

were all able to solve a number of outstanding problems, such as citizenship, and to draft a constitution based on the Westminster model, but carefully adapted to the needs and circumstances of a conservative society holding fast to its customs and traditions and aspiring to better standards of living and education.

If there are any qualifications to be made concerning this intimate and fascinating account of the final stages of trusteeship, they are, firstly that it does not quite recognise the organic relationship between the first and second working committee and constitutional convention and, secondly, that it rather neglects the rôles of the department of external affairs and of the United Nations. It therefore should be supplemented with Professor Aikman's article 'Samoa Comes of Age' in the *Round Table*, September 1961.

For good measure Professor Davidson has added an epilogue demonstrating that independence has stimulated economic development and that the Samoan constitution has proved remarkably durable. The danger he fears is that the new state facing the problems of balancing the claims of progress and tradition will give a preponderant weight to the latter.

Although *Samoa mo Samoa* is primarily Samoan history for Samoans and New Zealanders who have helped in its making, it will be appreciated by all those who are interested in decolonisation and who appreciate good literature.

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*War and Politics in New Zealand, 1855-1870.* By B. J. Dalton. Sydney University Press, 1967. 311 pp. Australian price: \$7.00.

NEW ZEALAND historians are prone to exaggerate the significance of their works by inflating their titles. The short essay, often regionally flavoured, becomes a Short History of New Zealand; the specialised monograph, usually conceived as a thesis, blossoms into life under a broad thematic title. B. J. Dalton's book belongs to the latter category. It started as an Oxford D.Phil., 'The Control of Native Affairs in New Zealand: a constitutional experiment and its consequences, 1855-1870' (1956). Now, on publication, it has become *War and Politics in New Zealand*. Yet, despite the change in packaging, the product remains much the same. As Dalton admits (pp. 2-3), this is essentially a study of the transfer of responsibility for Maori affairs from the British Governor to the Colonial Ministry. The Anglo-Maori wars and politics of the period are discussed only in so far as they were related to this central issue.

A detailed study of this topic is certainly welcome, if unfashionable. For Dalton's book is a belated product of a school of history that is almost as dead as the empire which was its chief concern. British imperial history, and particularly the evolution of colonial responsible government, was taught for a good many years in Oxford, Cambridge and London — and in the universities of the dominions. New Zealanders, expatriates and returned men, were assiduous contributors to the school. Most of them had survived their ordeal by thesis, but few of them could obtain sufficient respite from teaching to refurbish their theses for publication. The publications of the last forty years on New Zealand constitutional development and imperial

relations are few indeed. A. J. Harrop published *England and New Zealand* in 1926 and *England and the Maori Wars* in 1937; W. P. Morrell *The Provincial System in New Zealand* in 1932; and A. H. McLintock *Crown Colony Government in New Zealand*, the first of an unfinished trilogy, in 1958. J. Rutherford in his biography of Sir George Grey and Keith Sinclair in the *Origins of the Maori Wars* touched on constitutional developments, and particularly the transfer of responsibility for Maori affairs, though neither of them followed it through. Dalton has done just this. He has also dealt ably with the related issues of war expenditure and the control and ultimate withdrawal of British troops. This alone is no mean achievement when we consider the tangled and tedious wrangles of the eighteen-sixties.

It is when he steps outside the bounds of this central dissertation that Dalton is less adequate. His case for whitewashing the Waitara purchase must be regarded as unproven, especially in view of the erratic use of evidence pointed out by Sinclair in a recent review (*New Zealand Listener*, 21 July 1967). The Waikato invasion of 1863 might well have been of greater significance in the deterioration of Anglo-Maori relations than the Waitara purchase, but to treat it as almost completely unrelated to Waitara is misleading. After all, it was the fighting over Waitara which led Kingi and most of Atiawa to join the King movement; and it was the intervention of a good many of the Waikato kingites in the first and second Taranaki wars that helped to provoke the Waikato invasion.

Nevertheless, these differences of interpretation over Waitara and Waikato are subordinate to Dalton's main purpose: to rescue the reputation of Governor Browne and to destroy beyond recall that of his successor, Sir George Grey. Unfortunately this task has become an *idée fixe*; so much so that Dalton sometimes ignores his main theme, the transfer of responsibility for Maori affairs. There is, of course, much to be said for Dalton's defence of Browne who was a good deal more honest than his successor. But Dalton carries the defence too far. For instance, he claims (pp. 55-56) that Browne kept a tight rein over his subordinates in their land purchase activities — despite the numerous letters quoted by Sinclair from the McLean papers in which Browne admits an absolute dependence on McLean, his chief land purchase agent.

Much the same can be said about the attack on Grey: it is largely justified; again it is carried to excess. But here Dalton is flogging a dead horse. The legend of Good Governor Grey which he sets out to destroy survives only in a few old school texts, certainly not in any of the recently published general histories or in Rutherford's biography. Perhaps this biography has its faults — some of which Dalton points out — but Rutherford's judicial assessment of Grey, and particularly his second governorship, is far more convincing than Dalton's. For one thing, Rutherford did examine the motives of the politicians — as for instance those of Whitaker and Russell over the Waikato confiscation — as one explanation of the repeated wrangles between Grey and his ministers. Dalton, on the other hand, is content to regard the ministers as innocent victims of Grey's megalomania — except on the few occasions when they leagued with Grey against the Colonial Office.

Yet Dalton's habit of over-playing his hand is not the main fault with the book. In spite of his title, Dalton says little about either war or politics in the period. It is true that there is an extended discussion on the control

of the British troops. There is also some comment on the main campaigns of the wars, or at least on the successful prosecution of these campaigns by the British officers involved. This, though largely justified, leads to some peculiar comments; the battle of Gate Pa, for instance, is described (p. 188) as a 'minor repulse' though the British casualties — 46 killed and 122 wounded — were the highest of any encounter in the war. The Colonial militia, on the other hand, are ignored, except where they blundered, even though they and their Maori auxiliaries were responsible for the bulk of the fighting after 1865. Similarly the whole question of civilian involvement in the wars is ignored, apart from the odd remark about the unwillingness of settlers to bear arms and the cost of the wars. There is nothing in this book about the passions provoked by war, and of the ways in which these were translated into demands for the confiscation of Maori land and for harsh punishment of real or imagined Maori rebels.

The same sort of deficiencies are evident on the Maori side. Dalton makes little attempt to examine Maori attitudes to the war — to explain why some fought the Europeans while others remained neutral or fought for the Pakeha. He is somewhat ambiguous about the concept of Maori nationalism. He notes that the Maoris failed to overcome all tribal divisions; that they had no national art, literature and costume; and that they drew their inspiration not from tradition but from the teachings of the missionaries and the Old Testament. Because of this Dalton suggests (p. 62) 'it were best to avoid the expression altogether'. He does not quite manage to do so since he refers several times (c.g. pp. 87, 111) to the growth of nationalistic feelings. But the examples given are hardly a sufficient excuse to dispense with the concept: in Africa, if not in Europe and Asia, nationalism was not greatly hampered by the persistence of tribal divisions and the absence of a national art, literature and costume, or even a tradition of independence. Moreover, nationalists made good use of mission education, and that revolutionist's handbook, the Old Testament. Indeed one could argue that the kind of Maori nationalism that was developing in New Zealand in the middle of last century was very similar to the form of African nationalism that has developed in this century. The parallel does not apply merely to the King movement. Hauhauism has had much in common with religio-political movements in Africa — from the cattle-killing craze of British Kaffraria to Maji Maji and Mau Mau. But Dalton makes no attempt to examine the political nature of Hauhauism, though he admits it had some sort of political significance and that the rise of the movement contributed to the continuation of the war.

The comments on European politics in the period are equally fleeting and uninformative. Dalton begins with the promising suggestion that the New Zealand political scene in the mid-nineteenth century was much like that of eighteenth-century England as revealed by the researches of Namier and his colleagues. New Zealand had no political parties but merely impermanent factions, and ministries were coalitions of these. But apart from very brief character sketches of the leading ministers, Dalton makes no attempt to examine the men and their motives, or the pressures of public opinion. He does not even refer to the doctoral theses of D. G. Herron and G. A. Wood which applied the Namier techniques to the earlier part of the period. The eighteen-sixties have long been one of the most obscure decades in New Zealand's political history, largely because no historian has yet been able to examine the effect of the war on politics. Unfortunately, the obscurity remains.

To some extent the deficiencies outlined above are a consequence of Dalton's method. He has dutifully ploughed through a mass of official papers — despatches and Colonial Office minutes, New Zealand Parliamentary Papers and Debates, and the private papers of some politicians — but he has seldom looked beyond this material to examine Maori and European opinion, as recorded by mission papers, the newspapers, and in the Maori Affairs archives (mentioned in the bibliography, though seldom in the footnotes).

Yet for all the criticism that Dalton's book will provoke, it will remain a useful contribution to British imperial and New Zealand history.

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*A History of Canterbury*, Volume III: 1876-1950. By W. H. Scotter. Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd., 1965. N.Z. price: \$4.20.

ALTHOUGH one may doubt the validity of provincial as distinct from local or national history, as indeed both Mr. Gardner and Dr. Scotter seem to do themselves (pp. xviii, 429), the publication of *A History of Canterbury*, Volume III: 1876-1950, brings to the interested reader a mine of information which it would be difficult to obtain elsewhere.

After introductory comments on the changing nature of Canterbury provincialism, and on the transition years 1874-8, the book is divided into four periods: 1879-95, 1896-1914, 1915-35, 1936-50. In each of these sections, the author has attempted to describe the principal economic, political and social developments of the time. The result is only a qualified success.

The economic chapters are thorough, illustrating the theme of the emergence of Canterbury as a leading pastoral district of New Zealand. Useful maps, tables and appendices give the book added value as a reference work. The sections dealing with political issues are less satisfying.

Dr. Scotter has certainly not upheld an artificial distinction between provincial politics and national developments. Instead, he has tried to reveal the attitudes of Canterbury politicians and public towards matters of national concern. Unfortunately, he tends at times to give so much provincial detail that the national perspective becomes obscured. This practice is particularly noticeable in Chapter VI, 'Canterbury in Colonial Politics: From Hall to Reeves'. The political struggles of later years are better described. T. E. Taylor is regarded as 'the most devastating, if erratic, critic of government in New Zealand's parliamentary history' (p. 280). G. W. Forbes undergoes historical reassessment. From being 'New Zealand's most improbable premier', he emerges as a 'first class parliamentarian, skilful in debate, imperturbable under attack, always able to gauge the feelings of the House' (p. 425). And for Canterbury political history, 30 November 1949 is attributed a significance comparable to Reeves's success on election night, 1890 (p. 457).

When the author's attention is focused on local government, the results are rewarding, the incidence of rural localism being particularly well described. An interesting feature of the post-1915 period that Dr. Scotter emphasizes is the activity of a large number of organizations concerned with the war, with unemployment and even with local projects such as that