

It is to be hoped that Ann Beaglehole's book is only the first about migrant experiences in New Zealand. New Zealanders need such records so as to be able to make better informed judgments about migrants and immigrant policies and about their society today. The book suggests a number of other studies that might be undertaken, such as the experiences of the migrants who did not stay after the war and the effect of the arrival of these migrants, many of them non-religious, on New Zealand's Jewish community.

New Zealand society is the richer for the presence of these European New Zealanders who, it is generally accepted, have made a valuable contribution in a variety of ways. If New Zealanders are rather more tolerant of individual differences today, and if New Zealand is a more culturally diverse and more interesting place than it was 50 years ago, the people whose experiences are recorded in this interesting little book have helped in the process.

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*The Upper House in Colonial New Zealand. A Study of the Legislative Council of New Zealand in the period 1854-1887.* Begun by A. H. McLintock. Revised and completed by G. A. Wood. House of Representatives, Wellington, 1989. 271pp. NZ price: unknown.

THIS IS a book with a very complicated publishing history. It has had an immensely long gestation, going back to the 1950s and the work of the then parliamentary historian, A. H. McLintock. Its publication appears to have been dragged out over an inordinate length of time. The introduction is dated 1983. To make matters even more tangled, the book itself now contains no publishing information whatsoever, which must make it almost unique in the annals of publishing.

A. H. McLintock was New Zealand's first—and only—parliamentary historian. This book originated in his second exercise in parliamentary history. The first was *Crown Colony Government in New Zealand*, published in 1958, and proposed then as the first of four volumes on the development of parliamentary government in New Zealand. This parliamentary history, inaugurated in 1954 to mark the centenary of parliamentary government, was a major historical enterprise that has never been followed through. We have a poor record in this regard, although it is now improving and can be expected to improve still further with changes in the Historical Branch and the setting in place of much more effective supervision of the development of government historical projects. A parliamentary history is still needed. Much discussion of our political history takes place in a constitutional vacuum, as we lack accurate guides to the history of our major institutions.

As the writing of the early history of the Legislative Council proceeded on its much-interrupted way, Keith Jackson embarked on a doctoral thesis that culminated in the publication by him of *The New Zealand Council* in 1972. McLintock had died in 1968. Eventually Dr Wood was engaged to write a work which would utilize McLintock's research. At last, nearly three decades after McLintock began his work on the Council, a book has appeared. We thus find ourselves without any book on the House of Representatives, yet with two on the less important Legislative Council. The questions that will now be asked are: was it worth the wait and the effort, and do we really need two books on the Council?

Wood admits that this is a completely new work which McLintock would not recognize. McLintock's main contribution appears to have been the mass of notes that he

left. Indeed, to judge by what Wood says in his preface, the McIntock material became something of an embarrassment, especially when a vast additional hoard was discovered ('adding to an already considerable quantity of paper', as Wood puts it.)

This book is not a duplicate of Jackson's. The most obvious difference is that Jackson surveyed the entire span of the history of the Legislative Council. The new book is therefore a much more substantial survey of its pre-1890 history. It is a valuable contribution to nineteenth-century constitutional and political history. Although some excellent theses have been written on pre-1890 politics and government, we do not have very much published material on this subject. This book will therefore become a useful and stimulating source of information on the evolution of the New Zealand system of government.

The author sees much as having flowed from New Zealand's failure at the outset to get an elected Upper House. There was interest in this, but by 1856 interest and energy had been diverted to other matters. A nominee Council was not something that New Zealanders chose. Like all other aspects of our constitution, it was imposed from Westminster. Much of the interest of this study derives from the analysis of the process by which New Zealand politicians gradually adapted the institutions they had been given to the requirements and circumstances of colonial government and politics. In some ways a nominated Upper House served the needs of colonial democracy better than one elected on a regional or federal/provincial basis. Nomineeism had low prestige. It was convenient to retain because it produced a weak Council that constituted no sort of serious rival to the elected assembly. Radicals, as the Liberal era was to show, found that it provided a convenient enemy while having a composition that was easily amended.

There was prolonged confusion over the constitutional question of whether the Council had the same powers and should follow the same conventions as the House of Lords. It took a long time to resolve the question of the powers of the Council as regards money bills. Did New Zealand inherit the conventions of the Mother Country? Transferring the conventions of an unwritten constitution has its problems, especially at a time when these were undergoing rapid evolution in the Mother Country itself.

Wood shows the importance of appointments to the Council as a form of patronage at a time when the government did not have much else to offer. There was a swing to appointing ex-MHRs. Very few were appointed in the pre-1969 era. But the Council was not much used as a ministerial reservoir.

The author shows that the Council was a strong centralist influence in the system, being relatively immune from the provincialist pressures which affected elected representatives of the people. Had New Zealand been given a truly federal constitution, the situation would have been very different. The Council is described as representing 'national conservatism'. J.C. Richmond called it 'rational conservatism'.

The book ends before the 1890s, when the advent of party politics brought a crisis in relations between the Council and the government. This was a focus of Jackson's book. This book has a different orientation, one more substantially rooted in the realities of colonial politics. The growth of demands for reform — which ultimately proved abortive — is interestingly traced.

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