

in the post-war years. In a theoretically engaged and often searching analysis, Pickles explores the making of a mythology, the repatriation of Cavell's remains to Britain, the creation of pilgrimage sites and her memorialization in stone, newsprint and monograph. The author notes 'the simultaneous evocation of nation and Empire' in this frenzy of commemoration and explores the role of metropolitan and colonial elites in the continuous remaking of memory (p.136). She draws on the work of David Cannadine in presenting commemoration as 'a class act' and (mindful of John McKenzie's revealing study of Nelson) situates Cavell as a transnational symbol of 'whiteness and empire' (pp.4, 96). Of particular interest are the diverse mediums used to commemorate Cavell and the 'connection of local civic, national and imperial identities' in statues and streetscapes, nursing homes, hospitals and monuments. In Canada, mountains were renamed in honour of Cavell, in Australia her statue was the only image of a woman in the otherwise masculine precinct of Melbourne's Shrine of Remembrance. Pickles is aware that commemoration is at once an act of remembering as well as forgetting, 'a continuous [process] of erasure and rewriting' (p.6). She reveals the appropriation of Cavell's identity by 'imperial and patriarchal interests' and notes the gradual but perhaps inevitable eclipse of her memory in post-colonial societies. A chapter evocatively entitled 'The Geography of Stone' rival's David Lloyd's revealing account of London's Trafalgar Square, long the symbolic heartland of Empire.

The achievements of this book are many and it will be of interest to scholars of transnationalism, imperialism, post-colonialism and commemoration. It is (for the most part) well written, though the introduction does seem at times burdened by sometimes self-conscious reference to theory. I found Pickles's interrogation of visual narratives, film stills, propaganda posters as well as statuary especially rewarding. Having said that some of the most intriguing aspects of this book merited further inquiry. Pickles succeeds in positioning Cavell as a symbol of hegemonic British identity; the executed nurse's appropriation by pacifist and feminist networks is far less convincing. I was surprised that an encyclopaedic survey of Cavell commemoration overlooked a memorial entitled 'Grief' in the Victorian town of Mildura. Some have argued that this was one of the earliest representations of Cavell's memory, and more attention might well have been paid to Catherine Speck's pioneering and important study. Nor (in my opinion) is Pickles's discussion of 'indigenous and ethnic' groups in this 'historical geography of memory' particularly successful. These themes were too important to be brushed aside so quickly. But these failings are perhaps a measure of the book's ambitious realm of inquiry. *Transnational Outrage* is an exemplary study and a measure of the sophistication of post-colonial scholarship in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

BRUCE SCATES

Monash University

The Future of Tokelau: Decolonising Agendas 1975–2006. By Judith Huntsman with Kelihiano Kalolo. Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2007. viii, 296pp. NZ price: \$49.99. ISBN 978-1-86940-398-0.

THE FUTURE OF TOKELAU refers to three decades of discussion and debate over Tokelau's future political status (in the future, that is, from the time of the discussion in question) and its relationship with New Zealand. It is a story of tensions, differing perspectives, and different understanding of the same situation or information between the New Zealand government and the people of Tokelau. There were tensions, too, between New Zealand and the United Nations; and between Tokelauans in Tokelau and Tokelauans in New Zealand. The New Zealand government viewed Tokelau as a country in the making (or at least a potentially self-governing community integrated, or in free association, with

New Zealand) which was at odds with a Tokelauan self-view based on three separate island and village communities, closely linked to one another and in close partnership with New Zealand, but separate from one another. There were differences of policy, opinion and personality between and within various government agencies — most notably Island Affairs, Foreign Affairs and the State Services Commission — in New Zealand, Apia and Tokelau. All of this is well-documented here — not least because of the generous access allowed Judith Huntsman by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (The Ministry is to be complimented; it has not always taken such an open approach, especially in circumstances, as in this case, where its officials and policies might be subject to criticism.)

This is the background canvas on which Huntsman must paint her picture of events and political evolution in Tokelau. She does this with great care and considerable detail, drawing on a wide range of official documents, her own long experience of Tokelau and observations of many important meetings, and the fieldwork notes of colleagues Antony Hooper and Kelihiano Kalolo. Her view is firmly empathetic with that of Tokelauans living in Tokelau. Despite a strong sense of Tokelauan identity across the three island communities of Atafu, Nukunonu and Fakaofu, and a recognition of commonalities of language, history and culture, there were even stronger affiliations to individual island communities which, combined with longstanding inter-island competition and rivalry, meant that New Zealand's 'national' approach to decolonization was always going to be problematic. Nor is it surprising, given the author's view, that New Zealand agencies and officials, like those of the United Nations, are judged and almost invariably found wanting.

The options for decolonization are explored: independence (universally rejected); integration with New Zealand (seen as having merit by some, but rejected by successive New Zealand governments); and self-government in free association, which became New Zealand's preferred option after precedents were established with the Cook Islands and Niue. Resettlement in New Zealand, which was promoted in the 1960s, served humanitarian goals after destructive cyclones in the 1960s as well as meeting less explicit government objectives. This sponsored reduction in the resident population had an important influence on later developments, creating opportunities for individuals while undermining the viability of island communities and making services very expensive on a per capita basis.

This is a book strongly focused on Tokelau and its current resident population of about 1500 people. Tokelauans living in New Zealand, seven times more numerous than those resident in the islands, are discussed only in passing. It may be, however, that the distant and conservative voices of relatives in New Zealand might help explain the voters' rejection in 2006 and 2007 of proposals for self-government in free association with New Zealand; in effect, Tokelau has chosen to continue, at least for the time being, as a dependency of New Zealand. With 60% of the voters in favour, but not the required two-thirds majority, it was a decision that frustrated both New Zealand and the United Nations, both of which were anxious to see Tokelau removed from the list of dependent states. Both, however, acknowledged the paramountcy of Tokelauan wishes in the matter. In the words of the New Zealand Administrator of Tokelau, 'Great referendum, bum result'.

Because of the close Tokelau focus, the wider Pacific context is not always clear. There is little on the broader realities of colonialism and development in the 1960s and 1970s and little recognition that, despite the tensions and mutual irritations in the relationship, even by the relatively benign standards of the Pacific Islands, the New Zealand regime in Tokelau could have been much less sympathetic and even more parsimoniously funded. With regard to decolonization, there is brief and occasional reference to the Cook Islands and Niue but little more. A brief consideration of the constitutional evolution of other

small Pacific Islands countries would have offered interesting and useful comparisons, as would the differing perspectives of administering powers. For example, a sideways glance at Tuvalu's path to independence, or the tortuous constitutional evolution of American Micronesia, where a variety of mechanisms were used to meet local wishes and US requirements, would have highlighted the individuality of Tokelau's story.

In many ways, then, *The Future of Tokelau* is a successor volume to *Tokelau: A Historical Ethnography*, by Judith Huntsman and Antony Hooper, published in 1996. That book was an ethnographic history concluding with a section on Tokelau's colonial history and a postscript on the resettlement scheme for Tokelauans in New Zealand, and the possible forms of political relationship between New Zealand and Tokelau within a context of the decolonization of Oceania. This book carries the story up to the present, and does it very well indeed. The author is to be congratulated for her obvious commitment to her subject, and to the people of Tokelau.

BARRIE MACDONALD

Massey University

Where Fate Beckons: The Life of Jean-François de La Pérouse. By John Dunmore. Exisle Publishing, Auckland, 2006. 292pp. NZ price: \$49.99. ISBN 978-0-908988-53-2.

THE *OEUVRE* OF JOHN DUNMORE compares favourably with — and richly complements — that of his mentor in the history of Pacific exploration, J.C. Beaglehole. Whereas the master clarified the lineaments of the subject and established a baseline of erudition and of exemplary scholarship with his works on James Cook, his apprentice has gone on to bring order and critically informed understanding to the story of French voyaging in the Pacific, both before and after Cook. In third and fourth place in this honoured company of literary admirals of the Oceanic main may be placed O.H.K. Spate and Andrew Sharp respectively. The work of geographical discovery that Magellan initiated on Wednesday, 28 December 1520 when he became 'engulfed in the Pacific Sea', was completed with skill and courage by those who followed him, but that is not the end of the enterprise. The story has been continued and enhanced by those who, like Dunmore and his elite mess-mates, have set such high standards in chronicling the efforts of those navigators. Other valued contributors are the toilers who in recent years have endowed those of us who are curious about such matters with a more informed appreciation of the maritime techniques and achievements of Polynesians in pre-European times.

As a solidly contextualized account of a notable explorer, Dunmore's latest book, like his many others, is to be welcomed. Sustained by his editorial familiarity with La Pérouse's journals (which Dunmore published in French in 1985 and in English in 1994), it offers a thorough account of the life and naval career of an officer who, as the leader of a 'scientific expedition', was expected to be France's answer to Captain Cook. Like Cook, he had also been in the war in Canada.

Leaving from the port of Brest in August 1785 with two well-found vessels and a team of ten scientists under his command, La Pérouse closely examined the north Pacific (a task left unfinished by Cook's death in 1779) before coming south to report on British activity in Australia. *En route* he called at Samoa (named the Navigators Islands by his compatriot Bougainville in 1768). There, at what is now American Samoa, 12 of his crew were killed and 20 wounded by the islanders. The reasons for the assault are not clear (if, indeed, there were specific reasons) but it is of considerable interest in the larger narrative of contacts between visitors and indigenes that La Pérouse declined to take reprisals for fear of killing innocent people.

La Pérouse then turned for Botany Bay. There he left many of the records of his journey