to the navy's Outline on the Conduct of Military Administration in the Occupied Areas (March 1942), the Guam Minseibu was responsible not only for the acquisition and development of natural resources, but also for the acquisition, distribution, trade, interchange of commodities, finance, currency, price control, self-sufficiency of local military forces, and use of enemy property.²⁵ Because the eighty staff of the Minseibu could not handle all these tasks, the Fifth Base Force, the Minseibu's superior on Saipan, contracted Nan'yō Kōhatsu to carry out all economic work on Guam as a "true, comprehensive government agency that would play an active patriotic role."²⁶

Within a week of Guam's occupation, the Nan'yō Kōhatsu research group (*Sangyō Chōsadan*) of twenty-five specialists in agriculture, construction, and labor explored the island in a two-week feasibility study. In February 1942, a second group rushed to open the Guam business branch office: general affairs (accounts, canteen, transport, and medical) and business affairs (rice cultivation, special [tropical] crops, industrial products, minerals, and civil engineering). The swift study and the office organization showed that the navy had a blueprint ready. In other words, the primary focus of the plans was the realization of the military administration outline. Rather than products suited to Guam's conditions, development was for defense resources and food self-sufficiency.

Commercial Control

The Liaison Conference's Basic Policy for Currency and Banking Systems in the Southern Areas (February 1942) defined two policies for currency: all American and British currency or gold would be exchanged for yen, and the exchange rate would depend on the economic relations between Japan and other nations in the coprosperity sphere.²⁷ This policy aimed at creating a yen bloc profitable to Japan and making the yen the single currency for all transactions in the sphere.²⁸

Soon after the occupation, the use and distribution of U.S. dollars were banned. The Minseibu ordered Chamorros to exchange their dollars for yen in order to begin economic relations with Saipan.²⁹ While the official exchange rate was US\$1 to ¥4.37 at the start of the war, a rate of US\$1 for ¥2 was imposed, so that Chamorros immediately lost half the value of their dollars. US\$88,793 was converted. In order to consolidate Japan's financial dominance, the assets of the Bank of Guam, formerly controlled by the U.S. naval government, were seized.³⁰ Chamorros' savings at the bank were taken by Japan. The bank was replaced by the South Seas Bureau Saipan Post Office, Guam Sub-branch office, which handled savings, remittances, and tax payments, as well as a postal service. Though the sub-branch had only some hundred Japanese navy personnel and civilian customers, it established a banking and postal function in common with the South Sea Islands.

The Minseibu "purchased" goods in U.S. navy warehouses, formally from the navy, on the basis of parity between the yen and the dollar to avoid "a negative impact on prices."³¹ The Nan'yō Kōhatsu's camp canteen, on behalf of the Minseibu, distributed these commodities to Japanese civilians, and later to Chamorros through six Japanese merchants and twenty-six commissioners and approved Chamorro-owned stores. The distribution of all necessities for Japanese (rice, miso, soy sauce, sugar, salt, pickled radish, matches, oil, tobacco, canned and other foods, beer, liquor, and cloth) were prioritized for sale to nationals only at cost, at US\$1 for ¥1, with ration tickets.³² Other items were sold to Chamorros, but at one item per person and they had to endure inflation caused by the unfair exchange rates and prices—at least eight times higher according to my calculation—and shortage as well. The Minseibu responded that the Chamorros should awake from their colonized mentality and dependence on imports, and work to achieve food self-sufficiency (through corn instead of rice) and other local food.³³ Tobacco, matches, oil, baby milk, and common imported goods, including food, became scarce already in early 1942. The rationing stations were open three times a week in early 1942, but gradually this was reduced to once per month till early 1943.³⁴ This naturally increased Chamorros' frustration and in turn weakened the authority of the Minseibu over the people.

According to U.S. Naval government and Minseibu statistics in Table 2, the number of births on Guam was 908 per year on average between 1935 and 1941. This rate fell to 694 in June 1943. The increase in population for 1935 to 1942 was 505 on average, but was only 385 in 1943.³⁵ Although this evidence is incomplete, these reductions may reflect the impact of the occupation, especially food shortages.

After the homeland's Wartime Food Self-Sufficiency Plan was decided in May 1943, the frequency of transport ships to Guam from Japan fell

TABLE 2. **The Chamorro Population.**

	Birth	Moving-In	Death	Moving-Out	Population
June 1935	875	12	420	6	19,455
June 1936	913 (+38)	5	320	6	20,047 (+592)
June 1937	962 (+49)	3	343	7	20,662 (+615)
June 1938	955 (-7)	4	589	152	20,880 (+218)
June 1939	892 (-63)	6	392	187	21,199 (+319)
June 1940	799 (-93)	8	316	188	21,502 (+303)
June 1941	965 (+166)	4	315	162	21,994 (+492)
June 1942					22,989 (+995)
June 1943	694 (-271)	12	317	4	23,374 (+385)

Source: Sanbō Honbu 1944 (note 15); *The Annual Report of the Governor of Guam, 1934-1941* (note 11).

The number of births and deaths do not include people whose parents are not Chamorro or Carolinian natives.

dramatically. In August 1943 when the Outlines of Reorganization of Industries were announced in the South Sea Islands, the food self-sufficiency policy on Guam was entrenched. Material shortages became serious on Guam earlier than in the South Sea Islands. On Guam, distribution to the people at large was limited because of Guam's lower ability to achieve food self-sufficiency. Further, the majority of the population on Guam was Chamorro, not Japanese. The ratio of Japanese to the islanders was twelve to one on Saipan, Tinian, and Rota but one to fifty on Guam. Although basic necessities were shipped to the Marianas from Japan, if supply ships were not attacked by U.S. submarines, limited supplies were sent to Guam for Japanese residents: it was claimed this bias was reasonable because Saipan, Tinian, and Rota were Japan's territories, while Guam was only an occupied territory.

The outline for military administration of 1942 stated that the impact of the war on native livelihood should be alleviated where possible. It also ordered that commodities be secured for the general public through the interchange of goods in occupied areas.³⁶ While the unilateral introduction of a Japanese command system had integrated Guam into the Marianas, no relief measures for this sudden change were taken by the Minseibu. The Chamorros were forced to work to survive prior to attaining self-sufficiency.

Agricultural Production

In September 1941, Japan's cabinet adopted emergency measures to increase rice production and storage, anticipating a wider war. However, expansion

was impossible in the South Sea Islands because of limited and steep land, lack of irrigation, the lack of protection from diseases and insects, and the ease of importing rice. Although the Bureau's Tropical Industries Research Institute, Ponape Branch, finally developed a new rice strain in 1941 after more than fifteen years of experiments, rice output was only 43,266 kg (equivalent to ¥10,487, or 0.2 percent of rice imports from Japan).³⁷ To be sure, successful rice production on Guam was the Minseibu's most urgent priority.

To obtain land suitable for rice paddies, the Minseibu did not recognize private land ownership. As seen in Table 3, it estimated that land on Guam for food production could be increased from 1,540 chō to 12,000 chō for agriculture (7.8 times larger): Of this amount, 60 chō to 800 chō for rice paddies (13 times larger), and 1,440 chō to 11,200 chō for farms (7.8 times larger).³⁸ The land condition for rice paddies was only "good" and "fair," while "good" land was only 7 percent of all farms. In 1941 the Bureau planned to assign Japanese farmers on Saipan, Tinian, and Rota to plant rice in dry fields. On Saipan, 83.02 chō of rice fields in 1941 increased to 207.55 chō; on Tinian, 82.10 chō increased to 205.23 chō; on Rota, 0.16 chō were increased to 0.40 chō.³⁹ Increases in all islands in the Marianas were planned to be 2.5 times. Compared with the northern Marianas, the development pace for expanding Guam's rice was extremely high (more than 5 times) and this effort took precedence. The reason for this planned rapid expansion is because of the expectation that Guam could become a rice-producing center, rather than simply examining its suitable land area.

To prepare paddies, the Minseibu began using local labor for reclamation, cultivation, and irrigation in February 1942. Soon after that, rice farms were opened in Asai (Asan), Shōten (Piti), Suma (Sumay), Inada (Inarajan), Naka (Agat), Umata (Umatac), and Matsuyama (Merizo)—all southern villages that had water resources. In the meantime, farms were established in the central part of the island, and extended to the northern limestone areas. By 1942, the 76.82 chō (or 60 chō in Table 3) of rice paddies in the pre-occupation years was increased to 216 chō (2.8 times larger). According to Table 4, an additional 73.35 chō was developed by January 1944, totaling 289.35 chō (3.8 times larger).⁴⁰ The farming area increased from 1,463.18 chō (or 1,440 chō in Table 3) to 3,900 chō (2.7 times larger). Then land for agriculture had increased from 1,540 chō to 4,189.35 chō. Since the total area of Guam was 54,903 chō, the prewar land use rate of 2.8 percent rose to 7.6 percent out of a planned 21.9 percent in just 2 years (see Table 4).⁴¹ Therefore, 35 percent of the potential development area was brought under cultivation, a good effort.

TABLE 3. **Agricultural Land on Guam in Chō (Early 1942).**

Soil Fertility	Developed Land Area in Pre-occupation Period					Area Possible to Develop		
	Agricultural Land (a+b)	Paddy (a)	Farm (b)	Pasture (c)	Coconut Farm (d)	Agricultural Land (e+f)	Paddy (e)	Farm (f)
Good	390	50	300	7,570	9,500	1,500	760	740
Fair	850	10	840			5,500	40	5,460
Poor	300		300			5,000		5,000
Total	1,540	60	1,440	7,571	9,500	12,000	800	11,200

Source: Miyasaka Gōrō 1942: 50 (note 14).

Conversion Formula: 1 chō = 2.45 acres. Gross Area: 54,903 chō (g)

Developed Land Area: 18,611 chō (a+b+c+d).

Developed Rate $(a+b+c+d)/(g) = 33.9$ percent: Paddy and farm areas, $(a+b)/g$: 1,540 chō (2.8 percent); Pasture and coconut farm areas, $(c+d)/g$: 17,071 chō (31.1 percent).

Area Possible to Develop for Agricultural Purposes $(e+f)/g$: 21.9 percent.

TABLE 4. **Cultivated Land in Chō (As of January 1944).**

Villages	Farm	Paddy	Total
Asai (Asan)	105	23	128
Shōten (Piti)	100	65.55	165.55
Suma (Sumay)	83	48.1	131.1
Inada (Inarajan)	260	39	299
Tasaki (Talofofo)	326	0	326
Harakawa (Yona)	412	0	412
Shinagawa (Sinajana)	602	0	602
Sawahara (Mangilao)	401	0	401
Naka (Agat)	136	60.6	196.7
Umata (Umatac)	84	10	94
Matsuyama (Merizo)	114	43	157
Haruta (Barrigada)	508	0	508
Takahara (Yigo)	170	0	170
Kita (Yigo Ritidian)	157	0	157
Hiratsuka (Tumon Dededo)	442	0	442
Total	3,900	289.35	4,189.35

Source: Sanbō Honbu 1944: 48-49 (note 15).

Conversion Formula: 1 chō = 2.45 acres.

In February 1942 there were 3,799 Chamorro families: 523 in the north (5.7 persons per household) and 3,278 in the south (5.1 per household). For "immediate achievement of self-sufficiency in food staples and/or the islanders' life security," 1 chō 2 tan (2.95 acres) of cultivated land was assigned to each family in the south.⁴² Relative to the average area cultivated by a

TABLE 5. **Chamorro Families and Size of Farms.**

Village	Farmer Families	Families		Farmers		Farmers Per Family	Land Able to be Cultivated (in chō)		
		Total	Per Family	Male	Female		Area	Area Per Family	Per Person
Shōten (Piti)	194	1,189	6.13	236	235	2.43	238.53	1.23	0.201
Asai (Asan)	98	592	6.04	117	132	2.54	110.29	1.13	0.186
Inada (Inarajan)	185	1,002	5.42	214	277	2.55	255.70	1.38	0.255
Matsuyama (Merizo)	170	880	5.18	201	218	2.46	214.31	1.27	0.244
Umata (Umatac)	72	424	5.89	104	111	2.99	86.93	1.21	0.205
Total	719	4,087	5.68	872	973	2.45	905.76	1.26	0.222

Source: Miyasaka Gōrō 1942: 51 (note 14).

Conversion Formula: 1 chō = 2.45 acres.

"Land able to be cultivated" is based on a trial calculation.

Japanese farmer, 1 chō 2 tan seemed reasonable (see Table 5). Besides Chamorro farms, a 9-chō naval guard unit farm and a 160-chō Nan'yō Kōhatsu vegetable garden were developed. This means that most farmland was allocated for Chamorro families' home consumption. The Minseibu reported that it made a sincere effort to stabilize Chamorro life after the rapid achievement of agricultural self-sufficiency. At first, the land policy was welcomed by landless Chamorros.⁴³ However, the Minseibu system distributed food first to the military, then to Japanese civilians, and only then to the Chamorros. The distribution of provisions to Chamorros was always dependent on the number of Japanese military personnel on the island.

Because of the rapid reclamation of land in the first half of 1942, rice planting was ready for Guam's rainy season (June–December) (Fig. 8). Paddy areas were worked by villagers, who were organized by Chamorro leaders under some Nan'yō Kōhatsu and Minseibu staff. Guam-grown seed rice and a new improved strain, "No. 158–123," was planted. If it had been planted in the best paddy of 300 chō of land in Ponape, then 9,000 koku (1 koku = 3.78 liters) could be harvested twice per year. This could support a Japanese population of 3,000.⁴⁴ If Guam's 800 chō were similar to Ponape's, 24,040 koku, or enough for 8,010 people could be expected, by my calculation.⁴⁵ Although distribution to Chamorros was not considered, the amounts were decidedly inadequate to supply the 46,000 Japanese in the Marianas. However, this



FIGURE 8. Chamorros' Rice-Planting, Guam, Early 1942. Photographed by Shigenari, a Japanese Navy cameraman. Wakako Higuchi Personal Collection, Guam. A Nan'yō Kōhatsu employee is instructing Chamorros in a Japanese style of rice-planting. The Guam Minseibu officers (right) are inspecting the Chamorros' work.

amount could support the Fifth Base Force needs in the Mariana Islands, including Guam.

In Fiscal Year 1942 (April 1942–March 1943), 216 chō of paddy farms were established and rice seedlings were planted between May and September. About 1.37 koku per tan was harvested. Because the average yield per tan was 3 koku in Ponape, or 2 koku in the homeland, Guam's yield was quite low. Paddy areas of 73.35 chō were added and planting areas increased by 289.35 chō in 1943. However, damage by insects in the second year was worse than the first. Table 6 shows the paddy prior to harvest increased to 138.59 chō and 50 percent reduction of unhulled rice per tan. In reality, rice growing on Guam was a failure. This was documented by the Nan'yō Kōhatsu Business Section Head Koshimuta Takeshi in his diary:

We burned the entire crop except three tan of paddy of the fifth plantation area in Naka (Agat) because of damage by leafhoppers. The 3 tan of paddy was sprayed with insecticide. I ordered the farmers to plant *maizu* (corn) and cowpea (13 December 1942).

TABLE 6. Rice Products on Guam.

	Paddy Completed (chō)	Planted Area (chō)	Nonharvested Area (chō)	Harvested Area (chō)	Unhulled Rice (koku)	Unhulled Rice Per tan (koku)
1942	216.00	216.00	59.50	156.50	2,146.5	1.37
1943	+73.35	289.35	138.50	150.85	966.9	0.64

Source: Sanbō Honbu 1944: 52 (note 15).

Conversion Formula: 1 chō = 2.45 acres, 1 koku = 180.39 dl, 1 tan = 10 a.

Damage from the leafhoppers was immense. Plants in seven tan of paddy died within 2 days. Examination was carried out. Rice planting in Matsuyama (Merizo) was also hopeless (October 9, 1943).⁴⁶

The Minseibu bought all unhulled rice from village headmen and distributed it to Japanese civilians, 1 gō (0.18 liters) per person, compared to 2.5 gō for average Japanese daily consumption.⁴⁷ The local rice production was so poor that it could not satisfy the navy and, therefore, it continued to depend on imported rice.

The crucial reason for the failure was time. Attempts were made to develop a new strain from Ponape, which was never tested on Guam. Supplies of fertilizer, insecticide, and equipment shipped from Saipan and Japan, and skilled labor were all limited. The Outline of Food Policies for the South Sea Islands (August 1943) emphasized that Saipan would reach food self-sufficiency.⁴⁸ To support this program, in December 1943, the Greater East Asia Ministry allotted over 1.3 million yen from the Bureau to boost production of rice, but desperate efforts failed on both Saipan and Guam.⁴⁹ The Minseibu concluded that it could not achieve the goals set by the central government.⁵⁰ Since late 1943, all cultivated lands were transferred in great haste to potatoes, bananas, and other crops; all more easily grown than rice.

In 1941, 24 percent of all imported food to Guam was rice and Chamorros consumed 4,500 kg per day. But the occupation and failure of rice production forced Chamorros to live without rice. Corn, banana, breadfruit, sweet potatoes, cassava, and *dugdug* (*dogdog*, or *dokdok*, the seeded breadfruit, *Artocarpus mariannensis*) became their principal foods. By January 1944, corn was harvested from 2,400 chō, 62 percent of the farm area. The rest of the farmland was under the cultivation of: sweet potato (8%), cassava (7%), taro (6%), vegetables (4%), bananas (5%), and others (8%). Although Chamorros were required to use their time and labor to produce rice for Japanese consumption, the production of every crop except rice increased

TABLE 7. **Farming Land Use and Products (January 1944).**

Crops	Planting Area (chō)	Crop per chō (kg)	Yield (kg) (a)	Yield (kg) in FY 1941 (b)	Compared with Yield in FY 1941 (kg) (a)-(b)	(a)-(Islanders' consumption per year)
Corn	2,400	700	1,680,000	457,365	+1,222,635	+168,900
Sweet Potato	310	5,630	1,745,300	69,135	+1,287,935	+234,200
Cassava	270	9,370	2,529,900	Potatoes 159,555	Potatoes +3,777,845	Potatoes +2,090,500
Taro	250	5,630	600,000			
			1,182,300			
Vegetable (Nan'yō Kōhatsu)			Consumption: Navy, 360 tons; Civilian, 240 tons	59,610	+540,390	-1,511,100
Banana	210	5,630	1,125,000			
Others	300	3,750	8,590,000			
Total	3,900		10,270,000			

Source: Sanbō Honbu 1944: 47, 53-54 (note 15) based on Fiscal Year (FY) 1941 survey conducted by the U.S. Naval Government of Guam.

Conversion Formula: 1 chō = 2.45 acres.

because the farming areas were enlarged (see Table 7). The Minseibu concluded that the needs of 23,000 Chamorros could be met with local corn, sweet potatoes, and other potatoes. Vegetable production lagged but coconut and fruit would provide their needed vitamins.

The Nan'yō Kōhatsu kitchen garden of 160 chō produced vegetables for Japanese consumption: 60 percent for the military and 40 percent for civilians.⁵¹ The Minseibu reported sufficient vegetable production to support 500 naval personnel and 455 Japanese civilians in October 1943.⁵²

Nevertheless, Guam's tenuous food supply was depleted, first when 1,500 men of the 218th Naval Construction Battalion (*Setsueitai*) landed for airfield construction in October 1943. The supply of vegetables was exhausted. When the rice they brought ran out, Chamorros were obliged to provide corn, cassava, and sweet potatoes. In a short time, Japanese consumption made inroads into the Chamorro food supply. When the Fourth Naval Store Department on Saipan ordered Nan'yō Kōhatsu to make basic foods such as miso, soy sauce, and *tōfu* using beans, this work also began on Guam.⁵³ Koshimuta Takeshi of Nan'yō Kōhatsu wrote, "We made *tōfu*, but failed because we used salt instead of bitter" (September 5, 1943), and "A meeting was held to discuss how to make miso, soy sauce, oil, sake, and *tōfu*"

(December 10, 1943). At this meeting, the Nan'yō Kōhatsu group planned to make 360 koku of soy sauce, 1,500 *kan* (one *kan* = 3.75 kg) of miso, 24,000 *chō* of tōfu per year from soybeans, rice, and salt.⁵⁴ However, this effort failed due to shortages of ingredients.

The second event was a large number of soldiers from Manchuria arriving in the South Sea Islands and Guam, from February 1944. In the South Sea Islands, the Plan for Urgent Countermeasures for Supplementing Food (February 1944) was announced. This imposed self-sufficiency on civilians in order to provide food for the military. Although there was no announcement, the situation on Guam was the same or worse. On February 15, 1944, shortly before the arrival of more soldiers, food stocks were sufficient to feed 2,129 persons for 233 days on Guam.⁵⁵ However, this was not sufficient. The number of 29th Division soldiers increased on Guam to 20,810 by mid-July.⁵⁶ They sometimes landed without rations because their supply ships had been sunk. In addition to 500 naval guards, naval air groups, anti-aircraft defense units, a naval communications unit, a weather unit, a naval air depot, naval construction, and service department, naval construction battalion and naval groups totalled 7,995.⁵⁷ With this huge increase, hunger was inevitable. Doubling the population in 8 months without an increase in labor, tools, seed, or fertilizer resulted in the plunder of Chamorro food supplies.

While the Minseibu prepared a list of edible grasses, it planned further expansion of farmland to 11,500 *chō* (2.8 times larger than in January 1944) with the help of the 170 young Naval Crop Cultivation Unit (*Kaikontai*) members. After these experts arrived from Shizuoka on May 8, 1944, five headquarters at Shirahama (Ritidian Point), Rikyū (Tarague Beach), Orita (Ordot), Shinagawa (Sinajana), and sixteen farm sites were established in central and northern Guam where agricultural conditions were poor. Of the fifty tractors shipped from Japan, thirty were lost in submarine attacks and only twenty were distributed to sixteen farms. Food production, mainly with Chamorro labor, was made compulsory in these areas. For example, 4 members of *Kaikontai* unit planned cultivation of a 20-*chō* rice paddy and a 300-*chō* farm in Harakawa (Inarajan) near the Ylig River. But the plan was soon revised to shift to vegetables and corn in order to avoid waiting for the rice harvest and to make up for shortages of equipment and food.⁵⁸ Then, within 2 months, regular agriculture work ended because of large-scale U.S. air attacks and ship bombardments beginning on July 4, 1944.

The Minseibu planned agricultural development according to trial calculations but these were unachievable because of a constant increase in the numbers of military personnel. The central government's economic policy was "to force industry, agriculture, and land use according to economic needs for national defence, rather than considering local conditions."⁵⁹ Disregarding

local conditions was inconsistent with production, and the Minseibu failed to produce sufficient quantities of the most important agricultural commodity, rice, which had a tremendous influence on military operation as well as administering the Chamorros.

Manganese

The Pacific War required Japan to obtain metals to modernize, expand, and mechanize the military, particularly the air force. The Outline for Economic Policies for the Southern Areas stated, "Existing mining facilities shall be exploited as rapidly as possible, after which the development of new mines. . . shall be promoted."⁶⁰ Specialists prospected for minerals, particularly nickel, mica, bauxite, copper, phosphate, and manganese. Of the metals required, manganese was "to be developed to the maximum, without consideration of quantities."⁶¹ The search for mineral resources was booming in the South Sea Islands since the late 1930s. Because deposits of phosphate rock and marble (on Saipan, Tinian, and Rota) and manganese and soapstone (on Saipan) were found in the Marianas, Guam was naturally expected to contain mineral resources.

Soon after occupation, the Nan'yō Kōhatsu group looked for minerals and found "good quality" manganese in Lubugon, Shōten (Piti) in southern Guam, and began a promising project in January 1942. Mining was first opencast, but then it changed to excavation in caves. All the ore was exported to Japan along with manganese from Saipan. However, before Nan'yō Kōhatsu received orders from the Navy Ministry to begin mining on Guam in June 1942, mining had already declined from its peak. After August 1942, crude manganese (more than 20 percent concentrates) suddenly decreased, which affected total output (see Fig. 9). A Chamorro worker testified, "Every time we dug about seven or eight feet and found no manganese, we had to go to another site and start digging again." Also, after mid-1943, shipping became difficult:

The ships were bombed or torpedoed and, if not sunk, limped back to Guam with no manganese aboard. The ships were repaired and again loaded, and every time these ships departed Guam's harbor, they returned in about 2 or 3 days, without any manganese, which made us think that the ships were damaged by torpedoes.⁶²

So grave was the metal situation that the government agreed to investigate mineral resources in which civilian companies were not interested, or which were reported as uneconomical.⁶³ Nan'yō Kōhatsu surveyed for copper in Umata (Umatac) and Shōwamachi (Agat), and manganese in the Matsuyama

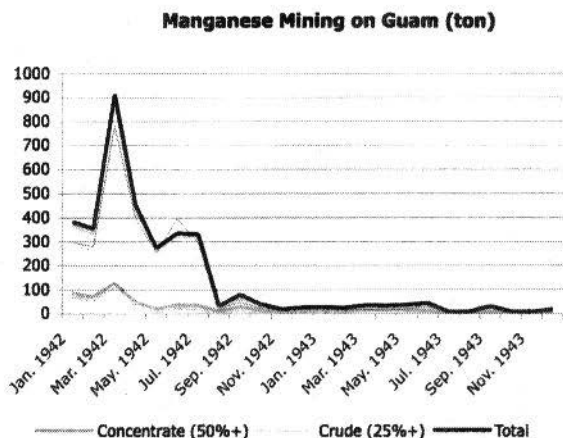


FIGURE 9. Graph of Manganese Mining on Guam (ton). Source: Sanbō Honbu 1944: 64–65 (note 15).

(Merizo) and Umata.⁶⁴ For all its attempts, Nan'yō Kōhatsu's efforts ended in December 1943 when all deposits were mined as planned. The Guam Minseibu's satisfaction of this military administration goal clearly demonstrates Japan's exploitation.

Tropical Agriculture and Forestry

On Guam, where the trees had not fully recovered from typhoon damage of 1940, 655,000 coconut trees on 9,500 chō were put under the control of the Guam Minseibu after the occupation.⁶⁵ Guam's copra could be exported to Japan along with production in the South Sea Islands that accounted for 60 percent (1939) of Japan's demand.⁶⁶ However, Japan began to obtain coconut oil and palm oil from the Philippines and other occupied southern areas. This resulted in these oils being "heavily overproduced" and the government had to take "emergency measures." To "protect" local industry, the Minseibu did not order a reduction in plantation production, but took action to consume copra to "give support to the islanders' economy as well as establish price controls."⁶⁷ Small amounts of copra were used for a soap industry on Guam.

The purchase price, distribution of copra for livestock feed, and soap making were negotiated between the Copra Trade Confederation (*Kopura Dōgysha Rengōkai*) from Saipan and village headmen. Nan'yō Kōhatsu made soap from copra, caustic soda, and salt at the requisitioned Johnson factory

and the Chamorro-owned Ada's factory. In 1943, 80,000 cakes of laundry soap and 40,000 cakes of toilet soap were made and exported to Saipan for the military.⁶⁸ Thus, Guam's small-scale soap operation was able to successfully export goods to the neighboring Japanese territory, the Marianas. However, soap manufacture declined and ended about June 1944 due to the loss of caustic soda shipments from Japan.

The Minseibu had to supply wood for military construction, firewood, and charcoal despite Guam's dependence on imported wood in the prewar period. For construction materials, the Nan'yō Kōhatsu operated a lumber mill (40 koku of trees per day) to saw *ifil* (*ifit* or *Intsia bijuga*, rectangular timber), *pengua* (*Macaranga carolinensis*, for ship bottoms), *rokrok* (breadfruit tree, *A. communis* Forst, rectangular timber), and *Ahgao* (*P. Gaidocjaidoo* Schauer, log), all from 4,400 ha in the northern area of the island.

Because land clearing for agriculture and roads generated a supply of native trees, wood was "extremely abundant" for fire-making and charcoal.⁶⁹ About 450 bales of charcoal were made per month from *panau* (*Clauxylon marianum* or *Guettarda speciosa*), *A'abang* (*Eugenia reinwardtiana*), *pengua* (*Macaranga thompsonii*), *fago* (*Ochrosia oppositifolia*), *Ahgao*, *pai-pai* (*Guamia mariannae*), *ifill*, *lalahang* (*Citrus grandis*), *nunu* (*Ficus prolixa*), and *budu* (*Inocarpus edulis*) and 30 cubic *tubo* were exported to Saipan and Tinian. The more the island was developed, the more the Nan'yō Kohatsu mill could satisfy military demand. However, by January 1944, shortages were expected because of army construction and the reckless destruction of the jungle that began deforestation.⁷⁰ In response, the Minseibu considered a reforestation effort, but of course it could not afford laborers to do this.

For even a small contribution to the munition industries in the homeland, Nan'yō Kōhatsu's "special crops" groups, Sasaki-gumi (Saipan), and Chūgai Sangyō (Rota) tried to plant cassava (for starch, soy sauce coloring, and alcohol), and castor-oil plants (for lubricants), tuba (derris for pest control), lemon (oil), cacao (for chocolate and suppositories), and cotton trees. But no results were reported from Guam because food production had priority and staff of these companies were required to work at airfield construction sites as well.

Fishing

The navy gave priority to fishing, especially for the garrison.⁷¹ The prewar fishing industry was underdeveloped and reef fishing was carried out by thirty local men using licensed fish weirs for family consumption.⁷² Because the Minseibu could not depend on Chamorro small-scale reef fishing, the navy ordered Nankō Suisan (Nankō Marine Products Company), a Nan'yō Kōhatsu subsidiary, to begin fisheries.

The thirty Okinawans from Saipan began tuna fishing with two twenty-one-ton-ships southwest of Matsuyama (Merizo), and between Guam and Rota. A small dried bonito factory was built to process 60 kan (1 kan = 3.75 kg) per month for military food. The result was poor, with “no hope of increasing production” because bonito was seasonal and migratory and there were fewer schools of tuna near Guam than in waters around Palau, Truk, Ponape, Saipan, and the Marshalls. In addition to seasonal winds and rough waters, large catches were not expected because of the limited numbers of fishing boats and Okinawan fishermen who were the only ones that could catch bait fish.⁷³ Guam’s fishing areas were also limited and surrounded by South Sea Islands’ fishing grounds. The catches from Guam waters in 1942 were: 82,170 kg of bonito and 7,230 kg of others, totaling 89,400 kg, compared to 1,297,000 kg (1942) of bonito from Saipan.⁷⁴ The fresh fish were distributed to the military and Japanese civilians. The Minseibu’s deep-sea fishery did not benefit the Chamorros.

After the *Daini Tōkai Maru* (a cargo-passenger ship and later commercial cruiser) was sunk in Apra Harbor in January 1943, fisheries suddenly declined. An eight-ton ship, newly hired for reef fishing, tried to make up for the poor catches of bonitos. Still, the total catch fell to 52,805 kg in 1943 (see Fig. 10).⁷⁵ Although no detailed statistics can be obtained, it was obviously difficult to continue fishing in the open sea surrounded by U.S. war ships in 1944. With a mass landing of the army soldiers, rapid replenishment of

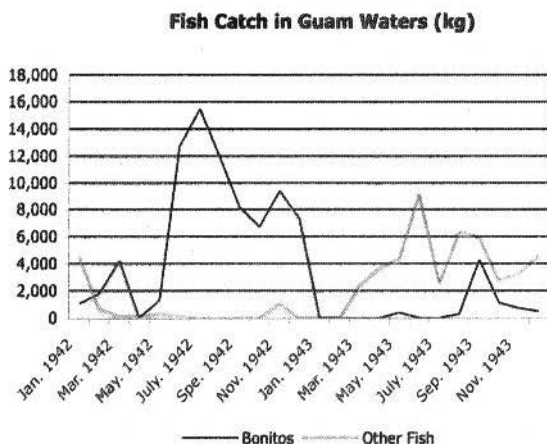


FIGURE 10. Graph of Fish Catch in Guam Waters (kg). Source: Sanbō Honbu, “Ōmiyatō heiyō chishi shiryō,” 60–62.

this animal protein source was difficult. Therefore, the military turned to Chamorro livestock.

Stock Farming

Before the war, cows, pigs, water buffalo, horses, goats, and chickens were raised for family consumption on Guam. This was small-scale breeding. There were only fifteen cattle ranches in the central part of the island: seven farms with 10 to 15 head; six with 50–100 head, and two with 300–400 head, covering 7,570 chō.⁷⁶ In 1941, a large amount of livestock was consumed by U.S. Navy public works laborers. Typhoon damage in November 1940 and August 1941 caused a shortage of coconuts (livestock feed) and resulted in cattle being slaughtered. After the Japanese occupation, the meat supply fell again when many animals were butchered to feed army and naval personnel.

The Minseibu's first task was to recover. Nan'yō Kōhatsu cooperated with the Bureau, Saipan Branch to support stock farming through bonuses, sale of bloodstock, and health checks for cattle to encourage selective breeding. Between August 1942 and January 1944, cattle increased by 130 percent, pigs by 170 percent and chickens by 170 percent (see Table 8). It was reported that Guam could achieve "almost self-sufficiency" for these products even after 1,500 Naval Construction Battalion members landed in October 1943. But the Chamorros were not considered: priority for meat consumption was the military, with Japanese residents next.

In January 1944, a month before the landing of a thousand soldiers, the Minseibu estimated that this animal stock could feed 30,000 persons at 180 g per day, but for only 1 month. Predicting shortages, the Minseibu restricted the slaughter of domestic animals and ordered islanders to increase herd numbers: three head of cattle; three pigs; and thirty chickens. This meant Chamorro consumption was prohibited and all domestic animals became the

TABLE 8. Stock Farming on Guam: Number of Head.

Farm Animal	August 1941	August 1942	January 1944
Cattle	5,969	3,734 (–2,235)	4,980 (+1,246)
Buffalos	1,761	1,011 (–750)	979 (–32)
Pigs	8,491	2,459 (–6,032)	4,154 (+1,695)
Horses	140	81 (–59)	88 (+7)
Chickens		30,201	43,988 (+13,787)
Goats	734	529 (–205)	

Source: Sanbō Honbu, "Ōmiyatō heiyō chishi shiryō" (1944), 57–58.

military's food.⁷⁷ But troops pouring into Guam made orderly husbandry impossible, despite Chamorro efforts to enlarge stocks.

In summary, the Minseibu's attitude, from beginning to end, emphasized food production activities. The navy seriously aimed at securing a firm foothold of food production on Guam to establish one self-sufficient sphere in the Marianas. But their preparation, planning, and practice efforts were nothing but stop-gap measures. Further, the navy was anticipating Japan would be confronted with a stalemate or state of war. There emerged two modes, "as soon as possible" and "as much as possible." The only way the navy could break the deadlock was to rapidly increase Chamorro labor efficiency.

Labor Management and Exploitation

Time was too short to evaluate the Minseibu's efforts fairly, but Nan'yō Kōhatsu Guam accountant Okada Shōnosuke stated positively that Guam's development could have achieved some success in peacetime much as his company had realized in the northern Marianas.⁷⁸ In other words, with the same financial and administrative support that Nan'yō Kōhatsu received from the South Seas Bureau, development would have been possible given Guam's climate and soil. However, Nan'yō Kōhatsu's most decisive factor for its success, as Matsue Haruji, a founder of the company, stated, was its large number of persevering laborers. In particular, the employment of Okinawans, who had experience with tropical agriculture and worked at low wages, was the primary factor.⁷⁹ But Guam lacked, first of all, laborers experienced in industries planned by the Minseibu. Employment of laborers from Japan and Korea was impossible due to military service and wartime labor mobilization programs. Ironically, a characteristic point of Guam's planned development was complete dependence on Chamorro laborers, who lacked skills and resources. Other islands in the Marianas attempted to establish wartime control through civilian Japanese united with the navy policy. This added more Japanese and Korean laborers according to the plan. In contrast, the Chamorro was in all points the only labor source that the navy had on Guam. Accordingly, the critical task for the Minseibu was to mobilize the Chamorros.

However, no official documents concretely address the question of methods for obtaining and managing this labor. Even the Ministers, the Liaison Conference, and Cabinet's Outline of Economic Policies for the Southern Areas (December 1941) ducked this issue. The Cabinet Planning Board's ideological statements clearly represented official thought in response to the government's "proper place" policy:

The reinforcement of the economy in Greater East Asia has an immediate bearing on individual benefits in each area. Therefore, the local people ought to obey Japan's instructions and accept Japanese control [and] Japan should have the local people assume an appropriate [work] load as a general policy.⁸⁰

The military's expectations of the Chamorros were that they simply "obey," "accept," and "pull their weight," which were the preconditions for the navy's principle of "organic integration" and a response to Japan's war slogan—"to enable all nations to find their proper place." Whereas Japan could reasonably expect people to obey, their duty was to carry an "appropriate" workload.

According to Chamorros' workload, labor management on Guam can be divided into three periods:

- 1) January 1942–October 1943 (land reclamation and agriculture);
- 2) November 1943–March 1944 (agriculture mainly for navy needs and airfield construction);
- 3) March 1944–July 1944 (agriculture for the navy and the army needs, airfield construction, and build-up for combat).

Before the first period, the Guam Minseisho (the predecessor of the Minseibu, December 1941–January 1942) registered all Chamorros, issued identity papers, and ordered headmen to report villagers' movements. This survey would not be simply for the convenience of the administering authority, but apparently was the registration for wartime labor mobilization measures.

In Japan, which entered into a war with China over the Manchurian Incident of 1936, the government's labor management gradually switched to labor control in the late 1930s. Under the National Mobilization Laws (1938), the cabinet's Outline of Urgent Measures for Labor (August 1941) called all nationals:

to whip up the nation's patriotic spirit of hard work and to swiftly organize and strengthen the labor mobilization system. The government requires (the nation) being a nation at work, not a leisured nation, and not a nation with unemployed people.⁸¹

The mobilization laws took effect in the South Sea Islands in the same year, but the Laborers' Notebook Law was not effective until May 1942. Workers from between the ages of fourteen and sixty could be drafted for industries

TABLE 9. **Occupations of Chamorros and Japanese Civilians (c. 1943).**

	Natives			Japanese		
	Total Population	Male	Female	Total Population	Male	Female
Fishery	123	122	1	31	31	0
Mining	187	178	9	9	9	0
Industry	118	90	28	9 (11)	9 (11)	0
Business	58	21	37	23 (15)	2 (13)	2 (2)
Transport	37	33	4	2	2	0
Agriculture	8,756	4,353	4,403	21 (9)	15 (9)	6
Others	1,049	611	438	104 (2)	91 (2)	13
Unemployed	13,132	6,147	6,985	256	92	164
Total	23,460	11,555	11,905	455 (37)	270 (35)	185 (2)

Source: Sanbō Honbu, "Ōmiyatō heiyō chishi shiryō" (1944), Tables 2 and 3.

Numbers in parentheses show the Japanese residents who immigrated to Guam before 1941.

People who were more than sixty years old and less than eighteen years old were considered unemployed if he/she did not have an independent occupation.

designated by the government. Because of Guam's location and its governance by the same military operational plans, Guam had to improve in order to meet the new labor standards for the South Sea Islands. This meant Guam had to follow two policies: to "obey" as an occupied people and to "work" as Japan's nationals.

Table 9 shows the results of a Minseibu occupation survey. The data are undated, but the population of 23,374 in June 1943 increased slightly to 23,460 as indicated in this survey. Other relevant data inserted next to the original data were collected in October 1943. Table 9 shows a Japanese population of 455, with about 104 were categorized as "others," probably including 80 Minseibu administrators. The 256 "unemployed" would have been family members of Japanese workers. Meanwhile, the Chamorro work force in 1943 consisted of 123 fishermen, 187 manganese miners (118 in the navy guard unit, industrial yard and soap factories and 58 in commerce and distribution), 37 bus drivers for Nan'yō Kōhatsu and the naval guard unit, and 8,756 agricultural workers. "Others" would have been workers employed by the 54th Defence Guard Unit and the Minseibu. The number of 438 women listed as "others" was quite high. These women included Chamorro housemaids for Japanese civilians and soldiers. They responded to the policy as a way to establish "identity" or "individual security" under Japanese military rule, e.g., as a way to avoid being a "comfort woman."⁸²

Chamorro workers totaled 10,328 (5,408 male and 4,920 female).⁸³ The Chamorro employment rate was as high as 47 percent for men and 41 percent for women in 1943. More than 50 percent of the population, and as much as 80 percent of male workers and 90 percent of female workers were engaged in manual agriculture. There are no data available for Guam's working population on the eve of the U.S. invasion, but the Chamorro population in agriculture was probably limited because agricultural production was mainly for home consumption. However, in 1943, the Minseibu's full-labor policy diverted these workers for the war effort.

In contrast, in December 1941, the total population in the South Sea Islands was 141,259 (90,072 Japanese, including Koreans and Taiwanese; 51,089 islanders; and 98 foreigners).⁸⁴ In September 1941, there were 28,070 registered laborers according to the Labor Coordination Law and the Laborer's Notebook Law records. These laborers were for government and military works: mining, manufacturing and processing, civil engineering and construction, freight traffic, communications, agriculture, forestry, and fishery.⁸⁵

Of the total population, 53,753 people (48,923 Japanese; 4,808 Chamorros and Carolinians) lived on Saipan, Tinian, and Rota in the Marianas.⁸⁶ But the number of registered laborers in the Marianas was only 8,042 because the majority of workers already belonged to the Nan'yō Kōhatsu. In Fiscal Year 1941, the Bureau needed 34,521 more laborers, including 23,380 military workers, particularly in Palau and Saipan. It could arrange for 30,063 new laborers (4,780 from Japan, 23,550 Koreans, and 1,933 residents), totaling 58,133.⁸⁷ Still, 4,458 laborers needed were not available. Naturally, no laborers were sent to Guam from the South Sea Islands, except about 50 Japanese "industrial leaders" and 30 fishermen from the Saipan district. Thus, all new intensive development including land reclamation was done by the Chamorro workers because of the application of the independent industrial development policy for the occupied areas. Although the navy deemed Guam a supply base for the Marianas, no resources were provided to Guam.

Despite this full-labor operation policy, it was not the Minseibu's normal policy to fully enforce the *kyōsei rōdō* (compulsory work), at least during the first period (namely before October 1943). During the time Table 9 data were gathered, although the Laborer's Notebook Law in the South Sea Islands required workers between the ages of fourteen and sixty to be involved in industries designated by the government, the Minseibu only targeted those aged eighteen to sixty. There were 13,132 "unemployed" people on Guam. This potential labor pool included youth fourteen to seventeen years of age. During this time period, it was unnecessary to enforce compulsory work.

Kyōsei rōdō is a general term in Japanese meaning forced labor with disregard for the worker's will. Speaking correctly, the Minseibu's approach was that of *chōyō* (drafting) by which the government under the occupation coerced "nationals" to work in certain industries, except military service. Guam was regarded as a Japanese territory. As shown by the term for the Japanese language schools for Chamorros, *kokumin gakkō* (national school), Chamorros were regarded as new Japanese nationals.⁸⁸ Unlike the situation of people in the Philippines, Burma, and later Indonesia where Japan promised independent political statuses, as *chōyō* the Chamorros had a national duty to work for common goals of the Greater East Asia War.

Still, it was expected that Japan's oppressive rule over the Chamorros would generate antagonism. The cabinet Planning Board admonished administrators in the occupied areas and, therefore, the Minseibu employed the Chamorros under apparent "good guidance" to avoid unnecessary anti-Japanese feeling.⁸⁹ Nan'yō Kōhatsu employees were instructed to pay "extreme attention" to Chamorro labor treatment.⁹⁰ When a Japanese head killed a Chamorro mining worker with a machete, it was taken seriously and the head was ordered to leave the island.⁹¹ During the period of 1942 and 1943 when U.S. attacks were not an imminent danger, Nan'yō Kōhatsu's Chamorro workers were employed by recruitment with payment by Chamorro village headmen through the Minseibu.

Furthermore, the nature of the navy's employment can be inferred from the navy's outline of military administration that directed wages be depressed as much as possible.⁹² Nan'yō Kōhatsu's Shimano Kenji in charge of wages testified that the company's wage level was applied to Chamorros.⁹³ As of 1939, the Nan'yō Kōhatsu Sugar Manufacturing Office on Saipan paid a Japanese laborer ¥0.90 to ¥1.20 per day. But the majority of the Japanese laborers were Okinawans who were paid lower wages than Japanese from the mainland. Also, a Japanese day laborer on Saipan was paid ¥1.40 in 1939 while the islanders (mainly Chamorros) received ¥1.⁹⁴ Chamorros on Guam who were "the islanders" as well as "the occupied people" were regarded as Japanese nationals for the sake of convenience, yet were paid lower than the Japanese for the same work. Wage differentials between the Japanese and Chamorros were explained by lack of Japanese language ability, education, and skill level. On the other hand, the hourly wages of Chamorros in the soap factory were much higher than a Japanese factory chief's monthly salary of ¥80, but evidence indicates that this discrepancy is due to overtime work done by Chamorros.⁹⁵

During the second period of 1943, airfield construction workers were paid ¥1.20 to ¥1.25 daily, but the yen had no value because money was not in

circulation at the time.⁹⁶ Chamorro workers welcomed payment in rice because the food distribution system had collapsed. The navy outline emphasized giving the occupied people technical education. But this was not done on Guam as the navy certainly needed as many low wage physical laborers and farmers as possible to save yen and increase production.

Rice production work shows another aspect of the navy's policy for mobilizing Chamorro laborers. The labor of Chamorro men, women, and children on land projects in early to late 1942 was described as "never follow the European style of 8 hours work per day, (everybody works) from early morning to evening."⁹⁷ Basically the ten-hour workday, common in Japan, was adopted. This was called *kinrō hōshi* (voluntary labor service) or *mura sōde no kyōdō sagyō* (village cooperative work) without pay because it was for community and national benefit. Both types of volunteerism spread to all villages in Japan after 1937. The background of voluntary service was the Japanese concept of moral education, of faithful devotion to the nation that was defined in the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890). It was assumed that all Guam land belonged to Japan and thus Chamorros were new nationals of Japan. Procurement of the indispensable food staple (rice) for the Japanese was not only an indicator of self-sufficiency but also was viewed as strengthening the coprosperity sphere. Rice production typically ought to have been done by *kinrō hōshi*. The Minseibu employed women, school children, and other unskilled and less strong residents for airfield construction. This was also *kinrō hōshi* because it was preparation for "national" defense.

On September 23, 1943, Imperial Headquarters and the Government established a new defense sphere in the Pacific and Indian Ocean, including the Western Carolines and the Mariana Islands for Japan that had to be held unconditionally. The Greater Asia Ministry decreed the mobilization of all human and physical resources to strengthen the fighting force within the defined perimeter. Mobilization or *chōyō* became more general in the occupied areas after October 1943, when the Chief Conference on Labor in the Southern Area was held in Singapore. This was also a turning point for the South Sea Islands, too. Based on the National Mobilization Laws (1938), the Order for Labor Coordination (1941), the Order for National Labor Services Cooperation (1941), and the Order for Laborer's Notebook were all called into force in the South Sea Islands. The first order targeted skilled laborers, and the second applied to Japanese males between fourteen and forty and females between fourteen and twenty-five. The third order included those who could be recruited and was applied to all Japanese nationals between fourteen and sixty years.⁹⁸ Unlike the South Sea Islands, a

characteristic of the military administration of Guam was that these orders were promulgated without official announcement. This was the approach implemented for the second stage of labor management on Guam.

Table 10 does not include the date of the survey in the original source. It was undoubtedly compiled by the Minseibu as directed by the army advance troop between January and February 1944, anticipating the arrival of a new group of army forces. The total Guam population of 23,915 in Table 10 was made up of 23,460 Chamorros and 455 Japanese in Table 9. The footnote for Table 10 identifies "special workers" as those "employed by the navy and primary civilian enterprise(s) or who are disabled." These were 138 workers in the Navy Civil Engineering Department who carried out ship repair, water supply and power plant work; 205 employees of the Minseibu; 466 workers for airfield construction; 332 workers for Nan'yō Kōhatsu; 780 workers

TABLE 10. Total Population and Laborers (Late 1943 or Early 1944).

Villages	Total Population	Number of Families	People Aged 16-60			
			Male	Special Workers	Balance	Female
Akashi (Agana)	4,770	983	1,080	498	582	1,396
Asai (Asan)	642	104	121	95	26	169
Shōten (Piti)	1,316	237	347	185	162	318
Suma (Sumay)	1,213	205	282	186	96	301
Naka (Agat)	1,335	235	288	221	67	330
Umata (Umatac)	491	55	123	96	27	125
Matsuyama (Merizo)	1,044	71	221	204	17	259
Inada (Inarajan)	1,090	180	248	220	28	287
Tasaki (Talofofo)	671	108	167	7	160	158
Harakawa (Yona)	930	158	161	16	145	238
Shinagawa (Shinajana)	3,039	516	614	167	447	704
Sawahara (Mangilao)	1,145	188	250	90	160	294
Haruta (Barrigada)	2,421	370	539	134	405	637
Takahara (Yijo)	919	139	204	21	183	184
Kita (Yigo-Ritidian)	639	99	142	10	132	149
Hiratsuka (Tumon-Dededo)	2,250	384	518	50	468	536
Total	23,915	4,032	5,305	2,200	3,105	4,689

Source: Sanbō Honbu, "Ōmiyatō heiyō chishi shiryō" (1944), Table 4.

"Special workers" were those "employed by the navy and primary civilian enterprise(s) or who are disabled."

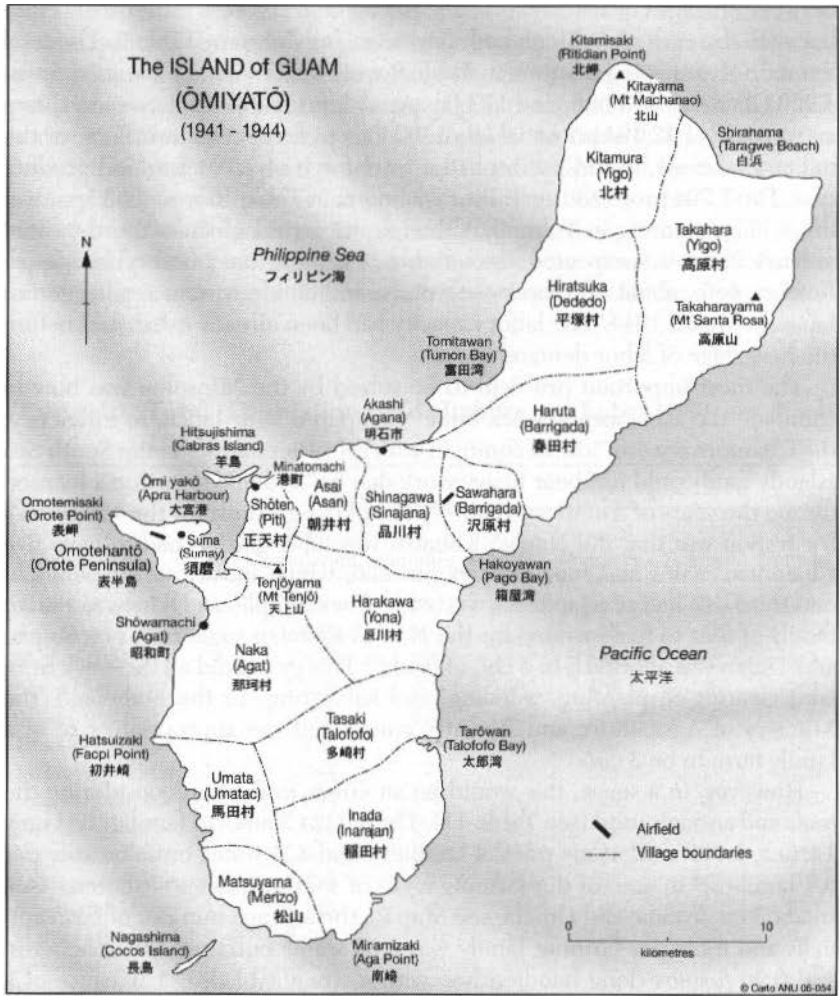
for rice production; 215 disabled; and 126 others, totaling 2,262 (2,200 in Table 10).⁹⁹

Table 10's data reflects a policy shift from considering all civilian residents between the ages of sixteen and sixty as potential laborers rather than those between the ages of eighteen and sixty-seven, as shown in Table 9. The total number of employed laborers in Table 9 was 10,507 (5,408 Chamorro men, 4,920 Chamorro women, and 179 Japanese men). Table 10, however, shows an increase of 12,194 potential laborers. Except for "special workers" or the military laborers, the Minseibu had a work force of 7,794 for food production. The 7,794 projected agricultural laborers in Table 10 were 983 less than the 8,777 appearing in Table 9. Although the arrival of some ten thousand military forces was expected, the number of agricultural laborers decreased. Furthermore, about 180 Japanese women and children were repatriated to Japan in March 1944. The labor capacity had been already exhausted before the new stage of labor demand began.

The most important problem to be solved by the Minseibu was how to stimulate the Chamorros' work ethic. Compared with Japanese efficiency, the Chamorros were "idle in common with the other natives in the South Sea Islands" and could not bear heavy work due to "hedonistic customs learned during the years of American rule."¹⁰⁰ One of the grounds for the Minseibu's frustration was that the Nan'yō Kōhatsu vegetable garden had to have five Chamorro males and four females per chō, which meant an efficiency of one-third or a half of a Japanese worker.¹⁰¹ For example, an Okinawan tenant family of four to five working for the Nan'yō Kōhatsu sugar farms on Saipan and Tinian was allotted 5 to 6 chō of land.¹⁰² This group did all the work from land clearing to planting, weeding, and harvesting. In the homeland, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry considered the appropriate size of a family farm to be 3 chō.¹⁰³

However, in a sense, this would be an unfair evaluation considering the tools and animals used (see Table 11). The 4,032 Chamorro families had only 1 truck, 1,688 cattle (one per 2.4 families), and 431 water buffalos (one per 9.4 families). In case of the farming areas of southern Guam (Shōten, Asai, Inada, Matsuyama, and Umata; see Map 2), the average number of farm animals and tools per farming family was 0.63 water buffalos, 1.04 machetes, and 0.90 *fusinos* (long handled hoe with a straight blade).¹⁰⁴ Because of a shortage of tools, working cattle, and fertilizer, and absent support from the homeland, agricultural output on Guam was poor. All agricultural labor by Chamorros, who were inexperienced in Japanese methods, was manual and was the extension of Japanese agricultural methods in the homeland.

In direct contrast with high production goals, the Greater East Asia Construction Council cautioned Japanese managers not to attempt rapid change of islanders' customs. Technical and economic measures were to be



MAP 2. The Island of Guam (Ōmiyatō), 1941–1944. © Cartography, The Australian National University. Source: Cartographic Services, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University.

TABLE 11. The Numbers of Agricultural Implements and Draft Animals on Guam (1944).

Implements	
Cultivators	0
Hoes	150
Forks	120
<i>Fusinos</i>	4,224
Machete	5,361
Shovels	300
Sickles	900
Sprayer	90
Threshing Machine	100
Trucks	1
Weed Killers	600
Draft Animals	
Cattle	1,688
Cow	102
Water Buffalos	431

Source: Sanbō Honbu, "Ōmiyatō heiyō chishi shiryō" (1944), pp. 51-52.

"Fushinos" is a long handled hoe with a straight blade.

decided according to actual conditions, especially the "cultural level of each race."¹⁰⁵ The council advised that local farmers be motivated to improve their morale. This policy was adopted to conceal Japan's inability to send materials or technical advice to the occupied areas. Although Chamorros had no reason to demonstrate the work ethic that the Japanese wanted, it was reported later that Chamorro work skill and efficiency had improved to 70 percent to 90 percent of Japanese workers "owing to good supervision" during the construction of an airfield.¹⁰⁶ According to a Naval Construction Battalion member, two bulldozers, one crane, two dump trucks, and a fire truck were available to build a runway (100 meters wide by 1,500 meters long by 200 meters wide by 1,400 meters long) in the First Airfield (Suma or Sumay). Some Chamorros operated American machinery, but the majority worked with shovels and picks. Their Japanese coworkers were strong men who had been discharged from military service, or else had been racketeers and prisoners.¹⁰⁷ It is easy to imagine their work conditions and "good supervision" from the testimony that a Korean laborer was killed at work. The work situation included forced laborers from Japan's colonies, lack of mechanical and technical expertise and equipment, mass mobilization for physical labor, and near absence of morale. These conflicts between Japan's needs and lack of the resource management created potentially explosive tension.

In the transition from the late first period to the second and third periods, I notice three cabinet decisions concerning the South Sea Islands (Table 12).

TABLE 12. **Outlines of the Transitional Policies for the South Sea Islands.**

	Food Policies for the South Sea Islands (August 1943)	Urgent Countermeasures for Supplementing Munitions Provisions in the South Sea Islands (February 1944)	Emergency Countermeasures for Wartime (April 1944)
Policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish food self-sufficiency. • Stop dependency on imported rice. • Establish rice self-sufficiency on Saipan and Ponape. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prepare for a response to decisive battle. • Supply rice and millet grain for the military. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unify with the military and prepare residents to fight as a reserve force.
Measures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Import and stock rice as much as possible. • Implement Outline of Industrial Reorganization Plan (August 1943), which called for closing retail dealers and using that labor force for agriculture, fisheries, and mining. • Change sugarcane fields to dry fields for rice plant and cereals. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase production of rice, vegetables, and fish. • Develop unused land. • Reduce export to the homeland to the absolute minimum. • Gather labor for food production, military construction, and defense resources. • Agricultural farm for growing military food to be a responsibility of the South Seas Bureau. • Give function of food supply to the Nan'yō Kōhatsu. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civilian cooperation with military construction is the first priority. • Repatriate the elderly, women, and children. • Unite the South Seas Bureau with the military. • The Bureau is to employ military personnel. Officials are to become civilian employees of the military. • Implement Agreement between Nan'yō Kōhatsu and the navy (May 1944).

Because the national defense line in the east-southern area was withdrawn from the Banda Sea to Eastern and Western Caroline Islands, and Mariana Islands in September 1943, these outlines were likely determined on the basis of Palau and Saipan. Labor management of Guam was undoubtedly strengthened during this period according to the progress of fortification plans.

With the enforcement of the Outline of Food Policies for the South Sea Islands (August 1943), the necessity of food self-sufficiency in the South Sea Islands was recognized to provide replacements for imported items from Japan. The sugarcane farms, which provided sizable South Seas Bureau revenues, had to be turned into other farms, such as sweet potatoes. The failure of rice on Guam influenced the navy and the Bureau officers' concerns. As well as securing more land for agriculture, the Industrial Reorganization Plans ordered the closure of small stores to free up individuals for food production and distribution works. On Guam this method of commercial control had been implemented since the beginning of the occupation. Agricultural work on Guam was at its peak during mid-1943, but beginning in November the large number of laborers was halved with the airfield construction that began 6 years later compared with Saipan and Tinian. The Minseibu encouraged agriculture laborers to work more efficiently with the aim of compensating for the loss. As a negative chain, working hours for Chamorros' self-sufficiency should be reduced.

The Outline of Urgent Countermeasures for Supplementing Munitions Provisions (February 1944) was decided prior to the Army's deployment in the Marianas. The navy expanded its control of food in two ways: the Bureau operated vegetable farms only for the military consumption and Nan'yō Kōhatsu should manage food distribution. Because the majority of agricultural land belonged to the company, this authorization made navy control easy, even the civilian production. Then the navy required full employment of the civilians in alignment with total war.

Similarly, the Guam Minseibu could not expect any shipments from Japan due to the loss of ships (in all, 3.60 million tons of ships were lost from December 1941 through March 1944) since the breakout of the war and rushed preparation for substitute foods. However, Guam's agricultural basis was tenuous given few experienced Japanese laborers and the limitation of Chamorro efficiency as well as time and materials. Cornered, the Minseibu requested the Fifth Base Force on Saipan to detail the Crop Cultivation Unit or the *Kaikontai* to Guam. However, only a few unit members were sent to Japan's Marianas (none to Saipan and Tinian and 10 members to Rota), while more than 170 members were dispatched to Guam. This demonstrates how urgent the need for workers was on Guam compared with the northern

Marianas. Moreover, the 170 Navy Crop Cultivation Unit members sent to Guam were not for the purpose of alleviating the Chamorro labor condition. The plan was to have the natives work under their leadership. Between late February and early April 1944, the First Airfield (including an air defense raid room, positions, antitank ditches, and land mines) in Suma and the Second Airfield (including the 54th Defense Guard shelter, positions, and a radar intercept receiver) in Tomioka (Tiyan) were mostly completed. The Fourth Airfield three kilometers north at Hiratsuka (Dededo) and the Third Airfield at Haruta (Barrigada) were started in late April and the early May respectively.¹⁰⁸ In addition to the 218th Naval Construction and Service Department, some thousands of the 217th members landed and began using Chamorro labor in April 1945. The use of Chamorro labor for airfield construction projects reduced agricultural labor by more than half.

Before entering the third stage of labor management, mass landings of army troops from Manchuria reached its peak. The Marshalls and Central Carolines were already in the hands of the United States and, for Palau and the Marianas, it was no longer "urgent" but "emergency" and "wartime," as the title of the new outline declared. The Outline of Emergency Countermeasures for Wartime (April 1944) in Table 12 aimed at "concentrating and mobilizing" all labor. The South Seas Bureau officials were incorporated into the navy structure and finally the civilian residents were directly involved in the war. The navy had been refusing repatriation of Japanese nationals to the homeland in order to maintain a labor force finally agreed in February 1944. They needed to reduce food consumption by elderly and female laborers because they were considered inferior to male workers. In addition, Japanese residents on Guam began repatriating to Japan in late March 1944.

One month after the Yano-Obara Agreement in the Marianas in April 1944, a similar agreement between Captain Sugimoto Yutaka, Guam Branch head of the Fifth Naval Construction and Service Department, and Fujiwara Masato, Nan'yō Kōhatsu director, was signed in May 1944. With these two agreements, the navy was granted the exclusive rights to all company assets on the Marianas and Guam including farmland, equipment, housing, medical facilities, employees, and farmers. It was the case that Chamorros on Guam were absorbed into the navy and became employees directly under navy command.

On Saipan, the navy could not dissolve the civilian authority, the South Seas Bureau, Saipan Branch Bureau, and the size of civilian population. But finally a navy officer took the Branch Bureau head position. Guam, an occupied area and fully administered by the navy, did not face this situation. The Minseibu staff was absorbed into the Fifth Navy Construction and

Service Department, Ōmiya (Guam) Sub-branch (*Dai-go Kensetsubu*) when the Minseibu was dissolved. Although the April 1944 outline used the phrase "unification with the military," Guam's civilian situation was dissolved. There was no more line separating the department from the military because the department's duty was defined as "matters relating to construction, transportation, war supplies and production, storage, supply, research, and development of self-sufficiency for Japan's fleets and forces."¹⁰⁹ Only the 150 Japanese nationals (100 male and 50 female) were placed in the Civil Administration Sub-section while Chamorros were under the direction of 37 former Minseibu police officers and teachers. The military police helped supervise Chamorros used as a labor source. In short, there was no civil administration of the Chamorros during this period.

When the Third Airfield construction began north at Tiyan in May 1944, conscription of Chamorro men, initially between sixteen and sixty years of age, was accelerated day and night for building the taxiway, munition storage, and shelters. Exhaustion of male laborers resulted in Chamorro females and children over twelve years old being drafted to work when the Crop Cultivation Unit arrived in May 1944. The chaotic work situation under military order amounted to psychological and physical forced labor.

During the state of confusion caused by the U.S. bombing and fleet attacks in June 1944, the Chamorro were released from military projects work. The impress of females ended 2 months later and thousands of Chamorros encamped in a jungle area in Manengon, central Guam, to avoid the violence of combat. Chamorro males continued to construct military positions until August 10, when the 31st Army Commander Obata Hideyoshi killed himself at the last command post in Yigo, northern Guam.

Japanese military forces in early July 1944 soon before the U.S. landing totaled 20,810. More than 2,000 were lost at sea during transport to Guam. Therefore, the estimated 7,500 Chamorro male workers were extremely valuable for the Japanese military that depended on human-wave tactics. When the Japanese Army landed on Guam, it expected Chamorros to be a war reserve, stating that Chamorros could be "decentralized and mobilized" under the "principle of having the workers in combat readiness."¹¹⁰ This was possible for the Chamorros in the Marianas, who had been under the influence of the South Seas Bureau's thirty years of "Japanizing" education. But there was a great risk concerning Guam Chamorros' loyalty to Imperial Japan. Still, the military had to depend on Chamorro labor for safety in a combat zone. Therefore, Chamorros carriers were used at Lieutenant General Obata's last command post in Yigo, and they ended their lives in three ways: "death in battle," "escape," or beheading.¹¹¹

To return to the original subject of labor management for industrial development, the Minseibu recruited Chamorros under the pretext of establishing food self-sufficiency of Guam including the natives. But the true purpose was food production for the Japanese military, not for Chamorros. Therefore there was wide-scale compulsion to achieve Japan's war objectives. Although the concept of labor is somewhat subjective, it must include collateral value of the work and independence of will. Even though the navy partly achieved its goal of development, the real nature of Japan's development was revealed by its harsh labor policy.

Conclusion

In contrast with other occupied areas under the Japanese Navy's supervision, such as Dutch East Indies, Rabaul, and New Guinea, the navy's approach to Guam's industrialization was more straightforward and simplified. Besides Guam's characteristics (race and natural conditions), there were two reasons for the navy to introduce a rapid development policy. First, Guam was located in the Marianas where a major effort for advancing the war goals could be undertaken because of existing organized industries and large numbers of Japanese workers. Second, in regard to the Saipan and Tinian naval air bases (the Northern Mariana District), Guam was given its operational duties as a commissariat base along with Rota (the Southern Mariana District). This situation established a higher standard of administrative and developmental objectives that defined Guam as a "proper place."

It goes without saying that the primary objective behind policies encouraging self-sufficiency on Guam was rice production. If this could be achieved, the navy could rely on the food staple supplied by Chamorros which would mitigate the islanders' burden of direct military participation. However, the navy's fixed policy was doomed to fail. The consuming military populations on the island developed a tendency to increase step-by-step toward further operations. In the meantime, the labor population substantially decreased with the breakneck rush of fortification construction and combat readiness. Economic imbalance brought about by the military and its war activities disrupted the Chamorro labor supply. This anomaly readily brought all function of control on the Island to a complete standstill.

In anticipation of this situation, the navy invented the concept of "organic integration" as a way to persuade the Chamorros to carry out labor participation for Japan. This would, conceivably, be a mutually beneficial relationship. However, although the navy could establish "one" through its occupation by force, the key aspects of the concept—"close unification" and "logical

relationships”—were missing. This explains the failure of the navy's development of Guam and also provides a basis for the Chamorros' war claims.

NOTES

This article was originally a part of the author's study of the Japanese Navy's "organic integration" policy. See Higuchi Wakako, "A U.S. Territory in Japan's South Sea Islands: The Japanese Navy Administration of Guam" (PhD diss., The Australian National Univ., 2006).

1. There are two pronunciations of the Japanese characters 大宮島: *Ōmiyatō* and *Ōmiyajima*. The author used *Ōmiyatō* based on her interview with the former Japanese military and the Guam Minseibu officials and because of recent official correction of *Iwōtō* from *Iwōjima*.

Ōmiyatō is incorrectly translated in English publications as the "Great Shrine Island." The root "*Ōmiya*" in "*Ōmiyatō*" means "the Imperial Palace" or "a Shinto shrine" according to the Japanese language dictionary *Daijirin*, 1st ed. (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1988). I did not find any evidence that the Japanese Navy called Guam "a Shinto shrine island." Rather it is reasonable that the island was called "an island of the Imperial Court" because it was a former U.S. territory captured by Japan. Similarly, "Akashi" for Agaña (now Hagåtña) was incorrectly translated as "Red City." There is a location named Akashi that is close to Awajishima, the size of which size was the same as Guam.

The Japanese government's official name of the mandated territory was the South Sea Islands in English and *Nan'yō Guntō* in Japanese. After Mark R. Peattie titled his book, *Nan'yō: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia 1885–1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988), non-Japanese scholars tend to use "*Nan'yō*" for the South Sea Islands. But "*Nan'yō*" is, for the Japanese, a geographically vague term, meaning Japan's southern areas, including the South Sea Islands, but mainly the Southeast Asia region, not specifically the South Sea Islands. The author uses the term "the South Sea Islands" in this article.

2. Bōeichō Bōei Kenshūjo Senshishitsu, *Senshi sōsho: Chūbu Taiheiyō hōmen kaigun sakusen*, vol. 1, *Shōwa jūnana-nen go-gatsu made* (Tokyo: Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1970), 271. Second Lt. Yanagiba Yutaka wrote 421 POWs arrived in Japan from Guam on January 16, 1942. See Higuchi Wakako, *Remembering the War Years on Guam: A Japanese Perspective*, submitted to War in the Pacific National Historical Park National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, April 2001.

3. The Philippines was a U.S. colony but a commonwealth government was established in 1935 in anticipation of a transfer to independent status. It was also placed under Japanese army jurisdiction after the occupation.

4. The army was assigned densely populated areas that would demand complex administration such as Hong Kong, Philippines, British Malaya, Sumatra, Java, British Borneo, and Burma. The navy was responsible for the Dutch East Indies, New Guinea and the Bismarck Islands and Guam.

5. The South Sea Islands was formally a League of Nations mandate but gradually came to be considered an Imperial territory after Japan withdrew from the League in 1935.

6. One of the few official translations for *hakkō ichiu* appeared in a draft of a diplomatic memorandum to the United States dated May 12, 1941. The draft translated *hakkō ichiu* as: "Both Governments declare that it is their traditional concept and conviction that nations and races are composed, as members of a family are composed, of one household under the ideal of universal concord based on justice and equity, each [government] equally enjoying rights and admitting responsibilities with a mutuality of interest regulated by peaceful processes and directed to the pursuit of their moral and physical welfare, which they are bound to defend for themselves [as they are bound not to defend for themselves] as they are bound not to destroy for others. There should be, of course, neither oppression nor exploitation of the backward peoples." The government's last memorandum to President Roosevelt on December 6, 1941 translated "*onoono sono tokoro o eseshimuru*" as "It is the immutable policy of the Japanese government to insure the stability of East Asia and to promote world peace, and thereby enable all nations to find each their proper place in the world." Government of Japan confidential memorandum in English to the United States drafted on May 12, 1941; and Memorandum from the Japanese government to the United States sent on December 6, 1941, in Kase Toshikazu, *Nihon gaikōshi*, vol. 20, *Nichibei kōshō* (Tokyo: Kajima Heiwa Kenkyūjo, 1980), p. 108 and p. 302. Also see Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke's statement of August 1, 1940, and the formal announcement of the Tripartite Alliance. U.S. Department of State, *Peace and War: United States Foreign Policy, 1931–1941*, 573.

7. Harry, J. Benda, James K. Irikura, and Kishi Kōichi, eds., "Senryōchi gunsei shori yōkō," March 14, 1942, in *Japanese Military Administration in Indonesia: Selected Documents*, Translation Series No. 6, (New Haven, CT: Southeast Asia Studies, Yale Univ. Press, 1965), 26.

8. The dictionary meaning of "organic" or "*yūkiteki*" in Japanese is "a situation where many parts gather to make one, in which close unification exists between each part, and where there are logical relationships between each part and the total." Niimura Izuru, ed., *Kōjien: dai san-han* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991), 2431–2432.

9. Naval Intelligence Division, *Pacific Islands*, vol. 4, *Western Pacific (New Guinea and Islands Northward)*, B.R.519C (Restricted), (Geographical Handbook Series, United Kingdom, 1945), 476–479.

10. Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 158.

11. *The Annual Report of the Governor of Guam*, 1941, 41.

12. Ueno Fukuo, "Guamutō o miru," *Chirigaku Kenkyū* 2, no. 1 (January 1943): 37.

13. OSSR & A744, 1942, Guam: A Social-Political-Economic Survey (declassified from confidential), Washington, DC, Office of Strategic Services, National Archives, Microfiche, M1221 MF1-1, June 17, 1942, cited in Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 158.

14. Miyasaka Gorō, "Guamutō shokuryō no jukyū kōzō," *Shokuryō keizai* 8, no. 10 (October 1942): 50–52.

15. Sanbō Honbu, "Ōmiyatō heiyō chishi shiryō" (1944), 47; and Miyasaka, "Guamutō shokuryō no jukyū kōzō," 54. The island's output in 1941 was 839 koku but 8,039 koku were imported. The daily requirements per person were: 180g of potatoes, 220g of other potatoes, and 180g of vegetables. The two sources noted above were based on the same source; figures on need and shortages differ slightly, but rates of self-sufficiency are approximately the same.

16. David, D. Purcell, Jr., "The Economics of Exploitation: The Japanese in the Mariana, Carolines, and Marshall Islands, 1915–1940," *Journal of Pacific History* 11, pt. 3 (1976): 209.

17. Mark R. Peattie, "Nihon shokuminchi shihaika no Mikuroneshia," in *Iwanami kōza: Kindai Nihon to shokuminchi*, vol. 1, *Shokuminchi teikoku Nihon* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001), 202; and Matsushima Yasukatsu, "Nishi Taiheiyō shotō no keizaishi: Kaiyō Ajia to Nan'yō Guntō no keizai kankei o chūshin ni shite," in *Ajia Taiheiyō keizaikenshi 1500–2000*, ed. Kawakatsu Heita (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 2003), 234–236.

18. Gaimushō Jōyakukyoku, *Inin tōchiryō Nan'yō Guntō: Gaichi hōseishi dai gobu, zenpen* (Tokyo: Gaimushō, 1952), 292.

19. *Ibid.*, 31–34.

20. "Takumu Daijin seigi Nan'yōchō bunai rinji shokuin secchisei chū kaisei no ken," (February 5, 1942), Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan, Tokyo. The Japanese population (including Koreans and Taiwanese) was 77,257 (43,860 in Saipan) in December 1939 and 90,072 (48,923 in Saipan) in December 1941. Nan'yōchō, *Shōwa jūnana-nenban: Nan'yō Guntō yōran* (1942), 37; and Nan'yōchō Naimubu Kikakuka, *Dai kyū-kai Nan'yōchō tōkei nenkan Shōwa jūyo-nen* (August 1941), 12–13.

21. "Takumu Daijin seigi Nan'yōchō bunai rinji shokuin secchisei chū kaisei no ken," (June 14, 1941 and April 11, 1942), Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan, Tokyo.

22. Higuchi Wakako, "The Nan'yō Kōhatsu: Rota Sugar Manufacturing Branch," *Draft Final Report Prepared for Archaeological Data Recovery Rota Route 100 Roadway Improvement Project, Rota Island, Northern Marianas* (Honolulu: International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc., 2003), 41.

23. Kasahara Yasumasa, interview by author, Shizuoka, Japan, April 14, 2006.

24. Willard Price, *Japan's Islands of Mystery* (New York: John Day, 1944), 49.

25. Benda, Irikura, and Kishi, eds., *Japanese Military Administration*, 26–46.

26. Kikakuin Kenkyūkai, *Daitoa kensetsu no kihon kōryō* (Tokyo: Dōmei Tsūshinsha Shuppanbu, 1943), 2–4.

27. "Nanpō shochiiki ni taisuru tsūka seido no kihon hōshin narabini Taikoku oyobi Futsuin ni taisuru tōmen no sochi in kansuru ken" (February 23, 1942), in *Zoku gendaishi shiryō* vol. 11, *Senryōchi tsūka kōsaku*, ed. Tatai Yoshio (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1983), 609.

28. Ibid., 612.
29. "Guamutō ni okeru tsūka kōsaku ni kansuru ken" (December 22, 1941); and "Guamutō ni okeru tsūka kōsaku ni kansuru geisai" (January 6, 1942), Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan, Tokyo.
30. *Annual Report*, 1941, 58.
31. Sanbō Honbu, "Ōmiyatō," 67.
32. Ibid., 73.
33. Okada Shōnosuke, interview by author, Tokyo, August 4, 1998.
34. Ida Diego, "Complete History of My Life during the Japanese Administration," Headquarters Island Command Guam (August 19, 1944), 18.
35. *The Annual Report of the Governor of Guam*, 1934–1941; and Sanbō Honbu, "Ōmiyatō," Table 1.
36. Benda, Irikura, and Kishi, eds., *Japanese Military Administration*, 29 and 39.
37. Ōkurashō Kanrikyoku, "Nihonjin no kaigai katsudō ni kansuru rekishiteki chōsa: Tsūkan dai nijūichi-satsu, Nan'yō Guntō hen, dai ni-bunsatsu: Dai ni-bu Nan'yō Guntō keizai sangyō," 35–36, and 143.
38. Miyasaka, "Guamutō shokuryō," 50.
39. "Takumu Daijin seigi Nan'yōchō bunai rinji shokuin secchisei chū kaisei no ken" (May 8, 1941), Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan, Tokyo.
40. Sanbō Honbu, "Ōmiyatō," 52.
41. Ibid., 48–49.
42. Calculated from Miyasaka, "Guamutō shokuryō," 50; and Sanbō Honbu, "Ōmiyatō," 47–51. Each Chamorro family had five to six persons. This was similar to the situation in Japan: of 4,881 farming families in four prefectures between April 1939 and April 1940, 46 percent operated farms of one chō to two chō. See, Rekishigaku Kenkyūkai, *Taiheiyō Sensōshi*, vol. 3, *Taiheiyō Sensō zenki* (Tokyo: Tōyō Keizai Shinpōsha, 1953), 92.
43. Shimizu Kōtarō, "Nan'yō watari aruki," *Nan'yō Guntō Kyōkaihō* (January 1, 1995): 35.
44. Asai Tatsurō, "Dai san-bu: Nihonjin," in *Ponapetō: Seitaigakuteki kenkyū*, ed. Imanishi Kinji (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1975), 350–351.
45. 300 chō: 9,000 koku: 3,000 people = 800 chō: 24,040 koku = 8,010 people.
46. Watanabe Masao, "Koshimuta nikki," *Nankōkai Tayori* 42 (December 1, 1990): 4–5.

47. "Kaigun Chōsaka, Tōa shokuryō taisaku ron" (August 4, 1942), in *Shōwa shakai keizai shiro jūrokan*, vol. 16, *Kaigun shiryō*, ed. Doi Akira, Ōkubo Tatsumasa, Nagata Motoya, Maekawa Kunio, and Kyōdō Tōru (Tokyo: Daitō Bunka Daigaku Tōyō Kenkyūjo, 1991), 400.

48. "Nan'yō Guntō sokuryō taisaku yōkō," in "Nan'yō Guntō sangyō seibi keikaku yōkō ni kansuru ken" (August 10, 1943), Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan, Tokyo.

49. "Daitoashō shokan shokuryō taisaku ōkyūshisetsuhi hoka san-ken: Nan'yōchō tokubetsu kaikei yojōkin o motte yosangai shishutsu no ken" (December 21, 1943), Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan, Tokyo.

50. Sanbō Honbu, "Ōmiyatō," 48.

51. *Ibid.*, 52–54.

52. *Ibid.*, 53.

53. Nakajima Fumihiko, "Mariana monogatari," pt. 3, *Sakuraboshi* (Nihon Gōyū Renmei, 1960): 14.

54. Masao, "Koshimuta," 6.

55. Sanbō Honbu, "Ōmiyatō," 77.

56. Bōeichō Bōei Kenshūjo Senshishitsu, *Senshi sōsho: Chūbu Taiheiyō rikugun sakusen*, vol. 1, *Mariana gyokusai made* (Tokyo: Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1967), 518 and 605.

57. *Ibid.*, 534.

58. The *Kaikontai* consisted of 130 students of the Takunan Renseijo (Training Center for Developing the Southern Areas), Shizuoka, under the leadership of the Nōchi Kaihatsu Eidan (Agricultural Land Development Corporation). See Kuromusha Fujio, "Takunan Renseijo shuppatsu," in *Takukai banri hatō*, ed. Takunankai (Shizuoka: Takunan Renseijo Jimukyoku, 1988), 235–236.

59. "Nanpō keizai taisaku yōkō" (December 12, 1941), Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan, Tokyo.

60. *Ibid.*

61. "Nanpō sakusen ni tomonau senryōchi tōchi yōkō" (November 25, 1941), Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan, Tokyo.

62. Owings, Kathleen R. W., *The War Years on Guam: Narratives of the Chamorro Experiences*, vol. 2, *Miscellaneous Publications*, no. 5 (Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, 1981), 650.

63. "Nan'yō Guntō sangyō seibi keikaku yōkō an" (August 1943), in "Nan'yō Guntō sangyō seibi keikaku yōkō ni kansuru ken" (August 10, 1943), Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan, Tokyo.

64. Masao, "Koshimuta," 4–5.

65. "Dairoku Iinkai: Nōrinsan shigen shutoku kaihatsu gaisoku (iinkai kettei)" (December 30, 1941), in Doi et al., *Kaigunshō shiryō*, vol. 14, 712 and 715.
66. Asai Tatsurō, "Dai san-bu," 345.
67. "Yushi kankei shiryō" (February 1942), in *Shōwa shakai keizai shiro shūsei dai jūgo-kan*, vol. 15, *Kaigunshō shiryō*, 346–347.
68. Sanbō Honbu, "Ōmiyatō," 65.
69. Ibid., 69.
70. Ibid., 63.
71. "Senryōchi gunsei shori yōkō" (March 14, 1942), Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan, Tokyo.
72. *The Annual Report of the Governor of Guam*, 1940, 92.
73. Higuchi Wakako, "Pre-war Japanese Fisheries in Micronesia—Focusing on Bonito and Tuna Fishing in the Northern Mariana Islands," *Migration Studies*, no. 3 (March 2007), 4–5.
74. Sanbō Honbu, "Ōmiyatō," 60.
75. Ibid., 60–62.
76. Ibid., 57.
77. Ibid., 59.
78. Okada Shōnosuke, interview by author, Tokyo, August 4, 1998.
79. Nan'yō Keizai Kenkyūjo, ed., "Nan'yō Kōhatsu Kabushiki Kaisha sōgyōshi," in *Nan'yō shiryō* 52 (June 1942), 61.
80. Kenkyūkai, *Daitoa kensetsu*, 27.
81. Hōsei Daigaku Ōhara Shakai Mondai Kenkyūjo (<http://oisr.org>) ed., *Nihon rōdō nenkan tokusūban Taiheiyō sensōka no rōdōsha jōtai* (Tokyo: Tōyō Keizai Shinpōsha, 2000).
82. Tanaka Toraji, interview by author, Guam, June 30, 1998. Concerning Chamorro comfort women, see Higuchi Wakako, "A Report on Comfort Women of Guam" and "A Report on Comfort Women of the South Sea Islands" (both 1999), available from the Asian Women's Fund, Tokyo.
83. Sanbō Honbu, "Ōmiyatō," Tables 2 and 3.
84. Nan'yōchō, *Shōwa jūnana-nendo Nan'yō Guotō yōran* (Nan'yōchō, 1942), 37–38.

85. "Takumu Daijin seigi Nan'yōchō bunai rinji shokuin secchisei chū kaisei no ken" (April 11, 1942).
86. Nan'yōchō, *Shōwa jūnana*, 37–38.
87. "Takumu Daijin seigi Nan'yōchō bunai rinji shokuin secchisei chū kaisei no ken" (April 11, 1942).
88. Higuchi Wakako, "The Japanisation Policy for the Chamorros of Guam, 1941–1944," *The Journal of Pacific History*, 36, no. 1 (June 2001), 24.
89. Kenkyūkai, "Daitoa kensetsu," 27.
90. Okada Shōnosuke, interview by author, Tokyo, Japan, April 4, 1997; and Tanaka Toraji, interview by author, Guam, July 20, 1998.
91. Tanaka Toraji, interview by author, Tokyo, Japan, June 30, 1998.
92. "Senryōchi gyōsei shori yōkō" (March 14, 1942), Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan, Tokyo.
93. Shimano Kenji, interview by author, Guam, November 19, 1998.
94. Nan'yōchō Naimubu Kikakuka, *Dai kyū-kai Nan'yōchō tōkei nenkan Shōwa jūyo-nen* (Nan'yōchō, 1941), 98–99.
95. Tanaka Toraji, interview by author, Guam, June 30, 1998.
96. Yamamoto Satomi, interview by author, Hiroshima, September 24, 1999.
97. Ueno Fukuo, *ibid.*, 41.
98. "Nan'yō Guntō sangyō seibi keikaku yōkō" (August 1943), in "Nan'yō Guntō sangyō seibi keikaku yōkō ni kansuru ken" (August 10, 1943).
99. Sanbō Honbu, *ibid.*, Table 4.
100. *Ibid.*
101. *Ibid.*
102. Higuchi Wakako, "The Nan'yō Kōhatsu" (2003), 42.
103. "Kaigunshō Chōsaka: Tōa shokuryō seisaku ron" (August 4, 1942), in *Shōwa shakai keizai shiryō shūsei dai jūrok-kan*, vol. 16, *Kaigunshō shiryō*, 405.
104. Miyasaka, "Guamutō shokuryō," 51.
105. Kenkyūkai, "Daitoa kensetsu," 302.
106. Sanbō Honbu, "Ōmiyatō," Table 5, and 51.
107. Yamamoto Satomi, interview by author, Hiroshima, September 24, 1999.

108. According to the Japanese Army's documentation, the Third Airfield was at Hiratsuka and the Fourth Airfield was at Haruta. I referred to the Japanese Navy's documentation. Daini Fukuinkyoku, Guamutō Kaigunbutai Zanmu Seirihan, "Guamutō kaku Kaigun butai sentō jōkyō" (January 15, 1947); and Bōeichō Bōei Kenshūjo Senshishitsu, *Senshi sōsho: Chūbu Taiheiyō Rikugun sakusen*, vol. 1, *Mariana gyokusai made* (Tokyo: Asagumo Shinbunsha, 1969), 532.
109. "Tokusetsu kaigun kensetsubu rei, Nairei dai 2180-gō" (November 24, 1942).
110. "Nan'yō Guntō senji hijō sochi yōkō ni kansuru ken" (April 14, 1944).
111. Henri I. Shaw, Bernard C. Nalty, and Edwin T. Turnbladh, *Central Pacific Drive: History of U.S. Marine Corps Operations in World War II*, vol. 3, (Washington, D.C.: Historical Branch, G-3 Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1966), 561. During mopping-up operation in August 1944, the U.S. 21st Marines found a truck with thirty Chamorros beheaded and twenty-one more bodies of natives in the Yigo area. The investigation concluded that these victims worked on the defense at the last command post of Japan's 31st Army.
112. Nan'yōchō, Dai ni-kai Nan'yōchō tōkei nenkan Shōwa kyū-nen jūni-gatsu kankō (Nan'yōchō, 1934).
113. Nan'yōchō, Dai san-kai Nan'yōchō tōkei nenkan Shōwa jū-nen kankō (Nan'yōchō, 1935).
114. Nan'yōchō, Dai rok-kai Nan'yōchō tōkei nenkan Shōwa jū-nen kankō (Nan'yōchō, 1938).

REVIEW ESSAY

James F. Weiner, *Tree Leaf Talk: A Heideggerian Anthropology*. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2001. Pp. 208, bibliography, index. US\$95 hardback; \$34.95 paperback.

Reviewed by Andrew Moutu, University of Cambridge

The Dialectic of Concealment and Revelation *Tree Leaf Talk*: Review Essay

Introduction

If a "firebreak" is "a path cut in order to prevent the spread of fires," then "what should a literary or 'anthropological firebreak' look like?" (Weiner 2001, xi) This is a striking question that prefaces James F. Weiner's *Tree Leaf Talk: A Heideggerian Anthropology*. The title of the book is a translation of *irisae-medobora*, a term derived from the Foi language of Papua New Guinea where Weiner has carried out extensive anthropological research. Drawn from the imagery of tree leaves that hide what goes on behind them, *irisae-medobora* is a metaphorical speech that is allusive or concealing. Men of high status who are skilled in the art of dreaming and magic used this allusive talk. Dreams are revealed to men in places of solitary confinements, such as next to whirlpools along a river or beside trees that attract birds in the forest. Following appropriate ritual observations, ghosts appear to men and reveal secret names and other metaphors that men then use in magic. The German parallel to this Foi term is *Holzwege*, which means a firebreak or a path that is cut in the forest to stop the spread of fires. By analogy, an anthropological firebreak may be a kind of ethnographic writing that seeks

to halt the contagious spread of semantic associations just like a whirlpool that halts the movement of water in a river or a tree that attracts the passing birds in a forest.

There are two critical issues that concern Weiner: one is the increasing tendency in social sciences to aestheticise social relations and the other is the uncritical support of non-Western videos and films both as ethnographic material and technique of anthropological representation. Both of these issues are intimately associated with the current theory and method of social constructionism, which is itself rooted in a deeply engrained Western metaphysics of productionism. If constructionism emphasizes the ability and tendency of humans to shape and fashion a world of meaning and relevance for themselves, then what is the point about concealment that Weiner is compelled to bring out in this book? Is the notion of concealment a theoretical firebreak; and moreover, if there is heat in such a metaphoric flame, one might want to ask whether social constructionism is a kind of discursive fire that needs to be halted?

Tree Leaf Talk reveals concealment as a fundamental phenomenological starting point for thinkers such as Marx, Freud, and Bourdieu, but it imports ideas principally from the anthropological theories of Roy Wagner and Marilyn Strathern that have sensitized the author's reading of Heidegger's ideas on concealment. The book consummates a line of thinking that has been developed by the author over a period of time and has also appeared in previous publications. The book comes in three parts with ten chapters of uneven length. While each chapter may appear to be independent, a critique of social constructionism runs through them on an ethnographic terrain whose contours are mapped out on the dialectic of concealment and revelation. In advancing a Heideggerian anthropology, Weiner enhances the dialogue between phenomenological philosophy and anthropology but submits social constructionism to an incisively blazing critique.

Weiner detects in constructionism a naïve commitment toward extolling a particular kind of subjectivity that obscures the particularities of myth, ritual, art, and social relations that resonate beyond their local context with a universal undertone. Through focusing on how concealment appears among the Foi and illuminated with philosophical and theoretical insights from Heidegger, Wagner, and Strathern, Weiner "shows how people do not have as their avowed intent the imaging of a subject" (10). Concealment provides an ethnographic and conceptual framework to desubjectivize constructionism, especially the sort that "distances itself from the sociogenic locus of meaning production and focuses on what is subjectively experienced by the individual in the conscious and deliberate act of identity management and self-definition" (10).

His criticism derives inspiration in part from Heidegger (1962) and Bourdieu (1977) who describe how the interaction between people and objects go on unreflectively in an unmediated way such that one cannot posit a relation between person and things. In *Being and Time*, Heidegger (1962) describes everyday existence as involving no subject-object relations but one that is enacted naturally without reflection. Bourdieu's version of reflexive sociology contains a similar concern to naturalize the objective conditions of objectivity. In this vein, Weiner plucks a leaf from the *Outline of a Theory of Practice* where Bourdieu asks: "What are the conditions under which the objective properties of social institutions acquire their objectivity" (5). The other part of inspiration has a twin anthropological origin. One is a Heideggerian rendition of the dialectical interplay of invention and convention as outlined in Wagner's *The Invention of Culture* (1981), which Weiner uses to illustrate a "single temporally constituted process of human symbolic articulation" (xiv). The other is a notion of aesthetics used by Heidegger concerning the revelation of form through art, which is then juxtaposed with aesthetics of form (and substance) deployed in Strathern's *Gender of the Gift* (1988), which Weiner uses to advance his notion of the limits of relationships and also to wage a critique against the aestheticization of social relations.

To return to the question about the connection between concealment and constructionism, Weiner finds in the thinkers that he considers a pervasive concern with socially engendered modes of concealment that influence "the exercise of human freedom and autonomy" (7). Thus, if one were to think of social constructionism as a kind of fire, it may be one that is enflaming a subjectivity that is inimical to the world of social relations. As Weiner observes, this appears clearly in the polemics of those who naively endorse indigenous video and film while submitting ethnographic research and theory to criticism. Through an ethnographic and theoretical exegesis on the cultural practices of concealment, Weiner attempts to illustrate how "meaning, relationship and temporality seem to move counter to human subjectivity and intention" (10).

On Heideggerian Anthropology

While Heidegger's existential and hermeneutic ontology is an attempt to reconcile the essence of being, Heidegger himself was careful to note that his was not an anthropological enquiry into human nature. Given this disclaimer, how then can one conceive of a Heideggerian anthropology? Weiner finds Heidegger to be saying that, before anthropological issues are made visible, proper ontological issues must be raised. And these include

questions about the conditions under which the study of anthropology or anything else is possible. The latter include asking questions that are left unstated in the course of doing “normal” science such as: What kinds of assumptions about what human beings are do anthropologists make before their inquiry even starts? What are the conditions under which things on which we focus our attention. . . stand forth? (3)

What is not immediately clear is whether these sorts of foundational questions are ontological or epistemological, since they could equally be one or the other. Weiner goes on to describe ontology as if it were an archaeological excavation of the strata and layers of meaning. “Ontology then becomes an excavation of epistemology, a cataloguing of the steps that are taken and the assumptions that are made to get to a particular view of things” (3). However, while Weiner invokes the distinction Heidegger makes between the ontological and the ontical, it is not clear at which level (i.e., the ontological or the ontical) the Heideggerian anthropology is conceptualized. I will return to this question below when ethnographic details are considered. In the meantime, if the notion of social ontology is of any clue, then Weiner is calling for a descriptive and interpretational endeavour, which is as phenomenologically inclined as the hermeneutic enterprise that Heidegger envisaged.

Here, one finds an analogy between interpretation and the world of unreflective engagement between people, places, and objects. Heidegger sees interpretation not as an act of signification but in the event that something is encountered, “the thing in question already has an involvement which is disclosed in our understanding of the world, and this involvement is one which gets laid out by the interpretation” (Heidegger 1962: 190–191, cited in Weiner 2001: 5). Thus, if social constructionism exemplifies a hermeneutic theory and method, it runs into problems of conceptualizing meaning and relevance as if they were deliberate outcomes of people’s intentions and purposes. It needs to be mentioned that what remains implicit throughout Weiner’s explication of concealment is the Freudian notion of the repressed unconscious, which seems to appear with the status of a silent demiurge, much like the anonymous ghosts that come to Fōi men in dreams.

Fōi and Heidegger

Chapter 2 describes the lineaments of the Fōi spatial world envisioned through a system of place and personal names, which serve not just as mnemonics of productive and social history but also of how these names imbue the landscape with purpose and meaning. The general argument, however,

is to show how place emerges "as a by-product of their focus on certain activities such as food getting, which demand movement and activity over and through a terrain" (15). Weiner observes that the "bestowing of place names constitutes Foi existential space out of a blank environment" (16). Such an observation projects the Foi territory as if it were a palimpsest that is subjected to a constant process of inscription and carries the risk of constructionism, which Weiner disavows. However, Weiner explains that it is through naming that place comes into being. These names are historically contingent in the sense that they are born out of people's life activities ranging from birth to death. The names have metaphoric qualities, which may either reveal or conceal people's thoughts and consequences of their actions.

Concealment and revelation also appears in the context of men showing their sons tracts of land, sago stumps, or bamboo stands while they are out in the forest. Weiner compares this Foi notion of "showing" (*mitina*) with Heidegger's rendition of the Greek concept of *aletheia*, which means to "unconceal." This unconcealing of land between men is done "furtively, reluctantly, privately," and the showing reveals something that has been previously hidden. Weiner then inserts a gender dimension into his interpretation and observes that while men

reveal hidden places . . . women . . . in poetry, reveal hidden names and bring these hidden names in relation to hidden places. And this nexus is only made possible through death. Women's poetic creations thus constitute in Heidegger's terms an authentic use of names and naming, because they situate the fundamental project of death as the condition of placedness; men by keeping the productive and inscriptive relations hidden, deny the existential fact that it is through death that places move from person to person through time, just as it is through life that persons move from place to place. (25)

The relations between men become an unending process of concealment and revelation, while in their use of poetry, women "reveal language's ontological status: they reveal the nexus of space and time that is encapsulated in personal and place-names and restore the movement of life activity to language and names" (27). To further illuminate this, Weiner invokes a Heideggerian distinction between speaking and saying which characterizes language: "Speaking employs the power of language to represent things 'as if they were factual, ontic, in-themselves Saying on the other hand, is the domain of poetic language in its most comprehensive sense: it is any discourse that reveals the ontological dimensions of the world" (27). This is where we return to the distinction between the ontic and ontological raised

above. Given that it is women who create poetic songs while men appropriate these songs, Weiner is courting the problem of ontological difference that Heidegger disavows (see also Howarth 2004: 241). Heidegger's notion of ontological difference is a methodological distinction between "ontical" and "ontological" investigations of phenomena. The ontical refers to the investigations undertaken by empirical sciences, while the ontological is specifically a philosophical or a metaphysical enquiry. In aligning the ontological with the poetic and the ontical with the representational power of words, Weiner is inadvertently using gender as a device of asserting ontological difference. It seems that gender among the Foi constitutes separate ontological worlds for men and women.

This problem of ontological difference reappears in Chapter 3, particularly in the manner by which the Foi comport themselves toward death as well as the dynamics of temporality inherent in the dialectics of rest and motion. Men are associated with rest and stillness, while women are connected with motion and movement. For instance, men would abstain from sexual intercourse, confine themselves to solitary places in the bush where they are able to dream and receive secret names from ghosts that are used in magic. Women, on the other hand, are not solitary; they associate with other women, and while they are working together such as in sago production, they compose poetic songs. These songs reveal hidden names of deceased kinsmen or spouses and are later appropriated by men who sing them publicly in their longhouse. In procreative idioms, men are thought to halt or block the flow of menstrual blood with their semen while women's secretions are "debilitating to men . . . nevertheless women are the true sources of life-sustaining motion" (45). A central argument of the chapter is the suggestion "that men and women in Foi have different ontological relations to death" (34). Weiner cautions that his description of the "social and sexual categorisation is not essential, determinate or structural, but rather interpretative, or analogical, encompassing simultaneously both a 'model of' and 'model for' the roles that the Foi see" (46). Yet he asserts that the discursive "contrast is as much a comment upon or interpretation of as it is a normative summation of behavioural tendencies. . . . [The Foi] embody the contrast in the way discourse is situated with respect to the other temporal processes of the lifeworld" (48; original emphasis).

Such a hermeneutic position is nested in a conceptual framework of contingency and historicity that treats meaning and interpretation as an open-ended matter. To embody a discursive contrast is to live that contrast in discourse. This may serve to exemplify what Weiner means by the ontological status of language. Elsewhere, Heidegger describes language as the "house of being" (see also Mimica 1993: 92), yet however apt this architectural imagery of language maybe, the critical question is on what *ground* is such a

house built (cf. Ingold 1995: 57–80)? I would insist that, if ontology is an excavation of epistemological schemes, then a Heideggerian anthropology might want to excavate the grounds by which language as the house of being is found. We shall see how Weiner considers the notion of ground.

With respect to the manner in which Weiner outlined the discursive modalities of the Foi in their comportment toward death, the following observations are in order. Weiner made it seem as though the discursive field and death are inseparable but I believe it is appropriate to keep them separate. For me at least, the discursive is located in a domain of contingency, which is variable and particular, while death is located in the province of metaphysical necessity; it is a necessary given. By this, I mean that despite all the uncertainties associated with the nature of death, one thing that humans can be assured of is the unavoidable certainty of the physical death that awaits us. Therefore, to conflate the analysis of discourses about death with death itself is to conceal and misplace the ontological gravity of death.

As we know from Heidegger, the inevitability of death is central to his metaphysics of being, and at the conceptual level, death serves as a function of individuation and totalization whereby the project of being human is liquidated and reconciled in the abyss of nothingness. From a first-person standpoint, Hoffman explains that “Heidegger attributes to death the power of both totalizing and individualizing Dasein. Death totalizes me, for due to death my identity will become complete. Death individualizes me, for it imposes upon me the one and only experience that is inescapably mine” (1993: 199). However, apart from its posture as an ontological orientation toward finality, as Heidegger (1962) contends, death seems to be serving a different kind of work among the Foi. And as Weiner describes with admirable eloquence, the Foi discourse on death summons “ontological relations” that carry a gendered inflection of the kind that is missing in Heidegger’s conceptualization. In light of such an understanding of death, one wonders whether Foi men and women are ontologically different outside of their genders. I say this because, among the Iatmul with whom I did fieldwork, life and death are conceptualized as a pair of brothers (Moutu 2003; Herle and Moutu 2004). Life is the elder brother and death is the younger brother and so it follows that irrespective of life or death, we find an ontological process that is orientated toward becoming the other brother much like Mimica’s notion of being-toward-the-beginning (see Mimica 1993: 88; Weiner 2001: 55–57).

Weiner does not fully address these ontological processes of being and becoming; instead, in Chapter 4, he defers to a discussion about the fourfold: the oneness of earth, sky, gods, and mortals. The Foi pearl shell is interpreted in the way Heidegger thinks about the sacramental wine that brings together the earth, sky, man, and deity. Because they appear to share “a sense of

topology of meaning, of how language is anchored by the three dimensional kinaesthetic imagination" (60), Weiner juxtaposes Wagner's theory of obviation and Heidegger's notion of *techne* in order to bring out the place of the uncanny and the oblivion. Weiner returns to the imagery of the pearl shells, which sit at a complex web of meaning among the Foi. They are used as bridewealth, compensation payments, and adornment; they idiomatize birds-of-paradise, manifest spirits of the dead, and serve as metonyms of those who make and use them. However, the pearl shell is not reducible to any one function and semantic association. Given this evident complexity, Weiner (2001: 60) observes that this

Man/pearlshell/bird/spirit is a space, a region wherein the Foi situate the human world between the earth and sky and between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Pearl shell is above else a spatial image, and the four points it tethers delimit a topos. . . within which everyday Foi subjectivity and discursivity unfold.

Against such a background, Weiner argues that a "Heideggerian anthropology of the body must . . . contend simultaneously with the issues of the divine, the human body in its sexual configuration, and the poeticising and self-poeticising of the world, . . . a world that must include both what is human and what measures or interprets the limits of such humanness" (64). Weiner is advocating an anthropological approach that can encompass that which is beyond the limits of human relations yet kept within the precincts of this world of immanent humanity.

Limits of Social Relations

The discussion about the human and the nonhuman anticipates how Weiner wants to illustrate the limit of relationships. To advance his argument, Weiner recapitulates on the myth of the Sky Village, which talks about a man who in his attempt to trap marsupials ended up trapping a maiden who then took him to her sky village where they were married and had a son. But the man was forbidden to have relationships with his kin because the appearance of the Sky Village deceived him into believing he could. Weiner uses the myth to raise a string of interrelated questions about how anthropologists conceptualize social relations. These questions include: "How can a human being have a relationship with a woman who herself is the medium through which relationships are made visible? How can relationship be one and the same time the mode of elicitation and the thing elicited" (76)? From the basis of this mythological account, Weiner argues that "because social relations are

the prefigured end-product of anthropological analysis, they model both our subject-matter and our procedures for making them visible [W]e continue to model our procedures and theories on the assumption of relationships We confuse a mode of eliciting with the thing elicited" (73).

Weiner juxtaposes M. Strathern's pronouncement of the obsolescence of the concept of "society" and Heidegger's assertion that Western metaphysics has come to an end. He sees such pronouncements as pointing to an internal limit on social theories such that their collapse is something that is already prefigured much like the way death is internally constitutive of a person. Given the fact that "anthropologists starting and ending points are the elucidation of social relationships, what then is our task? What kinds of propositions are given to us to solve against this grounding position? . . . And what epistemological limits will such a mode of questioning eventually run up" (71)? Weiner sees Strathern's *Gender of the Gift* (1988) as an enquiry into the contrastive ways in which social relations are elicited or made visible, a theory reminiscent of Heidegger's enquiry into the "truth of being." Weiner finds a parallel between Strathern's unmediated exchange and Heidegger's notion of "ready-to-hand," which refers to the sense in which people's interaction with tools, for instance, is such that there is no boundary between them because of the unreflective engagement between people and things. Weiner then proposes a research program that is oriented toward a "form of sociality that is not mediated, that is not directly articulated, that is only made visible when one's attention is directed elsewhere" (77).

To suggest a way in which social relationships are poised against that which demarcates their limits, Weiner enrolls the Heideggerian notion of "they" or "the One" as articulated by Hubert Dreyfus (1992), Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* and a Melanesian sense of the "All," all of which refer to the manner in which social relations are made to appear in a particular form. While Heidegger explains that his notion of "the they" was not meant to be of a sociological nature, the 'relation' that he conceives, "remains concealed beneath the dominance of subjectivity that presents itself as the public realm" (Heidegger 1977: 197–198, cited in Weiner 2001: 80–81) Weiner takes this sense of subjectivity to be a "gloss on the anthropological assumption of relationality" (81). "Under the terms of that assumption, humans unconceal or make visible such subjectivity through their relations with others who are also subjects" (Weiner 2001).

Aestheticization of Social Relations

Weiner also sees a parallel between M. Strathern's notion of the elicitation of social relations and Heidegger's notion of *techne* as a form of poesis which

summon or brings forth things into being. The aestheticization of social relations stems from the fact that, since anthropologists elicit social relations in order to study social relations, these "social relations . . . are made visible through an appropriate aesthetic form, then our enquiry is similarly aesthetic" (87–88). The term aesthetic refers to the manner in which phenomena are made to appear. The substance of Weiner's criticism is that the aestheticization of social relations is rooted in a Western productionist bias. To substantiate his argument, Weiner draws on ethnographic material from the Trobriand and the Yolngu whose art forms revolve around "the work of concealment and restriction of meaning rather than its opposite" (88). The Trobriand material comes from John Kasaipwalova's attempt to establish the Sopi Arts Centre on the main island of Kiriwina (Kasaipwalova 1975). This school was to center around two principals: *kwegivaleyu* and *sopi*. *Kwegivaleyu* is an artist impression of the sounds of the wind and the sea reproduced aurally as well as in carvings; it is drawn from individual aspirations. *Sopi* is associated with a world of historically derived meanings. The Yolngu material is drawn from Morphy's discussion of two types of representational styles, which the Yolngu use in their art. One of which is figurative representation that depicts objects of the human and natural environment, and the other is geometric whereby elements in a drawing, such as a circle can represent a waterhole, camp site, etc. The difference between these two representational schemes is that figurative art does not have multiple significations, while multivalency is integral to geometric art forms. In sum, Weiner sees in these art forms something comparable to the contemporary notions of structure and agency as well as invention and convention. He argues that these "examples show that there is always a counter-invented world that emerges along with the intended objects of our conscious efforts, but that remains concealed or unknown. This world is created as an unintended by-product of the focusedness of people's perception, and make itself felt as a resistance to those efforts" (98).

Forms such as Foi poetry and Yolngu painting expose the limits of relationality through working "against the conventions of normative sociality and achieve their interpretational effects through this external positioning" (105). Chapter 7 resumes the critique against the aestheticization of social relations and demonstrates the limits of representational strategies in anthropology. Weiner treats community as a work of art, and, to illuminate his rendition of the Manambu material on the masculine ethos of violence and warfare, comparative material is drawn from Junger's description of warfare in Germany. Weiner argues that if art is opposed to convention, then the aesthetics of violence and warfare that Harrison (1993) and Junger (1992) describe is about transcending the normative and the conventional. While the Manambu men's cult represents itself as an enduring political entity or a community, it does

so through violence and hostility toward outsiders. Such a representation works "by depicting something in terms of its opposite or negation" (109). Because Manambu warriors preserve convention through opposing it, Weiner interprets this as artistic. Ontologically, the Manambu, much like other Melanesian people, "accept interrelationship as innate, prior and taken for granted. What is problematic for them is to accept the range of social relationality. Thus . . . an independent polity is an entity needing constantly to be achieved by counteracting its external ties and dependencies" (Harrison 1993: 14, cited in Weiner 2001: 107). In light of this, Weiner argues that, since the Manambu take for granted the relational and since "its production and representation are not the realm of the convention, then their acts of aesthetic, mythopoietic rupture through warfare . . . will always serve to make the social visible" (111).

For Weiner the problem that aestheticization of social relations is entangled in is twofold. One is that, since social relations are the medium and object of anthropological analysis, anthropologists tend to be not concerned with examining the very foundation of the discipline itself. Second, aestheticization of social relations stems from a productionist bias: the view that people do things deliberately to achieve particular ends and outcomes. Therefore, what Weiner attempts to show through ethnographic examples from the Foi, Trobriand, Yolngu, and the Manambu is the opposite view, that social relations, meaning, and value are unintended outcomes of what people do.

Chapter 8 focuses on the Foi longhouses and discusses the kinds of sounds and visions one encounters in such a house when ceremonial songs are performed inside the house. The chapter recapitulates on the argument about the limit of relationships and of human knowledge. While groups of men sing and dance inside the longhouse, women sit outside in their domestic houses, and the sound of their voices appear disembodied when heard from the interior of the longhouse. The interior of the house is dimly lit with the occasional flickering of fires or with kerosene lamps. Weiner uses this imagery of a cacophony of voices and the opacity of vision to pose questions about the transposability of sight and sound and of interpretation in general. If we comprehend other people's experience by degrees, Weiner asks: "Can we not argue by the same appeal to the limits of perception and interpretational strategies that our sight cannot convey what our worlds tell us, and our language cannot put into words what our sight encompasses" (119)? Here, Weiner is concerned with questions of how things are made visible through language and vision. He observes that, for the Foi, vision is a matter of revealed interiors and not a thing of surfaces. Another particular example is drawn from Losche's account of Abelam initiation ritual where novices are

brought into the "spirit house" and are submitted to a ritualized ordeal organized along a sequence of revelation and concealment, visibility, and invisibility. Given such a dialectic, Weiner observes that "The creation of invisibility, of limits to the social consequences of sight, are just as important as the conscious attempt to channel and control visibilities" (121).

The issue of language and vision anticipate a discussion about the politics of representation and aesthetics which appear in Chapter 9. Weiner discharges a fiery criticism against Ginsburg (1991) and others concerning their views on videos produced by indigenous and minority groups of people in non-Western countries such as among the Inuits and aboriginal Australians. He also considers the effects that film and video might have on indigenous forms of visualization, revelation, and concealment. Ginsburg and others fail to describe indigenous forms of representation in light of Western forms of signification. Weiner takes issue with several observations made by those within the field of televisual anthropology including (a) the view that indigenously produced video and film is a necessary corrective to ethnographic theorization; (b) the argument that video projects a greater sense of realism, a view that privileges the visual over discursive and textual forms of representation; (c) indigenous video is a useful and powerful instrument of representation because it serves as a guarantor of the subjectivity and autonomy of the film maker; and (d) indigenously produced video offers a scope for complexity of perspectives about local culture. Weiner finds that the exponents of indigenous videos and films take for granted a whole host of issues and do not examine the role of how such televisual media serve as both tools of ethnographic research and as objects of ethnographic scrutiny. One of the failures of Ginsburg and others that Weiner identifies is their failure to "distinguish between the *representation of relations* and a *relation to representative praxis*" (136, original emphasis). This is exemplified in a statement from a Kayapo Indian who observes that the sheer fact of him holding a camera doesn't mean he is not a Kayapo. But Weiner counters this by asking whether the holding of a camera made the Kayapo a film maker (136)?

Weiner also finds that Ginsburg and others posit representation as a basic feature of relationality, and, in so doing, they not only conflate aesthetics and politics but also obliterate cultural differences that define the discipline of anthropology. When such differences are expunged, analysis is bound to deny the place of the uncanny, oblivion, and the inexplicable. Finally, Weiner returns to how a sense of totality has shaped ethnographic data and theory. Such a sense of totality cannot be achieved through exalting the subjectivity of any one member of a particular society (which appears to be the case with indigenous videos) or others including anthropologists and indigenous experts. Anthropological knowledge necessarily requires the intervention of an outsider to enter into social relations in order to document, theorize and

make visible a particular world of social relations. The general point Weiner makes is to avoid the productionist bias of aestheticizing social relations and to be mindful of the limits of relationships.

In Chapter 10, Weiner returns to how Ginsburg talked about ritual and videos and argues that Ginsburg ignores the scale in which rituals are organized. This problem of scale allows Weiner to further his critique against social constructionism. Weiner observes that, in many societies such as those in Australia and Papua New Guinea, there is an "attempt to fashion some gigantic version of human action and life, wherein the actions of beings had cosmological and geomorphic consequences of a permanent and vast nature, and to thus precipitate human community and sociality as some smaller version, component or effect of it" (161–162). Weiner argues that, in filmic representations, it is the technological relations of video production that appear gigantic, while the video themselves are small, and this results in representing ritual as small in scale, while technology becomes big and powerful. Secondl ritual is often considered to have sociological, economic, and ecological implications beyond its symbolic dimension, but none of this comes out in filmic representations of ritual.

Weiner then expands on ecological relations associated with myth and ritual to illuminate the sense of gigantic he has in mind as well as to reveal the grounds of human life in Papua New Guinea and beyond. To do so, he employs Heidegger's (1962) notion of the "gigantic" and "grounds" as well as Wagner's "contrast between the domain of human action, intention . . . and that which is outside this domain" (163). The notion of gigantic is used to account for that which lie beyond human life but still has influence on human life and experience. The gigantic is exemplified in numerous ethnographic accounts of cosmological heroes such as Nugurendi who went about creating the cosmological landscape in parts of South Australia. Weiner wants to account for the way in which the nonhuman, as represented in accounts of the gigantic, emerges in human consciousness not as a matter of symbolic construction. Through a focus on concealment, this nonconstructed human world is revealed.

For Weiner, ultimately, it is the nature of human being to conceal its own "ground" of being. While Heidegger thinks of Earth as the ground of human existence (163), Weiner discusses the notion of "ground" both in the Leibnizian sense of cause and principle as well as the literal earth itself. Weiner carries through the Heideggerian notion of the Earth as the ground of being and argues that Papua New Guinean sociality cannot be alienated from the earth because it is fundamentally the ground of their being as well "as a spatial record of human life-span, a track consisting of a linked series of inhabited spaces" (166). This ground is often concealed and revealed

momentarily through furtive encounters such as when a father shows a plot of land to cultivate or a sago stand to harvest.

This discussion about the ground of being is where I find Weiner to be inconsistent. In Chapter 5, he observed that the way in which pearl shells are displayed reveal a *mode of being* where “people like the Melpa and the Foi affirm to themselves *relationship* as the ground upon which human action proceeds” (75, my emphasis), a point that Wagner (1977: 397) also made once. But at the end of the book, we encounter the earth as the ground of being. Initially we see Weiner describing the Foi spatial world as a blank environmental *tabul rasa*, which is imbued with the human inscription of meaning and intentionality. While we see Foi people going about doing their hunting, gardening, dreaming, singing, etc., we do not see clearly how the Earth emerges with a causally generative capacity. Perhaps we require a rigorous demonstration of how one could ontologize the Earth as the ground of being from which “the non-historical, spontaneous, self-generating aspect of things against which the humanly-made World stood as figure, but which it did not precede ontologically” (163).

If Weiner finds Strathern’s *Gender of the Gift* as revealing contrastive modes of being, then despite its productionist bias, I find her conceptualization of “relations” as having a particular causally generative capacity so that “relations” appear as a second-order trope internally endowed with its own contours of figure-ground (Strathern 1988: 172–173; 2000: 24–25). A clarification of whether “relationship” or the Earth is the ground of being would be helpful unless Weiner is alluding to a permutation of form. While Weiner raises important ontological questions about the relational premises of anthropology, his ontologization of the Earth as the fundament of being stems from his particular Heideggerian view of language that misplaces the ontological status of relations.

Conclusion and Summary

This essay examines the Heideggerian anthropology as put forward by Weiner (2001). The book itself is saturated with dense philosophical and theoretical ideas that require patience to follow through. It is also a book that assumes that readers are already familiar with phenomenological hermeneutics and social theory that emanates from the anthropology of Wagner (1977) and Strathern (1988, 2000). Yet through his focus on the dialectic of revelation and concealment, Weiner enhances the dialogue between phenomenological philosophy and anthropology in a creatively original way. My queries relate to how gender appears to be imported into the problem of ontological difference and the nature of death among the Foi as compared to Heidegger.

And finally in raising the ontological questions about the relational premises of anthropology, Weiner does not offer an ontological theory of relations but instead uses concealment as a strategy to ontologize the Earth as the ground of being.

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BOOKS NOTED

RECENT PACIFIC ISLAND PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, JANUARY 2006–JUNE 2006

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, Center for Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Nijmegen, University of California San Diego, Secretariat of the Pacific Community Library, Center for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales, Macmillan Brown Library at University of Canterbury, 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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