

bourne and the Nineteen Counties, Reece is largely concerned with the clashes arising from European occupation of the Liverpool plains in the 1830s and 1840s. He devotes a full chapter to the Myall Creek *cause célèbre* in which seven Europeans were finally convicted and executed for the murder of twenty-eight Aborigines, following an earlier acquittal by a sympathetic jury. But as Reece makes clear, the Myall Creek convictions were an exception to the general rule of frontier 'justice'. They were the result of several fortuitous circumstances: the humanity of two supervisors willing to report what they had seen; the diligence of a local magistrate in collecting evidence; and the determination of the administration to carry through the prosecution despite considerable settler opposition. Thereafter those involved in the slaughter of Aborigines were much more careful to cover their tracks.

Reece's careful examination of the Myall Creek trials and their aftermath is the best part of a useful, though in some ways limited, book. His topic is too narrowly defined — as 'an account of the "Aboriginal problem" as it really was and as it was seen by philanthropists, squatters, and colonial administrators', though not, unfortunately, by Aborigines themselves. Despite some valuable discussion on Gipps's Aboriginal policy, Reece does not regard his book as a history of official policy during the 1830s and 1840s; and he does not regard it as an exhaustive description of Aboriginal-white relations. It will be left to others to examine Manning Clark's moment of tragic grandeur.

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Church and State in Tonga: The Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries and Political Development, 1822-1875. By Sione Lātūkefu. Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1974. xvii, 302 pp. Australian price: \$7.95; N.Z. price: \$10.15.

IN the nineteenth century, Wesleyan missionaries believed that it was they who had brought about a political revolution in Tonga by leading the country from the darkness of heathenism and chiefly tyranny into the enlightenment of a constitutional monarchy with 'Christian laws'; later writers have tended to agree. This book seeks to assess the role played by the Methodist missionaries in Tonga's political development in the half-century preceding the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in 1875. Dr Lātūkefu traces the growth of the Wesleyan mission and its support from 1826, the political and pastoral roles of the missionaries, and the change, both political and social, taking place in Tongan society in the nineteenth century.

In discussing Tonga's political development, the author considers two general processes which are central to the study of Polynesian history: the emergence of strong, centralized 'monarchies'; and the conversion of their leaders to Christianity. Dr Lātūkefu's approach to the first of these processes is coherent and convincing. He gives, for the outsider, a clear outline of traditional Tongan society, discussing both these features that it shared with other Polynesian

societies and those which made it unique. Of the latter, the existence of the Tu'i Tonga title and the office of *hau* or temporal ruler (held by the Tu'i Kanokupolu) both of which were recognized as paramount by all Tongans, were clearly the most important as they provided, above and beyond the possibilities inherent in most Polynesian societies, a potential for unification and the centralization of power. Campaigns to unify (or, more correctly, re-unify) Tonga were not new; what was new, was the success of Tāufa'āhau in achieving his aim. Tāufa'āhau became ruler of the Ha'apai group in 1820, was baptized as 'King George' in 1831, included Vava'u within his demesne from 1839 and, with his election to the Tu'i Kanokupolu title in 1845, he had gained at least nominal control over the entire Tongan group. There was still resistance on Tongatapu, however, and it was not until the suppression of a rebellion at Pea in 1852 that the monarchy was finally secure. From that time, King George's primary concern was to prevent European encroachment and to protect Tongan interests by securing from the European powers a recognition of Tonga's independence — hence the 1875 constitution which was drafted at least partly to demonstrate to the world that Tonga had a civilized and Christian government. Recognition, first by Germany, and then by Britain and the U.S.A., ensured that Tonga would survive the partition of the Pacific by the powers. Dr Lātūkefu also traces the gradual breakdown of the 'marriage of convenience' which had bound together the King and the missionaries and the subsequent rise to power of the Reverend Shirley Baker — missionary, royal physician, royal adviser, politician and architect of the 1875 constitution. The author's conclusion, well-supported by evidence, is that it was the King who made the crucial decisions and was primarily responsible for the transition to a constitutional monarchy, although he might not have succeeded without the help of the missionaries.

Dr Lātūkefu is less convincing, perhaps, in accounting for the King's acceptance of Christianity. He rejects the argument that conversion 'was simply a means used by . . . politically ambitious individuals to serve their own economic and political ends' as 'quite superficial and misleading'. He further asserts that the King's 'adherence to Christian principles throughout the later stages of his career had a positive effect on his political actions' (p. 219). This is true enough but does not account for the earlier, at least nominal, acceptance of Christianity by Tongans in general and the King in particular. Commenting on the effects of contact in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the author notes: 'The impact of the growing contact with Fiji, and with the Europeans . . . shook the foundations of the traditional cosmology. Many of the leading Tongans were anxious to acquire a new cosmology to explain the new circumstances with which they were now confronted' (p. 23). This is suggesting that, as a consequence of contact, there was something of a religious vacuum in Tongan society. It is clear, however, that for some years after the arrival of the missionaries the Tongans showed little interest in the new cosmology. The decisive breakthroughs came in the late 1820s when the Wesleyans, having failed to acquire a significant following of their own, inherited from two Tahitian teachers of the L.M.S. the growing Christian community at Nuku'alofa, and when the future King adopted Christianity as his cause. Dr Lātūkefu writes that Tāufa'āhau 'became an ardent crusader for his new-found faith' but that, at this time, he had 'merely accepted the new god on the same terms as those on which he had accepted or served the traditional ones, and he had not fully grasped the meaning to Christians of such concepts as mercy and forbearance.' (p. 65.)

Such an assessment, made of a time when Tāufa'āhau was crusading for his own political power as well as for Christianity, comes close to special pleading as does the author's explanation of the massacre of three hundred men, women and children at the hands of Tāufa'āhau and his allies in 1837. He notes that 'the power struggle was approaching its peak', but then suggests that an alliance of King George's enemies 'must have awakened in him the old savagery and fighting spirit which had lain dormant for several years to such an extent that they momentarily overshadowed the Christian influence on his actions and life.' (p. 110.)

It is reasonable to assume that Tāufa'āhau had some degree of commitment to Christianity from an early stage; certainly he was prepared to defy his traditional gods. But might it not be suggested that although the King had accepted Christianity as his faith, he was not prepared to allow his new beliefs to jeopardize his political future? Christianity gave him a cause to pursue, and an excuse for intervention in power struggles throughout the group. There was also the threat to his position from the Tu'i Tonga, a political rival and, traditionally, the spiritual head of Tonga. It might be argued that, in adopting Christianity, Tāufa'āhau was seeking an alternative source of spiritual legitimacy for his campaigns and for the new political order; he could not unify the country in the name of the Tu'i Tonga if he wanted power for himself. And his power was not secure until after the crushing of the rebellion at Pea and hence, until this time, the evidence is consistent with the King acting as politics demanded, rather than on Christian principles, when there was any conflict between the two.

Church and State is, and will remain, an important work of Pacific history, not simply because it is a perceptive study of change and adaptation in a Polynesian society but also because its account of these processes is not that of an outsider looking in but, rather, an insider's view of his country's history and the origins of its present constitution.

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Survey of Commonwealth Affairs: Problems of Expansion and Attrition, 1953-1969. By J. D. B. Miller. Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs. London, 1974. 500 pp. N.Z. price: \$25.30.

PROFESSOR MILLER'S continuation of a well-known and highly regarded series is a work of extraordinary range, complexity and mastery of detail. He suggests that 'five broad themes emerge' but the title reduces these to two — expansion by the admission of new members, attrition of the ties holding the Commonwealth together. The main lines of development are familiar to those who have followed international affairs in the period Mr Miller covers, but by the skilful use of biographical, autobiographical and other material that has since become available he gives us many glimpses behind the scenes which alter the picture as it appeared at the time.

Suez was of course a turning-point: the British Government and people went into the affair believing that Britain was still a great power and found that she