tional leaders, were also discussed by its predecessors in the 1970s (who also extensively toured the country). But there have been changes to the agenda. Almost nobody now seems to favor a continued link with the British monarchy (even the governor general's own submission is noncommittal). A woman is now on the committee, and a submission from the National Council of Women recommends constitutional amendments against wife-beating and rape (while a tour report records the countersuggestion of constitutional amendments to keep women in their traditional place). And the process of review is now carried out without foreign advisers and consultants. At least two themes are of wider relevance to the South Pacific. First, the continuing pressure to incorporate traditional leaders ("chiefs") into the formal structures of government and to qualify liberal constitutional provisions for individual rights. Second, the fate of constitutional reviews: a similar committee reported in Papua New Guinea in 1983, for example, but only some of its report has been debated by parliament. Meanwhile, piecemeal constitutional amendments continue to be proposed by members of parliament, not necessarily following the review's recommendations.

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Return to the High Valley: Coming Full Circle, by Kenneth E. Read. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986. xxi + 269 pp, photographs, index. US$18.95.

As I started *Return to the High Valley,* I harbored some doubts about the book. Although the book was very good reading, I wasn't quite sure that it was "good" anthropology. I soon realized that Read, with his eloquent and accessible writing style, offers an excellent and engaging description of the changing world of the Gahuku Gama of the Papua New Guinea Highlands. He has given us what is perhaps the best anthropology available these days.

Read describes *Return* as a postscript to his earlier book, *The High Valley* (1965), but *Return* stands on its own. I do not doubt, though, that the new book will stimulate many to either read or reread the older work, and thus enrich their understanding of the Gahuku. In *Return,* Read embarks on a voyage of self-discovery, returning to a world unseen for three decades. In trying to understand the present, he constantly bumps into the past. Indeed, just as he expanded his knowledge and understanding of the Gahuku through comparing the present with the past while he was there, so too does he teach us by weaving the past and present together, presenting a changing tapestry of Gahuku culture.

Read charts the course of change from the immediate postwar period to the beginning of the eighties. He contends that the people of Susuroka village, where he lived among the Gahuku, far from mourning their lost past and passively receiving imposed Western institutions and cultural patterns, are rather pragmatic, taking the main chance offered by contact with the outside world.

The Gahuku showed no regrets

about leaving a violent and bloody past that was dominated by warfare and, for men, the painful initiation into the *Nama* cult. The age of constant warring, brought to a close by the Australian colonial administration, was not the Gahuku "golden age"; Susuroka villagers don't spend their time reflecting and romanticizing about "the good old days." The end of fighting, coupled with the opportunities arising from increased contact with the outside world, precipitated major changes in Gahuku society and culture.

Read traces the demise of the *Nama* cult directly to the cessation of warfare. Initiation made men "hard," able warriors. But it was hard work to make a man, to insure the completion of the uncertain process of masculinization. With the need for "hard" men gone, and with no mythic charter for the practice, the pragmatic Gahuku abandoned the institution: Read witnessed the last such initiation in 1951.

The disappearance of the sacred *Nama* flutes also signaled changes in male-female relationships. In making themselves "hard," men also suppressed women. The passing of the cult, and the introduction of a colonial (now national) court system that provided women with an external appeal system, forever altered the position and role of women in Gahuku society.

Gahuku pragmatism extends to economic changes. In the early 1950s, they readily experimented with new Western crops (and even sheep) on sheer speculation. For some, the experimentation paid off. Today, in addition to being established in the coffee business, many from Susuroka find employment in nearby Goroka. Between those leaving the village for work, and children in school all day, Read found the village a quiet, deserted place in the daylight hours, compared to his earlier visit. Even the daily pattern of Gahuku life had changed.

Not all people benefited equally from the new opportunities. Traditional leaders, the manipulators of Gahuku society, were able to adapt to the changed circumstances, using their skills in the new economic and political arenas. Young people, who were infants or small children when Read first visited Susuroka, do relatively well in the changed world: after all, it is the world in which they were enculturated. But the young men of the 1950s, those just initiated or approaching initiation age, were the least prepared and capable of capitalizing on the new opportunities: socialized for a past era, they formed the "lost generation" of Gahuku.

Read deals with far more than the material changes to life in Susuroka. Much of the book traces the restructuring of personal and group relationships, within and between generations. Read also puzzles over changes to the Gahuku world view. Ever the astute and perceptive anthropologist, he knows that his vision is not the vision of his hosts. He modestly and frequently cautions readers that although this is how *he* may see the Gahuku world, it is not necessarily how the Gahuku *themselves* see it.

Abandoning absolute cultural relativism, Read decries the gaudier aspects of Western culture adopted by the Susuroka villages and their neighbors. His distaste for some of the modern, Western-based elements of High-

land New Guinea culture leads us to reflect on ourselves: What is our culture's role and impact elsewhere? What have we given, what have we contributed, to others? Have we made their lives better, by offering an absolutist ethic to substitute for their secular ethic (where moral obligations stem from social obligations)? And why have we done it? Pragmatic as the Gahuku are, it is hard not to see them as victims of marginal incorporation into the Western world.

This is an intensely personal book, one that teaches us as much about the anthropologist and his relationship with people as it does about the people themselves. It is also Read's lasting tribute to Makis, his friend and key informant. Makis' ghost haunts the book and the people in it. Appropriately, the book closes with personal reconciliations that put the ghost to rest.

Read's book should not be missed. Clearly and evocatively written, it can be understood and appreciated by general reader and specialist alike. Only time will tell, but I believe that *Return to the High Valley* will take its place as one of the classic works in anthropology.

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The Bishops' Progress: A Historical Ethnography of Catholic Missionary Experience on the Sepik Frontier, by Mary Taylor Huber. Smithsonian Series in Ethnographic Inquiry. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988. xii + 264 pp, maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. US$29.95.

Mary Taylor Huber first encountered missionaries in Papua New Guinea while assisting her husband on fieldwork at Wamu village in the Sepik district. She also encountered anthropologists' reactions to them: distaste, skepticism about their task, and hostility toward "what often seems an uninformed a priori condemnation of indigenous ways of life" (4). Anthropologists, she concluded, have adopted "a critical stance" toward missionaries "seldom adopted in their approach to the study of native peoples," and have generally cast their accounts of them "in the ironic mode" (4–5).

Intrigued by what she saw and heard of mission-villager relations, Huber chose to make the Catholic missionaries of Wewak, capital of the Sepik district, the subject of her dissertation. Her informants were her subjects, the missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word, and the Koil Islanders, migrant settlers in the town, among whom she lived. She also used public mission and government records, but no manuscript sources such as letters and diaries.

Huber's interest lies not so much in the changes wrought by the missionaries on the lives of the people of the Sepik as in how the missionaries' experience of living and working in the Sepik molded and changed the missionary project itself. She explores the adaptations the missionaries were forced to make by their environment: "the inevitable contradictions between local imperatives and metropolitan ideals" (xi).