

as would interrogation of our very fine children's writing which inhabits a much loftier position internationally than our adult fiction. A second volume would also do well to examine the response of the next wave of immigrants from the Pacific Islands, Asia and elsewhere to living in these very remote islands; an examination which one suspects would complicate considerably the perspectives of the rather narrow group of earlier writers discussed by Calder.

On balance this is a very enjoyable and challenging collection of well written and finely crafted essays that helps us better understand who we are, where we have come from up to this point in time and — possibly — where we might be going.

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*Migration and Empire*. By Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010. 380pp. UK price: £35. ISBN: 978-0-19-925093-6.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS's latest offering in its History of the British Empire companion series is a work on migration and empire by two renowned scholars in the field: Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine. Together Harper and Constantine have merged their respective knowledge to provide a comparative overview of migration throughout the British Empire. The scope encompasses both historical (since 1815) and contemporary migrations (up to the 1960s), and migration out of as well as into the UK. The volume comprises an introduction, four chapters on key migrant destinations (Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Africa), and six chapters on a range of themes including female migration, child migration and return migration. Much of the literature is familiar to scholars in the field, but the authors also draw on some original research such as interviews with migrants. While the division between destinations and themes generates occasional repetition, the key importance is in pulling the material together in a useful and extensive comparative overview. This approach generates a number of findings, though these often require the reader's active engagement across the chapters, rather than such contrasts being made explicit.

One of the strengths of the volume is its inclusion of statistics. Recent studies of migration have tended to veer towards more qualitative methodologies, but numbers are essential. The authors note sheer figures and percentages, such as Australia's population in 1861 being 1,349,000, with 62% born abroad, mainly in Britain and Ireland. In Canada in 1871, meanwhile, the population was almost 4 million, with 84% of the foreign-born being from Britain and Ireland, and 60% of the entire population having British origins. Alas, no similar figure for New Zealand's total population in 1861 or 1871 is provided, though the authors note that those born overseas formed around 70% of the non-Māori population in the 1860s. Those from Britain and Ireland supplied approximately 80% of immigrants in each census between 1861 and 1901. In South Africa by 1911, meanwhile, of a total population of 6 million, just over one-fifth was European, a minority compared with settlement in North America and Australasia. While such figures are useful, it is up to the reader to extract them from each chapter and make contrasts. An appendix containing various census figures and percentages would have been beneficial, as would some commentary on the differences between the various census data. Canada's census, for instance, contains data on ancestry.

A further strength of the volume is the recognition of the ethnic makeup of migrants throughout the British Empire. Despite advances in migration studies, too often in studies of the British Empire, Scottish, Irish, Welsh and English migrants are lumped together,

with investigations of their identities professing an overarching Britishness. Harper and Constantine are alert to the specific migrant streams and their identities. Notable here are Cornish and Welsh communities in Australia, the Scots and English in New Zealand, and the Cornish and Scots in South Africa. Particular attention is given to religious identities and associational culture, but virtually nothing is apparent about personal expressions of identities. In terms of their presence, the authors point to more than half the arrivals from Britain and Ireland into Canada between 1825 and 1867 being Irish. The Irish also formed a considerable proportion of migrants in Australia. New Zealand, meanwhile, was characterised by a disproportionate share of Scottish migrants. Again, however, a statistical summary in an appendix of such breakdowns over time would have been beneficial. Gratifyingly, the authors do not simply focus on the British and Irish flows, but also point to the arrival of other migrants in these destinations including the French in Canada, Italians and Greeks in Australia, and Germans, Scandinavians and Dutch in New Zealand.

Harper and Constantine provide a further illuminating dimension to the book by incorporating migration throughout empire by Indians and Pacific Islanders. Inclusion of enforced plantation labour as well as free labour enables the authors to make contrasts with the flow from Britain. For instance, migration from India was driven more by necessity, characterised by famine, landlord exploitation and inflated rents. British migration, by contrast, occurred in the context of industrial and economic growth. Migration to Britain also saw changes in these origins. While the Irish and the Scots were the predominant arrivals for much of the period, after 1945 migration to the UK from the New Commonwealth increased, with West Indian, Indian and Pakistani migrants surging into the UK. In sum, Harper and Constantine claim that although the destinations to which migrants went altered over time, this encompassed 'a redirection rather than a termination of migrant flows' (p.39).

One of the major themes examined throughout the book concerns legislation and government policies, with colonial rather than imperial governments proving critical in the selection of migrants. This was especially the case for Australia and New Zealand where migrants relied heavily on public funding (Canada's migrants were more reliant on family and friends). Between 1861 and 1900, for instance, more than 80% of newcomers to Western Australia, Queensland and New South Wales were assisted, while Victoria received only 13% and Tasmania 25%. Some schemes were common throughout empire, including in 1919 a free passage scheme for ex-service personnel and their families and the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 which offered assisted passages and land. After the Second World War Australia and New Zealand implemented a £10 passage scheme, though New Zealand funded this entirely while Australia shared costs with Britain. Schemes were also specifically developed for female migrants, though differences between countries are noticeable with New Zealand not imposing indentures on women migrants as in Australia. Here, though, some reflection by the authors on how and why such schemes differed would be useful. Child and juvenile migrants were also funded to move abroad by authorities such as the Poor Law Boards and organisations like Barnardos. Harper and Constantine point out that the only equivalent to these British schemes were in the United States where children from cities in the east coast were sent to the American rural west. Legislation and government involvement were also critical for migration to the UK, though with Indian migrants we similarly see the importance of remittances. Notable is the early unrestricted access to Britain by aliens, empire migrants and descendants of British migrants. By the twentieth century restrictions began to be imposed, including the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act.

Undertaking a synthesis of such a wide-ranging scholarship is a challenging task and one that Harper and Constantine have tackled admirably. There are, though, some

drawbacks. I have already mentioned the need for a statistical summary and the occasional repetition of certain aspects due to the book's structure. A perhaps not unexpected drawback is the lack of an all-encompassing bibliography. In the chapter on New Zealand, for instance, key texts are absent, including edited volumes by Lyndon Fraser and Brad Patterson on the Irish in New Zealand, Maureen Molloy's work on the Scottish settlement at Waipu, and Fraser's and Katie Pickles's collection on female migrants. My comparative study of the Irish and Scots in various destinations also engages with many of the themes covered by Harper and Constantine, but is similarly missing. This is perhaps understandable in a broad book such as this, but specialists will likely be disappointed by the coverage. Connected to this point, is the stark lack of engagement with debates in the field. One might have expected, for instance, some stance on the relative importance of propaganda over personal letters in directing migrant flows. More critical is the lack of extensive engagement with the work of scholars of empire rather than migration. To take but one example, a key debate in the field surrounds the influence of the empire on Britain and Ireland, but no mention of this is made here.

Harper and Constantine's account also largely draws, not unexpectedly, on the work of historians. Yet given the examination of issues of migration and empire by scholars in various disciplines some reflection on how historical accounts differ from the interests or findings of anthropologists, sociologists and geographers, among others, would have been useful. Nor is attention given to important conceptual developments such as transnationalism and diaspora. Moreover, despite acknowledging the ethnic dimension of the migrant flow, many of the motives for migration and the images or impressions held of potential destinations are merged for the various ethnic groups. As I have pointed out elsewhere, many Irish migrants recollected their motives for migration in political contexts. Given the use of oral testimonies in Harper and Constantine's volume, this failure to distinguish differences is regrettable as is the lack of any methodological reflection on the methods/problems of such sources. Whether images or impressions of destinations differed by ethnicity, gender or class would similarly have been useful in this book.

These criticisms, however, do not detract from what is an extensive and accessible descriptive overview of migration in the British Empire. It will be the standard introduction for scholars and adds an important dimension to the companion series it is part of.

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*Empire and Environmental Anxiety: Health, Science, Art and Conservation in South Asia and Australasia, 1800–1920.* By James Beattie. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2011. 320 pp. UK price: £55. ISBN: 978-0-230-55320-0 (hardback).

WHAT IS 'ENVIRONMENTAL ANXIETY'? While this stimulating book provides no precise definition, it is immediately clear that the condition incorporates an imperial context. It refers to 'concerns generated when environments did not conform to European preconceptions about their natural productivity or when colonisation set in motion a series of unintended environmental consequences' (p.1). James Beattie, now a senior lecturer at the University of Waikato, notes that his book 'grew out' of his Otago PhD thesis. His earlier research dealt solely with the history of environmental anxiety in New Zealand, with a strong emphasis on deforestation. Since then, his post-doctoral growth has been like that of *muehlenbeckia*, quickly covering new ground. In consequence