

**Photo 0.1** Album documenting history of a family in Rotuma, 2001.  
*F. Deschamps.*

## Preface

History is the witness that testifies to the passing of time; it illumines reality, vitalizes memory, provides guidance in daily life and brings us tidings of antiquity.

Cicero (106–43 BC), *Pro Publio Sestio*

Writing history is an exercise in selection. More than that, it is a matter of selection piled on selection, as the published and archival accounts one has to work with have already been sifted through chance encounters, individual biases, and the whims of publishers and archivists, among others. Because Rotumans had no written language prior to European intrusion, their versions of history were orally transmitted and appear to have focused more on family lore than on their collective experience as a people. Political history—stories of invaders from abroad, tales of conflicts between rival chiefs and the like—is embedded in mythical structures that embody far more than mere chronologies of memorable events. These accounts incorporate moralities and visions of an orderly world, concerns that often appear to supersede a desire to narrate history in the usual western, academic sense. Furthermore, European visitors were the first to write down these oral traditions, and who knows what influenced the accounts they recorded and sometimes published? What questions did they ask, and in what language? Who were the Rotumans who provided the narratives, and what were their particular biases and agendas? How did they understand the questions asked of them by their European interviewers, and how much did they simplify their accounts in order to be understood by outsiders? Were the accounts written down on the spot, or were they recorded from memory well after the interview? In most instances these are unanswerable questions; we must

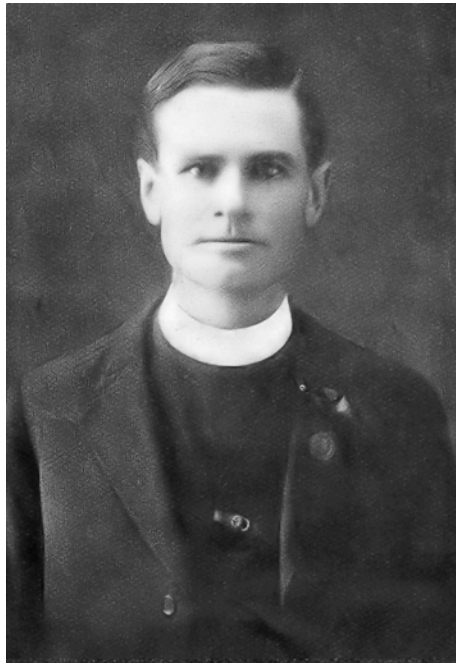
decide the best we can, given our own biases, which accounts to honor and which to treat with skepticism. Historical legends are still passed down orally from one generation to the next, but now there are further complications. For example, how much are the legends that are currently retold influenced by people's exposure to education, to travel, to motion pictures, video, and other media? Where they deviate from accounts recorded a century ago or more, which versions should be given precedence? Aware of these factors, we have chosen to present Rotuman oral accounts not as factual history but rather as conceptions of an eventful past, conceptions that have changed over time and continue to change.

We have elected to give priority to the oral histories recorded by Father Joseph Trouillet in the latter part of the nineteenth century and those recorded by Mesulama Titifanua in the 1930s.

Fr. Trouillet served as Catholic missionary on Rotuma from 1868 to 1906. Shortly after arriving, he recorded oral traditions concerning political history, particularly the succession of paramount chiefs (*fakpure* or *vakāi*), priest-kings (*sau*), and ritual leaders (*mua*). He obtained accounts of the roles played by each of these figures, thereby shedding considerable light on the nature of Rotuma's mid-nineteenth century political structure. His account, in French, was never published, and his handwritten journals were transported to the Vatican archives just prior to Howard's arrival on Rotuma in 1959. Fortunately, typed copies were made by Gordon Macgregor, an anthropologist who visited the island in 1932, and by H. S. Evans, an Englishman who served as District Officer on Rotuma from 1949 to 1952. In places it is apparent that the typist had difficulty transcribing Fr. Trouillet's handwriting, and in addition to discrepancies between the two versions there are inconsistencies in the spelling of Rotuman words and names. Also, we do not know whether Trouillet's account, titled "Histoire de Rotuma," represents the views of several Rotumans or just one consultant, although we can be quite sure it incorporates the perspectives of residents from Fag'uta, the Catholic stronghold on the southern side of the island. Nevertheless, Trouillet's narrative is remarkable for its chronological ordering of fabled events and sets a framework for the study of Rotuman legendary history. His account is available at libraries containing Pacific Manuscripts Bureau documents (reel 159) under the title "Historical Accounts of Rotuma."

When presenting segments of this text we use Evans's English translation.

Mesulama Titifanua transcribed legends dictated by "older natives"; he recorded them in the Rotuman language and they were translated into English by the Reverend C. Maxwell Churchward, a Methodist missionary and linguist. The published volume, *Tales of a Lonely Island*,<sup>1</sup> has the advantage of incorporating both Rotuman text and English translation. Because of the Methodist affiliation, it no doubt contains biases characteristic of the northeastern districts (who were entrenched rivals of Fag'uta for political supremacy), but at least we have some knowledge of the recording context.



**Photo 0.2** The Reverend C. M. Churchward.  
*Uniting Church in Australia, National Assembly  
Historical Reference Committee.*

Another source of information on Rotuma's remote past is archaeology. Selection in the case of archaeology is mostly a matter of what physical items from the past survive and are found, primarily by digging them up. Unfortunately, little subsurface archaeology has been done on the island to date, so there is not much hard evidence at our disposal. Nevertheless, we draw on the work of Thegn Ladefoged, an

archaeologist who extensively surveyed surface remains.<sup>2</sup> Ladefoged's investigation led him to some important conclusions about the development of political institutions on Rotuma, which we consider in some detail.

Part of the task we have set ourselves requires an attempt to reconstruct Rotuman society during the early years of European intrusion. Here we have had to rely to a great extent on the accounts of visitors, most of whom stayed for only a short time. They were the ones who were most curious and who wrote the longest accounts. Sources are much less extensive for Rotuma than for more frequently visited archipelagoes like Hawai'i, Tahiti, Sāmoa, Tonga, and Fiji. This is a mixed blessing for a historian: on the one hand it reduces the amount of detail one can draw on, but on the other hand it makes selection an easier task. Just about every account about Rotuma containing more than a few paragraphs is worth considering, although the credibility of the authors varies depending on length of their stay, any obvious biases, whether their musings are based on observation or hearsay, and so on. Among the most useful sources for these purposes are the following:

- René Primavère Lesson was a naturalist aboard the French corvette *La Coquille*, which arrived at Rotuma on 1 May 1824. The visit lasted for only one day, but Lesson was given an extensive account of life on the island by a renegade sailor whom he refers to as Williams John, from Northumberland, England. John was one of several deserters from the whaling ship *Rochester*, which had come to Rotuma to trade for provisions two months earlier. Lesson described John as a cooper by trade, with "a gentle, honest nature, good sense and some learning." He commented that "during his visit to our ship, Williams John gave M. de Blosseville a variety of information about native customs which have much in common with those of other South Seas islands. The obvious intelligence of this sailor gave us confidence in the accuracy of his account."<sup>3</sup>

Lesson's account is entitled "Observations on Rotuma and its inhabitants" and was published in 1838 as chapter 12 (pp. 412–439) in volume 2 of *Voyage médical autour du monde exécuté sur la corvette du roi La Coquille, commandée par M. L. I. Duperrey pendant les années 1822, 1823, 1824 et 1825* (Paris: Roret Librairie).<sup>4</sup>

• Peter Dillon arrived at Rotuma on the first of September 1827 and stayed for less than a day. While on the island he encountered two other deserters from the *Rochester*, whom he referred to as Parker and Young. Although his stay was extremely short, Dillon's narrative is valuable because it is one of the earliest available, and because it is based on information from two men who had lived on the island for three years. The account appears in a book entitled *Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas Performed by the Order of the Government of British India, to Ascertain the Actual Fate of La Pérouse's Expedition* (London: Hurst, Chance, and Co., 1829). The section on Rotuma appears in volume 2, pages 91–107.<sup>5</sup>

• George Bennett, a physician aboard the *Sophia*, visited Rotuma twice in 1830 (during February and again in March–April). On 30 March the *Sophia* was driven to shore by a gale, necessitating a stay until 8 April, when it was able to leave. Bennett's observations, entitled "The Island of Rótuma," were published in 1831 in the *United Services Journal*, number 33, pages 198–202 and 473–482. He commented on a wide range of topics, from chieftainship, beliefs, and medical conditions to physical appearance and dress.<sup>6</sup>

• Edward Lucatt paid two short visits to Rotuma, in July and August of 1841. The account of his travels, entitled *Rovings in the Pacific, from 1837 to 1849: With a Glance at California by a Merchant Long Resident in Tahiti*, was published in two volumes by Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman in London in 1851; the section on Rotuma is found in volume 1, pages 156–202. Like Bennett, Lucatt commented on a variety of topics. Because his account is based largely on his own observations of specific events, it has an immediacy missing from the more generalized accounts of many of his contemporaries.<sup>7</sup>

• Litton Forbes arrived at Rotuma in 1872 as part of a labor-recruiting expedition. He obtained much of his information from a renegade sailor whom he refers to as "Old Bill," and from the chief of Itu'ti'u, the largest district in Rotuma. Old Bill had been on Rotuma since he deserted a whaler when in his twenties; Chief Albert

of Itu'ti'u provided Forbes with an account of a recent war between Methodist and Catholic factions on the island, a war in which Albert had been an active participant. Forbes's book, *Two Years in Fiji*, was published in London by Longmans, Green, and Co. in 1875; the section on Rotuma is found on pages 222–248.<sup>8</sup>

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, several Europeans took up residence on Rotuma as missionaries, traders, and—following an offer of cession to Great Britain—colonial administrators. A number of these individuals took great interest in Rotuma's "traditional" culture and gathered as much information as they could from knowledgeable informants. The most extensive of these accounts were by the following:

- W. L. Allardyce was Acting Resident Commissioner on Rotuma for a short period during 1881, the year of cession. His report, entitled "Rotooma and the Rotoomans," was published in 1885–1886 in the *Proceedings of the Queensland Branch of the Geographical Society of Australasia*, volume 1, pages 130–144 (Brisbane: Watson, Ferguson & Co.).<sup>9</sup>
- The Reverend William Allen served as a Methodist missionary on Rotuma from 1881 to 1886. His account, simply entitled "Rotuma," was published in a *Report of the Australian Association for Advancement of Science*, 6th Meeting, January 1895 (pp. 569–579).<sup>10</sup>

Both Allardyce and Allen wrote about a wide variety of topics in rather general terms. Their accounts mix descriptions of conditions toward the end of the nineteenth century with recollections of the earlier society, but taken in conjunction with other sources they are useful assets for historians.

The most extensive sources for reconstructing Rotuman society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are from three visitors who each spent several months on the island with the specific intent of gathering ethnographic information.

- J. Stanley Gardiner, a naturalist who visited Rotuma for three and a half months in 1896, was a keen observer and conducted extensive interviews on a range of topics. His account, published in 1898 in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (volume

27, pp. 396–435 and 457–524), is the most comprehensive ethnography of Rotuma published in the nineteenth century. It is *the* indispensable source for studies of early Rotuman culture.<sup>11</sup>

- Arthur Maurice Hocart, a teacher by profession while in Fiji, was an extraordinary ethnographer and a talented linguist. Over a period of three and a half months on Rotuma in 1913, he managed to collect over seven hundred pages of notes on an extensive array of topics. His notes are remarkable insofar as he rapidly learned to understand and record narratives in the Rotuman language. The notes are housed in the Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand.

- Gordon Macgregor, an anthropologist on the staff of Bishop Museum, spent six months on Rotuma from 11 January to 9 July 1932. His notes, archived in the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, are exemplary from the standpoint of their organization. They are topically arranged in preparation for a monograph he never published.<sup>12</sup>

For documentation of historical events following European intrusion we have relied heavily on a variety of sources, including:

- Missionary accounts, including letters, reports to superiors, and personal reminiscences. Of particular value are the *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, which contain letters from resident missionaries on Rotuma, and the archived journals of Catholic missionaries at the Sumi and Upu mission stations (*Histoire de la Station Notre Dame des Victoires, Sumi, Rotuma and Historique de la Station St. Michel, Upu, Rotuma*). Both of the latter documents were recorded in French by a succession of Marist priests from France. They are available on microfilm of the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau (reel 159).

- Minutes of the Rotuma Council, which was established in 1881 following the cession of Rotuma to Great Britain. During the colonial period, council meetings were conducted in a mixture of English and Rotuman, mediated by a bilingual interpreter, then recorded in English by the Resident Commissioner (from 1881 to 1934) or District Officer (from 1935 to



the present). The minutes are housed at the Fiji National Archives.

- Outward letters from Resident Commissioners and District Officers to the Colonial Secretary, the Governor of Fiji, and other officials. The earliest letters date from December 1879, shortly after the Rotuman chiefs requested cession. The letters contain both factual data (financial reports, censuses, import and export records) and commentaries on Rotuman customs and habitual practices. Like the council minutes, they are a valuable source of information about the nature of the colonial encounter between British administrators and the Rotuman people.

During the postcolonial period we have drawn partly on newspaper and magazine articles, mostly published in Fiji, that describe events, highlight personalities, and express viewpoints. These sources supplement our own ethnographic fieldwork, which began with Howard's dissertation research in 1959 and has continued until the present. Our more recent joint fieldwork has taken us to Rotuma in 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2003, and 2004, for periods ranging from two weeks to six months. In 1994 Rensel was awarded a PhD in anthropology at the University of Hawai'i for research into economic and social change on Rotuma. In addition to field trips to Rotuma, we have visited Rotuman communities in Australia (Sydney and Melbourne); New Zealand (Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch); the continental United States (the San Francisco Bay area, and Utah); Canada (Vancouver), and England (London). We have also been active participants in the Rotuman community in our home state of Hawai'i.

We have consulted many sources in addition to those cited above, including biographies, theses, technical reports, book chapters, and archival materials. The Mitchell Library in Sydney, the Pacific Collection of the Hamilton Library at the University of Hawai'i, and the Fiji National Archives proved to be particularly rich sources of information. A comprehensive *Bibliography of Rotuma* compiled by Antoine N'Yeurt, Will McClatchey, and Hans Schmidt in 1996 was invaluable for identifying obscure but important sources.

One final source of information deserves mention. In November 1996 Howard constructed a Web site dedicated to providing a space on the Internet for members of the now global Rotuman community to communicate with one

another.<sup>13</sup> The site currently includes a vast array of features including a news page, bulletin board, and forum for discussing issues of interest to Rotumans. People have contributed a steady stream of news stories from Rotuman communities around the world and have expressed their views on a variety of issues confronting the island and the Rotuman people. This has proved to be an extremely valuable source for keeping us, and Rotumans everywhere, up-to-date on what has been happening in the various scattered communities.

The process of selection involves much more than choosing which sources to privilege, and which to ignore or marginalize. If history is to be more than a series of unrelated anecdotes, it requires commitment to a limited set of narrative themes. All of our experience with Rotuma—our reading of accounts by Europeans and Rotumans alike, our field research, and the oral reports of visitors to the island over time—have led us to perceive a dominant theme pervading Rotuman experience. In short, we have come to see Rotuman history in the light of continuous attempts to preserve autonomy.

By autonomy we are referring to the capacity to function independently, free from control by others. To a great extent, Rotuman history can be viewed as a continuous struggle between politically powerful groups and individuals who have attempted to impose a social order of their choosing, and politically weaker groups and individuals who have attempted to maintain their autonomy. The struggle has taken place at every level of Rotuman society: individuals within households, households within villages, villages within districts, between districts, and between Rotuma and the outside world.

This book focuses on some of the more dramatic struggles, but the reader should keep in mind that daily life in Rotuma (and perhaps everywhere) involves conflicts similar in kind if not in magnitude. Whether in the face of domination by Tongan invaders in legendary times, by British administrators during the colonial period, or by the government of Fiji in the postcolonial era, Rotumans have always asserted their right of self-determination, sometimes in dramatically defiant ways, sometimes by simple noncompliance and passive resistance. The story we have to tell is of a proud people—a people who have a keen sense of their own worth both as individuals and as a cultural community.

Our account covers four distinct periods, beginning with what is known about Rotuma's history prior to European intervention at the end of the eighteenth century. We present information about Rotuma's geography (chapter 1); its early history as much as we can deduce it from myths, legends, language affinities, and the limited archaeological work done on the island (chapter 2); the nature of Rotuma's culture and society at the time Europeans arrived (chapter 3); and the forms of creative and artistic expression that were present at the time (chapter 4).

The second period extends from the arrival of the first European vessel, the *Pandora*, which made a brief visit in 1791, to the onset of the colonial era following cession in 1881. This was an era heavily impacted by explorers, whalers, beachcombers, and returning Rotuman sailors (chapter 5), as well as missionaries who visited or stayed on Rotuma for varying lengths of time (chapter 6). This period was also characterized by factional strife, culminating in a war between Methodist and Catholic converts, which resulted in an offer of cession to Great Britain by Rotuman chiefs (chapter 7).

The third period covers Rotuma's colonial history, beginning with the events leading to cession (chapter 8). We go on to discuss the nature of political and economic institutions under colonial rule (chapters 9 and 10, respectively); and the health and welfare implications of colonial policies (chapter 11).

The final period covers the Rotuman experience from the time Fiji gained independence from Great Britain in 1970 until the end of the twentieth century. Our account of changes on the island of Rotuma (chapter 12) is followed by a consideration of the somewhat problematic relationship between Rotuma and Fiji (chapter 13), and concludes with a look at the global Rotuman community—a community in the process of formation (chapter 14).

We have written *Island Legacy* primarily for people of Rotuman ancestry rather than for an academic audience. We have therefore attempted to limit the use of specialized vocabulary and to keep theoretical musings and comparisons to other societies to a minimum, except where we felt they helped to highlight the significance or uniqueness of Rotuman customs. The book deviates from traditional histories in several ways. First of all, it is not meant to be a singular narrative that can be read from beginning to end. Rather, we think of it as a "referential history"—a reference

book of Rotuman history—with distinct chapters that can be read in any given order. Some of the later chapters thus begin with accounts of traditional customs and practices and their transformations, which in more orthodox histories might have been included in earlier chapters. We wrote the chapters this way in part so that they could be read separately by those interested in particular topics, and in part because we believe that the logic of different aspects of Rotuman culture deserve their own contextual considerations.

We have also opted to be as inclusive as possible of information about Rotuman culture and society at the time of European intrusion, incorporating lengthy quotes from early European observers. While this material may seem somewhat tedious to a casual reader, we regard it as imperative for the current generation of Rotumans to have access to these sources, selective though they may be. Inclusiveness has also been the result of trying to incorporate as many voices as possible concerning events and aspects of Rotuman history, and particularly Rotuman voices. While it is impossible for us to construct history "from a Rotuman point of view," we at least have tried to include as much of a Rotuman perspective as our field experiences and archival researches permit.

We want to stress that our account of Rotuman history is only one of many that could be presented. Rotuma's local and family histories remain largely undocumented, and others would likely select or stress different parts of the available materials than we have. We present this account with a deep sense of humility, and with the hope that Rotumans will be stimulated by our shortcomings to write their own accounts.

## Notes to Preface

In addition to consulting the sources mentioned in this preface, we have drawn heavily from our own publications on Rotuma in developing this volume, many of which include extensive historical accounts. The sources we have used are acknowledged at the end of each chapter.

A complete set of papers we have published about Rotuma is included on the Rotuma Web site at  
<http://www.rotuma.net/os/howse1/papers.html>

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<sup>1</sup> Titifanua and Churchward 1995.

<sup>2</sup> Ladefoged 1992.

<sup>3</sup> Lesson 1838, 418–419.

<sup>4</sup> Available online at <http://www.rotuma.net/os/Lesson.html>. We are grateful to Ella Wiswell who translated the French text to English for us.

<sup>5</sup> Online at <http://www.rotuma.net/os/Dillon.html>

<sup>6</sup> Online at <http://www.rotuma.net/os/Bennett.html>

<sup>7</sup> Online at <http://www.rotuma.net/os/Lucatt.html>

<sup>8</sup> Online at <http://www.rotuma.net/os/Forbes.html>

<sup>9</sup> Online at <http://www.rotuma.net/os/Allardyce.html>

<sup>10</sup> Online at <http://www.rotuma.net/os/Allen.html>

<sup>11</sup> Online at <http://www.rotuma.net/os/Gardiner/GdrContents.html>

<sup>12</sup> Online at <http://www.rotuma.net/os/Macgregor/Macgregor.html>

<sup>13</sup> Online at <http://www.rotuma.net/>

## Acknowledgments

We are indebted to so many people that the task of naming them all leaves us overwhelmed and humbled. We ask forgiveness from anyone we fail to acknowledge; please blame our inadequate, aging memories and the enormous nature of the task rather than our intentions. Indeed, we feel a debt of gratitude to the people of Rotuma that we can never repay.

Our research could not have taken place without the financial support of several institutions. The National Institute of Mental Health provided two years of support for Howard's initial research (1959–1961); Rensel's research was funded by a Fulbright grant (1989); and Howard received grants from the Office of Research Administration (1988) and the Conflict Resolution Program (1989) at the University of Hawai'i, in addition to a Matsuda Scholarship (1990–1991). Howard also was awarded a Wenner-Gren Foundation Grant (1989). We offer our thanks for the confidence placed in us by these agencies and hope that we have not disappointed them in any way.

Before attempting to name individuals who contributed to our research, we would simply like to acknowledge all the librarians and archivists who so patiently acceded to our requests for assistance; the scholars who answered our queries and drew our attention to important sources; and most of all, the many Rotumans who so unselfishly gave of themselves to help us in our quest for an understanding of their history and culture.

Howard's dissertation research was made possible by the scholarly dedication of many individuals, most notably in Fiji. The Reverend Alan Tippett provided copies, typed by his secretary, of all the historical documents he could find concerning Rotuma; Dr. Lindsay Verrier went out of his way to facilitate demographic research; and A. Ian Diamond, archivist at the Central Archives of Fiji and the Western Pacific High Commission, provided duplicates of many invaluable documents. The patience and understanding of Dr.

Alex Spoehr at Bishop Museum in Honolulu, and the Governor of Fiji, Sir Kenneth Maddox, made Howard's stay on Rotuma possible under difficult political circumstances associated with a failed land commission that had aroused the ire of the Rotuman people.

As always, ethnographic research relies on the patience and good will of many, many people from the community being studied. While it is not possible to name them all, some went far out of their way to accommodate a naïve and no doubt at times troublesome young intruder from overseas. Among them in Fiji were Josefa Rigamoto, Alexander Rae, and his sister, Faga Hoeflich. On Rotuma, Amāi Sakimi and Rejieli Maropia took on the responsibilities of full-time research assistants. Wilson Inia and Brother Mamao Managreve did their utmost to explain to the otherwise skeptical Rotuman people the purposes of Howard's research. Howard's greatest debt, however, is to the family of Sakimi and Seferosa Farpapau, and their daughter, Akeneta, who took him into their home and treated him like a son and brother for an entire year.

Gratitude is also owed to Fathers David Beattie and Colm Maguire, priests at the Catholic Mission Stations at Upu and Sumi respectively, who provided support in a variety of ways, including an ideal office space at Upu in which to do the tedious work of typing up notes. The District Officers during the year of Howard's fieldwork, Fred Ieli and Paul Manueli, greatly aided the research by making readily available some historically valuable documents at the government station.

Our joint research, which began in 1988, likewise has been made possible by a remarkable number of kind and generous individuals. On Rotuma, Tārterani Rigamoto and Elizabeth Inia both provided us with accommodations and sustenance over lengthy periods of time, and several couples went out of their way to make our visits to the island more comfortable and productive, including Gagaj Marāf and his wife Sanimeli, Victor and Hanuarani Atalifo, Sakimi and Sarote Aprama, Maniue and Vika Vilsoni, John and Harieta Bennett, Ian and Flora Croker, Aisea and Katarina Aitu. Rensel owes a special debt to the people of Oinafa Village, who so patiently took the time to respond to her extensive daily interviews during a thirteen-week survey in 1989, and to the schoolteachers who conducted an islandwide survey for her dissertation research. We also must thank the chiefs (*gagaj 'es itu'u*) of Rotuma's seven districts for granting us permission to work in their domains.

In Fiji we wish to express special gratitude to John and Susana Tevita, who have provided us with a home away from home on repeated visits to Suva, and to Isimeli and Betty Cokanasiga for their gracious hospitality. Thanks are due as well to Emotama Pene, who took great pains to have Rensel's survey forms printed and shipped to Rotuma.

During our visits to Rotuman communities overseas we have been extended the same hospitality and generosity that we experience in Rotuma. We are especially indebted to the late Reverend Jione Langi and his family for greatly facilitating our research in New Zealand, as well as for hosting us for weeks at a time. Arthur, Ravai, and Hatamara Shaw have become family to us in the fullest sense of the term; they have made our visits to Wellington a real joy.

In Australia, Martoa Dickinson hosted us for lengthy stays and greatly facilitated our access to the Rotuman community in Sydney. We owe similar debts to Torike Sanerive and Kapieni Patresio in Melbourne, Tafo'ou Atalifo and Janice Newton in Ballarat, and Oni and Betty Hanfakaga in Adelaide. Our thanks as well to Saumaru Foster at the Mitchell Library in Sydney for helping us to search out Rotuman material at that magnificent repository.

We would also like to extend our gratitude to the families of Richard and Lorraine Tizard-Varcoe in England, to Olav and Sofie Arntsen in Norway, to Konousi and Sandra Aisake in British Columbia, and to Richard and Tiva Sievinen in Florida for making our visits to their homes such a rich and rewarding experience.

Two of our colleagues have contributed to our research beyond measure: Hans Schmidt and Vilsoni Hereniko. Not only has Schmidt's expertise in the Rotuman language been a great asset that we have often called on, but he also provided us with a copy of A. M. Hocart's fieldnotes from his visit to Rotuma in 1913, which Schmidt laboriously typed himself; they have proved an invaluable resource. Hans and his wife, Heike, have also graciously hosted us during visits to their home in Hamburg, Germany.

Vilsoni Hereniko exemplifies the very best of both Rotuman and western virtues. His writings about Rotuma are acutely insightful and have greatly helped us to refine our perspective on Rotuman culture. His feature film, *Pear ta ma 'on Maf (The Land Has Eyes)*, coproduced with his wife Jeannette, is a masterpiece of cultural representation.

Finally, we want to thank Major-General Jioje Konrote, who should be an inspiration to all Rotumans. As former



Force Commander of UNIFIL in Lebanon, as Fiji's High Commissioner to Australia, and now as Rotuma's representative to Fiji's Parliament, he is making history in a big way. We are grateful for his careful reading of a first draft of this book and for his extensive and thoughtful comments. His encouragement has given a significant boost to our motivation to complete this history.

The photographs that illustrate the book come from many sources, both personal and archival. In addition to our own collection, dating back to 1960, we are grateful to Dr. H. S. Evans, Henry Enasio, Richard Mehus, Elizabeth Inia, Francois Deschamps, Bruce Tizard-Varcoe and the Rigamoto family for providing us with items from their albums. We would also like to acknowledge the assistance of the individuals at the following libraries and archives who located and scanned photos at our request: Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand; Marist Archives in Rome, Italy; Fiji Museum, Suva, Fiji; Fiji Ministry of Information, also in Suva; and Uniting Church Assembly, Sydney, Australia. Francois Deschamps, who is Professor of Art and Photography at the State University of New York, New Paltz, was our photographic consultant for the volume. He graciously helped us select relevant pictures and prepared them for publication. He also designed the book cover. We cannot thank him enough.

Maps were drawn to our specifications by Jane Eckelman of Manoa Mapworks, Inc.

We have dedicated this book to the ancestors of contemporary Rotumans for the splendid legacy they have provided. It is a legacy that is not only rich in tradition; it also includes that which is most admirable in the human spirit.