

new countries were unprepared for independence when in fact they secured it.

As with most surveys of both the length and breadth of this book, a reviewer could find any number of points to praise and others with which he might take issue. For example, while I hold that McIntyre has over-emphasized the importance of fear as *the* motivating factor in Imperialist expansion, I think he has made an excellent job of contrasting the views of Oliver and Fage, on the one hand, with those of Robinson and Gallagher, on the other, when discussing the partition of Africa. He might, too, have gone further with his explanation of the withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth in 1961, especially in view of the degree to which attitudes to apartheid have continued to influence relations between various Commonwealth countries. But taken all in all, this is a first-class survey well worth reading and using as an introductory text. It is unfortunate that its price will place it beyond the reach of most undergraduates but perhaps a cheaper paperback edition will be forthcoming.

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*Maori Land Tenure: Studies of a Changing Institution.* By I.H. Kawharu. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1977. 363pp. N.Z. price: \$36.20.

PROFESSOR KAWHARU'S *Maori Land Tenure* is a welcome contribution in a field of study that is riddled with complexities and problems. The intricacies of any one aspect of the topic might have proved sufficient for a major study in itself. Yet the author has successfully produced a most comprehensive record of the many tenurial peculiarities associated with Maori land from the pre-Waitangi period to the present day. The culmination of almost twenty years' work, the book is based on two Oxford theses and several other pieces of research. With such 'disparate origins' the text might easily have lacked cohesion. Kawharu, however, has drawn his material together skilfully by emphasizing the factors of change that have led to the present confusion of title and continuing loss of Maori land.

In a brief introductory chapter that outlines the history of relations between the government and the Maori people, Kawharu traces the several methods by which Europeans acquired Maori land: first through Crown purchase under the preemptive clause of the Treaty of Waitangi, then through the confiscations during the wars of the 1860s, and finally, through direct purchase under the Native Land Act 1865 and successive legislation. The effects of this legislation on nineteenth-century Maori society are clearly indicated in chapter two. Traditional Maori land tenure was largely communal in nature and based on rights of occupancy and use. This was drastically altered by the operations of the Maori Land Court that was set up under the 1865 Act. To specified members of a tribe or hapu, the Court granted an individual title which opened the way to the partition and alienation of vast areas of Maori land. Thus a minority within a tribe was given the power to determine the interests of the majority. The task of dealing with succession also fell on the Court which introduced a right of inheritance from both parents — an

interpretation that further diverged from customary practice. This bilinear succession, together with the right of alienation, has been responsible for 'fundamental changes' in Maori tribal structure over the past century. What these changes are, and how and why they have occurred, is Kawharu's main concern.

In three substantial chapters that deal with the legal, economic and deliberative aspects of the subject, Kawharu takes his analysis into the twentieth century. On the legal side he discusses the disastrous effects of the Land Court system in producing fragmentation of land holdings and the attempts made to overcome the problem through methods such as consolidation and amalgamation of interests. Turning to economic aspects he surveys the various schemes for developing Maori land, some sponsored by the government and directed by the Department of Maori Affairs, others arising from Maori initiative and co-operation. Then he examines the decision-making processes which determine how and by whom the land is to be utilized.

To conclude his survey of Maori land tenure, Kawharu discusses the controversial Pritchard-Waetford Report of 1965 and the following Maori Affairs Amendment Act 1967. Although the Report was primarily intended to provide guidelines for the reform of Maori land law, it stimulated unexpectedly strong Maori protest. As a 'participant-observer' Kawharu evaluates this reaction.

It will be apparent from the above outline that Kawharu set himself no mean task in attempting a work of such a technical and specialized nature. That he presents a lucid account is largely due to careful organization and presentation. The initial chapters, for example, provide a judicious balance to those sections which incorporate in-depth research. The detail of the latter may be confusing to the average reader, but Kawharu offsets this to some extent by using the earlier chapters as a frame of reference. The theoretical nature of the analysis is further clarified by case studies taken from Maori Land Court records and committee proceedings. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that these are so selective. There would seem to be room for a more comparative approach in certain sections, as, for example, to the workings of the land committees in different districts. But this is merely a quibble and no doubt considerations of space have imposed such restrictions. For possibly the same reason Kawharu has not been tempted to engage in debate on issues such as the non-implementation of the land guarantee of the Treaty of Waitangi. *Maori Land Tenure*, therefore, does not presume to advance exciting or new ideas. Its main merit lies rather in providing the reader with a basic text in a subject area where published works are notably absent.

Yet the book is somewhat more than just a record, for Kawharu, a social anthropologist who is himself involved in Ngatiwhatua (Auckland isthmus) affairs, is concerned about the choices remaining to the Maori in the future use of land resources. His message is clear: the main problem of Maori land is fragmentation. As he points out, this is the direct result of a nineteenth-century European innovation — the substitution of customary tenure with bilinear succession. Traditional rights of occupancy gave way to new rights based on Court title. It was inevitable that the social structure of the tribal grouping should be thereby undermined, for, under the new system, different relationships and new sets of values developed. Occupiers without title, for instance, became subject to the whim of absentee title-holders. Owner-occupiers found that their freedom of choice was restricted as the numbers with land interests began to multiply. The twentieth-century growth of the Maori population has compounded such problems of tenure so that, coupled with land loss, more and more Maoris now

have interests in ever-dwindling, often uneconomic, land lots.

From about 1929 on, serious efforts were made to devise ways of efficiently using Maori land. The much-vaunted consolidation and development schemes of Sir Apirana Ngata at one time seemed to offer an admirable compromise that all parties found acceptable. But, as Kawharu clearly shows, the schemes were little better than expedients designed to temporarily bypass title difficulties. The occupiers of land brought under development had no security of tenure and, therefore, little incentive to increase production. Often marginally productive anyway, the land could seldom carry the debts charged for development and at the same time provide adequate recompense to the occupiers, let alone some remuneration to the owners. By the 1960s the high costs of state-funded Maori land development forced a complete reassessment of government policy and, as Kawharu shows, experiments such as the incorporations under Maori management have fared little better. From an economic point of view Maori land has been, and still is, a major problem.

From the Maori point of view, however, land serves an important function of sustaining cultural identity. Thus, even while the majority of Maoris must now seek employment opportunities away from the land, it is hoped that the few remaining on the land will be able to safeguard the 'cultural heritage'. Whether this can be achieved within the constraints of a profit-oriented European economy Kawharu appears to doubt. In fact he concludes on a pessimistic note: 'Indeed, the Maori now faces the ultimate choice of systematically diversifying, incorporating, and acquiring management expertise or fading from the scene as a landed proprietor.' (p.311).

Those who are concerned with Maori society would do well to inform themselves of the complex factors influencing such a choice. This book provides the best informed source available.

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*Letters from Gunner 7/516 and Gunner 7/517.* Ed. Barbara Harper. Anchor Communications, Wellington, 1978. 48pp. N.Z. price: \$4.20.

THE EDITORIAL work here is a piece of pious illiteracy. Most references to family and friends are usefully expanded in the text, but 'Lord Croma' and the Greek statesman 'Zenegelos' go misread or unexplained. Perhaps it does not matter much. Certainly we should be grateful to have the letters and I hope that they are widely read. All but one were written by Gordon Harper, and nearly all to his mother.

Gordon and Robin enlisted in the Canterbury Mounted Rifles in August 1914. Gordon had great fun crossing the line. He is intelligent on the role the troops played in showing the flag in a Cairo which is not here portrayed as Miss Rout's.<sup>1</sup> Even before he went to Gallipoli he wondered whether New Zealand would be as generous to its own maimed as in a swell of fervour it was being to Belgian relief.