

development, reminiscent of Shakespeare's "Seven Ages of Man." He also replaced the theory of racial unconscious or memory traces with the theory of the persistence of juvenile physical and psychological characteristics into adult life. Roheim left an enormous amount of valuable data relevant to Papua New Guinea and also to the world at large. The work of Erik Erikson, a leading figure in the field of human development, owes much to Roheim who was not appreciated during his lifetime. The once prevailing view, environmentalism, referred to the belief that the environment almost exclusively determined the development of human behavioral patterns. Now that the current values surrounding excessive forms of this doctrine show early erosion with the advent of modern psychosomatic medicine and sociobiology, Roheim's work might well be coming into its own. He died in New York.

RELATED ENTRIES: Papua New Guinea.

SOURCES AND READINGS: Erik Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W W Norton & Co., 1950); W B. Wilbur and W Muensterburger, *Psychoanalysis and Culture* (New York: International Universities Press, 1951). *Burton G. Burton-Bradley*

ROPITEAU, ANDRÉ (1904-1940). A Pacific savant, scholar, and friend to Pacific islanders, Ropiteau was from a well-to-do family in Bourguignon (France). He first came to the Pacific and Tahiti in 1928. He returned frequently between the years 1930-1938 where he established a residence on the island of Maupiti in the Leeward Society Islands. Ropiteau was eager to seek out documents, books, and manuscripts concerning the history of the islands. After his death, his great collection became the basis for the monumental reference work *Bibliographie de Tahiti* by Patrick O'Reilly (Paris: Musée de l'Homme, 1967, 1046 pages). His frequent articles on mythology, Tahitian life, and Pierre Loti appeared in scholarly journals throughout the Pacific and France. He served in the 227th French Infantry Regiment in World War II and was killed on 20 June 1940 just two days before the armistice was signed between France and Germany.

RELATED ENTRIES: French Polynesia; Loti, Pierre.

SOURCES AND READINGS: Patrick O'Reilly, *Portrait d'André Ropiteau, 1904-40* (Dijon: Darantière, 1940). *Robert D. Craig*

ROTUMA. A volcanic island of approximately 44 km² (17 mi²), Rotuma is located at 12° south latitude and 177° east longitude on the western fringe of

Polynesia. Physically, Rotumans show traces of Micronesian, Polynesian, and Melanesian influence. A Caucasian influence was also introduced by visiting European sailors early in the nineteenth century. The Rotuman language has some unique features that distinguish it from others in the region, but it also shows evidence of extensive borrowing from Polynesia. Rotuman legends suggest strong Samoan and Tongan influences, which may account for the Polynesian character of Rotuman culture.

The island was discovered by Captain Edwards in H.M.S. *Pandora* during 1791 while searching for the *Bounty* mutineers. Contact intensified rapidly in the early nineteenth century with whalers and labor recruiters making frequent stops. Wesleyan and Catholic missionaries established themselves soon after mid-century, resulting in a factionalism following traditional political divisions. Antagonisms continued to mount until 1878 when the Catholics were defeated in a skirmish by the numerically superior Wesleyans.

The unrest following this religious conflict induced the paramount chiefs of Rotuma's seven districts to petition England for annexation; in 1881 the island was officially ceded to Great Britain. It was decided that Rotuma be administered as part of Fiji which, being 480 km (300 mi) to the south, was the nearest Crown colony. A resident commissioner was appointed to govern it with the seven paramount chiefs forming an advisory council. Economically, copra became the main source of income.

As a result of contact with Europeans, the Rotuman population declined from an estimated 5,000 at the time of discovery, to less than 2,000 following a measles epidemic in 1911. Since then it has risen steadily, primarily as a result of improved public health and medical conditions. The Fiji census of 1976 recorded 7,389 Rotumans, with 2,805 residing on Rotuma. The majority now live in urban centers in Fiji, where they had made a remarkably successful adaptation. Rotumans are well represented in the professions and other high-status positions, with many attaining senior positions in the government bureaucracy. The relationship between Rotuma and Rotuman enclaves in Fiji is maintained by considerable mobility back and forth, as well as letters, remittances, and other forms of exchange.

For much of the time following cession, physicians were appointed as resident commissioners and later, following an administrative reorganization, as district officers. The first Rotuman, Josefo Rigamoto, was appointed district officer in 1945. Political and economic ties with Fiji have become increasingly strong, until currently Rotuma is inextricably part of the recently founded Republic of Fiji. Rotuma is

represented in the upper house of the Fiji legislature by a senator, but its representation in the lower house is as part of a larger regional division. Rotumans today are thus in the position of a minority ethnic group within Fiji's pluralistic society.

RELATED ENTRIES: Fiji.

SOURCES AND READINGS: William Eason, *A Short History of Rotuma* (Suva: Government Printer, 1951); J. Stanley Gardiner, "Natives of Rotuma," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 27 (1898): 396-435, 457-524; Alan Howard, *Learning to be Rotuman* (New York: Columbia Teachers College Press, 1970); Chris Plant, ed., *Rotuma: Split Island* (Suva: South Pacific Social Sciences Association and the Institute of Pacific Studies, 1977).

Alan Howard

ROUTLEDGE, KATHERINE PEASE (1866-1935).

Katherine Routledge was born in Darlington, Australia, and received her higher education in Oxford and Dublin. In 1906 she traveled through South Africa and Rhodesia to research the conclusion of the Boer War for the South Africa Colonization Society and Guild of Local Women. In the same year, she married anthropologist Scoresby Routledge. In 1914 she undertook the first archaeological expedition to Easter Island on her yacht, the *Mana*. During seventeen months on Easter Island, she interviewed the older islanders who remembered the legends passed down through generations. The 1914 Routledge expedition succeeded in making a detailed study of the large Easter Island statues, petroglyphs, and ancient scripts and tablets. A detailed genealogy from the gods to modern Easter Island was also published as a result of this expedition. From 1921 to 1923 she led an expedition to French Polynesia. Besides the *Mystery of Easter Island*, she wrote several other articles. She planned to write a large, scientific volume on Easter Island but died before it was completed.

RELATED ENTRIES: Easter Island.

SOURCES AND READINGS: Katherine Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island: The Story of An Expedition* (London: Sifton, Prael and Co., 1919).

David Welch

RUGE & COMPANY, H. M. Ruge and Company was an important and ill-fated trading firm in Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, and Wallis and Futuna islands in the 1870s and 1880s.

In the early 1870s Heinrich Martin Ruge arrived in Fiji and bought into the firm of F. C. Hedemann and

Co., agents of the Hamburg shipping company of Wachsmutt and Krogmann. He had previously conducted a large mercantile enterprise in South America, based at Valparaiso. In 1874 the partnership expanded into Samoa. Hedemann remained in Fiji and Ruge went to Apia and set himself up in direct opposition to J. C. Godeffroy und Sohn, another Hamburg shipping company whose Pacific branch controlled the largest trading and plantation network in Oceania.

After Godeffroys, Hedemann-Ruge was the most extensive trading company operating in Samoa. Between them, these two firms exercised a dominating influence over the commerce of Samoa and Tonga. By 1879 they had cornered 87 percent of the export trade from these two groups and 79 percent of imports passed through their hands. Ruge's tactics emulated those of his larger rival. As the representative of an extraterritorial company, he too could call on heavy overseas capital backing to underwrite his expansion. The Ruge company also imported large quantities of debased South American currency, the use of which disadvantaged their competitors since it lost much of its face value on export. Ruge also involved himself in local politics for the sake of his business interests and was at one with the Godeffroy management in calling for the German annexation of Samoa. Lastly, Ruge established an interisland trading network along the same lines as Godeffroys'. These two companies keenly contested the lucrative Tongan copra trade, the area in which Ruge was most actively involved. His ships also plied nearby island groups, such as Wallis and Futuna islands. A lesser interest was the copra trade of the island groups to the northwest of Samoa.

For the next decade the two German firms maintained their dominant position in Samoa and Tonga. In 1879-1880 Godeffroys exported 5,000 tons of copra to Ruge's 2,400 tons; by 1884-1885 these figures had risen to 7,050 tons and 3,200 tons respectively. The extent of German interests exceeded those of all other nationalities combined. In 1880, for example, the value of German exports from Apia reached £44,000 as against a figure of £8,000 for other nationalities.

Nevertheless, Hedemann-Ruge's Apia establishment did not survive the difficult years of the 1880s when the European market price for copra spiraled ever downwards. A combination of personal extravagance and poor management compounded Ruge's difficulties. He was a man of considerable personal charm who entertained generously and who sought creature comforts for himself. His first concern upon arriving in Apia was the construction of a handsome