

influence, in a living social context, and of traditional authenticity in its music and poetry. Firth has written another classic. What a relief it is from the currently fashionable isms, "theorizing," and subjective "interpretations."

Bellona Island Beliefs and Rituals. By Torben Monberg. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. Pacific Islands Monograph Series, No. 9, 1991. xix + 449 pp., introduction, maps, tables, charts, illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$42.00 cloth.)

Robert Littlewood, *Washington State University*

This work, the careful product of intensive fieldwork on Bellona Island between 1958 and 1984, mainly concerns itself with the culture's religious characteristics. Since the traditional religion lost its hold, dramatically and quickly, in 1938 with the advent of Christianity, the project method is one of memory culture. Polynesian texts for rituals and narrative fragments accompany the English translations and make this book an important resource.

The island, a Polynesian outlier about one hundred miles south of Guadalcanal, is the sister to Rennell Island. Of the two, Bellona is much smaller (six miles in length and about a mile and a half wide); the two islands have been relatively isolated for several centuries, and even travel between them was considered dangerous. The Bellona is a raised coral atoll with fringing limestone cliffs, a fertile interior, and no usable harbors. There were 440 inhabitants in 1938, the time set as the upper limit of the ethnographic present, representing the descendants of some twenty-three generations since their traditional founding by voyagers from an eastern homeland. Nineteen patrilineages are gathered into two clans, the survivors of eight former clans. Political organization was essentially tribal, with "big men" but no permanent chiefs.

All of these considerations, particularly the compact topography, produce an almost ideal ethnographic situation. Monberg regards his informants' memories as highly reliable (even if sometimes conflicting), and he was able to see demonstrations of the remembered form of several rituals. The author is careful to qualify his interpretations, particularly with respect to the missing social and emotional elements in the ritual reconstructions.

Nine-tenths of the book is concerned with ethnography and texts, with the remainder devoted to interpretation and analysis. The world that slowly comes into view in these descriptions is one of amazing homo-

generosity of belief and of an architecture of hierarchical symmetries. The hierarchy of spiritual (noumenal) beings—sky gods, “district” deities, ancestors—is mirrored in the stratification of priestly supplicants. The phenomenology of *tapu* (sacredness) and the fear and respect that surround it provide the energy to move this system and make it apparently central to daily concerns. I say apparently because while it is clear that ceremonies and feasts consumed a great deal of time and energy, it is not easy to grasp how much these sacred concerns preoccupied the Bellonese in their daily round—no doubt a disadvantage inherent in memory culture.

For example, late in the analysis, in a single sentence (410), we are told of fears about magic and witchcraft. Spirit mediums are referred to throughout, but we are not introduced to their role and function. Since the author has selected only certain important rituals to report, it is tantalizing to see references, unadorned by further comment, to the ritual tattooing of a high-status elder, which is said to be an elaborate, emotional, and time-consuming event (two to three months) (412).

Since Monberg has included analysis in this otherwise descriptive work, I feel constrained to comment on some frustrations that the reader may feel. The texts and descriptions lead one immediately to speculation and interpretation. Throughout, we find references to symbolic items such as feces, hair, and the like, which are not pursued. The author’s suggestion that the natives showed no knowledge of the role of coitus in procreation (which he has discussed in more detail in other publications, but no more analytically) certainly raises old controversies in ethnology. We are told that sex is regarded merely as “a play, a pleasant joyful act” (401), but elsewhere we see references to sanctions for incest, adultery, and other sexually related beliefs and actions. The commentary is dismissive, and we are left wondering what indeed is the role of sex in this society.

In sum, the “analysis” tends to be either descriptive reaffirmation or an attempt to see if certain standard definitions (R. Keesing, Leach, Firth, etc.) are supported by the data, while the fascinating architectonic of these rituals and beliefs murmurs to us to try a psychological or structural hermeneutic. It is, of course, not appropriate to review the book not written. But given the fact that this is the last vestige of the Bellonese traditional culture, and that the author is privileged with insights and gestalts that can never be conveyed easily, we rely on him to carry forward such interpretations as thoroughly as possible.

This book is assured a place in the ethnographic canon on the basis of its excellent descriptions. One would hope that the author will carry further the analyses that he is uniquely positioned to do.

lar candidates won and others lost are perceptive formulations that are related to such factors as the electorate splitting along ethnic lines or by a geographic area. The elector's views of and response to the election were varied and depended upon the educational background of the people, the success of the local electoral education campaign, and the nature of previous native-European experiences. From this book, one also notes such emerging consequences of the election as a beginning awareness of a national identity, an ambivalent desire for self-government and independence, and the need for continuation of educational programs regarding the purpose and meaning of a national election. Most importantly, the election revealed that cultural norms and prescribed personality qualities were powerful forces in guiding election behavior. For example, in several electorates a native candidate was often reluctant to come forward as a candidate because of the fear of being suspected of having "a big head"—a personality attribute not favored by several cultural groups. Thus one can anticipate some future problems in developing elections based upon Western political practices and values.

Maori and Pakeha: A Study of Mixed Marriages in New Zealand. JOHN HARRÉ. (Published for the Institute of Race Relations, London.) New York, Washington, London: Frederick A Praeger, Publishers, 1966. 158 pp., index, 3 maps, references, 7 tables. \$5.00.

Reviewed by JAMES E. RITCHIE,
University of Waikato

Auckland is the largest metropolitan center in New Zealand and the city that many Polynesians, both in that country and in the South Pacific generally, regard as the goal for their migration to happiness, wealth, and a future in the New World. In 1960, almost half the marriages made by Maoris in Auckland were to non-Maori spouses. In this book John Harré studies a sample of such marriages. In his opinion the proportion of mixed marriages to other marriages is increasing rapidly. Furthermore, his study reveals that such resistances as may arise from relatives, friends, or the economic or residential settings in which the marriages occur soon pass as each marriage becomes established. Prejudice in relation to intermarriage (in this city anyway) is seldom translated into active discrimination. Those who marry across ethnic or cultural boundaries do not appear to be forced down the status ladder or into some special enclave. These marriages do not appear to be notably unstable, a fact which is surprising, since a very high proportion of those in Harré's sample came from disturbed homes or broken marriages themselves. The delinquency rate among the children of such marriages was extraordinarily low. Problems arise from time to time in hotel bars or restaurants or in relationships with neighbors, and are common in housing accommodation, but in general what emerges from this study is

remarkable, a story of successful marital adjustment in a country where the race relations climate is benign.

It would be churlish for me to say I don't believe that these marriages successfully overcame most of the difficulties encountered, particularly since Harré presents the evidence fairly, objectively, and, indeed, convincingly. Yet, though I would like to believe it, I have my doubts. It may be that there are some special reasons why intermarriage is placed by most New Zealanders outside that area of social action within which prejudiced attitudes may be expressed in discrimination. What those reasons may be, now must become the focus of further research. If there are such, then intermarriage, while seeming to be a strategically important issue in the study of race relations, becomes, in fact, not an area in which the typical interethnic attitudes can be seen operating. Harré is quite definite about his own position on this: "What prejudice there is against Maoris is more a reaction to their overall positions of low socio-economic status, than a device for maintaining this position . . . It is likely that the rate of intermarriage will continue to increase." But he is careful in his conclusions to state that the maintenance of the present situation will be dependent upon successful governmental handling of the need to improve Maori education, housing, vocational placement, and urbanization generally, and, no doubt, continued improvement in race relations.

In effect Harré shows that Maoris who wish to live without conflict with their non-Maori neighbors, friends, and affinals must learn to "pass," in the American sense; for any lapse in speech, dress, cleanliness, care of property, or other areas of behavior valued by the Pakeha may invoke a negative Maori stereotype, and the possibility is enough to produce circumspection in any Maori. That Harré takes this situation as implying an absence of discrimination is, I suppose, a question of how you use words. Discriminatory acts may, as Harré suggests, be minor in New Zealand, but the total cultural pressure for change toward conformity with Pakeha norms is very great and for most Maoris, inescapable, whomever they marry. This pressure, perhaps, in itself, constitutes the New Zealand form of ethnic discrimination, and as such we need to know more about it. Through studies as carefully objective and as painstaking as that which Harré reports in this volume, this object may be achieved.

The Religion of Bellona Island: A Study of the Place of Beliefs and Rites in the Social Life of Pre-Christian Bellona. Part 1: The Concepts of Supernaturals. TORBEN MONBERG. (Language and Culture of Rennell and Bellona Islands: Volume II. Part 1). Copenhagen; The National Museum of Denmark, 1966. xii, 136 pp., appendix, 10 figures (2 foldouts), index, references. D. Kr. 30,00.

Reviewed by ROY A. RAPPAPORT,
University of Michigan

Variants of Polynesian culture remained intact on the outliers, small islands in Melanesia inhabited by Polynesians, long after the major Polynesian societies east of Fiji had been overwhelmed by Western intrusion. Missionary activity, for instance, commenced in the Society Islands in the late 18th century, but the Polynesian population of Bellona and its larger neighbor, Rennell, in the Solomon Islands Protectorate, did not become Christian until 1938. The ethnography of the outliers is thus of considerable importance in Oceanic studies, and additions to it are to be welcomed.

The work considered here is the first part of the second volume of a larger general ethnography, *Language and Culture of Rennell and Bellona Islands*, projected by Monberg and Samuel Elbert. The first volume of the series, *From the Two Canoes*, which appeared in 1965, serves as an introduction to the proposed later volumes and includes over 200 annotated texts collected by Elbert and Monberg during several field trips and in subsequent work with a Bellonese informant whom they brought to Hawaii. These texts provide much of the data upon which *The Religion of Bellona Island, Part 1*, is based.

This work confines itself mainly to a description of the concepts of the supernatural entertained in 1938 just before the sudden introduction of Christianity and to an analysis of the relationship of these beliefs to the formal structure of the society.

After a brief sketch of Bellona society, Monberg devotes separate chapters to each of the several categories of Bellonese supernaturals. These include deities, ancestors, culture heroes, and a legendary pre-Polynesian population, the *Hiti*. Only some of the deities and some of the ancestors were worshipped. The dichotomy between two categories of worshipped deities, the sky gods (*'atua ngangi*) and the district gods (*'aitu ngasuenga*) may be of general interest to students of religion. The sky gods, oldest in the genealogical sense, and the most sacred of all the supernaturals, were concerned with the physical environment, its fruits and its dangers, and were universally worshipped on Bellona. The district gods were "divided into groups, each of which was considered the protectors and helpers of specific segments of the society" (p. 44). Chapter Six documents this statement by providing an excellent description of the way in which the genealogical relationships of these deities corresponded to social segments. The sky gods were considered to be "outside the social sphere" (p. 54), possessing no human mediums and behaving in a nonhuman fashion (living in incestuous marriage and practicing cannibalism). They were known as gods "of the outside": rituals addressed to them took place outdoors, and offerings to them consisted of raw food. The district gods, gods "of the inside," on the other hand, were said to behave in a human fashion and received offerings of cooked food.

My criticisms are minor compared to the value of the detailed information this book provides con-

cerning the religious beliefs of a little-known Polynesian society. I might, for instance, argue against Monberg's contention that "the Bellonese beliefs in a multitude of deities who supported and protected the respective patrilineal descent groups, and who symbolized their independence . . . is an example of religious beliefs which may have a disintegrating effect on society as a whole" (p. 73). It is certainly the case that theories of the integrating function of religion proposed by Durkheim and others must be qualified, but it does not seem to me that examples of the supernatural legitimization of social segments provides much of an argument against them.

I might also note some reservations concerning organization. Discussion of rituals and "the interrelationships of rituals and other social activities" is mainly deferred until Part 2 of Monberg's study, which remains to be published. Monberg himself recognizes some of the difficulties in dealing with belief and practice separately and does provide some information concerning rituals. Religious materials are difficult to organize, and it would be unfair to criticize the author's procedure before the appearance of the second half of his work. It is, nevertheless, valid to ask tentatively whether parallel dichotomies between belief and ritual on the one hand and social organization and social activities on the other are useful, and whether a more integrated presentation might have been more illuminating. Perhaps as a result of the separate consideration of belief and ritual some intriguing questions remain unanswered. We are told, for instance, that in parallel with the segmentation of social groups the names of previously unknown district gods were revealed by mediums, and the worship of these deities was then instituted. We are not, however, given any information concerning the circumstances which induced a medium to reveal the god's name to the emerging segment. That is, we are informed of correspondences between social and cosmological processes, but not of the ritual mechanisms articulating the two. Perhaps the relevant data are unavailable, perhaps they will be presented in the second half of the study. At any rate, if they exist, they would have been most welcome in Chapter Six of the present work.

We are told more about rituals addressed to the sky gods. One informant stated that "the gods live from what they get in offerings, and they give life to the gardens so that we can go on making rituals" (p. 55). If sky gods did not receive enough it was believed that they might dine on the life-principles of the priests, thus killing them. Since the produce of gardens was distributed "almost in its entirety" at ritual feasts (presumably dedicated to the sky gods; this is not altogether clear), a large amount of foodstuffs may have been necessary to satisfy the deities. One may, therefore, ask whether the belief in sky gods and the necessity to sustain them might have functioned, in the absence of powerful human authorities, to induce the Bellonese to maximize garden production.

I raise these questions only to suggest that there may not be much gained and there may be something lost by segregating the analysis of a people's behavior from the analysis of the beliefs which form part of the mechanisms that induce their behavior. However, in a corpus as extensive and detailed as that projected by Elbert and Monberg it is inevitable that some questions will be raised, laid aside, and taken up subsequently, and perhaps these and similar questions will be discussed in Part 2 of Monberg's study. In the meantime, Part 1, although less than a complete work, is to be commended as a careful, well-documented, and readable book and a substantial contribution to Pacific ethnography.

ARCHEOLOGY

Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific. Volume 2: Miscellaneous Papers. THOR HEYERDAHL and EDWIN N. FERDON, JR., eds. With contributions by the editors and William Mulloy, Arne Skjølsvold, Carlyle S. Smith, *et al.* (Monographs of the School of American Research and the Kon-Tiki Museum, Number 24, Part 2.) Chicago, New York, San Francisco: Rand McNally & Company, 1965. xi, 512 pp., 9 appendices, 195 figures, index, literature cited, 60 plates, tables. \$15.00.

Reviewed by KENNETH EMORY,
Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu

This handsome and lavishly illustrated companion volume of the Easter Island Norwegian Expedition covers archeological field work on other islands visited: Pitcairn, Rapa, Raivavae, and the Marquesas Islands. The 18 reports include: (1) excellent descriptions and interpretations of excavations and surveys on these islands, (2) a useful descriptive catalogue of artifacts collected with a classification and comparison of the adzes, (3) the most comprehensive and detailed study ever made of Polynesian skeletal material in the description of what was collected on Easter Island, (4) a comparative analysis of crania and blood samples, (5) reproductions of native manuscripts acquired on Easter Island that contain records of the Easter Island script, which records are the result of copying European transcriptions, and (6) reports by various authors on these manuscripts. In addition to the above, which provide a new and significant store of knowledge on these islands of East Polynesia, the report written by Thor Heyerdahl on "The concept of *rongorongo* among the historic population of Easter Island" takes up 44 pages in dealing with the puzzling problems of origin and interpretation posed by the script on the wooden tablets, *kohau rongorongo*. It is at this last report that serious criticism will be leveled. This is necessary because native statements concerning their prehistory are treated

factually, while ethnographic and archeological evidence are not given adequate consideration, and no sound evidence is produced to show that the writing was in existence prior to the witnessing of European writing by the chiefs, who were required to affix their "signatures" to the document of annexation to Spain in 1770. It was more than 90 years thereafter that Europeans first reported seeing the script. Thus, in the process of Heyerdahl's argument for a Peruvian origin of the script, statements are made that are vital to the acceptance of the conclusions but that are not justified by the evidence given. It is disquieting to realize that few readers will have time to ascertain this. If a restudy of the data and more comprehensive comparisons with Polynesian culture oblige contrary conclusions, it may be years before their circulation would counteract popular acceptance of Heyerdahl's theory because of the weight given his thesis through the two volumes of well-organized and scientifically presented reports produced under his aegis.

For the reconstruction of Easter Island cultural history, the most important contribution among the various reports is the study by Gonzalo Figuero and Eduardo Sanchez of 675 Easter Island adzes. Their illustrations and descriptions enable one to become well acquainted with the forms of adzes produced by the inhabitants of Easter Island over the entire span of its history, for a collection of this size is sure to contain adzes from its earliest years (pp. 172-177, figs. 45-52). As a result of comparative analysis, the authors conclude that the local predominance of quadrangular cross-section, chipped, untanged adzes indicate an East Polynesian relationship, but there were only enough similarities with Marquesan adzes to suggest a specific relationship (p. 201). Since this study was completed in 1959, much has been learned about adzes of the Marquesas of more than a thousand years ago and prior to the appearance of their typical tanged adzes (Y. H. Sinoto and M. J. Kellum, *Preliminary Report of the Excavations in the Marquesas Islands*, B. P. Bishop Museum, 1965, mimeographed, pp. 20-22, fig. 6). Essentially, the early Marquesan adzes are similar to or prototypic of the Easter Island adzes. Because no adzes identifiable as Peruvian appear, Heyerdahl's theory of a pre-Polynesian occupation by Peruvian Indians is without this necessary support.

Jack Golson, in his penetrating essay "Thor Heyerdahl and the Prehistory of Easter Island" (*Oceania*, vol. 36, Sept. 1965, pp. 38-83), has shown that: (1) 19 fishhooks from a crematorium associated with a radiocarbon date of A.D. 1220 \pm 200 are distinctly East Polynesian; and (2) no fishhooks have been collected that are not in the Polynesian tradition (*ibid.*, p. 68). He summarizes,

On balance the evidence of the fishhooks may be said to argue against any significant non-Polynesian element in Easter Island culture. Fishhooks, however, are a single item in a cultural in-

BELLONA ISLAND BELIEFS AND RITUALS. By *Torben Monberg*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1991. xix. 449 pp. (Tables, photos, drawings.) US\$42.00, cloth. ISBN 0-8248-1147-X.

THIS BOOK, an unpretentious, clear, beautifully written account of the pre-Christian religion of Bellona, a Polynesian outlier in the Solomon Islands, comes dangerously close to being the perfect ethnography. Beginning with a sketch of Bellona and its social order, Monberg leads us, step-by-step, to grasp first the outlines of the Bellonese universe, then the details that instantiate it. While Bellonese social structure displays an egalitarian order of competing patrilineages, its larger universe of living and noumenal beings is a complex, hierarchical, entropic order — a stratigraphy of high gods, local deities, other beings, and ancestors, all varying in locale, interactive propensities, and degree of predictability.

Working from the top down, Monberg describes sky gods who are ranked genealogically and vary in degree of sacredness. These variations depend on both the extent of control of the natural world (the sky gods' prerogative) and on the presence of clans (six of eight now extinct) to worship them. Descended from the sky gods (but less sacred) were district deities worshipped in people's houses rather than in temples. Local deities were involved with their congregants in exchange relations — food offerings for good luck, health, and intercession with sky gods. The deities' provenience is the social world. The variety of worshipped deities correlated with lineage fissions, legitimating the autonomy of new lineages. Another category, non-worshipped gods, was less sacred but more dangerous, as these denizens of bush and beach were asocial, unpredictable, and malicious. Distinct from gods and deities were culture heroes, extinct humans who created canoes, death, fish names and catch techniques, etc. There were the *hiti*, Bellona's aboriginal inhabitants, slaughtered by immigrants from 'Ubea (the ancestors of present Bellonese) and remaining only as mischievous, sometimes wondrous bush spirits. Deceased ancestors form a pool of beings who can communicate both with humans and with deities and gods. Their intermediary role in ritual facilitates the exchanges between people, deities, and gods.

With a clear picture of the personae of the sentient universe, Monberg moves to the rituals that connect and shape that universe. Painting with bold strokes, he locates ritual activity on the island landscape, showing the transformations of outside/inside relations that structure ritual activity — front/rear in houses, courtyard/house on a homestead, and homestead/temple. These relations are also embodied in paraphernalia, in sacred places, and in ritual offices and roles (human representatives of gods, deities, and ancestors). Having sketched the ordering of ritual activity, Monberg then exemplifies it with the most elaborate ritual cycle — the highly competitive series of rites and exchanges of the harvest cycle.

Monberg concludes the work by comparing his data with some major theories of ritual organization (those of Leach, Douglas, Rapoport, and Keesing). Of particular importance is his treatment of redundancy in ritual formulae and of *tapu* (sacredness). I find these comparisons cogent, but less

interesting than a lingering ethnographic question. Implicit in this account (of a community with one of the highest homicide rates in the Pacific) is another picture — a universe systematically ordered as a multi-level minefield with a menu of procedures for crossing it but no clear path through it. Could the sort of schizogenic violence Rolf Kuschel describes be one of a number of systemic outcomes of this universal order and Bellonese adaptations to it, perhaps ritually facilitated?

Throughout this work, we always know whose perspective is being presented, the range of variation in local theory and practice, and how Monberg knows what he knows. In his richly textured portrait of very pragmatic congregants in a very dangerous universe, Monberg sets an enviably high standard of ethnographic research for the rest of us.

University of Illinois at Chicago

MICHAEL D. LIEBER

THE ENEMY THAT NEVER WAS: A History of Japanese Canadians. *By Ken Adachi. Toronto, Ontario: McClelland & Stewart Publishers. 1991. 474 pp. (Photos.) C\$18.95, paper. ISBN 0-7710-0722-1.*

THIS BOOK is a re-publication of the 1976 original, with an added introduction and afterword. Its scope ranges from the first immigration in the 1870s, to the establishment of Japanese-Canadian communities prior to the 1940s, to their uprooting and dispossession during and after World War II and their re-establishment across Canada since. The strength of the book, however, is as a passionate and unrelenting statement against racism and injustice. As such, its original theme was adumbrative of principles that apply in today's atmosphere of uncertain constitutional guarantees.

As the book is un-revised, its original strengths and weaknesses are reproduced. The work is journalistic, containing little attempt at academic-style analysis, but presenting a factual account in a lucid and well-crafted style, with fascinating and dramatic accounts of Japanese-Canadian life. The language is dated: Japanese Canadians in the 1990s are offended at being referred to as "Japanese"; terms such as "Oriental" and "Hindu" (especially when referring to Sikhs) are no longer considered acceptable. Nonetheless, and despite considerable research and writing that has been done since, the book remains the best and most comprehensive treatment of the subject.

The first four chapters, which describe the period up to and immediately after World War I, are the weakest. Based largely on secondary sources in English, which are scant and often inaccurate, this section of the book reinscribes uncritical assumptions about the early immigrants, their grinding poverty in Japan, their work ethic, their stoicism, pride and grim determination. While all of these traits — constructed over the years by Japanese Canadians and others alike — may have some basis, they need a more careful and critical analysis than the broad assumptions presented here.