

hardly surprising when talking about the relationship between a superpower and most small states. While the relationship may be of central importance for the latter, it is bound to be peripheral for the former. Accordingly, most US influences on New Zealand are unconscious ones and we are but one of many recipients of those influences. Given this obvious reality, however, it is disappointing that these essays describe New Zealand reactions to American influences without evaluating what has been unique about our absorption and/or rejection of American models and values. Some comparisons would have greatly enriched this collection.

There are also some surprising omissions in what is generally a wide-ranging coverage of US influences on this country. In a period when race relations are such a central issue in New Zealand life, it is ironic that the sole US contributor to the collection is the only one to mention the subject. Have the experiences of black Americans and native American peoples had no impact on those of Maori and Pacific Islanders in New Zealand? Given the suspicion of the US which emerges as a major theme in some of these essays, it is also surprising that the collection does not include a paper specifically assessing the character of anti-Americanism in New Zealand.

In general, the greatest strength of this collection is its ability to suggest the diversity of US influences on New Zealand. It does so at the cost of eschewing intensive analysis of the 'American connection' in any one area or in a broader comparative context. Such enterprises, however, are obviously beyond the scope of short conference papers, and the contributors should not be criticized for falling short in those respects. Rather, they should be congratulated for highlighting specific areas where further empirical research is warranted and for demonstrating the general need for more systematic scholarly interpretations of New Zealand's interaction with the twentieth century's most internationally influential nation.

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Shades of Darkness. Aboriginal Affairs, 1925-1965. By Paul Hasluck. Melbourne University Press, 1988. vi, 154pp. Australian price: \$24.95.

Frontier. Aborigines, Settlers and Land. By Henry Reynolds. Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1987. ix, 234pp. Australian Price: \$26.95.

The Law of the Land. By Henry Reynolds. Penguin Books. Ringwood, 1987. xii, 225pp. Australian price: \$12.95.

WRITING ABORIGINES back into Australian history has become something of an academic industry in the last 20 years. Those involved have tended to assume that Aborigines were totally neglected by earlier historians. This may have been true of many of the general histories of Australia but there were several useful earlier monographs that dealt broadly or regionally with Aborigines, usually in the context of 'native policy'. These include E. J. B. Foxcroft's *Australian Native Policy* (1941) and Paul Hasluck's *Black Australians: Native Policy in Western Australia* (1942).

Hasluck had begun his career in the 1920s as a journalist who, unusually for those days, took an interest in Aborigines. Subsequently he took an MA in History, writing for his thesis the study that was published as *Black Australians*. Later again, from 1951 to 1963 when he was Minister for Territories in the federal government, he had the opportunity to make history, his own 'native policy'. He did of course move on to higher things, becoming, as a grand finale to his career, Governor-General of Australia. His *Shades of Darkness* is a warmly nostalgic if, on his own admission, a rather bland view of Aboriginal

affairs from 1925 to 1965. It begins with reminiscences of his early forays as a concerned journalist into Aboriginal matters, moves smoothly through his period as Minister for Territories, and concludes with some critical comments on what has happened since. Hasluck is critical because he sees recent developments, prompted by white Aboriginal sympathizers and 'professional Aborigines', as moving away from assimilation towards separate development.

For the book is primarily a defence of the older assimilation policy, started before Hasluck's term as Minister, but actively continued by him. 'The policy of assimilation', he wrote in 1957, 'is based on the expectation that gradually the tribal structure will be weakened and will disappear and that gradually the Aborigines and persons of mixed blood will be drawn more closely into association with the white community. Administrators should not seek to resist or impede such change, but rather to regulate the course of change.' J. K. Hunn wrote in almost identical terms in his controversial *Report on Maori Affairs* three years later, only he used the term integration, which many of his critics regarded as synonymous with assimilation.

Henry Reynolds — quite unashamedly one of Hasluck's Aboriginal sympathizers — is one of the luminaries who have put Aborigines back into Australian History. Perhaps his best essay, 'Racial Thought in Early Colonial Australia', was published in 1974. Since then he has published a steady stream of essays and more recently three provocative monographs. The first of the trilogy, *The Other Side of the Frontier* (1982), was a courageous and, for Australia at least, a pioneering attempt to examine the Aboriginal side of the frontier and to piece together their attitudes to the European occupation. In view of the paucity of evidence of Aboriginal attitudes, one was inclined to excuse Reynolds's somewhat dubious technique: his stringing together of scraps of information that were often separated in time by more than 100 years and in space by the width of the continent.

Unfortunately that technique is repeated to some extent in the two books under review, although Reynolds has returned to the more familiar and richly-sourced European side of the frontier. The surveying of opinion is a risky business for any historian and needs to be firmly anchored in time and place. But Reynolds is unapologetic. He admits that *Frontier*, the first of the two to be published, is 'selective in focus, concentrating on a number of major themes . . . from first settlement until the early decades of the twentieth century and exploring evidence from every part of Australia'. 'The quotations', he continues, 'represent a very small selection of evidence that has been collected' but constitute 'a distillation of the Australian frontier experience' (p.vii). The technique is applied particularly to the first part of the book, 'Conflict'. This provides an evocative overview of the violence which occurred wherever pastoralists occupied Aboriginal land, and of the paternalistic attitudes in 'the generations hardened against the Natives' that followed. But there is little examination of the context or sequential nature of the violent events: to Reynolds they are all, when distilled, the same poisonous mixture. The second part, 'Ideology', revives some of Reynolds's earliest work on European race theory and is concerned, for a start, with the missionaries and humanitarians who defended Aborigines in the early nineteenth century and, secondly, with the pre- and post-Darwinian racist theories that were used to push Aborigines to the bottom of the hierarchy of race. But it is not until part three, 'The Land', that there are any significant revelations — or, perhaps more correctly, re-discoveries. For Reynolds has discovered what had been meat and drink to the previous generation of historians: the Colonial Office files. Admittedly, he has discovered in them some material that previous Australian historians — for instance, Douglas Pike for South Australia — ignored. He stresses that the Colonial Office in general, and under James Stephen in particular (from 1836–1848), pursued a common policy towards indigenous people in all of the colonies, including those in Australia. This included recognition of aboriginal title to land — a long-standing doctrine in colonial law,

stemming from the North American colonies to the antipodes, and applying to the Australian colonies as well as New Zealand, where it was formalized in the Treaty of Waitangi. Reynolds makes out a convincing case for the existence of Aboriginal title in the common law even though the Aborigines did not get a treaty, nor even recognition of their title by the Australian courts. His findings are in line with those of other recent scholars who have worked on aboriginal rights in other territories, including P.G. McHugh for a Cambridge thesis, 'The Rights of the New Zealand Maori at Common Law' (1987). But Reynolds deserves credit for testing the doctrine for Australia. It remains to be seen whether the judges, when they get the opportunity, will take note.

The whole question is taken up and expanded in Reynolds's other book, *The Law of the Land*. The Colonial Office records are examined again for the 'recognition' and 'frustration' of Aboriginal land rights in the 1830s and 1840s. But, like the historians he condemns, Reynolds drops the whole question for 100 years before briefly taking up the recent Aboriginal land rights movement. Nevertheless, *The Law of the Land* should not be dismissed as a tract for the times. Aboriginal rights, having been so vigorously reinstated into Australian history, are unlikely to be cast aside again.

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Emigration from North East Scotland. Vol. I: Willing Exiles; Vol II: Beyond the Broad Atlantic. By Marjory Harper. Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen, 1988. 380pp., 317pp. NZ price: \$29.50 each.

MARJORY HARPER has produced a thorough and scholarly study of emigration from one small part of Scotland to many parts of the world. Her two-volume work is of more interest to students of migration than to New Zealand historians, but it does contain relevant and interesting information about migration to this distant and minor destination.

Harper begins by talking about aggregate statistics. Although official figures understate the numbers of Scots who left for New Zealand (mainly because they do not include Scots leaving from London), it is quite clear that it was not an especially popular choice. The great majority of Scots went either to the USA or Canada to join relatives who had moved there earlier and to take advantage of the great opportunities offered, especially to farmers. The shorter sea voyage also held understandable appeal. Many more Scots went to Australia as well, even though a greater percentage of New Zealand migrants were Scots and the colony received more favourable coverage in the Scottish press than did Australia. Our Scots migrants, in other words, represented an important but minor tributary of a major migration (roughly 50,000 out of more than 600,000 who left Scotland in the nineteenth century).

Harper moves from aggregate figures to the ways in which would-be emigrants learnt about the various destinations. Local newspapers and agents seem to have been the most important sources of information, along with letters sent home by departed relatives and neighbours. John McGlashan and James Adam both receive special mention for their efforts in attracting migrants to Otago.

Harper notes that most immigrants to New Zealand had to have a little capital because, even if they were assisted immigrants, they had to pay the boat fare to London. Very few paupers were directed to New Zealand from the Aberdeen area, although ten girls from the Aberdeen industrial school were sent to Dunedin. Initially New Zealand seemed to hold out a special appeal to agricultural emigrants who had been sent crashing down the