

The impact of these encounters, Mosko argues, was a radical change in Mekeo and Roro society that was “anything but an easy transition from chiefly to colonial hierarchy” (285).

Though the approach put forth by the essays in this volume is valuable, the collection as a whole is not without some problematic points. For example, there is a heavy focus on Polynesia and Melanesia, with little attention given to the Islands and Islanders that make up Micronesia. Further, aside from the work of Mosko and Bonnemère and Lemonnier, the essays tend to shy away from the violent nature of many of the encounters described. Though the focus of the volume is very much on the multivalent nature of encounter, the brutality of those interactions should continue to be recognized and evaluated.

As a whole, however, this thoughtful collection incorporates a wide range of valuable scholarship. The fresh takes offered on oft-examined sources and the commitment to a more nuanced understanding of “encounter” make this volume an important contribution to the ongoing critical discussion of the ways in which we can evaluate interactions among groups of Pacific Islanders, and between Pacific Islanders and the myriad Europeans who visited or stayed on those Islanders’ shores.

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Moving Images: John Layard, Fieldwork and Photography on Malakula since 1914, by Haidy Geismar and Anita Herle. Adelaide: Crawford House Publishing, in association with University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2009. ISBN 978-1-86333-319-1, xii + 308 pages, 240 dual-tone photographs, maps, index. Cloth, A\$89.95.

This fine book is an important contribution to both the history of anthropology and the history of Vanuatu. John Layard’s fieldwork, primarily on Atchin and Vao in Northeast Malakula in 1914 and 1915, was contemporaneous with Bronislaw Malinowski’s first trip to New Guinea, but Layard has not been accorded the same status as a “founding father” of British social anthropology in the conventional genealogies of the discipline. Paradoxically perhaps, Layard has been more positively remembered in those “small islands” where he lived for barely nine months than in academic annals. This book both reveals and transforms his Janus face in these twin genealogies.

The authors articulate these histories through the medium of Layard’s photographs. Using a cumbersome early camera he produced about 450 images. He deposited the glass plate negatives with and donated selected copy prints to the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. The fragile materiality of these photographs is consummately evoked from the first image: the back of Tawas, paddling his canoe laden with fresh food and water and John Layard, perched precariously behind the frame of his large camera and tripod. The

image bears the marks of its passage: a sinuous black line testifies to a tear and peeling emulsion; a fingerprint is smeared on Tawas's spine. The authors' observation is apt: "Layard's photographs . . . continually reference both the anthropologist's presence and the dynamic interactions outside the frame" (4). There are more formal photos: the "stone men" megaliths and slit gong orchestras planted on dancing grounds, male club houses, the ritual of the Maki through which men assumed titles, individual and family portraits (all individuals are meticulously named). Yet the stunning front cover image is symptomatic: a boy returning from his initiation, "the pilgrimage to Oba" (Ambae), whirling in celebration on a boat, where salty spume and rhythmic dance condense in a white wave of movement. Layard did not heed the anthropological manuals of the period whereby frontal and profile portraits were enjoined to assist the comparative anthropometry of race. Rather, it is a Malakulan couple who measure the "white man": intrigued by Layard's long nose, they scarify their daughter's shoulder with a mark of identical length, a memento of Layard in her skin reproduced in the eye of his camera (295–296).

The girl has her back turned to us, as do most other women Layard photographed, a sign of deference to men as much as shyness with strangers. We rarely see female faces except in family portraits or in the distance in ceremonies. Yet in a set of somber photographs at Père Jamond's Roman Catholic Mission station on Vao, women and men commingle, their long, modest dresses and shirts and trousers signaling conversion.

Layard's resolutely masculine perspective on Malakulan *kastom* is palpable: men and boys stand confidently facing the camera, often with hands on hips or stretched wide, smiling in informal groups, and more often standing solemnly beside stone megaliths or slit gongs. All Layard's main interlocutors and friends were men. He celebrated the pleasures of male company, especially with Buremin, "my chief linguistic instructor, song-maker and organizer of my evening singing parties" (128). Buremin wanted to travel to England but Layard refused to let him because "I felt sure he would have died with boredom and the strangeness of it all" (128). Buremin appears in different moods: in one portrait beaming with pride (129), in another, majestically erect, face and torso blackened with soot and etched in lime to simulate a hawk (a symbol of man's soaring spiritual ascent in the Maki), wearing a superb pandanus apron from Ambae, finely plaited and dyed red by women (33 and back cover).

Indigenous agency has been much celebrated of late across a range of seemingly "European" sources: texts, paintings, engravings, photographs. Here it is indubitably present, if in markedly masculine mode, in the cross-cultural encounters captured by Layard's camera. Layard's ethnography was focused on recording *kastom* rather than the "coming of the white man," which he saw as having initiated a tragic history of misunderstanding and violent destruction (147–168). Several photographs record the activities of missionaries and traders. We see how Malakulans appropriated some foreign things with alacrity.

Introduced cloth is everywhere—calico loincloths and leather straps instead of pandanus penis sheaths and bark belts, cotton skirts in lieu of “grass.” A consecrated whaler boat was used instead of a canoe on the initiation journey to Ambae (245–256). Indigenous agency is also attested by absence: there are no images of the interiors of male clubhouses and those more covert phases of male initiation to which Layard’s camera was likely denied entry.

Layard’s life in England after Malakula was less happy. The rigors of fieldwork, his father’s mental illness, and his brother’s death in World War One induced psychological upheavals and incapacity to work. He was successively in therapy with his adored supervisor W H R Rivers (until their split and Rivers’s early death in 1922); the unorthodox Homer Lane; and, from 1936, Carl Jung, in a protracted mutual psychoanalysis. Much has been made of his psychological turbulence and the homoerotic dimension of his early emotional life and later associations with W H Auden and Christopher Isherwood in Berlin in 1929, where Auden saved him from an attempted suicide. Although he was vilified as “loony Layard” and extruded from the dominant lineage of British social anthropology, Layard’s magnum opus *Stone Men of Malekula* (finally published in 1942) and several papers in anthropological and psychoanalytic journals reveal a creative combination of ethnographic experience and scholarly theory. While adjudged “old-fashioned” by British functionalist anthropologists, *Stone Men* has proved of enduring worth for both foreign and ni-Vanuatu ethnog-

raphers. As Anita Herle perceptively points out, both his diffusionist and psychoanalytic theories privileged stratigraphy, the layering of culture and mind through traumatic intrusions (116). Despite later satisfactions—collaboration with Tom Harrisson in talks for the BBC, belated scholarly creativity, a psychoanalytic practice, marriage to Doris Dingwall, and the birth of his son Richard (later a distinguished economist)—Layard was often plagued by debilitating self-criticism. It is agonizing to read the scrawled corrections on successive drafts of his unpublished autobiography, “History of a Failure” (1946–1967). Until his death in 1974 he hoped to complete later volumes about Malakula. He reminisced about how ni-Vanuatu had adopted him as a young man and how people in South West Bay spoke of earlier immigrants in large sea-going canoes: “white-skinned,” with long “aquiline noses,” “definitely not Polynesian, but ‘just like me’” (149).

Layard’s photographs have catalyzed positive memories in Vanuatu. In chapter 7, Kirk Huffman traces the fascinating intersection between Layard’s recording of *kastom* and his own project of cultural revitalization as curator of the New Hebrides Cultural Centre from 1973 (205–244). Huffman met Layard and his wife in Oxford before first visiting Malakula and carried copies of Layard’s photos, papers, and recorded messages from Layard. Chief Along of Atchin and other old men on Vao remembered “Mista Jon” or “T’soni” as a man who often recorded songs (on a wax cylinder phonograph), wore the *nambas* (penis sheath), and participated in rituals. They recorded reciprocal mes-

sages for Layard telling of friends long dead, remembering the killing of seven Presbyterian missionaries in 1914, the last Maki on Atchin in 1942, and their eventual conversion to Christianity. They bemoaned the loss of kastom, although less intensely on Catholic Vao than on Atchin, where most had converted to the Seventh-Day Adventist religion.

Haidy Geismar continues the story from 2003 in her superb chapter on “visualising the past on Atchin and Vao” (257–292). She highlights how people incorporate photographic images into historical narratives. Her project, a collaboration with Numa Fred Longga of the Malakula Cultural Centre, not only entailed repatriating photographs from foreign museums to source communities to foster the national reanimation of kastom; it also occasioned indigenous documentation and reflection. Her interlocutors were eager to retrace Layard’s steps. In many of her restaged photos, senior men simulate ancestors in situ and embody connections, for example, by touching slit gongs on ancient dancing grounds to emphasize contemporary claims to their ancestral ples (place).

Geismar acknowledges how, given “the gender segregation that is at the heart of much customary knowledge and practice on Malakula” (264), men, and especially older men, dominated public meetings and official recordings while women rather discussed Layard’s photos in private with her. She was subject to “complex, hierarchical and often restrictive politics around knowledge transmission” (264), restricted by both gender and seniority. Layard’s *Stone Men of Malekula*, as “an embodiment of male

ancestral authority, has been co-opted by elder men [to] maintain traditional gendered hierarchies of authority” (268). That book’s stunning graphic images are widely circulated and the text is locally seen as an accurate record of genealogies, histories, and local language. In such processes of “cultural reawakening,” Geismar stresses, images of the past can make things happen in the present. This book is a superb testament to that.

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Surviving Paradise: One Year on a Disappearing Island, by Peter Rudiak-Gould. New York: Sterling Publishing, 2009. ISBN cloth, 978-1-4027-6664-0; xi + 242 pages, acknowledgments. Cloth, US\$21.95.

Greg Denning’s metaphoric islands and beaches remind us just how painful culture crossings can be—how difficult it often is for individuals to successfully traverse the boundaries that help define who we are and how we understand the world around us. Peter Rudiak-Gould’s *Surviving Paradise: One Year on a Disappearing Island* is a narrative of one such crossing. It is a contemporary memoir of the author’s endeavor to navigate the metaphorical beach that ostensibly separates his own American culture and the culture in which he was immersed for a year as a volunteer teacher on Ujae Atoll in the Marshall Islands. The result is a candid—and at times callous—reflection on the commensurability of