

# Imperial Jubilee:

## W.P. MORRELL'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO IMPERIAL HISTORY\*

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IT IS a great honour to be asked to speak on this occasion. I have divided my 'celebration' into three parts. First, a nostalgic retrospect of an academic career. Secondly, a perspective view of Professor Morrell's contributions to Imperial History. Thirdly, a personal note of indebtedness, showing how his work has been used in another academic career.

When I approached my first part, the nostalgic retrospect, I realized I was at a severe disadvantage. I was not a student, nor a colleague, nor even a fellow member of the Senate of the University of New Zealand. Yet in the *Festschrift* Professor Wood wrote: 'WPM is one of that select band of distinguished academics round whose head friendly, quirky stories persistently—and rightly—gather'.<sup>1</sup> I am denied these sources. But fortunately in 1979 Professor Morrell published his *Memoirs* and from them I largely derive the 'nostalgic retrospect'.<sup>2</sup>

He was born in Auckland in 1899, the son of a schoolmaster—a Balliol man, who had recently come to New Zealand and soon became Rector of Otago Boys High. The son became dux at this school, came first in the Entrance Scholarships for Otago in 1916, began his research career as Ross Fellow at Knox College and, in 1923, followed his father to Balliol. He stayed in England for twenty-three years, completing a DPhil, and was Beit Lecturer in Colonial History at Oxford 1927-30 and Reader in History at Birkbeck College, London, 1930-46. Returning to New Zealand (the same ship brought General Freyberg out to become Governor-General), he was Professor of History at Otago from 1946 until his retirement in 1964.

These are the bare bones of an academic career. But the *Memoirs* vividly recall an age that present academics might ponder with nostalgia. Professor Wood remembered their days together at Balliol—'the dome-like head well packed with orderly information and seeming almost too

\*Revised version of a lecture given to the Historical Section of the Royal Society of New Zealand, Dunedin Branch, 1 May 1980 to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell*.

1 W.P. Morrell: *A Tribute. Essays in modern and early modern history presented to William Parker Morrell, Professor Emeritus, University of Otago*, G.A. Wood and P.S. O'Connor, eds., Dunedin, 1973, p.xii.

2 W.P. Morrell, *Memoirs*, Dunedin, 1979.

much for a slender body, the old world dress and courtesy, the indefatigable energy, the unruffled detachment and shy humour. He was, in fact, somewhat of an oddity in between-the-wars Oxford, distinguished alike from the fresh-faced public schoolmen and the (generally speaking) less mature and rougher overseas-recruited minority.<sup>3</sup> I could not help thinking, as I read the *Memoirs*, of Evelyn Waugh's *When the Going was Good*. The immense amount of travel in a more leisurely age. The young historian's twice yearly trips to the European Continent; winter sports in one vacation, summer camping in another. A return fare from Britain to New Zealand in 1933 of £90—and, for an extra £15, a tour of the North Island and Canada thrown in on the way back. Another cause for nostalgia was the price of his books. Having recently smarted under reviewers' comments about books costing between \$40 and \$50 I sigh at *Britain in the Pacific Islands*, £2-15-0 only twenty years ago, *British Colonial Policy in the Mid-Victorian Age*, £4.50, eleven years ago, and *The Anglican Church in New Zealand*, a remarkable bargain at £4.85, seven years ago.

Again, on the subject of money, perhaps the most striking thing in the *Memoirs*: he could not afford a car until he was fifty-one, and then had to realize an insurance policy to buy it. He then learnt to drive in the wide open spaces of South Africa, by a system which would now be called 'in-service training'. The most unexpected thing in the *Memoirs*? He was issued with a Tommy Gun while serving with the Home Guard in England.

It is also worth noting, in these days of 'field work' and 'oral history', the great importance given by Professor Morrell to places and persons. He records visits to the Otago gold-fields; to the bridge at Sarajevo, where the Archduke Ferdinand was shot; to Gibraltar and a sight of the British Fleet; to the great hole at Kimberley; to the place near the mouth of the Kei River where the visions, which led to the cattle-killing mania, occurred. Considerable use was made of informants. For his first researches, on *The Provincial System in New Zealand*, he spoke with Sir Robert Stout; for *New Zealand* in Ernest Benn's 'The Modern World' series, he talked with Downie Stewart, Peter Fraser, Gordon Coates, James Thorn and Apirana Ngata. At the League of Nations he talked with J.V. Wilson (the New Zealander, who served at the Secretariat); he also discussed Commonwealth affairs with Duncan Hall (the Australian writer) and Norman Robertson (secretary of the Canadian Cabinet).

A final point refers to his problem of settling on a permanent career. After the temporary Beit Lectureship at Oxford he needed a job. Harold Laski could offer an Assistant Lectureship at the L.S.E., but fortunately a Readership came up at Birkbeck and he opted for that. A dilemma, surely, which few young Ph.Ds in History face today.

I turn, now, to a perspective view of Professor Morrell's contributions to Imperial History. (I will not attempt an assessment, as that would be

<sup>3</sup> *W.P. Morrell: A Tribute*, p.xi.

presumptuous. Also, assessment is now a technical term in universities describing something that happens to students and is unpleasant.) Remember, too, that the contributions to Imperial History were only part of the work of a very productive fifty years. Overall there were ten major books. This suggests on average one book every five years, but that (as we shall see) is an impossibility. There was considerable bunching of output. If we add pamphlets, articles, chapters in symposia and encyclopedia entries, there are over fifty titles. At least one title per year, on average, for fifty years. (Not the sort of performance we often encounter on promotion committees today.)

Those who study the relative output of the various disciplines have shown that the creative phases of practitioners in different subjects vary markedly. In science and maths the best work is often done before thirty. History is said to be the discipline in which the best work is done in retirement. It remains to be seen what the incursions of maths into history will do, and anyway this does not, of course, work for all historians. Some never start writing. There is also a leakage into Vice-Chancellorship or politics. So far as we know Professor Morrell was not tempted by either of these and he had two most productive phases of publication. Between the ages of twenty-eight and thirty-six there were Bell and Morrell *Select Documents on British Colonial Policy 1830-60*, *Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell*, *The Provincial System in New Zealand*, a chapter on the same topic in the *Cambridge History of the British Empire and New Zealand* in the Benn 'Modern World' series.<sup>4</sup> Then, in his forties and fifties, there were war-time evacuation work, fire-watching, performances in Dad's Army, return to Otago, running a department, the University of New Zealand Senate, research trips to Fiji and South Africa. This slowed down the publication rate, but did not stop it. Between the ages of sixty and seventy he produced *Britain in the Pacific Islands*, *British Colonial Policy in the Mid-Victorian Age*, the *Centennial History* of the University of Otago and two valuable Historical Association pamphlets. In his seventies he produced *The Anglican Church in New Zealand*.<sup>5</sup> When I discussed these two remark-

4 Kenneth Norman Bell and W.P. Morrell, *Select Documents on British Colonial Policy 1830-60*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1928. *British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1930; reprint London, Cass 1966. *The Provincial System in New Zealand 1852-76*, London, Longmans 'Imperial Studies Series' of the R. Commonwealth Society, 1932; reprint Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1964. 'The Constitution and the Provinces 1850-1876', *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, J.H. Rose, A.P. Newton and E.A. Benians, eds., VII, 2, *New Zealand*, Cambridge University Press, 1933. *New Zealand*, Ernest Benn, 'The Modern World Series', London, 1935.

5 *Britain in the Pacific Islands*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1960. *British Colonial Policy in the Mid-Victorian Age. South Africa—New Zealand—The West Indies*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969. *The University of Otago: a centennial history*, Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1969. *British Expansion Overseas and the History of the Commonwealth, a select bibliography*, London, Historical Association, 1961. *The Great Powers in the Pacific*, London, Historical Association, 1963. *The Anglican Church in New Zealand: A History*, Dunedin, Anglican Church of the Province of New Zealand, 1973. Book titles will be abbreviated hereafter.

ably productive phases with his daughter she was less impressed: 'You mean he got married in between and my brother and I came along'. But I mention the two distinct phases, as they give the lie to the five years-on-average-per-book. *Britain in the Pacific Islands* was published in 1960, but research had begun back in 1940.

When Professor Morrell began his research in the 1920s three main trends were evident in the Commonwealth. First, exponents of the imperial unity movement had come to realize that Federation or Organic Union were impossible. The constitutional devolution, which had been presaged before the American Revolution, and pioneered in practice in the 1840s and 1850s, was about to reach its culmination in the Balfour Report and the Statute of Westminster. At the same time the *sense* of unity was still strong, especially for those who had worked together in the 1914-18 War, and it persisted in shared institutions and culture. There were even fond hopes that unity could now be achieved through economic integration. Thirdly, outside the old Dominions the concept of trusteeship reigned, but the method of fulfilling it was increasingly uncertain. Indirect rule, for example, was soon to be regarded as a *cul de sac*.

It seems clear that these trends greatly influenced Professor Morrell's mentors and, we must assume, they influenced him. His first research, for his Ross Fellowship dissertation at Knox (1923), was suggested by Professor Hight of Canterbury College, who had been secretary of the first Round Table branch in New Zealand and had participated in Lionel Curtis's imperial studies. A revised version of the dissertation was published in 1932 in the Royal Empire Society's 'Imperial Studies' monograph series. That series itself was part of an Imperial Studies movement, initiated by the Royal Empire Society (formerly Royal Colonial Institute) to revive its membership.<sup>6</sup> This movement involved Professor Reginald Coupland (who was one of Morrell's D.Phil examiners), Professor A.P. Newton of London, who became an associate in the Royal Colonial Institute, and H.A.L. Fisher, the general editor of the Benn series for which *New Zealand* was commissioned. The research which led to *British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell* was also suggested by Professor Hight, who had realized the importance of the third Earl Grey.<sup>7</sup> The study was widened to include the Stanley period at the suggestion of Professor Egerton, whose *Short Story of British Colonial Policy* had been published in 1897 on the eve of the jubilee.<sup>8</sup> The earlier book, Bell and Morrell, *Select Documents on British Colonial Policy* was produced for the Oxford 'Special Subject' based on the study of the Durham Report, Buller's *Responsible Government* and Wake-

6 See Trevor R. Reese, *History of the Royal Commonwealth Society 1868-1968*, London, 1968, pp.114-6, 138-9. J.G. Greenlee, 'Imperial Studies and the Unity of the Empire', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, VII, 3 (1979), 321-33.

7 *Memoirs*, p.39.

8 Hugh Edward Egerton, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy*, London, 1897.

field's *Art of Colonization*. This course was, itself, a part of the movement for the study of imperial affairs in the universities.

It is, therefore, hardly surprising that Professor Morrell's preoccupations were: constitutional matters—the growth of self-government; race relations—humanitarianism and the concept of trusteeship; and the coming of free trade. His starting point was the transformation of the 'old Empire' in the middle third of the nineteenth century, concentrating on the Dominions and the West Indies. His interest was *not* in India (always treated as a separate discipline because of its sources), the Asian dependencies or Africa (except for South Africa). It was *not* in Imperial expansion, the 'new imperialism' discussed by Hobson and Lenin (although he touches on this for South Africa and later for the Pacific Islands). It was *not* in theories of imperialism, in the sense that Hobson and Lenin were followed by Fieldhouse and Thornton (although he does find a 'new imperialism' in the 1830s). It was *not* in the economics of empire, except for the coming of free trade, but that was not the same debate upon which Marxists and non-Marxists continue to thrive. Nor was it in imperial defence, one of the major matters of concern in the period from the 1870s. (But here again we must except *Colonial Policy in the Mid-Victorian Age*, which deals with the defence debate of the 1860s culminating in the garrisons crisis.) In view of his concentration on the period 1840s to 1870s and the time of his writing his emphases are hardly surprising.

The basic problem for historians of colonial policy is one of focus. Should this be directed to the centre, to generalizations about policy-makers or a search for a guiding idea? Or should it be directed at individual colonies, where tracing continuity is certainly easier? It is the eternal problem of the general and the particular. Professor Morrell tried both and I suspect he became happier with the latter.

In *The Provincial System in New Zealand* he faced the problem of the general and particular in miniature. 'From 1852 to 1876 New Zealand was the subject of an interesting constitutional experiment'—the attempt to combine the advantages of both federal and unitary government.<sup>9</sup> Here the general was represented by colonial politics. The particular was the system within the Provinces, and one of the most valuable parts of the book is the chapter on the workings of the new constitution in Otago. This aspect of the Provinces still cries out for work. In *British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell* the focus was deliberately on the centre: 'it is the point of view and policy of the Imperial Government that I have been most anxious to understand. For I confess I do not agree, though born and bred in one of the Dominions, with the not uncommon view that the history of British colonial policy is a record of muddling and misgovernment. . . .'<sup>10</sup> At the same time individual prob-

<sup>9</sup> *Provincial System*, p.i.

<sup>10</sup> *Age of Peel and Russell*, p.viii.

lems at the periphery are given chapters in their own right. The problem of focus is thus solved by a mixture: general chapters on trends of policy, the attitude of Peel and Stanley, the attitude and contribution of the third Earl Grey (the centre piece of the book) and on free trade; particular chapters on North America, Australia and New Zealand, South Africa and the sugar colonies (West Indies and Mauritius).

In *Britain in the Pacific Islands* the focus is on the island end of the scale, partly because of the nature of the material. Though he found that Grey had had a vision in the 1840s, he questioned whether there was a British policy at all in the Pacific. The British did not think continuously about the islands. Thus he says clearly that the study is centred not in Downing Street but in the Islands. 'The proper study of History is not an area but a community.'<sup>11</sup> *British Colonial Policy in the Mid-Victorian Age* differs again. He calls it a 'partial sequel' to *Peel and Russell*. But it is narrower in focus, clearer in theme: 'Self-government in colonies of mixed races'.<sup>12</sup> He draws out the very different experiences of South Africa, New Zealand and the West Indies. In general terms he regarded the period as not an exciting one, but he is over-modest. It sees the preliminaries of the great age of imperialism after the 1870s and for each region he contributes important new material—not least on New Zealand and the Maori Wars.

There are three other features of these works on colonial policy which should be mentioned. First, Professor Morrell got progressively less cautious or (one might even say) more opinionated and willing to let his hair down. Secondly, his work reflects an idealistic, optimistic imperialism which must date from his formative scholastic years in the 1920s. Thirdly, by the 1960s I doubt whether he was prepared for the rapid transformation of the Commonwealth which occurred. Nor, probably, were any of us.

Let us look at his developing opinions. *Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell* is a comprehensive study based on meticulous research, but is very neutral in tone: there are few flashes of personal statement. (Do we detect the D.Phil examiners still hovering?) There are very few attempts at bald generalization. Eighteen forty-six is called 'a turning point'—the turning point—in the history of the British Commonwealth of Nations'. That is the most daring phrase in the book. He says protection and slavery turned the West Indies into one vast sugar estate, but could not resist the aside—'an interesting commentary upon the accusation sometimes heard that free trade is inimical to balanced development'. He concludes that the three fundamental ideas of the British Empire in this period were freedom, unity and responsibility. For Earl Grey the Empire 'was a mighty instrument of Providence for the civilization of the backward races and for the spread of peace and justice

11 *Pacific Islands*, p.1.

12 *Mid-Victorian Age*, p.i.

through the world'.<sup>13</sup> That was published in 1930. The book's preoccupations are quite understandable in that context. Its originality lay in the fact that he saw in a once supposedly anti-imperialist age that a very different vision was entertained by one exceptional politician. Remember Gallagher and Robinson's famous article was not published until 1953.<sup>14</sup>

*Britain in the Pacific Islands* was published in 1960 on the eve of the spread of Pacific Studies from the A.N.U., but as yet little of this had been published. 'In the meantime, an historian who attempts a general study of the Pacific Islands must do a great deal of the spade-work for himself *and it is better so.*' Can one detect in that last phrase a relief that he has to do his own donkey work on the background? The book is mainly about the partition of the Pacific in the nineteenth century, with due attention given to the various island groups. But there is an Epilogue on the twentieth century: 'Britain, some say, must needs withdraw from the Far East and concentrate upon her own islands, the Continent of Europe, and Africa. It would be a misfortune for the Commonwealth if this were so. . . . Great Britain's immense experience in colonial administration, the varied opportunities her overseas services still offers to able young men, are things Australia and New Zealand cannot hope to provide and the Pacific Islands cannot afford to do without.'<sup>15</sup> This was published in 1960, two years before Sir Ralph Furse's autobiography suggesting that the chief attractions of the colonial service were still spiritual, the challenge to service.<sup>16</sup> This in turn was only eight years before Fiji became independent.

The most opinionated book is *British Colonial Policy in the Mid-Victorian Age* (1969). It was based on further detailed work in New Zealand sources (including private papers), a visit to South Africa in 1951 and work in the Colonial Office archives relating to the West Indies in a little-worked period. Now, however, he endeavours to combat the post-colonial guilt complex which was affecting attitudes to the Maori Wars.

It was not surprising that it had come to war. The desire of the Taranaki settlers to extend their narrow holding as their numbers grew was natural and the Government was anxious to satisfy it; but the war was not a mere land-grabbing operation engineered by the settlers. It is fashionable nowadays to believe that 'colonialism' is and always has been a great wrong, and presumably therefore that the United States of America, not to mention Australia and New Zealand, have no right to exist and that Siberia should still be in the hands of the nomad tribes the Russians found there. It is better, surely, to come to terms with history and to recognize that colonization ever since the days of ancient Greece, if not before,

13 *Age of Peel and Russell*, pp.231, 267, 526, 527.

14 John Gallagher and Ronald E. Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', *Economic History Review*, VI (1953), 1-15.

15 *Pacific Islands*, pp.vi, 441.

16 Ralph Furse, *Aucuparious: Recollections of a Recruiting Officer*, London, 1962, p.221.

has been one of the great forces shaping the world we know. In any case the Waitara purchase was the occasion rather than the cause of the war in Taranaki. . . .

Further on he concludes: 'Those who think the Waitara purchase a blunder or a crime can never prove that war would have been avoided; and all the probabilities are against such a conclusion.'<sup>17</sup>

To sum up Professor Morrell's contributions to the history of Colonial policy, we can say his opinions are, in the main, very restrained. Each book starts with a modest preface. *Peel and Russell*: 'To completeness or finality I make no claim; they are obviously impossible' (p.viii). *Britain in the Pacific Islands*: 'an historian may perhaps hope to make some small contribution to current controversies about colonialism by drawing attention to historical facts' (p.viii). (A little more loaded that!) *The Mid-Victorian Age*: 'No scholar . . . can claim to have said the last word on any part of this period of British colonial history and policy. All I can hope to do in this book is to make British colonial policy more intelligible . . .' (p.viii). That remark could go for all these works. For the years 1840 to 1870, with particular emphasis on New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies; for Australia and Canada in the 1840s and 1850s; and for the Pacific Islands up to the 1890s, Professor Morrell fulfilled this role—of making colonial policy *intelligible*—with growing mastery. After the 1870s there were other things of importance besides colonial policy to engage attention—problems of defence, the movement for Imperial unity, international rivalry, indirect rule, colonial development and then the demission of power in Asia, Africa and the Islands. If some future historian can write as comprehensively of the 1940s to 1970s as did Professor Morrell for the period a century before, the subject will be well-served. He wrote about the demission of power in those colonies which, in the main, became Dominions. The demission of power in Asia, Africa and the Islands has yet to attract a scholar with Professor Morrell's breadth of approach. The documents are now open to 1950!

The third part of this tribute will be a personal note of indebtedness. My copies of the major works now have their dust jackets held together by masking tape. How have they been used? I came to Commonwealth history via American history, rather as Professor Morrell came via New Zealand history. The only direct approach to colonial history at Cambridge in the 1950s was the 'Expansion of Europe' course and I did American history instead. Had I but known it, the 'Expansion' course was being indoctrinated by the late Jack Gallagher and Ronald Robinson who published 'The Imperialism of Free Trade' in 1953. In this they sought to counter the idea that the era of the coming of free trade was anti-imperialist, since they noted that considerable expansion took place. (It is worth remarking, however, that in *Peel and Russell* in 1930 Professor Morrell detected a 'new imperialism' in the 1830s, namely the

<sup>17</sup> *Mid-Victorian Age*, pp.241,243.

Wakefieldian attempt at a great migration.)<sup>18</sup> My own experience, after postgraduate work in the United States, persuaded me that the American colonial period was rather 'crowded' and I sought what appeared to be the 'wide open spaces' of the Victorian empire—something I had never encountered in my undergraduate years. I also had an invitation from a professor at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, to work on East India Company records. In the event I selected the Straits Settlements (once an outpost of India) and was then advised to do a comparative study of colonial policy in Malaya, West Africa and the South Pacific.<sup>19</sup> Thus, unwittingly, I copied Professor Morrell's multi-regional approach and trod similar territory in the Pacific.

It was, however, when I was faced with teaching a course on 'the British Colonies and Dominions since American independence' at the University of Nottingham in 1960 that I began my indebtedness to Professor Morrell. I confess that Bell and Morrell's *Select Documents* was of most immediate utility. The introduction and prefatory material for each section were marvellous for preparing lectures. So was *Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell*. I recently dug out my notes. They were the notes of an innocent; much more detailed than I could afford to take today. The great advantage of the book was its mixture of chapters on general policy and particular colonies. In fact this book pre-dated my reading of specific works on Canadian, New Zealand or Australian domestic history. (I had already read a good deal on South Africa because of analogies with my work on the tropical empire.) The first specific work on New Zealand I read was Angus Ross's thesis in the Cambridge University Library.<sup>20</sup> After that the first general work on New Zealand was either Willis Airey's *Short History* or Morrell and Hall *A History of New Zealand Life*.<sup>21</sup> Sinclair and Oliver did not filter through to English provincial bookshops until about 1962. I've always retained a soft spot for Morrell and Hall. As well as its clear text, it has excellent pictures and maps. These are some of the most helpful maps on New Zealand history and since the advent of the overhead projector have been much used in teaching. Soon after this I read *The Provincial System in New Zealand* and I have constantly used it in teaching and research ever since. One day I might be tempted to take up the challenge posed in the last chapter and compare the systems of government in the various

18 *Age of Peel and Russell*, pp.5, 505-6.

19 Published as W. David McIntyre, *The Imperial Frontier in the Tropics, 1865-75. A Study of British Colonial Policy in West Africa, Malaya and the South Pacific in the Age of Gladstone and Disraeli*, London, 1967.

20 Published as Angus Ross, *New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, 1964.

21 Willis Thomas Goodwin Airey, *A Short History of New Zealand*, Christchurch, 8th ed., 1957. W.P. Morrell and David Oswald William Hall, *A History of New Zealand Life*, Christchurch, 1957, first published in parts as Bulletins for post-primary schools.

provinces.<sup>22</sup> (I must, however, remark that my late colleague Phil May could never resist reminding people that the publishers produced a map in the book which puts Greymouth on the north shore of the river!)

Since my research has been on the tropical empire I was, as a novice teacher, compelled to 'mug up' the Dominions from scratch. In this the four works of Professor Morrell were indispensable. *Britain in the Pacific Islands* was closer to my own interests and was also very helpful in teaching the 'new imperialism' of the international scramble for Africa, Southeast Asia and the Pacific in the 1880s and 1890s. While Africa attracted a host of writers in the 1960s, the Pacific was less well covered until the new output from the A.N.U. made its mark in the 1970s. When I visited the late Professor Davidson in Canberra in 1968 *Britain in the Pacific Islands* was the basic reference source. The starting point was always: 'What does Morrell say?'

My personal favourite is *British Colonial Policy in the Mid-Victorian Age*. My own research had been on West Africa, Malaya and the South Pacific for roughly the same years as Morrell covered South Africa, New Zealand and the West Indies. The same personalities and problems tended to crop up and the new book greatly enriched our understanding of the period. I only wish it had come ten years earlier! I had also become, in the meantime, interested in imperial defence and the crisis of Empire about 1869-70, on both of which the book had excellent new material. We were still teaching, then, at Canterbury a two-paper M.A. course on 'New Zealand's relations with Britain 1860-1900' and the book made a major improvement in the readings. And for teaching New Zealand history the middle section provides the best account of British policy at the time of the Maori Wars and the aftermath.<sup>23</sup> For some reason it is strangely neglected by New Zealand historians, some of whom tell me they have never read it! (Possibly this is because it is not classified under DU but either DA English History or JV Political Science.) Ged Martin, one-time *enfant terrible* of colonial studies, called it a 'giant of a book'.<sup>24</sup>

We also had an M.A. course for some years on 'comparative topics in the history of the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand'. Responsible government was one topic, for which Morrell was used. We also looked at the gold rushes, for which his book with the same title, published in 1940, was the sole comparative study.<sup>25</sup> I had not until recently read *New Zealand* in the Benn series, which is hard to come by. I wish I had. When we introduced our first full unit in New Zealand history at Canterbury in 1967 I suggested we call it 'Colony into Nation', but my

22 The Otago Early Settlers Association plans to publish the parts of Morrell's Ross Fellowship dissertation which were not published in *Provincial System*.

23 *Mid-Victorian Age*, chs. 7-11, p.202-376.

24 Ged Martin, 'Was there a British Empire?', review article, *Historical Journal*, XVI, 3, (1972) 368.

25 *The Gold Rushes*, London, 1940; 2nd ed., 1968.

colleagues demurred as this would prejudice the question as to whether there was a 'nation'. (Remember Dr Sutch had just published *Colony or Nation?*<sup>26</sup>) Morrell, aged thirty-five, having lived ten years in England, had had no such qualms. 'I have sought to interpret the history of New Zealand as the growth of a nation: so far as I know, the history has never before been written from quite this angle. . . .' The last chapter of the Historical Survey section of the book entitled 'The Ripening of Nationality' has thoughtful passages on the role of World War I in creating a sense of New Zealand nationality. He also pointed to the difference between New Zealand and English society. 'In its more prosperous days New Zealand has not been, as some observers thought it, the paradise of the working man but rather the paradise of the *petit bourgeois*.' These differences he felt might diminish as Britain became more democratic and New Zealand lost some of the crudeness of a pioneering community.<sup>27</sup> That was in 1935, *before* the election. After the election Morrell wrote an article interpreting it for the *Contemporary Review*, which my colleagues of the Labour History mafia like so much that they distribute copies to their students each year.<sup>28</sup>

The other book I am indebted to is the *History of the Anglican Church in New Zealand* (1973) which was not only useful for teaching about the missions in the New Zealand history course, but also very helpful in my editing of *Henry Sewell's Journal 1853-57*. Sewell, who is certainly not the most remembered politician in New Zealand history, was first member of the Assembly for Christchurch, first Premier, first Registrar-General of Lands, first Minister of Justice, first ministerial representative overseas, and, last by not least, negotiator of the first overseas loan. But much of his journal was taken up with Canterbury Association affairs and matters concerned with the Anglican Church.<sup>29</sup> There are only four references to Sewell in Morrell's book, but it provided invaluable background reading on ecclesiastical matters. He first used Sewell's journal for his work on the *Provincial System*, at Professor Hight's suggestion, and in the published version of the book there are fifteen references to Sewell. In *Colonial Policy in the Mid-Victorian Age* there are twenty-one references and some extensive quotations. There are four different typescript versions of the journal, all differently paginated, and these have often been quoted by others. Professor Morrell used Sewell more frequently, and more accurately, than any other historian.

He also shared with Sewell a love of the Church of England and a tolerant, charitable Christianity. (They also both had sons who were ordained.) In view of this it is highly appropriate that his last major work

26 W.B. Sutch, *Colony or Nation? Economic Crises in New Zealand from the 1860s to the 1960s. Addresses and Papers selected and edited by Michael Turnbull*, Sydney, 1966.

27 *New Zealand*, pp.xi, 112-3, 338.

28 'The Labour Victory in New Zealand', *Contemporary Review*, CXLIX (1936), 331-8.

29 See Introduction to W. David McIntyre, ed., *The Journal of Henry Sewell 1853-7*, 2 vols, Christchurch, 1980.

was the *History of the Anglican Church in New Zealand*. The penultimate sentence reads: 'Christianity should make men aware of the limitations of independence whether of individuals or of nations. It teaches the interdependence of men and their neighbours and the dependence of man upon God.'<sup>30</sup> The *Memoirs* close with the same message: 'Christianity seeks to restrain men's passions, to make man love his neighbour and to make the world a more peaceful place. . . . Unless man can discipline his nature, who can prophesy about the future?'<sup>31</sup> Sewell in his day preached similar views. During the Maori Wars he resigned his office of Registrar-General of Lands in disgust at the Suppression of Rebellion Act, which he called the 'production of Madmen'<sup>32</sup>. The only aggression he favoured was with the pick and the spade to build roads. Having made this comparison I would like to make a personal Jubilee tribute by presenting Professor Morrell with a pre-publication copy of the Journal he first read fifty-seven years ago. This will enable him to do two things: to check his transcriptions to see if there are any mistakes, and compare the price with those of his own books. When he contemplates the latter he may, indeed, wonder about the future.

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30 *Anglican Church*, pp.252-3.

31 *Memoirs*, pp.156-7.

32 The Journal of Henry Sewell, Vol. 2, 1859-1886, MS, University of Canterbury Library, entry for 8 November 1863.