PACIFIC ISLANDS STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAIʻI: THE FIRST THREE DECADES

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THREE MEN BORN IN 1913 were instrumental in shaping the direction of Pacific Island research and education in the United States during World War II and well into the latter half of the twentieth century. Their involvement in war and postwar activities influenced the course of their careers in ways they could never have envisaged. Douglas Oliver and Leonard Mason were anthropologists, and Norman Meller was a political scientist. They came from quite different backgrounds and differed in personal style and many of their professional interests. All three shared a common concern with the practical application of their work. This article is primarily historical in nature. The first part provides biographical sketches of the three men. The second focuses on their careers and institution building at the University of Hawaiʻi (UH) during the formative years of an area studies program now known as the Center for Pacific Islands Studies (CPIS). Area studies were new to the academic scene, and their origins came from outside the academy. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, there was a growing concern about the nation's ability to respond effectively to perceived external threats from the Soviet Union and the emerging Cold War. Very few American universities of the time taught or conducted research on the non-Western world. Several private foundations stepped into the void and joined together to promote an ambitious initiative in support of area studies training in the United States. Federal support followed the initiatives from the private sector. My own career was intertwined with the three men central to this article.

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Biographical Profiles[1]

Douglas Oliver

Douglas Oliver was one of three men born in 1913 who were instrumental in shaping the direction of Pacific studies in the United States. The eldest and longest lived of the three, Oliver was born on February 10, 1913, and died on October 30, 2009. Leonard Mason was born June 26, 1913, and died on October 8, 2005. Born on July 30, 1913, Meller was both the youngest and the first to die, on July 19, 2000.

Oliver was born in Ruston, Louisiana. His father was an instructor at Louisiana Technological University, but he knew little about the man. According to Oliver's own account, his father "Did not return from World War I."[2] His mother remarried, and Oliver was raised under modest circumstances by his widowed paternal grandmother in Atlanta, Georgia. His primary and secondary education was in Atlanta. Georgia's schools were segregated at the time. Two of Atlanta's high schools were preparatory for tertiary education, one for boys and the other for girls. A third focused on vocational education. Oliver attended the Boys High School.

Oliver was an obviously gifted and highly motivated youngster. By 1928, he had completed high school in three years and had earned the rank of Eagle Scout well before his sixteenth birthday. Two remarkable achievements were soon to follow. In a national competition involving hundreds of applicants, Oliver and two other Eagle Scouts were selected to go on safari in East Africa.[3] The young men began their journey in New York City, where they were the guests of President Theodore Roosevelt's widow and son. On their voyage across the Atlantic on the luxurious *Ile de France*, they were treated as special guests and met Bill Tilden, the world-famous tennis star. In Paris, they were welcomed by America's ambassador to France, stayed at the Hotel Astoria, toured the city, and met Gene Tunney, the world's heavyweight boxing champion. A voyage through the Suez Cannel was followed by a five-week safari in Tanganyika. The boys were required to keep diaries that were later turned into a book. Oliver and his follow scouts were credited as the coauthors, and *Three Boy Scouts in Africa* was Oliver's first publication.[4]

Oliver assumed that he would attend his hometown institution, the Georgia Institute of Technology, commonly known as Georgia Tech. However, when a recruiter from Harvard visited Atlanta, Oliver recalled that he thought that it "sounded like an interesting place." A high school adviser helped Oliver secure a scholarship for his undergraduate studies, and on his arrival at Harvard, he discovered anthropology by accident.

Oliver expressed an interest in Egyptology, only to learn that the university's sole Egyptologist was on leave. As an alternative, he was advised to go to the anthropology department, which was nearby and described as close enough in subject matter. Oliver finished his BA degree in three years in 1934 and completed the DPhil in Ethnology at the University of Vienna one year later. Written in English, Oliver's dissertation was based on library research and titled *Some Aspects of Tribal History in Africa (Banyankole, Bagana, Shilluk, Azande)*.[5] Both degrees were officially awarded in 1935 when Oliver was twenty-two years old.

Oliver expressed an interest in earning a PhD at Harvard but was informed it would be redundant because of his DPhil from Vienna. However, when he inquired about a faculty position, he was caught in a catch-22. The Harvard faculty did not believe that the doctorate at Vienna was equivalent to that of Harvard. Oliver then joined the staff of Harvard's Peabody Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology, where he served as a research associate from 1936 to 1941.

Early in his appointment at the museum, Oliver's first excursion to Melanesia came about by chance. He was asked to accompany the heir to a large manufacturing fortune on an expedition to collect exotic artifacts in New Guinea. Once in the islands, their interests quickly diverged, and they went their separate ways. The Australian government anthropologist E. W. P. Chinnery took Oliver under his wing and advised that research opportunities on Bougainville would be more affordable than the New Guinea mainland.[6] Oliver took the advice, and his mentors at Harvard arranged modest financial support. Oliver's groundbreaking research with the Siuai[7] people was conducted on Bougainville between early 1938 and late 1939.

With the outbreak of World War II, Oliver's experience in Melanesia made him an invaluable resource to the U.S. government, and he was engaged by the U.S. Navy as a civilian consultant. Oliver was attached to the U.S. Western Pacific Command in Noumea, New Caledonia, popularly known as "Pentagon West." Immediately after the war, the navy sponsored several projects. The U.S. Commercial Company was among the first, and it conducted an economic survey of Micronesia in 1946 with Oliver as project director. Mason conducted the survey in the Marshalls (Mason 1946), and Oliver wrote the summary report for the entire project (Oliver 1951). In response to continued requests for assistance by the navy, the Pacific Science Board (PSB) was established as a committee of the National Research Council in late 1946. The PSB promoted research, advised government, and encouraged international cooperation on Pacific science. George Peter Murdock, chairman, Department of Anthropology, Yale University, was a member of the board, and Oliver served as a consultant.

Oliver was also a cofounder of the Society for Applied Anthropology in 1941 and a member of its executive committee. Both he and Mason published in the early issues of the society's journal.[8]

The involvement of American anthropologists in applied work during the war reflected a change in the discipline that had begun a decade earlier. During the early part of the twentieth century, most anthropologists had conducted research on Indian reservations. Their agenda was largely one of salvage ethnography. With the use of aged informants, they attempted to reconstruct and describe traditional cultures and societies before their disruption by European contact. By the 1930s, the results were ever diminishing. At the same time, social problems accompanying the Depression years heightened the social consciousness of many researchers and demanded a more relevant anthropology. The discipline shifted away from memory ethnography and toward an interest in culture change, acculturation, and the practical application of research (Kiste and Marshall 1999).

In early 1947, the PSB became the administering agency for the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology (CIMA), with Murdock as project director and Mason in charge of its office in Honolulu. The design for CIMA drew heavily on a plan drafted by Oliver for a research initiative that would be of scientific value and practical use for the administration and development of Micronesia. Between July 1947 and January 1949, forty-one CIMA researchers were divided into teams to conduct research in different parts of Micronesia. Of the lot, twenty-five were cultural anthropologists and four were physical anthropologists from twenty universities and museums. Others were linguists, geographers, sociologists, physicians, and a botanist. Funding from the Office of Naval Research continued after CIMA to launch the Scientific Investigation of Micronesia, a program of studies in the physical, biological, and life sciences. From 1949 to 1951, thirty-one researchers were engaged in the project, including seven anthropologists (Kiste and Marshall 1999). Another CIMA offshoot was the appointment of applied anthropologists at the district and territorial levels of the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (USTTPI).[9]

Of the navy-sponsored anthropological initiatives in Micronesia, CIMA had the greatest impact. Only a dozen and a half American cultural anthropologists had worked in the Pacific prior to World War II. A number of the CIMA researchers went on to have productive university careers, and they taught many of the next generation of American anthropologists.

After his work with the PSB and the projects in Micronesia, Oliver served in advisory capacities with the U.S. Department of State, the South Pacific Commission, and the United Nations between 1948 and 1951. In 1948, he finally achieved the faculty position that he had long desired when

he was appointed as a lecturer in Harvard's anthropology department, where he eventually became professor of anthropology and curator of oceanic ethnology.

In the two decades following Oliver's appointment, he organized or played a major role in three projects that placed a sizable number of doctoral students in the field. The first was a joint effort with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from late 1952 through 1954. Inspired by Raymond Firth's study of Malaysian peasantry, it focused on peasant societies in Java, and about a dozen researchers were involved.[10] The second project was conducted in the Society Islands in the 1950s. Four pairs of communities were researched to compare varying degrees of acculturation in the archipelago. Oliver and three of his students each studied a pair, and a fourth examined the influence of the Chinese in French Polynesia (Oliver 1981).[11]

The third initiative was the Harvard Solomon Islands Project, which linked physical anthropology and epidemiology with ethnography and studies of social change. Research was conducted in eight communities in the Solomons between 1966 and 1972. In each instance, an anthropologist conducted extensive research in advance of and in preparation for the work of the biomedical team. Follow-up visits to seven of the same communities occurred during 1978–1980, and the work was summarized in Friedlaender's (1987) *The Solomon Islands Project*.

In 1969, Oliver made a major career change. In an arrangement with Harvard, he accepted a half-time appointment in the UH Department of Anthropology on the condition that he be allowed to divide his time with fall semesters at Harvard and the spring of each academic year at Hawai'i. In 1973, Oliver left Harvard and became full time at Hawai'i until he retired in 1978. In the following year, he was elected to the National Academy of Sciences.

In the early 1970s, Oliver was also a consultant for Bougainville Copper, Ltd, and it provided research funds to evaluate the impact of the mining operation on the people and environment of Bougainville. Oliver designed and headed a second research project on the island. Titled "Anthropology, Demography, and Geography of Bougainville," it involved about half a dozen researchers.[12] In the three projects at Harvard and the one in Hawai'i, the majority of the anthropologists involved were Oliver's graduate or postgraduate students. By his own estimate, Oliver produced over forty PhD students in his career.

Oliver was also a remarkably productive scholar. His first professional publication was the previously cited 1942 article in the journal *Applied Anthropology*. Between 1942 and 1969, he published six journal articles,

four chapters in books, six museum papers, and seven other articles in a variety of places. After 1969, his record is solely one of books. Oliver never penned a single book review and was known to comment that "I don't do that kind of work."

The first six of Oliver's fourteen books were published while he was at Harvard. Three of the six focused on Bougainville. *Studies in the Anthropology of Bougainville, Solomon Islands* was published in 1949. Oliver's second book was the previously cited 1951 edited volume, *Planning Micronesia's Future*, an account of the economic survey he directed in postwar Micronesia. His next two books established Oliver as a major figure in Pacific scholarship and had a greater impact than the rest of his books combined. One of the most widely read books ever written on the Pacific, *The Pacific Islands*, first appeared in 1951.[13] It was reprinted several times and read by several generations of students and general readers. Published in 1955, *A Solomon Island Society* had a profound impact on anthropology as a discipline. Based on his Siuai research on Bougainville, Oliver provided the first detailed analysis of "big-man" leadership in Melanesia, and it continues to generate theoretical attention and debate. *An Invitation to Anthropology*, an introductory text, appeared in 1964 and enjoyed only modest success. *Bougainville: A Personal History* appeared in 1973 and is a firsthand account of the Bougainville copper mine, one of the largest mining operations in the world, and its impact on the island's people and environment. It was the last book Oliver published as a member of the Harvard faculty. His remaining eight books would be published during his tenure at UH and after his retirement in Hawai'i.

Oliver and his two colleagues evidenced little interest in the theoretical issues of their disciplines. Oliver thought that theories have a limited shelf-life and that they come and go with time, and both in print and conversation he emphasized the importance of solid description. He valued straightforward language and had little or no tolerance for the use of jargon, and he abhorred postmodern analysis. Such preferences became most evident in his publications after his move to Hawai'i. In that same period, his interests also came to focus on Polynesia with the most attention on Tahiti. The first three of his Hawai'i books were focused on Tahiti, and the first two of these were descriptive works of encyclopedic dimensions. *Ancient Tahitian Society* appeared in 1974 as a massive three-volume work of just over 1,400 pages. Published in 1981, *Two Tahitian Villages* was based on his field work in Tahiti. In the preface to that volume, Oliver wrote, "I expect that the descriptive portions of my monographs . . . will prove to be the most useful." (Oliver 1981, xiii). *Two Tahitian Villages* is a hefty tome of 557 pages. Published in 1988, *Return to Tahiti* is an account of Captain William Bligh's second voyage to Tahiti.

Oliver's next three books moved away from a focus on Polynesia. Published in 1989, *Oceania: The Native Cultures of Australia and the Pacific Islands* is a survey of the pre-European cultures of the entire region. Its two volumes total 1,275 pages. *Native Cultures of the Pacific Islands* is a radically abridged (172 pages) version of the two-volume work of the same year. In many respects, *Black Islanders: A Personal Perspective of Bougainville 1937–1991*, published in 1991, is a continuation of Oliver's 1973 book on the same island. It is the only book on Melanesia that Oliver published during his Hawai'i years. Oliver's last two books were published in 2002 and represented a return to Polynesia. *Polynesia in Early Historic Times* is a nontechnical account of Polynesian cultures shortly after European contact. It is aimed at a general readership and has been well received. Oliver's last book, *On Becoming Old in Early Tahiti and Early Hawaii: A Comparison*, draws on description of the islands written by Europeans shortly after contact and examines the status of the elderly in both places. Oliver (2002) commented that writing as an octogenarian, he was qualified to write about old age.

Leonard Mason[14]

Leonard Mason was born in Seattle and was the eldest of four brothers. They were the tenth generation that could trace descent from English settlers who arrived in Virginia in the early 1600s. Their paternal grandparents were farmers in Wisconsin. Roy Mason, the boys' father, was born in 1881. In 1888, the family moved to Kansas, where they acquired a homestead and built a sod house. The Kansas farm was not viable, and in 1896 the Masons moved, partly by covered wagon, to Washington State and eventually took up residence in Spokane in 1903. After a variety of jobs, in 1911 Roy moved to Seattle, married, and began his lifelong career as a detective for the famed Pinkerton Detective Agency. Roy's work took the family to Portland, Oregon, during 1918–1919. Promotions in the Pinkerton Agency took the family back to Spokane in 1920 and then to St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1925. Mason was twelve years old at the time. He remembered his father as a strict authoritarian, but his work meant frequent absences from home, and the brothers were raised largely by their mother.

Mason attended intermediate and high school in St. Paul. In high school, his favorite pastimes were amateur radio, hiking, art, and scouting. Mason graduated in 1930. He was valedictorian of his senior class, and his outstanding work in the arts won special recognition.[15] Mason and his three brothers all achieved the rank of Eagle Scout, and their accomplishment was recognized in an article in *Boy's Life*, scouting's national magazine.[16]

Mason entered the University of Minnesota in the fall of 1930. He tried majors in chemistry and journalism and worked for the university newspaper for a short time. Midway in his sophomore year, Mason left the university to become an apprentice with a small commercial art company. He returned to the university in 1932.

Browsing through the university's catalog, Mason discovered anthropology. He had always had a desire to travel, and when he learned that anthropology dealt with people in other countries, he began to explore it as a major. Mason sought the advice of Albert E. Jenks, a well-known anthropologist and the chair of the anthropology department. Ironically, Jenks had been the director of the Philippine Ethnological Survey (PES) created by the U.S. Department of Interior. Having acquired the Philippines after the Spanish-American War, the United States needed basic information about the land and the people now under its administration. The PES was remarkably similar to the CIMA project with which Mason would later work (Kiste and Marshall 1999).

Mason completed his BA in anthropology in 1935. His father died immediately afterward, and the family was in need of income. Mason's background in anthropology and artistic talents proved useful, and he found employment with the St. Paul Science Museum, where he developed an interest in photography that lasted for the rest of his life. Mason began work on his MA degree in 1939 at the University of Minnesota while continuing work at the museum. In the summer of 1940, he conducted fieldwork among the Swampy Cree Indians in western Canada. His thesis, *The Swampy Cree: A Study in Transition*, focused on acculturation and culture change, interests that he would sustain throughout his entire career. His MA degree was awarded in 1941. At the time, Minnesota did not offer the PhD, and Mason chose Yale University for his doctoral studies. He intended to conduct research among the Algonquin Cree in eastern Canada, but World War II intervened.

At Yale, Mason was employed as a graduate research assistant with the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF), an offshoot of the Cross-Cultural Survey, Institute of Human Relations. George Peter Murdock was the founder and director of the survey as well as chairman of Yale's anthropology department. Using the extant literature, the HRAF developed an index for the purpose of large-scale cross-cultural comparative analyses. Mason's assignment was an analysis of the ethnographic literature on the Menominee Indians of Wisconsin. However, on Monday, December 8, 1941, the day after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, Murdock informed the HRAF researchers that they would immediately begin assembling information for the U.S. Navy on the Micronesian islands under Japanese control. The

HRAF index provided the guideline for handbooks on the several island groups. Translators were employed to translate Japanese and German literature. Mason was assigned to work on the Marshalls, and his handbook on the Marshall Islands was the first to appear (Mason 1943). Three others were published the following year.[17] Collectively and beginning with the HRAF project, the navy-funded work in Micronesia was the largest research initiative in the history of American anthropology and a major program in applied anthropology. It also gave a boost to the Society for Applied Anthropology that had been launched only a few months prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor.

After his work with HRAF, Mason was involved with training programs for military personnel slated to serve in the Pacific. He then moved to Washington, D.C., in 1944–1945 as a researcher preparing country reports for the Office of Strategic Services (the forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency). At the end of the war, the operation was moved to the Department of State. As noted, in 1946, Mason conducted the economic survey of the Marshall Islands. In 1947, he joined the UH faculty. In the following year, he was commissioned by the navy to investigate the troubled resettlement of the people of Bikini Atoll who had been moved to make way for the U.S. nuclear testing program at their home atoll. The people of Bikini and their relocation was the subject of Mason's doctoral dissertation, *Relocation of the Bikini Marshallese: A Study in Group Migration*, completed at Yale in 1954.

Throughout his entire career, Mason was involved primarily with Micronesia. He made over two dozen research trips to the region, and he was commonly thought of as the dean of Micronesian anthropology. Beginning with his research on the Marshalls for the U.S. Navy, Mason had particularly close ties with the Marshall Islands, and he had a very special relationship with the people of Bikini Atoll. His own interests were applied anthropology, social and culture change, ecological anthropology, and Micronesian art.

Norman Meller[18]

Norman Meller was born in San Francisco, the son of a successful businessman, the proprietor of a hotel and tobacco company. Meller's paternal grandparents had emigrated from Europe, but the details are not recalled today. It is known that they were residents and survivors of the great San Francisco earthquake of 1906. Meller's mother died when he was fifteen years old. His father remarried, and his second marriage produced three daughters. After elementary education, Meller attended Lowell High

School, the oldest high school west of the Mississippi River. Lowell was also among the most prestigious and highly ranked high schools in the nation. Admission was highly competitive, and Lowell was a feeder school for the University of California (UC), particularly Berkeley. Meller graduated from Lowell in 1930. He attended UC Berkeley between 1930 and 1933. Before completing his undergraduate studies, Meller enrolled at the UC's law school at Hastings in 1933. He completed his LLB in 1936 and was admitted to the California bar in the same year. Meller's BA, with Phi Beta Kappa honors, in political science at Berkeley was delayed until 1942. Late in the same year, Meller enlisted in the U.S. Navy and was commissioned as an officer. He spent over a year at the navy's Japanese Language School in Colorado. A short stint at the Advanced Naval Intelligence School in New York came before an assignment to the Joint Intelligence Center Pacific Ocean Areas (JICPOA) at Pearl Harbor. Meller's work at JICPOA involved the translation of captured Japanese documents. In early 1945, he received his first introduction to the Pacific beyond Hawai'i when he was assigned to serve as the interpreter for the navy officer in charge of the Japanese civilians interned at Camp Susupe on Saipan in the Northern Marianas.

Saipan had been secured by the American forces in July 1944. Japanese military personnel were repatriated to Japan, and all civilians were interned at Camp Susupe, which was divided by ethnicity into three separate areas. The 13,000 Japanese, mainly of Okinawan ancestry, were originally imported to work Saipan's sugar plantations. Korean laborers for the Japanese military numbered 1,350. About 3,000 Micronesians were divided between 2,200 Chamorros, the indigenous people of the Marianas, and 800 Carolinians. Approximately one-half of the over 17,000 civilians were children under the age of sixteen. Shortly after Meller's arrival on Saipan, he replaced the officer in charge of Susupe's Japanese population. He had no experience whatsoever with naval civilian administration. Nonetheless, Meller served in this administrative capacity until the end of 1945. Late in life, he published a collection of his remembrances of his experiences on Saipan (Meller 1999).

Meller was discharged from the navy in February 1946 and began graduate studies in public administration at the University of Chicago, completing his MA degree the same year. Like Mason, Meller joined the UH faculty in 1947. His initial appointment was that of director, Legislative Reference Bureau, a university position that primarily served the government of the territory of Hawai'i. Meller completed his PhD in political science at Chicago and became a professor in the Department of Government (later Political Science) in 1955. His dissertation, *Hawaii: A Study of*

Centralization, was concerned with the centralization of political power in the islands.

Meller's work as head of the Legislative Bureau was focused on local matters. He created and maintained the bureau, and his research and counsel were major forces in the territorial and, later, state of Hawai'i legislature. He mentored many of Hawai'i's political leaders and helped draft the state of Hawai'i's first constitution in 1959 and was much involved when it was amended in later years. He and his wife, Terza, were among the founders of the League of Women's Voters in Hawai'i in the late 1940s.

Pacific Islands Studies at the University of Hawai'i

The Early Years

In the early years of the university, area studies were an unknown quantity and not a high priority. The official position was that any such initiative would require external funding. The first step in that direction occurred in 1932 with the creation of the School of Pacific and Asian Studies with financial support from the Carnegie Corporation. However, the interest in the Pacific was only nominal. The major focus of the new school was on the large nations of Asia. Some change occurred in 1934 when Felix Keesing was recruited to found a department of anthropology. A native of New Zealand, Keesing was an anthropologist with two decades of experience in the Pacific and who had conducted research with the Maori of New Zealand, Samoans in what was then Western Samoa, and peoples of Northern Luzon in the Philippines. Keesing's groundbreaking book, *The South Seas in the Modern World*, appeared in 1941.

World War II soon intervened. Keesing left in early 1942 for wartime service, and by 1943, all anthropologists and geographers at the university were gone and involved in war-related projects. Keesing never returned and moved on to Stanford University, where he chaired the Department of Anthropology for many years. Immediately following the war, Katherine Luamola joined the department at Hawai'i in 1946 and would become a prominent scholar on Pacific folklore and mythology. Luamola and Mason formed the core or the department, but it remained small with only three or four members for a number of years.

The Mason and Meller Era

When Mason and Meller joined the university in 1947, Hawai'i was still a U.S. territory, and the university was a fledgling institution only four

decades old. Founded in 1907 as the small College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, it became a university in 1920 with a student body of slightly less than 400. By 1947, student numbers had grown to nearly 3,000 (Kamins and Potter 1998, 52). Located in Manoa, a mountain valley inland from Waikiki, the campus of the time was modest in scale. Five permanent buildings constructed between 1912 and 1938 formed a quadrangle and the core of the campus. Built during the war for military use, a hodgepodge of temporary wooden structures had been converted to offices, classrooms, dormitories, and a snack bar. Small prefab wooden plantation-style cottages provided faculty housing adjacent to the College of Agriculture and its farm. Faculty children learned to coexist with chickens and other livestock.

In the era prior to air-conditioning, male faculty members were expected to wear coats and ties in university classrooms and offices. However, a few demurred and formed a group known as the Faculty Wearers of Aloha Shirts. The university's president expressed his disapproval, and letters to the editors of Honolulu's two leading newspapers complained about the casualness of faculty attire. The faculty prevailed, however, and it was observed that "Manoa soon became a campus on which aloha shirts were conservative attire" (Kamins and Potter 1998, 54). Mason and Meller were involved.

Also in 1950 and almost two decades after the initial Carnegie grant to the university, the Pacific Islands Studies Program (referred to at different times as PIP or PISP) was approved, utilizing courses and instructors already available in several departments. Mason was appointed as chair of an advisory faculty committee to oversee the organization and administration of the new initiative. From the outset, PIP was a multidisciplinary graduate program authorized to offer the MA degree. An affiliate faculty of two dozen Pacific specialists distributed over a number of disciplines offered courses and served on program committees.

While no formal definition was advanced at the time, the general assumption underlying area studies posited that any world area can best be understood through the lenses of several academic disciplines and interdisciplinary cooperation and research. The MA degree required thirty hours of course work (ten three-credit courses that included a three-credit graduate seminar and nine other courses selected from several disciplines) and a thesis. A language requirement was added at a later date. The first graduate was Marion Kelly in 1956, and she went on to have a distinguished research and teaching career at the Bishop Museum and the university. In 1951, Mason accepted an appointment to chair the small anthropology

department, and he thereby assumed the burden of developing two academic programs.

In 1953, a second grant from the Carnegie Foundation was provided solely for Pacific research. The Tri-Institutional Pacific Program was a collaborative effort involving the university, the Bishop Museum, and Yale University. In the course of a decade, the grant supported the fieldwork of well over twenty researchers. Mason, Meller, and Oliver were involved, and the list of participants included many of the most distinguished figures in Pacific anthropology and linguistics. The program increased the visibility of the Pacific for a short time, but it had no tangible consequences for long-term program development.

One of the earliest initiatives of PIP's advisory committee was library development. While the university's library holdings in Pacific materials had strength in some areas, many essential books, journals, and other periodicals and resources were lacking. The Pacific Islands Library Committee was created by the president's office with Mason and Meller as members, and a proposal was submitted to the Rockefeller Foundation. A grant was awarded in the amount of $30,000 to be expended over a period of five years, 1957–1962. In 1959, the university became a state institution when Hawai'i became the fiftieth state of the union.

Mason developed the PhD program in anthropology, which was authorized in 1963. Two years later he stepped down as chair of both anthropology and the PIP advisory committee. A health scare was instrumental in his early retirement from the university in 1969. Afterward, Mason remained much involved with the Marshalls in consulting capacities pertaining to chiefly titles and land rights, claims for nuclear damages, and compensation for use of Kwajalein Atoll by the U.S. missile defense program. Over the years he was also an occasional visitor to the University of the South Pacific (USP). Between 1982 and 1984, he spent months at a time in Suva and Tarawa as the director of the Kiribati Culture Project sponsored by USP's Institute of Pacific Studies. In 1986, he returned to Suva as a Fulbright scholar and editor working with young Kiribati authors on the project's publication program. Other postretirement involvements were consultancies concerning secondary education and problems of the aged in American Samoa, Guam, and Hawai'i.

Mason's publications included three edited books, twenty-one journal articles, eight chapters in books, seven conference proceedings, twelve book reviews, and over thirty other items such as encyclopedia entries, newspaper articles, and miscellaneous publications. His initial book, *The Laura Report*, appeared in 1967 and was an account of a training program on anthropological field methods that Mason conducted for Marshallese

and American students. Mason's work with the Kiribati Project resulted in *Kiribati: A Changing Atoll Culture*, which appeared in 1985 and focused on recent changes in life in Kiribati. Published in 1987 and coedited with Pat Hereniko, *In Search of a Home* was concerned with the flow of people into urban areas, the movement of laborers from one country to another and the resettlement of people following natural disasters, which had similarities with his Bikini research.

In 1965, Meller succeeded Mason at the helm of the Pacific program, and he served for a half dozen years before his services were needed in Micronesia in 1975. Like Mason, Meller had also served as a departmental chair. He first chaired political science from 1956 to 1958 and then again for the academic years 1964–1967. Both men were also members of an uncounted number of university committees, including the faculty senate, which Meller chaired for a time.

Two initiatives that were launched in 1968 represented major breakthroughs for the development of PIP. After years of lobbying, the university library made a position available for the recruitment of a curator of the Pacific Collection. Meller and Janet Bell, curator of the Hawaiian Collection, launched the search. The leading applicant was Ms. Renée Heyum, a bibliographer who had worked with Father Patrick O'Reilly, one of the world's foremost Pacific specialists and secrétaire général de la Société des Océanistes, Paris, France. Heyum was highly recommended by O'Reilly; Bengt Danielsson of the Ethnografiska Museem, Stockholm; and other leading Pacific scholars in London and Europe as well as Margaret Titcomb, librarian, Bishop Museum (Quigg 1987, 59). Heyum began her long and distinguished career at the university in early 1969, and she set the agenda for the Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library, until her retirement in 1987. The combination of the Rockefeller grant and Heyum's dynamic leadership provided the catalyst that led to the development of the Pacific Collection as one of the foremost collections of its kind in the world today. Heyum groomed Dr. Karen Peacock as her successor, and Peacock has been a credit to Heyum's legacy.

The other breakthrough that occurred in 1968 was internal to PIP. From the very beginning of PIP in 1950, the university had provided no funding, office space, or positions for the program. Again after years of lobbying, in 1968 Meller succeeded in obtaining a half-time position for the director of PIP, and early in that year, he became the first appointee while continuing half time in the Department of Political Science.

Meller was no stranger to the nation's capital, and in the search for external support, he visited the offices of potential funding sources in Washington, D.C., "just to keep the Pacific Program alive in Washington's

eyes" (Quigg 1987, 95). At the time, Dr. Robert Suggs, an archaeologist well known for his pioneering research in the Marquesas Islands in the 1950s, was a program officer for area studies in the then U.S. Office of Education, and funding had recently become available in support of area and language studies programs. That funding was a by-product of the Cold War era of the time.

The Soviet launch of *Sputnik*, the world's first man-made satellite, in 1957 brought a quick response by the United States. There was concern that satellites could be used for military purposes and that the United States had fallen seriously behind the Soviet Union in scientific research. The U.S. Congress passed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958. The NDEA was broad in scope and included the social sciences as well as the natural and physical sciences. The National Resource Centers (NRC) Program was included as Title VI of the NDEA in support of language and area studies programs. From their very beginnings, NRCs have conducted a broad range of activities that include instruction, outreach, scholarly research, development of library resources, conferences, and travel related to program activities.

Suggs supported funding for the program at Hawai'i, but he encountered opposition in the U.S. Department of Education bureaucracy. He was accused of having a vested interest in arranging a future sinecure for himself in Hawai'i. Furthermore, a congressman from an eastern state known for his provincialism was generally opposed to anything with which he was unfamiliar. He was also a member of the appropriations committee for Title VI, had no knowledge of the island world, and was opposed to funding for Pacific Studies. Nonetheless, Suggs prevailed, and Meller applied for NRC support.[19] In 1973, PIP received its first three-year grant. The award for the first year was in the amount of $73,500. The total sum for the grant period was nearly a quarter of a million dollars, an enormous sum for the time. For the first time since its founding a quarter of a century earlier, PIP had the financial resources needed for substantive program development. NRC funding has been continuous ever since.

Meller's research interests included the larger Pacific and were broader than either of his two colleagues.[20] He was a pioneer at the front of comparative studies of legislatures and their development in the newly emerging island nations. He was among the first political scientists to conduct serious research in the Pacific, and his work demonstrated the importance of the region for comparative political analyses.

Meller published four books, ten chapters in books, over two dozen journal articles, and a single book review. His first book resulted from three summers of research in Fiji. *Fiji Goes to the Polls* was coauthored with

James Anthony, a citizen of Fiji, and published in 1968. Three years later, Meller's second book, *With an Understanding Heart: Constitution Making in Hawaii*, appeared in 1971 and was only one of Meller's many publications on Hawai'i.

Meller was also well known for his work in Micronesia. In an advisory capacity, he helped organize what became the Congress of Micronesia and served as a consultant and draftsman of the Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) as well as the constitutions of Pohnpei and Kosrae, two of the states within the FSM. The Micronesia work resulted in two major books, both of which were written with the assistance of his wife. *The Congress of Micronesia* appeared in 1969. After thirty-one years of service, Meller retired from the university in 1978, but there was little if any pause in his research. Meller was a resident scholar at the Rockefeller Foundation's Bellagio Center at Lake Como, Italy, in 1981, and *Constitutionalism in Micronesia* appeared in 1985.

Mason and Meller were in demand as visiting professors, and over the years they had numerous visiting appointments at over a dozen universities, many at some of the nation's most distinguished institutions.[21]

A Time of Transition and New Beginnings

As adviser to the Micronesian Constitutional Convention, Meller spent most of 1975 in Micronesia after he resigned as director of PIP. Carl Daeufer, a faculty member in the UH College of Education, was appointed as acting director in July 1975. He had a doctorate in education administration and before joining the university, he had worked in American-occupied Okinawa, American Samoa, and Saipan, headquarters of the USTTPI. However, he was not a Pacific specialist and was not familiar with the larger Pacific region. Nonetheless, he made an all-out effort on behalf of the program. He was responsible for the renewal of the NDEA grant in 1976 and struggled to sustain and improve the program while maintaining his half-time duties in the College of Education. At about the same time, the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC), the national accrediting institution for schools and colleges in the western United States, reviewed PIP, and its report was quite critical. The program was judged as weak and without adequate support from the university. The WASC report recommended that the PIP be either improved or terminated.

At this juncture, a somewhat surprising appointment was made. In July 1977, Douglas Oliver was made director of PIP. Shortly after he joined the university in 1969, Oliver had made his views well known. He was opposed to interdisciplinary programs as a matter of principle, and he was not alone

in his opinion in the anthropology department. Oliver believed that such programs had no place in the university and never wavered in his opinion. He recommended that the program be terminated and resigned as director of PIP in late October 1977. His tenure as director had lasted slightly less than four months.

Dr. Ruth Finney was appointed as interim director in the fall of 1977. She had earned her PhD in social anthropology at Harvard; was an assistant professor in the UH Department of Human Development, School of Tropical Agriculture; and had conducted research in Papua New Guinea. She prepared a review document of PIP's checkered history and coordinated the national search for a new director. The position was advertised at the associate professor level, half-time, one year, and perhaps renewable. Having lost the battle to end the program, Oliver nonetheless remained very much involved when he managed to have himself appointed as chair of the search committee.

At this point in the history of the program, my own connections with Oliver, Mason, and Meller become relevant. After completing my BA in anthropology at Indiana University in 1961, I selected the University of Oregon for graduate studies. Oregon had two attractions. I was interested in Homer G. Barnett. He was the first civilian staff anthropologist hired by the Office of the High Commissioner USTTPI. He had also conducted research in Palau as a CIMA participant, and as staff anthropologist he oversaw the work of the several district anthropologists. The anthropology department at Oregon had also recently received NDEA fellowships that provided full support for three years of doctoral studies. I was among the first four recipients. Barnett knew Mason and Oliver through his involvement with CIMA.

During my first year at Oregon, Barnett received a grant from the National Science Foundation (NSF) to study ten communities in the Pacific that had been relocated for one reason or another. It was the largest grant ever awarded for anthropological research by the NSF. After two years of graduate study, Barnett offered me the opportunity to conduct research with the people of Bikini Atoll. According to Barnett's research design, each graduate student was accompanied to the field by a researcher with experience in the area. Mason introduced my wife, Valerie, and me to the Bikini community on Kili Island in summer 1963.

The work in the Marshalls was followed by library research at the UH Pacific Collection. At a social occasion at Mason's home in Honolulu, I met E. Adamson Hoebel, a major figure in American anthropology and the chairman of the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota. Hoebel had arrived at Minnesota long after Mason's student days there,

but they knew each other professionally and had other connections in Minnesota. Hoebel was on leave at the time and a research fellow at the East-West Center (EWC) located adjacent to the UH campus.[22] As leading figures in American anthropology, Hoebel and Oliver were also well acquainted. The chance meeting with Hoebel had major consequences for our lives. While I was completing my dissertation at Oregon, I received a call from Hoebel. The Minnesota department wanted to add a Pacific specialist, and Hoebel asked if I would be interested. I joined his faculty in January 1967. As it turned out, Minnesota decided to hire a second Pacific specialist, and Eugene Ogan, a Melanesian specialist, a student of Oliver's, and a participant in Harvard's Bougainville project, arrived at Minnesota in the fall semester of the same year. Ogan and I have been friends and colleagues ever since. I first met Oliver when he visited Minnesota in early 1968.

The twelve years at Minnesota were productive and personally rewarding. In the summer of 1969, I returned to the Marshalls for more fieldwork with the Bikinians (Kiste 1974), but keeping in touch with developments in the Pacific was not easy in the northern climes of the American Midwest. The 1972–1973 academic year was spent on sabbatical leave as a visiting professor in the UH Department of Anthropology, where I met Norman Meller for the first time. A second stint as a visiting professor at Hawai'i occurred in the fall semester of 1976.

In the following year, the search for a new PIS director was launched, and several colleagues in Hawai'i encouraged me to apply. My initial response was that the position as advertised was not attractive and far too tenuous at best. I was tenured at Minnesota and had only recently been promoted to full professor. Oliver urged me to reconsider and used his influence to arrange a full-time appointment and a more attractive offer. He kept me informed of conversations in Hawai'i, explained what might be negotiated, and gave assurance of strong faculty support. Also on the positive side, the number and quality of the faculty with expertise in the Pacific at UH, the Pacific Collection, and Hawai'i's very location could not be matched by any other university in the world. Additionally, the Pacific program at Hawai'i was—and remains—the only one of its kind in the nation. In the last analysis, the chance to develop the program was a challenge worth taking. I joined the UH faculty in July 1978.

Fortuitously, the timing could not have been better. After World War II, America's interest in the Pacific was narrowly focused on the islands directly under its control, the newly acquired islands in Micronesia and the long-held territories of American Samoa, Guam, and Hawai'i. However, the larger Pacific did not have a high priority, and the United States was content to leave the rest of the islands to the region's other colonial powers.

Things began to change quickly in 1976 when the Soviet Union approached Tonga to establish an embassy in the country, develop a fishing base in its northern islands, and upgrade Tonga's primary harbor and international airport. The Soviets also explored the possibility of arranging fishing agreements with other countries. While the Soviet overture was unsuccessful, Cold War tensions and distrust were high, and official Washington viewed the Soviet initiative with considerable alarm and as a move to gain a strategic foothold in the region. The response was relatively quick.[23] In 1978, the U.S. Department of State created the Office for Pacific Island Affairs. Diplomatic missions in Fiji and Papua New Guinea were upgraded to embassies, and a small embassy was created in the Solomon Islands. A career diplomat was appointed as the first director of the new office. In mid-1978, he made the first of his many visits to Honolulu to consult with faculty, the local military establishment, state officials, and some segments of the private sector. Another first, the U.S. Agency for International Development launched a modest aid program for the region. The American response to the Soviet initiatives caused some longtime Washington observers to joke: "One would have suspected that there was a communist behind every coconut tree in the islands."

In the following two years, three new Pacific regional organizations were launched with headquarters in Honolulu. In 1979, the first Pacific Telecommunications Conference (PTC), a private-sector initiative, was held in Honolulu. The conference became an annual event, and in the following year, it established the Pacific Telecommunications Council (also PTC) to promote the advancement and commercial use of information and communication technologies, services, policies, and knowledge to benefit the nations and people of the Asia Pacific region. The conference and the council have enjoyed enormous success, and over sixty Asian and Pacific counties are now members. Also in 1980, the U.S. Department of Commerce provided funding to establish the Pacific Basin Development Council (PBDC) composed of the governors of American Samoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas, Guam, and Hawai'i to promote economic development and cooperation among the four island entities. George Ariyoshi, governor of Hawai'i, was named as PBDC's first chairman.

In early 1980, the EWC sponsored the Pacific Islands Conference: Development the Pacific Way. Fiji's prime minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, a member of the EWC Board of Governors, chaired the event. Twenty island nations, including twelve heads of government, participated. It was determined that the conference would meet every five years (later changed to every three). With the strong support of Ratu Mara; Sir Michael Somare, the prime minister of Papua New Guinea; and Governor Ariyoshi,

the 1980 conference created the Pacific Islands Development Program (PIDP) in the same year. Ratu Mara also chaired a standing committee of a half dozen leaders who met and oversaw PIDP's operation in the off years.

Such an assemblage of Pacific leaders was without precedence in the history of Hawai'i. Ratu Mara was the most prominent of all Pacific leaders of the time, and Somare was not far behind. Mara and Governor Ariyoshi became good friends and golfing partners, and Mara became a frequent visitor to Honolulu. The surge in Pacific-related activity did not go unnoticed in the local press, and there was a significant increase in the coverage of Pacific news in both of Honolulu's daily newspapers. Such reporting increased the Pacific's visibility within the EWC, UH, and the larger community.

In late 1980, the university created the Center for Asian and Pacific Studies (CAPS), which brought together all of its area studies programs (several Asian programs and Hawaiian studies as well as Pacific Islands studies). CAPS was to coordinate and strengthen areas studies across the board. In the same year and for the first time in its history, PIP was provided with permanent office space in Moore Hall, where it remains today. CAPS would later undergo other transformations, and PIP would be rechristened as the Center for Pacific Islands Studies.

In the early 1980s, CPIS was identified by the university as a program with the potential for development as an area of selected excellence. At about the same time, the U.S. Information Agency, the Fulbright Program, and the Asia Foundation offered funding in support of three programs to be administered by CPIS: faculty and student exchange programs with the University of the South Pacific and the University of Papua New Guinea, a training program for young Pacific Island diplomats, and another for the development of midcareer professionals in government service in the islands. In the mid-1980s, changes in the university's administration resulted in a major breakthrough when the program was allotted two new faculty positions and a secretarial position. A momentum had been achieved that allowed CPIS to develop into a program that Mason and Meller had always hoped and labored for.

In Retrospect

The struggle to develop the Pacific Islands as a subject matter worthy of study was not unique to UH. At least in earlier years, area study programs were problematic for many American universities. In contrast with traditional disciplines, they are multidisciplinary enterprises, and their very

legitimacy was often challenged. The programs were also newcomers on the academic scene and were viewed as unwanted interlopers in the endless competition over scarce resources. The connection between area studies and issues of national defense also increased the concern and distrust of the programs.

National security and strategic interests have indeed played a major role in determining American policies and initiatives in the region. Those interests came to the fore in the late nineteenth century when American Samoa and Guam were acquired as navy coaling stations in the southern and far northwestern Pacific. While economic concerns were also involved, the strategic value of Pearl Harbor was a strong motivation for America's annexation of Hawai'i in the northeastern Pacific. Together the three island entities formed a strategic triangle prized by the U.S. Navy.

The next major change occurred with the onset of World War II. With their involvement in navy-sponsored projects, Oliver and Murdock became important figures in shaping American policies at the national level regarding research and other initiatives. The dozens of anthropologists and other researchers who worked in Micronesia produced an enormous body of literature ranging from government reports to scholarly publications. Mason and Meller were recruited by the university because of their firsthand experience in Micronesia.

In the years after World War II and with the beginning of the Cold War, there was considerable anxiety that the United States was ill prepared to deal with threats from the Soviet Union. At the time, American universities paid scant attention to the non-Western world. The first response came from the private sector in the early 1950s. The Ford and Rockefeller foundations and the Carnegie Corporation joined together, and with Ford leading the way, generous funding was provided in support of area studies. The goal was to gather basic information about potential adversaries.

As discussed, the Soviet launch of *Sputnik* in 1957 served to heighten suspicion of the Soviets, and the U.S. Congress quickly responded when it authorized the NDEA to provide funding in support of the NRCs and fellowships for graduate studies and language training. An enormous milestone in the history of area studies had been achieved. As also noted, the next crisis occurred when the Soviet Union approached Tonga and the larger region in the late 1970s. However, that threat was short lived. With the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War, the Soviet threat soon disappeared, and American interest in the region was also quick to decline. The only recently upgraded diplomatic missions to the region were downsized, and the aid program was gradually all but eliminated.

Critics of area studies today sometimes suggest that such programs are remnants of the Cold War and are politically suspect. Further, it is also charged that area studies are concerned primarily with description as opposed to "nomothetic" or theory building and that their main rationale is only to provide comprehensive knowledge of world areas. Advocates of area studies counter that their fundamental role is to deparochialize Western-centric visions of the world in the social sciences and humanities among policymakers and the public at large. In their view, the multidisciplinary lens is essential because no single academic discipline is capable of capturing and conveying a full understand of other societies and cultures. The debate over the nature and value of area studies is a healthy exercise in its own right and is certain to continue well into the foreseeable future.[24]

It is significant that Mason and Meller were fresh from their initial engagements in Micronesia when they joined the university in 1947. They were among the first American civilians who worked in the immediate postwar era in the small islands. They demonstrated a sincere interest in the people, their lifestyles, and their hopes for a recovery from the devastation of war. They gained the trust and respect of many Islanders at all levels of society and developed many close personal relationships and lifelong friendships. Micronesian visitors to Honolulu were frequent guests and common at the dinner tables in the Mason and Meller households. Both men were mentors to the first generation of Islanders who managed to get to Honolulu for secondary education and eventually UH. Mason and Meller also had generally good relations and in some instances developed lasting friendships with American administrators in the islands.

Mason and Meller devoted their entire professional lives to UH. In their early years in Hawai'i, the university was a new and struggling institution, and they labored under adverse conditions with little or no financial or physical resources and no support staff. Nonetheless, both were dedicated institution builders within their respective departments, the Pacific program, and the larger university. They were approachable and known for their availability to students and mentoring of younger faculty. Their ties and commitment to Micronesia and the university were deep and spanned more than half a century.

Douglas Oliver was cut from a different cloth, and his contributions to Pacific studies were of a different order. Of the three men, Oliver came from the humblest background, but his persona projected an entirely different image. He thrived in his role as an Ivy League professor, was somewhat aloof, and never lacked in self-confidence, and many who met him

for the first time assumed that he had been born to privilege. Oliver always followed his own agenda, was often unpredictable, and had little patience for those who fell short of his likes and expectations. Many students, even faculty colleagues, found him intimidating.

Nonetheless, Oliver's contributions to Pacific Studies were enormous and threefold. First, his wartime involvement with the U.S. Navy and postwar work contributed to the war effort and helped set the national agenda for the region. Second, his teaching at Harvard and UH, including the research initiatives in Java, Bougainville, and French Polynesia, produced cohorts of students, many of whom went on to have productive careers and produce a substantial body of island studies. Finally, Oliver's record of publication can be matched by few others. During his final productive years, he spent endless hours immersed in research in the Pacific Collection. Oliver never altered his opinion about the interdisciplinary nature of CPIS, but he was quick to praise things that he could relate to and valued. A case in point was CPIS's publication program, anchored by the Pacific Islands Monograph Series and *Contemporary Pacific: A Journal of Island Affairs.*

I was fortunate that my own tenure as director of CPIS began at a time when many forces on the national and international scene created a heightened awareness and concern with the Pacific Islands. The climate could not have been more conducive to the development of Pacific studies, and I had the advantage of being the first full-time director. Importantly, I always had the support of the UH faculty affiliated with the Pacific program, including that of my three predecessors. They were all pioneers in a struggling field of study, and those of us who have followed in their footsteps are indebted to them. It was a genuine privilege and pleasure to have known and worked with them.[25]

NOTES

I wish to thank several individuals who read this article in manuscript form: Michael Hamnett, David Hanlon, Terza Meller, Doug Munro, Eugene Ogan, Karen Peacock, and Terence Wesley-Smith. Their comments and suggestions have been appreciated.

Quigg's (1987) work was an invaluable resource in the preparation of this article. Originally submitted as her MA thesis in UH Pacific Islands studies, it was published in the Center for Pacific Islands Studies Working Paper Series in 1987. At the time, Quigg was a librarian in the serials division, Hamilton Library, Univ. of Hawai'i.

1. For the biographical profiles of Oliver, Mason, and Meller, I have drawn heavily on the curriculum vitae of the three men. Mason and Meller provided extensive accounts of their careers. While Oliver was meticulous in his scholarship, he was less interested in keeping a record of his publications and professional life.

2. Oliver's statement about his father's failure to return home is ambiguous. According to a source close to Oliver, his father survived the war but abandoned his family.

3. The competition was noteworthy enough to warrant coverage by the *New York Times*. The article was in error, however, as it reported that two and not three young men were selected. "Two Boy Scouts are to go on an African Expedition," *New York Times*, May 6, 1928.

4. Douglas, Martin, and Oliver (1928).

5. E-mail from Erika Neuber, librarian, Social and Cultural Anthropology Library, Univ. of Vienna, December 13, 2007.

6. In the "Acknowledgment" note, Oliver (1955) mentions Chinnery's assistance and reports that Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson were also helpful on that occasion in Papua New Guinea.

7. While later authors have used the spelling "Siwai," I prefer to remain with Oliver's usage of "Siuai."

8. Douglas L. Oliver, "A Case of Change in Food Habits in Bougainville, British Solomon Islands," *Applied Anthropology* 1 (2, 1942): 34–36; Leonard Mason, "The Bikinians: A Transplanted Population," *Human Organization* 9 (1, 1950): 5–15. (When it first appeared in 1942, the journal for the Society for Applied Anthropology was titled *Applied Anthropology*. The title was changed to *Human Organization* beginning with volume 8 in 1949.)

9. Homer G. Barnett was the first civilian appointed as the staff anthropologist attached to the Office of the High Commissioner, U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. His *Anthropology in Administration* (1956) is a general discussion of the application of anthropological research, but the majority of examples are drawn from his own experience in Micronesia.

10. Alice Dewey, UH Department of Anthropology, pers. comm., April 29, 2008. Dewey was Douglas Oliver's first PhD student at Harvard and was a participant in the Java project.

11. Ben Finney, UH Department of Anthropology, pers. comm., February 25, 2008. Finney was a participant in the Society Islands project and one of Oliver's PhD students at Harvard.

12. Michael Hamnett, UH Research Corporation, pers. comm., May 29, 2008. Hamnett was a PhD student of Oliver's at Hawai'i and a participant in his second Bougainville project.

13. Doug Munro, in Munro and Lal (2006), 29–50. Munro noted that Oliver's book had a significant impact on generations of students and general readers and commented, "It was a young man's book, oozing youthful vitality but disciplined in the sense of being well paced, carefully proportioned, and adequately researched" (30).

14. In addition to his curriculum vita, two other documents were useful in preparing an account of Leonard Mason's life. Late in life, Leonard recorded his own life history, and a transcript (no date) was prepared by his daughter, Jackie Norman. Leonard's father kept extensive diaries. They served as the basis for a manuscript, "The Autobiography of Roy E. Mason," prepared by Bill Mason, Leonard's son, in 1995.

15. "16-Year Old Honor Students at Humboldt High to Earn Way at 'U,'" *St. Paul Dispatch*, April 1, 1930.

16. "Four Eagle Brothers," *Boys Life*, June 1939.

17. The authors of the Military Government Handbooks were not identified in the publications. It is known that Leonard Mason was responsible for compiling and/or drafting *Marshall Islands, Military Government Handbook* (Mason 1943). There were three other handbooks: *Civil Affairs Handbook, East Caroline Islands* (OPNAV 50E-5), February 21, 1944; *Civil Affairs Handbook, West Caroline Islands* (OPNAV 50E-7), April 1, 1944; and *Civil Affairs Handbook, Mandated Marianas Islands* (OPNAV 50E-8), April 15, 1944. The three volumes were also published in Washington, D.C.

18. At the time of this writing, Terza Meller is the only surviving spouse of the three men. She too was born in 1913. Mrs. Meller was involved with her husband's research and assisted with the writing of his two major works on Micronesia.

19. E-mail from Robert Suggs, November 28, 2007.

20. The breadth of Meller's research interests were reflected in two lengthy papers that followed research in Papua New Guinea and Japan. Meller was a research fellow at Australian National University's New Guinea Research Unit in 1968, and *Papers on the Papua-New Guinea House of Assembly, New Guinea Research Bulletin, no. 22* (Canberra: Australian National Univ.) appeared in the same year. A visiting professorship at Waseda University in Tokyo in 1969–1970 was followed by "Institutional Adaptability: Legislative Preference in Japan and the United States in 1974." The paper was published by Waseda University, but Meller's curriculum vita provides only partial information, and attempts to obtain more complete data from the university have not been successful.

21. In addition to Waseda University, Meller had visiting appointments at Australian National University, Claremont College, the University of California Berkeley, and Victoria University, British Columbia. Mason's visiting positions were at Harvard University, Hawai'i Loa College, New York University at Brockport, the University of California campuses at Riverside and Los Angeles, the University of Minnesota, and the University of Washington at Seattle.

22. The East-West Center was established by an act of Congress in 1960 to strengthen understanding among the peoples and nations of Asia, the Pacific, and the United States. It is an independent institution located adjacent to the UH campus. It sponsors research, education, training programs, and conferences concerning such issues as economic development, environment, energy, health, population trends, and peace and security.

23. Dorrance (1992, 128). For an extended discussion of the Soviet initiatives in the region, see Robert C. Kiste and Richard R. A. Herr, "The Potential for Soviet Penetration

of the South Pacific Islands: An Assessment," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, the Anti-Nuclear Movement in the South Pacific, Number Two, 1986.*

24. David L. Szanton's *The Origin, Nature, and Challenges of Area Studies in the United States* (2003) was particularly useful in preparing these remarks about the debate pertaining to area studies programs in the United States.

25. I retired from the university in 2002 and was succeeded by David Hanlon, distinguished Pacific historian, who moved from the Department of History to assume the directorship of the program. At the beginning of the fall semester of 2008, Hanlon returned to the Department of History. He was instrumental in shaping new directions for CPIS, and his tenure as director was one of marked accomplishment. Hanlon has been succeeded by Dr. Vilsoni Hereniko, award-winning playwright, filmmaker, and author. Hereniko joined CPIS in 1991 on completion of his PhD at the University of the South Pacific. Recent hires have allowed CPIS to expand to a staff of eight: five teaching faculty, a manager of publications, an outreach coordinator, and a program secretary. The affiliate faculty now number almost forty members distributed over fifteen academic departments and several other units within the university and other institutions in Honolulu, such as the Bishop Museum. Approximately thirty students are enrolled in the MA course of study each semester. A graduate certificate (essentially an academic minor) is available for students in traditional disciplines and other courses of study. An undergraduate major is being developed. Other new program initiatives are in process, and a new chapter in the history of Pacific Islands studies at the university is unfolding. The CPIS Web site is a rich source of information on the program today (http://www.hawaii.edu/cpis/).

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