community, and personhood, Kapinga found this intensified dilution of local authority disorienting.

Recent political developments have brought more confounding layers of power and authority, and thus have added to the deep anxiety with which Kapinga regard the outside world. In place of the American Trust Territory government headquartered on Saipan, Kapinga now find themselves a part of the Federated States of Micronesia, and the more immediate and frightening State of Pohnpei. Lieber describes Kapinga as caught in a schizophrenic double bind of sorts, in which they simultaneously acknowledge their dependency on powerful outside forces, the severe social dislocation this dependency brings, and the need to find appropriate local solutions to externally induced problems. What is at stake, believes Lieber, is the survival of a monocultural community in a multicultural world.

Lieber finds some hope for the future in the 1982 decision by one group of Kapinga to return to more traditional ways of living. He also sees Kapingamarangi’s current elected representative to the Pohnpei State Legislature as dealing effectively with the outside world in behalf of the people of his atoll. In his role as mediator and provider, this individual is accruing power and status similar to that of Kapingamarangi’s first king, David, who emerged in 1917 to lead the island in an equally traumatic, troubling time. In effect, writes Lieber, the Kapinga are now engaged in looking both within and outside themselves to select new organizational and governing modes to meet their needs in these changing times.

The extremely high quality of Lieber’s ethnography leads me to accept his assessments and share in his cautious optimism. While there might be those who would have wanted a more subtle, nuanced treatment of historical change or greater attention to contemporary gender relations against the decline of a prominent, ritually endowed sphere of male activity, I choose to focus on the different and exciting kind of history that is More Than a Living. Anyone interested in the possibilities of ethnographic history in the Pacific will find the book a profitable and provocative read. It is about so much more than just fishing.

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Island Kingdom: Tonga Ancient and Modern, by I C Campbell.

Ian Campbell is one of the few historians of Tonga who is familiar with the sources for both traditional and modern Tonga. He is a scholar of the contemporary scene, able to analyze local politics and social trends, and steeped in the traditional lore, particularly as understood by modern-day Tongans. This overall familiarity has its advantages and disadvantages. The strength
lies in his ability to understand modern Tonga in the light of its past. The weakness is that the past comes across as a largely uncritical representation of dynastic stories.

The contents of the book are nicely balanced. Two chapters take us to the eighteenth century. The third concentrates on the period of initial European contact. The fourth covers the period 1777 to 1820, described as "the long civil war." Chapters 5 to 7 deal with the formative reign of Tupou I. Chapter 8 is a review chapter describing the social revolution, followed by chapter 9 on the reign of Tupou II. Four chapters deal with the important reign of Queen Salote, including the Second World War. Chapter 14, aptly titled "Tupou IV's Modernization," is followed by another review chapter and a conclusion covering the more recent changes in the social climate.

Although the history keeps close to what might be called the received version of Tongan traditional history, Campbell certainly brings his own interpretations to the record. He rightly questions the accepted versions of the origin of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu titles, he dismisses (perhaps too unconditionally) the notion of a Tongan empire, and he questions the nature of the relationship of Tonga with Samoa and Fiji. He is a partial apologist for that eminence grise, the Reverend S W Baker and—although he does not use the term—he correctly identifies the kuonga of Tupou Fā as a reign distinguished by economic modernization. Political scientists should note that a Tongan kuonga, like other Polynesian regnal periods, tends to be determined at the beginning of a reign and that any changes to the quality or character of the social program must wait for another reign.

That Campbell does not take the traditional material literally is indicated by his note (229) on the legendary Tu'i Tonga allegedly made of wood, Tu'itonganui ko e Tamatou: "Perhaps this story disguises an illegal succession or a period of civil war which has been otherwise forgotten." He might easily have gone further and questioned the origin of the 'Aho'eitu myth. He accepts the virtually impossible patrilineal succession of the Tu'i Tonga for thirty-nine generations, despite conflicting king lists, and he defers to the prejudiced account of the missionary John Thomas in regarding Tupoumoheofo as a usurper and her accession as Tu'i Kanokupolu as "shocking." He accepts without question Thomas's identification of Cook's Finau as Tu'hala'afatai though there are several other contenders, the most convincing being Mariner's Finau when Tu'i Ha'apai. His understanding of the role of hau seems also to be based on Thomas and fails to take notice of indigenous accounts.

Notwithstanding these criticisms it would be difficult to produce a popular history of Tonga for use in the schools that called for a more complete revision of what is currently believed. Perhaps by casting doubts on just a few current interpretations Campbell is opening the door for the acceptance of further revision. Certainly there is great scope for reinterpretation. Campbell's Appendix 4, listing "contemporary titleholders," is a risky enterprise as he fails to recognize that
'Uluakimata I and Ngata were more or less contemporaries and that the changes of that period were so far reaching as to suggest a social revolution or even an invasion by a claimant to the kingship.

Like most of the early historians of Tonga, Campbell perpetuates the legend of the golden age of the Tu'i Tonga followed by a period of civil war—a peculiarly Eurocentric notion. The dynastic history of Tonga was marked by warfare from early times and certainly from the time of Kau'ulufonua II. Significantly, Campbell omits the history of Tokemoana, holder of a fourth royal title, Tu'i Ha'a'ulufonua.

Known errors of fact are few and tend to occur in areas where the author probably felt he knew the facts without checking them. Campbell states (42) that none of the London Missionary Society missionaries was a clergyman, yet four ordained ministers sailed in the Duff and another missionary, Kelso, was ordained in Tahiti to serve in Tonga. Whether or not Kelso had better educational qualifications than the others is not recorded, though certainly the majority of the missionaries were deficient in that respect. Rowland Hassall (50) was never a missionary in Tonga, but was at Tahiti. Also, William Shelley did nominally reopen the Tongan mission for several years before the Wesleyans, though his action was not authorized from London.

The book is well presented, with maps, drawings, and photographs. A useful feature is the short list of sources at the end of each chapter. The title lists provide a brief outline of Tongan history and enable the reader to see which versions of Tongan history have influenced the selection. The index, which is not exhaustive, will at least help students find those topics they are likely to study. Island Kingdom will fill a long-felt need in the Tongan schools; already six booklets for secondary school students based on the book, prepared by Ian Campbell and Helen Boutell, with the title Tuku-laumea, have been published in Tonga in 1992–1993. These are recommended for wider use and should be in all school libraries in the Pacific.

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Described as the first study to analyze contemporary Tongan society “using the concepts of the mode of production and the mode of thinking” (2), Van der Grijp’s ethnography promises much. The author, a social anthropologist from the Netherlands, gathered most of his material between 1982 and 1991 in Vava’u, the main northern group of islands in Tonga, and made comparative studies in Tongatapu and Ha’apai. His application of “the mode of thinking” in the analysis involves “a specific concept of ideology” (2), one