

structions on the few occasions in which he came into contact with Aborigines. He was more intent on spying on the British. Nevertheless, the members of the expedition did not have much chance to follow Degérando's instructions: they did not stay for long in any one place; and the Aborigines did not wait to be observed, let alone to allow the Frenchmen to learn their language. Like the early British officials at Botany Bay, the French were unable to make progress with the Aborigines simply by exuding kindness and amity. The expedition was a failure in other respects — Baudin died at Mauritius in 1803, with his surveying tasks uncompleted — and this served to discredit all of those, including Degérando, who were associated with it. Moreover, as Moore argues, Napoleon set his face against colonial expansion and this was needed if the study of anthropology was to receive continued support. The infant Société des Observateurs de l'Homme expired, and with it the equally precocious subject of anthropology.

The argument is not wholly convincing. Certainly French energies were to be confined largely to Europe for the next decade. But the expeditions of Dumont d'Urville in the 1820s and 1830s and the munificent scientific and artistic publications which followed showed that the ideals of Degérando were far from extinguished.

M. P. K. SORRENSON

University of Auckland

New Zealand's Record in the Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century.

Edited by Angus Ross. Longman Paul for New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, Auckland, 1969. 362 pp. N.Z. price: \$6.

NEW ZEALAND'S attitude towards the Pacific Islands has changed a great deal in the course of the twentieth century. The theories of the nineteenth-century statesmen who argued that New Zealand had an imperial destiny in the South Seas have been rejected. The decolonization of the small groups of islands which were the only and perhaps doubtful legacy of those early territorial ambitions is almost completed. The second half of the present century has seen the birth of a new kind of relationship with the islands — a relationship epitomised in the signing of a treaty of friendship with the independent state of Western Samoa, the grant of self-government to the Cook Islands, the establishment of the Volunteer Service Abroad movement, and in a wider international field New Zealand's active participation in the South Pacific Commission, the University of the South Pacific and in the specialised agencies of the United Nations.

Because in the cold light of reality New Zealand's relations with the Pacific Islands as a region have been hardly the stuff the dreams of the last century were made of, and because it has taken the New Zealander almost one hundred years to find his feet in his South Pacific environment, it was probably inevitable that *New Zealand's Record in the Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century* should have been disappointingly restricted in its scope. Perforce the book concerns itself with those islands in which

New Zealand has, or had until recently, responsibilities of a colonial nature. In this limited field it is a valuable work, even if its ambitious title somewhat belies its contents.

Most readers will find Mary Boyd's history of New Zealand's relations with Western Samoa the most fascinating part of the book. Following closely on Professor Davidson's *Samoa mo Samoa* it brings one stage nearer the goal of a definitive Samoan history — in the twentieth century at least. Next in general interest are Selwyn Wilson's chapters on the Cook Islands which, although they may lack the touch of a professional historian, are a useful beginning in the recording of Cook Islands history. The remainder of the book consists of a number of topical essays by authors who are well known authorities on their subjects. The arrangement of this material which in all covers 362 pages is not easy to follow, but in fairness to the editor it must be admitted that it is difficult to see how any order of presentation would have happily married such a diversity of contributions. The reader may reach the dismal conclusion as he delves deeper into the book that if it indeed has a connecting theme it is to be found in the frequent examples of a sad lack of imagination and finesse on the part of the New Zealand authorities, either in Wellington or the islands, and sometimes in both, in their relations with the islanders.

In the first few pages of the book, in his 'Land Policies in the Dependencies' (is the term 'dependencies' still acceptable in this euphemistic post-colonial world?), Dr Crocombe describes the absurd fragmentation of land which has resulted from too literal an application of New Zealand Maori Land Court principles to the tiny individual islands of the Cook Group. A few pages further on, in Wilson's 'The Cook Islands and Niue 1901-45', one reads of the deliberate discouragement in the decade following annexation of any serious form of indigenous leadership or participation in government at a responsible level, a negative policy which was the genesis of the troubles which were to find their outlet in Mr Albert Henry's Cook Islands Progressive Association.

The inherent defects of a policy which paid scant attention to local aspirations, however inarticulate and picayune they may have seemed to expatriate administrators, were to come to the surface much more quickly in Western Samoa than in the Cook Islands. Mrs Boyd tells how as early as 1930 the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations had 'by now grasped that the Mau was a nationalist movement aspiring to self-government'. The Commission had 'become critical of the methods of local self-government imposed by New Zealand as too western and not really indirect, as well as her neglectful, discriminatory attitude to local Europeans whom it regarded as inhabitants of the territory for the purposes of the mandate'. There is little evidence in Mrs Boyd's record to suggest that the New Zealand authorities heeded or appreciated, or indeed fully grasped, the significance of what seems to us latter day observers to have been valid and constructive criticism on points of fundamental importance. The Permanent Mandates Commission was not just another axe-grinding Trusteeship Council. It included in its membership some of the outstanding administrators of the colonial era. Mrs Boyd goes on to tell how the much vaunted New Zealand Labour Government 'goodwill mission' of 1936 reached the profound conclusion that the Samoan problem was basically 'psychological' and evidently thought this was a sufficiently good reason

for doing next to nothing about it. (It is whimsical to note that eight years earlier the Permanent Mandates Commission on its part had pointed to the New Zealand administrator's lack of 'psychological insight' in his handling of the Samoan situation!) And Mrs Boyd's record implies that even the post-war Labour Government of Peter Fraser in which Tamasese and other Samoan leaders put so much trust needed the stimulus of an imminent visit to Samoa by a United Nations mission, plus a petition from Samoa, to take the final action which resulted in the constitutional changes of 1947.

Both Mrs Boyd and Mr Wilson are impartial recorders who do their best to justify official acts and policy. In this connection it would have been useful if somewhere in the book an attempt had been made to co-ordinate their chapters and explore in greater depth the basic reasons for the remarkable difficulties which beset New Zealand in the administration of what were, after all, extremely small territories with no racial, minority or other than straightforward problems. Dr Ross's introduction, and his book *New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century*, to which the new book is said to be 'in some measure' a sequel, leave little doubt that early New Zealand leaders saw the annexation of Pacific Islands against a background of an effete and dying Polynesian race, Anglo-Saxon superiority, European settlement and economic gain. To what extent did the Cook Islands Act of 1915 and the Samoa Act of 1921 reflect these attitudes? Viewed in retrospect they were remarkable pieces of legislation in that they gave the islanders neither on the one hand the limited satisfaction of full colonial status with its legislative and executive trappings, nor on the other the material benefits which would have flowed from a closer integration with the mainland of New Zealand. It is interesting to meditate on the extent to which the root cause of many of New Zealand's early problems may be found in this early ambivalence and vacillation in organic policy, which were to take the best part of half a century to clarify, rather than merely in the incompetence of administrators. Mrs Boyd's and Mr Wilson's pages abound with the names of men of goodwill. What they sadly lacked were a few simple sign-posts.

But when all is said and done the reader puts down this book with the feeling that New Zealand has won the last battle. In the modest words of Dr Aikman in his chapter on constitutional development, 'New Zealand may be able to feel some satisfaction at the way in which she has guided Western Samoa and the Cook Islands to autonomy'. New Zealand and her former wards would do well to heed his warning that 'independence or self-government is not an end in itself' and is 'but a condition precedent to the economic and social progress that must be the over-all objective in the developing countries of the South Pacific'. In 'rediscovering its role' (this time one hopes its true role) in the South Pacific the part New Zealand should and can play is clear. It is well summarised in both Dr Ross's introduction and in Dr Aikman's final chapter 'The Future'.

J. B. WRIGHT

Apia

Journal de la Société des Océanistes, XXV, (1969), numéro spécial sur les Missions dans le Pacifique. 458 pp. French price: F90.

THIS is a notable issue of the *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*. It marks the journal's last appearance as an annual (subsequent issues are appear-