

bilaterally and this fact is probably the cause of the apparent confusion. Dr McCormick has introduced the problem; the whole aspect of the changing relations between the Bay of Islands and Hokianga tribes in the years of the musket wars could be studied with profit.

This edition of Earle's *Narrative* adequately replaces the rare first edition of 1832 and the unreliable version of 1909. For the first time the *Narrative* is placed in context. There are minor points of question: Thomas Hanson or Hansen, the non-missionary resident at Rangihoua was actually the son of the former captain of the missionary ship, the *Active*, while, with incredulity, one finds Richard Davis described as a 'saint indeed' (p. 43), when he was rather a Job's comforter, drawing pleasure from others' misfortunes.

Earle's *Narrative* has long been a primary source for the understanding of Maori and European relations in the Bay of Islands. The Bay, partly because of the existence of such records for the area and partly because it experienced continuous European intrusion from about 1814, became the focal point of many of the problems and mutual delights in the experience of contact between one people and another. Now, for the first time, Earle's *Narrative* of his residence there is illuminated by the inclusion of some of his original drawings and watercolours. Although, unfortunately, limitations of finance have prevented the reproduction of more of his paintings, it is a pleasure to find Earle's vision as an artist related to his hitherto better-known *Narrative*. The combined work is a valuable chronicle of Maori and European inter-reaction in the early nineteenth century.

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The Imperial Frontier in the Tropics, 1865-75. By W. David McIntyre. London, Macmillan, 1967. 421 pp. U.K. price: 63s. N.Z. price: \$7.80.

THE FRAMEWORK a historian chooses for his research and writing must surely affect his conclusions, though one would assume the reverse to be more true. Certainly, as Professor H. Butterfield has argued, writers of text-books are particularly prone to label and categorise since they are under the greatest pressure to break up their subject into manageable hunks. Historians of the British empire have generally adopted the framework of a long-term overall survey or, especially in recent times, the long- or short-term regional survey. In both cases, the overall and regional, there is perhaps a tendency to stress continuities in British policy, though in the former case a polemical intent might lead in the same direction.

Professor McIntyre has adopted a different framework. His book 'provides', as he says (p. 12), 'a series of case-studies of the process of decision-making on the subject of that expansion of the imperial frontier in the tropics which was taking place at the moment when Disraeli replaced Gladstone as prime minister'. The author looks particularly at the making of British policy in West Africa, the Malay Peninsula, Fiji and the South Pacific in the period 1865-75, that is, broadly speaking, between Palmerston and the chartered companies. He does not look at the settler communities, except in so far as the Australian colonies were concerned with Fiji, and the New Zealanders with the Pacific schemes of Vogel, 'the most audacious adventurer that perhaps has ever held power in a British Colony', as Robert

Herbert, who had been Premier of Queensland, called him (p. 263). But the author is able to discuss the complex nature of the decisions over the tropical frontier, influenced as they were not only by the settler colonies, but by British politics, by Whitehall personalities (Knatchbull-Hugessen of the Colonial Office stands out), by 'cranks, committees and commercial houses' (p. 42), by the activities, or suspected activities, of other powers, such as Germany, and not least by the local rulers with whom the British came into contact as John Bull 'put his head', in Gladstone's phrase, 'into a noose' (p. 384). Nor is McIntyre's decision-making merely a Whitehall process. Governors and Consuls, though often no better informed than the offices in London, tended to act more precipitately. Sir Andrew Clarke was instructed to report on the Malay states. As he later said: 'It was necessary to act in the first place and to report afterwards . . .' (p. 205). His philosophy was: 'To take responsibility, to act first and always to act, to write about it afterwards' (p. 291).

Professor McIntyre's approach gives us, as one might expect, a much more realistic account of decision-making than is sometimes offered by general or merely regional accounts. He is able to undercut general theories of imperialism that ascribe it to humanitarian, emotional, economic, diplomatic, or strategic motives. Such motives were present in the decision-making, but to a different degree in each case. Not that Professor McIntyre fails to put his studies into the perspective of 'the broad stream of colonial policy' (p. 372). The decisions taken he sees as a series of experiments designed to deal with the problems of the areas concerned without resorting to annexation. Various expedients were considered. But 'the concept of "paramountcy" was the highest common factor in Britain's response It was a peaceful, not an aggressive form of "imperialism", which was designed to avoid international disputes' (p. 371).

The approach is thoroughly worthwhile. It involves two risks, however. The first is the criticism a regional specialist may offer to one ranging widely. Is it correct, in the case of Malaya, to suggest that, at the time of the Colonial take-over, 'Siam was recognised formally as the suzerain of the three northern states of Kedah, Kelantan, and Trengganu' (p. 154)? To some extent this was effected by the Anglo-Siamese treaty of 1855, but, even more, it was the result of that very take-over. The new Governor, Sir Harry Ord, tended to accept the suzerainty Siam claimed, and the Colonial Office, to which he reported, knew no better. Ord also tried to utilise the 1826 treaty with Perak (p. 169). That treaty, however, had been disavowed by the Government of India at the time (though it seems that the sultan of Perak was never informed of the disavowal). These are small points, and generally Professor McIntyre can face the regional specialists unperturbed.

As for those who would impose a broader, and perhaps a polemical framework on the imperial story, not much more need be said. But some presumptions of the decision-makers do appear. It was no local planter, but Lord Halifax, who referred to 'these Coast niggers' (p. 71); and Kimberley thought 'a jury of blacks . . . always intolerable' (p. 72). Earlier Buxtonian ideals had little chance of realisation in the face of such prejudices. And may one not also detect, even among those who were making Professor McIntyre's modest experiments, a belief that the empire must grow, even that it ought to grow? In 1875 Carnavon wanted to retain the Resident system in the Malay states 'for a time at all events' (p. 307); Derby that year wrote: 'We shall want New Guinea ourselves some day' (p. 347); and Herbert believed that further annexation must come in the

South Pacific, 'but to tell the world . . . that we now contemplate it would be to defeat the object and prevent us from quietly acquiring paramount influence among the islands' (p. 356).

The book is rich in fascinating analysis and sound judgment, and there are some illuminating asides. It persuades us that the study of British imperialism is still a richly-rewarding occupation for the historian, whatever framework he adopts.

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Scotland and Australia 1788-1850, Emigration, Commerce and Investment.

By David S. Macmillan. Clarendon Press, 1967. xviii + 434 pp.
U.K. price: 75s. N.Z. price: \$10.35.

WHEN in the past my own research inquiries have taken me briefly to Scotland, I have wondered pessimistically whether the sources existed to make possible the important books which need to be written on the Scottish-Australian relationship. The neglect has been total, but a Scottish migrant to Australia has now made the first foray across the borders of scholarship with great success. This is not *the* book which might be written on the period, but it is a quite admirable pioneering achievement.

The book is divided at 1832 into two parts with twin sections on Scottish attitudes to Australia, emigration and Scottish-Australian companies which flourished in the eighteen-twenties and forties. Dr Macmillan's emphasis, however, is very much on the eighteen-twenties: Part I takes up over two-thirds of a long book and his detailed treatment of the Australian Company of Edinburgh and Leith more than one-third. Yet the ninety pages on emigration over the whole period are so rich that it is clear that an important and exciting book could be written on this subject alone. His survey of newspapers and periodicals has produced a surprising amount of material; and he has demonstrated clearly (no simple task) the impact of books written by Scots and mostly published in Scotland such as Patrick Colquhoun's *Treatise on the Wealth, Power and Resources of the British Empire* (1814), Alexander McConochie's *Summary View . . . of the Pacific Ocean* (1818), James Dixon's *Voyage to New South Wales* (1822), Peter Cunningham's *Two Years in New South Wales* (1827), J. D. Lang's *New South Wales* (1834) and John Waugh's *Three Years' Practical Experience as a Settler in New South Wales* (1838). Some of the most striking new views produced are of the explosion of interest in Scotland in Australia about 1820, the large Scottish contribution to the unassisted migration of the eighteen-twenties especially to Van Diemen's Land and the Hunter River, and the prominence among the migrants of genuine landed gentry. The Australian Company of Edinburgh and Leith, which did so much to promote this migration, was based on the Edinburgh Whig group of merchants and was highly significant as the first large-scale joint-stock British venture in trade with Australia and in establishing the first regular shipping-line. It was premature, however, and failed mainly because of the depression of the late twenties and the inability of the colonies yet to provide assured return cargoes.

The later period is treated far more cursorily, but the sketching in of the motivation and organisation of the assisted working-class migration of