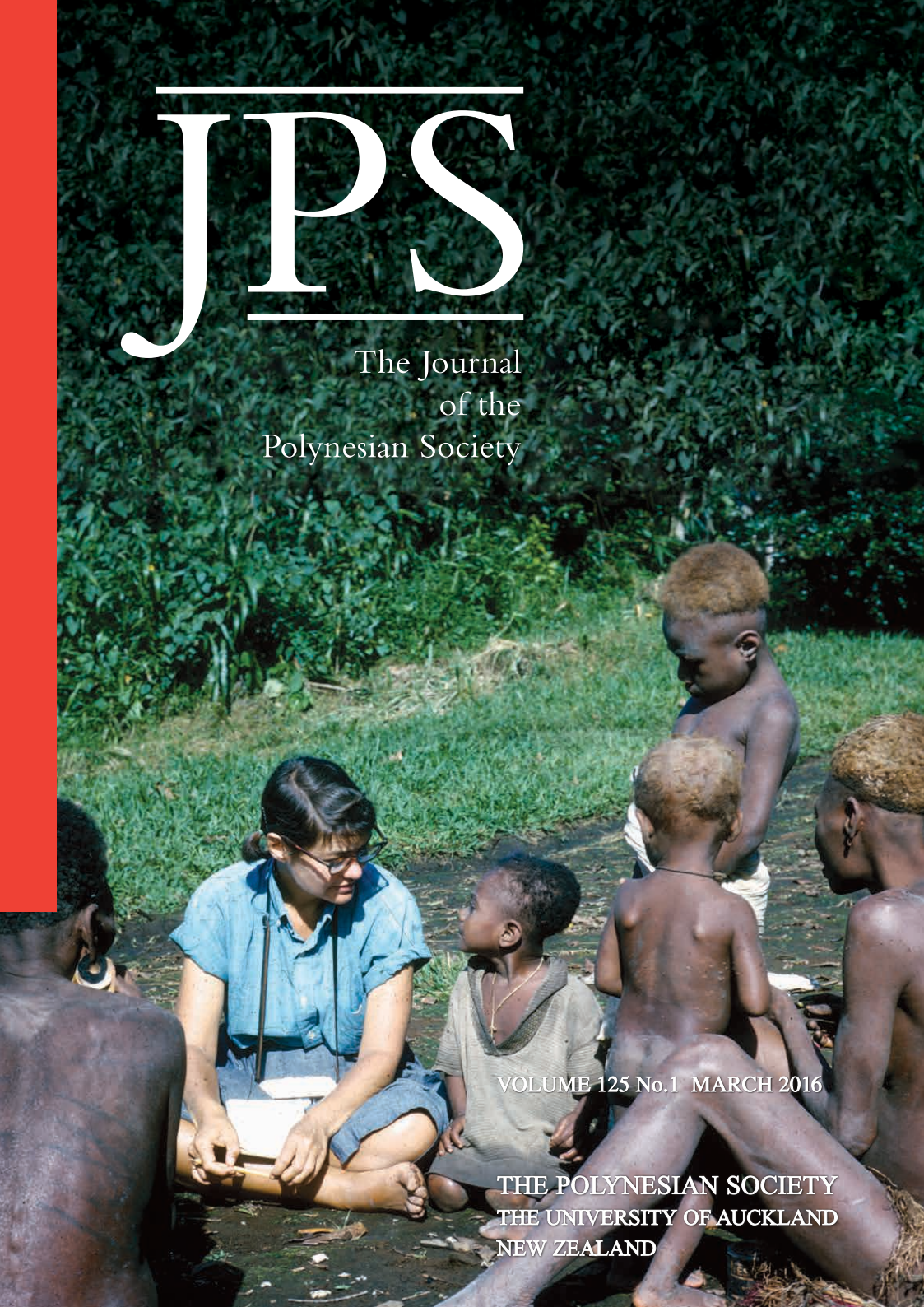
JPS

The Journal
of the
Polynesian Society



VOLUME 125 No.1 MARCH 2016

THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY
THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
NEW ZEALAND

THE JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

Volume 125 MARCH 2016 Number 1

Published quarterly
by the
Polynesian Society (Inc.), Auckland, New Zealand

Cover image: Ann Chowning with Sengseng villagers.
New Britain, 1964. Photograph by Jane C. Goodale.

Published in New Zealand by the Polynesian Society (Inc.)

Inquiries should be made to:

Hon. Secretary
af-jps@auckland.ac.nz.
The Polynesian Society
c/- Māori Studies
University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019, Auckland

ISSN 0032-4000 (print)
ISSN 2230-5955 (online)

Indexed in SCOPUS, WEB OF SCIENCE, INFORMIT NEW ZEALAND COLLECTION, INDEX NEW ZEALAND, ANTHROPOLOGY PLUS, ACADEMIC SEARCH PREMIER, HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS, EBSCO*host*, MLA INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY, JSTOR, CURRENT CONTENTS (Social & Behavioural Sciences).

AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

Volume 125 MARCH 2016 Number 1

CONTENTS

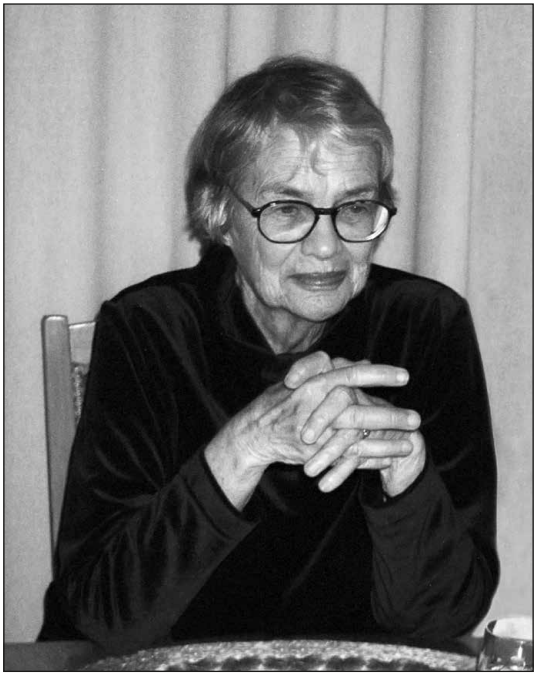
Contributors to This Issue

Matt Tomlinson is an Australian Research Council Future Fellow in Anthropology at the College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University. He has conducted fieldwork on Christianity, language and politics in Fiji since the mid-1990s, and has recently undertaken research in New Zealand and Samoa on the development of indigenous Christian theologies. He is the author of *In God's Image: The Metaculture of Fijian Christianity* (2009) and *Ritual Textuality: Pattern and Motion in Performance* (2014), and co-editor of several volumes including, most recently, *Christian Politics in Oceania* with Debra McDougall (2013).

Minako Kuramitsu is currently an Associate Professor in Asian and Oceanian Studies, Faculty of International Studies at Tenri University, Nara, Japan. She has conducted fieldwork on gender, development and clothing culture in the Independent State of Sāmoa since 1999 and more recently undertaken research in New Zealand and Japan on Sāmoan female migrants.

Other News

We also wish to bring to our readers' attention the online publication of Issue no. 5 of *The Journal of Sāmoan Studies* (*JSS*). This is a multidisciplinary journal devoted to the study of Sāmoa published by the Centre for Sāmoan Studies, The National University of Sāmoa. Issue no. 5 is edited by Associate Professor Penelope Schoeffel and Professor Malama Meleisea and features seven articles. Among them is an article on cultural heritage management in Sāmoa by Lorena Sciusco and Helene Martinsson-Wallin and another on land, custom and history by Malama Meleisea and Penelope Schoeffel. *JSS* issues no. 2-5 can be openly accessed at: http://journal.samoanstudies.ws/.



MARTHA ANN CHOWNING (1929–2016)

Professor Ann Chowning died in an Auckland nursing home on 25 February 2016. A noted anthropologist and linguist, her life and achievements are well described by Judith Huntsman (2005). That essay, written with Ann's co-operation, appeared in her Festschrift, a volume that also contains important tributes from friends and colleagues and includes a detailed list of her publications.

Born in Little Rock, Arkansas and educated at Bryn Mawr College and the University of Pennsylvania she was, even in the 1970s, a rare and fine example of the American "four-field" approach to anthropology which demanded knowledge of prehistory, culture, linguistics and physical anthropology. Her expertise in archaeology came from work in Tikal Guatemala and New Britain, Papua New Guinea. Her socio-cultural fieldwork in Lakalai, Molima, Kove and Sengseng (PNG) established her as a respected and accomplished fieldworker as well as linguist of Austronesian

languages. She published on a wide range of topics, often papers contributing to symposia and conferences devoted to particular topics.

Rather than repeat what has already been published, we will focus further on our experience of Ann as an anthropologist, teacher and colleague at the Victoria University of Wellington.

Ann came to the University in 1977 from the University of Papua New Guinea where she had been Associate Professor of Anthropology and Dean of Arts since 1970. One of us (HBL) was instrumental in Ann applying for the position, as he had tutored for Ann at the University of Papua New Guinea before coming to Victoria in 1975. He mentioned to Paula Brown, his PhD supervisor, who was visiting Wellington at the time, that the Department was experiencing problems filling the chair vacated by the retirement of its foundation professor, Jan Pouwer. Paula said Ann had expressed a wish to leave New Guinea as she considered Port Moresby was becoming unsafe for female expatriates. But the job market in the United States was depressed and she had been unsuccessful in finding a suitable post. Ann submitted a late application for the position at Victoria and she was offered, and accepted, the position of Professor and Chair of Anthropology.

Ann inherited an Anthropology Department at Victoria in some disarray. Jan Pouwer had favoured Lévi-Strauss's ideas viewed through a Dutch lens. His perspective enthused many students and some academics in the University, but few of the anthropologists he recruited to teach anthropology in his Department. Moreover, unlike at the University of Papua New Guinea where anthropology and anthropologists had a central role in research and teaching, at Victoria the subject was considered marginal and was under-resourced. Faced with this situation, Ann tried to reconstruct the Department and raise the discipline's profile in the University with extremely limited resources.

In the introductory courses she presented the broad vision of the kind of anthropology in which she had been trained. But this could not be developed into higher levels of teaching. Archaeology and physical anthropology were excluded from funding, then centralised through the Ministry of Education, and none of the other lecturers had sufficient knowledge of the technicalities of linguistics to develop this field. Linguistics was taught within the English Department and was devoted to English and other Indo-European languages. Anthropology courses beyond the first year concentrated wholly on social and cultural topics. At the two-hundred level there was a core course on theory and then students were expected to move on to more advanced courses that dealt with new and emergent ideas in anthropology. Like any good plan, the delivery of the programme was limited by the skills, knowledge and willingness of Department members to contribute to the overall vision. This often meant that Ann had to fill-in the missing bits, sometimes in jointly-

taught courses, when and where members were willing to be involved. It also meant that, given a very small academic staff and a large number of students, she had little time to teach her own particular interests. However, her lectures were always illustrated with examples drawn from her rich resource of ethnographic experiences, often with slides that provided students with insights into ethnographic research.

Postgraduate teaching was likewise limited by the availability of resources. While obviously willing to include anthropology in the University's curriculum, the powers that be were less willing to sponsor the kind of research required to sustain it as a proper academic discipline. Most critical was the absence of funding for ethnographic research, a problem that affected both postgraduate students and the academic members of the Department. Caught between a heavy teaching load, administrative and management duties, Ann's ability to sustain her own research suffered. The arrival of one of us (JU), from Australia in 1983, relieved some of the pressures, as we shared the management of the Department and co-taught a number of courses.

Ann continued, however, to be highly productive in producing papers for conferences, many of which were published in conference proceedings or in collections of essays. Indeed, it often seemed that she needed a conference or research seminar to turn her rich store of ethnographic knowledge into papers and subsequently into publications. We still have a vivid vision of Ann frantically writing an ever-lengthening paper, then editing it down to an acceptable size, losing many interesting ideas in the process, and finally hurriedly posting it as close to the deadline as she could manage. The development of fax machines merely moved the deadline closer to the final submission point. The result, however, was always a carefully structured, richly illustrated paper.

Ann never wanted to retire but was forced to do so when she reached the age of 65 by the law at the time. It may have been a blessing. Released from the pressures of teaching and administration, she moved north to Auckland where she could escape the cold wind and rains of Wellington. She continued to work on her writing and remained associated with anthropology and friends and colleagues at the University of Auckland. She was also active in the editing of this journal. Unfortunately her body proved to be not as resilient as her mind and she physically became increasingly frail. Fortunately, she at least lived to see her dictionary of the Lakalai language published (Chowning and Goodenough 2015), a work to which she had devoted a great deal of her research time (see Sperlich and Pawley 2015).

Respecting her wishes not to have a formal memorial service, Ann's friends and colleagues in Wellington met in early March to share reminiscences of her contributions to the development of anthropology and the academic life

of Victoria University. We recalled her unique teaching style—assigning readings which she then extensively criticised during lectures, often to the consternation of students. Her commitment to fieldwork was noted, along with the importance she placed on learning by quietly observing, listening and participating rather than through conducting formal interviews. Colleagues from linguistics recalled their appreciation of her contributions to their field, how she essentially served as their professor for a few years until linguistics became properly established in the University. We remembered her eccentricities, her ubiquitous raincoat and jandals, and her love of reading that included not just academic works but also Mills and Boone, Georgette Heyer and detective stories. These she gladly lent or exchanged with anyone interested. And finally, we remembered her love of her cats.

Ann was a very special, unique person, not easily forgotten who left a lasting legacy.

REFERENCES

Chowning, Ann and Ward H. Goodenough, 2015. *A Dictionary of the Lakalai (Nakanai) Language of New Britain, Papua New Guinea*. 424pp. Available at: glottolog.org/resource/reference/id/475142

Huntsman, Judith (with Ann Chowning), 2005. Ann Chowning – Polymath anthropologist and traveller. In Claudia Gross, Harriet D. Lyons and Dorothy A. Counts (eds), *A Polymath Anthropologist: Essays in Honour of Ann Chowning*. Research in Anthropology & Linguistics Monograph No. 6. Auckland: Department of Anthropology, pp. ix-xvi. [Available from: http://www.arts.auckland.ac.nz/en/about/schools-in-the-faculty-of-arts/school-of-social-sciences/anthropology/journals-and-associations/ral/monographs.html]

Sperlich, Wolfgang B. and Andrew Pawley, 2015. The Making of the Lakalai Dictionary. ical13.ling.sinica.edu.tw/Full_papers_and_ppts/July_19/G-101.pdf

Hal Levine and Jim Urry
Victoria University of Wellington

LITTLE PEOPLE, GHOSTS AND THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE GOOD

MATT TOMLINSON
Australian National University

Although ghosts might not be found universally, as Laura Bohannon observed in her classic article on the Tiv of West Africa (Bohannon 1966), they are undeniably popular. As embodied figures of culturally contoured anxieties about death experiences, ghosts tend to make excellent subjects for stories. Narratively, they spring to life, whether doing so as alternative forms of kin (Kwon 2008), patrollers of boundaries (Taylor 2014), voices of political truth and legitimacy (Greenblatt 1999), figures of tragedy who paradoxically offer good fortune (Ferguson 2014) or any other of the seemingly countless characterisations found in the ethnographic literature.

In this article I analyse stories about ghosts '*yalo*' in Fiji and compare them with elusive dwarf spirits known as *veli*, to see what critical insights can be gained by aligning these distinct figures. In doing so, I am trying to avoid the Scylla of explaining them away as delusions and the Charybdis of throwing them into the overly expansive category of "haunting", a category which, under the influence of Derridean "hauntology" (Derrida 1994), has attempted to encompass such sprawling, ungraspable referents as the "seething presence" of "that which appears to be not there" (Gordon 1997: 8). As Heonik Kwon has cautioned for ghosts, it is crucial to distinguish between the way they are "concrete historical identities" and the way they are "idea[s] of history" (Kwon 2008: 2). Ghosts and *veli* can be both things, but keeping the categories analytically separate helps avoid the loose excess of turning them into tokens of an indefinable, seething haunting.

In analysing the similarities and differences between ghosts and *veli* as figures in history and figures of history, I draw on the recent work of Joel Robbins (2013) on suffering and hope. Robbins has proposed an "anthropology of the good" that treats difference in terms of promise rather than trauma, and this article is an attempt to work through the implications of Robbins' framework. Robbins focusses on anthropological paradigms, not things that go bump in the night; but those things that go bump in the night, in Fiji at least, do tend to arrange themselves along the lines Robbins draws. Keeping ghosts and dwarf spirits together in the same analytical frame reveals them as complementary alternative perspectives in imagining and engaging with pasts and futures.

Journal of the Polynesian Society, 2016, 125 (1): 11-32;
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.15286/jps.125.1.11-32

PRELUDE

In December 1998, during dissertation fieldwork on Kadavu Island, Fiji, I heard my first local ghost story. It was told at a *kava*-drinking session in Nagonedau village, *kava* or *yaqona* (in Fijian) being a relaxing drink made from the dried and crushed roots and stems of *Piper methysticum* infused into water. It concerned a man named Manoa, who had died not long before—he had been alive when I first visited Kadavu in 1996—but he was not the ghost. Rather, the ghost appeared to him, as Ratu Alipate Naivolivoli from Nagonedau Village explained to me. I reported in my fieldnotes:

> Apparently Manoa was helping [to] work on the new *vale ni bose* [meeting hall] a few years ago when he found a bone and just tossed it aside. That night, he looked and saw standing in his window a *turaga* [polite word for a man, often translated as "chief"] (this was the word [Ratu Naivolivoli] used); the *turaga* held up his hand and there was a finger missing—the thumb, I think. Manoa was frightened and the next morning told [Ratu] Vitu, so they went and found the bone and buried it at one of the house's corner posts—where, I gather, the rest of the body had been buried. (December 3, 1998; Notebook A, p. 166)[1]

Two months after hearing this tale, I was drinking *kava* at the house of Ratu Aca Vitukawalu (the "Ratu Vitu" of the story) in Tavuki Village, which is next to Nagonedau. I asked him about it. He confirmed that the ghost's missing digit had been a thumb, and added three details. First, Manoa had been so frightened that he went to Ratu Vitu's house in the middle of the night—at 2 or 3 in the morning—and slept there. Second, the ghost was physically big, and had big hair, befitting the figure of a powerful man from the old days. Third, when I asked whether Manoa had seen the figure for a short time or a long time, Ratu Vitu said that it was a long time. When I asked him and another young man from Tavuki if they knew any other local ghost stories, they said no (February 6, 1999; Notebook B, pp. 54-55).

This story about the thumbless ghost is generic. It even has its own folklore motif index number in Stith Thompson's (1955-1958) monograph series on folklore literature (E235.4.3, "Return from dead to punish theft of bone from grave", vol. 2). But it is also distinctively Fijian: the man was obviously a ghost not only because he came for that discarded bone, but also because with his size and hairstyle he evidently came from the local past (see also Herr 1981: 340).[2] Like any good ghost story, it was creepy and memorable, and I heard it mentioned during a later round of fieldwork in January 2006.

On that later occasion, I was drinking *kava* in Nagonedau Village with Ratu Alipate's older brothers, Ratu Josaia Veibataki and Ratu Laisiasa Cadri. Early in the *kava* session, Ratu Jo and Ratu Cadri told me about the *veli*, or dwarf spirits. Although I enjoyed hearing about them, I also wanted to hear

about ghosts, so I changed the topic. We discussed the story of Manoa and the thumbless ghost. Then Ratu Cadri told me a firsthand ghost tale of his own which took place in Vunisea, Kadavu Island's town and administrative centre. Below, I relate that story as well as what the brothers told me about *veli.*

Looking back, I am keenly embarrassed that I committed the ethnographer's sin of knocking a good conversation off course. Why, when my friends wanted to talk about *veli*, did I bring up ghosts, who seem to be entirely different characters? As it turned out, the brothers did not seem to mind changing the subject, and after a while a man from another village showed up and held forth on political topics, so the fun discussion was then truly over. My old clumsiness, however, motivates a new question. Is it possible to learn something unexpected by putting ghosts and *veli* into the same analytical frame? At the Nagonedau *kava* session they were brought into the same frame owing to my methodological recklessness and unexamined presuppositions. But if one proceeds more carefully, attempting to sort out dwarf spirits and ghosts in a non-reductive way, then bringing them back together to clarify how they relate to each other, it might be possible to gain fresh insights about moral-historical imaginations in Fiji, and perhaps elsewhere as well.

LITTLE PEOPLE

Many Pacific Islands societies feature small, elusive, long-haired and immensely strong quasi-human spiritual figures (see Forth 2008: 242-59 for a survey). For example, Sāmoa has legendary cave-dwelling ones. A story about them, centred on the village of Paia on Savai'i, tells how a man who discovered them was magically prosperous as long as he did not reveal their existence to others (Vaelua 1998–1999: 129-35). In the story's most telling line, as given in English translation, the man wondered "if they were human or spirit" (p. 130).[3]

Some of the most well-known Oceanic little people are Hawai'i's *menehune*, said to be ancestral beings, essentially human and kin to living humans. Indeed, during the rule of Kaumuali'i of Kaua'i (d. 1824), a census listed 65 people in the Wainiha Valley who were classified as *menehune* (Luomala 1951: 12). They were small, "known to be powerfully built, stout and muscular. Their skin was red, their body hairy; their nose short and thick-set and their low, protruding forehead was covered with hair. They had big eyes hidden by long eyebrows, and their set countenance was fearful so that they were unpleasant to look upon" (Thrum 1923: 214). Despite their frightening gaze, "they were not angry or quarrelsome men, said my [interlocutor's] ancestors, who learned clearly of their characteristics" (Thrum 1923: 218). Carlos Andrade, working from Hawaiian language sources, suggests that "The physical shrinking of Menehune in stories written in historic times by foreign

writers may have more to do with Westerners' imaginations than with the actual physical stature of these people", and he notes how they have come, in some modern popular imaginings, to resemble European leprechauns, fairies and elves (Andrade 2008: 6, 9; see also Luomala 1951: 19, who suggests that the images of *menehune* on mid-20th century tourist maps were "inspired by Scandinavian trolls"). But *menehune* also can have an aura of danger. In the mid-1940s, a 14-year old girl of mixed Hawaiian and Chinese ancestry told the schoolteacher Gwladys Hughes about them: "Menehunes are something like small dwarfs. Most people say that one menehune has the strength of fifty men. The olden Hawaiians say that if someone else comes from another island, if he don't be careful, this thing will harm them" (Hughes 1949: 306).

Another kind of Oceanic little person is the *kakamora* of Solomon Islands, described vividly for Makira Island by Michael W. Scott in several publications (Scott 2007, 2008, 2013, 2014a, 2014b). Central to Scott's scholarship is the analysis of cosmologies in terms of monogenetic or polygenetic foundations: that is, do people describe the world, and themselves in the world, as fundamentally unified in origins or as fundamentally separated? Answering this question requires, in part, analysis of who *kakamora* are and what they signify.

Many Makirans believe that their island has been hollowed out. Living inside it, underground, is a fantastical army aided by the *kakamora* that will emerge one day to re-establish true *kastom* 'traditional ways'. The dwarfish *kakamora* spirits, considered to be "proto-people" (Scott 2008)—ancestral but co-present with us; ingredient to humanity but markedly different from it—are said to retain the old language and true *kastom* of Makira while helping the underground army develop "advanced, even paranormal, technology" (Scott 2013: 56). Different Christian congregations, predictably, come to different conclusions as to whether their ascendance will be a good thing or a bad thing.

Kakamora are "human-like but very short, with long flowing hair growing from their heads, long fingernails and glowing eyes" (Scott 2014a: 74). They are tremendously strong: when the island was about to crash into the sea, legend has it they propped up a limestone pillar to save it. However, they do not always help humans. Because they cannot make fire, they sometimes steal it from people, and they also steal children. Their magical power is inherent, but also detachable, concentrated in stones they keep in one of their armpits. These stones can be removed and used by those who are knowledgeable.

In Scott's inspired analysis, the key to understanding *kakamora* is that they embody the idea of Makira as a place and a collectivity. They are part of the earth, living in caves, carving out the underground, carrying magic stones in their armpits. They carry and express Makira's perfect past and future potential or, as Scott puts it, they serve as "conceptually available figures of the primordial wholeness and essential power of Makira" (2013: 59). Their

miniaturised wholeness and power makes *kakamora* both admirable and monstrous. They are admirable because they can restore Makira; they are monstrous because they lurk out of sight while embodying power's danger as well as its promise. Indeed, for evangelical Christians like two Seventh-day Adventists whose theology Scott discusses at length (2013), the *kakamora's* underground space is "Satan's base in the Pacific".

Fiji's own long-haired dwarf spirits, the *veli*, resemble other Oceanic little people. They are physically and magically powerful, admired but sometimes dangerous. Clunie and Ligairi (1983: 55) call the *veli* "a species of rustic and decidedly contrary gnome who still haunts the Fiji bush"; making them cuter, Nabobo-Baba (2006: 58) translates "*veli*" as "elves", and also notes that they "live in the forests" (2006: 59, note 11). She observes that *veli* are people's relatives—they "are considered relations" and "are deemed to influence the behaviour of people in certain clans"—but are also "opposite to human beings. For example, when things are hot, they feel cold and *vice versa*" (2006: 59, note 11).

In the early 1860s, the botanist Berthold Seemann reported that "In Kuruduadua's domain [Namosi] I could hardly turn without hearing of the doings of the *Veli*" (Seemann 1862: 204). He described them as gnomish, light-skinned and living in hollowed-out trees, adding, curiously, "Some have wings, others have not" (p. 204). In the same decade, the Methodist missionary Jesse Carey surveyed his "native teachers" in Kadavu about local traditions, practices and beliefs, and received some information about *veli*. One of the respondents characterised them as being very short, living in hills and cracks in rocks as well as the hollows of trees, and having habits or customs (*itovo*) like those of humans (Carey 1865: 176). Carey's survey also obtained lyrics to a *meke* 'traditional chant with dance' about *veli.* "It is said that a veli was baked in an earth oven," the author explained; "when the oven was covered and bamboo was cut to dig it up, the veli had fled, and did a meke, its meke went like this":

> The cut bamboo, *roko lele*
> Whose bamboo, *roko lele*
> The bamboo of the Dwarf, *roko lele*
> Cutting the liver, *roko lele*
> The flesh/substance has fled, *roko lele* (Carey 1865: 217)[4]

As I describe below, *veli* are associated with earth ovens because they are also associated with ritual firewalking: they combine earth and fire. In the *meke* lyrics, the *veli*'s special talents help it to escape from inside the oven.[5]

A later description of *veli* comes from the colonial official Adolph Brewster:

> The natives of my time used to maintain that the forests and waste spaces were still inhabited by a dwarf or pygmy people, visible only to the faithful, handsome little folk with large fuzzy mops of hair, miniatures of what their own were like until they were cropped in deference to the sanitary requirements of the Wesleyan missionaries.
>
> These little sylvan creatures were called *Veli* and took the place of our own fairies. They loved the woods, the open grasslands and the sparkling brooks, and dwelt in hollow trees, caves and dugouts. They had their own bananas, *kava* and other wild plants from which the varieties now in cultivation have been evolved. (Brewster 1922: 88)

The descriptions offered by Seemann, Carey and Brewster harmonise, but whereas Brewster was ready to consign *veli* to the past, my own experience at the *kava*-drinking session in Nagonedau Village in January 2006—as well as the accounts of Nabobo-Baba, Clunie and Ligairi, Daryl Tarte (Tarte 2014: 171-75) and Guido Carlo Pigliasco (see below)—make it clear that *veli* thrive in the present. A key point about *veli* is that they are still here. As I wrote in my fieldnotes:

> [Ratu Jo and Ratu Cadri] were telling stories of *veli*, the invisible dwarf spirits. If a large boat is ashore and people want it to be dragged to the sea, the *bete* [traditional priest] who serves the *veli* can do so single-handedly because he is aided by all his invisible dwarfish helpers. The *veli* also protect the Beqa firewalkers by lying (invisibly) on the hot stones[.] If you're building a[n] *irevo* [earth oven], don't joke about firewalking across it, or the *veli* will hear you, lie on the hot stones, and consequently your food will not get cooked. But if you've made this joke and want to negate the effects, toss a coconut in the earth oven, for the coconut is the *veli*s' food. It's clear that Rt Jo and Rt Cadri firmly believe in their existence and think of them as adorable benevolent spirits. (January 23, 2006; Notebook E1, pp. 41-42)[6]

These descriptions of *veli* as a multitude of small but powerful quasi-human spirits with magical qualities resonate with the descriptions of other little people in the Pacific discussed above. Like those other figures, the *veli* also have their dangerous aspects, as suggested by Clunie and Ligairi's description of them as "decidedly contrary".

Their dangerous contrariness is evident in a story heard by Guido Carlo Pigliasco during his research in Beqa. The story was about a man asked by his chief to plant coconut palms in order to mark a boundary. He did so. "[B]ut the veli," Pigliasco writes (in contrast to Ratu Jo and Ratu Cadri), "… notoriously dislike coconuts" because they can choke on them, and so they "'punished' him". The man began suffering from cancer of the mouth and

jaw, and then died (2007: 213-14; see also Pigliasco 2009, 2012). Similarly, Seemann's account from the 1860s reports, "They are friendly disposed, and possess no other bad quality than that of stealing iron tools from the natives", but then added that men who have cut down their favourite fruit trees "have received a sound beating from the enraged Veli" (Seemann 1862: 204-5). Putting together the various portraits then, *veli* can be seen as short, powerful, playful, mischievous and admirable, but also potentially dangerous. These are charming little people who can kill you.[7]

In the context of Christian Fiji, the past is a battlefield of competing evaluations: it was a time of strength, but also sin; a time of integrity, but also war. In this regard, recall Brewster's description of *veli* with "large fuzzy mops of hair" which, he noted, were what many Fijians' hairstyles looked like in the days before Christianity (Brewster 1922: 88, cf. Seemann 1862: 204). In addition, Pigliasco notes that in Beqa, *veli* are always male, which aligns masculinity with power, the past and the land.[8] In short, *veli* are a condensed image of the Fijian *vanua* 'the land', which is itself integrally composed of people serving chiefs.

Sorting out the relationships between Christianity and the land is a dominant project in much of indigenous Fiji. In many parts of Fiji, the Methodists and Catholics who enjoy talking about tradition find themselves on the defensive against evangelical and Pentecostal Christian groups who demonise tradition and treat the landscape, and its bones and spirits, as things that need to be cleaned up (Newland 2004, Tomlinson 2009). Thus *veli*, like the ghosts I will soon discuss, must be seen in the context of modern Fijian Christianity in which the landscape is saturated with competing meanings and values. Land is God's gift to indigenous Fijian Christians, but also the site of dangerous pre-Christian spiritual presences. Toren (1995: 171) evocatively describes the spiritual suffusion of the Fijian landscape:

> All parts of the country are owned and inhabited—even if one does not always know by whom. Indeed, many references to old gods and ancestors are oblique; so I was often told by young people in their late teens that 'something' (*e dua na ka*) was there, or likely to be there, in spots we passed…when I went to the gardens.

Veli, like other Oceanic little people—and especially like the *kakamora* of Makira—embody places and their pasts in new, hopeful projects of imagination that look for signs of indigenous strength. As I understood the situation, my friends in Nagonedau liked *veli* because they were theirs—their own charming, powerful and entirely local figures. *Veli* are hopeful figures in Miyazaki's (2004) sense of hope as the creation of "prospective

momentum": they come from the past, but their endurance in modern Christian Fiji shows that some parts of inherently local, indigenous Fijian tradition will thrive in the future.

In marking an enduring indigenous strength, *veli* have company. Other Fijian little-people spirits, *rere* and *luveniwai*, have served as spirits of invulnerability called upon by colonial-era resistance movements—that is, as icons of anticolonial hopefulness (see especially Kaplan 1989, 1995). The traditional gods of Fiji, too, live on. As Toren (1995: 167) found, "Villagers in Sawaieke [in Gau, central Fiji]…assert ideas of immanent ancestral power and the continued existence of old gods such as Degei (the snake creator god) and Daucina." Moreover, in times of political turbulence they can serve as signs of local power against perceived foreign threat. After military commander Voreqe Bainimarama's coup in December 2006, "Off the reefs of Kadavu, a Black Hawk helicopter crashed into the sea while attempting to land on one of three Australian warships that were standing by if needed to evacuate nationals. Fijians said it had been taken down by the shark god, Dakuwaqa" (Fraenkel 2009: 43).

On 12 July 2007, I interviewed the Fijian Methodist theologian Ilaitia Sevati Tuwere, who has served as president of his national church organisation and principal of the Pacific Theological College. I asked about the Christian status of traditional deities such as Degei, the paramount god who causes earthquakes and takes the form of a snake, and Dakuwaqa. In his reply, Tuwere said that he felt that such deities had once been "real people" but now had to be understood in terms of myth. Mentioning a radio show he hosted in Auckland, he explained:

> I'm getting across to our [Fijian] people on the radio precisely in this area, I'm telling them—because people, when they hear "Degei" and "Dakuwaqa" [they say] "Oo! *Tevoro* [devils]". And I've tried to explain this again and again that [it's] very useful to get into that [i.e., don't be afraid to explore Fijian myth]. Don't be afraid to move into that. Explore them. Because we have a tendency, if we are not able to explain something, we end up in the *tevoro* [i.e., we tend to explain the unexplainable with reference to supposedly evil forces]. I try to encourage them to move into this. And the meaningful move is to explain them in the area of myth. …
>
> Yeah, Degei, there's so many stories about Degei moving around. Especially in the light of the present political crisis of Fiji. I happened to visit Parliament the day after the coup in the year 2000. I went there with another friend who just passed away last year, Jone Lagi. I went in. It's a long story. But this was Saturday morning. The coup happened on Friday. And there, just to cut the long story short, I met my close relative Ilisoni Ligairi [a former member

> of the British special forces who participated in Fiji's coups of 1987 and 2000]. … I tried to visit him now and then for a whole week after the coup. We talked on the phone. And he was relaying to me some old stories from Nakauvadra [the mountain that is Degei's home, considered a spiritually vibrant place], and some people from the hills came to the Parliament to give support, and in the course of our conversation on the phone, Ligairi was telling me, "Well, I, these people, they say this is the time. This is your time. You are being—you are anointed to…initiate the coup." And I told him, "No, no, you have to be very careful. You have to be very careful.… Don't get carried away easily." But there were people who were telling him that he was the new Degei, new Dakuwaqa. When we move into that…I think we're treading on dangerous ground.
>
> I think it's a very thin boundary that I'm working in. I want to see them [traditional Fijian deities] in the light of myth, not throwing them away as useless, but bringing them in—included. But making sense of them so that they tell us something meaningful and useful in today's political situation. [For clarity, I have eliminated some repetitions and false starts, placeholders like "y'know," and my own responsive sounds like "mm hmm" in this transcript.]

Tuwere highlights a key dynamic of modern Christian Fiji: ancestral and pre-Christian spiritual figures, turned into demons and devils by 19th-century missionaries, are still appealing to Fijians for their connections to a powerful past and the promise such connections continue to offer.

The hopeful perspective offered by autochthonous spiritual figures like *veli* has an inherently dangerous aspect in Christian Fiji. The *veli* can hurt people, as seen in Pigliasco's story. Further, land, families and even the nation can be considered to be cursed by relations with figures from the past (Tomlinson 2012, 2014). To talk of *veli* in terms of haunting, however, would be a mistake. They come from the past but they do not haunt the present; they enliven it and suggest something about indigenous presence in the future. As I observed in Nagonedau, the *veli* were seen in a positive light.

GHOSTS

The term for ghost in Fijian is *yalo.* An early Fijian dictionary, from the days when Christian mission influence was less than two decades old, defines *yalo* primarily as "a spirit; soul; shadow of a person in the water" and comments that "The heathen are very much afraid of the spirits of men, whom they believe to appear frequently, and afflict mankind, especially when they are asleep" (Hazlewood 1850: 189; see also Deane 1921: 39). The dictionary goes on to note that Fijians distinguish between the *yalo* of a living person (which often does its evil work while that person sleeps) and the *yalo* of a dead

person (with the *yalo* of a woman who has died in childbirth being especially feared).[9] Although dictionary definitions are never adequate for understanding ambiguous, historically labile referents, Hazelwood's definitions from 1850 are useful, at least for suggesting that Fijians already believed in something analogous to the English-language category of "ghost" before missionaries helped to reconfigure categories of the spirit world (see below).

As mentioned earlier, I turned the conversation from *veli* to ghosts that night at the *kava* bowl in Nagonedau. But as I wrote in my fieldnotes, Ratu Jo and Ratu Cadri "were happy to oblige" with ghost stories:

> I asked if someone could see someone's image and know that that person was dead at that moment, and I was told (by Rt Jo or Rt Cadri, can't recall who) that sometimes people would see someone, think they were alive, and then be told the next day that they had died. We discussed the story I'd heard years ago about Manoa tossing aside human finger bones found in the Nagonedau *vale ni bose* [meeting hall] earthen foundation, then being unable to sleep, seeing a large old-style Fijian with *buiniga* [a traditional hairstyle] indicating that he wanted his missing finger back. And Rt Cadri told a first-hand classical ghost story from his days as a student in Vunisea. The students slept in a large old building from the colonial era which used to include the courtroom. Needing to go to the bathroom one night, Rt Cadri had to walk a long distance through the U-shaped building to get there, and as he did, he had an eerie feeling, with his hairs standing on end. He went anyway. On his return to the sleeping quarters from the bathroom, he passed the old courtroom and, glancing inside, saw a white man sitting there. Frightened, he returned to the sleeping quarters and told his *nana lailai* [mother's younger sister] what he had seen, and [she] said, yes, lots of people see that guy. (January 23, 2006; Notebook E, pp. 42–43)[10]

Unfortunately, that night I neglected to write in my notes the specific term we used in discussing ghosts. We probably used *yalo*, but we might also have used the English "ghost".

Whichever term or terms we used, the white man sitting in the courtroom was evidently what many English-language speakers would call a ghost. This was apparent in the fact that this was an old colonial building, white men should not have been sitting there in the middle of the night, and, most compellingly, Ratu Cadri felt his hairs standing up (compare Hocart 1912: 439, Ravuvu 1983: 87). A key point for Fijian ethnography is that this kind of ghost is a subclass of spirits; not all spirits are ghosts, as I discuss further below. Ghosts are a subclass of the dead who are not at rest. A key feature of the ghost in Vunisea, and other Fijian ghosts I will introduce shortly, is that they are socially disconnected figures, unlike some other spirits associated with particular kin groups. Even the thumbless ghost in Nagonedau, who

obviously belonged to that place—his bones being integral to the earthen foundation of the village meeting hall—was not a specific known persona.[11]

Other anthropologists have encountered Fijian ghosts firsthand. Geir Henning Presterudstuen (2014) begins a recent book chapter on Fijian ghosts with a personal story. He and a friend are visiting Levuka, Fiji's old colonial capital, when they are awoken by someone banging on the door of their cabin. The friend, an Indo-Fijian man named Ajay, answers the door but soon calls to Presterudstuen for help. He sees a young indigenous Fijian girl with "sleepy eyes and slurred speech", and he figures she might have had a bit too much to drink (Presterudstuen 2014a: 127). He speaks to her grumpily while she keeps insisting that she wants to see her cousin. She eventually leaves, but the encounter is not really over. As Presterudstuen is getting ready to go back to sleep, Ajay says it is good that his friend had not been kind to the girl because if you are too nice to a ghost "then you will never get rid of them". This prompts Presterudstuen to ask how something that seemed so human to him could so evidently be a ghost to Ajay.

In his analysis, he turns to examine how ghosts exist in the matrix of Fijian race relations, wherein indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians (citizens of Indian heritage) have long differed over political, religious and economic matters. Ghosts, according to Presterudstuen, "emerge as indicators or markers of someone having overstepped racial boundaries as well as violated Fijian cultural norms" (Presterudstuen 2014a: 132).[12] Ajay was perplexed because he was not certain how he had managed to violate indigenous Fijian protocol, yet he knew he must have done so in order to make the girl show up as she did.

Presterudstuen's argument is persuasive but, in the nature of ghosts, some things slip into thin air. To return to Kadavu: A white man frightening a Fijian man in a courtroom seems overdetermined as a marker of racial politics, but not the kind of racial politics Presterudstuen is discussing. The ghost could not have been punishing Ratu Cadri for any violation of Fijian protocol. Part of the narrative force of the Vunisea ghost story is that it so firmly resists explanation even as it concludes on a taken-for-granted note: "lots of people see that guy".

Thomas Williams, a Methodist missionary to Fiji, reported in 1858, "Of apparitions the natives are very much afraid", and he described a profusion of spiritual figures and practices: "Among the principal objects of Fijian superstition may be enumerated demons, ghosts, witches, wizards, wisemen, fairies, evil eyes, god-eyes, seers, and priests, all of whom he believes to be more or less possessed of supernatural power, and reverences accordingly" (Williams 1982 [1858]: 240-41; cf. Brewster 1922: 215-16, Deane 1921: 24-71). A major anthropological contribution to the study of Fijian spirits was Hocart's analysis of terminology, in which he made the key point that when

Methodist missionaries appropriated a term for spirit or deity, *kalou*-Jehovah was *Na* Kalou, *The* God—they introduced the words *tevoro* 'devil' and *timoni* 'demon' to "defame" the indigenous spirits (Hocart 1912: 437, 440). But Fijian *kalou* live on, linguistically at least, in various forms, most notably as *kalou vu*, the ancestral founding spirits.[13] *Kalou vu* are complex, central figures; they are signs of indigenous strength, but they are not *veli*; they are spirits of humans, but they are not ghosts (see Clunie 1986: 80, Hocart 1912: 443, Thomson 1895). These spirits are not lost, wandering, or ambiguous, but firmly emplaced as autochthonous presences. They *must* be around for the land to be both fully indigenous and fully Christian, at least for Methodists (Tomlinson 2009: 159-61). Ghosts, however, do not necessarily mark anything beyond their own unsettling disconnection and restlessness.

In the densely populated Fijian spiritual landscape then, there were many kinds of spiritual figures. There were even different kinds of little people, such as the *rere* and *luveniwai* mentioned above.[14] In addition, Nabobo-Baba (2006: 57-8) describes the *leka* of the land of Vugalei. *Leka* literally means 'dwarf' and Nabobo-Baba writes that they are small, hairy forest dwellers who "are considered relatives of the Vugalei [people] (but in a semi-human and semi-spirit way)" (see also Parke 2006: 45, 50).[15]

This is a crowded stage and it is necessary to step back, analytically speaking, to see what insights might be gained by putting specific figures together in the same frame.

SUFFERING AND HOPE

Here I will focus on *veli* in comparison to ghosts like the man without the thumb, the sleepy-eyed girl and the man in the courtroom. There are significant differences between a team of dwarves dragging boats down the beach and the ghosts I have described, and not only because the ghosts are showing themselves openly. *Veli* are doing something very different from ghosts. They can help people and also play tricks on them. Ghosts do neither of these things. Instead, they are looking for something lost—a tossed-aside thumb bone, a missing cousin—or mysteriously just sitting there in the middle of the night, unable or unwilling to leave the courtroom long after the last sentence has been pronounced.

Yet, there is also something fundamentally similar about *veli* and ghosts; they have many overlapping characteristics. They belong to the past but keep showing up in the present, like a compulsive repetition. They might travel a little, but they are strongly associated with particular places. Despite this groundedness, they transgress the normal order and are thus a fantastic subject for narratives, at least in the right contexts. They can only communicate by what Webb Keane (2013) metaphorically calls "spirit

writing", responding to human discourse by replying (when they reply) in a different yet usually recognisable mode.

Ultimately, I argue, *veli* and ghosts belong together—and I hasten to add that I am not just tossing them into an expansive basket labelled "the supernatural", nor making any larger ontological claim. Rather, I am picking up on Presterudstuen's argument that ghosts—and *veli*, I add—are "connected to particular ways of being as well as particular ways of seeing, or perceiving one's place in the world" (2014a: 128; see also Bubandt 2012). Those ways of being, seeing and perceiving, like the speech of that young girl in Levuka, can be slurred and out of joint, but they can also mark distinct relationships between past and future.

As indexes, signs joined to their referents in "a real relationship of causation or contiguity" (Keane 1997: 19), both *veli* and ghosts can point to several meanings at once. They can even seem inherently paradoxical, as shown in Scott's discussion of *kakamora*. As he observes, *kakamora* are believed to have stones in their armpits which are repositories of massive magical power. These stones iconically resemble shrine stones, pointing to an autochthonous existential plurality in which matrilineages have their own separate origins. But the stones, connected bodily as they are to the *kakamora*, also "double" (2014a: 74) the *kakamora* figures, intensifying their significance as emblems of island-wide unity. That is, the *kakamora* stones index both unity and plurality. "In mediating between these competing models of essential insular unity and essential matrilineal plurality," Scott writes, "they reference both possibilities at once" (2014a: 77).

This kind of semiotic versatility is one reason to consider *veli* and ghosts in the same analytical frame. Because people can perceive their place in the world in multiple ways, it follows that figures like *veli* and ghosts can be two things at once. Here I will call them "alternative perspectives" for the way in which memory of suffering coexists with anticipation of the good. *Veli* and ghosts belong together, analytically speaking, because they are complementary alternative perspectives, each tending to do more of what the other tends to do less.

To see how they complement each other, I turn to the work of Joel Robbins, who has recently argued that anthropology can engage productively with theology in order to recapture our previous embrace of, rather than anxious distrust of, the subject of the other (Robbins 2006). He argues that anthropologists used to be committed to the principle that human diversity is extensive and profound. In the wake of critiques made since the 1980s of the culture concept and the act of writing ethnography, as well as the postcolonial situation of anthropology in general, many anthropologists have lost certainty that otherness matters. In response, many have turned to a topic that is, on

its surface, universal and perhaps exceeds cultural contouring: trauma.[16] In focussing on trauma, anthropologists have escaped the so-called "savage slot", but perhaps fallen into "the suffering slot", which creates a new set of problems (Robbins 2013). Unfortunately, according to Robbins, "we have more and more resigned ourselves simply to serving as witnesses to the horror of the world, the pathos of our work uncut by the provision of real ontological alternatives" (2006: 292).

As an alternative, Robbins proposes an "anthropology of the good," one focused on topics such as value, morality, well-being, imagination, empathy, care, the gift, time, change and hope (Robbins 2013: 457-58). This is an extensive range of topics, and he does not draw firm guidelines for where all of these paths might lead, but many of them clearly lead away from certainty that the human condition is one of suffering and that anthropologists' main task is to document marginality, oppression, loss and resistance in projects that ultimately frame all social dynamics in terms of struggles for power. Instead, we can remember, and reignite, the anthropological passion for "finding promise in different ways of life" (Robbins 2013: 456)—both the promise our interlocutors feel themselves and the promise this offers anthropology as a humanist project.

Encouraging the development of an anthropology of the good is not a call to turn away from studies of trauma, for it is brutally evident that trauma marks many societies, and many anthropologists have done an effective job analysing it. Nor is Robbins' delineation of an anthropology of the good, as I read it, an attempt at thematic rebalancing in anthropology—an attempt to leaven studies of trauma with studies of recuperation and hope. It is, rather, a core question about the demise of culture theory: when the "other" moves from being a figure of critical insight to a figure of domination (to phrase it broadly and simplistically), anthropology runs the risk of soft ethnocentrism. Refusing to respect others *as* others—as differently motivated, and therefore of dialogical scholarly interest—can drain ethnography of its humanity, turning distinct subjects into universal tokens of a presupposed human condition modelled on the concerns of anthropological observers. The anthropology of the good is not just a question of what the good is about, then; it is also a question of what anthropology is about.

The counterposed theoretical models presented by Robbins, with the suffering slot on one side and an anthropology of the good on the other, are both constituted and reflected in indigenous Fijian imaginations of the spiritual world. Ghosts suffer, reaching out in longing and warning, gaining meanings (when they do gain them) in ways that, irrevocably linked to death, seem to offer a universal commentary on human loss as well as a distinctly cultural commentary on matters such as race relations in Fiji. In contrast, *veli*

are figures of the good, "something that must be imaginatively conceived, not simply perceived" (Robbins 2013: 457) and open to being cherished, which most ghosts decidedly are not. Ghosts endure in decay. *Veli* are icons of hopeful imagination. Ghosts can terrify and perplex. *Veli* call attention to indigenous strength that will win out. Their enduring strength means, however, that they can physically punish people. Thus, while serving as bright icons of hope, *veli* also cast the unmistakable shadow of the uncertain moral status of pre-Christian power in Christian indigenous Fiji.

I do not want to overemphasise the distinction between suffering and the good as analytical foci. Robbins (2013) himself takes care not to draw the opposition too starkly. Moreover, in ascetic religious traditions, suffering can be seen as inherently good and a means of generating hope. But the figures I have examined for Fiji mirror the distinction Robbins proposes, with ghosts marking suffering and *veli* often offering hope. A single frame—human imagination of moral-historical relations between past and future personified as spirits—includes figures facing in opposite directions.

* * *

In this article, I have resisted the temptation to bifurcate Fijian spiritual imaginations into "traditional" and "Christian" domains, the kind of splitting that leads to reductive structuralist lineups—*veli* are traditional and hopeful, ghosts are Christian and hopeless—that both oversimplify and fail to offer analytical traction. The role of 19th-century Christian missionaries in contributing to 20th- and 21st-century indigenous Fijian spiritual imaginations cannot, however, be ignored in any general account of trauma, social transformation, senses of liberation and the generation of hope in Fiji. In concluding the article here, I simply note that Christianity, as a "part-culture" (Coleman 2010) offering a holistic system that can never be received holistically, keeps possibilities of both suffering and hope alive at any moment.

Both ghosts and *veli* are defined partly by their liminality, ambiguity and inherently contradictory characteristics—characteristics they share with all spirits (Besnier 1996). Indeed, at least one ghost in Fiji, disrupting the argument I have offered here, seems to embody pure hope. This hope depends, however, on adhering more faithfully to an idealised past: "Security guards at the Parliament House shot video footage of a shadowy figure they claimed was a ghost. Who was it? No one knew", a journalist observed. "But a newspaper promptly reported that the ghost, speaking through a clairvoyant, called for Fijians to put more emphasis on traditional values" (Vaughan 1995: 136). This ghost, unlike most others, offers hope. But in doing so,

and like most ghosts, he also calls attention to loss. Most significantly, like several of the other ghosts that have appeared in this article—the thumbless man, the glassy-eyed girl, the man in the courtroom—the Parliament ghost is nameless, socially disconnected.

Ghosts and *veli* resemble each other in key ways as figures from the past that cannot help but intrude on the present. The former are defined by restlessness and disconnection; the latter by inherently indigenous, emplaced potential. The figures tend in different directions as they trace paths of moral-historical understanding that are never reducible to single-term explanations of belief, power or experience.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Earlier versions of this article were presented at "The Monster Panel" organised by Yasmine Musharbash and Tanya King at the Australian Anthropological Society meetings in Brisbane, 2012; Macquarie University's Anthropology Research Week, organised by Jaap Timmer and Greg Downey, in 2014; and the Australian National University's Anthropology seminar series in 2015. I am grateful to the audiences at these events for their feedback, with special thanks to Y.C. Chang, Piers Kelly, Robert Norton, Kalpana Ram and Michael Young for their comments. I am also indebted to Paul Geraghty, Kirin Narayan, Geir Henning Presterudstuen and Michael W. Scott for their responses to earlier versions of this article. For discussion of little people in the Pacific, and advice on locating written sources about them, I especially thank Helen Lee, Guido Carlo Pigliasco, Terry Pouono, Ty P. Kawika Tengan and Arthur Wulf. As always, I owe Sekove Bigitibau thanks for sharing his Fijian linguistic and cultural expertise. The most recent research for this article was supported by Australian Research Council Future Fellowship #FT110100524, "Divine Power in Indigenous Christianity: Translation, Theology, and Pacific Politics".

This article is dedicated to the memories of two generous men whom I thought of often as I wrote it. Ward H. Goodenough taught me much about the ethnography of Oceania—our classroom was the University of Pennsylvania Museum's coffee shop—and he was the first person to encourage me to submit an article to *JPS*. Ratu Alipate Naivolivoli taught me much about Fijian language and culture, and readers will meet him here as the teller of the first version of the thumbless ghost story.

NOTES

1. In this article, I present several extended quotations from my fieldnotes (currently in my possession). In returning to my notes as I wrote this article, I found that all attempts to paraphrase lost the sense of immediacy as well as the specificity of the stories.
2. Peceli Ratawa, a Fijian Methodist minister, recalls an incident which apparently took place in the early 1950s: "When I was fifteen I became ill, so stayed in bed in my grandparents' house called Valeniveilewai in Naseakula Village. In

a vision I saw two Fijian warriors with an awesome presence. They had large well-groomed heads of hair and they wore uniforms like soldiers of World War 2. This vision was much stronger than a dream … Bubu Laisenia said, "Do you know who they were in your vision? They were the Tau-Vilewe, two great warriors named Maitaveuni Dakuwaqa and Mai Vunieli Labasa Madraitamata. They came to visit you just like they used to visit your father, Irimaia Ratawa" (Ratawa 1996: 3).

3. The original text in Sāmoan puts his thoughts to himself in a quote: "Po o ni tagata ea, pe o ni sauali'i, 'o mafaufauga ia o le ali'i", which might be retranslated literally as, "Are they humans, or are they spirits?" the man thought (Vaelua 1998–1999: 132). I was told by a Sāmoan student in Auckland that the name of these Sāmoan little people is *totoe*, which resonates with Milner's definition of *'autotoe* as a "Legendary race of little men (said to be still seen occasionally)" (Milner 1993 [1966]: 32). The source of the story from which I am quoting, Vaelua (1998–1999), does not use the term (*'au*) *totoe* but instead refers to them as *tagata pupu'u*, literally "short people". My thanks to Galumalemana Afeleti Hunkin for discussing these terms with me.
4. *Roko lele* does not have a literal meaning, but functions to finish each line of the *meke* poetically. Note that the term *veli* is not used in the actual lyrics. Rather, *leka* 'dwarf' is. As I describe below, *leka* can also be used as a term for a sprite-like creature similar to *veli*; here, however, the explanatory text's use of *veli* and the lyrics' use of *leka* implies that they are the same thing.

   Carey's (1865) Fijian-language manuscript, which I examined on microfilm at the Mitchell Library in Sydney, has many errors in the text, so translating it becomes a complicated matter of figuring out the most plausible meanings—what was likely intended 150 years ago versus what actually appears in garbled form on the page. A typescript of the source exists which changes some of the errors in the original, which is helpful in some ways and not helpful in others. For expert advice on the best possible translations I am grateful, as always, to Paul Geraghty and Sekove Bigitibau of the University of the South Pacific.
5. The linguist Paul Geraghty (pers. comm., April 2015) observes, however, that when people from Beqa Island, Fiji's traditional home of firewalking, told him about mythical little people and firewalking, they did not refer to them as *veli.* See also Bigay *et al*. 1981: 131.
6. My fieldnote references to *veli* as "invisible" are misleading. It might be difficult to catch sight of them, but they are not invisible to everyone all of the time, as shown by the vivid descriptions of what they look like.
7. Pigliasco also notes their amusing aspects and occasional hint of foolishness. He writes of the time he was riding in a fibre glass boat that seemed to be going unusually slowly, but picked up speed after dropping off one passenger. A man explained what had happened: *veli* had been riding in the boat, weighing it down, but had jumped ashore at Sese Village because they had seen smoke and wondered if a firewalking ritual was taking place there (Pigliasco 2007: 214-15; compare Seemann 1862: 205 on the lack of extended stories about *veli*, and how "All the accounts…relate to isolated facts,—to their abode, their having been seen, heard

to sing, caught in a theft, and found to beat the destroyers of their peculiar trees"). Michael W. Scott has observed that in Makira, *kakamora* have a counterpart, the now-extinct *masi*, who are "remarkably stupid" (Scott 2007: 140).

8. For Hawai'i, Luomala (1951: 9) wrote: "Although there are women and children among the Menehune, little is said about them. No one ever claims to have seen a female Menehune."
9. The Holy Spirit/Holy Ghost of the Christian Trinity is called the *Yalo Tabu* (the literal translation of "Holy Ghost") in Fijian. On Fijian dual souls, see L. Thompson (1940: 105); see also Becker's (1995) and Herr's (1981) discussions of the relationship between sleep, dreaming, and visits from frightening spirits.
10. I originally wrote that he had spoken with a friend after seeing the ghost, but corrected this eight days later with the information that it had been his *nana lailai*. My reference in the notes to this story as "classical" reflects my presuppositions at the time of what a ghost story ought to sound like.
11. The classic question of how to distinguish categories of spiritual figure has been given insightful treatment for Oceania in the volume by Mageo and Howard (1996). In making the argument I do here, I do not mean to reassert the Durkheimian division between ghosts and spirits, effectively critiqued by Kwon (2008).
12. Elsewhere in his chapter, as well as in a separate publication (Presterudstuen 2014b), he goes on to examine racial boundaries in regard to sexual relations, and describes the beautiful female spirit Maramarua, who lures non-Fijian men hoping for sex and then reveals herself as an old hag—another well-worn folklore motif.
13. Paul Geraghty (pers. comm., April 2015) notes that in the language of Western Fiji, the term *kalou* was not originally used, so here it only has meaning in reference to the Christian God. In addition, in Western Fijian, the term for a dangerous spirit is not *tevoro* but *nitu* or *yanitu* (see also Becker 1995, Parke 2006: 44, n. 8). See also Toren's (1998), and Hocart's (1912) discussion of *kalou* in comparison with *yalo* and other terms.
14. Brewster (1922: 222-23), after translating *luveniwai* as "Water Baby" or (more accurately) "Child of the Water", added: "it had the meaning more of fauns or woodland fairies. The forest was everywhere peopled by them. They were akin to the *Veli*…[as] miniature men, very handsome, with large heads of hair, such as were worn in the old devil days.… I never heard that these *Luve-ni-wai*… were malignant; on the contrary they seemed friendly little folk.… About Suva monkeys were called *eng-eli* [*geli*], which is also the local name for the *Veli* or fairies. When they saw a monkey for the first time they at once said it was akin to their woodland sprites" (Brewster 1922: 222-23, 225, 230, see also Deane 1921: 31-36, Hocart 1912: 446-47, Hocart 1929: 201-3, Parke 2006: 45, 50, Williams 1982 [1858]: 237-39).
15. Similarly, Luomala observes that *menehune* are not the only little people of Hawai'i (1951: 24-33).
16. Others, including Michael W. Scott, have attempted to rethink human diversity primarily in terms of ontology, but I do not discuss that "turn" here.

REFERENCES

Andrade, Carlos, 2008. *Hā'ena: Through the Eyes of the Ancestors.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Becker, Anne E., 1995. *Body, Self, and Society: The View from Fiji.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Besnier, Niko, 1996. Heteroglossic discourses on Nukulaelae spirits. In J.M. Mageo and A. Howard (eds), *Spirits in Culture, History, and Mind.*. New York: Routledge, pp. 75-97.

Bigay, John, Mason Green, Freda Rajotte, Amelia Ravuvu, Mika Tubanavau and Jesoni Vitusagavulu, 1981. *Beqa: Island of Firewalkers.* Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.

Bohannon, Laura, 1966. Shakespeare in the bush. *Natural History* 75 (7): 28-33.

Brewster, A.B., 1922. *The Hill Tribes of Fiji.* London: Seeley, Service & Co.

Bubandt, Nils, 2012. A psychology of ghosts: The regime of the self and the reinvention of spirits in Indonesia and beyond. *Anthropological Forum* 22 (1): 1-23.

Carey, Jesse, 1865. Manuscripts. Methodist Overseas Mission Collection, Mitchell Library, Sydney. MOM Reel CY509.

Clunie, Fergus, 1986. *Yalo i Viti / Shades of Viti: A Fijian Museum Catalogue.* Suva: Fiji Museum.

Clunie, Fergus and Walesi Ligairi, 1983. Traditional Fijian spirit masks and spirit masquers. *Domodomo* 1 (2): 46-71.

Coleman, Simon, 2010. An anthropological apologetics. *South Atlantic Quarterly* 109 (4): 791–810.

Deane, W., 1921. *Fijian Society: Or the Sociology and Psychology of the Fijians.* London: Macmillan and Co.

Derrida, Jacques, 1994. *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International.* Translated by P. Kamuf. New York: Routledge.

Ferguson, Jane M., 2014. Terminally haunted: Aviation ghosts, hybrid Buddhist practices, and disaster aversion strategies amongst airport workers in Myanmar and Thailand. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 15 (1): 47–64.

Forth, Gregory, 2008. *Images of the Wildman in Southeast Asia: An Anthropological Perspective.* London: Routledge.

Fraenkel, Jon, 2009. Fiji's December 2006 coup: Who, what, where and why? In J. Fraenkel, S. Firth and B.V. Lal (eds), *The 2006 Military Takeover in Fiji: A Coup to End All Coups?* Canberra: ANU E Press, pp. 43-66.

Gordon, Avery F., 1997. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Greenblatt, Stephen, 1999. The touch of the real. In S.B. Ortner (ed.), *The Fate of "Culture": Geertz and Beyond*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 14-29.

Hazlewood, David, 1850. *A Feejeean and English Dictionary.* Viwa, Fiji: Wesleyan Mission Press.

Herr, Barbara, 1981. The expressive character of Fijian dream and nightmare experiences. *Ethos* 9 (4): 331-52.

Hocart, A. M., 1912. On the meaning of kalou and the origin of Fijian temples. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 42: 437-49.
——1929. *Lau Islands, Fiji.* Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.
Hughes, Gwladys F., 1949. Folk beliefs and customs in an Hawaiian community. *Journal of American Folklore* 62 (245): 294-311.
Kaplan, Martha, 1989. *Luve ni Wai* as the British saw it: Constructions of custom and disorder in colonial Fiji. *Ethnohistory* 36 (4): 349-71.
——1995. *Neither Cargo nor Cult: Ritual Politics and the Colonial Imagination in Fiji.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Keane, Webb, 1997. *Signs of Recognition: Powers and Hazards of Representation in an Indonesian Society.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
——2013. On spirit writing: Materialities of language and the religious work of transduction. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 19 (1): 1-17.
Kwon, Heonik, 2008. *Ghosts of War in Vietnam.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Luomala, Katharine, 1951. *The Menehune of Polynesia and Other Mythical Little People of Oceania.* Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum.
Mageo, Jeannette Marie and Alan Howard (eds), 1996. *Spirits in Culture, History, and Mind.* New York: Routledge.
Milner, G.B., 1993 [1966]. *Samoan Dictionary.* Auckland: Polynesian Press.
Miyazaki, Hirokazu, 2004. *The Method of Hope: Anthropology, Philosophy, and Fijian Knowledge.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Nabobo-Baba, Unaisi, 2006. *Knowing and Learning: An Indigenous Fijian Approach.* Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
Newland, Lynda, 2004. Turning the spirits into witchcraft: Pentecostalism in Fijian villages. *Oceania* 75 (1): 1-18.
Parke, Aubrey, 2006. Traditional Society in North West Fiji and Its Political Development: Constructing a History through the Use of Oral and Written Accounts, Archaeological and Linguistic Evidence. Unpublished PhD thesis, Australian National University, Canberra.
Pigliasco, Guido Carlo, 2007. The Custodians of the Gift: Intangible Cultural Property and Commodification of the Fijian Firewalking Ceremony. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Hawai‘i, Honolulu.
——2009. Na Vilavilairevo: The Fijian firewalking ceremony. *Domodomo* 22 (1-2): 1-86.
——2012. “Are They Evil?”: Denominational competition and cultural semonization on a Fijian island. *People and Culture in Oceania* 28: 45-68.
Presterudstuen, Geir Henning, 2014a. Ghosts and the everyday politics of race in Fiji. In Y. Musharbash and G.H. Presterudstuen (eds), *Monster Anthropology in Australasia and Beyond*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 127-42.
——2014b. Ghosts, spirits and Christian denominational politics: A case from Fiji. In A.S. Dauber (ed.), *Monsters in Society: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*. Oxford: Interdisciplinary Press, pp. 87-96.
Ratawa, Peceli, 1996. *When The Spirit Says Move: An Autobiography*. North Geelong, Victoria, Australia: Privately published.

Ravuvu, Asesela, 1983. *Vaka i Taukei: The Fijian Way of Life.* Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.

Robbins, Joel, 2006. Anthropology and theology: An awkward relationship? *Anthropological Quarterly* 79 (2): 285-94.

——2013. Beyond the suffering subject: Toward an anthropology of the good. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 19: 447-62.

Scott, Michael W., 2007. *The Severed Snake: Matrilineages, Making Place, and a Melanesian Christianity in Southeast Solomon Islands.* Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.

——2008. Proto-People and precedence: Encompassing Euroamericans through narratives of 'First Contact' in Solomon Islands. In P. J. Stewart and A. Strathern (eds), *Exchange and Sacrifice.* Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, pp. 140-76.

——2013. "Heaven on Earth" or Satan's "Base" in the Pacific?: Internal Christian politics in the dialogic construction of the Makiran Underground Army. In M. Tomlinson and D. McDougall (eds), *Christian Politics in Oceania*. New York: Berghahn, pp. 49–77.

——2014a. Collecting Makira: *Kakamora* stones, shrine stones, and the grounds for things in Arosi. In B. Burt and L. Bolton (eds), *The Things We Value: Culture and History in Solomon Islands.* Wantage, UK: Sean Kingston, pp. 67-79.

——2014b. To be a wonder: Anthropology, cosmology, and alterity. In A. Abramson and M. Holbraad (eds), *Framing Cosmologies: The Anthropology of Worlds*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 31-54.

Seemann, Berthold, 1862. *Viti: An Account of a Government Mission to the Vitian or Fijian Islands in the Years 1860-61.* Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.

Tarte, Daryl, 2014. *Fiji: A Place Called Home.* Canberra: ANU Press.

Taylor, Philip, 2014. *The Khmer Lands of Vietnam: Environment, Cosmology, and Sovereignty.* Singapore: National University of Singapore Press.

Thompson, Laura, 1940. *Fijian Frontier.* San Francisco: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations.

Thompson, Stith, 1955-1958. *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, Volume 2: D-E. Electronic edition on InteLex database. Accessed 1 October 2014.

Thomson, Basil H., 1895. The kalou-vu (ancestor-gods) of the Fijians. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 24: 340-59.

Thrum, Thomas G. (ed.), 1923. *More Hawaiian Folk Tales: A Collection of Native Legends and Traditions.* Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co.

Tomlinson, Matt, 2009. *In God's Image: The Metaculture of Fijian Christianity.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

——2012. Passports to eternity: Whales' teeth and transcendence in Fijian Methodism. In L. Manderson, W. Smith and M. Tomlinson (eds), *Flows of Faith: Religious Reach and Community in Asia and the Pacific*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 215-31.

——2014. Bringing Kierkegaard into anthropology: Repetition, absurdity, and curses in Fiji. *American Ethnologist* 41 (1): 163-75.

Toren, Christina, 1995. Seeing the ancestral sites: Transformations in Fijian notions of the land. In E. Hirsch and M. O'Hanlon (eds), *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 163-83.

——1998. Cannibalism and compassion: Transformations in Fijian concepts of the person. In V. Keck (ed.), *Common Worlds and Single Lives: Constituting Knowledge in Pacific Societies*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 95–115.

Vaelua, Tofa Seuamuli Liumaunu Faatonu, 1998-1999. *Samoa Ne'i Galo / Samoa, Lest We Forget*, Volume 1. Translated by Afioga Su'a Julia Wallwork. Apia: Ministry of Youth, Sports and Cultural Affairs.

Vaughan, Roger, 1995. The two worlds of Fiji. *National Geographic* 188 (4): 114-37.

Williams, Thomas, 1982 [1858]. *Fiji and the Fijians, Part 1: The Islands and Their Inhabitants*. Edited by G.S. Rowe. Suva: Fiji Museum.

ABSTRACT

Ethnographers in Oceania and elsewhere often hear talk about ghosts and mythical little people who have great strength and magical qualities. Two analytical temptations are to dismiss talk about such figures as delusional or to see them as tokens of an expansively defined "hauntology". This article, however, attempts to bring together ghosts and little people in a more analytically productive way, asking how they serve as both figures in history and figures of history. The recent work of Joel Robbins on an "anthropology of the good" is drawn upon as a key resource. Robbins argues that anthropologists used to be committed to the principle that human diversity is extensive and profound, but that in the wake of critiques of the culture concept and ethnographic writing, many scholars have lost certainty that otherness matters. As a result, many anthropologists have sought out the "suffering subject", seeing trauma as a universal human experience that perhaps exceeds cultural contouring. In response, Robbins suggests a new focus on topics such as value, morality, time and hope, topics which—while not denying the reality of trauma, nor discounting the ability of anthropologists to study trauma effectively—allow us to find new promise in difference. This article describes Fijian ghost stories and talk about *veli*, mythical little people, and offers an analysis of them as alternative perspectives on the morally marked relationship between past and present. Ghosts are a socially disconnected subclass of spirits that mark suffering and loss. *Veli* (and other autochthonous spiritual figures) are signs of indigenous strength that endures and can win out, even as their non-Christian associations make the promising power they offer also somewhat dangerous.

Keywords: ghosts, little people, hope, trauma, anthropology of the good, Christianity, Fiji

CITATION AND AUTHOR CONTACT DETAILS

Tomlinson,[1] Matt, 2016. Little people, ghosts and the anthropology of the good. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 125 (1): 11-32; DOI: http//dx.doi.org/10.15286/jps.125.1.11-32.

[1] Corresponding author: Department of Anthropology, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University, Canberra, ACT 2600 Australia. Email: matt.tomlinson@anu.edu.au

LĀ'EI SĀMOA: FROM PUBLIC SERVANTS' UNIFORM TO NATIONAL ATTIRE?

MINAKO KURAMITSU
Tenri University

This is a free country

> It has finally happened. The Prime Minister and his Prado [*sic:* Prada] boys and girls are dictating our way of life. Fancy telling us what we should wear to state functions! Excuse me, this is not North Korea. This is Sāmoa, the land of the free, and un-oppressed. And why should we all turn up to state functions like clones?... Why on earth would I want to look like the Prime Minister and his cabinet?... Come on, people, this is a free country. Wear what you want, be who you are. And don't let anyone tell you what you should wear, especially if you are not a Head of Department—those poor geezers have to do as they are told. (Letter from "Valentino Chanel Versace" to *Samoa Observer*, 7 March 2003: 7)

In March 2003, when I went back to Sāmoa after an absence of 14 months, everyone including my research informants, friends and Sāmoan family members, told me about the new dress code introduced by the Independent State of Samoa government. Later it was explained to me that the new dress code was officially called "*Lā'ei Sāmoa*", *lā'ei* being the polite word in Sāmoan for clothing. Although defining *Lā'ei Sāmoa* is not straight-forward, as will become apparent, the key components have been the use of a specially designed logo and fabric printed with *tapa* 'bark-cloth' style patterns for men's shirts and women's tops and skirts.

During my earlier visit to Sāmoa, I had conducted research on female tailors and their jobs, so I gradually developed an interest in Sāmoan practices related to daily attire and their relationship to the *fa'a-Sāmoa* 'Sāmoan way or custom'. Among those practices, I was especially curious about dress codes and interested in how they were established in Sāmoa, were understood in the *fa'a-Sāmoa* and were differentiated by gender and why. I knew that various dress codes were evident in ordinary Sāmoan life, and that while some of them had long-lasting significance, others had proven to be merely temporary. Although the introduction of a new dress code certainly fascinated me, I honestly thought it would prove to be nothing more than a passing fad. This, however, turned out to be far from the case. As exemplified by the opening quote, articles in the *Samoa Observer,* the most widely distributed newspaper in Sāmoa, expressed strong opposition to the introduction of *Lā'ei Sāmoa* as

Journal of the Polynesian Society, 2016, 125 (1): 33-57;
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.15286/jps.125.1.33-57

a public servants' uniform. Yet, over the year that followed *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* was gradually accepted into Sāmoan daily life, and by the next year, 2005, it had come to be viewed as the appropriate national attire of the Sāmoan people.

This article aims to consider what made it possible to change *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* from a simple dress code for public servants to a kind of national attire used in Sāmoan daily life. To address the ways *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* changed, I will trace the process through which *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* came to be viewed as the national dress and, simultaneously, one of the ways through which "Sāmoanness" was being reproduced in the era of globalisation. To this end, this article is composed of three parts: first, I will introduce how human geographers have discussed the conceptualisation of "place" in relation to globalisation, in order to consider how "Sāmoanness" was reproduced in this particular case; second, I will trace the series of changes related to *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* that took place from 2003 to 2005 based on my research in Sāmoa; and last, from the perspective of "Sāmoanness", I will discuss why *Lā‘ei Sāmoa*, which initially was nothing more than a public servants' uniform, came to be viewed as the national attire of the Sāmoan people.

PLACE AND GLOBALISATION IN HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

"Place" is an everyday word commonly meaning a specific area of geographic space. In human geography, however, place is a core concept. Why do people decorate their own room with their favourite things? Why was Tara, the fictional plantation in *Gone with the Wind*, so meaningful to Scarlett O'Hara? Why does a little-known town become so important to particular people? When we are seeking for the answers to these questions we are dealing with the conceptualisation of place. For human geographers, place is not only a portion of geographic space, but a "meaningful location" (Cresswell 2004: 7). On the one hand, place can provide a source for a people's identity, so that it is strongly related to a people's experiences and emotions. On the other hand, a place may be intentionally made unique and valuable, especially with the aim of enhancing economic benefits. At any rate, places include multifaceted phenomena, so that "what makes it a place" is both a complicated and compelling issue in human geography.

Since the 1990s, how places should be conceptualised has come to be more controversial in relation to globalisation. At first, many social scientists believed that globalisation would result in a homogenisation at the global level. Anywhere people went, and especially in cities, they would encounter the same things—international cultural products such as McDonald's, Starbucks, pop music and youth fashion, deriving mostly from the United States. Such situations were viewed as supporting the idea that globalisation made places less unique (Cresswell 2004: 54).

In contrast, two well-regarded geographers, David Harvey and Doreen Massey, have argued that places have always been constructed and that globalisation has simply further stimulated those processes, despite the perception of place differing significantly. David Harvey has pointed out that "place has achieved a certain kind of 'permanence' in the midst of the fluxes and flows of urban life", such that "[p]rotection of this permanence has become a political-economic project" (Harvey 1996: 293). He used such examples as the "gated community", "heritage" and "nationalism" to show how people have attempted to secure, revalue and recreate their own particular place in a dramatically changing world (Harvey 1996).

Though Doreen Massey shares the same basic view that places have always been constructed, she has called on us to re-conceptualise place not as inwardly closed but as outwardly open:

> Many of those who write about time-space compression emphasize the insecurity and unsettling impact of its effects, the feelings of vulnerability which it can produce. Some therefore go on from this to argue that, in the middle of all this flux, people desperately need a bit of peace and quiet—and that a strong sense of place, of locality, can form one kind of refuge from the hubbub. So the search after the 'real' meanings of places, the unearthing of heritages and so forth, is interpreted as being, in part, a response to desire for fixity and for security of identity in the middle of all the movement and change. A 'sense of place', of rootedness, can provide—in this form and on this interpretation—stability and a source of unproblematical identity. In that guise, however, place and the spatially local are then rejected by many progressive people as almost necessarily reactionary. They are interpreted as an evasion; as a retreat from the (actually unavoidable) dynamic and change of 'real life', which is what we must seize if we are to change things for the better. (Massey 1996 [1991]: 241)

Massey strongly argued that the re-conceptualisation of a place is necessary and recognises that: (i) places are not static but processes, (ii) places do not have to have boundaries in the sense of divisions which frame simple enclosures, (iii) clearly, places do not have single, unique "identities", but harbour internal conflicts, and (iv) the specificity of place is continually reproduced, but a specificity does not result from some long, internalised history, rather it arises because each place is the focus of a distinct mixture of wider and more local social relations (Massey 1996 [1991]: 244-45). She called this new concept of place "a global sense of place".

In general, clothing plays an important role in reproducing "the specificity of place". Clothing is not merely one of the basic needs of human beings, it also is a visual expression of the culture of a place and therefore reflects the identities and norms of that place. In the Pacific, for instance, Addo

(2003: 142-48) argued that the current practices of the Tongans related to clothing were clearly associated with three key components in Tongan social interactions—respect, rank and duty. Moreover, even within the same country, how people clothe themselves usually differs by age and gender. Younger people, in general, are apt to take up what is "new", which often is the result of globalisation. Young women in particular are skilled at attaching value to "new" things introduced from overseas (Watson 1997), while at the same time, wrapping their bodies with ethnic dresses to sustain their ethnic and national identity under globalisation (Senda 2002: 133). Thus, people's clothing and codes of dress have significant meanings, and help sustain or reproduce the specificity of place.

CLOTHING AND IDENTITY IN SĀMOA

Generally speaking, Sāmoa is regarded as a South Pacific nation that has been particularly successful at preserving its customs and traditions. These are referred to as the *fa‘a-Sāmoa*, but this term does not simply indicate ethnic identity.

> *Fa‘a Samoa*, as the Samoans term their political and economic system, conveys a very deep meaning to Samoans: clear in essentials, flexible in detail. It was not (and is not) simply a reactionary nationalism…. Because the Samoans conceived of *fa‘a Samoa* as a framework for action based upon the social structure of the *‘aiga* [extended family] and the *nu‘u* [village] and the authority of *matai* [chief] and *fono* [council of chiefs], new practices, ideas and goods could be accepted and incorporated into it so that either the system remained unchanged in its essentials, or else was not perceived to have changed fundamentally. (Meleisea 1987: 16-17)

Meleisea asserted that *fa‘a-Sāmoa*, based on a distinctive chiefly system, is an indispensable concept for Sāmoan daily life, and what Sāmoans consider as *fa‘a-Sāmoa* depends on the context because the concept has a certain kind of flexibility. The accounts of *fa‘a-Sāmoa*, however, historically have been based on comparisons with other practices. On this point, Yamamoto (1997) has argued that *fa‘a-Sāmoa* practices have been defined in contrast to *fa‘a-Pālagi* (European ways). She further pointed out that *fa‘a-Sāmoa* was deemed superior in terms of moral and human relations, while *fa‘a-Pālagi* was superior in terms of material culture. She also noted that Sāmoans use the term "*fia Pālagi* (want to be a European/to act like a European)" to pejoratively describe those who rarely or reluctantly participate in ceremonial exchanges, which are very important for the Sāmoan chiefly system, and who prefers Western-style housing and imported goods, such as breads or soft drinks (Yamamoto 1997: 171-72).

Turning to the history of clothing in Sāmoa, the Sāmoan people in the pre-Christian period left their upper bodies completely uncovered. However, they had various ways of decorating their bodies: leaf girdles and dress mats, many ornaments and fragrances made of the natural resources, distinctive hair styles and tattooing. Their fashion in pre-Christian times visually marked their social status and gender, which were basic defining aspects of their stratified society (Krämer 1995: 317-65, Mageo 1994, Schoeffel 1999, Stair 1897: 113-21, Turner 1861: 202-9). In common with societies elsewhere in the Pacific, Sāmoan clothing has been dramatically transformed since 1830, when Sāmoans began to embrace Christianity. Many studies have shown that European clothing was adapted to reflect distinctive indigenous cultures, such that contemporary clothing and dress have elements that are seen as a continuation of pre-contact practices (e.g., Addo 2003, Mosko 2007, Tcherkézoff 2003).

It could be said that the clothing of Sāmoans, and Sāmoan dress practices, have been transformed through contact with European goods, especially in the colonial period. Western Sāmoa, which was administrated initially by Germany and later by New Zealand, had twice experienced independence movements (known as the *Mau*). Despite the absence of clear historical accounts, it can be argued that the wearing of *'ie lavalava* 'wrap-around skirts' expressed Sāmoan identity in the face of colonial powers. Photos of important persons in historical books, such as *The Making of Modern Samoa* (Meleisea 1987), typically show that most of them wore long-sleeved shirts with a tie and jacket, which was the style of a European gentleman in those days. However, a photo of the famous Savai'i orator Namulau'ulu Lauaki Mamoe, who was the leader of the unsuccessful *Mau* movement in 1909, shows him wrapped in a distinctive *'ie lavalava* made of *siapo* '*tapa* or bark cloth' with a *ulafala* 'necklace of red *Pandanus* keys'[1] (see Meleisea 1987: Plates 1, 2, 3 and 11). Again, in the second *Mau* movement in the 1930s, the Sāmoan supporters were identified by their uniform of a purple turban, a blue *'ie lavalava* with a single white stripe and a white singlet (Field 1991 [1984]: 109).

As a consequence of contact with the Europeans, a new group called *'afakasi* 'half-caste' appeared in Sāmoan society. In colonial times, most *'afakasi* were offspring of European fathers and Sāmoan mothers. In 1903 the German colonial administration made law changes which ultimately divided *'afakasi* into two groups. Those with European fathers, who also were the product of formal marriages, were referred to as "European mixed race" and were classified as resident aliens.[2] Other 'half-castes' were referred to as "Samoan mixed race" (Meleisea 1987: 162-65). One of the visible features of identity for European *'afakasi* was the wearing of European clothing.

According to Meleisea, those who failed to apply for resident alien status were jokingly termed "*o papālagi-‘afakasi ae lavalava ie* (European half-castes without shoes and trousers)" (Meleisea 1987: 165). In this way, it could be argued that the clothing of Sāmoans and Sāmoan dress practices have drawn upon the dichotomy of *fa‘a-Sāmoa* and *fa‘a-Pālagi*.

After Independence, however, what this dichotomy represented differed substantially by gender. Historically, European goods, including clothing, have played a significant role in representing male status in society (e.g., Thomas 2003). Even now, the wrapping of the body with European goods symbolises a special status in Sāmoan society. Based on his 1963–64 research in Sāmoa, David Pitt (1970) wrote: "An important part of the preference for European necessity goods is that they confer or reflect status, i.e. the consumer's social position, in relation to the European world, or in Sāmoan society itself", for example, trousers were "recognized by both Sāmoans and Europeans as essential symbols of European status" (Pitt 1970: 31). He further noted that "[C]ertain European goods are symbols of Sāmoan status, marking a separation from European society. For example, increasingly in recent years, the cloth *lava* (kilt) [*‘ie lavalava*], the small square attaché case, the Hong Kong umbrella, have become the sign of the male Sāmoan, especially when he comes into town" (Pitt 1970: 33).

In contrast, when Sāmoan women wrap their body with *‘ofu Pālagi* 'European clothing', their fashion is regarded as something that is contrary to *fa‘a-Sāmoa*. The elders often call girls who prefer to wear European-style clothing or pants "*fia Pālagi*", even though the kind of clothing that would be designated *‘ofu Pālagi* as opposed to *‘ofu Sāmoa* 'Sāmoan clothing' is unclear in practical terms (Kuramitsu 2005). Notably, most dress codes in contemporary Sāmoa could be said to target women, especially young girls. As is apparent in the conversation reproduced below, one dress restriction for girls is directed at the wearing *‘ofu vae* 'lit. clothed legs', referring to pants of any kind. These dress codes are enforced by the village chiefs, although the specific rules, the extent to which they are enforced and the penalties for violating those codes differ in each village. The following conversation, based on practices in a village located in the north part of Savai‘i, illustrates the foregoing:

> —You cannot wear *‘ofu vae* in the village, can you?
>
> *Matai* [chiefs] emphasise wearing *‘ie lavalava* because *‘ofu vae* is *‘ofu pālagi*. If you wear *‘ofu vae*, it means that you wear *‘ofu pālagi* and that causes the loss of our traditional way of life, the *fa‘a-Samoa*. You can wear *‘ofu vae* when you get on the bus. You can wear *‘ofu vae*, but you are not to be seen around the village. Boys can wear short pants or bermuda pants, but girls cannot wear short pants and tops when their brothers are around. It

> is a *feagaiga* [the relationship between sisters and brothers]. Sisters have to respect their brothers. So if they show their bare shoulders and breasts to the brothers, it is very rude.
>
> —But you do not need to do that in Apia, do you?
>
> No. Apia is different. It is a town where many people come from different villages and live. They can do whatever they want. But here in the village, the rules are emphasised by *matai*.
>
> —If somebody breaks the rules, what would happen?
>
> They are fined. They have to bring pigs, fine mats or money. If they don't have any pigs, they have to pay. If they break the rules many times, they will be banished from the village. (Male *matai* in his 40s, pers. comm., October 2001)

Even in Apia, which is characterised as a place where "you can do whatever you want", there are still certain dress codes for girls. The dress code for the library in the National University of Samoa, for instance, was officially approved by the Management Committee of the University in May 2000. The preamble explained the dress code as follows:

> The University Library is pleased to announce its dress code. This dress-code is based on our Samoan customs and stresses the importance of wearing appropriate attire that is both safe and acceptable in our institution of higher learning. An Institution which is committed to excellence and preservation of cultural values [*sic*].

Following this text, the clothes that were prohibited in the library were listed as follows:

> For all female students:
>
> Sport shorts or hot pants (very-short-type, above the knees) are not allowed at any time.
>
> Singlet, spaghetti-type tops and off-shoulder dresses are not allowed.
>
> Mini-skirts or mini-dresses are not allowed except for Executive suits or proper puletasi/pea.[3]
>
> No see-through dresses of any kind.
>
> For all male students:
>
> No singlets or tank-tops should be worn in the library except for shirts and t-shirts.

> No hot pants or sport shorts, except for bermudas and khaki shorts.
>
> Ie-solosolo/lavalava are to be worn below the knees and with a belt.

What is obvious is that the clothing forbidden for girls was more "Americanised", which was the attire young girls in particular preferred to wear when they were going out. In most cases, such clothing was perceived as *‘ofu Pālagi*.

THE INTRODUCTION OF *LĀ‘EI SĀMOA*

In March 2003, *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* (Fig. 1) was officially notified as a dress code for public servants. The first article on *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* in the *Samoa Observer*[4] was one in the "Cabinet News" section. It appeared on 21 February 2003 and read as follows:

> "National Attire for State Functions"
>
> Cabinet has approved the National costume, 'Laei Samoa', to be worn by both genders at State affairs. Outfits to be worn by both Males and Females will be made of 'Elei' [a fabric printed with Pacific island designs; see more below]. The Elei can be of any color and print design.
>
> The picture of a Teuila, Samoa's national flower [red ginger; *Alpinia* sp.], must be printed on the left hand side, the pocket side of the Men's shirts. This is the same for the Ladies' attire.
>
> Underneath the picture of the Teuila, the words [*sic*] 'Samoa' in small lettering is to be printed: When attending State Functions, Men will be expected to wear a suit comprising of jacket, shirt and tie, while the Ladies will be wearing the formal 'puletasi'.
>
> The Men's shirts should only have one pocket on the left hand side, with slits down the sides to allow for a proper fit. The solid color of the 'ie' [specifically *‘ie faitaga* 'a solid colour *lavalava* with pockets'] is the choice of the wearer so long as it coordinates with the shirt.
>
> The Ladies must however wear a Puletasi [two-piece garment] entirely printed with any elei design. Both Men's and Ladies' outfits must use buttons made from coconut shells.
>
> The approved 'Laei Samoa' dress code will come into effect on Saturday 1st March 2003. (*Samoa Observer,* 21 February 2003: 3)

According to the articles in the *Samoa Observer* published up to 3 March 2003, the original idea of *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* came from the Samoa Tourism Authority (STA). Initially public servants were expected to wear *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* only when they were attending state functions. On 5 March 2003, however,

the *Samoa Observer* reported in an article entitled "National uniform to be worn today" that Government networks had been circulating a memo demanding all employees to wear *Lā'ei Sāmoa* every Wednesday and Friday at their work places.

The intentions of the Cabinet regarding *Lā'ei Sāmoa* were not clearly stated. In an interview on *TV Samoa* on 21 February 2003, Prime Minister Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi said that "the dress code was ideal for Samoa's warm climate" (*Samoa Observer,* 23 February 2003: 4), while Matafeo Reupena Matafeo, STA's Chief Executive Officer (CEO), whom the *Samoa Observer* sarcastically called "the government-appointed national fashion authority", commented in an interview with a newspaper that *Lā'ei Sāmoa* "is essential to distinguish Sāmoans from other nationalities like Tongans and Fijians" (*Samoa Observer*, 5 March 2003: 5).

After the news of the introduction of *Lā'ei Sāmoa* was released, severe and notably sarcastic criticism of such a sudden decision followed in the *Samoa Observer*, which had already "fielded letters complaining" (*Samoa Observer,* 5 March 2003: 5) on the first day it was implemented. Table 1 lists all articles on *Lā'ei Sāmoa* published in the *Samoa Observer* following its announcement; 13 out of 19 articles listed in Table 1 expressed dissatisfaction with the Government dress code.

Aside from general dissatisfaction about the way the Government had abruptly and arbitrarily decided to proclaim a uniform for public servants, the complaints stated in the *Samoa Observer* can be classified into two types. One set of complaints questioned the historical and cultural authenticity of

Figure 1. *Lā'ei Sāmoa*: as worn by male public servant, 2005 (left), and close-up of logo, 2003 (right) (photos by author).

Table 1. News and opinions on *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* in *Samoa Observer* newspaper, 2003.

No.	Date	Section	Title
1	21/02/2003	Cabinet news	National attire for State Functions
*2	23/02/2003	local news	Govt-imposed dress code criticised
*3	2/03/2003	viewpoint	The rise and fall of Ti leaf skirts: why?
*4	5/03/2003	local news	National uniform to be worn today
*5	6/03/2003	letter	What's with all this elei business?
*6	7/03/2003	letter	This is a free country
*7	8/03/2003	letters	Govt. dress code proposal opposed
*8	11/03/2003	letters	Neither free nor culturally correct
*9	12/03/2003	editorial	Why invest in better national manners instead?
*10	12/03/2003	letters	*Elei* where?
*11	22/03/2003	viewpoint	Dress code a nuisance and eyesore
*12	28/03/2003	letters	*Elei* and *fu‘afu‘a* leaves
*13	9/04/2003	local	PM addresses dress code
14	13/04/2003	editorial	Omnipotent government gets into our clothes, our mats, our pockets and our cars
15	15/04/2003	editorial	Omnipotent government gets into our clothes, our mats, our pockets and our cars (full-version)
16	24/04/2003	local	"Govt. dress" unacceptable for Parliament
*17	27/04/2003	letters	Parliament and government dress code
18	29/05/2003	frontpage	Ties, please, gentlemen
19	3/06/2003	frontpage	Elei, traditional wear get in Parliament door

Note: * denotes articles mostly opposed to *Lā‘ei Sāmoa*

the components that would be representing the national identity of Sāmoa. That questioning was based on the following three points. The first was the authenticity of the *teuila* (red ginger) flower symbol, with some asking whether it was appropriate for it to become the national emblem since it had initially been introduced in the 1990s as a symbol for a nation-wide cultural festival aimed at developing tourism. In response to this, Prime Minister Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi insisted that "it is essential that a country is recognised by a national emblem, [in] this case a flower", and added that "New Zealand has the fern, Canada the maple leaf, Sāmoa will be known by the Teuila" (*Samoa Observer,* 9 April 2003: 3). However, opponents raised a number of questions—was the *teuila* an indigenous plant in Sāmoa; were the *to'oto'o* 'orator's staff' and *tānoa* 'kava bowl', which had been used as if they were national emblems, really suitable for this purpose; and did the *teuila* flower have adequate historical and cultural significance to be a "Sāmoan tradition" (see entries No. 2, 3 and 13 in Table 1). Most of the critics seemed to believe that the *teuila* flower was not sufficiently unique to represent Sāmoa's national identity.

The second point pursued was the "traditional" clothing of Sāmoa. Two articles argued that if the Government wanted to make people wear the "clothing of Sāmoa", they should return to grass skirts made of *tī* leaves or to *siapo*. Another two articles insisted that the style of the first Prime Minister, Fiame Mata'afa, bare-chested with a black *'ie lavalava*, *siapo* belt and a *'ulafala*, was suitable for the national dress in terms of being "traditional", "most respectable" and "dignified" (see entries No. 3 and 8 in Table 1).

The last point related to *'ēlei* fabrics. Originally *'ēlei* meant 'decorating *siapo* with colour' by using matrices called *'upeti* made from coconut leaf ribs, coconut husk fibre or carved boards (Krämer 1995: 350). Today, *'ēlei* refers to fabrics that are decorated with patterns typically used on *siapo*, made by using a carved board.[5] When wearing *siapo* instead of *Lā'ei Sāmoa* was suggested, the Prime Minister Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi explained that "[t]he siapo designs are being replicated on the elei uniform" (*Samoa Observer,* 9 April 2003: 3). In addition, one of the senior officers in the Ministry of Prime Minister and Cabinet explained to me: "The designs of *'ēlei* are those of *tapa* cloth. In the old days, the Sāmoans wore *tapa* cloth as *'ie lavalava*. Now modernisation enables people to print *tapa* cloth patterns on materials. The Cabinet chose *'ēlei* because it is Sāmoan natural *'ie lavalava*" (male officer in his 30s, pers. comm., August 2005). In this way, the connection between *tapa* cloth and *'ēlei* fabrics with their distinctive patterns made the latter the most appropriate material for fashioning *Lā'ei Sāmoa*, yet there were also questions about what was the Sāmoan *'ēlei*. One such question was expressed as follows:

> Have you noticed that over the last few nights on Televise Samoa News, most of the so-called elei prints worn by cabinet ministers are not Samoan elei? So what's with distinguishing us from the Tongans and Fijians? Take a look at the different government departments and you'll see Fijian, Hawaiian, Cook Island and other Pacific island designs which have no connection to Samoan elei. (*Samoa Observer*, 6 March 2003: 7)

Another writer remarked:

> One may say unequivocally that the dress code is now a nuisance and really an eyesore…. I wish to advise that you may carefully choose the best five real Samoan 'elei' patterns that you can find or create. (*Samoa Observer*, 22 March 2003: 6)

Other complaints about the *‘ēlei* fabrics concerned the cost of the clothing. Such complaints mainly came from public servants because they had to buy *‘ēlei* fabrics themselves and make a new uniform.[6]

> "Elei where?"—Letter from Elei fanatic
>
> Being an underpaid but obedient public servant, I have borrowed from my bank just so I could buy myself an elei uniform. Since I have some to spare from the loan, may I ask the "elei regulators" whether I also require an elei underneath? (*Samoa Observer,* 12 March 2003: 8)

One public servant said that it cost about 100 *tālā* 'Sāmoan dollar' for males and more for females, unless they were able to sew the uniforms themselves. Therefore this public servant argued that *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* was "too much for someone who earns less than $100 *tala* a week" (*Samoa Observer*, 8 March 2003: 8).

Before introducing *Lā‘ei Sāmoa*, male public servants were used to wearing a shirt with a tie and *‘ie faitaga* (Fig. 2). The Prime Minister pointed out: "The tie that usually goes with the suit is perhaps more expensive than the elei shirt" (*Samoa Observer*, 9 April 2003: 3). Unfortunately, however, his assertion proved to be wrong at the time when *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* was introduced. In those days, *‘ēlei* fabrics were only sold at two or three shops in Apia. Furthermore, the price of *‘ēlei* fabrics was usually higher than that of other printed fabrics, costing more than 10 *tālā* per yard (c. 90 cm). Male public servants had to pay for the fabric (20-30 *tālā*), tailoring (30-40 *tālā*) and the logo (10 *tālā*), while females had to pay an even greater amount. Thus, for some public servants *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* cost more than their weekly salaries and in light of that these criticisms and the negative reactions to the introduction of the *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* dress code were considered reasonable.

Figure 2. Male public servant wearing *'ie faitaga* before the introduction of *Lā'ei Sāmoa*, 2001 (photo by author).

WHAT MADE *LĀ'EI SĀMOA* THE NATIONAL ATTIRE?

Based on what was published in the *Samoa Observer*, the criticisms on the implementation of *Lā'ei Sāmoa* began to fade away in less than six months. After a year, when I visited Sāmoa in August 2004, most people accepted that public servants had to wear the *'ēlei* uniform every Wednesday and Friday. Most tailors I spoke to explained to me that *Lā'ei Sāmoa* was a new Government dress code. Their work places were full of different *'ēlei* fabrics. Moreover, I also noticed several Sāmoans who were not public servants wearing *Lā'ei Sāmoa*.[7] When I went back to Sāmoa in August 2005, one of my Japanese acquaintances told me that the government dress code had come to be very popular because anybody could easily get the logo sewn on their clothing. Not only public servants but also other Sāmoans, and even foreigners, could wear *Lā'ei Sāmoa*. The logo also was used on other types of clothing, like polo shirts and ties (Fig. 3), and became a souvenir item for visitors to Sāmoa.

Figure 3. The popularisation of the logo, Apia, 2005 (photo by author).

Within three years *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* seemed to have turned from a simple public servants' dress code to a costume that reflected national identity. What made this possible? Three factors can be identified. Firstly, one might seek to determine the historical and cultural authenticity of the "national attire" itself in Sāmoa, but this would be difficult task. Until the first missionary arrived, the Sāmoa Islands had rarely been unified by one ruler. The centralisation of power in Sāmoa was gradually accomplished through colonisation and finally Independence, yet the driving force of Sāmoan society has been and still remains their distinctive chiefly system, the centrepiece of *fa‘a-Sāmoa*. Historically, the authenticity of "national attire" is in a sense not traceable because there has been no distinctive "national attire" since Independence.

In fact, the arguments related to whether *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* was suitable as the "national attire" gradually came to converge with male fashion in the public/political sphere. At the end of April 2003, following the rules of Parliament, two senior Government officials were refused entry into the House because they were wearing *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* (*Samoa Observer,* 24 April 2003: 3). According to the *Samoa Observer*, Sāmoa's Parliament followed the rules and practices of the House of Representatives in New Zealand and

the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, where the standard dress was a tie and jacket, or just a tie (*Samoa Observer,* 24 April 2003: 3).[8] In this way, *fa'a-Pālagi* has been standard male clothing in the Sāmoan public/political sphere. Shortly after the incident reported above, *Lā'ei Sāmoa* was approved in Parliament, along with "a shirt with a tie" and "the traditional ceremonial wear", the last of which was worn by the first Prime Minister, as reported above. As a consequence, the Government was unable to determine what the proper dress in Parliament was.

Actually, Sāmoans could have asked whether the "traditional ceremonial wear" would be appropriate for their national attire, but nobody would have been able to give an authoritative answer about what was the national attire in the Sāmoan past. Some might insist that they should wear a grass skirts instead of *Lā'ei Sāmoa*, yet it is also true that wearing grass garments was not a practical solution. When *Lā'ei Sāmoa* was introduced, the Prime Minister Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi argued that the suit "was a remnant of the past, alluding to Sāmoa's colonial history" (*Samoa Observer*, 9 April 2003: 3). *Lā'ei Sāmoa* offered clothing that would symbolise "Sāmoanness" suitable to the times, as well as the chance to be rid of the influence of *fa'a-Pālagi* in male clothing at the national political level.

A second factor in the adoption of *Lā'ei Sāmoa* related to economics. Although *Lā'ei Sāmoa* was not driven by economic concerns, it indirectly brought economic benefits to the people. This was another reason that *Lā'ei Sāmoa* came to be accepted. The cost of *'ēlei* fabrics, one of the main reasons why public servants initially were dissatisfied with *Lā'ei Sāmoa*, was resolved by two major changes in the supply of *'ēlei* fabrics. In 2001, when I interviewed one of the long-established fabric shop owners about how cloth was imported to Sāmoa, he mentioned that *tapa* prints (*'ēlei*) were the only fabrics locally provided. At that time, his shop asked three or four Sāmoan women to make *'ēlei* fabric. His shop supplied only ten yards of plain material to the women and then bought the printed fabrics back from them for $5 *tālā* per yard. He emphasised that *'ēlei*-making did not have a commercial base and was mostly done by women at home. The ways of obtaining *'ēlei* fabrics before the introduction of *Lā'ei Sāmoa* were limited: one could find somebody to make *'ēlei* fabrics personally, try the shops or flea market or ask at Malua.[9] In addition, *'ēlei* fabric was more expensive to purchase than imported printed materials.

In 2003, most *'ēlei* fabrics were still produced by women at home. The procedures for making *'ēlei* fabric with *'upeti* was as follows (Fig. 4): (i) acquire five yards of plain material, a 42 *tālā* tin of fabric printing colour (*vali*), rollers and trays normally used for painting walls, and a 60 *tālā 'upeti* carved on both sides,[10] (ii) pour the *vali* into the tray and adjust the colour using the roller, (iii) put the *vali* on the *'upeti* using the roller, (iv) put the material

Figure 4. Hand-made *‘ēlei* fabrics printed by *‘upeti*, 2003 (photos by author).

on the *'upeti* and rub it with a small piece of paper that is wrapped around a stone, as if you were engraving an image on the material, and (v) repeat the same procedure (ii to iv) until all the material is decorated with the pattern.

Gradually, the institution of *Lā'ei Sāmoa* altered this home-based *'ēlei* production. In 2005, many producers were using stencils[11] instead of *'upeti*. The procedures for creating *'ēlei* fabrics with stencils was as follows (Fig. 5): (i) put three stencils with the same designs together, (ii) spread a plain material and put the stencils on the material, (iii) paint *vali* directly on the material using a small roller, and (iv) repeat (ii) and (iii). Compared to the fabric decorated using *'upeti*, *'ēlei* fabrics made with stencils are clearly and strongly coloured. According to the woman with whom I discussed the issue, stencils also provided more *'ēlei* designs and buying stencils (12 *tālā* each) was cheaper than buying *'upeti* (60 *tālā* each). Using stencils instead of *'upeti* thus had three advantages:

Figure 5. Hand-made *'ēlei* fabrics printed by stencils, 2005 (photos by author).

they were cheaper, they came in a wide variety of patterns and there was less labour involved. The first two enabled the producers to make a variety of *‘ēlei* fabrics in larger amounts, while the last one allowed the range of producers to expand from only women to men, and even children.

A bigger change in the supply of *‘ēlei* fabrics, however, was the introduction of mass production. In 2004, one of the biggest supermarkets in Apia broadcast commercials on the sale of *‘ēlei* fabrics on TV, and as a result the number of shops making and selling *‘ēlei* fabrics increased. In 2005, the mass production of *‘ēlei* fabrics overwhelmed the fabric market in Sāmoa, and two classifications of *‘ēlei* fabrics clearly emerged: “hand-made *‘ēlei*” (*‘ēlei e gaosi i Sāmoa* or *‘ēlei* fabrics made in Sāmoa) and “ready-made *‘ēlei*” (*‘ēlei e gaosi mai fafo* or *‘ēlei* fabrics imported from overseas). Of the 18 shops investigated, 11 were selling ready-made *‘ēlei*. Most shopkeepers selling ready-made *‘ēlei* mentioned their overseas sources, but people working at the Samoan Customs Department said most ready-made *‘ēlei* were from China. One shop-owner explained that Indo-Fijians had taken *‘ēlei* designs to China and arranged to have *‘ēlei* fabrics made there. The influx of ready-made *‘ēlei* fabrics caused the price to drop and several shops sold the ready-made *‘ēlei* by the roll (Fig. 6). The increase in ready-made *‘ēlei* fabrics prompted some people to question the authenticity of imported *‘ēlei* fabrics, yet ready-made *‘ēlei* were accepted for making of *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* in 2005. In particular, those who were working as executives in the Government sectors said that with ready-made *‘ēlei* the prescribed dress was affordable for many people in contrast to the expensive hand-made product.

A third and final factor in the uptake of *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* as a dress of national identity was the way it both enriched and diversified the Sāmoan culture of clothing. Unlike ordinary dress codes in Sāmoa, *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* hardly affected women’s daily dress practices. *Puletasi* are widely accepted as the most appropriate attire for Sāmoan women on ceremonial occasions. *Puletasi* can be tailored from any type of material. Sāmoan women delight in designing the combination of a top and *‘ie lavalava* or skirts of in terms of colours and styles.

Sāmoan women were especially pleased with *‘ēlei* fabrics as something new to enhance their *puletasi* style of dress. As ready-made *‘ēlei* became more available and varied, many people, particularly working or business women, always looking for a new dress, began to differentiate between *‘ēlei* attire used for ordinary and special occasions. Hand-made *‘ēlei* fabrics, they asserted, were for something special. They also made an effort to make the colour of their *‘ēlei* garments different. Before the introduction of *Lā‘ei Sāmoa*, it was rare to see gold or silver in *‘ēlei* printing. Over time, gold and silver were used more frequently and came to outrank other colours in popularity. The gold *vali* cost 120 *tālā* a litre, while other colours cost only

35 *tālā* a litre. Accordingly, *'ēlei* fabrics printed with gold or silver designs are more expensive; one shop sold *'ēlei* fabrics printed with gold and silver at 20 *tālā* per yard, while other colour prints were sold for 15-16 *tālā*. As a result of *Lā'ei Sāmoa,* Sāmoan women's clothing came to be diversified.[12]

As the use of *Lā'ei Sāmoa* was popularised, most of the people I asked about *Lā'ei Sāmoa* in 2005 commented positively. They cited the following three reasons. The first was that *Lā'ei Sāmoa* promoted the significance of Sāmoan culture. In 2005, a Ministry official told me: "We revive *'ēlei*, our traditional *'ēlei*, which are different from Tonga and Fiji. Now, many people, especially men are carving *'upeti*, women and children are printing *'ēlei*. It provides many people with opportunities to engage in Samoan culture" (female officer in her 50s, pers. comm., August 2005). One of my female friends also commented that one of the effects of *Lā'ei Sāmoa* was a revival of their cultural traits, in terms of not only screen-printing but also making *'upeti* designs. In this way, *'ēlei* fabrics and *'upeti*, the tool used in their production, became increasingly recognised as symbols of traditional Sāmoan culture. This was despite the fact that ready-made *'ēlei* dominated the fabric market and *'upeti* had been mostly replaced by stencils by 2005.

Figure 6. Bolts of mass-produced *'ēlei* fabrics, 2005 (photo by author).

Some Sāmoans, however, said that there were no problems with ready-made *‘ēlei* because they surely had Sāmoan designs, while others believed that hand-made *‘ēlei* were actually "true" Sāmoan *‘ēlei* fabrics, even though they were made by stencils.

The second reason voiced in support of *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* was that it created opportunities for many people to earn additional income. Most tailors and tailoring shops told me that the orders for making clothing from *‘ēlei* fabrics were definitely increasing,[13] while the official quoted above pointed out that many women benefited economically from the national dress code because they could make and sell *‘ēlei* fabrics.

The last reason for endorsing *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* was that it was suitable for the climate. One tailoring shop owner told me that Sāmoa needed comfortable clothing for the often hot and humid weather. A senior official in the Ministry of Prime Minister and Cabinet remarked:

> Before introducing *Lā‘ei Sāmoa*, male public servants had to wear a plain shirt with a tie at important meetings and official functions, which made us all sweat. It was so hot that we needed clothing suited to the weather. (Male officer in his 30s, pers. comm., August 2005)

* * *

Lā‘ei Sāmoa began as an official costume that was well-suited to the local climate. Over time it became affordable and promoted Sāmoan culture. Within three years, *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* had become a distinctive national attire which was a visual marker of "Sāmoanness". Its uptake also had fortuitous economic benefits for the Sāmoan clothing industry. Yet, I never heard *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* discussed in relation to *fa‘a-Sāmoa*. In considering the statement of the Prime Minister about the uniqueness of Sāmoan designs, and the successful initiatives of the Samoa Tourism Authority, I reflected on Harvey's (1996) ideas about "place" in globalisation. The acceptance and elaboration of *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* could be understood as a silent struggle of the nation to establish its "Sāmoanness" as distinct from *fa‘a-Sāmoa*. More specifically, it could be argued that *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* functions as a process of nation-building in a way that not only expresses the unity of Sāmoa as a nation in this globalising era, but also removes a signature of colonisation. It also should be pointed out that the acceptance of *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* was strongly supported by the changes in the way the fabric was produced. In particular, mass-produced fabrics, brought from overseas, enabled many Sāmoans to obtain inexpensive *‘ēlei* fabrics. Thus it was not only historical conflicts over what should constitute appropriate attire in relation to the national identity of Sāmoa, but also economic connections with the outside world that enabled *Lā‘ei Sāmoa* to find favour. As Massey

(1996 [1991]) argued, it is quite unlikely that the specificity of place could be reproduced without conflicts or any relations with outsiders.

Turning again to Massey's concept of place, she has recently elaborated her original concept, suggesting that "[m]aybe a new kind of sense of 'belonging' to place can be developed in relation to the responsibility of place. Here, place is a project in which we can participate: and in which the fundamental question could be: 'what does my place stand for?'" (Massey 2014). I also thought about who participates in reproducing the specificity of place and how. Most dress codes in Sāmoa targeted women and the rationale for these codes was phrased as respect for and adherence to *fa'a-Sāmoa*. *Lā'ei Sāmoa* prompted virtually no argument or discussion either about preserving *fa'a-Sāmoa* or about female attire in public/political space. In 2003, however, the Sāmoan Government also attempted to revive the quality and value of fine mats in ceremonial exchanges, which are very important as a part of *fa'a-Sāmoa* and plaited by women. Prime Minister Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi said, "I urge the mothers of Samoa today to return to weaving the traditional *Ie o le Malo* (Mat of the State)…. The hope of reviving our true cultural values can only be done through a collective effort" (*Samoa Observer*, 1 March 2003: 4). The Government referred to fine mats as *'Ie Sāmoa*, and the Ministry of Women, Community and Social Development started to inspect the plaiting of the fine mats by women's committees in all villages.[14] In 2005 when I visited Sāmoa, two contrasting scenes were observed: working women in Apia who delighted in wearing *Lā'ei Sāmoa* as a new fashionable dress versus women in rural areas who were plaiting *'Ie Sāmoa*. Both phenomena, the institution of *Lā'ei Sāmoa* and the renaming and continued production of fine mats as *'Ie Sāmoa,* not only convinced me that the reproduction of "Sāmoanness" was encouraged by the Government initiatives, but also that different groups were involved in that process. This analysis of *Lā'ei Sāmoa* makes clear the necessity of asking not only what practices reproduce the specificity of place, but also who is willingly to participate in this enterprise.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My research on *Lā'ei Sāmoa* was mainly conducted in August and September 2005, although field research in 2001, March and August 2003, August and September 2004 and June 2009 contributed to this study .The research for this article was made possible through a Grant-in-Aid from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) for JSPS Fellows (2000-2003), a Grant-in-Aid for Young Scientists (B) (2004-2006) from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology and a Tenri University Research Fellowship (2009). With regard to the historical discussion of Samoan clothing, I was provided with insightful suggestions by Gatoloaifa'aana Tilianamua To'omata Afamasaga, a former Director at the Oloamanu Centre for Professional Development and Continuing Education, National University of Samoa.

The public servants at the Ministry of Women, Community and Social Development provided me with welcome support during my research in Sāmoa. I also deeply appreciate Pesio Keneti, who gave me a precious opportunity to observe *ʻēlei*-making. Although I cannot here name every person who assisted me, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to all my Sāmoan friends and informants who kindly shared their opinions with me. I have also benefited from the insightful comments of the *JPS* editors and the referees. Lastly, I am sincerely grateful for the generous assistance provided by Dr Juliet Boon Nanai and her *ʻāiga* during my stay in Sāmoa. *Faʻafetai tele lava*.

NOTES

1. Gatoloaifaʻaana Tilianamua Toʻomata Afamasaga (pers. comm., June 2009) explained to me that Namulauʻulu Lauaki Mamoe's attire, in his famous photo, was not intended to represent Sāmoan identity in opposition to the colonial administration. Ordinarily, he wore European clothing, just like the other Sāmoans, but when he made a speech on behalf of *aliʻi* he routinely put on clothing that was worn by orators in those days.
2. A half-caste whose father was European and whose parents were formally married could be a legitimate *ʻafakasi*. Illegitimate *ʻafakasi* were permitted to apply to the High Court, to register as resident aliens, though it was difficult. Legitimate *ʻafakasi* were legally allowed to inherit their father's estate, purchase liquor and enter a hotel in the same way as the European residents (Meleisea 1987: 162-63).
3. *Puletasi* is a two-piece garment with a top that reaches the thighs and an *ʻie lavalava*. Since about 2001, *ʻie lavalava* have been gradually replaced by a long slim skirt with slits, especially among young girls. From around 2009 onwards, not only the young, but also the older generations came to prefer using a skirt. Tailors recommended that it be made into a skirt because it is easy to wear and because it would use less material and cost less.
4. When I was conducting this research, there were at least two newspapers published daily in Sāmoa, the *Samoa Observer* and *Newsline*. I only used the articles from the *Samoa Observer* because it was the most widely circulated. Also I could collect items from old issues kept in the Nelson Library and by a Japanese tourist company located in Apia.
5. Margaret Mead (1977: 60) in the 1920s noted the decoration of cotton fabrics with printed *tapa*-cloth style patterns made using a carved board.
6. If there is money available the organisations sometimes pay for the fabric and the staff pay for the tailor.
7. Sāmoans often adopt "uniforms" to distinguish people in defined groups from others.
8. According to Penelope Schoeffel (pers. comm., December 2011), the judges are expected to wear white suits in the courts, including the Land and Title Court.
9. Malua is the village where the Malua Theological College for Congregational Christian Church in Sāmoa is located. In 2001, several people told me that they had asked some of the pastor wives staying at Malua to make *ʻēlei* fabrics.

10. Solosolo seemed to be one of the villages renowned for carving *'upeti*. My informant, who had 12 *'upeti*, explained that she bought them from a man staying in Solosolo. When I went looking for *'upeti* at the then-new market in Apia in 2005, a sales lady told me that she had come from Solosolo and that her *'āiga* 'family' was making *'upeti*. Although most informants in Apia told me that I could buy *'upeti* in the markets, I only found one shop selling them at that time. One *'upeti* cost 80 *tālā*.
11. Stencils were usually used for printing flowers on otherwise plain coloured *puletasi* fabrics. Stencils seemed to be made by young boys and they were also offered for sale by roving vendors. According to the owner of one shop, the police taught young boys in prison how to make *'ēlei* fabrics and stencils as part of a rehabilitation programme. These boys sold their stencils for 20 *tālā*, so the shop owner would select his favourite ones from among them. He commented, "No more *'upeti*. It is a new technology for *'ēlei*" (male shop owner in his 60s, pers. comm., September 2005).
12. When *Lā'ei Sāmoa* was introduced, new commercial activities started up almost concurrently in Apia. New shops sold distinctive and beautifully printed *puletasi* off the rack and many established tailoring shops turned to making *puletasi* decorated by original hand-painted or stencilled designs. The stencil printing skills were quickly adopted by others who produced *'ēlei* fabric elsewhere.
13. According to my 2001 observations, it was women who exclusively went to tailors to have their clothing made. In 2005, women remained the primary customers for tailors, yet the number of tailored male *'ofu tino* 'shirts' from *'ēlei* fabrics increased because of *Lā'ei Sāmoa*.
14. This mandatory practice was intended to stop the exchange of large numbers of *lalaga*, small, brown mats that "can be produced in several days". *'Ie Sāmoa* is "bleached white fibres, finely woven to a silky texture with a thin feathered lining" and "take months to weave" (*Samoa Observer*, 1 March 2003: 4). The Prime Minister wanted to "down-size these traditional functions which has become not only a financial burden to families but also a source of stress, conflict and disunity" (*Samoa Observer*, 9 April, 2003: 2). Fine mats have long been known as *'ie tōga*. The word *tōga* of *'ie tōga* means fine and valuable (Milner 1966: 272), but without the long vowel [ō] has been mixed up with *Toga* meaning Tonga (thus erroneously 'Tongan mat'). This linguistic situation might well have influenced the renaming of fine mats as *'Ie Sāmoa*.

REFERENCES

Addo, Ping-Ann, 2003. God's kingdom in Auckland: Tongan Christian dress and the expression of duty. In C. Colchester (ed.), *Clothing the Pacific*. Oxford and New York: Berg, pp. 141-63.

Cresswell, Tim, 2004. *Place: A Short Introduction*. Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing.

Field, Michael J., 1991 [1984]. *Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom.* Auckland: Polynesian Press.

Harvey, David, 1996. *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference.* Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Krämer, Augustin, 1995. *The Samoan Islands: An Outline of a Monograph With Particular Consideration of German Samoa*. Volume 2. Auckland: Polynesian Press.

Kuramitsu Minako, 2005. "Which clothes do you like to wear in your daily life, Samoan clothes or imported clothes?": The reconstruction of the *fa'aSamoa* through girls' college perception of clothing. *Annals of Ochanomizu Geographical Society* 45: 49-58. [In Japanese].

Mageo, Jeannette Marie, 1994. Hairdos and don'ts: Hair symbolism and sexual history in Samoa. *Man [The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute]* 29: 407-32.

Massey, Doreen, 1996 [1991]. A global sense of place. In S. Daniels and R. Lee (eds), *Exploring Human Geography: A Reader.* New York: Halsted Press, pp. 237-45.

——2014 MS. Repositioning Place in a Global Age. Speech notes at the regular meeting of the Human Geographical Society of Japan, Osaka.

Mead, Margaret, 1977. *Letters from the Field: 1925-1975*. New York: Harper & Row.

Meleisea, Malama, 1987. *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and Colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa.* Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.

Milner, George B., 1966. *Samoan Dictionary*. *Samoan—English, English—Samoan.* London: Oxford University Press.

Mosko, Mark S., 2007. Fashion as fetish: The agency of modern clothing and traditional body decoration among North Mekeo of Papua New Guinea. *The Contemporary Pacific* 19 (1): 39-83.

Pitt, David, 1970. *Tradition and Economic Progress in Samoa: A Case Study of the Role of Traditional Social Institutions in Economic Development*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Samoa Observer, 2003, multiple issues.

Schoeffel, Penelope, 1999. Samoan exchange and "fine mats": An historical reconsideration. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 108 (2): 117-48.

Senda, Yuki, 2002. Feminizumu to shokuminchishugi: Oka Mari ni yoru zyoseiseikisetuzyohihan wo tegakaritoshite. *Daikokai* 43: 128-45. [In Japanese].

Stair, John B., 1897. *Old Samoa, or, Flotsam and jetsam from the Pacific Ocean*. London: The Religious Tract Society.

Tcherkézoff, Serge, 2003. On cloth, gifts and nudity: Regarding some European misunderstandings during early encounters in Polynesia. In C. Colchester (ed.), *Clothing the Pacific*. Oxford and New York: Berg, pp. 51-75.

Thomas, Nicholas, 2003. The case of the misplaced ponchos: Speculations concerning the history of cloth in Polynesia. In C. Colchester (ed.), *Clothing the Pacific*. Oxford and New York: Berg, pp. 79-96.

Turner, George, 1861. *Nineteen Years in Polynesia: Missionary life, Travels, and Researches in the Islands of the Pacific.* London: John Snow, Paternoster Row.

Watson, James L. (ed.), 1997. *Golden Arches East: McDonald's in East-Asia.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Yamamoto, Matori, 1997. Samoa-jin no sekusyuaritironnsou to bunkatekizigazo. In S. Yamashita and M. Yamamoto (eds), *Syokuminchisyugi to Bunka*. Shinyosya: Tokyo, pp. 152-80. [In Japanese].

Personal Communications

Gatoloaifa'aana Tilianamua To'omata Afamasaga, 29 June 2009
Schoeffel, Penelope, 31 December 2011

ABSTRACT

This article considers reproduction of "Sāmoanness" through the process by which *Lā'ei Sāmoa*, a simple dress code for public servants, came to be viewed as the national attire. The initial objections at the inauguration of *Lā'ei Sāmoa* did not persist, because of the impossibility of establishing an acceptable historical and cultural authenticity of Sāmoan national attire. Over a three-year period, *Lā'ei Sāmoa* also brought fortuitous economic benefits to the Sāmoan clothing industry and diversified the Sāmoan culture of clothing. Considering how the Sāmoan Government took the initiative on the introduction of *Lā'ei Sāmoa*, it could be understood as the silent struggle of the nation to establish its distinctive "Sāmoanness".

Keywords: Sāmoan identity, *Lā'ei Sāmoa*, *'ēlei*, dress codes, national attires, globalisation, reproducing place

CITATION AND AUTHOR CONTACT DETAILS

Kuramitsu,[1] Minako, 2016. *Lā'ei Sāmoa*: From public servants' uniform to national attire? *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 125 (1): 33-57; DOI: http//dx.doi.org/10.15286/jps.125.1.33-57.

[1] Corresponding author: Department of Area Studies, Faculty of International Studies, Tenri University, 1050 Somanouchi-cho, Tenri-city, Nara, 632-8510, Japan. Email: mkuramitsu@gmail.com

REVIEWS

Ashton, Jennifer: *At the Margin of Empire: John Webster and Hokianga, 1841-1900*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2015. 258 pp. $49.99 (softcover).

TOM BROOKING
University of Otago

This is an impressive book based on a recent PhD thesis. All too often thesis writers struggle to free themselves of an overtly academic approach but this book is free of jargon and relates to broader historiographical matters without disrupting the narrative flow. As a result it is interesting and a good read, as well as being a work of impressive scholarship.

Ashton begins with an introduction that ties her subject to broader New Zealand British Imperial themes such as mobility, long-term "collaborative" relations with indigenous people and success in amassing a small fortune through exploitation of the new colony's timber resources, all in a balanced and deft manner. She promises to "re-create the experience of the type of individual who made empire happen on the ground in a settler society". Ashton succeeds in that aim while recounting "the story of empire in Hokianga".

Webster was a Scot born in Montrose (located between Aberdeen and Dundee) in 1818. He came from a comfortably-off merchant family. Despite some setbacks in dealings with the West Indies, his father Andrew managed to send his four sons to the Montrose Academy where they received solid educations suited to a commercial or military career. From age 14 Webster worked for a time in his maternal uncle's muslin manufacturing business in bustling Glasgow which traded directly with the West Indies. Like many migrants Webster lost his father soon after joining the work force and was persuaded by his mother to go to healthier and more respectable Australia rather than the disease-ridden West Indies, which was suffering decline with the abolition of slavery. Soon after his arrival in Sydney, Webster joined an expedition that drove a mob of cattle and explored the country between New South Wales and Adelaide on a quest to discover country suited to pastoral farming. Webster enjoyed the harsh outdoor life and dismissed Aboriginals he encountered as inferior human beings who were "ultimately unknowable." Not long after arriving in Adelaide Webster learned that his eldest brother William had set up a sawmill in the Hokianga. He sailed to meet him via Melbourne and arrived in the locality where he would spend most of his life in May 1841.

By the mid-1840s Webster acted as timber agent for George Russell at Kohukohu, befriended the so-called "Pākehā–Māori" Frederick Maning and had liaisons with at least two Māori women, although he did not take on responsibility for the children that resulted like Maning or Russell, who both married local Māori *wahine* 'women'. Webster also befriended the missionary William White Junior and his ethnographer

brother John, and became a lifelong friend of the Auckland entrepreneur John Logan Campbell. He supported the so-called Scotch clique and shared Campbell's conservative and pro-business philosophy. Webster also separated himself from the rough sawyers and labourers, and lived in a virtual middle class enclave with the Russells and Whites.

Elevating himself above the local Māori *rangatira 'Māori* leaders', however, proved more difficult because he still depended on them for protection, land, trees and labour. Chiefs like Papahurihia and Tamiti Waka Nene treated Webster as an equal whether he liked it or not and he ended up assisting the Māhurehure Federation during the Northern War of 1845–46. Webster soon became fluent in *te reo* 'Māori language' and acquainted with Māori protocol, knowledge that assisted his trading considerably as he learnt to navigate between two worlds.

Ashton provides an excellent critique of Webster's account of his involvement in fighting against Hone Keke and Kawiti by showing that he greatly exaggerated his contribution given he was always a low level ally who had little choice but to fight with the powerful local *rangatira*. Once peace was secured, Webster undertook an extraordinary seven-year journey to sell timber and prefabricated houses in San Francisco on behalf of Brown and Campbell, before returning through the Pacific where he became embroiled in some extraordinary incidents. Even though the Californian gold rush should have provided plenty of opportunity, the venture soon turned sour. Webster abandoned Brown's ship *Noble* in San Francisco and sailed in 1851 to Hawai'i on *The Wanderer* with the Scottish born Australian pastoral magnate Benjamin Boyd. They sailed back through modern-day Kiribati and on to the Solomon Islands. The "natives" at Guadalcanal attacked the boat and Boyd disappeared. Webster sailed back to San Cristobal, or Makira, and somewhat ludicrously tried to claim it for Charles St. Julian, a Sydney journalist. Later efforts in the 1850s to establish an empire in the Solomons came to nought, despite Webster publishing a sensational account of his exotic adventures and travelling to England to promote the book which featured competent paintings of birds observed in his travels.

Once he returned to the Hokianga in 1855, Webster settled into his role as the Hokianga's "timber baron". In 1856 he, like many white men throughout the Empire, distanced himself from the local indigenous people by marrying a white woman—Russell's eldest daughter, Emily. As he disentangled himself from Māori, Webster became a hard racist like Maning. While romanticising the old Māori as noble savages, he condemned the younger generation as a bar to progress, doomed to soon die out. Webster's letters on this subject make for unpleasant reading to the modern citizen but Ashton handles them in a remarkably balanced way, noting that emerging pseudo-scientific justifications linked to "social Darwinism" entrenched Webster in his views. As he settled into the role of white patriarch, Webster's political views became more rigidly conservative and he opposed the democratic impulse of George Grey and Richard Seddon.

Webster went on to live to the remarkable age of 93, enjoying his elaborate garden at Opononi. His business continued to flourish down to the 1890s, but he achieved little else of note despite his bragging over suppression of the Dog Tax Rebellion in 1898, which had much more to do with Northern Māori MHR Hone Heke Ngapua than Webster. He died a few months before the even more venerable John Logan

Campbell in 1912, but despite some increase in the local European population the Hokianga remained an essentially Māori space.

Ashton succeeds admirably in achieving her other stated goal of expanding "our understanding of colonialism and how it was inscribed on the lives of those who lived it" (in the Hokianga). My only quibbles are very minor, relating mainly to clumping the illustrations together rather than spreading them throughout the text and the absence of helpful maps. She could also have strengthened her arguments regarding the Dog Tax Rebellion by referencing the surprisingly liberal *Northern Advocate*, but such things fail to prevent this excellent book from being an important contribution to New Zealand historiography. Thanks to Ashton's endeavours and perceptive observations we now know much more about one of the most beautiful but least understood parts of the country, especially in comparison with the Bay of Islands only a few kilometres away. This book comes with my fulsome recommendation to anyone interested in race relations and Imperial history.

Bennett, Judith A. (ed.): *Oceanian Journeys and Sojourns: Home Thoughts Abroad.* Dunedin, Otago: Otago University Press, 2015. 390 pp., bib, index, maps, plates. NZD$ 45 (softcover).

JENNY BRYANT-TOKALAU
University of Otago

When I was invited to firstly launch, and then review this collection I felt very honoured for several reasons. Firstly, the lead author and editor, Professor Judith Bennett, is a researcher of the Pacific beyond compare, well recognised for her scholarship and innovative projects on environmental and Pacific war history, and also for her humility and mentoring of young academics. Secondly, when I found that the collection was dedicated to Professor Murray Chapman, a New Zealand geographer and long-time resident of Hawai'i, I was pleased to see his career so resoundingly honoured. Murray is feted here for his inspiring way of looking at the world of population movement and mobility, and especially for his enduring relationship with the peoples of Solomon Islands. But he has also been a constant mentor to young scholars, including myself starting 40 years ago, and continues to inspire and support Pacific academics wherever they may be. As Bennett says (p. 24) each author has a thread connected to Murray Chapman in a wide network spanning the Oceanian world. He is part of all he has met. This collection with its beautiful cover with the aptly named "Genealogy Ties", a 2010 print given freely by Leanne Joy Lupelele Clayton, and its excellent illustrations (including a colour photograph of Murray Chapman as a young researcher in 1972), is dedicated to Judy Bennett's "teacher, mentor and friend". No better tribute could be made.

Judith Bennett, in coordinating ten people, half of whom are from Solomon Islands, or deeply connected in some way, has produced what is one of the most important reflections on mobility that I have read in a very long time. After I finished reading this beautifully produced volume I wondered to myself how it compared with earlier

works on mobility and migration in the Pacific. From my bookshelves I plucked *Change and Movement: Readings on Internal Migration Papua New Guinea*, an edited collection by Ron May published in 1977. The authors are well known, mostly with a long relationship with Papua New Guinea (PNG), but some were prone (in retrospect, and recognising the times in which they wrote) to telling people how to deal with their "problems". I read again the chapter by Dawn Ryan**,** a Lecturer in Anthropology from Monash University who passed away in 1999. In the mid-1960s Ryan carried out research with migrants from Toaripi in the Gulf Province who ended up in the towns of Port Moresby and Lae. The chapter reprinted in May's collection was originally published in 1968 and provided valuable information about the 3,000 Toaripi then living in Port Moresby, in an environment very different from the sago swamps of home. These largely male migrants (often referred to as "Keremas") had a history of migrant labour and involvement with the Australian army camp in Toaripi. They were therefore skilled and in great demand in construction and frequently worked as contractors. I was at first perturbed to read Ryan's conclusion to her chapter which said, "The people are isolated and are in a real sense lost to the village; and there has not been any kind of re-creation of village life in the town." (p. 154). But, on reflection, I appreciated the long time away from home and the fact that it was only later, in the 1970s, with more migration of both men and women, that there really was able to be "a re-creation of life in town".

It is inspiring to move forward to Judith Bennett's collection of Oceanian journeys, and to consider how those early reflections and understandings have changed. In May's collection, as a reflection of the times, there was only one PNG author; in Bennett's book, eight of the ten authors are indigenous people of the Pacific, and all have strong ties and long histories. Bennett has always been an adamant supporter of locally grounded scholarship, and, like Murray Chapman and his vast network of Pacific scholars, takes her own work back to its heart, ever-widening the circle of those who are included.

Turning to the book's chapters, we are all aware that few people journey away from their country or village planning to make that move permanent. Often that is the unforeseen result, but the authors in this collection remind us that journeys can be for many different purposes. From Sa'iliemanu Lilomaiava Doktor's "Journeyings: Samoan understandings of movement", an insider discussion of lifestyle journeys (including for investitures and *tatau* 'tattoo'), to Asenati Liki's personal journey as a "dark skinned woman" in Samoa; and Jully Makini's "The duress of movement: Reflections on the time of the ethnic tension, Solomon Islands" where she illustrates her wide acceptance of her neighbours, especially during the Solomons' tensions, there is a great richness and depth in the stories.

Bennett's opening pages "Seeking the Heart of Mobility" do take us to the heart of each author's journey, but it is not possible here to do justice to all of the chapters. Instead I shall emphasise several as illustrations of the flavour of the book.

As an undergraduate in Geography at the University of Otago several decades ago, one of my most enduring memories is of my lecturer in Pacific Geography, Stewart Cameron, saying in class one day that Pacific research will have really come of age when it is Pacific Islanders carrying out the research, not outsiders looking in. He was on the same wavelength as Murray Chapman.

And so this book proves. Chapter 2 "Tasimauri Sojourns and Journeys: Interview with Murray Chapman" by David Welchman Gegeo, is a wonderful conversation between mentor and Pacific academic. The interview is worth reading carefully as it talks of many histories, attitudes and the joys (and disasters) felt while doing "real", physical fieldwork. It is an honest account and takes us through Murray's own journey and helps to understand his scepticism of terms such as "migration". This substantial interview challenges views, and pays tribute to many of the early Pacific Islander academics (a number of them former colleagues and friends of readers of this volume). Murray Chapman challenged us to think broadly and not be locked into earlier, accepted ways of scholarship. He also, and I always loved this about Murray, *did not use jargon.*

The second part of the book is about journeying. The Samoan *malaga* and other forms of journeying and wanderings, were mentioned earlier but I would like to especially comment on Lola Bautista's insider views of mobility from an atoll in Chuuk, Federated States of Micronesia.

Bautista has produced an exciting chapter "Emic understandings of mobility: Perspectives from Satowan Atoll, Chuuk" which looks at how individuals respond to mobility throughout their life cycle. She does this by discussing "social space to include emic understandings of mobility at a particular life stage within a particular setting" (p. 93). Bautista has a wide perspective and mentions many international studies, such as among the Hausa in northern Nigeria (p. 95) to assist her articulation of what she means by movement for useful purpose. Bautista talks of both proper and improper types of mobility and leaves nothing unexamined. She is not afraid to talk about church and conflict, especially in relation to cultural avoidance and how this works in a church context. She discusses obedience and modes of dress, clustering of women, childbirth and child care. There is also an honest and open discussion of young men and issues surrounding wandering aimlessly, spending on "foolish things", and dropping out. These are all forms of mobility.

Asenati Liki's Chapter 5 "Women as kin: Working lives, living work and mobility among Samoan *teine uli*" was particularly enjoyable because it is both challenging and a glimpse of her own scholarly journey. She talks of the myopic lens framing studies of work, women and mobility, and some of the hard times in institutions which could not understand the need for gendered studies of mobility. Mercifully Asenati found a good home at the University of Hawai'i when she met Murray Chapman and came to "read the works of wonderful writers such as Konai Thaman and Elise Huffer", and so found expression of her own voice in her stories of mobility and on why women insist on kinship.

The geographer**,** Raymond Young picks up a similar theme in "Send me back to Lakeba: Cultural constructions of movement on a Fijian island", where he provides some detailed narratives of peoples' personal journeys, arguing the fundamental importance of understanding relationships and continuity with kin that span generations. As Young says, "knowledge of relationships is a significant part of reaffirming ones identity" (p. 190). Drawing on the works of Pacific Islander academics such as Teresia Teaiwa and John Pule**,** Young challenges researchers to widen their horizons beyond their immediate field, to look at "art, performance and movement as a relationship between the body, culture and space" (p. 191).

Two other chapters complete this section of the book. Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka and Jully Makini talk of their own journeys, places and identity. Kabutaulaka in his chapter "Tuhu Vera: My journeys, routes, places and identities" raises that age-old issue of "where do you call home?" I recall years ago talking with Tarcisius and his wife when their children were still babies about which language should be used in the home. They themselves came from different language backgrounds, were living in Fiji and largely communicated in English. Those complexities have become very much a part of how identity is constructed.

Kabutaulaka (like Murray Chapman) always felt uncomfortable around the jargon of population movement and so gives us more meaningful terms to describe his own journey. He also acknowledges the work of others from further afield. His journeys are his own, but the parallels are universal. His own journey of place changing, studying politics and becoming part of a wider regional and international community of scholars reflects the journeys and sojourns of many of us—belonging to multiple worlds, yet rooted at home.

This section of the book ends with chapters on people, culture and research. In "John Burke, historian and collector: Taking Solomon Islands back to the United States after World War II", Judith Bennett looks at an episode involving a "vague American" who shipped Solomons artefacts back to the United States. She is kind to this American, appreciating the different times. This is followed by a chapter by Cook Islander, Yvonne Underhill-Sem who in "Silences of the discourse: Maternal bodies in out of the way places" writes about silences surrounding maternal bodies and understanding the unsaid. Through this discussion we get a good insight into fieldwork in a community in Papua New Guinea not so well known to the researcher, although her husband is from there. Issues such as not knowing about pregnancy and childbirth in the local context are examined, including in the context of Christianity, morality and vulnerability in marriage. Underhill-Sem calls for a greater emphasis on imagining alternatives in Geography and policy by having more feminist geography and women's ways of doing. This dovetails well with Young in his call to be more aware of feminist migration studies.

A very different chapter is presented by Gordon Leua Nanau on "Promoting research in a stubborn environment: The experiences of Solomon Islands 1989-2009". I know Gordon and found great resonance with his comments on research processes and obstacles in the 1990s and 2000s. I well remember, when teaching at the University of the South Pacific, times when the Government of Solomon Islands would cancel all research permits or make them difficult to get, with fines for those who did not comply. He lists the reasons for this—patenting of crops, theft of intellectual property for example. He also describes other stumbling blocks such as mentoring, time and money as well as the near impossibility of marketing local research.

The Solomon Islands College for Higher Education, where Murray Chapman, and other well-known Solomon Island identities such as Rex Horoi and Gordon Leua Nanau himself all ended up, was involved in developing an applied research policy—an important move and one which meant good links with many other institutions as well as developing capability of local staff while building a research culture and protecting the integrity of research carried out in the Solomon Islands.

But most of all in this chapter I appreciated Nanau's '*tok tok but no do do'* syndrome—the state where outcomes are all the same – the 'tok tok but no do do' where the word research is bandied about but those who could assist with that research are unconcerned with tangible inputs to boost research. I am sure that such a syndrome resonates widely!

The book ends with "Without sharing we will be like leaves blown with the wind", a lyrical overview by geographer Eric Waddell, now retired in Canada. His paper is an excellent way to wrap up such a valuable book and a wonderful tribute to Murray Chapman whom he had known for decades.

Waddell looks at ways of defining Oceania, and very importantly reminds us (p. 323) that "what is learned in seminars, related in theses, is, further down the line, then enacted in parliaments, boardrooms and classrooms". And there is the crux—all Pacific scholarship and research is valuable, not simply for its own sake, but for what it represents and what influence it may have.

Pacific research can be in film, poetry, medicine or economics. It can be provocative, challenging, "improper" and it can be discipline based or not. Pacific research can have influences on the global stage, and influences on peoples' lives—not only of our colleagues and politicians, but also on our families, wherever they are.

Tanggio tumas Professor Judith Bennett for bringing together a very fine collection of writing from across Oceania and beyond. This book, carefully read, or dipped into over time, has the power to change lives and to rethink our attitudes, not only to journeys and sojourns, but for what they mean for Pacific scholarship, learning and understanding.

References

May, R.J. (ed.), 1977. *Change and Movement: Readings on Internal Migration in Papua New Guinea*. ANU Press, Canberra. Chapter by Dawn Ryan, "Toaripi in Port Moresby and Lae", pp. 147-54.

Benton, Richard, Alex Frame and Paul Meredith: *Te Mātāpunenga: A Compendium of References to the Concepts and Institutions of Māori Customary Law*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2013. 551 pp., bib., illustrations, index (hardcover). N.p.

ANDREW ERUETI
University of Auckland

In the summer of 1998, Agresearch applied to the Environmental Risk Management Authority (ERMA) for consent for a genetic modification project. Human genetic material was to be inserted into cattle with the hope that the protein would appear in their milk and assist in research into multiple sclerosis. The Institute stood on ancestral lands of the Ngāti Wairere *hapū* 'subtribe' who opposed the application on the grounds that genetic modification involving different species was contrary to their *tikanga* 'custom', specifically it was an interference in the *whakapapa* 'genealogy' and *mauri* 'life force' of both species involved. ERMA approved the project noting it doubted whether on a population basis, interference in Ngāti Wairere beliefs could

have the widespread effects and harm claimed. The problem ERMA said was that Ngāti Wairere were advancing an outmoded notion of tradition formed well before modern research on genetic modification.

Cases such as these are commonly heard by the New Zealand common law courts. In recent years the courts have been asked to determine what is an *iwi* 'tribe' for the purposes of the Sealord Fisheries settlement; whether building a prison might disturb a *taniwha* 'supernatural water creature' lurking beneath the surface; and whether depositing sludge that could contain body tissue offended *tikanga* or is in fact consistent with it. These cases land before the courts owing to the many statutory directions made in legislation to take Māori custom and values into account. For example, before a local authority can grant a resource consent it must first "recognise and provide for... the relationship of Maori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu, and other taonga" (Section 6(e) RMA 1991).

Custom law is not limited to the courts. It has played a fundamental role in the Māori renaissance since the 1960s and 1970s. Māori activists placed great emphasis on distinctive *Māoritanga* (Māoriness) and *iwi-tanga* (*iwi* identity) and a desire for Māori sovereignty. And reforms followed. Most significantly, Treaty settlements were made with *iwi* which contain not only commercial but cultural redress. Efforts have been made by the Law Commission to weave custom into reforms relating to succession, women's access to justice and *iwi* governance. Custom plays a central role in Māori Land Court deliberations. The tension between custom and human rights and conservation laws are regularly debated in the news media.

With the increasing prevalence of custom, a fundamental question arises about its contemporary application as exemplified by the ERMA decision. Questions arise as to its authenticity and true content—rendered complicated by the political and legal context in which the questions typically arise. Occasionally, litigation over custom seems to be a proxy battle for the exercise of greater political control over use of the resources. The claim to customary title to the foreshore, for example, was motivated by Ngāti Apa's struggle to enter the aquaculture industry in the Marlborough Sounds. There is now a large body of work in political and culture theory about the strategic use of tradition and custom in advancing claims of peoples. And this includes some powerful critiques of indigenous rights' movements and what is said to be their over-reliance on custom in claims-making. By emphasising custom, they argue, Indigenous Peoples are giving up on more transformational economic and political reforms (see Karen Engle, 2010, on indigenous development).

Te Mātāpunenga does not attempt to directly answer these questions. Rather, the book is aimed at excavating customary concepts and explaining their content and meaning as rendered by a variety of sources, most of which are historical. However in doing so, the project will go a long way towards addressing the issues of proof, authenticity and essentialism because of its careful selection of authoritative and insightful sources. *Te Mātāpunenga* does this with much elegance and intelligence. Balancing this book in your hands—its 551 pages—one feels the weight of the many clever minds that went into its creation. The authors are highly respected experts in this field and the project has its genesis in the work of Te Matahauriki Institute which was supported by the likes of Dame Joan Metge, Sir Edward Durie and Judge Mick Brown.

The book is comprised of "Entries" in alphabetical order—121 in total, ranging from *Ahi ka* 'continuous occupation of, and right to land' to *Whiu* 'to punish'. Each entry contains a brief explanation of the concept. This is followed by an "Entry Guide", which contains a more detailed description of the term and its historical and contemporary use supported by "References"—the latter references contain transcriptions of the original sources that use the concept. Some of the entries—e.g., *Hakari* 'feast'—run into several pages, peppered with illustrations. Others such as *Tupapaku* 'body of a dead person or the seriously ill' fill one page. The "References" contain the high grade ore, having been carefully selected from a wide range of historical and contemporary sources including Māori periodicals, the journals of *rangatira* and of colonial and imperial officials, *whakatauki* 'proverbs', and academic scholarship.

The long-term ambition of the authors is to foster the creation of a bi-cultural jurisprudence that draws on both Māori and Pakehā value systems. If there is to be any serious consideration of custom law's application today, then the starting point has to be this very process of sifting through the historical and contemporary record for good evidence of how it has been used in fact. *Te Mātāpunenga* is the only scholarly attempt at that and so it is unique and much needed. Now, one cannot help but wonder about the next step in the ongoing project—custom's contemporary use and application and the development of a truly bi-cultural jurisprudence in New Zealand's legal system.

References

Engle, Karen, 2010. *The Elusive Promise of Indigenous Development: Rights, Culture, Strategy*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Field, Julie S. and Michael W. Graves (eds), *Abundance and Resilience, Farming and Foraging in Ancient Kaua'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015. 288 pp., bibliography, figures, index, maps. US$65.00 (hardback).

ETHAN E. COCHRANE
University of Auckland

In *Abundance and Resilience*… Field and Graves reveal the archaeology of Nu'alolo Kai, an important site on the northwest coast of Kaua'i in the Hawaiian Islands. The archaeological importance of Nu'alolo Kai derives from the site's relative isolation, well-preserved features, and its abundant and diverse artefacts. The data and analyses in this book contribute new knowledge of Hawaiian life and cultural change over a continuous sequence, beginning with the first occupations at approximately AD 1300 until the end of permanent habitation in the early 1900s. Until recently, much of this knowledge was trapped in the store rooms of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, as the vast majority of the archaeological collections, those from 132 m^2 of excavation in the 1950s–1960s, were largely unanalysed and unreported (the results of a 4 m^2 excavation in 1990 have been published). The work in the book is based on a sample of over half of the approximately 18,000 items recovered from Nu'alolo Kai.

Abundance and Resilience brings together eleven chapters presenting the data, analyses and summaries of seven researchers (including the editors) across a range of largely ecological and environmental topics. The analytical chapters are based on new analyses, including subsistence-focussed work on marine animals and avifauna, as well as introduced and indigenous (marine) mammals. Other analyses focus on coral, shell and bone artefacts. Several chapters present the environmental context, research history and summarised prehistoric sequence of the site, while one chapter compares archaeological and modern shellfish and avifauna to discuss ancient and contemporary resource management practices. Much of the analytical work is influenced by the salvage excavation procedures and recording practices used during the 1950s and 1960s from which the majority of the collections derives. Field's summary (Chapter 3) of this past work justifies both the resulting chronological periods and observational scales (e.g., ordinal measures) used in this volume. The history of fieldwork at Nu'alolo Kai forces the authors to be explicit about their observational scales, precision and accuracy, but we should remember that these issues affect all archaeological measurement, no matter how carefully it is conceived.

The general applicability of this volume of collected articles is greater than other site-focussed books because of the consistent use of both human behavioural ecology and analytically-driven classifications. A behavioural ecology approach allows different authors in multiple chapters to generate related expectations of empirical patterning that can be compared to archaeological observations. These results are easily compared to other assemblages and regions because they are, in part, deduced from the universal and robust assumptions of evolution, primarily that different behaviours have different fitness consequences. The editors suggest (Chapter 1) that behavioural ecology (or perhaps evolution more generally) may not be suited to explain some dimensions of human life, such as religion or social rules, that are more removed from subsistence and the natural environment. I do not agree as our decisions about, for example, what stories we believe and with whom we interact can also be explained in terms of fitness consequences, irrespective of our personal motivations.

Analytically-driven or problem-oriented classifications also appear in several chapters (but not all) including those on avifauna (Chapter 6), coral artefacts (Chapter 8) and ornaments (Chapter 9). These classifications eschew traditional artefact labels such as combs or awls as they presume unverifiable use of items and are often ambiguous in their definitions. Instead the paradigmatic classifications applied here describe artefacts through a series of mutually exclusive dimensions such as wear, shape and material type that are unambiguous, can be applied to other assemblages, and allow the authors to propose novel and testable hypotheses of material culture variation. In Chapter 6, for example, instead of simply noting changing frequencies of awls or picks, the tool classification indicates that out of 36 possible bird bone tool classes, a specific form dominates the assemblage over time. This suggests increasingly specialised use, possibly associated with subsistence changes.

Several additional chapters examine subsistence remains. These include fish fauna (Chapter 4), turtle (Chapter 5) and introduced and native mammals (Chapter 7). Chapters on applied zooarchaeology (10) and a synthesis of the Nu'alolo Kai prehistoric sequence (Chapter 11) complete the main text. Three appendices present

data on fish remains, invertebrate marine fauna and general artefact descriptions. The only noticeable omission is the lack of any analytical treatment of lithic artefacts such as adzes, flaked tools and debitage from the site.

Fishing strategies varied over time at Nu‘alolo Kai. There was an early and consistent focus on large easily caught inshore taxa; later, small pelagic fish from the reef margins were added to the catch. Intriguingly, some inshore taxa increase in size throughout the prehistoric sequence, contradicting typical expectations of resource depression. The analysis of turtle remains uncovers unexpected patterns as well. Turtles were often targeted by colonising populations, as they can offer a high return for hunting effort in virgin environments. At Nu‘alolo Kai, however, turtles are not seen in the archaeofauna until about AD 1500, some centuries after first occupation. And while the Nu‘alolo Kai collection is unusually well-preserved and large, turtle still contributed a minor component to the overall diet. Continuing with unexpected patterns, birds were important for subsistence and raw materials, but despite long-term human predation, they were a stable resource. The chapter on mammal remains indicates that the earliest residents introduced pigs, dogs and rats to Nu‘alolo Kai, and that pig and dog were the major sources of terrestrial protein in people’s diet.

The chapters on both coral artefacts and ornaments of shell and bone undertake the classification approach mentioned above. This allows the authors to generate hypotheses about behavioural variation over time; for example, abrading techniques remained relatively unchanged. Some artefact uses are identified through comparison with ethnographically documented specimens, leading the editors to suggest that artefacts interpreted as *lei nihoa palaoa*, a status object worn by elites, signify the presence of chiefs at Nu‘alolo Kai.

In their concluding synthesis chapter the editors highlight the relatively small impact of subsistence behaviours on marine and bird fauna. While there is some evidence for pressure on these resources, they are largely stable over time. This resilience is attributed to ancient Hawaiian practices of “stewardship, which regulated production in order to maintain populations and reduce resource stress” (p. 199).

Abundance and Resilience is an excellent addition to the archaeology of Hawai‘i. The book is the first to realise the archaeological potential of the vast Nu‘alolo Kai collections and will be of interest to all students and scholars of Hawaiian prehistory and contemporary Native Hawaiian issues.

Pointer, Margaret: *Niue 1774–1974. 200 Years of Contact and Change*. Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2015. 384 pp., $50 (paper).

HILKE THODA-ARORA
Übersee-Museum, Bremen

Niue was annexed by New Zealand in 1901 and since independence in 1974 has been in a relationship of free association with New Zealand. In spite of these close ties, which go back more than 100 years, publications on the history of Niue have been few when compared with those on other Pacific Islands. However, that “to date, this

story has not been told", as the back cover text of Margaret Pointer's book suggests, or that this is the "groundbreaking… first fully documented account of this most isolated Pacific nation" (Otago Press media release) is a bit overstated. The seminal, though unpublished, 1993 PhD thesis of Thomas Ryan, as well as his 1984 compilation of 18th and early 19th century excerpts from ships' logs and published narratives of European contact in Niue, are easily available in New Zealand university libraries and certainly well-known to all scholars of Niuean history, as are McDowell's 1961 thesis, Vilitama's and Chapman's 1982 book published in Niue, or perhaps even my own 2009 publication containing a long main chapter on Niuean history.

Having said that, Mrs Pointer's book is a well-researched, beautiful and very readable summary of Niuean history between 1774, the time of first European contact made by Captain Cook's vessel, and 1974, the year of independence. Divided into four main parts, "Early Contacts", "Empire", "New Zealand Administration", "The Road to Self-Government", the island's European contact and further history is covered in 16 chapters, each (as in some of the aforementioned earlier works on Niuean history) introduced by a suitable quotation. As with her earlier, truly ground-breaking book on Niuean servicemen in the First World War, Mrs Pointer has based her work on thorough, meticulous study of the relevant written primary sources, tracked down in archives all over New Zealand and Australia—whalers' logs; missionaries' journals, letters and diaries; all kinds of administrative documents, even personnel files, from the time of the very short British Protectorate and the time of the very long New Zealand administration; and letters and journals of important chroniclers and researchers like Percy Smith or Jock McEwen. On top of that, she gained access to private family papers of New Zealanders who worked in the Niuean administration before independence, and she interviewed some of them and other contemporary witnesses of important events.

Several short insertions on coloured pages have been strewn through the main text, giving attention to special topics for which detailed sources were available, but which would have gone beyond the scope and flow of the actual text. Their colour-coding and short-read quality add to the attraction of the book and, more importantly, the themes they cover are either deeply relevant in Niuean oral history, as I recall from many conversations during my own work with Niueans, or they are not very well-known and promise to be of interest, especially to readers well-versed in Niuean history: e.g., "The Wreck of the Mission Ship John Williams, 1867", "A Niuean at Gallipoli" and "The Mother of Niue Education".

Apart from its sound grounding in the written primary sources, it is above all the beautiful illustration work which makes this book a real asset—for example, the first European map of Niue and depictions of her coastline drawn in 1774, and of Niuean men drawn in 1853. Margaret Pointer has unearthed a great number of rare photos from collections in New Zealand, Australia and Great Britain, as well as from private photo collections, many of which have never been published before.

Several photos serve as concrete illustrations for matters mentioned in the text, which adds to the appeal of the book—for example, a present-day photo of a *tiale* 'gardenia' in exactly the same position as William Hodges' drawing of one in 1774; museum photos of *maka* 'fighting or throwing stones' and *katoua* clubs similar to those hurled at Captain Cook's party; etchings of ships which touched Niue Island;

and depictions of Malden Island or whaling where many Niuean men found work.

The book is well-written and enjoyable to read. However, for a book published by a university press, I would have wished for a little more support with sources concerning general statements about historical developments in the world, or in Niue. Although as someone familiar with sources on the Pacific and particularly Niue, I can guess a number of the relevant sources here, it would be good to see them mentioned—especially as the book will certainly be used as a reference by scholars just starting to study Niuean history and looking for further leads.

Selectively and rarely, precision seems to be overridden for the sake of smooth writing; impartiality and distance—again expected in a university press book—give way to imaginative description or even value judgements which reflect an exclusively European perspective, blending out possible critical Niuean counter-attitudes, e.g., the assessment of *patuiki* or "king" Togia being "an old man, rather ineffectual" in his role (p. 135) (see also p. 73 "with a mix of curiosity and apprehension" or pp. 91-92 on the missionaries and their wives).

The close reliance on administrative and missionary primary sources sometimes comes with a lack of verification through other sources. For example, there do exist different versions than the one given on Taole's return after the abduction by a slave ship and on his brother's destiny in Peru (p. 116), and there even is a primary source suggesting that there were other returnees to Niue apart from Taole (see Arthur Gordon's 1904 *Fiji: Records of Private and Public Life, 1875-1880*). Likewise, contrary to Mrs Pointer's assumption (p. 149), there is no evidence that the *tiputa* 'bark cloth poncho' was actually ever worn in Niue; it seems to have been solely produced as a *poa* or duty for the London Missionary Society's to sell elsewhere (see Neich and Pendergrast's 2004 *Pacific Tapa*).

Most primary sources used in the book come from non-Niuean chroniclers and writers. Niuean perspectives, however, are often passed on orally and not necessarily shared with non-Niueans. Pointer's coverage of Resident Commissioner Hector Larsen's murder relies nearly exclusively on official files, letters by and interviews with non-Niueans (except Robert Rex who thought highly of the Resident Commissioner). Although Mrs. Pointer lists Dick Scott's 1993 book on the murder case in her bibliography, she does not refer to it; Scott interviewed Niuean contemporary witnesses and quoted a number of voices critical of Hector Larsen.

To conclude: Most of what Margaret Pointer has written on Niuean history is not new and has been written before. What makes this book so special, however, is the way—how—it has been written and published: the rare and wonderful illustrations, particularly many historical photos hidden away in archives until now and never published before; and the text's sound grounding in the relevant primary sources. This makes for a concise, beautiful and concrete introduction into Niuean history. Well-written and a pleasure to peruse, it will find many readers among people interested in Niue, and among Niueans themselves.

References

Gordon, Arthur, 1904. *Fiji: Records of Private and Public Life, 1875-1880*. Edinburgh: R. and R. Clark.

McDowell, David K., 1961. A History of Niue. Unpublished MA thesis, The University of Auckland.
Neich, Roger and Mick Pendergrast, 2004. Pacific Tapa, Auckland: David Bateman and Auckland Museum.
Pointer, Margaret, 2000. *Tagi tote e loto haaku—My Heart is Crying a Little*. *Niue Island involvement in the Great War 1914–1918*. Niuean translation by Kalaisi Folau. Suva: Government of Niue and Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.
Ryan, Thomas F., 1984. *Palagi Views of Niue: Historical Literature 1774–1899*. Auckland: The University of Auckland. [Compilation of copies of facsimiles of historical sources on Niue].
——1993. Narratives of Encounter, the Anthropology of History on Niue. Unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Auckland.
Scott, Dick, 1993. *Would a Good Man Die? Niue Island, New Zealand and the late Mr. Larsen*. Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton.
Thode-Arora, Hilke, 2009. *Weavers of Men and Women. Niuean Weaving and its Social Implications*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
Vilitama, Hafe and Terry Chapman (eds), 1982. *Niue: A History of the Island*. Suva: The University of the South Pacific.

Sand, Christophe, Scarlett Chui and Nicholas Hogg (eds), *The Lapita Cultural Complex in Time and Space: Expansion Routes, Chronologies and Typologies*. Archeologia Pasifika 4. Noumea: Institute of Archaeology of New Caledonia and the Pacific. 219 pp., bibliography, illustrations, maps. CFP 1,500 (hardcover).

GLENN SUMMERHAYES
University of Otago

This is another important addition to the Lapita literature. Arising from a research forum focussing on Lapita decoration, the volume presents an eclectic range of papers, from a brilliant review of the settling of Remote Oceania, to an insightful deconstruction of the Eastern Lapita Province, with plenty in-between to prehistoric links between the Solomon Islands and Papua, a review of Lapita vessel forms from Mussau, and another from a number of assemblages, an update on the archaeology of the Isle of Pines, and an intriguing comparison between secondary burials of Vanuatu, Island Southeast Asia (ISEA) and Taiwan.

The introductory chapter by the editors is an overview of Lapita, a history of discoveries and a background to the development of the ceramic database developed by Chiu. This is an excellent history of Lapita, although there are a couple of points that need clarification. First, it is noted that Golson defined the term "Lapitoid" by a synthesis of data on dentate decoration. In fact "Lapitoid" was defined by Golson to include the non-dentate wares from the assemblages. His concept of Lapitoid went beyond decorative techniques and included other morphological characteristics. There is more to Lapita than dentate stamping.

Secondly, the editors make the point that apart from New Caledonia there were only a few excavations in Island Melanesia during the 1990s and "no attempt was made at achieving a global synthesis of the data" (p. 15). In fact this decade provided much fieldwork and data for regional and wider syntheses. From New Britain and New Ireland alone the 1990s account for excavations in Amalut, Adwe, Apalo, and Maklo in the Arawe Island group by Gosden; Apugi off the coast of Kandrian by Specht; Gasmata by Lilley; Torrence in numerous sites on Garua Island, New Britain; Malekolen, Balbalankin, Kur Kur and Kamgot in the Anir Island Group by myself; and the Duke of York excavations by White and Gosden. I have not included the Solomon Islands by Sheppard and Walter here. The results of these excavations allowed comparisons of Lapita dentate decoration with other assemblages from within the Lapita universe with the realisation that the syntheses of the 1960s to 1980s using Lapita Provinces were limited. The construction of a new synthesis including Early, Middle and Late Lapita periods allowed the identification of temporal trends, regional differences notwithstanding.

The chapters that follow are exemplary investigations of their topics with major advances in our knowledge of Pacific archaeology. I will address each paper in turn. Bedford presents an excellent, well-balanced review of Lapita exploration and colonisation of Remote Oceania. Topics covered included Lapita origins, colonisation, chronology, subsistence, environmental impacts and change over time. The next chapter by Kirch and colleagues presents an initial classification of vessel forms from Mussau, Papua New Guinea. This allows comparisons with the published Arawe assemblages from southwest New Britain. One difference is seen in non-dentate pottery. Kirch and colleagues argue that there was a change from dentate to plain/other decorated vessels over time. Similar changes are seen in other Lapita assemblages, although this difference between dentate (non-utilitarian/ritual pottery) and non-dentate (utilitarian vessels) is seen from within Early Lapita as well and not just in later sites. Perhaps it is a situation with dentate dropping out and the other wares continuing. The illustrations in this chapter are superb! I look forward to the final publication on this important assemblage, which is crucial in interpreting Early Lapita.

Sheppard and colleagues offer a stimulating paper arguing for interaction between Lapita communities in the Solomons and those in Papua—what they call a Solomon Sea Interaction sphere. A lot rests on similarities in the age of zircon inclusions (Middle Miocene) found in pottery from New Georgia and from the geology of Woodlark Island. Yet, similar-aged zircons are found from Manus (Hugh Davies, pers. comm.) and indeed connections already exist between the two areas with the presence of Lou Island obsidian in these Solomon sites. Notwithstanding this, I think they are spot on with Solomon Sea interactions. This paper is a major advance in the modelling of past interactions.

Valentin and colleagues present a fascinating and thorough comparison between Taiwanese jar burials, those from Island Southeast Asian (ISEA) sites, and Teouma in Vanuatu. Jar burials similar in age to Teouma are uncommon in ISEA except Taiwan, which is geographically speaking in East Asia. Jar burials from ISEA are mostly Metal Period in age, although Neolithic ones are known. Of importance is their point that jar burials are only one funerary practice "inscribed in a wider mortuary scheme at Teouma and in ISEA sites…[and is a]…complex funerary scheme that was part of

the Austronesian package" (p. 98). In short, this paper links the Teouma jar burials with those in Asia, and an additional argument for this based on skeletal morphology is presented in Valentin *et al*. (2015).

Lagarde and Outecho provide a regional update on the archaeology of the Isle of Pines based primarily on their excavation of rockshelter KTT006. This is a good article fitting the Isle of Pines into the regional picture and ideas about exchange mechanisms. The absence of Puen ware is significant and reminds us that social and economic exchange is not uniform across this southern area of New Caledonia.

Sand presents an excellent review of Lapita pottery forms from the southwest Pacific. It is a thorough and well written comparison of Lapita vessels. Having a single individual undertake this task has its strengths in that we have a uniform approach. Sand provides an objective and balanced review of the assemblages and literature. I thoroughly agree that Lapita is more than just a push from west to east, as Sand highlights. As I noted years ago with the monograph *Lapita Interaction* (Summerhayes 2000), the movement of Lapita was one of continual interactions between groups.

Another important aspect that Sand examines is technology. Sand says the Lapita vessels were slab constructed, and while this is true for the thicker dentate stamped pots and jars and stands, some non-dentate jars and pots used other forming techniques. Functional variation is at play here.

And now to the eastern boundary of Lapita—what was called the Eastern Lapita Province. Burley and LeBlanc's chapter debunks the concept of the Eastern Lapita. They argue that Fiji has closer connections to the west and is separate from Lau and Tonga to the east. This is not the first paper that criticises the concept of the Eastern Lapita Province, but it is one based on local sequences. They argue that research over the last two decades has produced a larger database which allows distinction of finer patterns and divergences in interaction between Fiji, Tonga and Samoa. Each year new sites are found in Tonga and Fiji which necessitates a re-examination of models for exchange and interaction. I expect more change with more work. Chiu's chapter called "Where do we go from here? Social relatedness reflected by motif analysis" provides a sobering perspective as to what these motifs tell us about social relatedness through the heuristic device of "house societies". Others have referred to cultural groups, clans or whatever. She talks about interaction between potters and motif similarity. This is the core of what we do. What does the study of decoration tell archaeologists about these societies? Her paper discusses preliminary results of motif analysis from 57 sites (4452 motifs have been recorded) using the Lapita Pottery online database. After years of painstaking work, Chiu has achieved something of an order that we never expected.

In the chapter she outlines a rough picture of why motifs were shared or not shared between communities, notwithstanding sampling and chronological issues. Chiu says that potters from different island groups knew what other potters were doing and "they chose to avoid motifs from the same subcategory" (p. 198). Also noting that there was more variability in motifs in New Guinea and less so in New Caledonia is important. Peoples, clans and house communities settled in the Bismarck Archipelago and stayed for close to a millennium. Some of these communities or houses, but not all, moved into Remote Oceania and continued to interact with their

mother communities. It is thus not expected that all clan or house designs would have been transferred to areas to the east if not all the houses went, and also one would expect these houses to develop and diversify their own motifs as well. Can we assume that motif transmission is by house-clan-family transmission, and diversification is within respective families? Chiu's work on this is breaking new ground, including one motif interpreted as leaving New Guinea and migrating to Tonga. Here there is an emphasis on ownership of motifs by corporate groups. Note that if we go beyond just dentate designs and bring in production data as well (i.e., highly mobile groups) then we have powerful tools for future work in unravelling the past.

The last chapter is by Barbara Mills. Mills was brought into the workshop by Chiu to discuss her successful research into Social Network Analysis with GIS based in the Southwest US. Many of her ideas are important and will add food for thought.

This book is a polished product written by leading archaeologists working in the Pacific. It is beautifully produced with excellent illustrations. The editors should be congratulated.

References

Summerhayes, G.R., 2000. *Lapita Interaction*. Canberra: The Australian National University.

Valentin, F., F. Détroit, M.J.T. Spriggs and S. Bedford, 2016. Early Lapita skeletons from Vanuatu show Polynesian craniofacial shape: Implications for Remote Oceanic settlement and Lapita origins. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 113 (2): 292-97.

Sorrenson, M.P.K: *Ko Te Whenua te Utu—Land is the Price: Essays on Maori History, Land and Politics*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2014. 338 pp., index, notes. NZ$49.99 (softcover).

TIOPIRA McDOWELL
University of Auckland

Ngāti Pūkenga have a wealth of stirring *whakataukī* 'proverbs' in their oral storehouse, yet it is the literal meaning of the word *pūkenga* that seems most fitting here. To be skilled, to be well versed in, a repository of knowledge and expertise, all aptly describe the career and contributions of pre-eminent scholar and worthy descendant of Pūkenga, M.P.K. Sorrenson. *Ko te Whenua te Utu—Land is the Price* assembles thirteen of Sorrenson's influential essays on Māori history, land and politics published between 1956 and 2011. A complete works this is not. Missing are his essays on Africa written for academic and activist audiences (the same could be said of his Māori material), his publication on the Polynesian Society and his extended discussions from *Na To Hoa Aroha*. A compendium of his African essays might provide a lively companion to this volume.

The collection is bookended by two additional chapters: a good humoured introduction provides some context of the author and the essays, and offers insights into

the development of History as a discipline at the University of Auckland and Oxford from the grand imperial narratives of the 1950s through to the self-effacing bicultural narratives Sorrenson would come to fashion. An epilogue sketches in those themes not covered in the essays but vital to an appreciation of Māori history, details the growing body of research published in the wake of Sorrenson's own work and sounds out a warning of what we can expect in the future, if past experience is anything to go by.

The essays are ordered chronologically rather than by date of publication, so as to provide some semblance of the progression of Māori history from Hawaiki to the present day. Does it work as an extended discussion? Not always: there is much that is repeated. It reads more coherently as a two part collection, covering Sorrenson's earlier work on Māori land, Māori-Pākehā relations, racial theory and politics and his later research informed by his involvement in the Waitangi Tribunal from 1985 onward.

While these essays appear in previous publications, there is merit in their collection. A number are long out-of-print, and difficult to access in the digital era, and their publication provides new generations access to essays that remain relevant today. Sorrenson's work has proved influential, not just in revising but indeed at times in redirecting the course of New Zealand history. "The whence of the Māori" pre-empted the critical methods of deconstruction, and enjoyed a second life as an early exemplary instance of local literary criticism. "Maori representation in Parliament" informed the electoral reforms of the 1990s, and "Land purchase methods and their effect on Maori population" has provided the research basis for many a treaty claim. In re-reading these essays, one is struck by their continued relevance. The opening sections of "Giving better effect to the Treaty" could have been written last week, though it was first delivered in 1989. "The Waitangi Tribunal and the resolution of Maori grievances", first delivered in 1994, calmly traces out the issues Māori have subsequently campaigned on for the past 20 years. "Treaties in British colonial policy" provides an antidote to some of the ill-informed nationalism championed by Māori and Pākehā alike in recent years, and may well appear in my course readers this year, a quarter century after its publication. Sadly, some of these essays need to be re-read: their lessons remain unlearnt.

Moreover the collection allows us a space to reflect on the contribution and development of one of New Zealand's foremost scholars. Critically reviewing old articles seems as respectful and useful as running a spell check over the Magna Carta. A more useful process may be to discuss some of the themes that emerge when the essays are read as a body of work.

Sorrenson's work serves as a critical appraisal of intellectual thought in New Zealand. He has questioned depictions of New Zealand as an intellectual backwater, yet spent much of his early career teasing out the knots of 19th-century inquiry pursued by over-eager amateurs. His earlier works profess an admiration for the "cool and detached scientific inquiry" of early voyagers and the patient unravelling of colonial myths undertaken by university-trained scholars of the 20th century. We see in his later work a sense of gratification for the intellectual ferment of the "treaty industry", and an appreciation for the worthy research of his peers.

Sorrenson's work has been greatly enhanced by his forays into African, British, Asian, Pacific, Australian and North American history, demonstrating the fruits of

international context, but also the follies of applying foreign models to local realities (see, for example, "Colonial rule and local response").

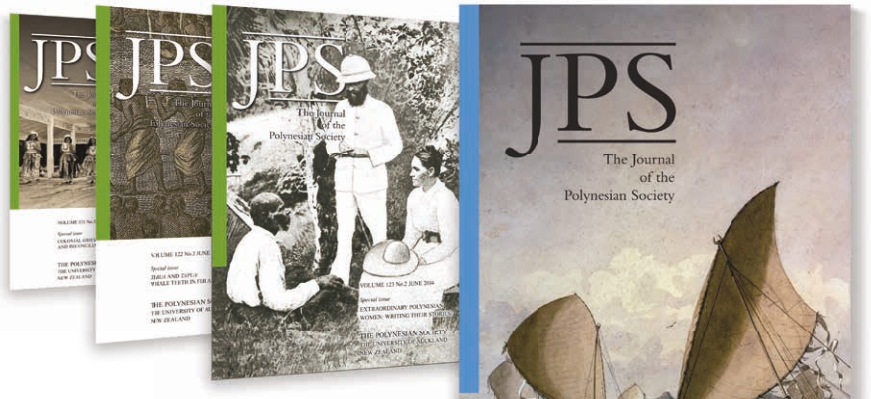
Perhaps the most important theme arising from Sorrenson's work is the shifting position of Māori in the narrative. In his earlier work, still touched by imperial imperatives, Māori loom in the shadows as unpredictable figures, ever-ready to complicate and contradict European expectations. His later works are, by comparison, dual-stranded bicultural narratives, in which Māori and Pākehā understandings of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Treaty of Waitangi and the divergent histories that stem from these two documents sit side by side, rubbing up against and colliding with one another. This collection allows us to reflect on the gradual shift of Māori from the margins of society over the past 60 years, and the role Sorrenson himself played in making this so.

Sorrenson concludes of his career "History is forever and historians are always remaking it... Others can refashion mine". I turn to the language of *whatu kākahu* to respond. Sorrenson has taken up the muddled *muka* of the 19th century, laboriously applying the *miro* process to the dual-strands of our history, and has recast *te aho tāhuhu*, the all-important first weave, providing future scholars a firm foundation from which to weave the *kaupapa*. *Kotahi ano te kōhao o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro mā te miro whero me te miro pango. I muri nei kia mau ki te ture ki te whakapono ki te aroha. Hei aha te aha! Hei aha te aha*!

The Journal of The Polynesian Society

JPS SPECIAL ISSUES

The *JPS* Special Issues, collected articles on particular topics, can be purchased separately from journal subscriptions. The most recent Special Issue is on Pacific voyaging canoes (December 2015, Vol.124 No.4).



Recent issues include:

COLONIAL GRIEVANCES, JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION (2012)

TABUA AND TAPUA:
WHALE TEETH IN FIJI AND TONGA (2013)

EXTRAORDINARY POLYNESIAN WOMEN:
WRITING THEIR STORIES (2014)

ON PACIFIC VOYAGING CANOES (2015)

To order print issues:

Please email the Society's Secretary (jps@auckland.ac.nz) with your name, postal address and the issues that you wish to order. An emailed electronic invoice will be sent to you with a simple button link enabling payment using credit card. Price per issue is NZD $15.oo (+ NZD $5.oo for international postage, + NZD $2.50 for postage within New Zealand).

Quaterly issues over one year old can be electronically accessed without charge from www.jps.auckland.ac.nz. Refer to the back pages of this issue or our website www.thepolynesiansociety.org for a fuller list of the Polynesian Society's publications.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED*

September 2015 to March 2016

Barclay, Barry: *Our Own Image: A Story of a Māori Filmmaker*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 128 pp., illustrations. US$20 (softcover).

Campbell, Ian C.: *Island Kingdom: Tonga Ancient and Modern* (3rd edition). Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2015. 322 pp., appendices, bibliography, glossary, index, illustrations. NZ$49.99 (softcover).

Field, Julie S. and Michael W. Graves (eds), *Abundance and Resilience, Farming and Foraging in Ancient Kauai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2015. 288 pp., bibliography, figures, index, maps. US$65.00 (hardback).

Kirch, Patrick Vinton: *Unearthing the Polynesian Past: Explorations and Adventures of an Island Archaeologist*. Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2015. 379 pp., appendix, endnotes, glossary, index, illustrations. US$45 (cloth).

Neuhaus, Karl: *Grammar of the Lihir Language of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea* (translated by Zierler, S). Boroko, Papua New Guinea: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies. 227 pp., bibliography, glossary. N.p.

Petrie, Hazel: *Outcasts of the Gods? The Struggle over Slavery in Māori New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2015. 384 pp., bibliography, endnotes, index, illustrations. NZ$45 (softcover).

Richards, Rhys: *Tracking Travelling Taonga: A Narrative Review of how Maori Items got to London from 1798, to Salem in 1802, 1807, and 1812, and elsewhere up to 1840*. Wellington: Paremata Press, 2015. 275 pp., bibliography, illustrations, indices. NZ$30 (softcover).

Sand, Christophe, Scarlett Chui and Nicholas Hogg (eds): *The Lapita Cultural Complex in Time and Space: Expansion Routes, Chronologies and Typologies*. Archeologia Pasifika 4. Noumea: Institute of Archaeology of New Caledonia and the Pacific. 219 pp., bibliography, illustrations, maps. CFP 1,500 (hardcover).

Thode-Arora, Hilke: *From Sāmoa with Love?: Samoan Travellers in Germany 1895-1911. Retracing the Footsteps, 2015*. Munich: Hirmer Publishers. 216 pp., bibliography, illustrations, notes. €39.90 (hardcover).

* The inclusion of a publication in this list neither assumes nor precludes its subsequent review.

INDEX TO VOLUME 124

PUBLICATIONS OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

The publications listed below are available to members of the Polynesian Society (at a 20 percent discount, plus postage and packing), and to non-members (at the prices listed, plus postage and packing) from the Society's office: Department of Māori Studies, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92012, Auckland. All prices are in NZ$.

Some Memoirs are also available from: The University Press of Hawai'i, 2840 Kolowalu Street, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822, U.S.A., who handle North American and other overseas sales to non-members. The prices given here do not apply to such sales.

MĀORI TEXTS

1. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 1). New Edition of 1958 edition, 2004. xxxviii + 464 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2004. Price $69.99 (hardback).
2. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 2). New Edition of 1961 edition. xxxviii + 425 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2005. Price $69.99 (hardback).
3. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 3). New Edition of 1970 edition. xlii + 660 pp., audio CD, genealogies. 2006. Price $69.99 (hardback).
4. NGATA, A.T. and Hirini Moko MEAD, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 4). New Edition of 1991 edition with English translation. xviii + 380 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2007. Price $69.99 (hardback).

MEMOIR SERIES

14. OLDMAN, W.O., *The Oldman Collection of Maori Artifacts*. New Edition with introductory essay by Roger Neich and Janet Davidson, and finder list. 192pp., including 104 plates. 2004. Price $30.
15. OLDMAN, W.O., *The Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts*. New Edition with introductory essay by Roger Neich and Janet Davidson, and finder list. 268pp., including 138 plates. 2004. Price $35.
37. DE BRES, Pieter H., *Religion in Atene: Religious Associations and the Urban Maori*. 95pp. 1971. Price $4.10.
38. MEAD, S.M., Lawrence BIRKS, Helen BIRKS, and Elizabeth SHAW, *The Lapita Pottery Style of Fiji and Its Associations*. 98pp. 1975. Price $7.00.
39. FINNEY, Ben R. (comp.), *Pacific Navigation and Voyaging*. 148pp. 1975. Price $8.00.

41. McLEAN, Mervyn,. *An Annotated Bibliography of Oceanic Music and Dance*. 252pp. 1977, with 74pp. 1981 Supplement. Price $12.30.

43. BLUST, Robert, *The Proto-Oceanic Palatals*. 183+x pp. 1978. Price $12.00.

45. HOOPER, Antony and Judith HUNTSMAN (eds), *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*. 226+viii pp. 1985. Price $35.00.

47. SIIKALA, Jukka. *'Akatokamanāva. Myth, History and Society in the South Cook Islands*. 153+xi pp. 1991. Price $29.95.

49. SORRENSON, M. P. K., *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society Over 100 Years*. 160pp. 1992. Price $32.50.

50. BROWN, DOROTHY (comp.), *Centennial Index 1892-1991*. 279pp. 1993. Price $30.00.

51. TE ARIKI TARA 'ARE, *History and Traditions of Rarotonga.* Translated by S.Percy Smith. Edited by Richard Walter and Rangi Moeka'a. 216pp., genealogies and song texts. 2000. Price $70.00.

52. REILLY, Michael P.J., *War and Succession in Mangaia—from Mamae's Texts.* 112pp., geneaologies and maps. 2003. Price $20.00.

53. BIGGS, Bruce Grandison, *Kimihia te Mea Ngaro: Seek That Which is Lost.* 80pp. figs. 2006. Price $30.00.

54. REILLY, Michael P.J., *Ancestral Voices from Mangaia: A History of the Ancient Gods and Chiefs*. xiv + 330 pp., maps, drawings, genealogies, index. 2009. Price $40.00.

55. TE HURINUI, Pei, *King Pōtatau: An Account of the Life of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero the First Māori King*. 303 + xiv pp., figs, genealogies, indexes, maps. 2010. (Available to members of the Society only at $40.00.)

56. McRAE, Jane, *Ngā Mōteatea: An Introduction / He Kupu Arataki*. Māori translation by Hēni Jacobs. 158 pp., biblio., figs, notes, song texts. 2011. (Available to members of the Society only at $28.00.)

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

TOKELAU DICTIONARY. lii + 503 pp. Price: $35.00.

INCEST PROHIBITIONS IN MICRONESIA AND POLYNESIA: Special Issue, June 1976. 155pp. Price $12.00.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN THE STUDY OF THE ARTS OF OCEANIA: from *Special Issue*, June 1981. 70pp. Price $4.00.

BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE PACIFIC: Special Issue, March 1994. 108pp. Price $12.50.

KIE HINGOA *'NAMED MATS'*, 'IE TŌGA *'FINE MATS' AND OTHER TREASURED TEXTILES OF SAMOA & TONGA: Special Issue*, June 1999. 120pp. (Out of Print).

ESSAYS ON HEAD-HUNTING IN THE WESTERN SOLOMON ISLANDS: Special Issue, March 2000. 144pp. Price $15.00.

POSTCOLONIAL DILEMMAS: REAPPRAISING JUSTICE AND IDENTITY IN NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA: Special Issue, September 2003. 124 pp. Price $15.00.

POLYNESIAN ART: HISTORIES AND MEANINGS IN CULTURAL CONTEXT: Special Issue, June 2007. 192 pp. Price $30.00.

COLONIAL GRIEVANCES, JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION: Special Issue, June 2012. 116 pp. Price $15.00.

TABUA *AND* TAPUA: *WHALE TEETH IN FIJI AND TONGA. Special Issue*, June 2013. 127 pp. Price $15.00.

EXTRAORDINARY POLYNESIAN WOMEN: WRITING THEIR STORIES. Special Issue, June 2014. 230 pp. Price $15.00.

* * *

BACK ISSUES OF THE JOURNAL AVAILABLE

THE SOCIETY holds copies of most issues from Volume 76 (1967) onwards. Some copies of issues from earlier volumes are available, or become available from time to time. Orders and inquiries should be directed to the Assistant Secretary, Polynesian Society, af-jps@auckland.ac.nz, Department of Māori Studies, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland, New Zealand.

Prices per issue are as follows (exclusive of the *Special Issues* above):
Vol. 120 (2011) and earlier: $2.00 plus postage and packing
Vol. 121 (2012) onwards: $15.00 plus postage and packing

* * *