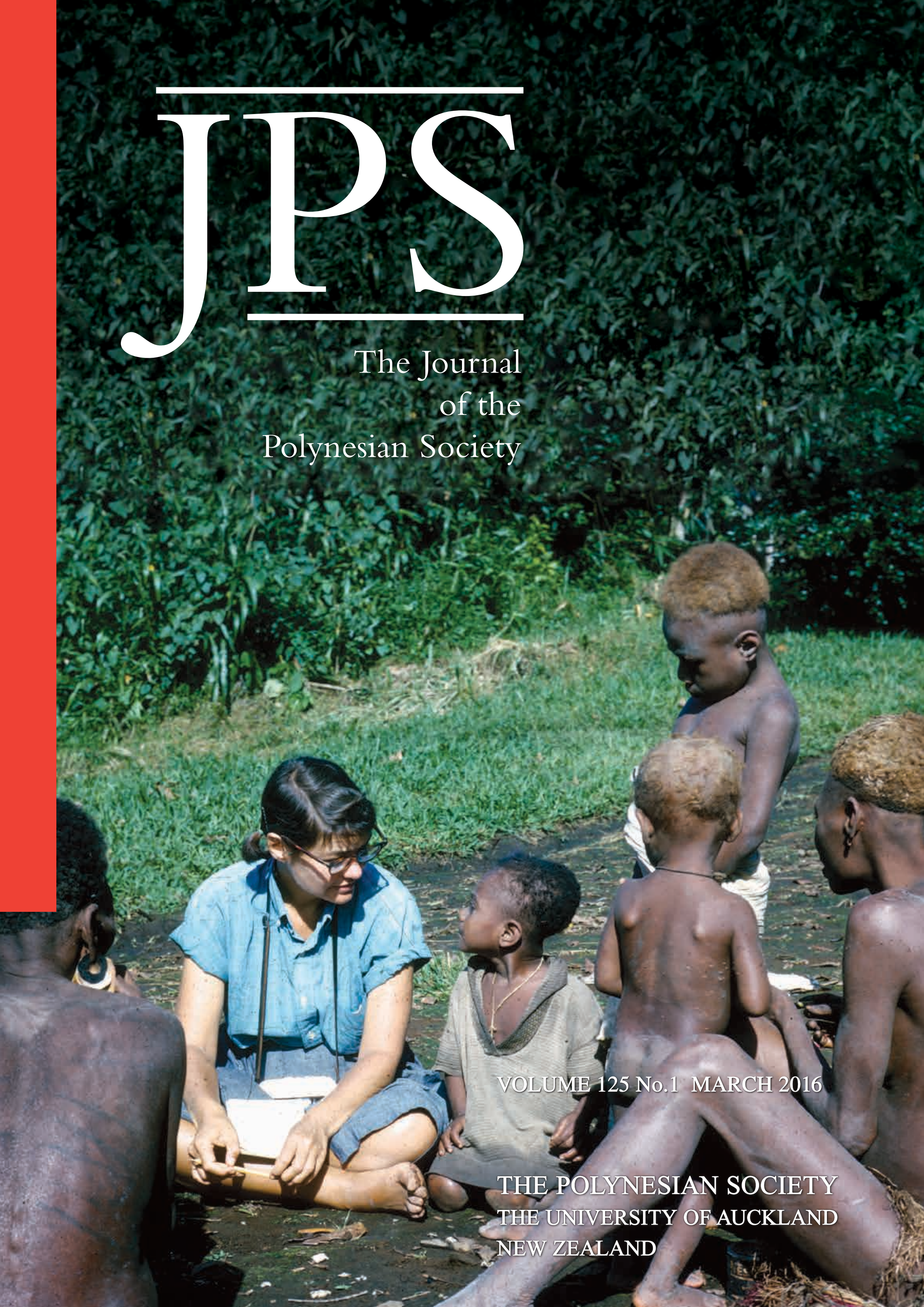

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REVIEWS

Ashton, Jennifer: *At the Margin of Empire: John Webster and Hokianga, 1841-1900*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2015. 258 pp. $49.99 (softcover).

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This is an impressive book based on a recent PhD thesis. All too often thesis writers struggle to free themselves of an overtly academic approach but this book is free of jargon and relates to broader historiographical matters without disrupting the narrative flow. As a result it is interesting and a good read, as well as being a work of impressive scholarship.

Ashton begins with an introduction that ties her subject to broader New Zealand British Imperial themes such as mobility, long-term "collaborative" relations with indigenous people and success in amassing a small fortune through exploitation of the new colony's timber resources, all in a balanced and deft manner. She promises to "re-create the experience of the type of individual who made empire happen on the ground in a settler society". Ashton succeeds in that aim while recounting "the story of empire in Hokianga".

Webster was a Scot born in Montrose (located between Aberdeen and Dundee) in 1818. He came from a comfortably-off merchant family. Despite some setbacks in dealings with the West Indies, his father Andrew managed to send his four sons to the Montrose Academy where they received solid educations suited to a commercial or military career. From age 14 Webster worked for a time in his maternal uncle's muslin manufacturing business in bustling Glasgow which traded directly with the West Indies. Like many migrants Webster lost his father soon after joining the work force and was persuaded by his mother to go to healthier and more respectable Australia rather than the disease-ridden West Indies, which was suffering decline with the abolition of slavery. Soon after his arrival in Sydney, Webster joined an expedition that drove a mob of cattle and explored the country between New South Wales and Adelaide on a quest to discover country suited to pastoral farming. Webster enjoyed the harsh outdoor life and dismissed Aboriginals he encountered as inferior human beings who were "ultimately unknowable." Not long after arriving in Adelaide Webster learned that his eldest brother William had set up a sawmill in the Hokianga. He sailed to meet him via Melbourne and arrived in the locality where he would spend most of his life in May 1841.

By the mid-1840s Webster acted as timber agent for George Russell at Kohukohu, befriended the so-called "Pākehā–Māori" Frederick Maning and had liaisons with at least two Māori women, although he did not take on responsibility for the children that resulted like Maning or Russell, who both married local Māori *wahine* 'women'. Webster also befriended the missionary William White Junior and his ethnographer

brother John, and became a lifelong friend of the Auckland entrepreneur John Logan Campbell. He supported the so-called Scotch clique and shared Campbell's conservative and pro-business philosophy. Webster also separated himself from the rough sawyers and labourers, and lived in a virtual middle class enclave with the Russells and Whites.

Elevating himself above the local Māori *rangatira 'Māori* leaders', however, proved more difficult because he still depended on them for protection, land, trees and labour. Chiefs like Papahurihia and Tamiti Waka Nene treated Webster as an equal whether he liked it or not and he ended up assisting the Māhurehure Federation during the Northern War of 1845–46. Webster soon became fluent in *te reo* 'Māori language' and acquainted with Māori protocol, knowledge that assisted his trading considerably as he learnt to navigate between two worlds.

Ashton provides an excellent critique of Webster's account of his involvement in fighting against Hone Keke and Kawiti by showing that he greatly exaggerated his contribution given he was always a low level ally who had little choice but to fight with the powerful local *rangatira*. Once peace was secured, Webster undertook an extraordinary seven-year journey to sell timber and prefabricated houses in San Francisco on behalf of Brown and Campbell, before returning through the Pacific where he became embroiled in some extraordinary incidents. Even though the Californian gold rush should have provided plenty of opportunity, the venture soon turned sour. Webster abandoned Brown's ship *Noble* in San Francisco and sailed in 1851 to Hawai'i on *The Wanderer* with the Scottish born Australian pastoral magnate Benjamin Boyd. They sailed back through modern-day Kiribati and on to the Solomon Islands. The "natives" at Guadalcanal attacked the boat and Boyd disappeared. Webster sailed back to San Cristobal, or Makira, and somewhat ludicrously tried to claim it for Charles St. Julian, a Sydney journalist. Later efforts in the 1850s to establish an empire in the Solomons came to nought, despite Webster publishing a sensational account of his exotic adventures and travelling to England to promote the book which featured competent paintings of birds observed in his travels.

Once he returned to the Hokianga in 1855, Webster settled into his role as the Hokianga's "timber baron". In 1856 he, like many white men throughout the Empire, distanced himself from the local indigenous people by marrying a white woman—Russell's eldest daughter, Emily. As he disentangled himself from Māori, Webster became a hard racist like Maning. While romanticising the old Māori as noble savages, he condemned the younger generation as a bar to progress, doomed to soon die out. Webster's letters on this subject make for unpleasant reading to the modern citizen but Ashton handles them in a remarkably balanced way, noting that emerging pseudo-scientific justifications linked to "social Darwinism" entrenched Webster in his views. As he settled into the role of white patriarch, Webster's political views became more rigidly conservative and he opposed the democratic impulse of George Grey and Richard Seddon.

Webster went on to live to the remarkable age of 93, enjoying his elaborate garden at Opononi. His business continued to flourish down to the 1890s, but he achieved little else of note despite his bragging over suppression of the Dog Tax Rebellion in 1898, which had much more to do with Northern Māori MHR Hone Heke Ngapua than Webster. He died a few months before the even more venerable John Logan

Campbell in 1912, but despite some increase in the local European population the Hokianga remained an essentially Māori space.

Ashton succeeds admirably in achieving her other stated goal of expanding "our understanding of colonialism and how it was inscribed on the lives of those who lived it" (in the Hokianga). My only quibbles are very minor, relating mainly to clumping the illustrations together rather than spreading them throughout the text and the absence of helpful maps. She could also have strengthened her arguments regarding the Dog Tax Rebellion by referencing the surprisingly liberal *Northern Advocate*, but such things fail to prevent this excellent book from being an important contribution to New Zealand historiography. Thanks to Ashton's endeavours and perceptive observations we now know much more about one of the most beautiful but least understood parts of the country, especially in comparison with the Bay of Islands only a few kilometres away. This book comes with my fulsome recommendation to anyone interested in race relations and Imperial history.

Bennett, Judith A. (ed.): *Oceanian Journeys and Sojourns: Home Thoughts Abroad.* Dunedin, Otago: Otago University Press, 2015. 390 pp., bib, index, maps, plates. NZD$ 45 (softcover).

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When I was invited to firstly launch, and then review this collection I felt very honoured for several reasons. Firstly, the lead author and editor, Professor Judith Bennett, is a researcher of the Pacific beyond compare, well recognised for her scholarship and innovative projects on environmental and Pacific war history, and also for her humility and mentoring of young academics. Secondly, when I found that the collection was dedicated to Professor Murray Chapman, a New Zealand geographer and long-time resident of Hawaiʻi, I was pleased to see his career so resoundingly honoured. Murray is feted here for his inspiring way of looking at the world of population movement and mobility, and especially for his enduring relationship with the peoples of Solomon Islands. But he has also been a constant mentor to young scholars, including myself starting 40 years ago, and continues to inspire and support Pacific academics wherever they may be. As Bennett says (p. 24) each author has a thread connected to Murray Chapman in a wide network spanning the Oceanian world. He is part of all he has met. This collection with its beautiful cover with the aptly named "Genealogy Ties", a 2010 print given freely by Leanne Joy Lupelele Clayton, and its excellent illustrations (including a colour photograph of Murray Chapman as a young researcher in 1972), is dedicated to Judy Bennett's "teacher, mentor and friend". No better tribute could be made.

Judith Bennett, in coordinating ten people, half of whom are from Solomon Islands, or deeply connected in some way, has produced what is one of the most important reflections on mobility that I have read in a very long time. After I finished reading this beautifully produced volume I wondered to myself how it compared with earlier

works on mobility and migration in the Pacific. From my bookshelves I plucked *Change and Movement: Readings on Internal Migration Papua New Guinea*, an edited collection by Ron May published in 1977. The authors are well known, mostly with a long relationship with Papua New Guinea (PNG), but some were prone (in retrospect, and recognising the times in which they wrote) to telling people how to deal with their "problems". I read again the chapter by Dawn Ryan**,** a Lecturer in Anthropology from Monash University who passed away in 1999. In the mid-1960s Ryan carried out research with migrants from Toaripi in the Gulf Province who ended up in the towns of Port Moresby and Lae. The chapter reprinted in May's collection was originally published in 1968 and provided valuable information about the 3,000 Toaripi then living in Port Moresby, in an environment very different from the sago swamps of home. These largely male migrants (often referred to as "Keremas") had a history of migrant labour and involvement with the Australian army camp in Toaripi. They were therefore skilled and in great demand in construction and frequently worked as contractors. I was at first perturbed to read Ryan's conclusion to her chapter which said, "The people are isolated and are in a real sense lost to the village; and there has not been any kind of re-creation of village life in the town." (p. 154). But, on reflection, I appreciated the long time away from home and the fact that it was only later, in the 1970s, with more migration of both men and women, that there really was able to be "a re-creation of life in town".

It is inspiring to move forward to Judith Bennett's collection of Oceanian journeys, and to consider how those early reflections and understandings have changed. In May's collection, as a reflection of the times, there was only one PNG author; in Bennett's book, eight of the ten authors are indigenous people of the Pacific, and all have strong ties and long histories. Bennett has always been an adamant supporter of locally grounded scholarship, and, like Murray Chapman and his vast network of Pacific scholars, takes her own work back to its heart, ever-widening the circle of those who are included.

Turning to the book's chapters, we are all aware that few people journey away from their country or village planning to make that move permanent. Often that is the unforeseen result, but the authors in this collection remind us that journeys can be for many different purposes. From Sa'iliemanu Lilomaiava Doktor's "Journeyings: Samoan understandings of movement", an insider discussion of lifestyle journeys (including for investitures and *tatau* 'tattoo'), to Asenati Liki's personal journey as a "dark skinned woman" in Samoa; and Jully Makini's "The duress of movement: Reflections on the time of the ethnic tension, Solomon Islands" where she illustrates her wide acceptance of her neighbours, especially during the Solomons' tensions, there is a great richness and depth in the stories.

Bennett's opening pages "Seeking the Heart of Mobility" do take us to the heart of each author's journey, but it is not possible here to do justice to all of the chapters. Instead I shall emphasise several as illustrations of the flavour of the book.

As an undergraduate in Geography at the University of Otago several decades ago, one of my most enduring memories is of my lecturer in Pacific Geography, Stewart Cameron, saying in class one day that Pacific research will have really come of age when it is Pacific Islanders carrying out the research, not outsiders looking in. He was on the same wavelength as Murray Chapman.

And so this book proves. Chapter 2 "Tasimauri Sojourns and Journeys: Interview with Murray Chapman" by David Welchman Gegeo, is a wonderful conversation between mentor and Pacific academic. The interview is worth reading carefully as it talks of many histories, attitudes and the joys (and disasters) felt while doing "real", physical fieldwork. It is an honest account and takes us through Murray's own journey and helps to understand his scepticism of terms such as "migration". This substantial interview challenges views, and pays tribute to many of the early Pacific Islander academics (a number of them former colleagues and friends of readers of this volume). Murray Chapman challenged us to think broadly and not be locked into earlier, accepted ways of scholarship. He also, and I always loved this about Murray, *did not use jargon.*

The second part of the book is about journeying. The Samoan *malaga* and other forms of journeying and wanderings, were mentioned earlier but I would like to especially comment on Lola Bautista's insider views of mobility from an atoll in Chuuk, Federated States of Micronesia.

Bautista has produced an exciting chapter "Emic understandings of mobility: Perspectives from Satowan Atoll, Chuuk" which looks at how individuals respond to mobility throughout their life cycle. She does this by discussing "social space to include emic understandings of mobility at a particular life stage within a particular setting" (p. 93). Bautista has a wide perspective and mentions many international studies, such as among the Hausa in northern Nigeria (p. 95) to assist her articulation of what she means by movement for useful purpose. Bautista talks of both proper and improper types of mobility and leaves nothing unexamined. She is not afraid to talk about church and conflict, especially in relation to cultural avoidance and how this works in a church context. She discusses obedience and modes of dress, clustering of women, childbirth and child care. There is also an honest and open discussion of young men and issues surrounding wandering aimlessly, spending on "foolish things", and dropping out. These are all forms of mobility.

Asenati Liki's Chapter 5 "Women as kin: Working lives, living work and mobility among Samoan *teine uli*" was particularly enjoyable because it is both challenging and a glimpse of her own scholarly journey. She talks of the myopic lens framing studies of work, women and mobility, and some of the hard times in institutions which could not understand the need for gendered studies of mobility. Mercifully Asenati found a good home at the University of Hawaiʻi when she met Murray Chapman and came to "read the works of wonderful writers such as Konai Thaman and Elise Huffer", and so found expression of her own voice in her stories of mobility and on why women insist on kinship.

The geographer**,** Raymond Young picks up a similar theme in "Send me back to Lakeba: Cultural constructions of movement on a Fijian island", where he provides some detailed narratives of peoples' personal journeys, arguing the fundamental importance of understanding relationships and continuity with kin that span generations. As Young says, "knowledge of relationships is a significant part of reaffirming ones identity" (p. 190). Drawing on the works of Pacific Islander academics such as Teresia Teaiwa and John Pule**,** Young challenges researchers to widen their horizons beyond their immediate field, to look at "art, performance and movement as a relationship between the body, culture and space" (p. 191).

Two other chapters complete this section of the book. Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka and Jully Makini talk of their own journeys, places and identity. Kabutaulaka in his chapter "Tuhu Vera: My journeys, routes, places and identities" raises that age-old issue of "where do you call home?" I recall years ago talking with Tarcisius and his wife when their children were still babies about which language should be used in the home. They themselves came from different language backgrounds, were living in Fiji and largely communicated in English. Those complexities have become very much a part of how identity is constructed.

Kabutaulaka (like Murray Chapman) always felt uncomfortable around the jargon of population movement and so gives us more meaningful terms to describe his own journey. He also acknowledges the work of others from further afield. His journeys are his own, but the parallels are universal. His own journey of place changing, studying politics and becoming part of a wider regional and international community of scholars reflects the journeys and sojourns of many of us—belonging to multiple worlds, yet rooted at home.

This section of the book ends with chapters on people, culture and research. In "John Burke, historian and collector: Taking Solomon Islands back to the United States after World War II", Judith Bennett looks at an episode involving a "vague American" who shipped Solomons artefacts back to the United States. She is kind to this American, appreciating the different times. This is followed by a chapter by Cook Islander, Yvonne Underhill-Sem who in "Silences of the discourse: Maternal bodies in out of the way places" writes about silences surrounding maternal bodies and understanding the unsaid. Through this discussion we get a good insight into fieldwork in a community in Papua New Guinea not so well known to the researcher, although her husband is from there. Issues such as not knowing about pregnancy and childbirth in the local context are examined, including in the context of Christianity, morality and vulnerability in marriage. Underhill-Sem calls for a greater emphasis on imagining alternatives in Geography and policy by having more feminist geography and women's ways of doing. This dovetails well with Young in his call to be more aware of feminist migration studies.

A very different chapter is presented by Gordon Leua Nanau on "Promoting research in a stubborn environment: The experiences of Solomon Islands 1989-2009". I know Gordon and found great resonance with his comments on research processes and obstacles in the 1990s and 2000s. I well remember, when teaching at the University of the South Pacific, times when the Government of Solomon Islands would cancel all research permits or make them difficult to get, with fines for those who did not comply. He lists the reasons for this—patenting of crops, theft of intellectual property for example. He also describes other stumbling blocks such as mentoring, time and money as well as the near impossibility of marketing local research.

The Solomon Islands College for Higher Education, where Murray Chapman, and other well-known Solomon Island identities such as Rex Horoi and Gordon Leua Nanau himself all ended up, was involved in developing an applied research policy—an important move and one which meant good links with many other institutions as well as developing capability of local staff while building a research culture and protecting the integrity of research carried out in the Solomon Islands.

But most of all in this chapter I appreciated Nanau's '*tok tok but no do do'* syndrome—the state where outcomes are all the same – the 'tok tok but no do do' where the word research is bandied about but those who could assist with that research are unconcerned with tangible inputs to boost research. I am sure that such a syndrome resonates widely!

The book ends with "Without sharing we will be like leaves blown with the wind", a lyrical overview by geographer Eric Waddell, now retired in Canada. His paper is an excellent way to wrap up such a valuable book and a wonderful tribute to Murray Chapman whom he had known for decades.

Waddell looks at ways of defining Oceania, and very importantly reminds us (p. 323) that "what is learned in seminars, related in theses, is, further down the line, then enacted in parliaments, boardrooms and classrooms". And there is the crux—all Pacific scholarship and research is valuable, not simply for its own sake, but for what it represents and what influence it may have.

Pacific research can be in film, poetry, medicine or economics. It can be provocative, challenging, "improper" and it can be discipline based or not. Pacific research can have influences on the global stage, and influences on peoples' lives—not only of our colleagues and politicians, but also on our families, wherever they are.

Tanggio tumas Professor Judith Bennett for bringing together a very fine collection of writing from across Oceania and beyond. This book, carefully read, or dipped into over time, has the power to change lives and to rethink our attitudes, not only to journeys and sojourns, but for what they mean for Pacific scholarship, learning and understanding.

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In the summer of 1998, Agresearch applied to the Environmental Risk Management Authority (ERMA) for consent for a genetic modification project. Human genetic material was to be inserted into cattle with the hope that the protein would appear in their milk and assist in research into multiple sclerosis. The Institute stood on ancestral lands of the Ngāti Wairere *hapū* 'subtribe' who opposed the application on the grounds that genetic modification involving different species was contrary to their *tikanga* 'custom', specifically it was an interference in the *whakapapa* 'genealogy' and *mauri* 'life force' of both species involved. ERMA approved the project noting it doubted whether on a population basis, interference in Ngāti Wairere beliefs could

have the widespread effects and harm claimed. The problem ERMA said was that Ngāti Wairere were advancing an outmoded notion of tradition formed well before modern research on genetic modification.

Cases such as these are commonly heard by the New Zealand common law courts. In recent years the courts have been asked to determine what is an *iwi* 'tribe' for the purposes of the Sealord Fisheries settlement; whether building a prison might disturb a *taniwha* 'supernatural water creature' lurking beneath the surface; and whether depositing sludge that could contain body tissue offended *tikanga* or is in fact consistent with it. These cases land before the courts owing to the many statutory directions made in legislation to take Māori custom and values into account. For example, before a local authority can grant a resource consent it must first "recognise and provide for... the relationship of Maori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu, and other taonga" (Section 6(e) RMA 1991).

Custom law is not limited to the courts. It has played a fundamental role in the Māori renaissance since the 1960s and 1970s. Māori activists placed great emphasis on distinctive *Māoritanga* (Māoriness) and *iwi-tanga* (*iwi* identity) and a desire for Māori sovereignty. And reforms followed. Most significantly, Treaty settlements were made with *iwi* which contain not only commercial but cultural redress. Efforts have been made by the Law Commission to weave custom into reforms relating to succession, women's access to justice and *iwi* governance. Custom plays a central role in Māori Land Court deliberations. The tension between custom and human rights and conservation laws are regularly debated in the news media.

With the increasing prevalence of custom, a fundamental question arises about its contemporary application as exemplified by the ERMA decision. Questions arise as to its authenticity and true content—rendered complicated by the political and legal context in which the questions typically arise. Occasionally, litigation over custom seems to be a proxy battle for the exercise of greater political control over use of the resources. The claim to customary title to the foreshore, for example, was motivated by Ngāti Apa's struggle to enter the aquaculture industry in the Marlborough Sounds. There is now a large body of work in political and culture theory about the strategic use of tradition and custom in advancing claims of peoples. And this includes some powerful critiques of indigenous rights' movements and what is said to be their over-reliance on custom in claims-making. By emphasising custom, they argue, Indigenous Peoples are giving up on more transformational economic and political reforms (see Karen Engle, 2010, on indigenous development).

Te Mātāpunenga does not attempt to directly answer these questions. Rather, the book is aimed at excavating customary concepts and explaining their content and meaning as rendered by a variety of sources, most of which are historical. However in doing so, the project will go a long way towards addressing the issues of proof, authenticity and essentialism because of its careful selection of authoritative and insightful sources. *Te Mātāpunenga* does this with much elegance and intelligence. Balancing this book in your hands—its 551 pages—one feels the weight of the many clever minds that went into its creation. The authors are highly respected experts in this field and the project has its genesis in the work of Te Matahauriki Institute which was supported by the likes of Dame Joan Metge, Sir Edward Durie and Judge Mick Brown.

The book is comprised of "Entries" in alphabetical order—121 in total, ranging from *Ahi ka* 'continuous occupation of, and right to land' to *Whiu* 'to punish'. Each entry contains a brief explanation of the concept. This is followed by an "Entry Guide", which contains a more detailed description of the term and its historical and contemporary use supported by "References"—the latter references contain transcriptions of the original sources that use the concept. Some of the entries—e.g., *Hakari* 'feast'—run into several pages, peppered with illustrations. Others such as *Tupapaku* 'body of a dead person or the seriously ill' fill one page. The "References" contain the high grade ore, having been carefully selected from a wide range of historical and contemporary sources including Māori periodicals, the journals of *rangatira* and of colonial and imperial officials, *whakatauki* 'proverbs', and academic scholarship.

The long-term ambition of the authors is to foster the creation of a bi-cultural jurisprudence that draws on both Māori and Pakehā value systems. If there is to be any serious consideration of custom law's application today, then the starting point has to be this very process of sifting through the historical and contemporary record for good evidence of how it has been used in fact. *Te Mātāpunenga* is the only scholarly attempt at that and so it is unique and much needed. Now, one cannot help but wonder about the next step in the ongoing project—custom's contemporary use and application and the development of a truly bi-cultural jurisprudence in New Zealand's legal system.

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In *Abundance and Resilience*… Field and Graves reveal the archaeology of Nu'alolo Kai, an important site on the northwest coast of Kaua'i in the Hawaiian Islands. The archaeological importance of Nu'alolo Kai derives from the site's relative isolation, well-preserved features, and its abundant and diverse artefacts. The data and analyses in this book contribute new knowledge of Hawaiian life and cultural change over a continuous sequence, beginning with the first occupations at approximately AD 1300 until the end of permanent habitation in the early 1900s. Until recently, much of this knowledge was trapped in the store rooms of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, as the vast majority of the archaeological collections, those from 132 m^2 of excavation in the 1950s–1960s, were largely unanalysed and unreported (the results of a 4 m^2 excavation in 1990 have been published). The work in the book is based on a sample of over half of the approximately 18,000 items recovered from Nu'alolo Kai.

Abundance and Resilience brings together eleven chapters presenting the data, analyses and summaries of seven researchers (including the editors) across a range of largely ecological and environmental topics. The analytical chapters are based on new analyses, including subsistence-focussed work on marine animals and avifauna, as well as introduced and indigenous (marine) mammals. Other analyses focus on coral, shell and bone artefacts. Several chapters present the environmental context, research history and summarised prehistoric sequence of the site, while one chapter compares archaeological and modern shellfish and avifauna to discuss ancient and contemporary resource management practices. Much of the analytical work is influenced by the salvage excavation procedures and recording practices used during the 1950s and 1960s from which the majority of the collections derives. Field's summary (Chapter 3) of this past work justifies both the resulting chronological periods and observational scales (e.g., ordinal measures) used in this volume. The history of fieldwork at Nuʻalolo Kai forces the authors to be explicit about their observational scales, precision and accuracy, but we should remember that these issues affect all archaeological measurement, no matter how carefully it is conceived.

The general applicability of this volume of collected articles is greater than other site-focussed books because of the consistent use of both human behavioural ecology and analytically-driven classifications. A behavioural ecology approach allows different authors in multiple chapters to generate related expectations of empirical patterning that can be compared to archaeological observations. These results are easily compared to other assemblages and regions because they are, in part, deduced from the universal and robust assumptions of evolution, primarily that different behaviours have different fitness consequences. The editors suggest (Chapter 1) that behavioural ecology (or perhaps evolution more generally) may not be suited to explain some dimensions of human life, such as religion or social rules, that are more removed from subsistence and the natural environment. I do not agree as our decisions about, for example, what stories we believe and with whom we interact can also be explained in terms of fitness consequences, irrespective of our personal motivations.

Analytically-driven or problem-oriented classifications also appear in several chapters (but not all) including those on avifauna (Chapter 6), coral artefacts (Chapter 8) and ornaments (Chapter 9). These classifications eschew traditional artefact labels such as combs or awls as they presume unverifiable use of items and are often ambiguous in their definitions. Instead the paradigmatic classifications applied here describe artefacts through a series of mutually exclusive dimensions such as wear, shape and material type that are unambiguous, can be applied to other assemblages, and allow the authors to propose novel and testable hypotheses of material culture variation. In Chapter 6, for example, instead of simply noting changing frequencies of awls or picks, the tool classification indicates that out of 36 possible bird bone tool classes, a specific form dominates the assemblage over time. This suggests increasingly specialised use, possibly associated with subsistence changes.

Several additional chapters examine subsistence remains. These include fish fauna (Chapter 4), turtle (Chapter 5) and introduced and native mammals (Chapter 7). Chapters on applied zooarchaeology (10) and a synthesis of the Nuʻalolo Kai prehistoric sequence (Chapter 11) complete the main text. Three appendices present

data on fish remains, invertebrate marine fauna and general artefact descriptions. The only noticeable omission is the lack of any analytical treatment of lithic artefacts such as adzes, flaked tools and debitage from the site.

Fishing strategies varied over time at Nuʻalolo Kai. There was an early and consistent focus on large easily caught inshore taxa; later, small pelagic fish from the reef margins were added to the catch. Intriguingly, some inshore taxa increase in size throughout the prehistoric sequence, contradicting typical expectations of resource depression. The analysis of turtle remains uncovers unexpected patterns as well. Turtles were often targeted by colonising populations, as they can offer a high return for hunting effort in virgin environments. At Nuʻalolo Kai, however, turtles are not seen in the archaeofauna until about AD 1500, some centuries after first occupation. And while the Nuʻalolo Kai collection is unusually well-preserved and large, turtle still contributed a minor component to the overall diet. Continuing with unexpected patterns, birds were important for subsistence and raw materials, but despite long-term human predation, they were a stable resource. The chapter on mammal remains indicates that the earliest residents introduced pigs, dogs and rats to Nuʻalolo Kai, and that pig and dog were the major sources of terrestrial protein in people's diet.

The chapters on both coral artefacts and ornaments of shell and bone undertake the classification approach mentioned above. This allows the authors to generate hypotheses about behavioural variation over time; for example, abrading techniques remained relatively unchanged. Some artefact uses are identified through comparison with ethnographically documented specimens, leading the editors to suggest that artefacts interpreted as *lei nihoa palaoa*, a status object worn by elites, signify the presence of chiefs at Nuʻalolo Kai.

In their concluding synthesis chapter the editors highlight the relatively small impact of subsistence behaviours on marine and bird fauna. While there is some evidence for pressure on these resources, they are largely stable over time. This resilience is attributed to ancient Hawaiian practices of "stewardship, which regulated production in order to maintain populations and reduce resource stress" (p. 199).

Abundance and Resilience is an excellent addition to the archaeology of Hawaiʻi. The book is the first to realise the archaeological potential of the vast Nuʻalolo Kai collections and will be of interest to all students and scholars of Hawaiian prehistory and contemporary Native Hawaiian issues.

Pointer, Margaret: *Niue 1774–1974. 200 Years of Contact and Change*. Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2015. 384 pp., $50 (paper).

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Niue was annexed by New Zealand in 1901 and since independence in 1974 has been in a relationship of free association with New Zealand. In spite of these close ties, which go back more than 100 years, publications on the history of Niue have been few when compared with those on other Pacific Islands. However, that "to date, this

story has not been told", as the back cover text of Margaret Pointer's book suggests, or that this is the "groundbreaking… first fully documented account of this most isolated Pacific nation" (Otago Press media release) is a bit overstated. The seminal, though unpublished, 1993 PhD thesis of Thomas Ryan, as well as his 1984 compilation of 18th and early 19th century excerpts from ships' logs and published narratives of European contact in Niue, are easily available in New Zealand university libraries and certainly well-known to all scholars of Niuean history, as are McDowell's 1961 thesis, Vilitama's and Chapman's 1982 book published in Niue, or perhaps even my own 2009 publication containing a long main chapter on Niuean history.

Having said that, Mrs Pointer's book is a well-researched, beautiful and very readable summary of Niuean history between 1774, the time of first European contact made by Captain Cook's vessel, and 1974, the year of independence. Divided into four main parts, "Early Contacts", "Empire", "New Zealand Administration", "The Road to Self-Government", the island's European contact and further history is covered in 16 chapters, each (as in some of the aforementioned earlier works on Niuean history) introduced by a suitable quotation. As with her earlier, truly ground-breaking book on Niuean servicemen in the First World War, Mrs Pointer has based her work on thorough, meticulous study of the relevant written primary sources, tracked down in archives all over New Zealand and Australia—whalers' logs; missionaries' journals, letters and diaries; all kinds of administrative documents, even personnel files, from the time of the very short British Protectorate and the time of the very long New Zealand administration; and letters and journals of important chroniclers and researchers like Percy Smith or Jock McEwen. On top of that, she gained access to private family papers of New Zealanders who worked in the Niuean administration before independence, and she interviewed some of them and other contemporary witnesses of important events.

Several short insertions on coloured pages have been strewn through the main text, giving attention to special topics for which detailed sources were available, but which would have gone beyond the scope and flow of the actual text. Their colour-coding and short-read quality add to the attraction of the book and, more importantly, the themes they cover are either deeply relevant in Niuean oral history, as I recall from many conversations during my own work with Niueans, or they are not very well-known and promise to be of interest, especially to readers well-versed in Niuean history: e.g., "The Wreck of the Mission Ship John Williams, 1867", "A Niuean at Gallipoli" and "The Mother of Niue Education".

Apart from its sound grounding in the written primary sources, it is above all the beautiful illustration work which makes this book a real asset—for example, the first European map of Niue and depictions of her coastline drawn in 1774, and of Niuean men drawn in 1853. Margaret Pointer has unearthed a great number of rare photos from collections in New Zealand, Australia and Great Britain, as well as from private photo collections, many of which have never been published before.

Several photos serve as concrete illustrations for matters mentioned in the text, which adds to the appeal of the book—for example, a present-day photo of a *tiale* 'gardenia' in exactly the same position as William Hodges' drawing of one in 1774; museum photos of *maka* 'fighting or throwing stones' and *katoua* clubs similar to those hurled at Captain Cook's party; etchings of ships which touched Niue Island;

and depictions of Malden Island or whaling where many Niuean men found work.

The book is well-written and enjoyable to read. However, for a book published by a university press, I would have wished for a little more support with sources concerning general statements about historical developments in the world, or in Niue. Although as someone familiar with sources on the Pacific and particularly Niue, I can guess a number of the relevant sources here, it would be good to see them mentioned—especially as the book will certainly be used as a reference by scholars just starting to study Niuean history and looking for further leads.

Selectively and rarely, precision seems to be overridden for the sake of smooth writing; impartiality and distance—again expected in a university press book—give way to imaginative description or even value judgements which reflect an exclusively European perspective, blending out possible critical Niuean counter-attitudes, e.g., the assessment of *patuiki* or "king" Togia being "an old man, rather ineffectual" in his role (p. 135) (see also p. 73 "with a mix of curiosity and apprehension" or pp. 91-92 on the missionaries and their wives).

The close reliance on administrative and missionary primary sources sometimes comes with a lack of verification through other sources. For example, there do exist different versions than the one given on Taole's return after the abduction by a slave ship and on his brother's destiny in Peru (p. 116), and there even is a primary source suggesting that there were other returnees to Niue apart from Taole (see Arthur Gordon's 1904 *Fiji: Records of Private and Public Life, 1875-1880*). Likewise, contrary to Mrs Pointer's assumption (p. 149), there is no evidence that the *tiputa* 'bark cloth poncho' was actually ever worn in Niue; it seems to have been solely produced as a *poa* or duty for the London Missionary Society's to sell elsewhere (see Neich and Pendergrast's 2004 *Pacific Tapa*).

Most primary sources used in the book come from non-Niuean chroniclers and writers. Niuean perspectives, however, are often passed on orally and not necessarily shared with non-Niueans. Pointer's coverage of Resident Commissioner Hector Larsen's murder relies nearly exclusively on official files, letters by and interviews with non-Niueans (except Robert Rex who thought highly of the Resident Commissioner). Although Mrs. Pointer lists Dick Scott's 1993 book on the murder case in her bibliography, she does not refer to it; Scott interviewed Niuean contemporary witnesses and quoted a number of voices critical of Hector Larsen.

To conclude: Most of what Margaret Pointer has written on Niuean history is not new and has been written before. What makes this book so special, however, is the way—how—it has been written and published: the rare and wonderful illustrations, particularly many historical photos hidden away in archives until now and never published before; and the text's sound grounding in the relevant primary sources. This makes for a concise, beautiful and concrete introduction into Niuean history. Well-written and a pleasure to peruse, it will find many readers among people interested in Niue, and among Niueans themselves.

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This is another important addition to the Lapita literature. Arising from a research forum focussing on Lapita decoration, the volume presents an eclectic range of papers, from a brilliant review of the settling of Remote Oceania, to an insightful deconstruction of the Eastern Lapita Province, with plenty in-between to prehistoric links between the Solomon Islands and Papua, a review of Lapita vessel forms from Mussau, and another from a number of assemblages, an update on the archaeology of the Isle of Pines, and an intriguing comparison between secondary burials of Vanuatu, Island Southeast Asia (ISEA) and Taiwan.

The introductory chapter by the editors is an overview of Lapita, a history of discoveries and a background to the development of the ceramic database developed by Chiu. This is an excellent history of Lapita, although there are a couple of points that need clarification. First, it is noted that Golson defined the term “Lapitoid” by a synthesis of data on dentate decoration. In fact “Lapitoid” was defined by Golson to include the non-dentate wares from the assemblages. His concept of Lapitoid went beyond decorative techniques and included other morphological characteristics. There is more to Lapita than dentate stamping.

Secondly, the editors make the point that apart from New Caledonia there were only a few excavations in Island Melanesia during the 1990s and "no attempt was made at achieving a global synthesis of the data" (p. 15). In fact this decade provided much fieldwork and data for regional and wider syntheses. From New Britain and New Ireland alone the 1990s account for excavations in Amalut, Adwe, Apalo, and Maklo in the Arawe Island group by Gosden; Apugi off the coast of Kandrian by Specht; Gasmata by Lilley; Torrence in numerous sites on Garua Island, New Britain; Malekolen, Balbalankin, Kur Kur and Kamgot in the Anir Island Group by myself; and the Duke of York excavations by White and Gosden. I have not included the Solomon Islands by Sheppard and Walter here. The results of these excavations allowed comparisons of Lapita dentate decoration with other assemblages from within the Lapita universe with the realisation that the syntheses of the 1960s to 1980s using Lapita Provinces were limited. The construction of a new synthesis including Early, Middle and Late Lapita periods allowed the identification of temporal trends, regional differences notwithstanding.

The chapters that follow are exemplary investigations of their topics with major advances in our knowledge of Pacific archaeology. I will address each paper in turn. Bedford presents an excellent, well-balanced review of Lapita exploration and colonisation of Remote Oceania. Topics covered included Lapita origins, colonisation, chronology, subsistence, environmental impacts and change over time. The next chapter by Kirch and colleagues presents an initial classification of vessel forms from Mussau, Papua New Guinea. This allows comparisons with the published Arawe assemblages from southwest New Britain. One difference is seen in non-dentate pottery. Kirch and colleagues argue that there was a change from dentate to plain/other decorated vessels over time. Similar changes are seen in other Lapita assemblages, although this difference between dentate (non-utilitarian/ritual pottery) and non-dentate (utilitarian vessels) is seen from within Early Lapita as well and not just in later sites. Perhaps it is a situation with dentate dropping out and the other wares continuing. The illustrations in this chapter are superb! I look forward to the final publication on this important assemblage, which is crucial in interpreting Early Lapita.

Sheppard and colleagues offer a stimulating paper arguing for interaction between Lapita communities in the Solomons and those in Papua—what they call a Solomon Sea Interaction sphere. A lot rests on similarities in the age of zircon inclusions (Middle Miocene) found in pottery from New Georgia and from the geology of Woodlark Island. Yet, similar-aged zircons are found from Manus (Hugh Davies, pers. comm.) and indeed connections already exist between the two areas with the presence of Lou Island obsidian in these Solomon sites. Notwithstanding this, I think they are spot on with Solomon Sea interactions. This paper is a major advance in the modelling of past interactions.

Valentin and colleagues present a fascinating and thorough comparison between Taiwanese jar burials, those from Island Southeast Asian (ISEA) sites, and Teouma in Vanuatu. Jar burials similar in age to Teouma are uncommon in ISEA except Taiwan, which is geographically speaking in East Asia. Jar burials from ISEA are mostly Metal Period in age, although Neolithic ones are known. Of importance is their point that jar burials are only one funerary practice "inscribed in a wider mortuary scheme at Teouma and in ISEA sites…[and is a]…complex funerary scheme that was part of

the Austronesian package" (p. 98). In short, this paper links the Teouma jar burials with those in Asia, and an additional argument for this based on skeletal morphology is presented in Valentin *et al*. (2015).

Lagarde and Outecho provide a regional update on the archaeology of the Isle of Pines based primarily on their excavation of rockshelter KTT006. This is a good article fitting the Isle of Pines into the regional picture and ideas about exchange mechanisms. The absence of Puen ware is significant and reminds us that social and economic exchange is not uniform across this southern area of New Caledonia.

Sand presents an excellent review of Lapita pottery forms from the southwest Pacific. It is a thorough and well written comparison of Lapita vessels. Having a single individual undertake this task has its strengths in that we have a uniform approach. Sand provides an objective and balanced review of the assemblages and literature. I thoroughly agree that Lapita is more than just a push from west to east, as Sand highlights. As I noted years ago with the monograph *Lapita Interaction* (Summerhayes 2000), the movement of Lapita was one of continual interactions between groups.

Another important aspect that Sand examines is technology. Sand says the Lapita vessels were slab constructed, and while this is true for the thicker dentate stamped pots and jars and stands, some non-dentate jars and pots used other forming techniques. Functional variation is at play here.

And now to the eastern boundary of Lapita—what was called the Eastern Lapita Province. Burley and LeBlanc's chapter debunks the concept of the Eastern Lapita. They argue that Fiji has closer connections to the west and is separate from Lau and Tonga to the east. This is not the first paper that criticises the concept of the Eastern Lapita Province, but it is one based on local sequences. They argue that research over the last two decades has produced a larger database which allows distinction of finer patterns and divergences in interaction between Fiji, Tonga and Samoa. Each year new sites are found in Tonga and Fiji which necessitates a re-examination of models for exchange and interaction. I expect more change with more work. Chiu's chapter called "Where do we go from here? Social relatedness reflected by motif analysis" provides a sobering perspective as to what these motifs tell us about social relatedness through the heuristic device of "house societies". Others have referred to cultural groups, clans or whatever. She talks about interaction between potters and motif similarity. This is the core of what we do. What does the study of decoration tell archaeologists about these societies? Her paper discusses preliminary results of motif analysis from 57 sites (4452 motifs have been recorded) using the Lapita Pottery online database. After years of painstaking work, Chiu has achieved something of an order that we never expected.

In the chapter she outlines a rough picture of why motifs were shared or not shared between communities, notwithstanding sampling and chronological issues. Chiu says that potters from different island groups knew what other potters were doing and "they chose to avoid motifs from the same subcategory" (p. 198). Also noting that there was more variability in motifs in New Guinea and less so in New Caledonia is important. Peoples, clans and house communities settled in the Bismarck Archipelago and stayed for close to a millennium. Some of these communities or houses, but not all, moved into Remote Oceania and continued to interact with their

mother communities. It is thus not expected that all clan or house designs would have been transferred to areas to the east if not all the houses went, and also one would expect these houses to develop and diversify their own motifs as well. Can we assume that motif transmission is by house-clan-family transmission, and diversification is within respective families? Chiu's work on this is breaking new ground, including one motif interpreted as leaving New Guinea and migrating to Tonga. Here there is an emphasis on ownership of motifs by corporate groups. Note that if we go beyond just dentate designs and bring in production data as well (i.e., highly mobile groups) then we have powerful tools for future work in unravelling the past.

The last chapter is by Barbara Mills. Mills was brought into the workshop by Chiu to discuss her successful research into Social Network Analysis with GIS based in the Southwest US. Many of her ideas are important and will add food for thought.

This book is a polished product written by leading archaeologists working in the Pacific. It is beautifully produced with excellent illustrations. The editors should be congratulated.

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Ngāti Pūkenga have a wealth of stirring *whakataukī* 'proverbs' in their oral storehouse, yet it is the literal meaning of the word *pūkenga* that seems most fitting here. To be skilled, to be well versed in, a repository of knowledge and expertise, all aptly describe the career and contributions of pre-eminent scholar and worthy descendant of Pūkenga, M.P.K. Sorrenson. *Ko te Whenua te Utu—Land is the Price* assembles thirteen of Sorrenson's influential essays on Māori history, land and politics published between 1956 and 2011. A complete works this is not. Missing are his essays on Africa written for academic and activist audiences (the same could be said of his Māori material), his publication on the Polynesian Society and his extended discussions from *Na To Hoa Aroha*. A compendium of his African essays might provide a lively companion to this volume.

The collection is bookended by two additional chapters: a good humoured introduction provides some context of the author and the essays, and offers insights into

the development of History as a discipline at the University of Auckland and Oxford from the grand imperial narratives of the 1950s through to the self-effacing bicultural narratives Sorrenson would come to fashion. An epilogue sketches in those themes not covered in the essays but vital to an appreciation of Māori history, details the growing body of research published in the wake of Sorrenson's own work and sounds out a warning of what we can expect in the future, if past experience is anything to go by.

The essays are ordered chronologically rather than by date of publication, so as to provide some semblance of the progression of Māori history from Hawaiki to the present day. Does it work as an extended discussion? Not always: there is much that is repeated. It reads more coherently as a two part collection, covering Sorrenson's earlier work on Māori land, Māori-Pākehā relations, racial theory and politics and his later research informed by his involvement in the Waitangi Tribunal from 1985 onward.

While these essays appear in previous publications, there is merit in their collection. A number are long out-of-print, and difficult to access in the digital era, and their publication provides new generations access to essays that remain relevant today. Sorrenson's work has proved influential, not just in revising but indeed at times in redirecting the course of New Zealand history. "The whence of the Māori" pre-empted the critical methods of deconstruction, and enjoyed a second life as an early exemplary instance of local literary criticism. "Maori representation in Parliament" informed the electoral reforms of the 1990s, and "Land purchase methods and their effect on Maori population" has provided the research basis for many a treaty claim. In re-reading these essays, one is struck by their continued relevance. The opening sections of "Giving better effect to the Treaty" could have been written last week, though it was first delivered in 1989. "The Waitangi Tribunal and the resolution of Maori grievances", first delivered in 1994, calmly traces out the issues Māori have subsequently campaigned on for the past 20 years. "Treaties in British colonial policy" provides an antidote to some of the ill-informed nationalism championed by Māori and Pākehā alike in recent years, and may well appear in my course readers this year, a quarter century after its publication. Sadly, some of these essays need to be re-read: their lessons remain unlearnt.

Moreover the collection allows us a space to reflect on the contribution and development of one of New Zealand's foremost scholars. Critically reviewing old articles seems as respectful and useful as running a spell check over the Magna Carta. A more useful process may be to discuss some of the themes that emerge when the essays are read as a body of work.

Sorrenson's work serves as a critical appraisal of intellectual thought in New Zealand. He has questioned depictions of New Zealand as an intellectual backwater, yet spent much of his early career teasing out the knots of 19th-century inquiry pursued by over-eager amateurs. His earlier works profess an admiration for the "cool and detached scientific inquiry" of early voyagers and the patient unravelling of colonial myths undertaken by university-trained scholars of the 20th century. We see in his later work a sense of gratification for the intellectual ferment of the "treaty industry", and an appreciation for the worthy research of his peers.

Sorrenson's work has been greatly enhanced by his forays into African, British, Asian, Pacific, Australian and North American history, demonstrating the fruits of

international context, but also the follies of applying foreign models to local realities (see, for example, "Colonial rule and local response").

Perhaps the most important theme arising from Sorrenson's work is the shifting position of Māori in the narrative. In his earlier work, still touched by imperial imperatives, Māori loom in the shadows as unpredictable figures, ever-ready to complicate and contradict European expectations. His later works are, by comparison, dual-stranded bicultural narratives, in which Māori and Pākehā understandings of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Treaty of Waitangi and the divergent histories that stem from these two documents sit side by side, rubbing up against and colliding with one another. This collection allows us to reflect on the gradual shift of Māori from the margins of society over the past 60 years, and the role Sorrenson himself played in making this so.

Sorrenson concludes of his career "History is forever and historians are always remaking it... Others can refashion mine". I turn to the language of *whatu kākahu* to respond. Sorrenson has taken up the muddled *muka* of the 19th century, laboriously applying the *miro* process to the dual-strands of our history, and has recast *te aho tāhuhu*, the all-important first weave, providing future scholars a firm foundation from which to weave the *kaupapa*. *Kotahi ano te kōhao o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro mā te miro whero me te miro pango. I muri nei kia mau ki te ture ki te whakapono ki te aroha. Hei aha te aha! Hei aha te aha*!