

was simply not the case, and where convicts and taurekareka Pakeha Maori were highly valued if they had any skills.

A further problem is that Bentley engages in some overly simplistic generalizations, while failing to define many of the concepts he is using. At one point, for example, he matter-of-factly states that after 1840 few 'half-castes' lived as Maori, but this statement (which is completely unreferenced) is not factual. Any look at nineteenth-century census statistics, let alone the whakapapa of many Maori families today, would have told him this much. Had Bentley deconstructed such controversial terms as 'half-caste', 'Negro', 'Lascar', 'cannibal' or 'living as Maori', his claim may have been more convincing. Instead, he uses these terms very loosely. While these terms were used in the nineteenth century, to repeat them without offering any explanation of their historical context is unhelpful and only adds to stereotypes that should be thoroughly questioned.

Bentley does include some discussion of the role of Pakeha Maori women on the colonial frontier, but has little new to add. By limiting his discussion of women — both Maori and the few Pakeha Maori women — to the 'wahine' role, and so defining women as 'other', he has missed what is surely a most pertinent point. Large numbers of non-Maori single men arrived in Aotearoa, and Maori society by and large accommodated these men. The medium for this contact was Maori women. They acted as the mediators between non-Maori men and Maori society. Maori women advised their non-Maori partners on protocol and prevented them from making unforgivable mistakes in a Maori world. In turn, Maori women and Maori society in general valued these men not so much for their ability to 'fit in', as Bentley asserts, but because they offered new and different skills that Maori could use to their own advantage. To say in his introduction then, that these men were foreigners who became part of the tribe and were treated by Maori as Maori, is to miss the very worth of these men to Maori. It was their usefulness, not their class or their 'role', that determined the extent of their welcome.

The value of this book comes from the fact that it is an accessible single-volume account of men (and a few women) who encountered Maori society on the early colonial frontier. It will serve to introduce more of this intriguing period of New Zealand history to a general readership. It is also generously illustrated. However, Bentley's structure gets in the way of some ripping good yarns.

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1 Quoted by Margo White in 'Soapstone: New Zealand drama series *Greenstone* refuses to let historical fact ruin a good romantic saga', *New Zealand Listener*, 29 May 1999, p. 19.

Maori Health and Government Policy 1840–1940. By Derek A. Dow. Victoria University Press in association with the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1999. 280 pp. NZ price: \$39.95. ISBN 0-86473-366-6.

May The People Live: A History of Maori Health Development 1900–1920. By Raeburn Lange. Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999. 359 pp. NZ price: \$39.95. ISBN 1-86940-214-6.

BOTH OF THESE BOOKS fill a major gap. Derek Dow, an historian specializing in health and medicine, pursues a focus on official public health policies for Maori, which were piecemeal and regional rather than national in practice. Raeburn Lange, with a background in Pacific history, takes a social history approach to Maori health.

REVIEWS

In *Maori Health and Government Policy*, Dow develops themes introduced in his *Safeguarding the Public Health* (1995): issues in the history of Maori health policy, and the lack of it, in the hundred years after 1840. He provides a note on sources and a bibliographical essay in which he acknowledges that Raeburn Lange was the 'first academic historian to tackle Maori health' in a 'pathbreaking MA thesis in 1972'. Dow challenges Lange's original emphasis on the role of Maori Councils in the decade after 1900, preferring to highlight little-known nineteenth-century initiatives, in particular the work of the Native Medical Officers (subsidized doctors), funded from the Civil List. According to Dow, in the nineteenth century there was more extensive health care provision for Maori than has generally been recognized. For example, missions served as de facto hospitals and the government subsidized the Native Medical Officers. The latter measure was adopted ad hoc, in an effort to save funds. Official parsimony and funding cut-backs are a central theme in both books.

Dow explicitly excludes from his study the impact of land loss (which Keith Sorrenson argued was central to Maori health issues) because policy-makers neglected to address this issue. Since the Treaty of Waitangi rarely featured in policy discussions, Dow also excludes it. This raises a problem: the Treaty may not have come alive in health or in other policies generally until the 1980s, but it remained alive in Maori thinking, as is demonstrated in the wealth of material unearthed by the Waitangi Tribunal's work and in the writings and speeches by the Young Maori party leaders.

In *May The People Live*, Lange emphasizes Maori agency, and the importance of co-operation among Maori reformers, tribal leaders, and the government in health improvements, which showed such promise for a brief few years after 1900. Biographical snapshots of Maori health reformers are interspersed with his analysis, extending beyond the famous pair of Maori doctors, Pomare and Buck, to the Native Sanitary Inspectors who worked with the Young Maori party leaders and Maori Councils in the first decade of the twentieth century. The inspectors' dismissal, he argues, was 'a mistake'. Both books emphasize such lost opportunities and the government's failure — especially under the Liberals — to build on the potential of Maori initiatives, but this becomes Lange's core theme.

May The People Live is a totally rewritten version of Lange's 1972 thesis. It retains a focus on the period 1900–1920, on the grounds that this was a crucial period in the social history of Maori health. Lange argues that these years were marked by the turnaround from a decline in both health and numbers in the nineteenth century as a result of the interaction with Pakeha, their diseases and their world, to recovery in numbers, trends in health status — and hope. Writing from the position that medicine is 'close to the heart of all cultures' and people's world view determines their response to sickness, Lange strives to convey the Maori health reformers' motives and measures, how these showed promise for the first time, and yet were thwarted by apathy, antipathy and neglect, and were seriously underfunded. For him, a key continuity is the need for Maori health programmes owned by Maori, devised by Maori for Maori, for which the early twentieth-century initiatives under the Maori Councils offer a partial model. Here, as elsewhere, the reader can make connections with Alan Ward's *An Unsettled History* (1999) in which Ward, too, sees the proposals for Maori Councils in 1900 as a key moment for a counterfactual history, of what might have happened in Maori-Pakeha relations had this opportunity not been squandered.

Lange effectively rejects Dow's thesis about the role of Native Medical Officers, on grounds which Dow explicitly omits from his study: their impact. As a social historian, Lange points to the paltry sums spent on doctors' subsidies and their uneven spread. A significant proportion were located in the South Island and near Wellington, where the Maori population was small. Ngai Tahu did best out of the system, which raises interesting questions of how effective this service was among Ngai Tahu, and how the tribe perceived it.

Consistent with his title, Lange begins with a useful overview of nineteenth-century assumptions about Maori as a dying race, and summarizes the Featherston/Buller legacy, the 'smoothing the dying pillow' image. He makes a greater effort to link his book to wider New Zealand history than Dow does, and in this context – though without much evidence – comes to an opposing conclusion, that 'The most comprehensive Maori health work before 1900 was done by the staff of the Native Schools', whose teachers James Pope saw as missionaries. It is on health reform as a mission that Lange's book displays considerable strengths. It conveys the sense of mission felt by the Young Maori party reformers and the 'lesser lights' of the Te Aute Association, by girls' schools such as Hukarere, and the first Maori nurses. Pomare is depicted as preaching the 'gospel of work', while the Young Maori party saw themselves as 'saviours of a race' who, in Ngata's words, could see 'with the eyes of both races'. Indeed Pomare, as Native Health Officer, is portrayed convincingly as 'a one-man nationwide health service for the Maori on a shoestring budget', who in his health promotion used the latest technology – slides, and seeing through a microscope – to good effect: he scared people about the water they drank.

Both these books are scholarly contributions: they are rich in detail and both authors are at pains to demonstrate complexity. Lange, though, provides added insights through vignettes, as in his disclosure of the prejudiced views of Dr R.H. Makgill, Auckland's District Health Officer, who would have liked to see Maori segregated on reserves as Aborigines were. Yet both studies indicate how far we have to go to complete the jigsaw on Maori-Pakeha relations affecting Maori health. A little more debate and openness to cross-disciplinary approaches could enrich our history as well as our policy.

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Long Journey for Sevenpence: An Oral History of Assisted Immigration to New Zealand from the United Kingdom, 1947–1975. By Megan Hutching. Victoria University Press in association with the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1999. 208 pp. NZ price: \$39.95. ISBN 0-86473-360-7.

MEGAN HUTCHING'S account of assisted immigration from the United Kingdom to New Zealand after the Second World War addresses a vast lacuna in the study of population movements to this country. Permanent and long-term arrivals from Great Britain dominated New Zealand's intake until the mid-1970s, yet the expanding body of literature on immigration in the post-war era has, until now, downplayed their experiences. *Long Journey for Sevenpence* remedies this neglect and demolishes a long-standing assumption that the influx of British assisted passengers was simply 'a transfer from one to another branch of essentially the same culture'. Indeed, one of the major triumphs of the book is that it restores the historical identity of these newcomers as immigrants. By approaching their experiences as 'a long-term process of negotiating difference' (p.174), Hutching persuasively demonstrates that an accommodation to new realities was not achieved without moments of tension or ambiguity.

The main themes of *Long Journey for Sevenpence* are introduced through a series of short biographies based on oral history interviews. Each of the immigrants featured here describes their reasons for leaving the United Kingdom, their experiences on the journey, and aspects of their transition to New Zealand society. Coventry-born David Read, for example, recalls his first impressions of the new land (p.26): 'You see this shape against