

sovereignty and claims in law for two cultures in a single state. Just how novel and far-reaching some of those claims are is illustrated in abundant detail in the studies provided by Waerete Norman, I. H. Kawharu, Tipene O'Regan, and M. H. Durie. Some of this analysis raises further points: it is not explained just how the Crown should enforce Maori rights in the Muriwhenua claim, bearing in mind that other titles (*mana whenua*) exist for the control and exploitation of fish stocks exercised legally by those of the Pakeha population whose fires of occupation have also been burning since 1840. Similarly, the evident restoration of the *mana* of the Ngati Whatua in the successful Orakei marae claim affords a place to stand in an urban society, but not the lost rural estates. How far does this solve the economic deprivation of rural Maori or the problems of rapid urbanization? Even more ominous, Ngai Tahu claims to much of the South Island leave open the political questions of compensation or participation in state enterprises (thoughtfully explored by O'Regan) which, in turn, beg the question that the 'Crown' does not have money of its own and is accountable to a political majority.

R.J. Walker explains how the Treaty has served as a focus for Maori protest and organization in the past and M. H. Durie points to the ways in which it may be used to restore political sovereignty in terms of social advancement. The 1988 Royal Commission had much to say about this imbalance between the two cultures, accepted uncritically in Durie's essay, which refers to 'various stresses and society pressures' (p. 287) to account for Maori social and economic status. Without an analysis of modern Maori family structure or the inhibitions of *whakamaa* (feeling humbled) recently explored by Metge,² many will find this off-hand explanation too vague to provide a basis for arguing that the Treaty is a charter for special group rights. There may well be a good case for Maori group participation in local government bodies, but it is not clear how far local government or state agencies are bound by Treaty principles to afford special representation. The Maori Council's proposal for a Senate with equal seats and two legislatures smacks of less laudable constitutional arrangements for separate ethnic representation and a division of business into Maori and Pakeha affairs (p. 297).

In many ways Durie's contribution highlights, as a good essay should, not just the legal background or the current victories, such as they are, against the Crown, but the perplexing political implications of the Treaty for the present generation of New Zealanders. It is to be hoped they will read this collection and its able introduction in order to clear the air and think about ways in which the partnership in development and citizenship, unequal though this has been, might be enlarged pragmatically in government and business, without attempting to force the issue before the electorate.

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The People and the Land. Te Tangata me Te Whenua. An Illustrated History of New Zealand, 1820-1920. By Judith Binney, Judith Bassett and Erik Olssen. Picture research by Moira Long and John Sullivan. Allen and Unwin, Wellington, 1990. 352pp. Price: \$59.95.

THE VISUAL impact of this large-format book is stunning. This is an illustrated history of the highest order. Roughly estimated there are over 350 photographs, paintings, sketches and maps, in colour and black and white, brought together from collections in

1. Richard Mulgan, *Maori, Pakeha and Democracy*, Auckland, 1989.
2. Joan Metge, *In and Out of Touch: Whakamaa in Cross Cultural Context*, Wellington, 1989.

England, France, Australia and New Zealand. More important, the lavish quantity is matched by the first-class quality of reproduction of what must have been a very diverse set of original materials. The definition and clarity of even the smallest watercolour are remarkable and clear evidence that enormous care, and presumably expense, have gone into their reproduction.

This is not however one of those much denigrated 'coffee table' publications nor, given the year of its publication, a sesquicentennial extravaganza. The illustrations, which are fully and precisely sub-titled, illuminate and expand the text, and their depiction of Maori and Pakeha in a variety of mixed and segregated activities form an integral part of the innovative historiographical experiment in which the three historians are involved. *The People and the Land, Te Tangata me Te Whenua*, is not a conventional general history of New Zealand, but an attempt to write a history of the first 100 years of shared Maori and Pakeha experience, giving due weight to both. To date most historians of New Zealand have offered specialised analyses concentrating on one racial group or the other, and the disjunctions between the two have been minimized or ignored. Very much the same has occurred in the historical writing about Aboriginal and white Australia. A fully integrated, bi-racial history of either nation would, I believe, have to work from a clearly enunciated interpretative framework and be focused upon particular themes, in particular that of power and powerlessness. The difficulties of such a task should not be underestimated and will take time to be identified and resolved, but *The People and the Land, Te Tangata me Te Whenua* is an exciting first step.

The first two parts of the book written by Judith Binney on the Maori between 1820 and 1920 (five chapters) and by Judith Bassett on the Pakeha from 1820 to 1890 (five chapters) are more satisfactorily balanced and integrated than the third part, written by Erik Olssen and focusing almost exclusively on the Pakeha from 1890 to 1920 (five chapters). Authorial balance seems to have been more scrupulously maintained than racial balance. The chapters by Binney and Bassett mesh together well and while the intersections between Maori and Pakeha worlds are not explicitly focused upon, the views presented do not conflict.

The only problem in an otherwise complex and stimulating account of the first 70 years of inter-racial contact is the disconcerting omission of any description or analysis of the Maori world before contact with the West. One paragraph containing a quick gloss of Maori society as a 'complex, jealous, passionate tribal world' (p.11), cannot provide an understanding of the intricate nature of pre-contact Maori politics, economy, religion or patterns of gender relations. In other Polynesian countries, islanders find presentations of their histories which start with the arrival of the first white foreigners insulting and ahistorical since such a methodology suggests that the islanders had no history or culture before contact with the West. Without this setting the reader had no means of understanding Maori motivation or the skills and institutions at their disposal to deal with the encroaching white world. The European background of the Pakeha immigrants is similarly ignored, but assuming that the large majority of readers of this book will be of Anglo-Celtic descent or live in a predominantly Anglo-Celtic world, a presumed familiarity with that background is less problematic. No glossary of Maori terms is given, nor are Maori words italicized in the text. Was it assumed that the book's audience would (or should) be sufficiently conversant with the Maori world not to need this information?

The jointly written one page introduction to this volume emphasizes the contradictory perceptions each race has and had of their mutual past. Only Judith Binney (pp. 225-31) treats this matter directly in a telling discussion of a number of Pakeha analysts of Maori society and she concludes her section by re-emphasizing the central theme of Maori history since the 1860s — the persistent struggle for internal autonomy. In part 3 of the volume some of the contradictory historical perceptions mentioned in the Introduction are

perpetuated. Racial stereotypes (p. 236) and the myth of successful racial integration (pp. 271-3) are presented as myths and stereotypes not as fact, but Olssen does not explore the Maori reality behind these beliefs, nor refer explicitly to Binney's chapters so as to highlight the contradictory views of the past held by Pakeha and Maori. By repeating stereotypes without contextualizing them and using phrases like making 'the wilderness productive' (p. 268), 'New Zealand's successful bi-racial society' and 'progress' Olssen does not fully acknowledge Maori experience nor give it due weight. In terms of a balanced, bi-racial history, his chapters do not sit easily with the introductory remarks nor with the more sensitively written chapters of Bassett and Binney.

The People and the Land. Te Tangata me Te Whenua is visually magnificent and intellectually ambitious. Notwithstanding my criticisms of certain aspects it makes an important contribution to the goal of a fully integrated, bi-racial history of New Zealand.

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Paupers and Providers. Charitable Aid in New Zealand. By Margaret Tennant. Allen & Unwin NZ Ltd & Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1989. 245pp. NZ price: \$29.95.

PAUPERS AND PROVIDERS reveals how far social policy historians have come from a 'social laboratory' progressive approach to New Zealand's welfare history. The traditional 'social laboratory' interpretation with its focus on Old Age Pensions (1898) and Social Security (1938) saw New Zealand as a world leader in social policy, having rejected the indignities of the punitive Poor Law of the Old World. Margaret Tennant points out that the Hospitals and Charitable Institutions Act of 1885 was as much a landmark in social welfare history as Old Age Pensions and Social Security. This Act introduced a national system of poor relief paid for mainly out of local rates but also subsidized by the government. By focusing on hospitals and charitable aid, Tennant shows not only that the British Poor Law was alive and well in New Zealand (albeit under a different name), but that in some respects it was harsher than the Poor Law the immigrants had left behind. With their firmly entrenched beliefs in individualism and self-help, nineteenth-century New Zealanders were far from sympathetic to the casualties or failures of the new society.

While not presenting a celebration of New Zealand's welfare history, Tennant avoids the other extreme of explaining welfare in terms of 'social control'. Even if this had been the aim of certain administrators (such as Duncan MacGregor, Inspector-General of Hospitals and Charitable Institutions 1886-1906), a study of local as well as central administration and above all the welfare consumers themselves (who are not portrayed as passive recipients of benevolent aid) reveals a more complex picture. Policy aims could be and constantly were undermined by a complex social environment. This Tennant illustrates by a meticulous use of case notes, mainly from the period 1885-1910, since most surviving files relate to this period. Though they are a difficult source for historians, as there is always the danger of lapsing into the anecdotal, Tennant has used them skilfully to relate the experiences under charitable aid of women, children, old people, the sick poor, and the unemployed. Maori receive only passing mention in the study — but this is because the story of Maori in relation to the Charitable Aid Boards is a negative one, a story of frustration and failure to receive support from this channel, despite the fact that the first public hospitals were established with the Maori specifically in mind.

Another advantage of not restricting the study to an analysis of policy-making at the top level, as has traditionally been the case, is that women are given the prominence they deserve. It was at the local level that women wielded most influence in welfare