Similarly too, peacemaking techniques in the various bouts of conflict in the 1850s must certainly have roots in the period Ballara discusses.

Ballara is also conscious of levels of warfare, from ritual (non-combative) forms of confrontation, where 'anger was often managed and channelled' away from conflict, to limited and seemingly controlled levels of violence — to total escalations, and she is aware also of occasions when tikanga, or the rules of war or utu, did not work.

Ballara handles the end of the conflict period particularly well, stressing that the transition to less intense conflict levels after 1840 was the result of varying times and nature of change. There is a strong list of the types of changes: trade, Christianity, literacy, new ideas, and change in chiefly attitudes. A very good example for the change in Maori society, not used in the book, is the experience of the Rotorua chief Tohi Te Ururangi whose centrality to the tension following the Ongare incident in 1842 is discussed, but not his importance to the peace that followed. In taking the Governor's love in place of his dead son, Tohi took on a role that was fundamental to the establishment of peace in 1845, and his subsequent role in the 1850s as a mediator between warring Maori groups says a great deal for the Maori role in the transition from conflict to peace. Nor was he alone.

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Shifting Centres. Women and Migration in New Zealand History. Edited by Lyndon Fraser and Katie Pickles. University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 2002. 213 pp. NZ price $39.95. ISBN 1-877276-32-4.

IN LYNDON FRASER'S OWN CONTRIBUTION to this collection, Mrs Ryall, an Irish woman living in Barrytown on the West Coast, is recalled walking along the beach each night saying the rosary 'because she believed the breeze blew straight from Ireland'. Her behaviour is slightly eccentric only if considered without regard to the dislocations and relocations inherent in migration. Far from being a substitution of one place, one life, one identity for another, migration, this collection suggests, is as much about accumulation, circulation and the maintenance of connection, of cultural and interior universes that transcend spatial distance. Lyndon Fraser and Katie Pickles' *Shifting Centres* seeks to tip the fulcrum of migration studies towards women, towards contemporary approaches of diaspora and transnationalism, and in a direction that dethrones the nineteenth-century 'pioneering' story in favour of an expanded view of migration and migrant identity.

Understandably then, the nineteenth century is dealt with lightly. Of the ten chapters only two address nineteenth-century migrant groups while five deal with post-World War Two migrant experience. The title refers both to the literal act of shifting house and the collection's historiographical purpose. Less directly, it also points at the great variety in the ways histories of transition can be told and the centrality of those stories — for individuals, in families, within communities and in societies at large. The first and last chapters illustrate, in starkly different ways, why such stories are important. The story of coming from somewhere else is perhaps more important to Polynesian New Zealanders than it is to Pakeha New Zealanders, for it is these journeys that bestow identity. Angela Wanhalla's wide ranging discussion of Maori women in waka traditions establishes stories of origin within the ambit of migration as well as recognizing their key function as identity markers. Her consideration of the waka traditions' immense popularization and the scholarly controversy over their interpretation emphasizes the constant reworking of such stories. At the other extreme the most recent arrivals, German women of the 1980s and 1990s interviewed by Brigitte Bönisch-Brednich, tell stories of their migration in order to confirm the choice they have made. Personal narratives of expectation, trial and

contentment are a crucial part of their adjustment, of arriving at an inward conviction that this is a successful choice, a successful journey.

The 'settler' phase features in David Hastings' summary account of the rigid conditions in which largely British migrants travelled to New Zealand in the era of Vogel recruitment while Lyndon Fraser gives attention to Irish women on the cosmopolitan West Coast (specifically, 735 Irish-born who died between 1876–1915). Typically, they arrived from Melbourne on a two or three stage migration path. Pursuing a livelihood, a hearth and laying their bones in the new country they were, nonetheless, in belief and many daily practices, closely connected to their south-west Irish homes. To be away in body was not necessarily to be gone in spirit. Demand for domestic labour remained a spur to organized women's migration into the twentieth century. Katie Pickles locates the 4504 young British women who landed in New Zealand between 1920–1932 within an ambitious but ultimately failed scheme of Empire Settlement. Eager, as ever, for further domestic help, New Zealand agreed to co-operate in the post-World War I imperial scheme but neither employers or potential recruits responded as their political leaders had wished. The project, Pickles argues, was a doomed idea from a bygone era.

Exchanging rural for city living became the defining experience for the generation of young Maori women and men growing to adulthood in the 1940s–1960s. While teaching and nursing opened professional doors to Maori women without a parallel for their male counterparts, institutional domestic work in hospitals, hotels and the like remained a major component of the labour demand. Megan Woods' skilful discussion follows the complex interweaving of government policy with individual and family inklings.

In Aroha Harris's and Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop's chapters the migrant story takes a personal flavour and captures the drama of the individual journey. Aroha Harris's Letty Brown, left Te Araroa for Auckland in 1957, as a young, single woman destined for teachers' college. Her life in the city, the far-reaching community work in Te Atatu, is anchored in the visions of Te Araroa and a determination to plant these in the city. Far from drift and anomie, hers was a move and resettlement with purpose. Born in 1908, Emele Moa's story ('retold' in the first person by her daughter) is also one of successful resettlement, though the move from Samoa to a hilltop home in Wellington's Kilbirnie in 1943 was made as a wife and mother to a growing family. Continuity, and adherence to the 'old' ways remained strong, yet the upheaval was made with the prospects of the next generation uppermost.

All the migrant stories tell of pain and struggle, hard work and satisfactions. In Ann Beaglehole's and Manying Ip's accounts the hardship of being a stranger is exacerbated by also being unwanted. Beaglehole's Jewish refugees were actively kept out of New Zealand until 1939, while Manying Ip's Chinese women were restricted, by legislation, from entering the country until the end of the quota system in 1987. While Jewish women arrived as refugees from 1939 in roughly equal numbers to men, the Chinese community was kept 'at bay' by a policy that largely precluded female settlement. And it is in Ip's chapter that the sharpest sense of gender analysis is evident. The particular threat posed by Chinese women as migrants was all too evident to those responsible for their exclusion: as procreators they had the ability to produce citizenship through birth.

Shifting Centres succeeds in its parts and as a whole: expanding the questions to be asked, and deepening understanding of migration and migrants in New Zealand history. How migration sits in the life cycle is hinted at in some contributions but could have been usefully amplified in making more of the opportunity for gender analysis. This collection whets the appetite for more.

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