

—suggests why he is no longer teaching in postcoup Fiji. He strongly hints, for example, that Emperor Gold Mine Manager Jeffrey Reid helped to finance the destabilization of the Bavadra government in May 1987. In his long chapter on Papua New Guinea, he shows that despite government efforts to address the concerns of local landowners, such as Rabbie Namaliu's Development Forum approach that brings together all parties, both national and provincial government leaders continue to give in to the powerful wishes of transnational corporations and to the temptations of dipping into the Mineral Resources Stabilization Fund to pay for current expenses and political patronage. Papua New Guinea has not only agreed to allow the dumping of toxic chemicals from Ok Tedi into the Fly River but has lost the Panguna mine on Bougainville to resentful secessionists.

In contrast, difficult negotiations in the Solomon Islands have discouraged several mining undertakings, a result that Howard regards as a blessing for that country. His intricate political analysis of New Caledonia is predictable: French mining policies have contributed to the territory's ethnic bipolarity and delayed its independence. Nauru, which managed to wrest control of phosphate mining from foreigners on independence, now finds its people suffering from serious health problems, social inequities, and environmental destruction. Banabans, somewhat like Bikinians, were manipulated away from their island, and the new "gold rush" of the 1980s has encouraged the tendency of indigenous leaders to concentrate on short-term

gains at the sacrifice of long-term planning.

Howard argues rather convincingly that mineral wealth, to a large extent, has not contributed to overall, balanced development of the islands. Moreover, he blames not only self-serving outsiders but also what he calls "precapitalist social relations" among the indigenous peoples, whose leaders dissipate the national mineral wealth instead of escaping from dependence on it. Andre Gunder Frank would have blamed capitalist penetration itself for creating those dependent class contradictions. Perhaps Howard is less orthodox than we thought, if no less provocative. Along with other recent works on the impact of mining in the Pacific Islands, such as *The Phosphateers* by Maslyn Williams and Barrie MacDonald, this comparative survey is recommended reading for those who would reevaluate the supposed boon of subterranean treasure.

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Mau: Samoa's Struggle for Freedom, by Michael J. Field. Auckland: Polynesian Press (distributed in the United States by University of Hawaii Press). Revised and reprinted 1991. ISBN 0-908597-07-X, xviii + 262 pp, maps, photographs, bibliography, notes, index. US\$24.95.

When *Mau* first appeared in 1984, it brought to the attention of non-Pacific history scholars, and the general public, the story of the most dramatic episode in Western Samoa's history. On

the back cover of the new edition the *Mau* is defined as "a courageous and non-violent freedom movement." In the introduction, Field suggests that the *Mau* be viewed in the same fashion as Ghandi's and King's movements. Its founding manifesto, drawn up in March 1927 when it was called the Samoa League, emphasized equality before God, and the right of every citizen "to procure by lawful means the alteration of any matter affecting the laws, government or constitution of the territory which may be considered prejudicial to the welfare and best interests of the people."

Samoans can accept outsiders in positions of authority. As Kilifoti Eteuati points out, this can be seen in the way *matai* or chiefly titles are sometimes conferred on adopted members of families; in recent years, titles have been conferred on visiting dignitaries, anthropologists, and workers from overseas volunteer organizations. The *pule* or authority vested in such titles, however, remains with the *aiga* or extended family. When Germany established a colony in the western islands of Samoa in 1900, the Samoans could accept its "rule" insofar as it did not impinge on the traditional institutions of authority. When German rule encroached on these institutions, especially the orator groups *Tumua ma Pule*, it was resisted by a group of Savaii chiefs known as *Mau-a-Pule*, and its leaders were exiled to Saipan. The penalty of banishing recalcitrant Samoans was later adopted by the New Zealand administrators, who believed that only stern discipline, German style, could get Samoans to yield to their authority.

The New Zealand troops took German Samoa in August 1914, the first of the Kaiser's Pacific possessions to be lost in World War I. Leading the expeditionary force was Colonel Robert Logan, who took over the governorship from Erich Schultz. In 1918, soldiers who had fought with the Allies returned home, some to Auckland, carrying a virus that was to kill more people around the world than the war itself. The vessel *Talune* left Auckland later in the year carrying a passenger who had the virus. The vessel was quarantined at Fiji, but was allowed to dock at Apia. Within a few months, the population of Western Samoa was decimated by an epidemic of influenza. Medical assistance was available only 10 kilometers across the water in American Samoa, but Logan would not authorize its use.

A side to the story largely ignored by other writers on the New Zealand administration of Western Samoa is the treatment of Chinese indentured laborers. This book deals with the plight of people who were brought in to sustain the profits of European planters and were treated like third-class citizens. Where they came in conflict with Europeans they found no justice in the courts, and they were prohibited by ordinance from any social intercourse with Samoans.

Robert Logan's successors were mainly recruited from the ranks of the New Zealand army, in which Colonel George Richardson had served during the First World War. His organizational skills might have been impeccable in the barracks, but in administering a country with a foreign culture he was a disaster. The *Fetū*, village youth

groups, may have been kindergarten compared to Hitler Youth, but they were one example of well-meaning paternalism that ignored the validity of the status and roles prescribed by Samoan culture for its members. Besides meddling with traditional land tenure, Richardson redesigned villages and ordered the construction of beach toilets. It is doubtful that he would have understood, let alone respected, *Maoritanga* in New Zealand. In matters intrinsic to *fa'a Samoa*, the Samoan way of life or culture, he ignored advice he was given by Samoans and Europeans. Dissatisfaction hardened into dissent. The Citizens' Committee, which had a predominantly *afakasi*, or part-European, membership, voiced its grievances on the hindrances to their trading interests created by the administration. When the committee was joined by high-ranking Samoan chiefs it became known as the *Mau*, whose list of grievances highlighted its rejection of the administration's meddling with *fa'a Samoa*. O. F. Nelson and other leaders were exiled.

Three days after Christmas in 1929, a peaceful march along the main street of Apia to welcome home *Mau* members ended in tragedy when New Zealand police opened fire on the marchers. Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III, a paramount chief and leader of the *Mau*, and other Samoans, died as a result of gunshot wounds.

The military style of administration continued after Logan, Tate, and Richardson. Successors with the rank of colonel or general ruled with the heavy hand of New Zealand law, supported by the might of weaponry and

police force. What they really felt about Samoans can be discerned from the racist comments in their private correspondence with Wellington. Field provides a sample.

Michael Field is a New Zealand journalist, who married a Samoan while working as a member of Volunteer Services Abroad in the prime minister's department of Western Samoa. They have a son and now live in New Zealand. Field admits in the introduction that his sparse knowledge of *fa'a Samoa* may have hindered a more in-depth treatment of the Samoan side of the story. This somewhat apologist stance is unnecessary. The *Mau* provided the topic for Kilifoti Eteuati's PhD dissertation, Albert Wendt's MA thesis, and the background of several chapters in Mālama Meleiseā's book *The Making of Modern Samoa*. The "Samoan point of view" (if such a view exists) is limited by the constraints of history itself—the availability of sources, reliability of informants, and so on. Meleiseā has lamented the difficulty Samoan scholars have in gaining access to archival collections, because those in power or the trustees of some collections are reluctant to expose family secrets to other Samoans. While J. W. Davidson was authorized to look at certain papers, Meleiseā was denied access. Besides Davidson, Mary Boyd has also written extensively on New Zealand's relations with Western Samoa, including the *Mau*.

What sets Field's book apart is that it is pitched at a general readership, not undergraduate students or academic supervisors. When a professional journalist dives into the archives—the conventional life-blood of historians—the

result is a story vivid in detail, written in simple and captivating prose; and no historian would dare claim a monopoly on objectivity. For this reason, it is hoped that New Zealanders reading *Mau* will not find it either "pro-Samoan" or "anti-New Zealand." If history has any lessons to teach, one of them must be that people's attitudes can change over time. What was inherent in the call for *Samoa mo Samoa* was a reaction to the way army men inexperienced as colonial administrators trampled on *fa'a Samoa*. The New Zealand Labour government that came to power in 1935 had little if any support for the likes of Logan and Richardson. That Western Samoa's path to independence was smooth and peaceful was due largely to a change in attitude when more enlightened people like Powles and Davidson were recruited to work with Samoans—men who viewed *fa'a Samoa* as a valid and essential component in the political organization of the new state. To quote Field's remarks on colonialism in the concluding chapter, "If one accepts colonialism as a valid concept, and I don't, one must in consequence accept that some nations have the necessary credentials to rule others."

This book is the result of meticulous research, written in the most readable and entertaining prose. Not many works of nonfiction can be easily translated into the Samoan language without loss of meaning. The technical jargon characteristic of anthropological discourse would be a nightmare for anyone attempting a Samoan translation. *Mau* was translated into Samoan and published as a serial by the news-

paper *Samoan Observer* in 1987. Derek Freeman's *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth* came out a year before *Mau*. It is doubtful that many Samoans who are not literate in English will get to read, know, or care about that debate. For this reviewer, the best indicator of the success of Field's book is the way Samoan students at the National University of Samoa have appreciated it. Many of them have read it from cover to cover, and *Mau* does read like a detective story. To Michael Field—*Mālō lava le alo faiva*.

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The Torres Strait: People and History, by John Singe. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1989. ISBN 0-7022-2232-1, xvi + 261 pp, illustrations, sources, glossary, index. Paper, A\$19.95.

This compact paperback is the revised edition of a 1979 publication about the history and inhabitants of Australia's Far North Queensland. Singe, one-time high school teacher, fisherman, and taxi driver on Thursday Island, the administrative center of the Torres Strait, specifies that he has "tried to make this the Islanders' story" (xii). As a longtime resident of the region he uses an assortment of local knowledge in an attempt to represent an Islander perspective: "Islanders will develop their own way of doing things, as they must, and this will not necessarily be