

he has made this essay the most important contribution to the history of the Gilbert Islands that has ever been made. The contrast between the characters of father and son is very well done; and for entertainment, this scholarly essay competes with Sir Arthur Grimble's *Pattern of Islands*. Dr Deryck Scarr's second contribution, 'Recruits and Recruiters', seems to the reviewer much more successful than his first. Much has been written on the 'blackbirding' trade in the Pacific; but this 'portrait of the labour trade', based on a wide knowledge of unpublished sources, gives us much new and enlightening detail, especially on the period after the Pacific Islanders' Protection Acts of the 1870s. Mr Peter Corris follows with an interesting short study of Kwaisulia of Ada Gege (an artificial island off the North-east coast of Mala or Malaita). He was a chief unusually successful in turning European arms and trade goods to his advantage in an area where personal power is far from easy to achieve. Dr Davidson's final essay on Lauaki Namulau'ulu Mamoe treats of some forty eventful years of Samoan history from 1866 from the unusual angle of an able member of the 'orator' class.

The book as a whole is a very significant contribution to the study of Pacific Island history in depth, which has made marked progress in recent years. There are some useful maps and some good plates. The footnotes are at the end — so convenient for printers, so inconvenient for readers.

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*The Works of Ta'unga. Records of a Polynesian Traveller in the South Seas 1833-1896.* Edited by R. G. & Marjorie Crocombe. Pacific History Series No. 2, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1968. xiii, 164 pp. Australian price: \$6.00.

*A Cruise in a Queensland Labour Vessel to the South Seas.* By W. E. Giles. Edited by Deryck Scarr. Pacific History Series No. 1, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1968. xiv, 124 pp. 6 plates. Australian price: \$5.00.

*Of Islands and Men: Studies in Pacific History.* By H. E. Maude. O.U.P., Melbourne, 1968. xxii, 397 pp. 20 plates, 19 figs. Australian price: \$8.75.

THE FIRST two volumes inaugurate a series of hitherto unpublished primary sources 'of importance to historians and others interested in the Pacific islands'.

Ta'unga was an early L.M.S. missionary teacher settled at Tuaura in south-eastern New Caledonia from 1842-45. His scattered letters are here assembled and translated by the two editors and annotated with the help of three leading experts in the field.

In general, the result is well worthwhile. Ta'unga's Rarotongan has been rendered with much felicity though the English is sometimes a little stilted, and even unfamiliar, witness *betrotte* on p. 102 and an odd use of *fraught* on p. 72. Ta'unga's own renderings of missionary and place names have unfortunately been relegated to square brackets. The editors thus write Henry [Hanere] rather than Hanere [Henry] and Tana [Tanna (which is correct)] instead of Tanna [Tana].

The annotation of the narrative is often perfunctory. It is dubious, for example, whether, as Dr Gunson says, sabbatarian teaching was 'usually not difficult to introduce in societies which already accepted the concept of sacred days [sic] during which certain practices were forbidden' (p. 37). It is untrue that the Samoan Sualo was instrumental in bringing teachers to Efate. Their acceptance was facilitated by a marital crisis involving Sualo's sister, the wife of the local chief, which a Maori sailor thought could only be resolved by the Gospel — at which point the *John Williams* sailed into the bay. It may also be questioned whether the prevalence of cannibalism in New Caledonia in the 1840s confirms — as Professor Guiart argues — Leenhardt's view that the practice was largely motivated by hunger for meat. The Fijians and the New Caledonians alike were well supplied with pigs. The real reason would seem to have been the collapse of former *tabu* in the midst of a social and demographic crisis. On p. 108 Ta'unga perhaps naturally does not explain feud (*vendetta*) very well, but the footnote scarcely helps, which is a pity since feud is the motor of all tribal history. It should also be noted (p. 118) that the United Secession Church of Scotland did not 'lose its enthusiasm' for New Caledonia. Warned off by the L.M.S. in 1842, that Church turned to a more difficult field still, Old Calabar, its interests in the South Seas subsequently passing to the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia and the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

For the rest, Ta'unga's chronicle is somewhat disappointing. He was a convinced, disciplined Christian, with a mind of his own — indeed, he positively refused to accept missionary direction in his settlement. He wrote for a critical Christian public at home which he knew would disapprove of much he saw in a heathen land. He thus writes not as a native with a sympathetic awareness of the problems confronting his would-be converts, but as an outsider, almost as a European. The New Caledonians are, he says, a wild, naked crowd, who speak like turkeys, and know no shame. Their only virtue is that they do not fornicate as the Christian Rarotongans do. He nonetheless throws a vivid light on events in Eastern Melanesia in the early contact period, notably the establishment of the Tanna mission and the Mare and Tuauru ventures, the massacre of the sandal-wooder Ebrill and the teachers at the Isle of Pines, and in particular the terrible epidemic of 1842 but for which the Loyalty Islands and New Caledonia might well have been converted as quickly and dramatically as his own islands had been. In the event, as he notes, he had to withdraw, and spent the rest of his career in Samoa where he is still held to have visited the underworld before dying at an advanced age in his native land.

W. E. Giles's diary deals with a very different phase in Melanesian history, and will perhaps attract a wider readership. Dr Scarr's contributions are typically racy and informative, though his annotations are not always accurate. Some place names are misspelt, and there are some geographical slips. There are also one or two sins of omission. On p. 70, for example, he omits to point out that Leper's Island (Aoba) received its name from the prevalence of *tinia circinatus* (ringworm), not from the light colour of the Aoban skin. It is also worth noting that Giles in fact refers to sandalwood stations on the Yora in Big Bay, Espiritu Santo, as well as at Pusei — which settles an old problem. And the three swarthy figures in the plate facing p. 35 are Big Nambas from Malekula.

The editor's long 32-page introduction is perhaps the most useful short sketch of the so-called labour trade so far published. He gives an interesting account of the recruiting of Melanesian labourers — though perhaps he exaggerates the outflow from some islands; of the character of government agents and the masters of recruiting vessels — a hard-bitten lot in general; of conditions aboard recruiting vessels — apparently none too good. Here one may note that his Europeans go down with fever (malaria), the natives with 'dysentery', 'bred of bad water' — a typical concomitant of malaria. He also describes conditions on the canefields and the shocking mortality rate of some plantations — though he does not quite see that the Melanesian was dying just as fast at home from similar causes. He writes too of the effect of the labour acts but strangely misses the impact of the anti-musket legislation of 1884 on recruitment in the islands. In general, however, his verdict is more favourable to the trade than Parnaby's — so far as this voyage was concerned at any rate, there is no indication that force was used to secure recruits.

Giles's journal describes a single voyage, that of the *Bobtail Nag* in 1877. His purpose was simply to see conditions for himself. He returned unimpressed. For him the Melanesian was an idle, naked, smelly cannibal, the recruiters a violent, drunken lot with a rather too casual regard for the regulations. His account of the recruiting process in short hardly permits of any substantial modification of existing views of the traffic and might indeed reinforce them. What he does make clear is the precarious economics of the business in its latter years, a factor which finally helped to bring it to an end. Though 110 recruits in 118 days was a pretty good bag in 1877, it was hard, dangerous work, and perilously slow, particularly when yams ran out and sickness, chiefly malaria, struck. In consequence it was often necessary for recruiters to cut corners and ignore regulations, if only in the interests of landing their recruits alive. Giles, then, is no real help in elucidating this vital chapter in Melanesian history; for that we must still 'go bush' and pick up what we can from surviving native informants. His journal is in fact chiefly valuable for its account of the rapid growth of European influence in the New Hebrides in the late seventies which precluded the Higginson's massive land grab in the eighties.

The last work, by contrast, is a collection of essays published at intervals — unfortunately not specified — in various journals by the doyen of Pacific Islands history, Mr H. E. Maude. It goes without saying that errors are few, though the New Zealand reader will wonder at Duaterra for Ruatara. For the rest, as the author explains, the volume is not distinguished by any uniformity of style — the range of subjects scarcely permits this. His prose is nonetheless clear and workmanlike, though marred by the occasional misrelated participle. One may also cavil at the lack of any chronological or subject order in the arrangement of the chapters and, more seriously, the lack of an index.

Mr Maude is a master of early Pacific source material and he has seen or lived on all the islands he describes. Chapter II — if we may re-order his offering — on Spanish discoveries in the central Pacific is a model of its kind. So he identifies Mendana's Isle of Jesus (1568) with Nui and, in an even more brilliant piece of deduction, Mendana's San Barnardo of 1595 with Pukapuka. He is of course not the first to straighten out Quiros's track after Hao — the essential clue was provided by Caillet in 1884 —

but he is a surer and more convincing guide than either Sharp or Kelly. Chapter III on post-Spanish discoveries in the Central Pacific is a gentle but crushing riposte to the extravagant claims of the American Guano Act of 1856, re-iterated in a presidential order of 13 May 1936, concerning the discovery and ownership of thirty-two islands in the Central Pacific, which must surely constitute the last word on that subject.

Various other chapters are likewise hardly likely to be superseded, notably Chapter I describing the original settlement of Pitcairn and Chapter VII on the well-meant but unfortunate attempt in 1831 — quickly abandoned — by a forgiving British government to re-settle the tiny community on Tahiti. One can only complain that their author has not so far found the opportunity to continue the story.

His chapters on the Tahitian pork trade (Chap. V) and the coconut oil trade of the Gilberts (Chap. VI) are minor masterpieces, clear demonstrations of what can still be done in apparently unpromising fields of inquiry. The ethnohistorian may nonetheless well dissent from some of his conclusions, in particular the suggestion that the pork trade provided the Pomare dynasty with the means to conquer the island and unite it for all time. Pigs were hard to get as early as 1809 and in any case the convulsion in Europe left few muskets over for dispatch to the South Seas. There were still insufficient firearms in Tahiti in 1815 to affect the result seriously. The plain fact is that Pomare was *arii nui* of Tahiti and was recognized as such. His real crime was agnosticism and his tendency to convert his ceremonial chieftainship into an effective authority. As the Tongan example shows, external influence was hardly required to produce a Polynesian king. Clearly, the importance of the new breed of Spanish pigs, introduced in 1772, is exaggerated here.

The two chapters on Beachcombers and Castaways (Chap. IV) and the Coconut Oil Trade of the Gilbert Islands (Chap. VI) perhaps naturally overlap. In the first the list of castaways is not complete. Martin Cortal is absent and John Renton of Sulufou. Here again, one may dispute some of Mr Maude's conclusions. In his view, for example, though the influence of the beachcombers was at an end by 1830, it proved conclusive. They utterly altered the racial stock in the Gilberts so that few pure-blooded Gilbertese remained, an observation which applies to Polynesia as well; to which it may be replied that casual liaisons probably had as much influence as more permanent arrangements — and that in any case, a few Europeans could hardly have had so much impact but for the rapid course of depopulation, which indeed they helped to stem. Similarly, Mr Maude argues that by introducing a new offensive weapon, the beachcombers altered the whole balance of power; so Savage changed the entire course of Fijian history, Kamehameha conquered Hawaii, Pomare Tahiti. There is no evidence that the musket made much difference anywhere in Polynesia. The Marquesans for example simply backed out of range; the Maori still preferred to fight hand to hand. The history of Fiji in fact owed more in the short run to an unpremeditated Tongan charge at Rewa in 1854 than to a solitary marksman who died in 1813. Kamehameha had virtually to wait until all his chief enemies were dead — from disease — before he asserted his authority. Finally, according to Mr Maude, the beachcomber sowed the seeds of agnosticism 'which performed a corresponding service for the missionary'. Those seeds had been sown long before, by Cook. It

may indeed be suggested that his second chapter on the coconut oil trade undermines his case. Bob Currie of Maiana conducted schools before the missionaries arrived. Robert Waters of Vaitupu tried to persuade the Vaitupu people to give up toddy and accept the Gospel. George Durant and in particular Richard Randall were not very different from many of their predecessors, as Mr Maude says, devout and temperate, though polygamous in the local fashion. Randall he thinks probably did more for the ultimate benefit of the Gilbertese than anyone else before or since — even the missionaries, or Grimble or Maude.

Two other chapters deserve brief mention. One is a bit of ethnohistory on the Rarotongan sandalwood trade in which Mr Maude and his collaborator, Mrs Crocombe, show how closely oral tradition can correspond with the European account of an early contact. Chapter VIII is an essay in 'participant history' in which the author describes in endearingly modest terms his part in the resettlement of overcrowded Gilbertese in the Phoenix Islands in 1937-9. As an ex-colonial official responsible for a number of similar ventures he is dubious about their chances of success unless certain criteria are satisfied. He is moreover inclined to think that such schemes can prove only temporary palliatives and that the final answer will probably lie in drastic population control.

All in all, this is a fascinating but frustrating work. Much of it is Pacific history of a kind which should be recorded. But it is preoccupied with *papalangi*, foreigners, who have passed through or lived in the Pacific and so influenced it. These essays as a whole then are thoroughly Eurocentric. Even in the last two chapters Europeans still break through, as if they were utterly essential in the process of change. Mr Maude thus writes of the 'discovery' of endless islands, every one of which was originally discovered and settled by Polynesians or Micronesians. He writes with equal authority of European settlers, whether mutineers, or beachcombers, and ascribes to them an overwhelming importance. The Polynesian has apparently no independent history. His kings are European puppets, kept in place by foreign weapons. Even his religion is a sort of hand-me-down. In short, a Pacific Islander reading this book may well be reduced to despair. And this is a pity for Mr Maude is perhaps better qualified than anyone to write a genuine Pacific history, as his recent essay on the Gilbertese *boti* — not printed here — shows. That history is still quite accessible though time is rapidly running out, and it is of intense interest to the modern Polynesian. What is needed is really only a change of preoccupation, which we must surely look for in Mr Maude's new book on the Gilbertese.

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*Philippine Nationalism: External Challenge and Filipino Response, 1565-1946.* By Usha Mahajani. University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1971. xv, 530 pp. Price not given.

DR MAHAJANI'S previous book was the well-known *The Role of Indian Minorities in Burma and Malaya* (Bombay, 1960). Her interest in Philippine nationalism arose during a visit of 1963, designed to study U.S. aid programmes (p. vii). 'My observations of the resurgence of Filipino anti-