

potential for a more detailed discussion of the creation of the 'survey archive' through law itself would enhance much of what Byrnes is attempting here. However, her assertion that the landscape itself is a part of this archive is important, and her real intention is to show how this landscape was culturally formed and made through ideas about it (p.11).

It perhaps comes as no particular surprise that urban spaces in colonial settings were mapped through grids, following the 'prescribed metropolitan models' of Victorian towns and cities (p.55). Nor should it surprise readers that surveyors were part of the colonial project to possess and inscribe the land, and that in true post-colonial fashion, physical and linguistic traces of this possession and inscription remind us of this history every day. What is impressive about this study is its application of a theoretical model to one set of colonial archives and its detailed and perceptive reading of one history of space and place.

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1 Thomas Pynchon, *Mason & Dixon*, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1997, p.27.

From Tamaki-Makau-Rau to Auckland. By Russell Stone. Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2001. 350 pp. NZ price: \$59.95. ISBN 1-86940-259-6.

THIS WAS AN UNINTENDED BOOK. Russell Stone set out to write a history of post-1840 Auckland but instead wrote one concentrating on the pre-1840 years. 'To regard the Maori occupation of the isthmus for possibly as long as a millennium as being a mere preliminary to British colonisation seemed academically indefensible and culturally crass' (p.xi). Little of substance has been published on this period, requiring research in a field in which Stone modestly describes himself as 'a tyro'; he has succeeded superbly in an elegantly written and well-illustrated book that is an important contribution to the history of Maori, Pakeha settlement, and race relations.

Stone has written seven previous books on Auckland history, all well received, and his latest contribution is a worthy successor. Written for a general readership, it is a traditional history 'in the sense of being chronological rather than thematic' (pp.xii-xiii), but does not evade some historiographical debates. He does not claim to have written the last word, and explicitly hopes that others, especially Maori, will produce alternative histories. It is not just local history, for although dealing with a restricted geographical area it reveals the 'mainsprings and values of Maori life and culture' of the period (p.xiii).

This well-researched book has used every relevant source, on several occasions having to choose between conflicting evidence. Rival tribal traditions about dates of settlement and areas controlled and, especially, battles are carefully examined and assessed. Archaeological evidence can be interpreted in more than one way, and Stone, whilst emphasizing the desirability of the Tamaki region for settlement and the use of its portages by war parties, denies the common view that it was an area of incessant warfare. He argues that pa had residential areas on higher terraces with kumara gardens on the lower, for between conflicts there were extended periods of peace, and outside tribes were sometimes assimilated peacefully through intermarriage. 'Maori fiercely competed in practising the arts of peace no less than the craft of war' (p.30).

It is impossible to date the earliest settlement, but Stone attempts to determine which tribes settled where, and when. The maps are of great assistance in clarifying both Maori and Pakeha settlement, and the 'general reader' will appreciate his matching past sites with today's landmarks. He carefully traces conflicts, settlements, displacements, and the gradual encroachment of British settlement. The musket wars are examined in particular detail, for they turned the whole country into 'one great battlefield' for a

generation. Certainty over many details of these and other wars is impossible, and Stone is suitably tentative on some points, though his assessments of such major battles as Taumatawiwi (1830) are eminently reasonable. He makes good use of Maori Land Court records, being fully aware of the unreliability of much of the evidence, and points out defects in some of Judge Fenton's versions of history.

The wars of 1821 onwards created depopulation and forced migration, with Ngati Whatua 'broken as a tribe' (p.101). Once they obtained muskets, in the years before 1840 it was relatively safe for the ejected to drift back, cautiously, to outlying parts of the isthmus. By that time Pakeha had colonized the Maori mind. Stone lists the three major impacts of the Western world as economic penetration (making Maori increasingly captive to consumerism), the impact of firearms (requiring a change from subsistence farming to cash crops), and Christianity. Settlement by missionaries at the request of chiefs for reasons of mana and to ward off attack and attract trade led to dubious land purchases, with eventual loss of land due to colonial greed and a combination of officialdom's bumbling and desire to colonize on the cheap by acquiring land at low prices to sell for a good profit. Even when Maori were willing sellers, as some Waikato 'owners' of Tamaki blocks were in the 1840s, they failed to benefit from rising prices.

The drift to establishing a colony and founding its capital is explained, with the consequence for the Tamaki isthmus of reconciliation between former rival tribes who benefited from the new trading possibilities. Ngati Whatua were very clear about the potential benefits of having the capital city on their land, and co-operated fully in its establishment. Just as signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi 'imperfectly understood' the implications, they could not anticipate the consequences. Stone emphasizes that Ngati Whatua's welcome was not unconditional: Orakei was never to be sold, and 'willingness to sell was not to be regarded as the acquiescence of a subordinate party. Rather was it a token of goodwill as Maori entered a relationship conferring benefits and obligations on both races' (p.256). Stone denies the recent Waitangi Tribunal ruling that the tribe intended to share land rather than alienate it, for at the 1868 Land Court hearing it was repeatedly stated that Ngati Whatua was prepared to sacrifice ownership of some land to induce the governor to settle. The loss of land they neither used nor needed was seen as a small price for security and trade. In the new settlement, Maori from the wider region were always an important element: the 'lure of the white men's goods, once sampled, was irresistible' (p.289), and food and timber were provided in exchange for these.

Stone declines to debate whether Ngati Whatua was improvident in alienating so much land in the 1840s, but does blame officials for not ensuring that they retained more for their future well-being. Noting that Ngati Whatua in 1860 said they called Pakeha to settle 'that you might be a parent to us, and that we might be your child', Stone wonders whether the Crown has 'shown a corresponding sense of parental trusteeship? This is an issue that modern New Zealanders might well ponder' (p.295).

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