

Perhaps this kind of history is the appropriate subject of a different book—one that I hope Maschio will write. *To Remember the Faces of the Dead*, however, already contains more than enough to recommend it to readers other than Pacific ethnologists and psychological anthropologists. Students of gender will appreciate the discussion of how Rauto myths and rites express women's autonomous creative power; students of comparative religion will be interested in the phenomenology of ritual performance; and students of aesthetics will take pleasure in the poetry of Rauto speech and song. Like Rauto expressive culture, this book provokes much serious thinking.

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Neither Cargo nor Cult: Ritual Politics and the Colonial Imagination in Fiji, by Martha Kaplan. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995. ISBN 0-8223-1593-9 (paper), xviii + 226 pages, figures, maps, bibliography, notes, index. Cloth, us\$49.95; paper, us\$15.95.

This book is an admirable addition to the growing number of Pacific Island histories that have been enriched by anthropological perspectives. Focusing on the nineteenth-century Fijian leader known as Navosavakadua, Kaplan not only illuminates what I would call the complex dialogic of colonialism, but adds an ethnographic dimension to carry her story into Fiji's postcolonial present. Although she is

fully aware of current theoretical debates about writing history and ethnography, she refreshingly and stubbornly privileges the reality of Fijian and colonizer lived experience (eg, 14). Throughout the book (eg, 70), she emphasizes how Fijians were able to exercise agency in the face of colonizer power.

Navosavakadua became the center of the Tuka movement, denounced by colonizers as a cult threatening the social order being constructed by administrators and missionaries. Kaplan is at pains to show how the term *cargo cult* is not only inappropriate to Tuka, but also obscures Islander history more generally. (Here it is unfortunate that the vicissitudes of publication dates apparently prevented her from consulting Lamont Lindstrom's 1993 book on that subject.) Her own approach is to speak of "plural articulations, some defunct, some flourishing, some nascent, in a turbulent history of power, ritual, and history-making" (16).

Having set forth this framework, Kaplan proceeds in chapter 2 to sketch the social landscape of northeastern Viti Levu where Tuka appeared. A key concept, drawn from A M Hocart, is "ritual polity," characterized by both contested relationships between chiefs and "people of the land" (*itaukei*) and "constant dynastic struggles" (35). Never understanding the nature of the Fijian ritual polity, Europeans in the 1860s, with their plantations, labor recruiting, and missionization, further complicated the scene, creating "a new field of Fijian-colonial relations and meanings" (45). At about this time, a

young man named Dukumoi from the Vatukaloko region began to act as a channel to the deities, and became known to his followers as Navosavakadua.

When the British began to establish indirect rule after the Bau chiefs ceded Fiji to the Crown in 1874, they “immediately crystallized long-standing conflicts over ritual-political autonomy and subjugation” (54). In other words, Kaplan makes clear that colonialism did not enter a cultural vacuum in Fiji, any more than elsewhere in the world. Against this background, chapter 4 examines “Colonial Constructions of Disorder,” drawing on the author’s earlier publications. The administration’s projections of order and disorder onto different Fijian projects invented both positive and negative versions of “Fijian tradition.” Chiefly authority was lauded, the “rebelliousness” of the hill people deplored. At the same time, differences among administrators, missionaries, and European settlers provided alternative possibilities for Fijians to exercise agency. Navosavakadua’s Tuka movement, with its symbol of *wai na tuka*, or water of immortality, linked both the ritual aspects of *yaqona* drinking and Christian baptism as part of a novel, land-centric ritual polity (110). Colonizers, however, perceived such innovations as “backsliding” from established Methodism.

In a colonial construction that valorized “Christian, hierarchical, loyal Fijians” (95), Navosavakadua and Tuka could only threaten to expose the vulnerability of the entire colonial project (91), and had to be sanctioned accordingly. These sanctions included

the flogging of Tuka adherents, arrests of Navosavakadua and his ultimate exile to Rotuma, where he died in 1897, and, even more drastic, the destruction of his village and the deportation of all its inhabitants to the island of Kadavu. However, these actions did not, indeed could not, end the contests between the administration and its coastal chiefly allies on the one hand, and the autochthonous *itaukei* on the other. Tuka continued “as a movement of the ‘land’ within the flow of indigenous and contact historical trajectories in Fiji, in the face of a colonial project which never really knew who ‘land people’ were” (121).

New “articulations” of these contesting structures took place after Vatukaloko people were allowed to return and rebuild their village in 1909. Despite the colonizers’ hopes and their own internal dissensions, they continued to create new categories of authority and custom (130) that threatened the colonial sense of order. One of these was *vakavanua*, “the way of the land,” which remains a significant category throughout Fiji today. As developed by the Vatukaloko, *vakavanua* enabled villagers to accommodate older religious belief with Christianity, and to formulate a version of tradition in resistance to that fostered by administrators, coastal chiefs, and Methodism. Chapter 6 provides considerable detail on how this version played off against such colonizer encroachments as Land Commissions.

Kaplan draws on her ethnographic research to provide “Narratives of Navosavakadua in the 1980s and 1990s” (160–177), which include the

intriguing account of an Indo-Fijian, Harigyan Samalia, who incorporated the Fijian leader in his vision of a harmonious Fiji nation. However, Vatuloko themselves kept Navosakavadua's name alive in their own "post-colonial dialogue" (174). In her penultimate chapter, the author carries the story further, noting that the Fiji Labour Party, founded in 1985, drew substantial support from the Vatuloko (188). Drawing together earlier material, she concludes, "The Vatuloko have come to accept colonial, Christian, and national systems. . . . But simultaneously they seek to envision this larger world of different articulating systems as the working out of their land-centric system" (199).

I hope to have made clear my high regard for a book that warrants the attention of an audience wider than that of Pacific Island specialists. It is not without shortcomings. Some readers will find the wealth of detail, especially Fijian personal and place names, daunting. The concluding chapter is less impressive than what has gone before, although the author continues to pose her interpretations in a modest manner—something I never expected to write about a book originating in the University of Chicago's Anthropology Department. The overall impact is of a first-rate piece of scholarship, delivered in a thoughtful, and thought-provoking, narrative.

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Strangers in Their Own Land: A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands, by Francis X Hezel, SJ. Pacific Islands Monograph Series 13. Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies and University of Hawai'i Press, 1995. ISBN 0-8248-1642-0, xviii + 473 pages, maps, photos, notes, references, index. Cloth, us\$38.

Those familiar with Fran Hezel's *The First Taint of Civilization: A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in Pre-Colonial Days, 1521-1885* will need no urging to buy *Strangers in Their Own Land*. Together, these two volumes provide an unparalleled summary of the political, commercial, and missionary influences of Europe, the United States, and Japan in these islands. Their production is a service to Islanders, to students of Pacific history, and to scholars seeking an introduction to the maze of historical resources for eastern Micronesia.

Hezel states clearly that he seeks to write a "social history rather than a political chronicle of colonial rule" (xv), explicitly distinguishing his goals from those of historians who have written extensively about the role of Pacific islands in larger schemes of empire. But Hezel also apologizes for presenting something less—or, rather, something *other*—than the new historiography that has transformed the writing of nonwestern pasts. His book, he writes, "breaks no new methodological ground, offers no stunning reflections on how history should be done" and so, he implies, seeks to be nothing more than a humble recounting of events. Of course the author is