

Neil Gunson, ed., *The Changing Pacific--Essays in Honour of H. E. Maude*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978. Pp. 360. \$39.50.

Gunson has drawn together a collection of essays which are useful not only because they add to the small body of existing literature on the Pacific, but also because they reflect Maude's vast scholarly contributions to Pacific studies. Thus Maude as a focus has drawn in a collection of papers by scholars from several disciplines preeminent for their work in the Pacific.

Three themes pervade this collection--themes which are also found throughout Maude's work. Firstly there is a concern for time depth as an important facet of understanding some aspect of society in the present. Secondly, some papers reflect a concern for the data to show itself rather than to fit any a priori structural principles. This often means that a central topic is examined from a broad viewpoint with minimal emphasis on either functional integration, psychological, material or political as a theoretical stance. Thirdly there is a concern with the indigenous view of life rather than with the outsider's analytical concerns. The geographical spread of these essays is somewhat wider than Maude's own geographical coverage of the Central Pacific, an area which might have remained unknown had it not been for his stimulation.

The importance of consideration of both past and present is the pervading feature of a great number of papers in this collection. Spate looks at the issue of whether history starts with European reports. Lundsgaarde examines changes in Gilbertese *maneaba* (meeting house) organization up to the present, though he fails to point out that this is not a feature of all Gilbertese island communities now. Oliver's paper also covers the salient changes in the organization of land tenure in Tahiti over the last 150 years. He presents an alternative structure of Polynesian land-holding groups to the Sahlins (1958) and Goldman (1970) pyramidal model by focusing on the integration with one another of groups holding land, rather than focusing on the internal divisions of the groups themselves. However, this structure has been drastically affected by French registration and codification of lands which divides lands per nuclear family thereby leading to individual control.

Dening also shows how early accounts report on violence in the Marquesas which he argues was integral to that society. The search for sacrificial victims led to raids on enemy groups. These were usually fellow-Marquesans but occasionally outsiders. Dening's viewpoint is that as life as an ancestor follows death, so peace (temporarily) followed these

upheavals. Another view of violence shows it as encapsulated in symbolic slaying of an effigy on Niue as discussed in Luomala's paper. Also following the ethnohistorical line, Shineberg shows how missionary medicine was practiced alongside local medicine in pre-Christian Tonga, so a little bleeding, potions and pills matched local treatments and thus became part of the notion that faith is the strongest healer. McArthur's discussion of mortality rates on Aneityum follows in similar vein, subtly suggesting that the congregating of people in a restricted space such as a church may have accentuated the spread of disease.

Following one of Maude's own themes quite closely is the paper by Hezel on beachcombers in the Carolines. He sees them as agents of cultural change but having fairly minimal impact as they tended to "go native" and lacked for the most part the material accouterments of western society. Nevertheless, in Ponape and Truk they did influence trading and political alignments for a brief period in the 1850s. Lambert also discusses political change in his paper on chiefs in Butaritari and Makin in the Gilberts. West selects an alternative approach to change through the concept of a moving frontier in New Guinea. He shows that missions and mining and later Government law and order moves had differential impacts on bringing New Guinea society into wider contacts.

Yet another ethnohistorical approach, this one emphasizing the impact of the conquest culture on Marianas' society is raised in Spoehr's paper. He shows how the structural form of family and kinship organization in that society is a particular product of conquest culture. An important consideration he raises concerns the cultural affinity of the Marianas because if we accept that the source of change is the Philippines and has a major molding effect, then the Spanish influence puts the Marianas in a closer relationship with the Philippines and Spanish America than with the rest of the Pacific societies. Lessa also raises the question of cultural affinity and origins for the Mapia Islanders, inhabitants of a group of islands off the northern coast of West New Guinea. This paper is valuable both for bringing to light a little known group through survey of European and Japanese records of shipwrecked sailors, travelers, and German ethnologists, and also for the concern as to whether Mapia Islanders should be classified as Melanesian, Micronesian, or Indonesian.

Another aspect of Maude's work brought out in this collection is his concern for the people's own view of the development of their culture, and this is underlined by his demands that students have a rigorous control of the language in order to understand the changing pattern of any Pacific society. Such an inside/outside view shows in some of the papers

mentioned above but also in Kaeppler's paper on Tongan funerals where she usefully combines descriptive details of people's reasons for being present at a particular funeral and the gifts exchanged with the structural details of the importance of the *fahu* and other status factors in Tongan social relationships.

The inside/outside view is also combined in Chowning's paper on changing ceremonies, i.e. those borrowed through trading connections with neighbors among the Kove of West New Britain. This paper also highlights the trading of ideas along with goods. Emory's paper on food division and Freeman's on a struggle between two aspiring Samoan *Matai* both provide outsider's descriptions of details of an inside event. Similarly, Lewis, as a very experienced navigator but interested in alternative means of navigation, gives us a detailed account of marine technology and its importance in the changing Pacific.

Perhaps the most different paper in this collection is the one by Silverman on understanding Oceanic kinship, not only because it is more abstract than the rest but because it raises some real issues as to how outsiders can ever come to grips with understanding something so different as another culture. Having a grasp of the language may help a little, but how can we as outsiders ever understand the intricate conceptualization of something so vital as the relationship between people and their land? Silverman points out that the reality of relations needs points of positive reinforcement like getting together at weddings, funerals, etc., but at the same time we must appreciate that the intricacy of social relations leads to different pictures of the social structure.

This is an exciting set of papers, well set out, with few glaring misprints or errors. The papers are brief and succinct; the major omission is that each paper has only a very short or sometimes no conclusion at all. Some papers rely too heavily on indigenous terms for the new Pacific scholar. But the collection stands as a worthy testament to the man it sets out to honor.

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