

gendered historiography of the Pacific, looking at ways in which women were framed in the largely patriarchal world of empire as well as indigenous societies. This adds a crucial component to the period of encounter and cultural relations, in particular the way women's roles were constructed. Aldrich provides a survey of the diverse forms of political systems as well as the dynamic interplay between variants of polities and power configurations. Of interest is the way contemporary political systems embody different modes of political institutions, often crafted to suit local circumstances. The loggerhead between colonial hegemony and indigenous resistance movements has been part of this dynamic process.

The book portrays, in a myriad of approaches, a four-dimensional Pacific – insular and littoral, oceanic and maritime. It not only provides a broad periodization of Pacific history; more profoundly, it presents a multidisciplinary narrative of the multifaceted Pacific world, including indigenous notions of history, colonial hegemony and transformation, environment, migration, economy, religion, law, science, race, gender and politics. The Pacific is treated here as a collective whole, with distinct parts actively engaging, dialoguing and contending with each other in a dynamic ontological process which defined the past, continues to construct the present and will no doubt also frame the future. In a way this is one of the shortcomings of the book because by putting all the countries on an even historical plane, it overlooks the inherent hegemonic relationships between the dominant and subaltern societies and the continuing political, ideological and economic contestations.

While the book recognizes the cultural, socio-economic and geopolitical diversity of the region – from the industrialized nations such as Japan and the United States to the poor countries of Oceania – it should have done more to emphasize the stratified and paradoxically exclusivist nature of the term 'Pacific'. Dominant powers such as the United States and Asian countries use the term to refer to themselves, particularly in relation to trans-Pacific economic trade agreements and geopolitical relations, while the 'heart' of the Pacific, the Oceanic islands, are often seen as irrelevant and in fact non-existent. This 'doughnut' image of the Pacific comes out in subtle and at times more obvious ways in the book, where discussions of economics revolve around the rim while the Oceanic Pacific is still seen through the romantic lenses of ethnographic historiography. The almost functionalist approach of the book, in seeing rim and Oceanic relationships as being mutual, hides the underlying exploitative relations, such as the unregulated logging of Pacific Islands forests and unscrupulous fishing by companies emanating from rim countries.

There are a number of obvious gaps, which the book could have done well to plug. These include an analysis of the power dynamics between the metropolitan rim and Oceanic countries as well as the evolution, synthesis and contestation of ideologies and ideas, including cultural, religious, economic and political thinking. In addition, there should also have been a chapter on the history of people's organizations, resistance movements and civil society. These are often-ignored aspects of social history, which need to be spotlighted.

The book is recommended reading not only for historians but also for anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists and economists who are inspired by the potential and promise of multidisciplinary intellectual pursuit. It has bridged some

knowledge gaps in Pacific historiography and provides a new approach for weaving diversity into an interconnected relationship. It shows both promise and ingenuity.

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Entanglements of Empire: Missionaries, Māori, and the Question of the Body. By Tony Ballantyne. Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2014. 376pp. NZ price: \$39.99. ISBN: 9781869408268.

In *Entanglements of Empire*, Tony Ballantyne reconstructs the British missionary enterprise in a strongly anthropological work. The framing of the book is imperial history, but the modality is decidedly 'cultural turn', exploring how missionary mentalities and theologies were 'embodied' in practice on the ground. The body – both individual bodies and their social organization – thus provides the central motif of the book.

Ballantyne distinguishes what he is doing from recent works framed as proto-New Zealand narratives that conceptualize meetings or encounters between two cultural worlds, including Anne Salmond's important work and Vincent O'Malley's *The Meeting Place* (2012). Ballantyne is critical of the way this analytical frame buttresses and sometimes reflects New Zealand's 'state ideology of biculturalism'. Against such nationalisms, his is a 'new imperial history' in which the Bay of Islands is considered as a particular site that was progressively incorporated into ever-expanding imperial networks. Neither is the book a narrative history, instead being a series of thematically and historiographically driven assessments of the New Zealand Protestant missionary archive, with a focus on the period from 1814 to 1840.

In Chapter One, Ballantyne deftly outlines the growth of British imperial reach into the Pacific, beginning with Cook's voyages. After the failure of the first Pacific missions to evangelize, mission thinkers turned to 'civilisation first'. Ballantyne assesses Samuel Marsden's debt to Enlightenment thought on civilization, and looks at how Marsden saw missions and empire as mutually supporting. Although the chapter explores Marsden's important commercial relationship with merchant Robert Campbell (pp.52–54), and gives a nuanced reading of Marsden's perception of a contrast between Māori and Aboriginal capacity for 'improvement', this chapter traverses well-trodden ground.

Ballantyne considers the extent to which the first missions 'made place' and 'reordered space' in Chapter Two. He argues that the placement of the early mission stations reflected tensions in local politics, especially those between the 'northern alliance' and the 'southern alliance' of wider Bay of Islands Ngāpuhi hapū. This assessment is strong but perhaps not new. There is more to be said about these dynamics; the complexities of hapū claims to Te Tii Waitangi land, for example, makes an interesting study, including the role played by Henry Williams

in the 1830s and by his sons in supporting 1890s hapū claims in the Native Land Court. The chapter's most interesting argument reconsiders criticisms of mission settlements as little islands of British culture surrounded by the archetypal picket fence. Ballantyne shows, by contrast, that the early missionaries were often stymied in their attempts to create protected spaces behind the picket fences or even palisades of the Hoihi (Oih) and Kerikeri stations. In any event, fences were only intended to keep out certain things – marauding pigs and unwanted war parties. But mission stations generally, even those that acquired more political independence (or interdependence) at Paihia and Waimate, were places of 'constant motion' in and out (p.95); and mission communities contained many Māori, including students of the schools and war captives. Early Paihia mission images, as archaeologist Angela Middleton points out, show a small pā towards the foreshore of the southern beach; images such as this are an example of a different kind of archive, which is not within Ballantyne's purview, but which supports his argument (*Pēwhairangi*, 2014, p.147.) In sum, mission stations were always at least partially indigenized spaces, even if the later mission houses introduced profound change in the way Māori conceived of gender roles and of sleeping spaces demarcated between children and parents.

In 'Economics, Labor, and Time' (Chapter Three), Ballantyne appraises afresh the archive of the early mechanic missionaries, particularly their 'economic entanglements' with, and reliance on, their Māori host communities. Māori were definitely in control in the 1820s, and missionaries had limited impact on Māori social practices, including slavery. Ballantyne is perhaps strongest in his portrayal of the work ethic central to daily missionary living, in which he reconstructs the mentality of work from both primary and secondary sources, amongst these John Wesley's sermons and the influential analyses of Max Weber and E.P. Thompson.

In the following chapter, Ballantyne presents the 'fall' of missionary William Yate in a fresh take on the sources and the wider theological and sociolegal context, including the contemporary criminal law on sodomy. Ballantyne carefully uses the archive in arguing (contra Judith Binney) that there was plentiful evidence of Yate's transgressions, despite the guarded language of the Māori depositions. The book vividly recreates Yate's personality (in part through the self-promotion contained in his influential 1835 work on New Zealand), recounts the missionaries' destruction of Yate's property as 'expunging the sin of Achan', and describes the 'moderate Calvinism' which framed the missionaries' understanding of sexuality. Ballantyne convincingly shows how the Yate episode shook missionaries at their emotional core, in part because it challenged a fundamental premise of the mission concerning the transformation of both individual lives and social practices.

In 'Cultures of Death' (Chapter Five), Ballantyne analyzes missionary relationships with the social practices and cosmologies surrounding Māori tangihanga and burial. The various missionary journeys to Te Reinga at North Cape – in part provoked by Māori conceptions of the spirit's passage at death – illustrate missionaries in a more reflective, ethnological pose. Challenging ideas of fatal impact, Ballantyne suggests that Māori themselves were more instrumental in converting their own when it came to practices such as burial.

In the final essay, entitled 'The Politics of the "Enfeebled" Body', *Entanglements of Empire* presents 'a counterpoint' to interpretations of British annexation framed as New Zealand pre-histories or Colonial Office policy narratives (it might be added here, or to some iwi/hapū and Tribunal arguments, that 'sovereignty was never ceded'). Ballantyne seeks to incorporate recent feminist and other literatures dealing with a 'British politics of bodily reform', a contemporary paradigm concerned with the alleviation of pain and suffering (pp.217–18). This, says Ballantyne, is a new way of understanding the humanitarian sentiment or 'culture of sensibility' in early nineteenth-century Britain (pp.220–1). In the case of New Zealand, this humanitarianism was expressed in portrayals of the 'dying Māori' – of Māori bodies ravaged by disease and immoral Europeans – as in the *Elizabeth* affair. Ballantyne nicely summarizes the evangelical Buxton's Aborigines Committee of 1835–1837, and then shows how the House of Lords' report the following year (1838) opened the door to imperial intervention. For this reviewer, the sociocultural interpretation of British humanitarianism lacks explanatory power when placed alongside more standard interpretations of the humanitarians as deriving much of their inspiration or impetus from the Wesleyan revival of the mid to late eighteenth century.

Ballantyne concludes with a few parting shots. He argues that the characterization of missionaries as 'cultural change agents', by historians such as Keith Sinclair, Judith Binney and Ranginui Walker, obscures the reality that to the extent they were, it was not often from a position of strength. Missionaries were not on a 'crusade to destroy' Māori society, but rather were engaged in a process of translation and debate. Calling them 'cultural imperialists' does not capture the 'emotional warp and weft' of missionary texts, or relationships with Māori (p.256). He also argues, against James Belich's ideas of substantive sovereignty, that empire was a reality for Māori communities well before 1840 (one feels that Ballantyne is a making a different point from the one Belich was making).

Entanglements of Empire is a strong and unique contribution to recent scholarship on missionary–Māori dynamics. Ballantyne's real achievement is to produce some fine cultural readings of the British Protestant missionary enterprise that are attuned to the realities of imperial–indigenous power relations. It rebalances the existing historiography towards a more nuanced reading of Pākehā mentalities and motivations. The focus on the material culture of the mission may, however, obscure the evangelical emphasis on the 'culture of the heart' as the locus of the most important change in Māori. Bishop Te Kitohi Pikaahu recently argued cogently for such an interpretation from Ngāpuhi Mihingare tradition in *Te Rongopai 1814* (A. Davidson et al., eds, 2014).

The book is less a cultural history of the Bay of Islands Māori experience, even though concepts like tapu and noa and leading Māori individuals feature strongly in the analysis. This may be because the missionary archive has its limitations in delineating Māori experience, while the recent published academic work on Māori cultural change in *Pēwhairangi* is relatively thin. One can list Jeffrey Sissons, Wiremu Wi Hongi and Patu Hohepa (1987), Alison Jones and Kuni Jenkins (*He Kōrero*, 2011), and, in part, *Tangata Whenua* (2014). As David Williams has recently argued in this journal (October 2014, pp.136–60), quality research produced within the Treaty

claims process needs to be considered by academic historians. Problematically, it is often hard to access. But for the Muriwhenua and Northland inquiries, evidence by Philippa Wyatt, Joan Metge and Grant Phillipson has a rightful claim to consideration, while evidence by the late Rima Edwards and Erima Henare reveals an authentic Māori voice. A noticeable omission from the book's bibliography is Angela Ballara's work – her MA thesis on Ngāpuhi (1973), her PhD thesis (1991) and *Iwi* (1998) – work that explores iwi and hapū formations and Pākehā (mis)conceptions of the same.

Nevertheless, the book is based on a rigorous engagement with the primary archive and raises new lines of enquiry. One of these is the extent to which missionaries were changed by the use of te reo Māori in the course of translation of scripture. The book postulates such change (p.5) but does not substantively elucidate it in the way that Salmond, for example, describes how Cook's Pacific encounters affected him at a deep cultural and personal level. Further close readings of missionary texts and contexts are needed with this question in mind.

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Pēwhairangi: Bay of Islands Missions and Māori 1814 to 1845. By Angela Middleton. Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2014. 335pp. NZ price: \$50.00. ISBN: 9781877578533.

Angela Middleton begins the preface to *Pēwhairangi* with a personal comment, noting that 'Pēwhairangi, or more literally, Te Pē-o-whairangi, the Bay of Islands, has been a place of intrigue and mystique for me'. Such a kaupapa is a good foundation for any research project. But it is more than one author's focus; *Pēwhairangi* remains a place of intrigue and mystique and heritage – in equal parts – for most New Zealanders. For a long time Pēwhairangi was the place where missionaries began their work among Māori; it was also the place where Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed; the place where some of the chiefs who signed the Treaty first took up arms against imperial troops; and the place that bore the footprints of giant figures in New Zealand history and to key events on the national timeline. From Mochanga, Te Pahi and Ruatara to Williams and Busby; from Hongi Hika and Hone Heke to the Clark, Kendall and Kemp families; each of the players in New Zealand's early settler–Māori relationships called Pēwhairangi home.

A history focused purely on this area and era, and therefore the early history of New Zealand, was long overdue, and this book, based on Middleton's doctoral thesis, is a very welcome addition to the historiography of the country. It fits neatly alongside the other key texts relating to the era, principally Claudia Orange's *The Treaty of Waitangi* (1987), Vincent O'Malley's *The Meeting Place* (2012), Paul Moon's *The Path to the Treaty of Waitangi* (2002) and Judith Binney's life of Thomas Kendall, *The Legacy of Guilt* (1968/2005). Historians will also find

complementary material in the *Huia Histories of Māori: Ngā Tāhuhu Kōrero* (2012) and in Angela Ballara's history of the musket wars, *Taua* (2003). *Pēwhairangi* is unique, however, in its inclusion of the author's archaeological explorations of the mission settlements, featuring rich finds in old middens and beneath ancient floorboards. If anything, I would have liked even more of this fascinating material, and the decision to present these as stand-alone inclusions separate from the rest of the text makes this aspect of the book very useful.

The book follows a chronological order, based mostly around the development of settlement and missionary–Māori interactions, beginning with first contact with explorers Cook, de Surville and Du Fresne, and the significant interactions with Norfolk Island governor Philip Gidley King. Equal weight is given to a deftly written summary of pre-European ngā tikanga Māori (Māori culture), iwi and hapū structures and rangatira, and the leaders, work and motivations of the various missionary societies of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These introductory concepts set up an incisively written, exhaustively researched and beautifully illustrated piece of historical examination. The author untangles the complex history of the north, exploring the machinations of early Australasian missionary politics, working lives on the barely viable mission settlements under the protection/control of mercurial Ngāpuhi chiefs, and a local environment marked by taua, taua muru, utu and a constant threat of war from and with Māori neighbours. Even the events leading to and from the 'Musket Wars' of Hongi Hika, which led to so many deaths throughout the North Island, are discussed, including the horror experienced by the missionaries who were caught up in the aftermath of the slaughter.

It is not all butchery and savage encounters though: the development, adaptation and spread of Māori agriculture following the introduction of wheat, potatoes, chickens and pigs are carefully traced, along with the adaptive aspects of tikanga as revealed in the entrepreneurship of (mostly) Ngāpuhi hapū through new opportunities for trading with sailors, settlers and overseas markets in the new colonies of Australia. Not so cheerful is the discussion of the missionary cohort; the thin skein of respectability with which some of the – at times – venal, bitter, Machiavellian and arrogant missionaries cloaked their true selves is ripped asunder through Middleton's careful examination of journals, reports and correspondence of the many ministers, labourers, wives and evangelists. That said, missionaries with more integrity like Henry Williams, who went with Ngāpuhi taua to the Bay of Plenty to try and minimize bloodshed and defuse conflicts in the 1820s and then diplomatically prevented renewal of bloodshed in the 1830s, fare a little better. Williams, the veteran of Britain's naval campaign against Napoleon's fleet, and friend to both Hongi Hika and Hone Heke, emerges here as a larger-than-life personality. While his quirks and sometimes aloof personality are highlighted, his actions and bravery, which led to the vast respect in which he was held by Ngāpuhi, are also spelt out.

The book needed a decision for a cut-off date to end its narrative, and I was pleased to see that instead of halting her history with the Treaty, Angela Middleton decided to outline the events leading up to, during and concluding Hone Heke and Kawiti's 'Flagstaff War' of the mid-1840s. In this very fitting conclusion to her book the author carefully traces of the events, battles and aftermath of this conflict.