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work of Augustus Earle, Rod Edmond on two missionary texts, and Mark Houlahan on Henry Tacy Kemp's translations.

Interesting paths are pursued in the essays by Malama Meleisea, Futa Helu, and 'Okusitino Mahina. These three essays share many themes. All are concerned with the relations between myth and history, and approach this larger matter through the particular. Meleisea fleshes out an often-cited but little-explored prophecy by the Samoan goddess Nafanua, which predicted the arrival of Christianity and its alliance with the lineage of Malietoa. Helu explores the Maui myths throughout Polynesia, and Mahina argues that myth is a complex dialogue, which speaks to and about both past and present. All three observe that myth had, and has, the power to challenge and change history. This theme is partly shared by David Mackay in an intriguing essay that looks at and wonders over the 'myths' that grew up alongside developing European scientific knowledge of the Pacific. He suspects these may have been just as important as the empirical (and published) findings of the voyagers.

A provocative and handsome volume, the editing and presentation are well managed. There are a few more typographical errors than is customary in a University of Hawai'i publication, noticeably in the footnotes, and the uneven use of the double vowel system of Maori orthography is confusing, perhaps doubly so for readers who are strangers to the Maori language. A few of the essays are either works in progress or not entirely new to print. In part this might be due to the long incubation period (six years between the seminar and publication). Edmond's piece is adapted from a chapter of his 1997 book; Paul McHugh's is an early version of a more substantial one to come; Nicholas Thomas's stems from his work on a new edition of Forster's *Observations*, and has appeared in two different versions in different books.

Perhaps the weakness of this collection is that notions such as *korero*, which are suggested as crucial or important, occupy less time than one might expect. These kinds of aspirations have their own species of risk, as this sort of scholarship claims as its ground the contestable parts of beach, water and hinterland. Care must be taken that scholars do not accidentally echo the colonial encounter, where the muster remained overwhelmingly on the strangers' side of the beach. Helu, Meleisea, Mahina and Mackay seem to capture best the excitement of what Pocock calls 'the possibility of reconstituting distinctive voices that can speak to each other across very divergent concepts'. This volume underscores that this task, which Pocock likens to a *marae* ('where challenges are converted into greetings and Others into Selves'), remains daunting.

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The Musket Wars: A History of Inter-Iwi Conflict 1806–1845. By R.D. Crosby. Reed, Auckland, 1999. 392 pp. NZ price: \$65.00. ISBN 0-790-00677-4.

ROB CROSBY'S *The Muskets Wars* successfully compiles most of the available published material on the 1800–1840 wars between Maori into one compendium, placing the events in a useful chronological order. The cartography and photographs, with the siting of tribes and battles and location of routes, are particularly good.

However, *The Musket Wars* falls victim to a number of pitfalls. The book is unreferenced, making it difficult to assess the author's accurate use of sources. Some readers will overestimate the book's authority, particularly where whole sections derive from one source. For example, the summary of Moremonui, the fight between Te Morenga

and Te Waru at Tauranga, and the death of Pomare, are rewrites of whole paragraphs from S.P. Smith's *Maori Wars of the Nineteenth Century*. Crosby is largely uncritical of his sources. Smith's account of Moremonui came from the victors as did the Tauranga account, via Marsden. Both the missionaries, who worked to encourage British intervention just as much as they evangelized the gospel, and the victors had vested interests in exaggerating figures.

The book also lacks scholarship in Maori language, culture and history. A cursory glance through the book reveals a large number of orthographic inconsistencies and errors in spelling. Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki (p.39) is hyphenated but not Te Ati Haunui a Paparangi (p.40). Te Whetu-mata-rau (pp.75–76) is later Te Whetumatarau (p.241). The beach near Moremonui is Ripiro not Rapiro (p.47). The chief killed at Pukerangiora was Whatitiri not Whatatitiri (p.245). The 1828 migration of Ngati Raukawa was Te Heke-mai-I-raro, meaning coming from the north, not Te Heke Maioro (pp.192–6): Crosby probably confused this with the name of one of the participants, Te Ruamaioro. The island in Lake Roto-a-ira is Motu-o-puhi not Motuopihī (pp.192–5). These last two examples could easily have been checked against a piece in the *New Zealand Historical Atlas* by Ngati Raukawa historian Charles Te Ahukaramu Royal. The treatment of customary concepts is similarly wanting. 'Physical prowess' tops a list of criteria for Maori leadership which overlooks the interplay of primogeniture and age, rank, prescribed and ascribed leadership.

The Musket Wars, perhaps unwittingly, repeats the prejudice of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writers. Decapitations are described as 'the ultimate source of delight' for Maori. Maori are driven by 'raging desires for utu' (the most common phrase in the book) rather than an imbalance in power caused by the availability of muskets, which exacerbated and intensified already existing conflicts and gave rise to new ones. Old prejudices are copied rather than questioned.

The book's most serious problem, though, is Crosby's argument that 1840 tribal boundaries do not rightly form the basis of contemporary tribal claims, if gained during warfare that included the use of European muskets. This must be questioned. The argument might apply in the Chatham Islands, where Maori invaded shortly before 1840, but on the mainland such contestable boundaries are few. Firstly, the 1840 boundaries laid down by the Crown imposed an artificial rigidity, which failed to take account of the in-built flexibility of inter-tribal cross-boundary relationships. Those relationships existed in a constant state of flux, which the several histories of tribal migrations and inter-tribal relations through whakapapa attest. Secondly, although oral traditions speak about absolute conquest and slaughter, tribes tended to negotiate, intermarry and merge just as much, if not more, than they actually fought and killed. What this suggests is that after the devastation of the musket wars, and before the signing of the Treaty, the tribes had, in all probability, redistributed themselves into a new equilibrium or were in the process of doing so. Most of the conflict ended ten years before the Treaty was signed. Thirdly, as bad as the devastation of the musket wars may have been, that history was overshadowed by later events between Maori and the Crown. It is the enduring nature of that relationship that forms the foundation of current negotiations and hence holds precedence today. Finally, the current adherence to the 1840 boundaries is a concession by Maori to the Crown, which expedites the settlement process. The idea of redistributing compensation, currently less than 1% of losses, along ancient boundaries is at best a deliberately narrow overstatement of the book's scholarship, and at worst a divisive attempt to incite conflict among Maori and fuel anti-Treaty sentiment. There are few, if any, Maori who could not claim multiple entitlements in the tribes that exist today.

The Musket Wars could have concerned itself with more important questions. How did the Maori experience compare with that in Hawai'i and Tonga where similar conflicts occurred? How many Maori died during this period and what were the causes of death? Was peace the result of Christian intervention, an equalizing of the balance in arms, or a

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combination of both? Was the devastation the result of the fatal impact of European culture or a self-inflicted destruction?

As a chronologically ordered compilation of re-edited sections from other works, *The Musket Wars* makes a contribution to a history about which little is written. It will be an enthralling read for those with casual interest and a useful first base for those beginning scholarly research of their own.

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Pakeha Maori: The Extraordinary Story of the Europeans who lived as Maori in Early New Zealand. By Trevor Bentley. Penguin Books, Auckland, 1999. 270 pp. NZ price: \$34.95. ISBN 0-14-028540-7.

'MAORI AND EUROPEANS fell in love with each other, and also had wars with each other. That's the basis of our history.' So said Robin Scholes, executive producer of *Greenstone*, a melodramatic version of early colonial history which appeared on New Zealand's television screens in 1999.¹ *Greenstone* is just one of a series of works that have portrayed the dramatic possibilities of early New Zealand history and what happened when single, non-Maori males began to arrive on the shores of Aotearoa and have contact with Maori society. The fictional account that *Greenstone* was could easily have been taken from many true-life stories on that frontier, but few of these true-life stories are well known.

Trevor Bentley's *Pakeha Maori* is an attempt to redress the absence of such characters from New Zealand's historiography, as well as to recount some jolly good yarns. Bentley's work purports to be a factual 'first-ever book devoted solely' to *Pakeha Maori*, the label for those non-Maori who lived with Maori when Maori controlled the frontier. Not all in fact were Pakeha, though it is Pakeha who are the focus of Bentley's work. Bentley's designs are ambitious, and he has good secondary sources of which to make use. Unfortunately he has used few unpublished sources, meaning his account offers little that is not accessible in other published works.

Bentley's aim is to resurrect these little-known people from a reputation as unsavoury and troublesome characters and to elevate them in the popular consciousness as key mediators of Pakeha-Maori contact. His strategy is to assign ten 'roles' to the Pakeha Maori. These are mokai (pet), convict, taurekareka (slave), toa (warrior), tohunga (priest or healer), renegade, trader, rangatira (chief), wahine (woman), and whaler. This overly complicated categorization — the differences between some of these roles are semantic only — means an otherwise worthwhile attempt to illustrate some of these elusive characters gets lost. Bentley ends up having to discuss many of his chosen Pakeha Maori in more than one role. Many of Bentley's chosen individuals merely seem to have multiple personalities and, frustratingly, remain just as elusive as ever. For example, Jacky Marmon plays at least seven of the ten roles. He even features in the 'wahine' role for his various marriages. I would prefer to have received all this information in one comprehensive section on Marmon. Biography, however, was clearly not Bentley's main intention, though had it been adopted as the narrative form, a more coherent and readable text may have resulted.

This disjointed structure readily lends itself to internal contradictions. What is said in one part of the book, or even within one section dealing with a particular role, is contradicted elsewhere. One example of this is Bentley's assertion that Maori picked up on Pakeha class structures and chose gentlemen Pakeha Maori over lower-class individuals. But he then provides plenty of examples throughout the book where this