

From 1899 to 1906 Ethel was one of three honorary legal counsel for the Society for the Protection of Women and Children. This chapter, one of the most interesting in the book, shows a sympathetic, level-headed professional woman active in a field that has been fairly thoroughly tilled by social and feminist historians. November increases our understanding of what it was like for participants and victims.

By 1904 one feels that Ethel's business was becoming at least as interesting, and lucrative, as the law. She probably learned the principles of risk management at her father's elbow and discovered a flair for the hospitality business first expressed in advising her hotelier clients; later she invested in hotels. She insisted on high standards but understood the need to control costs. She soon realized that she could manage this balance herself. In 1906 she left her Dunedin practice in the care of her two clerks, to take personal charge of her considerable investment in the Cherry Tea Rooms at the Christchurch Exhibition. There she met the Wellington sharebroker Alfred De Costa, whom she married in the Wellington synagogue in 1907. After briefly practising in Wellington, Ethel accompanied Alf to England. She could not practise law there, and little is known of her life in England except that it was relatively comfortable. The De Costas spent time in Italy and the South of France for the sake of Alf's health. November speculates that Ethel carried on business under the shelter of Alf's identity, and this is possible. For a time she managed a branch of the Midland Bank in Sheffield.

Janet November tells the story well. Some readers may be exasperated by the fairly long digressions, on the growth of Dunedin and the state of matrimonial law in Ethel's time, for example, and the methods used to fill out the context of Ethel's life where no direct evidence is available. I feel these were used judiciously. Ethel was no shrinking violet; she explained her decision to study law in her graduation speech and in a later interview for the *Press*. As a first-wave feminist she is less satisfactory to later feminists, maybe, than her more combative contemporary, Emily Siedeburg. Ethel was not afraid to be assertive, but her approach was that women should not be denied rights rather than being an energetic seeker of new rights.

This biography invites comparison with Alex Frame's biography of Sir John Salmond. *Salmond* is a more erudite biography, as it should be, but it captures the personality of its subject and his milieu less effectively than November does in her slighter book. I would have liked more discussion of Ethel's Jewishness and how it might have contributed to shaping her civic personality. There is a rather awkward 'epilogue' sketching the careers of five OGHs lawyers for whom Ethel was a kind of role model. It underlines November's theme that determination, education and role models are supremely important to girls; nothing new here. The book is nicely produced except for some mistakes and typos that the author or VUP editors should have picked up. In times when there are more women law graduates than men, it could be an appropriate graduation present.

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The Double Rainbow: James K. Baxter, Ngati Hau and the Jerusalem Commune. By John Newton. Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2009. 224pp. NZ price: \$40.00. ISBN 978-0-86473-603-1.

IN 1969, NEW ZEALAND POET JAMES K. BAXTER travelled to Jerusalem on the Whanganui River to found a commune for disaffected urban youth. According to his vision, Baxter selected a set of Māori communal values to form the basis of the Jerusalem commune. John Newton claims that adoption of Māori values by a community of predominantly Pakeha urban youth was unique and that Jerusalem serves as a valuable case study in the history of

New Zealand biculturalism. Previous literature on Baxter and Jerusalem has not expressed enthusiasm about this bicultural experiment, however. The existing literature has taken two forms, biographical and sociological. Both approaches focus upon Baxter's life and his influence upon the Jerusalem commune. As a result Baxter has been seen as the most important factor in the success or failure of Jerusalem.

The two most important biographies of James K. Baxter, *The Life of James K. Baxter* by Frank McKay and W.H. Oliver's *James K. Baxter: A Portrait*, describe Jerusalem as a well-intended but impractical endeavour with Baxter failing to meet his responsibilities managing a commune of lackadaisical hippie youth. In their sociological and historical survey of New Zealand intentional communities, *Living in Utopia: New Zealand's Intentional Communities*, authors Lucy Sargisson and Lyman Tower Sargent identify Baxter as the social glue of Jerusalem, concluding that the commune collapse was due to his frequent absence. They also assert that Jerusalem falls short of comfortably fitting into the category of a self-sufficient, intentional community. For these authors Jerusalem signifies an anomaly and a failure within the history of New Zealand communal living.

In this latest addition to the corpus of work on Baxter and Jerusalem, John Newton challenges previous assumptions and provides new perspectives about the nature of the commune. Oral accounts from people who lived at Jerusalem, collected through workshops and interviews by Newton, add a more balanced perspective of commune life and the extent of Baxter's influence. Not only does Newton introduce new perspectives, but he examines the bicultural principles of life at Jerusalem and personal interactions between the commune and neighbouring Ngati Hau Pa. By focusing upon the kaupapa of Jerusalem Newton is able to deviate from the strict definition of an intentional community when evaluating the significance of the commune.

The governing bicultural principles established by Baxter included: Aroha — love of the many; Mahi — work undertaken from communal love; Korero — speech that begets peace and understanding; kotahitanga — harmonious relationships among all people; tangi — communal lament; and Matewa — a neologism loosely translated as 'wait and see', which captured the experimental nature of Jerusalem. These ideals were transferable and malleable. While Baxter may have initially set his own vision in motion he did not control the evolution of these ideas. Newton therefore acknowledges Baxter's influence, but also recognizes other influential members of the community such as Greg Chalmers, who gradually took on a leadership role during Baxter's absence.

The kaupapa of Jerusalem not only evolved within the commune but was adopted by others and adapted to new contexts. Newton challenges the assumption that the bicultural principles of Jerusalem were idealistic failures and detrimental to communal life, but in chapters 6 and 7 illustrates how the commune's kaupapa was sustained through networks of people across New Zealand and influenced the development of a number of New Zealand communal experiments. Aroha, the principle that informed the community's often-criticized open-door policy, spread across New Zealand. Associates of the Jerusalem community, such as Warwick Turoa, Lyn Austin and Greg Chalmers's brother Ricky, travelled across the country, finally finding themselves in Ahipara where they established the Reef Point commune, based upon the open-door principles of Jerusalem. Newton even suggests that Baxter's ideal of 'learning from the Māori side of the fence' inspired Matiu Rata, who along with Norman Kirk developed a state-supported scheme during the 1970s called the Ohu movement, which attempted to encourage urban youth to establish communes on disused lands. By re-evaluating Jerusalem according to its organizational ideals, Newton reveals that it was more important for its groundbreaking achievement in New Zealand commune history than has previously been accorded.

While Jerusalem's communal kaupapa spread across the country during the 1970s, Newton maintains that the commune remained a unique epicenter where an 'exemplary re-imagining of post-colonial relations' took place and which Newton believes may serve

as a guide to the present state and future direction of New Zealand biculturalism. Existing literature tends to highlight the tensions that occurred between the commune's culturally insensitive youth and members of the Ngati Hau Pa. Newton does not deny that clashes due to cultural insensitivity occurred, but new oral accounts provide more detail on how bicultural relationships developed between commune and Pa on a 'trial and error basis' (p.105).

Everyday activities and work served not only a practical means but as a mechanism of cultural transmission and social integration within the community. Newton illustrates this point providing the personal accounts from commune members of their mundane, everyday activities, which produced rich bicultural experiences. Group activities, such as card playing, gardening and flax, weaving, are some of the examples of how both metaphysical and material aspects of tikanga Māori were transferred to predominantly Pakeha youth and established a filial relationship that enabled the commune to obtain a sense of belonging within the Pa community.

Newton explains that the eventual end of Jerusalem was not primarily caused by the failings of the members of the commune but by changing Māori demographic trends. Urban migration of Māori youth during the 1960s created a generational gap within the Pa community, which was filled by the Pakeha youth. However, once Māori youth, some of whom were gang affiliated, returned during the mid-1970s the commune members faced a difficult political situation. While Jerusalem's members had obtained knowledge of tikanga Māori they were not ethnically Māori, and therefore lacked any authority or legitimacy over the returning 'pa kids'. Newton sees this tension within the Jerusalem village as representative of larger forces occurring within New Zealand race relations during the 1970s that signified the end of Pakeha liberal paternalism of Māori political recognition to a new autonomous Māori renaissance.

Baxter's tangi at Jerusalem is presented as a piece of televised public theatre that sparked Pakeha awareness of Māori life. It is compared and contrasted with another piece of New Zealand media history, Whina Cooper's land march. According to Newton these events represent significant shifts within the development of the Māori movement; with Baxter's tangi representing the end of a Māori movement assisted by Pakeha liberalism, and Whina Cooper's land march the birth of the Māori renaissance.

Newton provides new detail to the history of Jerusalem, and his re-evaluation is a worthwhile contribution to the historiography of communes. His speculative framework of New Zealand bicultural history also offers historians opportunities for further research.

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Prelude to Arbitration in 3 Movements: Ulster, South Australia, New Zealand, 1890–1894. By W.J. Gardner. The author (PO Box 5643, Papanui, Christchurch 5634), Christchurch, 2009. 174pp. NZ price: \$30.00. ISBN 978-0-473-16240-5.

JIM GARDNER HAS, IN THE COURSE OF A LONG CAREER, emphasized the importance of local and regional history in much of his writing and teaching. This book, however, is by no means his first foray into what is now called transnational history. It is a very interesting and useful discussion of aspects of the development of industrial arbitration in the 1890s in three parts of the British Empire: the United Kingdom itself, South Australia and New Zealand. Rather than an exhaustive discussion, it is a set of linked and reflective essays, an approach which works well, for there is little to connect Edward de Cobain in Ulster with developments in Australasia. De Cobain, a conservative aristocrat of labour if ever there was one, introduced a bill providing for the arbitration of industrial disputes