

“normalised” positions’ (p.307). But for her, this rethinking of ‘normal’ is unlikely to occur unless driven by authentic motives for social equality and injustice. Moreover, Michael Belgrave provides some practical tools to deal with the rhetoric of ‘Māori privilege’ often used by those in places of privilege to deny Māori claims of right.

This book is at its best when the contributors write from their own experience. Powerful lessons are found in the words of those who share their process of growth through self-reflection. Damian Skinner’s telling of his own journey to be able to integrate the Treaty into his everyday life offers a clear challenge to Pākehā to genuinely address the current hegemony and the impact of the constant imposition of Pākehā values on Māori lives. Edwina Merito and Liz Cotton’s reflective assessment of the initiatives to incorporate Māori understandings, perspectives and practices in the Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum delivers a useful case study for the implementation of strategic and policy change in other institutions.

On the other hand, David Williams’s chapter comparing the description of the Treaty of Waitangi to the Magna Carta in early colonial discourse, while most likely of interest to historians, and legal historians in particular, seems out of place in this volume. It details a time outside the focus of the book. And although Rachael Bell justifies this as an introduction to the work, and establishing necessary background, most chapters include relevant history for context, often from a new perspective.

This book is a very informative text, and one that deserves a wide readership. For historians in particular, it provides fresh perspectives on old histories, and promotes other histories, not so well known outside of those impacted by them. Most importantly, *The Treaty on the Ground* provides a number of very relevant examples, and some useful strategies, for implementing the Treaty in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. Perhaps it will be the uptake of these strategies — modified to new circumstances — that will point to where we are headed. We will have to wait and see.

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Völkner and Mokokoko: A 150 Year Quest for Justice and Reconciliation. By Earle Howe. General Synod, Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, Meadowbank, Auckland, 2016. 112pp. NZ price: \$25. ISBN: 9780908675098 (paperback).

THIS CONCISE BOOK is offered as ‘a comprehensive account’ (p.iv) of the 1865 execution of missionary Carl Sylvius Völkner, the terrible retribution inflicted by the Crown and the subsequent prolonged ‘quest for justice and reconciliation’. In addition, the author was asked by the vestry of Hiona St Stephen’s Church in Ōpōtiki to write ‘an updated and comprehensive history’ (p.v) of the church. The events of 1865 and their consequences are inseparable from the history of the parish and its place of worship; therefore, this book serves a dual agenda. Thus, the first chapter, ‘Christian beginnings in Ōpōtiki’, recounts the original evangelization of the Whakatōea iwi, a work substantially advanced by Māori converts themselves.

Völkner, a German-born missionary, was ordained as an Anglican minister in 1861 and appointed to Ōpōtiki, where he opened a school and built a church, Hiona (Zion), which was opened in 1864. Despite the active support given by local Māori in the construction of the building, Völkner became aware that anti-British sentiment was growing among Whakatōhea. His letters to Governor Grey show that he was concerned to discourage Whakatōhea from entering into conflicts they could only lose (advice that unfortunately was not heeded), but he also felt duty-bound to report on anti-government military preparations. Howe does not think the existence of Völkner's correspondence — let alone its highly incriminating content — was known to his accusers (pp.37–38). However, his trips to Auckland provided grounds for assuming he was a spy, even though he was also visiting his wife Emma and collecting medical supplies to combat a typhoid outbreak.

Shortly after the arrival of a Pai Mārire (Hau Hau) band led by Pātara Raukauri and Kereopa Te Rau, Völkner returned to Ōpōtiki on 1 March 1865. On Howe's account, this was 'in effect, a war party' some 200-strong (p.30) and quite enough to seal the missionary's fate whatever local support he may have retained. Völkner was hanged the next day and his body desecrated. Pātara was absent, and Kereopa, who would swallow the minister's eyes, seems to have been the principal instigator. The precise course of events is difficult to disentangle, given the conflicting testimonies of those who were present or reported what they had been told. Divergent accounts were given by Völkner's companion the Rev. T.S. Grace, who eventually escaped capture, and Morris Levy, captain of the *Eclipse*, which had brought the pair to Ōpōtiki. Sometimes Howe simply reports pieces of evidence given in different sources without passing judgment, but his survey of impassioned Pākehā responses to the killing adds an important dimension to the story.

Further provoked by the Pai Mārire-inspired killing in July of James Fulloon, a government agent, Grey dispatched a punitive expedition against Whakatōhea in September. A 'pattern of scorched-earth devastation, followed by Government confiscation of land, continued for well over a year, even after Whakatōhea had surrendered and were confined to what became known as the Ōpape Native Reserve' (p.53). Among those who gave themselves up in the hope of mollifying the government forces was Whakatōhea chief Mokomoko. Along with three others, he was hanged at Mt Eden Prison on 17 May 1866 for murdering Völkner, despite consistently declaring his innocence.

On a number of occasions over the following 150 years, Whakatōhea appealed to successive governments for compensation for the losses they had unjustly suffered and for a declaration of Mokomoko's innocence. A 'free pardon' was eventually offered in 1992, not because the Crown was convinced by forensic argument but because two Ngāti Awa men hanged with Mokomoko had effectively been pardoned by the Te Runanga o Ngāti Awa Act (1988). Only in 2013 was Mokomoko officially declared innocent by Act of Parliament, but Whakatōhea's claim before the Waitangi Tribunal remains as yet unresolved.

A more analytical rather than episodic structure might have demonstrated the significance of some of the book's themes more effectively. For example, Anglican debates over whether Völkner was really a martyr and the status he should be accorded in *A New Zealand Prayer Book* offer a useful way of measuring the degree of reconciliation between Māori and Pākehā church members at different stages in their history. Aspects of this issue are presented in several different chapters as determined by the chronology.

The book is attractively produced with monochrome and colour images. It draws upon both primary and secondary sources and includes Völkner's letters to Grey as well as the 1992 pardon as appendices. This is a helpful narrative, though given its large cast and the many place names mentioned, it could have been rendered more useful to readers unfamiliar with the region and the story by the inclusion of an index and a map. But it is certainly worth a second reading.

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Acknowledge No Frontier: The Creation and Demise of New Zealand's Provinces, 1853–76. By André Brett. Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2016. 343pp. NZ price: \$45.00. ISBN: 9781927322369.

THIS IS A WELCOME STUDY of New Zealand's provincial governments, a constitutional dispensation which lasted from 1853 until 1876. If it will not make W.P. Morrell's classic study redundant, Brett's work will certainly be read alongside Morrell, and Brett writes with an engaging style.

Brett opens with a useful discussion of the constitutional and political landscape before 1852, noting the impracticality of the 1846 constitution, especially several tiers of indirect election. After 1846, simplicity and localism would be emphasized, and principal considerations in what emerged in the 1852 constitution were geography and communication. George Grey's role in drafting the constitution is highlighted; he was largely responsible for the studied ambiguity about the status of provinces, an ambiguity which persisted.

Initially, provincial governments enjoyed widespread support. The first elections were generally contested enthusiastically, to say the least, even if some superintendents were elected unopposed. Until the question of responsible government was settled in 1856, the provincial councils were the more effective legislatures, or were so regarded by many parliamentarians. Indeed, the relationship between provincial governments and the colonial administration shaped the first responsible ministries. Stafford, for example, became premier because his pragmatic approach was generally acceptable. As Brett emphasizes, the provinces were decidedly unequal in their endowments, and the 1856 compact which allocated land revenue to the provincial governments reinforced that inequality.

The real problems, as Brett documents in some detail, were twofold. Isolation and challenging geographies were one. The sort of infrastructure which many demanded was almost impossible to fund. The other was a pervasive localism, which when related to the first problem fed secessionist movements. Too many provincial politicians were incompetent and small-minded; the talent pool was not extensive. Hawke's Bay, Marlborough and Southland all seceded from their parents. Brett shows that the legislation that permitted secession, in specifying that only the wish of the seceding region should be taken into account, fatally and deliberately undermined the provincial system. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that there was little commitment to making provinces work. Of course, once localism had had its victory in