REVIEWS

and belonging and thereby learn the ‘trick of standing upright here’. Park responds to some of the questions raised in Michael King’s Being Pakeha and Being Pakeha Now in imaginative and challenging ways. Building on his earlier powerful lament for the loss of lowland wetlands, Nga Uru Ora, this superb collection deserves widespread recognition for one of our best nature writers. Thanks to Park this reader, at least, will gain even more pleasure every time he looks at tui, koromako and kereru.

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IN COLONIAL NEW ZEALAND the land surveyor’s brief was multifaceted. Beyond exploring and evaluating new country, his critical role (this was rigorously a male profession) was to prepare land for settlers, consolidating property rights through the accurate delineation of boundaries. At the same time, the surveyor was settlement modeller, designer of rural cadastres, planner of townships and definer of road lines. Yet, to date, surveyors have attracted limited interest from New Zealand historians. The majority of past studies have been overly romantic, drawing mainly from published reminiscences and collected tall tales, placing emphasis on the experiences and hardships of individuals confronting the wilderness. Very recently there has been a switch to viewing surveying in post-colonial terms, the focus being on the agency of surveyors in the dispossession of Maori and the cultural appropriation of landscape through renaming. In neither instance has much attention been paid to the actual conduct of surveys, the techniques and underlying philosophies, or to the emergence of surveying as a genuine profession. Equally, there has been little attempt to investigate colonial surveys within the economic and political contexts which largely determined their conduct.

Readers who anticipate this volume might at least partially fill some of the major lacunae in New Zealand survey history will be disappointed. To be fair, Janet Holm makes it clear at the outset that her book is ‘not particularly (concerned with) . . . measuring angles and taking trigonometrical readings, for my understanding of these mathematical intricacies is slight’ (p.12). Despite the catchy label, the book is not primarily about mapping. Nor is it really about the ‘life and times of New Zealand’s early surveyors’. Rather, it is about the lives and times of a small group, mainly surveyors but also including engineers and geologists, who practised their professions pre-1900, and for the most part in Canterbury and Westland. Few of the big names of nineteenth-century New Zealand surveying — the likes of Theophilus Heale, Henry Jackson, J.T. Thomson or Percy Smith — appear more than in passing. Indeed, of the individuals selected for special attention, probably only two might be considered even in the second rank of New Zealand’s early surveyors.

It may be the problem lies in the packaging, for Holm suggests a more modest aim in her preface: ‘simply to glimpse a random selection of [surveyors] . . . and try to bring them alive within the social milieu of the time’ (p.12). If this is the intention, she succeeds admirably. The reader encounters, for example, James Wylde, former railway engineer, arguably the first man to write a school textbook on ‘The Geography and History of New Zealand’, later backed by Richard John Seddon when suspended by the Kumara Borough Council for questionable financial dealings. Then there is Robert Preston Bain, another former railway engineer, whose persistent efforts in the 1860s to accurately survey tracts of South Westland were invariably thwarted by environmentally induced disasters. The lives of two young surveyors brought to the colony in the 1840s, Edward Jollie and
Sam Hewlings, clearly demonstrate contrasting fortunes. While the former, author of the first plans of Lyttelton and Christchurch, was to attain relative affluence and social recognition, the latter’s returns for his labours were always more modest. There is real pathos in Hewlings’s story; he lost six of his children by his Nga Puhi wife to typhoid fever or tuberculosis. Four chapters are devoted to the searches for passes across the alps following the discovery of gold on the West Coast. In addition to characters already encountered, the cast includes such figures as the Dobsons, the Harpers, the unfortunate J.H. Whitcombe, Robert Park, John Browning and Julius von Haast. Individually and collectively, these vignettes are full of human interest.

Nearly 90 pages are devoted to the lives and exploits of just two surveyors. John Rochfort, London-born and trained by I.K. Brunel, is undoubtedly the best known of those profiled. First employed at Wellington, Rochfort worked for a time exclusively in the Nelson backcountry and on the West Coast. It has been suggested his greatest strength was his unerring eye for the lie of the country and ability to distinguish potential routeways. It was this trait which took him north in 1870 to lay out the line of the Rimutaka railway. Twelve years later he returned to the North Island to undertake the work with which he is most closely linked — reconnaissance of the North Island Main Trunk Railway. An entire chapter is allotted to this feat. As the author is at pains to point out, Rochfort’s distinguished service was at some social cost, including broken relationships and a late-life addiction to alcohol. ‘John Rochfort died alone’, she writes poignantly, ‘two strangers witnessed his funeral; no one else was there’.

If Rochfort was probably the best known of the surveyors discussed, somewhat incongruously Noel Brodrick is perhaps the least known today. After training as a surveyor in Southland, he transferred to Canterbury in 1877, serving there for nearly 30 years. Acquiring an intimate knowledge of the alps, he wrote a study of the great glaciers which attracted international attention. He was to later play a key part in developing tourist access to the Mt Cook region. In 1915 he was appointed Under Secretary of the Lands and Survey Department, serving in that position until 1922. Planning for the post World War I resettlement of returned soldiers fell largely upon his shoulders. Clearly, Brodrick’s life is of intrinsic interest, yet he, like Rochfort, has yet to find a biographer. Perhaps these are matters to which Holm might now turn her attention.

Despite the lack of footnotes or endnotes, an unfortunate omission but one increasingly standard for publishers aiming at a more than scholarly market, it is evident from the detailed source lists by chapters that the author has ranged widely in her research. The illustrations are generally interesting and well produced, and the cover (featuring Brodrick surveying on the Mueller glacier) is quite striking. Less commendable is the crop of minor errors which could have been eliminated by tighter editing. A few examples will suffice. It is stated (p.46) that the Jollie family arrived in Lausanne in March 1887, but the following paragraph notes their return to New Zealand in 1884. The Canterbury Waste Lands and Survey Departments were not incorporated into ‘a more efficient, unified Department of Lands and Survey’ in 1877 (p.90). The Survey and Lands Departments were administratively separate until 1891. The article on John Rochfort in the 1966 Encyclopedia of New Zealand was not by A.H. McLintock (p.160); the author was A.G. Bagnall. The Chief Justice in 1903 was Robert Stout, not ‘C.J. Stout’ (p.267). The use of the initials C.J., as in ‘Stout C.J.’, denotes the title of Chief Justice. In 1906 Brodrick took the coach to Tiniroto, not Tinoroto (p.271). The watersiders strike in 1917 was surely in support of the anti-conscription campaign, rather than the ‘anti-subscription’ campaign (p.275). These may seem pedantic quibbles, but such slips should be detected by a serious publisher.

The reviewer is often tempted to lament for the book that might have been, the book that was hoped for, in preference to evaluating what has been offered, on its own merits. Disappointment at its limited scope stimulated a not wholly positive initial reaction
to *Caught Mapping* but ultimately it proved to be a far more stimulating book than anticipated. It will be enjoyed by many readers. The thought remains, however, that it might more appropriately have been titled ‘an idiosyncratic collection of interesting life histories of folk living in the nineteenth-century South Island who just happened to be surveyors’.

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**CLASS AND OCCUPATION,** which arises from the now decades-long research on South Dunedin undertaken at the University of Otago, is a serious and solid technical volume which discusses at considerable length the difficulties of quantitative reconstruction of New Zealand society. The biggest problem is the persistent destruction of census returns, a practice which draws the authors’ restrained fury. As they note, New Zealand is the only developed nation in the world to have done this, and it means international comparisons as well as much domestic research are now impossible. A second major problem is the frequent changes in census occupational categorizations, which mean extraordinarily tedious and painstaking reconstruction is required for comparisons across time. Much praise is due to the authors and their collaborators for their efforts which, as they say, mean no one will have to do this work again (lengthy tabular appendices make the results readily available). There are illuminating discussions, too, of the making of the New Zealand census and particularly of the way in which inflexibility obscured women’s position in the labour market, and Maori were totally excluded from consideration until 1926. We have a useful justification of combining Marxist and Weberian approaches to class, the authors’ position being that relationship to the means of production is an essential starting-point, but account must be taken of variations in skill, knowledge, authority, status and types of labour contract. As a result, a nine-class model is advanced which, as the authors observe, can be merged into a five- or even three-class model. There is detailed discussion of each class, and the processes of its enumeration, with attention also being paid to issues of scale and representativeness. This material will invite other scholars to consider whether differences of status really justify categorization into distinct classes; this, after all, is a fundamental difference between Marxist and Weberian approaches.

The authors understandably anticipate objections to their work by drawing attention to the enormous amount of time that has been spent in getting a quantitative historical analysis even to this point. A reviewer, in danger of being invited to go and do the work him or herself if greater expertise is claimed, is naturally cautious in advancing criticisms. Yet, as the authors acknowledge, although their tables include rural occupations, their discussion and analysis is largely confined to the urban occupational structure. The rural class structure was an important dimension in New Zealand as in other settler societies. That being so, the subtitle may more usefully have been ‘The New Zealand Urban Reality’. The missing rural dimension is emphasized by the authors’ point that their upper three classes — large employers and higher managers, professionals and semi-professionals — are roughly the bourgeoisie in Marxist terms. Given the centrality of primary production to the upper levels of urban enterprise, particularly financial and mercantile firms, there is still work to be done in integrating rural and urban class structure.