

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

in 1890. The bill was supported by a number of MPs from across the political spectrum, foreshadowing perhaps how arbitration could be all things to all people — in particular, the accommodationist views of such liberal New Zealand employers as Mills and Ritchie were foreshadowed by the London Chamber of Commerce in response to the new unionism of 1889. De Cobain's bill, however, foundered on united opposition from employer and union organizations which perhaps prefigured the reluctance to abandon free bargaining that bedevilled United Kingdom (and New Zealand) industrial relations for decades.

Gardner makes a convincing argument for the distinctiveness of South Australia, not least its Methodist heritage. This combination of dissent, radical liberalism and petty proprietorship reminds one of Erik Olssen's Caversham, as does the defensive attitude of South Australian unionism. Port Adelaide unions, however, were much more uncompromising, reminiscent of their comrades in similar occupations elsewhere. A real strength of this chapter is the parallels with New Zealand which are demonstrated: the professed liberalism of South Australian employers was no more extensive than that of the Dunedin ones, and the Playford ministry no more decisive than the Atkinson. Single-tax and labourist ideology flourished, the latter falling under the weight of contradiction as labour won separate representation. Charles Kingston had as great a struggle to get an arbitration bill passed as did Reeves, but in stark contrast to New Zealand, Kingston's measure was sabotaged by non-participation. The problem, that both capital and labour were being asked to surrender some powers in the interest of a greater collective good, is the old Lockean concept of the social contract. Why in the Anglo world is this so difficult? Scandinavian labour movements, for instance, have made such an approach the basis of the most successful social democratic regimes in the world.

Gardner's discussion of New Zealand arbitration begins by placing the colony in international context, as he believes that general histories have downplayed this dimension. Compulsory education and universal male suffrage were a potent combination in New Zealand as elsewhere, and 1890 and 1893 were watersheds in this country. Arbitration in both South Australia and New Zealand moved up the agenda after the 1890 maritime strike, and this is extensively and illuminatingly discussed. J.A. Millar's key role is emphasized, and Gardner suggests that Millar miscalculated in over-estimating the strength of Melbourne labour in calling the New Zealand unions out. Downie Stewart is also rightly given credit for interest in arbitration as a reasonably progressive liberal, certainly no further right than Stout. Downie Stewart's 1890 bill clearly borrowed from de Cobain, but Millar and Lomas attacked it as motivated by a desire to control labour. The bill lapsed but the issue remained on the agenda, pushed along by Ballance's advocacy and by the sweating commission.

There is an excellent discussion of Reeves and his personal contradictions — 'genuine but highly individual radicalism' — and his orthodox Liberal approach to representing the workers, being for but not of them. Yet Reeves was also a politician, and realized that arbitration had to be a liberal measure to both secure labour votes and, perhaps, to work — so he did not mind seeing Downie Stewart's effort torpedoed. And he had to, and did, mastermind Liberal strength in the Christchurch seats for 1890 in an unprecedented situation. This Reeves is a very capable politician, including not overdoing the labour rhetoric for fear of frightening the cautious. Nor did he mind Millar failing to enter Parliament in 1890, both because of his own ambition and his belief in the supremacy of Parliament. When Reeves did introduce an arbitration bill he abandoned his own draft for Kingston's text from South Australia. There was, however, little support in Cabinet — and in fact a surprisingly weak version of collective responsibility. Reeves was really left on his own, and Gardner surmises that Cabinet insisted on excluding rural workers. Eventually, of course, the bill passed and succeeded, if not entirely in ways Reeves anticipated. Perhaps Gardner makes slightly more of a puzzle than is necessary in Kingston's generous reception of Reeves in South Australia at the end of 1894. Perhaps Kingston recognized that Reeves had simply had a better combination of circumstances in the end, had worked for his bill, and if New

Zealand ran the experiment Kingston might later claim vindication. As well as being a likeable character, Kingston had no reason to be other than gracious. In his conclusion Gardner discusses Reeves's philosophy, which fitted what other scholars like Marian Sawer have described as social liberalism.

While not strictly relevant to a review, I will not refrain from noting that Jim Gardner will celebrate his 95<sup>th</sup> birthday this year. Any scholar should feel pleased about having written this book; it is an additional distinction that it comes at this point in so long and fruitful a career.

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*Natives and Exotics: World War II and Environment in the Southern Pacific.* By Judith A. Bennett. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2009. NZ price: \$63.99. 439pp. ISBN 978-0-8248-3350-3.

JUDY BENNETT HAS PUBLISHED EARLIER HISTORICAL STUDIES on the *Wealth of the Solomons* (1987) and on their contested forest resource (*Pacific Forest*, 2000). She commenced work on *Natives and Exotics* with the aim of finding 'what impact this sudden foreigners' war [World War II in the Southern Pacific] had on the environment and its native inhabitants and how thousands of military personnel reacted to them' (pp.xix–xx). For her, environmental history, 'despite its concern with the environment as an actor, still keeps focused on human beings' (p.xxi). Her approach has resulted in a rich tapestry that, by containing as much social as environmental history, gains increased appeal and significance. Appropriately, the poster reproduced on the book's cover conveys both mateship among Australian soldiers in 1945 and their immersion within the jungle.

Professor Bennett's current research into the lives of children of Pacific indigenous women and American servicemen (whose very existence is a further consequence of the war) must surely emphasize the social more than the environmental, but in *Natives and Exotics* these strands receive equal treatment. Chapter 3, on 'Diseased environments', discusses the impact of malaria and DDT, and is standard fare for an environmental historian. It covers similar ground to the author's article in *Natural Enemy, Natural Ally* (2004), the first collection of research specifically on the environmental history of warfare. Bennett has now extended far beyond this, however, as instanced by Chapter 12, on 'Remembering place', which categorizes the souvenirs which soldiers brought back from the Pacific — trophies such as Japanese swords; grass skirts and other indigenous artefacts; and 'trench art' such as brooches made from the perspex of aircraft windows. She identifies these as 'icons of survival and triumph in the strange military landscape and alien environment . . . [and] talismans that betokened a return to normal life' (p.266).

While the Americans came and went in the South Pacific, showing greater territorial interest in islands further north, post-war Australians continued to view New Guinea as both an area for development and a defence barrier. The attitudes and actions of these Allies are frequently contrasted. There is also a binary examination of differing circumstance in the western and eastern South Pacific, where 'the geography of conflict was to mirror the invaders' racial geography' (p.28). Melanesia was the theatre of war, while Polynesia, where many troops were stationed but few battles fought, was home to a people they found more 'socially agreeable' than the Melanesians.

An obvious comparison is between the opposing sides in the military conflict. Bennett has done her best to explore the Japanese, rather than just the Allied, interaction with the Pacific environment and people, but in this case her findings are thinner. We do learn that Japanese soldiers were expected to practise self-sufficiency — and compelled to, once the