

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

Cultural Perceptions of the Wellington Landscape
1870 to 1900: an Anthropological Interpretation

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Social Anthropology at Massey University,
Palmerston North, New Zealand

Christopher Russell Taylor
2008

Abstract

This thesis examines how cultural perceptions of Wellington's environment changed from the 1870s to the early 1900s. The historical material shows how clearing the New Zealand landscape of its forest cover in the early settler years reflected a particular cultural perception of the New Zealand bush. By 1900, this cultural perception had changed indicating that not only was the New Zealand landscape different, but New Zealand society had changed. These changes can be seen in the geographic historical accounts of clearing New Zealand's bush and the parliamentary debates of the 1875 Forest Act, 1885 State Forest Act and the 1903 Scenery Protection Act.

The anthropological theories of dwelling, taskscape, phenomenology of landscape and the hybridity of nature are used as a contemporary synthesis of ideas to examine cultural perceptions of the Wellington bush. An anthropological approach is also used to bring together diverse historical material in a way that allows these ideas to be applied.

Cultural perceptions of the Wellington landscape can be understood in the way the bush was cleared for pasture, how the landscape was depicted in paintings and photography and in the case study of the establishment of Otari-Wilton's Bush.

The thesis argues that cultural perceptions can be appreciated historically by understanding how people lived within the Wellington landscape, and how this was reflected in attitudes towards the New Zealand bush. Cultural perceptions of New Zealand's bush were a combination of existing cultural attitudes, the practicalities of living within the New Zealand environment and a direct perception of the bush itself. It is the shifting influence of all three of these aspects that determines overall cultural perceptions of the bush in any particular period in New Zealand's history.

The establishment of Otari-Wilton's Bush shows how the cultural perception of Wellington's bush had changed from seeing it as an obstruction covering potential farmland to having a defined place and purpose within the Wellington landscape.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful for the assistance of the staff from the Alexander Turnbull Library and Wellington City Council archives; Robyn Smith, the curator at Otari-Wilton's Bush during my archive research; Rewi Elliot the current curator Otari-Wilton's Bush, Mike Oats and David Sole at Wellington City Council.

My thanks to the people associated with Otari-Wilton's Bush who recounted what they knew of the history; Barbara Hampton, Margaret Crimp, Rod Prother, John and Ann Moffet, John Riseborough and the decedents of Job and Ellen Wilton, Susan and Helen Waugh.

The work required for this thesis would not have been possible without the patience and support from my wife Angela and the ongoing interest from my immediate family. I am most appreciative of those who read my earlier drafts of chapters, and particularly my father, Lindis, who read them with an interest in the history and ideas. I also reflect on how my late grandparents Clyde and Inez Taylor would have read this thesis with both an appreciation of the work involved and a scholarly understanding of much of the material.

I would like to thank Dr Keith Ridler and Dr Henry Barnard who supervised this thesis and understood my desire to explore this subject anthropologically as post graduate work.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	II
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	V
INTRODUCTION	1
The difficulty of applying theories to historical material	4
The challenge of postmodernism	5
Ethnohistory – understanding culture historically	7
Anthropology and the use of history material	8
History and the use of anthropological approaches	9
The historical ethnography	10
Cultural perceptions of the nineteenth century New Zealand landscape	11
CHAPTER ONE	13
New Zealand environmental history – literature review	13
CHAPTER TWO	24
Cultural Perceptions of the environment - a theoretical framework	24
The origins of environmental determinism and cultural ecology	24
Cultural ecology	26
Culture and ecosystems	27
Cultural materialism	28
Cultural determinism	29
Socionatural systems	30
Cultural relativism	31
Phenomenological approaches	32
The concept of dwelling	34
Landscape and taskscape	35
Nature in complex societies	37
Summary	39
CHAPTER THREE	41
1874 Forest Act to the 1903 Scenery Protection Act	41
Economic and population trends 1870 - 1900	41
New Zealand society 1870 – 1900	44
The political changes of 1890s	46
Land development and the Forest Act 1874	47
The 1885 State Forests Act	51
The Scenery Protection Act 1903	53
The mixing of conservation ideas	55
Summary	56

CHAPTER FOUR	59
The New Zealand landscape as painted and photographed in late nineteenth century.	59
Early colonial New Zealand landscape painting	60
Colonial landscape painting	61
Landscape painting from the 1870s	67
Landscape Paintings of Wellington	69
Summary	77
CHAPTER FIVE	81
Clearing the lower North Island and Wellington bush - 1840 to 1900	81
The Wellington geography	81
Pre European Wellington bush	83
Early Maori settlement	84
Early Wellington settlement	86
Summary	103
CHAPTER SIX	105
Wilton's Bush – Historical perceptions of New Zealand's bush	105
The establishment of Otari Native Botanic Garden	105
The Otari Natives Reserve	107
The Wilton farm	110
The establishment of Wilton's Bush	116
Summary	128
CHAPTER SEVEN	130
Conclusion - the changing cultural perceptions of Wellington's bush	130
Limitations of commonly used theories	130
The taskscape of the Wellington landscape	133
Phenomenology of the Wellington landscape	138
The hybridity of the Wellington landscape	142
APPENDIX 1 – MAP OF WELLINGTON 1914	147
APPENDIX 2 – MAP OF OTARI–WILTON'S BUSH 2007	148
BIBLIOGRAPHY	149

List of Illustrations

Figure 1 - Samuel Brees (1810-1865) : View of Port Nicholson from the range of hills west of the Ohiro Valley (ca 1844)	61
Figure 2 - William Fox (1812-1893) : Mountains with mist in the valleys (ca 1860s)	63
Figure 3 - Charles Gold (1809-1871) : Wellington Harbour (ca 1856)	68
Figure 4 - James Nairn (1859-1904) : Shipping in Wellington Harbour (ca 1903)	70
Figure 5 - William Baker (1864-1929) : Opposite Plimmerton (ca 1920 – 1925)	71
Figure 6 - James Bragge (1833-1908) : View of Te Aro, Wellington (ca 1870s)	73
Figure 7 - James Bragge (1833-1908) : Looking north along the Wellington to Masterton Road (ca 1874)	75
Figure 8 - Burton Brothers : View of Lambton Quay, Wellington, with the Union Bank and a fountain at right centre (ca 1870s)	76
Figure 9 - Samuel Brees (1810-1865) : Porirua Harbour and Paramata whaling station (1843)	78
Figure 10 - Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company Ltd : View of Johnsonville (ca 1885)	80
Figure 11 - Robert Park (1812-1870) : Maori dwellings and chapel with whalers' lookout Tutaewera near Kaiwharawhara (ca 1842)	85
Figure 12 - Charles Heaphy (1820 – 1881): Bird's eye view of Port Nicholson (1839)	87
Figure 13 - William Smith (1799-1869) : The harbour of Port Nicholson and the town of Wellington (1842)	89
Figure 14 - Charles Heaphy (1820-1881) : Port Nicholson from the hills above Petone (1840)	91
Figure 15 - William Travers (1819-1903) : Forest on Porirua Road, Wellington (ca 1865)	92
Figure 16 - William Smith (1799-1869) : Ruamahanga from the east ; the range of mountains divides Wairarapa from the Pakarutahi and Hutt Valley (1849)	93
Figure 17 - James Bragge (1833-1908) : Horse drawn carts on the Rimutaka Hill, one mile from top (ca 1870s)	94
Figure 18 - Burton Brothers : Forty Mile Bush, Wairarapa (ca 1868 – 1898)	95
Figure 19 - Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company Ltd : View of Waikanae hills from the Wellington and Manawatu Railway (ca 1885 - 1888)	97
Figure 20 - Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company Ltd : Settler's hut, Manawatu (ca 1885 - 1888)	99
Figure 21 - Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company Ltd : Shannon station and yards (ca 1888)	100
Figure 22 - Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company Ltd : Land cleared by burning at Manakau (ca 1885 - 1888)	101
Figure 23 - Wilton's Bush 1847 (Wellington City Council 2007)	109
Figure 24 - Wilton's Bush 1850-1880 (Wellington City Council 2007)	111
Figure 25 - Entrance to Wilton Bush (ca 1896)	113
Figure 26 - Wadestown School picnic at Wilton's Bush commemorating the opening of the school (1881)	115
Figure 27 - Boiling the copper, Wilton's Bush (1907)	116
Figure 28 - Bridge across a stream in Wilton's Bush (1886)	121
Figure 29 - Wilton's Bush : The gate between the Otari scenic reserve and the Witton's property (1906)	124
Figure 30 - Wilton's Bush 1900 (Wellington City Council 2007)	125
Figure 31 - Opening Day of the Otari Native Plant Museum (12 October 1926)	126
Figure 32 - Wilton's Bush 1995 (Wellington City Council 2007): See also Appendix One	127
Figure 33 - William Swainson (1789-1855) : Clearing bush (ca 1845)	134
Figure 34 - Charles Gold (1809-1871) : Bushy river gorge, possibly a gorge of the Hutt River (ca 1846 - 1850)	135
Figure 35 - E. A. Cockerell : Panorama of Wellington City and harbour (1893)	137
Figure 36 - John Hoyte (1835-1913) : Wades Town, near Woodward's (ca 1870s)	139
Figure 37 - George Angas (1822-1886) : Scene in a New Zealand forest near Porirua (1847)	140
Figure 38 - Samuel Brees (1810-1865) : Hawkestone Street, with Mr Brees' cottage. (ca 1845)	141
Figure 39 - Evening Post : Panorama of the suburb of Wilton (1932)	143

Introduction

Cultural perceptions of the Wellington landscape 1870 to 1900: an anthropological interpretation

This thesis looks at nineteenth century cultural perceptions of the Wellington landscape and how they changed between the 1870s and the beginning of the twentieth century. During this thirty year period most of the lowland bush was cleared and turned into pasture. Also during this same time, three major Acts were introduced to protect native forests. This seemed to do little to stop the dramatic destruction of lowland bush as it was in fact between 1870 and 1900 that the largest proportion of lowland bush was milled or cleared for farms. The government passed the 1874 Forest Act and the 1885 State Forest Act as an attempt to at least control the rate of deforestation but it was only in 1903 that the government passed the Scenery Protection Act, signifying that “scenic” native bush was something to be protected. This Act formalised the protection of existing reserves and added many patches of scenic bush. Native forest continued to be cleared after the Scenery Protection Act, but cultural perceptions of the bush can be seen as having changed quite considerably in the space of thirty years.

The following chapters explore these cultural perceptions and propose a theoretical framework to explain in more depth how these cultural perceptions changed over the last third of the nineteenth century. Cultural perceptions are not usually dealt with in a historical context, but are crucial to understanding what New Zealanders thought about their surrounding environment. As a point of entry to this question I offer an historical insight into what it was like to live in 1870 Wellington, with large areas of land still covered in bush, and compare this to 1900 when most of the bush had gone.

The material in this thesis covers a wide range of information ranging from broader accounts of New Zealand society, the economy and legislation, through to specific material on the changing Wellington landscape and the establishment of Wilton’s Bush in 1906.

New Zealand history documents the second half of the nineteenth century well in terms of salient events, social issues, politics and economics. New Zealand environmental history is steadily being explored and recent publications illustrate the scope of the subject (McKinnon 1997: 47; Brooking & Pawson 2002), including a comprehensive history of New Zealand Conservation (Young 2004).

That New Zealand was largely cleared of lowland bush between the 1870s and 1900 is well understood as a general part of New Zealand's history. Environmental and geographical history has added further detail and richness to these accounts. Only a few researchers have gone so far as to generalise about what New Zealand Europeans thought of the bush in the late nineteenth century (Wilson 1992), and the cultural perceptions of the environment of the time (Mitchell 1995; Park 1995, 2006; Sheppard 1969; Star 1997). Other accounts are scattered across general history, biographies and New Zealand historical fiction, although they are generally circumspect about the causes of cultural perceptions of the landscape or bush.

This introduction outlines the themes and the methodological issues I consider important in examining historical cultural perceptions of the environment. The ideas most suited to understanding cultural perceptions come from the field of anthropology. These ideas need to be used in the most appropriate way and I consider that the field of Ethno-history needs to be clear on how history is understood and how anthropological theories are applied. For these reasons, it is necessary to be aware of some of the epistemological issues in applying anthropological ideas to historical material.

Chapter One reviews how New Zealand history has approached cultural perceptions of New Zealand's bush and the degree to which historians have sought to apply relevant theories to explain these perceptions. While general New Zealand environmental history and specific studies of New Zealand ecological history describe the transformation of the landscape, only a few consider the reasons why people viewed the bush in different ways.

Chapter Two looks at the anthropological ideas that have been used to understand the relationship between culture and the environment. The development of these ideas is summarised and the ideas I consider to be most useful are outlined.

Chapter Three looks initially at the economic and social trends of the late nineteenth century before examining how attitudes towards the New Zealand bush were reflected in the 1874 Forest Act, the 1885 State Forests Act and the 1903 Scenery Protection Act. Cultural perceptions can be seen as being reflected in not only the actual legislation but the political debates as recorded in parliament.

Chapter Four examines how cultural perceptions of the New Zealand landscape were depicted in landscape painting and photography at the time. Painting and photography were influenced by both artistic genre and subject matter. Photography in particular had become cheaper and more portable. While it may be difficult to untangle the influence of artistic genre from the influence of the New Zealand landscape, painting and photography can be seen as portraying what New Zealanders thought of the landscape.

Chapter Five reviews the historical geography of how the Wellington landscape was cleared of bush from the 1840s through to the beginning of the 1900s. The chapter outlines why certain areas were cleared before others and what particular circumstances or events inhibited or encouraged the opening up of the land for pasture. Local histories are brought together to illustrate just what a task it was to clear the land and turn it into productive pasture.

Chapter Six uses the history of Otari-Wilton's bush as a case study of an area of bush that was not cleared when most of the surrounding land was, and became significant enough to be protected in 1906.

Chapter Seven discusses the anthropological ideas of taskscape, dwelling, phenomenology of landscape and hybridity. These are used as a series of related contemporary concepts that when applied to this material, offer an explanation of cultural perceptions of the Wellington landscape during this period.

The difficulty of applying theories to historical material

The field of history has had many methodological debates about how theory should be applied. Richard Evans in his critique of the field of history charts the reluctance of many scholars to accept social history as being just as legitimate as political or economic history (Evans 1997:161- 190). History traditionally had been about charting great figures and events, but in the 1980s when attention turned to social history, the field of history became specialised and fragmented. Evans sees the major debates about the nature of historical enquiry as being between the distinct sub-fields of economic, political and social history. Each type of history has different assumptions and attitudes towards theory and epistemology. Political history has the purview of nation-states while economic history looks at more structural or quantifiable questions. Social history, in contrast, sees the purely political and economic histories as deficient in not reflecting everyday life (Evans 1997: 184).

Eric Hobsbawm, one of the more outspoken historians, and with a long career reflecting on the nature of historical enquiry, is critical of economic and political history. He was influenced by Marxist theories of history and had concerns about what these theories had done to the field of history. He wondered if Marxist historians have moved much beyond Marx's original ideas (Hobsbawm 1997: 205).

Hobsbawm also considers social history to be qualitatively different from political or economic history. Social history is all-encompassing, for the simple reason that social aspects cannot be separated into smaller bits.

“They cannot, for more than a moment, be separated from ways in which men get their living and their material environment. They cannot, even for a moment, be separated from their ideas, since their relations with one another are expressed and formulated in language which implies concepts as soon as they open their mouths”

(Hobsbawm 1997: 100).

For Hobsbawm, the field of history needs to be able to move from social history to a history of society. History needs to have an understanding of the structures, mechanisms and patterns of transformation, and with the relevant detail of what actually happened.

Social history is about people living in societies and in groups and being defined with a shared culture (Hobsbawm 1997: 105-108).

Both sociological and anthropological ideas have been applied to historical material with varying degrees of success. Historical sociology, based in the work of Marx, Weber and Durkheim, established theories for the development and processes of change for capitalism. The major criticism of this approach has been that the theoretical assumptions of one major force of change was given priority over another, even though the basis for such a decision was not made explicit in the theory. In this way many sociological theories become grand narratives and diminish the importance of detail and particular events (Green & Troup 1999: 111-118).

Evans considers that the rise of cultural history, in that culture and ideas are the driving force of history, has weakened the link between historical sources and context (Evans 1997: 159). Culture has become more of the context rather than the material to work with and, as a result, the relationship has become circular, in that context and culture are seen as much the same thing.

To summarise Evans, Hobsbawm and Green and Troup, theories of history are needed to add different perspectives to material, but not subjugate events to these larger theoretical processes. It is for this reason that ideas imported from other disciplines have not been as useful to history as perhaps they should. Ideas that incorporate change often do not allow for the particular and those that do, tend to lack understanding of social or cultural change.

The challenge of postmodernism

Postmodern theory, in its treatment of history as texts to be interpreted, has destabilised the epistemology of history. The belief in an actual objective history has been progressively unsettled by historical relativism and postmodern theory. With postmodernism has come an emphasis on language and texts and an awareness of who was writing the primary sources (Evans 1997: 5).

Postmodern theory treats all texts as a form of literature. Taken to an extreme, postmodernism considers there to be very little difference between primary and secondary sources. Both are subject to a literary critique that sees them all as a form of authorship and equally as legitimate points of view. While the historian becomes another author, the boundary between history, interpretation and fiction becomes blurred (Evans 1997: 101- 126).

The questions raised by postmodern critiques highlight the elusive and relative nature of truth and, taken to its logical conclusion, the impossibility of objective knowledge. The historical relativism of postmodern theory, in which experiences and even epochs cannot be compared, places limits what can be said about history, other than analyzing the texts in literary terms.

Criticism of postmodern theory claims that it has diverted attention from understanding the past to “how” we understand the past and this potentially paralyses historical research. For Evans, while the historical scholars of the twentieth century can be seen as imbuing history with their own bias, post modernism threatens to prevent history from ever rising above a literary critique of historical texts (Evans 1997: 252).

Postmodernism seems to have limited the potential of social history at a time when social history was seen as an alternative view from the grander traditional political and economic history.

Postmodernism, in its more constructive form, allows historians to look more closely at documents and to think about texts and narratives in new ways. It also allows an acknowledgement of the historian’s own subjectivity. The literary aspect allows social history to be written in a more authentic, insightful and self-reflective way.

While this brief overview of postmodernism has only highlighted the major issues, it does allow clarification of the aims of historical research. The aim is to examine the past and to construct robust historical information that is as accurate and as faithful to the sources as is possible. It is also to be aware that even primary sources were subject to bias and interpretation in their creation. The aim of social history, considering these points, is to understand the structure and mechanisms of social change and to convey the experience of what it was really like. It is an interesting notion to consider that only

those who actually experienced the events will truly know what it was like, but it is only through historical reflection that will understand the significance and meaning.

Anthropology too, has come under the same postmodern critique about the nature of its material. Anthropology has also debated within its own field the implications of cultural relativism, in that cultures are only examined in their own cultural terms. As summarised in chapter two, cultural relativism has allowed anthropological knowledge to be built up, but it may be now a hindrance in formulating wider cross-cultural theories. Cultural relativism effectively precludes historical anthropology from making comparisons between different periods within the same society and yet this is fundamental to understanding social change.

Ethnohistory – understanding culture historically

The field of ethnohistory is the study of cultures and customs of past societies for which there is little historical material available. Ethnohistory can be seen as a blend of both history and anthropology and is a distinct approach that has to be clear on how anthropological theories are applied to historical material.

Social history and anthropological ethnography are similar in that both are seeking to add depth and richness to their material, and to convey the historical and cultural contexts in which people live. Both history and anthropology have their own methodological issues that need continual clarification. It is important that the ethnohistorical perspective is based on the strength of each field, rather than, as Comaroff and Comaroff point out, becoming an uneasy hybrid in which history and anthropology look toward each other for methodological answers to their own epistemological weaknesses (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992, 7-9).

For Comaroff and Comaroff there should be no division between an anthropological perspective and an historical one:

“Hence to assert that anthropology should be “more” historical, or history “more” anthropological, may be well-intentioned; but... the assertion remains vacuous without further theoretical specification. [In our view] there ought to be no “relationship” between history and anthropology, since there should be no division to begin with. A theory of society which is not also a theory of history, or vice versa, is hardly a theory at all” (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992: 13).

Anthropology and the use of history material

Anthropology has had a long-standing interest in social and historical change, particularly as the ideas of biological and social evolution have been influential since the beginning of ethnographic work.

E. E. Evans-Pritchard, in his 1950 Marrett Lecture, was critical of anthropology for being resistant to historical analysis and specifically critical of those who saw change as either fitting evolutionary or diffusionary processes. While the ethnographic detail was important, historical connections were explained away in evolutionary or diffusionary terms. Evans-Pritchard was equally critical of functional theory, that viewed the different parts of society as interdependent and as such could explain society without reference to its past (Evans-Pritchard 1962: 19).

For Evans-Pritchard: *“History is not a succession of events, it is the links between them. And like us, sociological historians have their models and ideal types to help them to represent the nature of the real”* (Evans-Pritchard 1962: 48).

Evans-Pritchard argued that contemporary ethnographic research was lacking completeness because it had no sense of history. History is important as *“it forms part of the thought of living men and hence part of the social life which the anthropologist can directly observe”* (Evans-Pritchard 1962: 51).

For this reason Evans-Pritchard was sceptical of a whole generation of functionalist ethnographic research that he saw as ignoring how societies had changed. By not considering history, anthropology had limited itself to the degree that it would be able to generalise about society. Evans-Pritchard did not think the lack of written historical records was reason enough for anthropologists to consider history irrelevant in their research.

Forty years after Evans- Prichard's comments, anthropologists are attempting to understand historical settings and add an anthropological insight to the material. *Golden Ages, Dark Ages: Imagining the past in Anthropology and History* (O'Brian & Roseberry 1991) is an example of reworking historical material that had previously been understood in terms of societies moving between polar pairs. They demonstrate that the changes that were occurring were more complex than originally portrayed. Jay O'Brian and William Roseberry are critical that anthropology still has very little understanding of history.

“Comparative and historical understanding in general is often embedded in a variety of oppositional models taken to represent past and present. Whether expressed in terms of primitive versus civilized, traditional verses modern, folk versus urban, natural economy versus market economy, community versus contract, underdeveloped versus developed, or other polar pairs, such models represent deductive constructs intended to present historical change as a transition from one abstract pole to the other”
(O'Brian & Roseberry 1991:2).

History and the use of anthropological approaches

While anthropology has a theoretical interest in social change, according to Green and Troup (Green & Troup 1999: 173-177), the bulk of the ethnographic work has been based on a given moment in time. Anthropology has tended to study smaller, relatively homogeneous societies and this has allowed for a holistic view. Historians, in contrast, have found that narrowing their scope has allowed for a more detailed treatment of material. For Green and Troup, anthropology has highlighted to historians the value of careful ethnographic analysis and the value of viewing the whole of society in order to

understand the social structures in which people live. There has been recognition, since the 1980s, that anthropology had the potential to widen and enrich the study of history. For historians, anthropology allows them to understand social and symbolic interaction more fully and how to analyse material from other cultures .

An anthropological approach to history also has its limitations. Often there is just not the historical material available for analysis that would normally be gathered by contemporary ethnographic research. Ethnohistorians are often restricted to scraps of evidence written by people from distinct social positions. The ethnohistorian is often faced with much the same dilemma as the social historian, in that they must analyse texts written by the dominant, the literate or the upper classes, with the view of reconstructing what life was like for other people in that society (Green & Troup 1999: 179).

The historical ethnography

Historical ethnography is an ambitious methodology and can be crucially limited by the material available. Unlike contemporary ethnographic research, participant observation is not available and important material may be missing. Historical ethnography searches for material while the contemporary ethnography gathers more if it is needed. The strength of historical ethnography is its use of diverse sources of information and in interpreting the material in broader and more contextual ways. This allows established historical material to be treated and understood differently. Deficiencies in not being able to retrospectively collect anthropological data can be compensated by combining existing information in new ways.

For Comaroff and Comaroff, history without some wider framework becomes a *cul-de-sac*. It is “*the relations between fragments and fields that pose the greatest analytic challenge*” (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992: 17). Comaroff and Comaroff have proposed a method for historical ethnography whereby anthropological interpretation is done using diverse information. In order to gain a wider view, the ethnohistorian must read against the grain, and in this way note the silences and suppressions of those not represented. For Comaroff and Comaroff, the biographical should not be the basis for understanding the culture of the time. They see the biographical as creating what they call the

biographical illusion, whereby lives are seen as an ordered progression of acts and events (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992: 26, 34-37). This can be contrasted with Owen (2000), who looked at the way individuals perceived the nineteenth century English Lake District landscape by using personal diaries. Diaries and biographies are different, but I view biographies as a readily available source, and while there may be concerns about the style and objectivity, Comaroff and Comaroff seem to be limiting the use of a valuable resource.

For an ethnography of the archives, all texts need to be considered, and not just those that are part of the official record. Comaroff and Comaroff see newspapers, novels, popular songs, and even children's drawing as legitimate sources. All these sources are used to build up a contextual picture of culture and social change and this allows cultural expressions and symbols to be placed in social and historical context (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992: 34-37).

By using anthropological ideas, and an anthropological approach to combine diverse material, my aim is in the direction of the historical ethnography. In this way early anthropology is still relevant. Bronislaw Malinowski wrote, in the language of the day, that the final goal of ethnography was to "*grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realise his vision of his world*" (Malinowski 1922: 25).

Cultural perceptions of the nineteenth century New Zealand landscape

I consider that New Zealand's environmental and social history do not overlap to the extent that there is an empathetic or consistent view of what people in the late nineteenth century thought about the bush. This can be seen as both the historical perspective lacking the theoretical framework to express this material, and an anthropological perspective lacking the appropriate material. As Green and Troup comment, the link may be "*controlled speculation*" in which "*the carefully controlled application of contextual knowledge can yield rewarding results*" (Green & Troup 1999: 179).

The experience of what the landscape was like and how people lived in it needs to be combined with a wider understanding of political and economic trends and events.

In order to examine and understand the cultural perceptions people had of the 1870 Wellington landscape, and to draw some conclusions about how it might have changed by 1900, the historical material can be looked at usefully in terms of contemporary anthropological theory. The theories of Tim Ingold and his ideas of dwelling and taskscape (Ingold 2000: 189-200) offer a perspective on how people relate to the environment in a practical sense. Christopher Tilley and his ideas on the phenomenology of landscape (Tilley 1994: 12-27) offer an insight into how cultural perceptions changed when the landscape had changed from bush to farmland. Finally, Adrian Franklin (Franklin 2002: 135-138) and his ideas on the hybridity of nature can be used to understand how bush became incorporated into a landscape that had been completely altered by 1900.

These ideas are particularly compatible with historical material as they allow insight and an explanation of larger changes without smothering detail or losing richness.

Chapter One

New Zealand environmental history – literature review

New Zealand history documents the second half of the nineteenth century well in terms of salient events, social issues, politics and economics. Recent environmental histories of New Zealand include *The New Zealand Historical Atlas* (McKinnon 1997 plates 47, 50 to 53), publications from the University of Otago's History Department including the PhD of Paul Star (1997) and Geoff Wilson (1992). The Otago University Land and People Research Group (Otago University website 2008), continue to research and publish environmental and social history. In 2004, David Young's *Our Islands, our selves: A History of Conservation in New Zealand* was published, and more specific ecological orientated histories have been published by Geoff Park (Park 1995, 2006).

There is a distinction between environmental or ecological history, that charts the changes to the landscape, and a history written to explore the relationship of people, their values and changes to the environment or ecology. There is also difference in emphasis when environmental history is approached via ecology or natural sciences, or from the humanities such as sociology or anthropology. The literature reviewed is examined to the extent to which the relationship between people and the New Zealand environment and ecology has been explored.

Herbert Guthrie-Smith's *Tutira* (1926) is recognised as a seminal New Zealand ecological history and it is comprehensive in documenting the growth of introduced and indigenous trees and the effects of deer and livestock. It is also reflective of the changes that took place and was unique in being written from first hand experience of the Hawkes Bay farm. Guthrie-Smith gained a profound knowledge of the consequences of clearing his farm and became an ardent conservationist later in his life (Young 2004: 110).

Guthrie-Smith's history shows that the changing perceptions were not divided between a generation that cleared the bush and a generation that farmed, but that there was an

awareness, within living memory of a single generation, of the extent of the irreversible change to the landscape (Guthrie-Smith 1926: xiii).

Paul Shepard, in his *English Reaction to the New Zealand Landscape* (1969), examined letters from newly arrived settlers and looked at how they viewed the New Zealand landscape. While the New Zealand bush was different from what they knew, they sought to understand it in relation to the English countryside. There were clearings and fields under cultivation that resembled and reminded them of English meadows. Many aspects of the New Zealand landscape could be compared in one way or another to the English equivalent, be it old trees, harbours, lakes or rivers. The bush was very different to be in, but viewed from a distance the bush resembled English wooded areas.

According to Shepard, there was overall a disparaging view of the bush, and while it was aesthetically pleasing from a distance it was seen as gloomy to be in. Many expressed how unproductive it was and this was linked to Christian views of wilderness and the need to cultivate the land (Shepard 1969:3). Settlers attempted to relate to the New Zealand landscape, but with different flora and fauna and the rugged topography, it did not fit naturally with what the settlers knew.

“The pleasant green of cleared settlements near Wellington, laced with small streams, reminded Tyrone Power of English turf. Clearings were welcome as cheerful homelike relief from the gloomy strangeness of the bush, especially as these clearings acquired crops and hedges, domestic animals, and English weeds” (Shepard 1969: 2).

Geoff Wilson’s *The Urge to Clear the “Bush”: A study of native forest clearance on farms in the Catlins District of New Zealand, 1861-1990* (1992) argues that settlers were driven by the economic uses of the bush (Wilson 1992: 73-83). Visitors and tourists may have been impressed by the aesthetics of the bush and the views and vistas, but those living in the Southland Catlins could not afford to think about the bush in such terms. For the majority of settlers, the bush covered their land and livelihood. The bush as it stood could not provide Europeans with much of a living, other than flax and timber extraction. Bush was seen by most farmers as wasteland. For Wilson, there was a pronounced separation between the visitors, who had the time and means to appreciate the bush, and local farmers who had to make a living from their land. Early farmers felt

engulfed and surrounded by the bush and the pressure to clear the land to make it productive heightened the awareness of the danger of the bush. Wilson points out that many land owners died while felling trees on their sections. It was common for farmers and their families to have to walk through large areas of bush on their way to school or the nearest town. Wilson quotes recollections where, as children, they didn't like the bush and children were not allowed to go into it as it was too dangerous (Wilson 1992: 75).

The bush in the Catlins in the 1890s was seen by many farmers as endless and they did not think that one day the bush would be removed from all of the farms. While bush fires were dangerous, they were not regarded as wasteful and often welcomed as a way to clean up the landscape (Wilson 1992: 76). Very few patches of bush were left as there was generally no consideration about protecting it. If parts of the bush were retained, it was for practical reasons such as shelter, a source of firewood or water retention. Often farmers found that they had to walk a considerable distance for firewood, so having a patch of bush close to the homestead made practical sense.

Wilson also explores the idea that settlers sought to recreate the landscape of their country of origin, and for those in the Catlins this was predominately Scotland. The dense bush was a contrast to the English landscape where forests were mainly in difficult terrain of low agricultural value. Despite this difference, bush picnics were popular, although they were held near rather than in the bush so that the native forest became a backdrop to the picnic (Wilson 1992: 69).

Wilson looks at why Catlins farmers were, as he considers, utilitarian about the bush, in that it only had farming and economic uses. For Wilson it was a combination of factors; the exotic look of forest, lack of knowledge about bush farming and feelings of being engulfed by the forest. Of importance, but not necessarily unique to the Catlins example, was that they were a small and fairly closed community where attitudes remained static for a long time (Wilson 1992:81).

Settlers had come to the Catlins with what Wilson regards as a fairly complex set of ideals. They were generally from socially oppressed backgrounds and had immigrated wanting to achieve success. This success was not only economic but they also had a

strong sense of freedom from social and government constraints. Land was seen less in terms of stewardship than ownership, and the bush covered land symbolised freedom from the constraints of urban life (Wilson 1992: 82).

Wilson contrasts the views that outsiders and visitors had towards the Catlins, that forests could be preserved for aesthetic reasons, to those of the local community that considered bush to be a hindrance to the economic development of the land.

“It was futile for outsiders to describe forest conservation as a measure to further the long-term welfare of the colony to early farmers. Farmers’ expectations at the time of purchase of sections, the hazy conceptions of the bush environment, all led to an idealisation of short-term gains. Engaged in a struggle against the bush of such magnitude and immediacy, most early farmers could neither perceive the possible exhaustion of timber supplies or shelter forests, nor that their efforts at survival might one day impoverish their families’ future and destroy ecosystems which their grandchildren might perceive as “scenic” and “aesthetic” ” (Wilson 1992: 82).

Ross Galbreath in his *Working for Wildlife: a history of the New Zealand Forest Service* (1993) sees the acclimatisation movement as wanting to populate New Zealand with English fish and game. This was not only to make New Zealand a “*Britain of the south*”, but also part of the “*rural arcadia*” where everyone could become landed gentry and hunt game only available to the elite in England (Galbreath 1993: 2).

One of Isabel Mitchell’s (1994) interpretations of nineteenth century picnics was the colonisation and symbolic re-enacting of the process of settlement within the New Zealand landscape. Picnics were often adjacent to areas of bush and people would frequently venture a little way into the bush. They would collect wood and ferns and often deliberately destroy the undergrowth as they went. More abstractly for Mitchell, food on picnic tablecloths on the ground can be seen as a form of cultural dominance of nature. From a Maori perspective, picnics on sacred sites were culturally offensive and provocative in asserting the European dominance (Mitchell 1994: 53-55).

According to Mitchell a successful picnic allowed people to mix outside their normal social status, or at least more easily within it. Picnics allowed pakeha to become more

familiar with the land and the bush and probably had more of a lasting effect than just reading about or viewing pictures of the New Zealand landscape (Mitchell 1995: 61).

Picnics were not confined to any particular section of society, and examples of church and trade union picnics demonstrate that it was not just an upper class activity. Mitchell's treatment and analysis tends to suggest that there was continuity and homogeneity in picnics, both socially and geographically, for more than fifty years. While picnics were, and are, an intrinsic part of New Zealand life, Mitchell's more encompassing interpretation offers the opportunity for further insight. There is room for picnics to be examined against geographical, social, and economic change during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Picnics may very well have changed during the depression of the 1880s or the urbanisation and changing demographic makeup of families during the 1890s. There is an interesting connection between Mitchell's analysis of picnics and Wilton's Bush becoming a popular picnic spot during the same period, and this is explored further in chapter six.

Tom Brooking and Eric Pawson's *Environmental Histories of New Zealand* (2002) summarises the research done to date. As the title suggests, histories rather than a history, acknowledges that their contributors are not tied to one particular interpretation. Paul Star and Lynne Lochhead see tourism in the late nineteenth century as both economically justifying the preservation of bush and influencing the national identity. They see a range of attitudes towards the environment from an environment influenced sentimentality for scenic bush and birds through to environmental appropriation and ecological colonialism.

The idea that the environment directly influenced settlers contrasts with views of environmental appropriation (making nature a part of the settled landscape) and of ecological colonialism (making nature part of the colonial landscape) (Brooking & Pawson 2002: 123- 35).

“Is protection of the indigenous remnant best viewed as part of an evolving process whereby European New Zealanders embraced and dominated a land and its people, or did reservation genuinely challenge the vision held by most of settler society around 1900? Our analysis favours the latter approach. There might have been a degree of

cynicism and calculation in the extent to which parliament and society as a whole yielded to the preservation lobby, but for many the concern was sincere, at times even noble” (Brooking & Pawson 2002: 134).

Star and Lochhead consider that it was conservation ideas rather than values reflecting either the economy, technology or the environment itself that influenced legislation. These ideas are explored in chapter two but Star and Lochhead’s position raises further questions as to why conservation ideas should have gained acceptance at the end of the nineteenth century.

Graeme Wynn, in the same volume, charts the milling of New Zealand’s forests and sees similar themes being reflected in the legislation and forest policies of the late nineteenth century. In looking at the 1874 Forest Bill, Wynn concluded that the heated parliamentary debate demonstrated how the pioneering settler values of the time were beginning to clash with wisdom, ideas and experience from overseas.

“Only slowly were most of those caught up in the work of colonisation able to look differently at the world they were making, to consider the wider consequences of their actions upon the environment and future generations. In this context, expressions of disquiet at, and efforts to restrain, the onslaught on the forests were more remarkable than the assault on the bush itself. But they too, are attributable to the particular circumstances of colonisation. Such developments owed much to the timing of European settlement in New Zealand and the composition of the colonies migrant stream” (Brooking & Pawson 2002: 115).

The passing of the 1885 State Forest Act, and later the Scenery Protection Act in 1903, can be seen as a shift in values towards the bush. These pieces of legislation and their significance are examined in more detail in chapter three.

For David Young in *Our Islands, our selves: A History of Conservation in New Zealand* (2004), settlers coming from Europe could not identify with the New Zealand flora and fauna. It was unlike European forest, which had little in the way of undergrowth, and more like the jungle of the tropics. Young considers that it is this lack of understanding that also explains the dismissive nature of the word “bush”. Young refers to Maori in

Golden Bay in 1843, who insisted that “bush” was the correct term, and speculates that Maori may have picked up the term from runaway Australian convicts. There may have been a sub-conscious fear of the bush although Young contrasts this to more practical fears of getting lost in the bush and swamplands (Young 2004: 63).

Young describes the 1890s as the most active decade in New Zealand’s conservation history until the 1960s. Settler society was an era of transition between clearing and extraction and that of consolidation and development. As New Zealand Prime Minister, Julius Vogel’s 1874 Forests Act was ambitious in the scale of forest that would be conserved, but failed to pass important legislation to do so. The later 1885 State Forest Act, the 1892 Land Act and the 1903 Scenery Protection Act are seen by Young as being progressively influenced by scientific ideas about preserving the forests (Young 2004: 82-88).

Young outlines the influence of Campbell Walker who was appointed by Vogel as Conservator of Forests. Campbell proposed state-run centrally controlled forestry based on scientific knowledge and systematic management. Young does not describe Campbell’s ideas as conservationist, as the intention was that most of the indigenous forest would be eventually cleared for timber production. The idea that climatic reserves should be set up became more accepted and the successive Acts allowed land to be preserved for more general conservation reasons. While conservation ideas from the scientific community gained acceptance in the proposals for reserves, Young observes that the Lands Department did not use its authority to preserve land that might have limited the Liberal Governments plans for land settlement (Young 2004: 84).

Part of Young’s explanation for the acceptance of conservation ideas was the concern about the rapid extinction of birds. While it seemed inevitable in the 1870s that acclimatisation would mean that many native species of birds and plants would eventually be replaced by introduced species, by the 1890s there were signs that the indigenous flora and fauna were in fact more resilient. The first bird sanctuaries were set aside at this time and, significantly, by the end of the nineteenth century native birds were appearing on post cards and stamps. The other big influence for protecting scenery was tourism. The places tourists wanted to visit became symbolic of New Zealand’s landscape (Young 2004:100). Young sees the 1903 Scenery Preservation Act

as not only the culmination of conservation ideas but also driven by the contradiction that birds were becoming symbolic and yet faced extinction. This made the preservation of bush seem more urgent.

“Conservation was never achieved constantly – sometimes, a gain was made in one area as a backsliding took place in another. In the same year as the Scenery Protection Act, the government passed the Bush and Swamp Crown Lands Settlement Act, which provided encouragement and incentives for those who wished to break in the heavy bush, swamp and scrubland” (Young 2004:108).

Young’s themes chart the development of ideas and ecological awareness, and how these ideas stimulated public concern which in turn led to legislative changes. These ideas were promulgated by key people within the scientific and conservation community and into the political debates. The history of conservation necessarily looks from this point of view outward and toward other aspects of New Zealand society. Young’s treatment tends to view conservation ideas as becoming relevant only when it become apparent that it may be too late to preserve birds or areas of bush. Chapter three looks at these Acts in more detail. In reading Young’s conclusion it can be argued that the New Zealand environment has a central but ambiguous place within our identity, of which conservation is but one aspect.

Tom Ballantyne and Judith Bennett edited *Landscape/Community Perspectives from New Zealand* (2005) as a collection of papers from the 2003 ‘Passions of the Past’ conference held at Otago University. The themes are an extension of Brooking and Pawson’s *Environmental Histories of New Zealand* (2002) and show a number of contemporary directions in New Zealand ecological and social history. Paul Star’s chapter on the clearing of Seaward Forest to the east of Invercargill in the 1870s (Ballantyne & Bennett 2005:19 -29) demonstrates to the editors that each ecological history is different, and can often show the limitations of New Zealand-wide generalisations. Star also searches for a cultural imperative to clear the Seaward Forest, of which he can find no such explicit form, and instead cites Elsdon Best in 1907 who saw a need to clear the bush in order to make progress, *“culture or advancement”* (Ballantyne & Bennett 2005:29).

Ballantyne and Bennett emphasise the complex interaction through which “*New Zealanders have built communities within particular landscapes, and how these communities have settled, transformed, and preserved the land*”. In perhaps indicating a direction that may offer perspectives for historians, Ballantyne and Bennett refer to anthropologist Barbara Bender, who in turn observes that “*the study of landscape ... is about the complexity of people’s lives, historical contingency, motion and change*” (Ballantyne & Bennett 2005:9). I consider these comments to be initially a warning to environmental historians about how the interrelationship between people and the landscape is very complex. But I also view the comments as meaning, refreshingly and positively for the arguments in this thesis; that anthropology may offer some ideas for environmental historians to work with.

Geoff Park, as both as an ecologist and social historian, in *Nga Uruora: Ecology & History in a New Zealand Landscape* (1995) has written with historical detail about the changing environment of six locations in New Zealand. Each location has a unique history within the broader colonial history, and Park looks at each in detail outlining events and the involvement of key people. As an ecologist, he describes the environment, how it has changed and explains the landscape with an appreciation for the natural world. There is a feel with his writing that he wants to take the reader on a guided tour of the nineteenth century landscape, pointing out the features, explaining larger processes and he makes specific references to relevant ecology or historical events as needed.

Park’s chapters on early Wellington and Papaitonga (south of Levin) (1995) weave an account which describes, historically and ecologically, how these areas have changed. He is reflective of the changes, which are even more dramatic when viewed ecologically. Park does not attempt to generalise from his particular histories as the themes are more about the history that lead to the dramatic ecological changes rather than understanding what settlers thought about the landscape. Park’s work is rich in historical, environmental and ecological detail that has the potential to form the basis of wider cultural generalisations.

Park reflects on his 1995 Nga Uruora approach to history:

“It shifted my domain from botanical science to landscape. I encountered time of a different order from what I’d learned from scientifically minded people attuned to ecosystem time who’d taught me ecology. I had to shift gear to the historical time of the colonial project in which forests fall and their land is fenced for farms...”

(Park 2006: 9).

“I became aware of the significance of this 1890s moment as an ecologist needing to know why the precious last remains of New Zealand’s indigenous lowland ecosystem had been protected in ways so utterly inimical to their natural ecosystem functioning: in such tiny fragments, so isolated from one another” (Park 2006: 197).

Geoff Park’s *Theatre Country: Essays on Landscape & Whenua* (2006) takes the many themes of the colonial transformation of the landscape a step further. The reflective nature of the essays explores the ramifications for Maori and the new relationship with the land that the Europeans brought. By 1913 the majority of reserves were Maori land and the traditional relationship and connection with the land was being separated by government ownership (Park 2006: 126).

A theme that Park introduces as a conclusion, and could be taken much further, is that the creation of reserves had actually reinforced the separation between nature and culture. People were now visitors to these un-peopled and protected areas of pre-European, and pre-Maori, bush and mountain reserves. Park seems to be suggesting that New Zealanders should be getting physically closer to these environments, as it is important for our appreciation and understanding of the pre-European ecosystem. Initially this idea seems at odds with a conservation and preservation ethic, but from the perspective of an ecologist, the natural environment is something that should surround us, and our connection with it will be strengthened if we live closer to it.

Young and Park’s views that Maori and European/New Zealand identity was connected to our relationship with the landscape reveal to me that they may think that the current explanations have not been developed far enough. Ballantyne and Bennett acknowledge

the complexity of moving from historical environmental detail to understanding the relationship people have with landscape in which they live.

I consider all the explanations offered in this review to be valid, but that there needs to be a coherent set of ideas that establish relationships between the different factors influencing cultural perception of the New Zealand landscape. My objective in the rest of this thesis is to use the concepts of dwelling, taskscape, the phenomenology of landscape and the hybridity of nature, as outlined in chapter two, to understand how people perceived the nineteenth century Wellington landscape.

There are many similarities between the explanations and concepts put forward in the reviewed literature and the concepts proposed in chapter two. The idea that the environment directly influenced the perceptions of settlers has parallels with the concept of the direct perception of nature. The idea that New Zealand nature was appropriated by settler society is similar to the concept of the hybridity of nature, but with a political motive. The idea that there were economic imperatives fits with certain aspects of dwelling. The observation that settlers had no understanding of the bush raises the important question of how cultural perceptions were formed once they came into contact with the bush, and how they subsequently changed. Many of the existing explanations seem to sit alongside each other and I consider the reconciliation of these seemingly disparate explanations to be an interesting and valuable contribution to environmental anthropology.

Chapter Two

Cultural Perceptions of the environment - a theoretical framework

For the purposes of exploring cultural perceptions of the Wellington landscape, I have chosen to use ideas from the field of anthropology. While New Zealand historians have recognised that there was a shift in attitudes towards the bush, I believe that by examining cultural perceptions it is possible to appreciate more fully the relationship of those living during the 1870s to 1900s and the Wellington landscape. Anthropology has had a long history examining the relationship between people, their cultures and the environment, and I consider that there are many insights that can be applied to historical material. The anthropological debates about this relationship, though, have often been sidetracked by more general anthropological theories about humanity. As this outline will demonstrate, cultural perceptions of the environment can best be understood by appreciating how people live within it in a practical sense and how they perceive it as part of their day to day living.

The origins of environmental determinism and cultural ecology

The idea that the environment people live in has a determining influence on the culture of a society is one that has, at various times, dominated the field of anthropology. At other times the field of anthropology has treated culture as more independent and detached from the environment, even to the extent of excluding human influences such as technology.

Early anthropology in the nineteenth century saw the environment as having this determining relationship on a society's culture. It was not until the early twentieth century, with the more systematic studies of diverse societies, and in the mid twentieth century, with the development of ecology, that the relationship between culture and the environment was appreciated for its complexity.

Kay Milton (1996, 1997) views the anthropological ideas about the relationship between culture and the environment as passing through a series of quite distinct stages. For Milton, the first stage in ecological anthropology was dominated by the idea that features of human society and culture could be explained in terms of the environment in which they developed. In the late nineteenth century Darwinian theory, where biological diversity came from environmental pressure, was also used to explain cultural diversity. Anthropological work, often referred to as anthro-geography, built up cultural and environmental information together to show the features and distribution of settlements in geographical terms.

These ideas were challenged by the more detailed ethnographic accounts of Franz Boas (1858–1942) and Bronislaw Malinowski (1884– 1942), and it became clear that there was no consistent correlation between cultural values and practices and the environment. Kinship, systems of exchange, technology and political organisations were found to be unrelated to either topography or climate (Milton 1997: 478).

For Boas (McGee & Warms 2004:132-139) and Malinowski (1922: 23), the seriousness with which they saw the ethnographic process reflected the view that the societies and cultures they were studying were unique, as was their history. While the work of Boas found that unique historical factors were more important than any determining link with the environment (McGee & Warms 2004: 136), this did not mean that the environment was completely without influence. The environment may have not been relevant to the origin of cultural traits, but it could explain why some features did not occur.

The idea of "possibilism" demonstrated how climate limited the development of certain cultural features, and the environment could be seen as placing stringent limitations on the level of cultural development (Herdesty 1997: 4; Milton 1997: 478). One of the first ethnographically based attempts to apply the ideas of possibilism to the culture/environment relationship was Alfred Kroeber in his *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (1939).

Cultural ecology

For Milton, a second wave of environmental determinism became evident with the cultural ecology of Julian Steward (1902 -1972). Steward, a student of Kroeber, took Kroeber's conclusion that the "superorganic" position of culture made generalisations about the relationship between culture and the environment "unprofitable" as a challenge to find a unifying framework for the North American Indians. As ecology gained scientific depth, Steward put forward the method of cultural ecology. This was the recognition that culture and the environment were not separate spheres, but were related in terms of feedback and reciprocal causality (Vayda 1968: 351).

Cultural ecology proposed that cultural features evolved as an adaptation to their local environment, and it was the cultural core that was most influenced by the environmental factors (Milton 1996: 43-45, 1997: 478). Steward viewed patrilineal bands as an adaptation based on technology, and while cultural traits differed, the core technologies of hunting influenced the cultural core (McGee &Warms 2004: 251). The idea of a cultural core, based on technology, has been seen as deficient for not giving an active role to ritual or ideology (Hardesty 1977: 10). While Steward was open with his own methodology, in that his focus was on cultural rather than ecological theory (Steward 1977: 44), it was his ambivalence towards ecology that seems to have been the undoing of cultural ecology as a working set of ideas. Steward, in his ethnographic work, was documenting and interpreting the use of technology, subsistence level production and defining cultural areas. As ecology became more sophisticated, the ecological side of Steward's work became dated and the relationship between ecological ideas and cultural ideas became disjointed.

Milton considers the main limitation of Steward's cultural ecology to be that the lines of determinism do not run through whole cultures, but only through the core. The theory becomes ambiguous when defining exactly what is core and what is not. Cultures are widely accepted as interconnected, so the core is necessarily linked to the periphery. No matter how the core is defined, the core always seems to dissolve into the whole (Milton 1997: 480). Even though, later in his career, Steward relaxed the strict role of core culture and allowed secondary cultural features to have an influence (Messer & Lambek

2001: 33), Steward's theories, emphasising technology, were not seen as qualitatively different to earlier environmental determinism.

Contributing to anthropology at the same time, Leslie White (1900 – 1975), also considered the idea of historically particular societies a deficient explanation. White went back to the idea of unilineal social evolution, where societies went from the simple to the complex. Energy was the major influence in cultural evolution, and was a reliable measure of social progress. Culture was a means whereby people adapted to the environment, and cultural complexity was determined by the concentration of energy used (McGee & Warms 2004:238). For John Bennett, White's ideas revived the notion of culture as a form of Kroeber's "superorganic", making it impossible to separate physical and human influences (Bennett 1993:12).

Culture and ecosystems

Roy Rappaport's *Pigs for Ancestors* (1968) was an important study, in that it gave culture a unique role in the relationship between people, their society and ecology. The ritual festivals, the rules governing the killing of pigs and the distribution of the meat were found to have a central role for the ecology of the local environment. The ritual killing of pigs reduced the ecological impact of the pigs, keeping other aspects of the ecological process in equilibrium (Vayda 1968: 194).

The thoroughness of Rappaport's ethnographic work appeared to give solid evidence that there was a place for ritual and religious beliefs in understanding the relationship between culture and the environment. Central to Rappaport's ideas was that the relationship between the ecological system and culture was, via ritual, at the unconscious level. Ritual, operating as a form of collective unconsciousness was, in the case of the Maring, being influenced by ecological processes and systems.

Subsequent ethnographic research in the Papa New Guinea highlands, inspired by Rappaport's 1960s work, has shown that while the ecological analyses stands up to scrutiny, Rappaport did not place as much importance on ethnographic detail.

Rappaport, by his own later admission, conceded that this was the case. For Rappaport,

the diminution of ethnographic detail was seen as less important than the ecologically based measurement. Rappaport did not place much credibility on the day to day decisions of tribe members and conscious judgments about subsistence were not seen as reflecting the underlying relationship (Messer & Lambek 2001: 297).

Cultural materialism

Marvin Harris (1927-2001) attended courses of Julian Steward and was influenced by Leslie White's critique of Boas' historical particularism. Cultural materialism is seen by McGee and Warms as "*one of the most powerful and enduring theoretical positions with modern anthropology, partly because Harris himself was an extremely successful and indefatigable promoter of it*" (2004: 285). Cultural materialism arose as a set of ideas that linked culture to the material base in a similar way to Marxism, but in a politically neutral manner that could be applied to non-western societies. Cultural materialism gives no specific role for the environment, perhaps only in its limiting factors. It is the mix of technology and nature and how this is reflected through the structure and superstructure of society that is important. Cultural materialism offers a potential explanation for any type of society, by essentially usurping the informants view of why they do things, and instead attributing culture and associated values as being "probabilistically" caused by the infrastructure (Harris 1979: 75). Anthropologists have had difficulty with this type of causation, as it suggests that people are not aware of, or have very little understanding of, why they do things. Cultural materialism's lasting and most useful influence on anthropology has been the concepts of emic and etic; the distinction between what people thought they were doing (emic) and what they were actually doing (etic) (Harris 1979: 56).

For Gillison (Messer & Lambek 2001: 299), the undervaluation of the role of consciousness and choice has been a long-standing problem for anthropology. Milton sees the ideas of environmental, ecological determinism, and cultural materialism as deficient for treating humans like organisms engaged in material exchanges with other components of their ecosystem, rather than social and cultural beings (Milton 1996: 484). Whether it is the role of culture, or other factors that influence culture, there has been a tendency to attribute individual consciousness as a "deep structure" and to treat

individual decision making as chaotic and unsystematic (Messer & Lambek 2001: 299). For those critiquing these ideas, overt decision making can be seen as perhaps the most important part of the relationship between culture and the environment (Bennett 1993: 24; Messer & Lambek 2001: 296).

Cultural determinism

While the ideas underpinning environmental determinism can be seen as falling short in explaining the diversity of human societies, cultural determinism has been an influential alternative framework.

Kay Milton's critique of cultural perceptions toward the environment (1996: 48-54) considers the explanation that cultural values are independent of the environment as logically circular. Culture cannot infinitely sustain the creation of further cultural values. The case for cultural determinism of environmental values diminishes to the point that it does not offer an explanation at all. Milton views the cultural determination of environmental values as a spin off from the fields of ethno-ecology and cognitive anthropology. These fields collect ecological information using indigenous concepts and classification systems, and cultural determination has become a methodology about how to understand culturally derived information.

Milton's view is that anthropology which was engaged in ecological studies, preferred to take a view of culture that was observable, rather than cognitive anthropology that sought to understand the relationship between the human sub-conscious and culture (Milton 1996: 54). Almost by definition, Milton's argument has no place for a solely cognitive source of culture.

However, cultural determinism has had a profound influence on anthropological theory, particularly with the structuralism of Claude Levi-Strauss (1908 -). For Levi-Strauss, culture is much like language and essentially a collection of arbitrary symbols. It is the structure of the symbols and how they relate to one another that is important. Following from linguistics in the 1940s, Levi-Strauss proposed that fundamental human thought

was based on binary oppositions and all cultures and myths could be interpreted in terms of these oppositions (McGee & Warms 2004: 345).

The contrast between culture and nature is easily seen in structuralist terms. Having established the culture/nature opposition, structuralism is less clear on what insight can be gained beyond this contrast. Structuralism was influential in underpinning later symbolic and cognitive anthropology, which needed a sub-conscious framework in order to interpret symbols and meaning (McGee & Warms 2004: 387). Cognitive anthropology of the 1960s and 70s saw culture as a mental phenomenon and required theories based on universal human mental processes, and to this extent was influenced by psychology and how people formulated and understood reality.

It is easily appreciated why cultural determinism, and the associated fields of symbolic and cognitive anthropology, became a useful way of understanding the diversity of human cultures. Attributing cultural perceptions of the environment to innate mental structures or patterns of thinking creates a gap between the general population and the world around them, and offers little to explain the diversity of cultural perceptions of the environment.

Socionatural systems

A more recent framework that seeks to understand the relationship between ecological and social systems comes from the work of John Bennett and his *Human Ecology as Human Behavior* (1993). Bennett sees all but the most remote or climatically harsh areas as being social-natural systems. Socionatural systems are the intersection of human activity and the physical environment and over time these systems have influenced each other. They can be large systems of agriculture or small particular forms of production, and they can be complete or partial and developing (Bennett 1993: 5, 13-14).

Perhaps the most useful part of Bennett's socionatural concept is how fundamentally different ecosystems are to social systems. While there may be parallels in the way the systems work, the socionatural system is not a simple combination of the two.

Understanding ecosystems requires analysis of the interchange of food and energy among living species, and specific scientific measurement of these factors. Ecosystems are here understood as systems that eventually arrive at states of order and homeostasis, although contemporary ecology is less convinced about this tendency for equilibrium and homeostasis (Worster 1994: 388). While nature functions with physical feedback, culture functions on the basis of cognitive and emotional feedback. This makes any form of prediction difficult as there is always uncertainty about whether changes are the result of physical factors or human behaviour (Bennett 1993: 16).

Bennett credits people with having a practical understanding of the environment. Socionatural systems have detached people and their societies from the physical processes, and Bennett is concerned that people are now unaware of the linkages between their behaviour and environmental damage (Bennett 1993: 50-55).

Cultural relativism

While cultural relativism is principally a methodological issue, with moral and ethical implications for what anthropologists may witness, both Kay Milton and Philippe Descola consider cultural relativism to be a major impediment for further development of social environmental theories. The environment and culture dichotomy has been present in anthropology virtually from the beginning and is an entrenched position in Western thinking. Many theories in the history of anthropological thought were conceived with this fundamental nature/culture split.

Milton (1997) views the paucity of current causal explanations of culture to be associated with the rise of cognitive anthropology, ethno-ecology and the sub-fields with the prefix “ethno”. While ecology is a scientific field, ethno-ecology is environmental knowledge belonging to a particular society and is documented using their own cultural taxonomies and lexicons. Seeking this knowledge is dependent upon the methods and concepts of cognitive anthropology and ethno-ecology rather than the science of ecology (Milton 1997: 485).

Cultural relativism has enhanced our knowledge by allowing cultures to be studied in their own terms and has meant that knowledge has been built up without imposing outside concepts. The fields of entho-science and ethno-biology, among others, have also been instrumental in demonstrating that there is no simple relationship between culture and environment (Descola 1996: 2).

According to Descola, there is now good enough ethnographic material to challenge the nature/culture juxtaposition. The difficulty is now an epistemological issue, in how the information already obtained is brought together and understood. Having built up knowledge of ethno-ecology, future anthropology needs to build knowledge beyond the ethnographically specific. As Descola points out, while this may be a sounder position than using culturally external categories, theory building may now be inhibited by the incommensurability of the “ethno” based taxonomies. The challenge is to build an understanding of the relationship between nature and culture, having acknowledged that the split between them has been historically contrived and imposed. Cultural relativism has left not only each ethnographic entity unique, but each society with what seems to be a unique relationship with nature (Descola 1996: 10).

Phenomenological approaches

During the 1990s anthropological ideas about the relationship between culture and the environment developed in a number of ways. There has always been an acknowledgement that most people understand environmental and ecological processes in some way, provided that the relationship to their own subsistence is close or immediate enough. This does not necessarily mean long term sustainability for a society as the cultural knowledge may be ecologically incorrect. Recent theory on cultural perceptions has drawn on the ideas of phenomenology to show this relationship.

The phenomenological approach has its methodological roots with Edmond Husserl (1859 – 1938) and the ideas were taken further by Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908 – 1961), Martin Heidegger (1889 – 1976) and Jean Paul Sartre (1905 – 1980), who in turn developed these ideas in their own philosophical directions. Husserl saw a difference between the essence of an object and what we perceive it to be. This was mainly due to

language, although more importantly, due to the nature of consciousness. For Husserl, if there was a difference between our perception of an object and the actual object, or its essence, then this had serious implications for science. Phenomenology, Merleau-Ponty later argued, needed to transform philosophy from an essence of thinking to an essence of perceiving. Perceiving can be understood as underpinning all knowledge that in turn underpins all of science (Spiegelberg 1969:545).

Phenomenological reduction was Husserl's proposed method and would allow the inquirer to break free from the meaning that had been attributed to the object and understand its essence. For this to happen we need to "put in brackets" or "epoch" our existing beliefs and perceptions of the world. Existing concepts of the world contain terms and categories that have an already defined social reality. Enquiry must therefore begin outside established frameworks, and see the world as we ordinarily experience it before we interpret it. The unprejudiced examination of the world as it is found in our ordinary experience is the strength and central idea of phenomenology, and in this way we may see "*things as they are*" (Sharrock 1986: 7; Tilley 1994: 12).

Phenomenology offers the notion of "intentionality" and for Husserl and Merleau-Ponty this was a fundamental structure of consciousness. Intentionality reveals the world as ready made and already "there" and is imbedded in our perception of objects. Phenomenology attempts to describe the world as experienced and free from intentionality that has already attributed meaning to objects (Spiegelberg 1969: 535-537). The concept of "lifeworld" recognises the process of attributing meaning to objects. Lifeworld has its own particular structure or style depending on the social context or cultural conditions (Calhoun 2002; Merleau-Ponty 1962; Warnock 1970: 26).

According to Michael Jackson, phenomenology allows the social reality of the lifeworld and forms of social consciousness to be more fully understood. Rather than abstract questions concerning objective knowledge of the world, the central questions are now orientated toward how people actually live with other people in a world of objects (Jackson 1996: 19).

"The lifeworld is the quintessence of a reality that is lived, experienced, and endured. It is, however, also a reality that is mastered by action and the reality in which – and on

which – our action fails. Especially for the everyday lifeworld, it holds that we engage in it by acting and change it by our actions. Everyday life is that province of reality in which we encounter directly, as the condition of our life, natural and social givens as pre-given realities with which we must try to cope.” (Schutz in Jackson 1996: 20).

The concept of dwelling

Tim Ingold, following from ideas of Martin Heidegger, has developed a “dwelling” perspective applicable for anthropology in order to understand landscapes. For Ingold, to dwell in a landscape is to inhabit it and to be intentionally part of it through our actions. Dwelling in a landscape, then, is to experience it in a sensual manner. Landscapes are formed by people who are then influenced by the landscape.

“A place owes its character to the experiences it affords to those who spend time there – to the sights, sounds and indeed smells that constitute its specific ambience. And these, in turn, depend on the kinds of activities in which its inhabitants engage. It is from this relational context of people’s engagement with the world, in the business of dwelling, that each place draws its unique significance. Thus whereas with space, meanings are attached to the world, with the landscape they are gathered from it.” (Ingold 2000: 192).

Landscapes have a temporality because they are being continually changed by human activity. They are perpetually under construction and as such are never complete. Landscapes also have no distinct boundaries and are more defined by features. People are located within these landscapes and make journeys through them.

“The world in which we dwell, then, is a world which comes into being as we act in it, and in which we come into being as, acting in it, we also perceive it.” (Ingold 1996: 117).

For Ingold, because of the relationship between people and how they dwell within the landscape, the separation of nature and culture is a false dichotomy. Both views, that humans are either biologically or culturally determined, does a disservice to the key

characteristics of humanity. To be merely a part of nature, in terms of either biological or ecological determinism, implies a disengagement from the world. To say that reality is a social construction is to then enter into a circular argument that, as Milton argues, culture only comes from, and is influenced by, culture.

Culture is not independent of the people living in it or the environment, nor is it independent of generations. Every generation is brought up in the current environment and contextual knowledge of that environment is passed on to new generations. People learn by actively participating in their day to day activities and knowledge is passed on (predominantly) by observing and being instructed in everyday contexts. The relationship with the environment is an active process of engagement where by we perceive the world through all of our senses (Ingold 1996: 115).

For Milton, Ingold's idea of the split between perception and interpretation is important. Cultures may interpret reality, but there is an element of direct perception. People do not need to have reality constructed for them via culture, as they perceive most of it directly through their active involvement with it.

“Perception is the creation of knowledge through action: the world we perceive comes into being as we act in it.

“We do not need to know the world in order to act in it, rather we come to know it through our actions, by making use of what our environment offers us” (Ingold 1991: 16 in Milton 1996: 60).

Landscape and taskscape

People engage with the environment around them combining a chronology and a memory of events that gives landscapes a timeframe that is defined by social markers. In this way landscape can be seen as a “taskscape”, and as day to day activities are carried out in these socially defined timeframes.

These social timeframes have their own rhythms, and the activities of living and dwelling within the landscapes often happen at different speeds. These multiple rhythms of taskscapes are tied to the multiple activities of dwelling (Ingold 2000: 198).

Landscapes can be understood as a congealed form of taskscape. The landscape is what we see around us, while the taskscape is sensually reflecting the activities taking place. Taskscapes are heard, smelt and taken in by all the senses. In perhaps a rather circular relationship, a landscape becomes a taskscape when people dwell in it, and people dwell in a taskscape when they design and take ideas and fit them to a landscape (Ingold 2000: 189-200).

For Adrian Franklin, Ingold's innovation of taskscape changes the way we understand landscapes. Cultures make and are made by landscapes and taskscapes. The basic building blocks of this approach are direct perceptual knowledge and practical experience of the world. The social is not detached from the landscape, but emerges within it and through it (Franklin 2002: 71-72).

For Christopher Tilley, writing from the point of view of understanding archaeological landscapes, the integration of phenomenological perspectives into the perceptions of landscape offers a way of understanding place and space. Spaces are opened up and filled by dwelling. Subjectivity and objectivity combine dialectically forming "place". Place, then, constitutes space imbued with human meaning and expressed in day to day activities. The meaning of place is grounded in the consciousness of those living within it. People are immersed in the world of places, in that they are geographically imagined in terms of first hand experience and blended with memory and emotional evocations (Tilley 1994: 13-14).

Boundaries are important in structuring places, and in making distinctions and marking out socially significant areas. These may be natural features such as rivers, mountains or coastlines but also paths through landscapes that mark out territories.

“Places overlap according to scales of action, interest, movement and concern. Place is an irreducible part of human experience, a person is ‘in place’ just as much as she or he is ‘in culture’. Place is about situatedness in relation to identity and action.” (Tilley 1994:18)

The naming and identification of topographical features is important as a method of attributing meaning and significance. Familiarity is developed with the land by knowing it at a practical level and in a fundamental way, names create landscapes. People routinely draw on their knowledge of the landscape and sense of place to give it meaning, assurance and significance to their lives. Places act dialectically to create people of that place, and it is this that leads to a feeling of belonging, rootedness and familiarity (Tilley 1994: 18).

“Places help to recall stories that are associated with them, and places only exist (as named locales) by virtue of their emplotment in a narrative. Places, like people, have biographies inasmuch as they are formed, used and transformed in relation to practice.” (Tilley 1994: 33).

Landscapes can be understood as a cultural code and as a signifying system through which the social is structured, transformed and reproduced (Tilley 1994: 34). There are a lot of similarities between the process of identifying with a place and the idea of dwelling. They are both about knowing the environment in practical ways that closely align with day to day activities.

Nature in complex societies

Adrian Franklin in *Nature and Social Theory* (2002) outlines the convergence of sociological and anthropological thinking about the relationship between the social and cultural and the environment. Franklin considers that while modern Western society may seem to have become uncoupled from the environment, there is more to the relationship than just an aesthetic appreciation of nature. Franklin considers Western cultures to be continually “re-embedding” people back with nature.

The process of re-embedding encompasses concepts of “naturalism”, “hybridity” and “embodiment”. Naturalism is the process where by people actively form personal and often deep relationships with the natural world, and as a result a subset of nature is often associated with their social identity (Franklin 2002: 16). Rather than just appreciate nature aesthetically, people engage with pets, gardening, fishing, etc, and can create an intensely sentimental and interactive relationship with this particular part of nature (Franklin 2002: 91).

Embodiment is another way, for Franklin, in which people in modern societies re-embed with nature. Nature is not now predominately just a visual experience as our distance from it in every day life would tend to suggest. The sensing and investigating of the natural world through consumption practices, whole and organic foods, alternative and natural medicines and nature sports is another important way of re-embedding with nature.

A concept Franklin uses that is useful in looking at cultural perceptions of the environment is the idea of hybridity of nature and this is the most significant and enduring relationship between modern society and the environment. The most obvious for Franklin, and part of the phenomenon of cities, are gardens and gardening. Gardens and gardening demonstrate the hybrid relationship we now have with nature, and how this is inextricably part of the modernisation process that allows for globalisation, new technologies and urban living. Gardening (not just for food production) is a modern extension of what humans have been doing for thousands of years - changing the environment - building bridges, containing water, laying paths and pruning and planting trees.

“It is about shaping, defining and making the world beautiful in a way that makes sense to us in the time and place that we live” (Wilson in Franklin 2002: 132).

The city, more than any other example, represents humanity’s spatial separation from nature. Cities become cityscapes, in much the same way people dwell in landscapes in other environments. Gardens (in the urban) and parks (in the inner city) have much to offer in understanding the overall development of the built environment.

Nature, through gardening and parks, is now scattered, fragmented and interspersed with the artificial. Nature is now bound up with our everyday life and everyday spaces (and places.)

“Nature figures as just one of many rapidly changing backcloths to everyday life: leaves coming out in elegant avenues or blossom on fashionable boulevards or leaves blowing about in autumnal park scenes” (Franklin 2002: 138).

Most cities are punctuated by nature in terms of parks, gardens, duck ponds, flower beds and open spaces. Franklin also observes, ironically, that this is often restricted to the visual, with signs instructing people not to “walk on grass, climb trees or pick flowers”. For a more physical experience we must either tend to our own garden or leave the city for the countryside or wilderness (Franklin 2002: 135-138). For Franklin the alleged break between the natural and the modern world has not created a separation between people and the environment (Franklin 2002:80). Franklin’s ideas on hybridity have clear similarities with the intentionality of dwelling and the creation of taskscapes. The more people modify the landscape to suit their everyday needs, the more they imbue the landscape with meaning.

Summary

My objective in the rest of this thesis is to gather the appropriate material and examine cultural perceptions of the late nineteenth century Wellington landscape using the concepts of dwelling, taskscape, phenomenology of landscape and the hybridity of nature.

The concepts of dwelling and taskscape show that people have an understanding of the world they inhabit and that these perceptions are based on day to day activities. The phenomenological approach to landscape indicates that while people have the landscape defined culturally, the environment is perceived directly as well.

The idea of the hybridity of nature shows that even though people have altered all but the most remote or harsh environments, the creation of hybridity is an ongoing part of the relationship people have with the landscape. Gardens and parks are simultaneously about re-embedding with nature and about transforming nature as we dwell in it.

New Zealand environmental history has documented the extent to which the New Zealand landscape had changed between 1870 and 1900, as well as the legislation and debates that saw the formation of scenic reserves and later national parks. New Zealand historians have also recognised that people were aware of the changes happening to the New Zealand landscape but are less sure, in theoretical terms, why cultural attitudes and perceptions changed.

The theories alluded to in the New Zealand environmental history, such as settler capitalism, the influence of conservation ideas, or those of a direct response to the New Zealand landscape are complex. The proposed anthropological ideas allow this history to be explored further.

Chapter Three

1874 Forest Act to the 1903 Scenery Protection Act

In examining the cultural perceptions of Wellington's late nineteenth century environment, three pieces of legislation; the 1874 Forest Act, the 1885 State Forests Act and the 1903 Scenery Protection Act, can be seen as representative of the changes happening to both the landscape and New Zealand society. While the main forces of change were the opening up of land for pastoral production through clearing the land of bush, settlers were not totally uninfluenced by the original New Zealand landscape. The New Zealand government, through its legislative changes, was reflecting the demands of settlers and politicians, who were, it can be argued, taking a more reflective look at the way the New Zealand landscape was changing.

In 1874, the Forest bill had many changes reducing its impact, indicating that settler society was not yet prepared to set aside native bush, even when economic arguments were offered. The 1885 State Forests Act gave a framework to protect different topographical areas of bush although as discussed further in this section, did not challenge the economic demands for land. The 1903 Scenery Protection Act was legislated and passed without much opposition and, even though economically productive land was not threatened, the legislation did reflect the need to preserve New Zealand's scenery.

Economic and population trends 1870 - 1900

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, New Zealand changed dramatically. New Zealand was late in colonising and becoming populated as a western settler country using contemporary technology and British government administration. The rapid population growth placed demands to clear and settle land.

In 1855, 43% of New Zealand's 140,000 lived in the South Island. The 1860s gold rush saw the South Island increase to 63% of New Zealand's 220,000 people. In 1874 the population of Dunedin, supported by the Otago gold fields, was larger than Auckland (McKinnon 1997: 51). It was only in the 1880s that the growth rate in the North Island

became faster than the South Island, and by 1886 the South Island fell to 56 % of the total population (Grey 1994: 239). The principle reason for the 1880s growth in the North Island was not just decline of the South Island gold fields but, perhaps more importantly, the opportunities in the North Island after the Colonial Maori wars and the opening up of land through public works initiated by Julius Vogel.

In 1870, New Zealand had a population of 280,000. The population grew rapidly; 480,000 in 1880, 629,000 in 1890 and 812,000 by 1910 (Condliffe 1959: 168, 252). The increase in the North Island population from the late 1860s brought the Maori-colonial relationship into sharp relief. For Belich, the 18,000 colonial troops, compared to the Maori population of 60,000, made the colonial wars as significant to New Zealand as the civil wars were to the United States (Belich 1988: 15). The conflict, or the anticipation of conflict, with Maori was a major impediment to settlement in the North Island.

The period from the 1870s to the beginning of the First World War is viewed in traditional history as New Zealand developing from a “*colony to a nation*” (Sinclair 1959:152) or as the “*start of a functioning nation*” (King 2003: 224). By the early 1870s the Colonial British army had finished nearly 30 years of intermittent and often frequent conflict with Maori tribes (Belich 1988: 15). At about the same time, Julius Vogel became Treasurer (1869) and considered that there was a need to invest in roads, telegraph and railways in order to open up New Zealand for the immigrant population (Belich 1996: 351). In 1870, there were only fifty miles of railway, and settlement was largely confined to coastal lands. Vogel’s portfolio allowed him to invest in public works infrastructure at a time of economic stagnation and to bring in thousands of assisted immigrants to construct roads, railways, bridges and telegraph. Ten years later there were (the often quoted) 1100 miles of railway, 4000 miles of telegraph, as well as many more roads, public buildings and bridges (King 2003: 228). The population had doubled between 1870 and 1880 but it came at a cost as the government owed twenty million pounds (Sinclair 1959: 152-155).

Of the total immigration in the fifteen years to 1885, sixty percent were assisted through Vogel’s schemes, with the intention of populating what was considered an unpopulated country (Grey 1994: 237).

Economically, while the gold of the 1860s created local prosperity, most of the second half of the nineteenth century was blighted by high unemployment and patchy economic growth (Pritchard 1970: 153). The long depression was eased during the 1870s by government spending and immigration. Exports in the early 1870s were dominated by gold (around 50% from the early 1860s) although this had contracted by 1873, marking the end of the gold rush. Wool had been a steady 30% to 40% of total exports from the 1860s reaching 50% in the early 1880s (Simkin 1951: 24).

Exports increased during the 1880s, although the actual returns decreased due to depressed prices for the main commodities. Exports and production in the 1880s were not worth as much as they were in the late 1870s and by 1888, in the depth of the depression, New Zealand was only importing 60% of the 1878 exported value. The first shipment of refrigerated meat left New Zealand in 1882, although meat did not surpass 10% of all exports until the early 1890s, and then only reached 25% of exports by 1900 (Condliffe 1959: 52; Simkin 1951: 24). By 1889, the depressed state of the economy was reflected in a net loss of immigration.

Keith Sinclair (1959:153) considers that it was the provincial structure of government in the 1870s that undermined many of Vogel's schemes and the reason why in 1875 the government chose to abolish the provincial structure. The depression of the 1880s is often attributed to the Vogel public debt, although William Pember Reeves considered that it was the debt of private borrowings accumulated during this time that was responsible for extending the depression until the 1890s (King 2003: 231; Pritchard 1970: 153; Reeves 1950: 247; Sutch 1966: 54-59). The Atkinson Government, covering five terms from 1876 to 1891, consolidated many government functions but found itself presiding over a long depression. Public works by this stage had dwindled and social security was not available until the 1930s (Sinclair 1959:163).

Assisted immigration fell away during the 1880s and William Sutch paints a bleak picture of immigrants arriving to find no work (Sutch 1966: 62-64). While economic measures chart prices as falling through the 1880s, Miles Fairburn (1989) points out that falling living costs would have given an increase in real wages for many sections of society. Sutch's accounts of those dependent on wage labour in manufacturing industries had a grim existence, while other accounts (Arnold 1974: 25; Fairburn 1989:

106) show that men could make what was seen as good money in forestry, cutting timber and clearing land.

Economic conditions improved steadily through the 1890s. The debts of the previous two decades were receding and the infrastructure was now proving valuable to the growing population. Refrigeration was making meat exports more profitable, although exports were still predominantly wool and dairy until 1910. Life in New Zealand had changed considerably with productive farms and the growing economy supporting an expanding and maturing society.

New Zealand society 1870 – 1900

Historians have taken different views of the social changes that took place from the 1870s through to the early 1900s. There seems little to support the view that England's hierarchical social structure was superimposed on the settler society. While there were large estates and examples of formal institutions, Fairburn proposes that the skewed male demographics, the abundance of land and the moving frontier was enough to prevent an imported ideology taking hold (Fairburn 1989: 114). In a similar way there seems to be little to support an indigenous class-society being established. The mobility and transience that Fairburn documents did not allow class divisions to form (Fairburn 1989: 154). This view might equally be challenged by Chris Trotter (2007) who has traced the development of the Union movement. While the 1890s had the first wave of unionism (Trotter 2007: 60), his interpretation sees an ongoing struggle between unions and workers, and the owners of New Zealand businesses and assets. For Trotter, the interests of the different classes were apparent even then and an important part of New Zealand's economic and social history.

Fairburn's view is that while New Zealand's settler society held promise in not having the hierarchical or class-structures of their homeland, and that the abundance of land would allow a type of "arcadia", the reality was different. While the abundance of land was important to the new settler society, demographically New Zealand was in fact a highly atomised male society, with a weak community and high rates of assault and arrests for drunkenness. The worst period was from the 1850s through to the 1880s and

is attributed to new immigrants having severed their associations with their former metropolitan society, but not having lived long enough in the new colony to replace close friendships. Lack of kinship ties deprived immigrants of a natural base for the development of community (Fairburn 1989: 191). For Fairburn, it was only when the country became more urbanised in the 1890s, with a rebalance of women to men and the natural formation of families, that communities developed with any depth (Fairburn 1989: 251).

James Belich offers a “crew culture” as an analogy to explain mid nineteenth century New Zealand settler society. Crew culture allowed new settlers to participate and be effectively “lumped”, creating cohesion in a society that was dominated by young males (Belich 1986: 424). The crew culture allowed people, mainly males, to form and work together in much the same way the seafaring name would suggest. Crew members tended to have defined roles and individuals could fit into new crews with ease. The crew culture was task-focused and well disciplined, and “*rather unruly when they went to town*” (Belich 1986: 430). Belich sees this crew structure prevalent in all types of New Zealand life and extending into farming, with perhaps the most obvious example being the shearing gang.

Crew culture was an important ingredient for Belich’s “progress industry”. The progress industry covers what he views as a third form of economic activity, apart from the traditional rural and town based economic activities. For the public works of the 1870s, building bridges, roads and railways required a certain type of workforce. In a similar way so did the gold extracting industries, bush felling and timber industries. Immigration, with the aid of government assistance and the military needs in the 1860s, created instant towns and these towns created large demographic effects by suddenly increasing the number of people and money in particular regions (Belich 1986: 349).

The extent to which the new settler society was in a state of flux, until the economy provided steady employment and allowed families and communities to be formed, can be seen as factors inhibiting any wider thinking about the implications of stripping the land of its forest cover.

The political changes of 1890s

Politically, the 1880s were mired with the long depression and the inability of the Atkinson Government to really change anything. The 1890s began with the election of the Liberal Party and, for Michael King, New Zealand had reached a state of political maturity. Even though the provinces had been abolished fourteen years earlier, the Liberal Party were the first party to offer a programme of policies that candidates pledged to support (King 2003, 238). The 1890s introduced a number of reforms against a backdrop of a long depression and industrial strikes (King 2003: 266; Sutch 1966: 58). The Liberal government introduced the Land and Income Tax Act in 1892 that gave one system of land regulations (Sinclair 1959: 179). In 1893 the Woman's Suffrage Bill was passed, and in 1894 the Lands for Settlements Act and the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act (King 2003: 271; Trotter 2007: 60).

The Liberal programme, according to King, was intended to generate employment, agricultural production and national prosperity using closer settlement of land as the main mechanism. In 1890, one percent of land owners controlled 64% of freehold land. Between 1890 and 1912, the government purchased 223 estates totalling half a million hectares and allowed this to be settled by seven thousand farmers (King 2003: 269). In 1892, the 1882 Perpetual Lease Act, which gave the government the right of purchase, was replaced with "lease-in-perpetuity", allowing low rentals with 999 year leases. The tenure proved popular as settlers realised the advantages. Of all the Acts of the 1890s, Sinclair considers the Advances to Settlers Act of 1894 as the most influential, as it provided five percent first mortgages to free holders and holders of perpetual leases (Sinclair 1959: 181).

The Liberal government continued with legislation that become the foundation of the welfare state including workers pensions in 1898 (not universal until the 1930s), a new Public Health Act in 1900 and a Workers' Dwelling Act in 1905. The 1890s, compared to the preceding decades, were progressive for workers, voting for woman and gave public provision for health.

Land development and the Forest Act 1874

Land tenure and the development and use of land were important issues in the late nineteenth century. Even from the 1870s, while the timber industry thought that there was an almost inexhaustible supply of timber, there was a growing awareness of the effect of clearing steep hill country. New Zealand's rivers were noted for their unruly nature (compared to those in Europe) and removing the natural vegetation was, even then, understood to cause rapid erosion and volatile runoff into streams and rivers (Brooking & Pawson 2002:74).

In the early 1870s the provincial governments of Canterbury and Otago passed Forest Tree Planting Encouragements Acts - these being an arrangement for free land grants in exchange for areas planted with forest trees.

It was Julius Vogel and the introduction of the Forests Bill in 1874, which was broader than the provincial acts, that was the first attempt to deal with the destruction of the forests (Poole 1969: 8). Both Poole (1969) and Wynn (1977) see Vogel's Forests Bill as very much a part of the infrastructure plan that included the development of roads, railways and telecommunications. Vogel could also see the commercial value of the forests, as these areas could be used as security or assets for future developments.

The 1874 Forests Bill reflected an urgency to control the indiscriminate destruction of the native forest. Vogel's 16,000 word speech, regarded by Wynn as an oratorical masterpiece (Wynn 1977: 125), set out both an impassioned plea and a considered case for forest conservation. Michael Roche (1990), in a detailed treatment of the Forests Bill, considers that the emotive tone of the bill was because Vogel had seen first hand the deforested landscape of the South Island as it was cleared for railways (Roche 1990: 85). Vogel had made the connection between resources needed for his railways, bridges and telegraph construction and the destruction of the forests.

Concern for the condition of the forests and their rapid destruction had come to the attention of the government four years before via the Member of Parliament Thomas Potts. Although Potts' report outlined the rate of deforestation and its implications, it

did not suggest any course of action. A year before the 1874 Forest Act, the provincial governments were invited by the Committee on Colonial Industries to make suggestions on how best to prevent waste of the indigenous forests, although Otago was the only province to reply in detail. Later that year, the Conservation of Forests Bill was prepared but never introduced (Roche 1990: 83 -84).

The Forests Bill was more than just setting aside potentially large areas of native forest, although this was the practical requirement for the provincial governments. Vogel's bill required that each province set aside three percent of forested land as state forest. In return the government would waive a one percent payment to the colonial government for the cost of their railways. Arguments and statistics used by Vogel claimed that revenue from the forests would help pay off colonial debt. A Chief Conservator was to be appointed and a Forest Department would be set up to provide for future planting and improvements.

According to Roche, the 1874 Forest Act was partly the result of a commitment made by the government a year earlier to regulate the timber industry and can be seen as a means of compensation for its failure to bring in some form of timber licensing. The bill was less to do with conservation and more an attempt to achieve efficient exploitation of forest resources (Roche 1990: 83 - 84). Even though the tone of Vogel's speech may have been more emotive in its language, having seen forest clearing first hand, Vogel was by this stage familiar with some of the scientific literature from the United States and Europe looking at the impact of "man" on the environment (Wynn 1977: 133; Roche 1990: 83; Ballantyne & Bennett 2005: 35). Vogel used estimates prepared by the Government's geologist James Hector to demonstrate the magnitude of the forest destruction and add weight to his argument.

The debate has been described as protracted and often bitter, as nearly half the Members of Parliament spoke. Vogel was accused of having his finance and forestry mixed up, and the economic argument for conserving the forests was ridiculed as wild and extravagant (Wynn 1977: 129). Critics repeatedly challenged the evidence brought forward by Vogel that forest removal would change the climate and rapidly increase erosion and flooding.

The evidence was criticised as being too geographically selective and having a too short a time frame. Excerpts from Vogel's speech show the conviction of his argument:

"In the course of the visit I made to the southern provinces during the recess, my attention was first called to the subject. It then forcibly presented itself to my notice, how very large was the demand for timber which arose from our railway works and our telegraph, and how large were injuries caused by floods, and much deterioration our climate was liable to sustain from the destruction of forests." (Parliamentary Debates 1874: Vol 16, 79).

"Those effects are very serious, especially as regards the climate of a country and it's rainfall. There are almost innumerable authorities for the statement that one effect of removal of forests is to seriously prejudice the climate of the country subject to such removal" (Parliamentary Debates 1874: Vol 16, 80).

"The preservation of forests is one of the first interests of a society and consequently one of the first duties of a Government. All wants of life are closely related to their preservation: agriculture, architecture, and almost all industries seek therein their aliment and resources, which nothing could replace." (Parliamentary Debates 1874: Vol 16, 81).

"I plead on behalf of New Zealand, that whilst we are laboriously endeavouring to improve the country by means of great public works, we shall not overlook the value and imprudence of those great natural features, for without, however attractive we may otherwise make the country, we cannot make it attractive as a home of an industrious population, nor can we hope to preserve it's character and it's intrinsic value." (Parliamentary Debates 1874: Vol 16, 93).

The arguments for forest conservation were dismissed as overly reliant on theoretical rather than practical knowledge and that many of the ideas were not applicable to the New Zealand landscape. The bill was seen as alarmist and conservation viewed as unnecessary until the impending shortage obliged New Zealanders to take care of their forests (Wynn 1977: 129).

While conservation was acknowledged as virtuous, debate was heated and divided on whether New Zealand had a need for forest conservation in 1874.

The bill was passed with many of its original clauses taken out, effectively making the Act voluntary. After two years, a Repeal Bill was introduced and the 1874 Act was effectively “*put on the shelf*” (Poole 1969: 9).

The provincial governments objected to the bill and considered it a disguised attempt to take land from their control. They argued that each provincial government had a duty to develop their land as they saw fit. Historical opinion seems divided as to whether the debate was just a clash of interests between the provincialists and the centralists in the General Assembly (Roche 1990: 87; Sinclair 1959: 154), or whether the debate was significant for other reasons (Wynn 1977: 136).

For Graeme Wynn, the debate revealed the general values of people at the time. Historians, according to Wynn, have been overly influenced by an 1874 editorial of the *Otago Daily Times* that attributed the demise of a “*far sighted conservation policy to the narrow and limited vision of the uncomprehending masses*” (Wynn 1977: 136). Pioneering values saw New Zealand as still underdeveloped. For them, exploitation of New Zealand’s forests was a constructive process as it was converting “wastelands” into higher use farms. It was these farms that were the future of economic prosperity. From this point of view, saving large tracts of forest had little meaning in terms of creating future prosperity or security, even when a timber shortage was predicted (Wynn 1977: 135).

The division of opinion that came out in the parliamentary debate reflected a central characteristic of late nineteenth century New Zealand society. According to Wynn, there was a tension between the colonial values of settlement and development, and the timing of New Zealand’s development. New Zealand was isolated and remote and began as an offshoot of a mature European economy. In the later half of the nineteenth century, the pioneer values started to clash with wisdom and experience that was coming from Europe and the United States (Wynn 1977: 136).

The 1885 State Forests Act

While the 1874 Forest Act seemed to bring out strong views between conserving the native forests, or at least deferring their use, and pioneering values that wanted to open up the land for settlement and agriculture, the 1885 State Forest Act proposed State forestry as an alternative. The ideas were originally put forward by Campbell Walker, who was appointed as Conservator of Forests under the 1874 Forests Act. Over the next few years, Campbell made a case for State forestry, arguing that small scale sawmilling was wasteful, based on maximum output in the minimum of time (Roche 1990: 89).

In the early 1880s, Campbell suggested the idea of “scientific” forestry, whereby tracts of quality forest would be divided into blocks and these blocks would be milled in rotation. The cleared areas would be allowed to regenerate and the indigenous forests would be able to provide a continuous supply of timber. The argument for State forestry was that the long timeframes and the non timber uses were outside the calculations of private entrepreneurs, and it was therefore up to the State to take control. There was also an additional benefit in that State forestry would extend beyond timber production and be used for climatic considerations such as water catchments and flood mitigation (Roche 1990: 89).

Under the 1885 State Forests Act, there were three classes of forest reserves. Climatic Reserves meant no timber was to be cut above designated altitudes. Middle Level Mountain Reserves were to be divided into blocks and could only be milled in rotation. Level Reserves, covering flat or rolling country, could be felled under a licence agreement from the Conservator of Forests.

The Parliamentary debate in 1885, only eleven years after the heated Forest Bill, did not reflect the strong sentiment expressed earlier that forests were an obstacle to settlement. The State forest structure, it was argued, would allow the timber industry to become a permanent rather than transitional use of land. While the 1885 State Forest Act had climatic considerations as part of its functions, Vogel did not emphasise this or his observations of the forest destruction that he had described so vividly in the 1874 Bill (Roche 1990: 94-95).

The conflict between land settlement and forest management continued through the 1890s and only a few State forests were created. Persistence in administering the Act, according to Poole, may have created a few more reserves, but there was still a demand to develop land for cropping and livestock. The licensing of Level Reserves did little to stop bush being cleared and it was only land unsuited for settlement that was left for forest reserves. Even then, marginal lands were cleared, and it was only upland areas that became forest reserves (Poole 1969: 12; Ballantyne & Bennett 2005: 36). Roche considers that most remnants of lowland forest were probably in private ownership in one form or another and clearing the land for pasture, rather than timber production, was outside the purview of the Conservator of Forests (Roche 1990: 95).

Through the 1890s native timber continued to supply the needs of growing towns and cities. Timber production shifted as different areas were cleared and preferred varieties of wood became available. Auckland's demand for timber saw the decline of the Northland Kauri forests between the 1890s and 1920s (Roche 1990: 105) and it was the concern for timber supplies that prompted the planting of exotic forests.

As Wynn concluded (1977: 136), with the attitudes exposed in the reading of the 1874 Forests Act, there was, even in the 1870s, a concern from the natural history community that New Zealand's bush was being destroyed. The first piece of legislation to include protection of land for conservation reasons was only in 1882, with the Land Amendment Act. This permitted the establishment of reserves for mineral springs and "*natural curiosities*" (Wynn 1977: 136).

A significant influence on New Zealand conservation thinking was George Marsh's *The Earth as Modified by Human Action* (1874) and gave the first systematic approach to the idea that "man" was having a huge impact on the environment. Marsh's concerns were becoming evident in the United States and by the 1890s the United States Government was concerned about the loss of the original environment. By the turn of the twentieth century, the US Forest Service, under Roosevelt, was expanding the national forests (Dunlop 1999: 91; Young 2004:74). Marsh's arguments were not only influential in Vogel's 1874 Forests Act (Roche 1990: 83) but also seminal for the field that later became ecology (Dunlop 1999: 89; McIntosh 1985: 21).

The Scenery Protection Act 1903

By the late 1880s, features that had become recognisable as images of New Zealand were now being protected - such as Mt Cook in 1885, the gifting of Ruapehu, Ngauruhoe and Tongariro in 1887 and the protection of Fiordland in 1892. Most of the New Zealand high country that had been protected, at least notionally, had been under the 1885 State Forest Act (McKinnon 1997: 67; Tourism New Zealand 2001). The protection of these mountains reflected a growing national identity with New Zealand's landscape (Ballantyne & Bennett 2005: 37). Apart from immigration to work and settle in New Zealand there was, despite the long journey, a tourism interest to see the New Zealand mountains and thermal areas.

The first of these tourist attractions were opened in Waiwera (north west of Auckland) in 1845. The Hermitage Hotel was built in 1884 as accommodation for those seeing Mt Cook (Mt Aoraki) and by the 1890s tourists had access to Rotorua, Te Aroha and Hanmer Springs thermal areas. The Milford Track was opened in 1889 and had 100 people walk it the first year. Tourists were also being guided on the Tasman Glacier, through the Waitomo caves, and steamers were taking tourist on the Whanganui river and Lake Manapouri. In 1901 the government established the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts and five years later there were 17 resorts. Railway developments of the 1880s played an important part in opening up the country for tourists to see the scenic landscape (Tourism New Zealand 2001: 6-7; Ballantyne & Bennett 2005:39).

In the 1890s, there was a growing interest in, and a developing national identity associated with New Zealand's landscape, particularly the mountains (Brooking & Pawson 2002: 144; Star 2002, 136). This led to the idea that preservation of the landscape should not be left to clauses in the 1882 Land Amendment Act, nor the 1885 State Forests Act. Preserving "visible nature" (Dunlop 1999: 118) was by the late 1890s an idea more comprehensible than the 1874 attempt to preserve natural areas for climatic reasons.

It was Prime Minister Richard John Seddon's 1903 Scenery Protection Act that allowed for the preservation of historic as well as scenic and thermal areas. This Act has been

viewed as an explicit drive to promote New Zealand's tourism industry (Nightingale & Dingwall 2003: 24), although the proclamation of the day stating the desire to preserve New Zealand's natural environment should not be seen as duplicitous.

Probably the most important feature of the 1903 Act was that it enabled the government to acquire freehold land titles, including Maori titles, which had not been covered by previous Acts. The bill assumed that most of the land worthy of protection was already owned by the crown and that land not owned by the Crown would be purchased under the Public Works Act. It would be illegal under the Scenery Protection Act to cut or remove timber, or to damage land designated as a scenic feature.

The government acknowledged in the introduction of the bill that many areas had been stripped of their natural beauty without "*any corresponding advantage having been obtained*". Some Members of Parliament felt that the bill was "*shutting the door after the steed has been stolen*". More acres of bush had been destroyed by accident, it was stated, than for the purposes of colonisation, with most of it being burnt off and cleared for pasture. While a number of MPs came up with their own recommendations for beautiful sites to be preserved, others asked more probing questions. One such question related to the effects of roving cattle undermining the future regeneration of the reserves, and what lengths the government would go to preserve these areas (Parliamentary Debates 1903: 398 - 401).

The Scenery Preservation Commission was set up in 1904 with authority to inspect and recommend historic, scenic or thermal reserves. The commission lasted two years before being replaced under new legislation with a Scenery Preservation Board. During the two years of the Commission's existence, it visited 74 locations of which 61 reserves were gazetted. Most were small areas of bush located on land unsuited for settlement. The Scenery Protection Board, set up under the 1906 Amendment Act, continued the preservation of notable areas, although the Board found that the policies of the Lands Department confined reserves to rugged land unsuited for farming (Nightingale & Dingwall 2002: 38).

From the 1920s, the scope of reserves was increased from scenic to wider botanical preservation. It was not until the 1952 National Parks Act and the 1953 Reserves and

Domains Act, replacing the 1903 Scenery Protection Act, that reserves were to be maintained in their natural state and that introduced plants and animals were to be eradicated (Nightingale & Dingwall 2002: 31-55; McLintock 1966: National Parks).

The mixing of conservation ideas

For Thomas Dunlop, the issues New Zealand society were trying to collectively sort out, expressed politically in 1874, 1885 and 1903, and explored by Wynn (1977: 136), were not unique to New Zealand. Since the mid nineteenth century, natural science had been progressing steadily in understanding natural processes. The understanding of nature had moved from the cataloguing of plants and animals to understanding physical geography and climates. Processes of change, within plant and animal populations, were greatly influenced by the ideas of Charles Darwin. While the last decade of the nineteenth century saw several facets of natural history and physiology come together, being the basis for later thinking on human evolution (McIntosh 1985: 27), it was not until the 1920s that ecology started to come together as a perspective (Dunlop 1999: 219).

According to Dunlop, New Zealand was too small a society in the late nineteenth century to have any meaningful scientific dialog, although this does not mean that there were not individuals who understood the issues. The ideas came from Europe and the United States, often as influential books or examples of policy and legislation. The ideas were accessible to educated people and all settler societies had museums, botanical gardens and natural history societies. It was the groups and communities involved in natural history, and the influence of this growing scientific knowledge on settlers that made conservation ideas more acceptable to the general population. (Dunlop 1999:15).

Initially, in very general terms, nineteenth century settlers sought to make the new lands much like the ones they had left. They introduced animals and birds, and while botanists collected New Zealand specimens for gardens back in England, new plants were introduced to the colonies. Natural science back in England and Europe had not only an interest in new species of plants and animals, but were now interested in how the introduced species would adapt to the colonial environment (Dunlop 1999: 63).

The science of natural history in the mid nineteenth century could not predict how the indigenous flora and fauna would adapt or even survive the introduction of new species (Dunlop 1999: 85). There was an implicit acceptance that, just as the settler population would eventually replace the Maori population, exotic plants would probably supersede indigenous plants.

By the third quarter of the nineteenth century various aspects of the colony's nature had started to be linked with national identity. While birds and animals became symbols (Star 2002: 22), protecting topographical features became important also (Dunlop 1999: 118), and this was very much reflected in the 1903 Scenery Protection Act. For Dunlop, settlers had direct experience of nature and built up an understanding of nature from this and folk-biology. People were open to new scientific ideas, but not in scientific terms, and needed to relate these ideas to their own experience and knowledge (Dunlop 1999: 140).

Summary

The thirty years to the end of the nineteenth century saw a huge change in population and expansion of settlement across the country, and economic fluctuations made life difficult for many immigrants.

The three main legislative Acts, the 1874 Forest Act, 1885 State Forests Act and 1903 Scenery Protection Act, were attempts to temper, or control the rate of depletion of native bush. The heated debate of 1874 Forest Act showed that creating farms and prosperity was more important than forest conservation. The 1885 State Forests Act protected land in a three tier system, but the tiers just aligned with the ruggedness and productivity of the land, so there was no real conflict between economic and conservation uses. There was more of a concern that timber supplies would run out and the New Zealand bush was not seen as an ongoing source of timber because it took too long for the trees to mature. As a result, faster growing exotics were being considered.

By the time of the 1903 Scenery Protection Act, a number of different ideas had come together. The Act was passed without heated debate and politicians lamented that much of the destruction had already been done. The Scenery Protection Act came about 25 years too late for most of New Zealand's lowland bush, although it seems the Act would not have preserved lowland bush covering potential farmland anyway. There was, and is, a conflict between private ownership and the public good in preserving forests. Once land was sold to farmers, it can be understood why the economic imperatives of farming might come before conservation ideals. The responsibility for preserving the bush can therefore be seen as residing with the provincial or central government who are not dependent of the immediate economic return of the land.

Conservation ideas were coming from Europe and the United States during this time, and the early theories behind ecology were being read by New Zealand intellectuals and a few politicians. Even acclimatisation societies were changing their views on the inevitable decline of indigenous flora and fauna. There was a compelling scientific logic to the idea that clearing the land would affect rainfall, increase floods and erosion and ultimately the reliability of obtaining fresh water. Cultural perceptions of the environment changed to recognise that stripping the landscape of its cover would eventually affect the economic viability of the land, although principally in terms of erosion and floods rather than long term soil fertility.

As Dunlop concludes (1999: 140), scientific ideas only made sense when understood in terms closer to people's own experiences and knowledge. More specifically, political ideas about protecting the native forests needed to align with people's more direct perception of the environment. The environmental political concerns of the 1870s clashed with the male immigrant dominated society breaking in the land.

The historical interpretation of settler values clashing with European and United States wisdom creates an impression of large economic and social forces engaged in a type of struggle. These ideas seem to diminish the role of everyday people in how they viewed the landscape and engaged with it on a daily basis. By 1900, it must have been reasonably obvious that little of the original bush remained near where people lived and worked.

The tourist industry had by that time elevated images of New Zealand's scenic features and there appears to have been almost two New Zealand landscapes, the pastoral and the bush covered mountains.

The legislation and debates, and the ideas proposed for addressing the decline of native forests, could not have gained acceptance unless they reflected what people already knew and directly perceived.

By the turn of the twentieth century, New Zealand had changed from a settler society to a more complex society. Much of the legislation to improve working conditions, voting for woman and public health initiatives happened as the economy improved in the 1890s. Protecting the scenery had to wait until 1903, indicating that culturally the environment still had a lower importance than economic production and social legislation. There is perhaps an interesting relationship between the fact that the largest percentage of bush was cleared during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, at a time when progressive social legislation was being put through.

In order to understand the cultural perceptions of the landscape, we need to use material that might show, in another form, the landscape people experienced. Paintings and photography give one such perspective that show not only what the landscape was like, but how it was interpreted.

Chapter Four

The New Zealand landscape as painted and photographed in late nineteenth century.

Cultural perceptions of how people in the late nineteenth century viewed the New Zealand landscape can be seen in the paintings and photographs of this period. A closer examination of paintings and pictures is particularly important in understanding historical cultural perceptions as they are used widely in historical accounts, but few consider that the illustrations are themselves an interpretation. Artists and the different styles and genres of painting came from Europe and while photography was less influenced by any particular genre, it was more affected by the expense and portability of the equipment.

By looking at the genre of landscape painting and professional photographers of the time, it is possible to gain more of an understanding of the degree to which artists were interpreting the New Zealand landscape based on nineteenth century ideas of landscape and nature, or whether they were reflecting a broader view held by the general population.

While there were art societies in many New Zealand cities, landscape painting and art appreciation was not accessible or popular for most people. Photographs and the postcards promoted by New Zealand's tourism industry were probably more familiar to the general public, and would have been an important part of representing and reinforcing the images people had of the New Zealand landscape.

By the 1890s, Wellington had both photographic and art societies and they were exhibiting regularly. Those exhibiting were both amateur and professional and although the societies were not exhibiting together, many artists were both painters and photographers.

Early colonial New Zealand landscape painting

The earliest known sketch of New Zealand was done by an unknown crew member on Abel Tasman's 1642 voyage and depicts a Maori double canoe attacking Abel Tasman's ship, the *Zeehaen*, in the then named Murderers Bay (Golden Bay) (Docking 1971: 15). The earliest of the more general depictions of the New Zealand landscape were from artists on Captain Cook's 1769 Endeavor voyage. Alexander Buchan had the responsibility of drawing and painting the Pacific scenery and "natives". Sydney Parkinson, on the same voyage, was Sir Joseph Bank's draftsman and drew illustrations of plants and animals. Parkinson worked as a topographical artist and produced hundreds of botanical sketches and paintings of native Maori and landscapes. Parkinson is seen as the first European artist to study the New Zealand landscape in the European artistic tradition of the time. In the 1760s, most paintings were watercolours and usually just monochrome tones washed over drawings (Docking 1971: 15).

Influences from English painters such as Thomas Girtton (1775 - 1802) and J.M.W. Turner (1775 – 1851) changed landscape painting by making it a more vigorous medium with both more powerful and subtle atmospheric effects. William Hodges (1744 - 1797) and John Weber (1751 - 1793) were on Cook's later voyages and had romantic depictions of Maori warriors against lush vegetation and mountains (Docking 1971: 17-19).

Cook's journals made a practice of estimating the future commercial potential of land and the suitability of harbours, and his accounts helped stimulate trade with the people of the South Pacific. A number of artists came out to New Zealand in the early 1800s, including Augustus Earle (1793-1838), William Strutt (1825-1915), and William Fox (1812- 1893). Others, notably Charles Heaphy (1820-1881), Captain William Mein Smith (1798–1869), Samuel Brees (1810-1856) and Charles Kettle (1820 – 1862) were associated with the New Zealand Company. Edward Ashworth (1814 - 1896) and John Buchanan (1819 - 1898) were not associated with the New Zealand Company, but were all surveyors who also contributed to New Zealand painting (Docking 1971: 30). All these artists and draftsmen were perceiving the landscape as those voyaging to new and unexplored lands.



Figure 1 - Samuel Brees (1810-1865) : View of Port Nicholson from the range of hills west of the Ohiro Valley (ca 1844)

A typical settler view with people looking down toward the harbour and new land to be settled. Brees has captured the shape of the Wellington hills and the weather. (ATL Reference No. C-126-002)

Colonial landscape painting

Gordon Brown and Hamish Keith (1969:13) credit Charles Heaphy with being among the earliest to reflect an attitude in their work that could be described as colonial. By this, he viewed New Zealand “*as a place to live*”, and his paintings were stylised to depict the New Zealand landscape as appealing to prospective immigration organised by the New Zealand Company (Brown & Keith 1969: 30). The colonial period of painting New Zealand can be seen as extending through most of the nineteenth century up to the arrival of Petrus van der Velden (1837 - 1913) and James Nairn (1859 -1904) in the 1890s.

Brown and Keith consider colonial painting to be essentially divided into two styles. Initially it was topographical, stemming from surveying and draftsmanship, and documented geographical features in terms of settlement. Painting was an extension of the colonisation activity and watercolours, in particular, can often be seen as being produced for purposes unrelated to art. While they have become considered to be works of art, they were in many ways incidental to the main activities of the men who produced them (Brown & Keith 1969: 14).

From the 1860s, the style of painting changed and Brown and Keith view New Zealand painting as becoming either topographical or influenced by European impressionism and a more immediate response to the landscape. Charles Heaphy and William Fox are considered by Brown and Keith to be exceptions to this generalisation, in that they had a strong topographical interest in the landscape but were influenced by European art. Heaphy had a conscious interest in the picturesque and romantic aspects of nature and Fox an interest in the wave-like hill forms that characterise the New Zealand landscape (Brown & Keith 1969: 14).

For Brown and Keith it was the effect of the New Zealand landscape on Heaphy and Fox that was largely responsible for their style. There was much in the New Zealand landscape to stimulate the “*romantic inclinations*” of settlers and visitors, although this was reflected more through travel journals of the time. The topographical style and the translation of watercolours into lithographs for publication limited the painter’s personal style (Brown & Keith 1969: 14).



Figure 2 - William Fox (1812-1893) : Mountains with mist in the valleys (ca 1860s)

The New Zealand mountains and bush became recognisable and can be seen as sublime nature (refer Pound's painting genres) (ATL Reference No. WC-320)

Impressionism, which developed in Europe in the 1860s, was delayed in reaching and influencing New Zealand painting. For Gil Docking “*Some so called impressionist painters ...were working in New Zealand, but they were usually confused.... These would-be impressionists failed to see that light was the subject which interested the original impressionists, not the objects illuminated by light.*” (Docking 1971: 78).

During the latter half of the nineteenth century there was also a genre of idealised and sentimental portraits of Maori, paintings depicting Maori customs and reconstructions of historical events in which Maori played important parts (Docking 1971: 84-89).

Michael Dunn (2003) sees the depiction of the landscape as very much a product of its time. From the 1840s through to the 1860s, it was difficult to be a professional painter as there were few buildings in which to display paintings and there was no real art market. As a result, paintings from this period were usually the work of amateurs such as school teachers, surveyors, ministers and more everyday people.

Most of the paintings were watercolours, pen or pencil sketches as this was more convenient than oils, which required not only more technique and training in its application but also a studio for drying.

In the 1840s, photography was still in its infancy and paintings tended to fulfil a requirement that later would be met with the camera lens. As a result, watercolour paintings were topographical and provided information that would be useful to the settler, such as the lie of the land, harbour access or significant features.

Many landscape paintings were from ships and, as most early towns were on the coast, these paintings helped make the New Zealand landscape seem more familiar to settlers. Paintings of wilderness were less common than those of towns and settlements and early colonial art can be seen as a celebration of the prosperous aspects of these new settlements. Towns were often silhouetted against rolling fields or wide harbours, and the land was represented to look fertile and quite European.

These paintings and sketches often had similar panoramic views found in photography from the 1850s onwards, and tended to order the subject matter. The proportion and placement of subjects within the paintings fitted a set layout and typical features of places were used to make them more recognisable, such as profiles of buildings or shapes of hills and harbours. There was also very little consideration of weather or light, and often no real way to tell significant weather or the time of day. The paintings were informative but often not naturalistic as frequently the best weather for the view was not the typical weather (which might have been cloudy or wet). This style was not unique to New Zealand and was a feature of all paintings done in settler societies such as Australia, Canada or the United States (Dunn 2003: 8).

Dunn (2003: 9) considers that the painted views often depicted an expectation of settlers, in that it was an image of what was wanted rather than what it was. Towns somehow seemed tidier, more secure and prosperous than was often the case. The days had blue sky, tall masted ships were anchored in the harbours and pastures were neatly fenced. Paintings were made picturesque, with sweeping foreshores and winding roads going into the middle distance. The themes of early landscape paintings were

much more concerned with the deeds of the settlers rather than the reality of coping with the rugged terrain.

If the wilderness was painted, it was recorded for the most part as benign and welcoming. The land was waiting to be fenced, farmed and developed and there are many examples depicting roads being made, bush being cleared and houses being built (Dunn 2003: 12).

According to Dunn there is also a genre of landscape that took scenic wilderness as its subject and focused on the exceptional natural beauty of New Zealand, such as the volcanic cone of Taranaki, the central North Island plateau or the Southern Alps. Vastness and solitude, emptiness and silence were notions that went with the wilderness of the mountains and landscape. It took on a sublime aspect when depicted as grand, imposing and potentially threatening.

Other than the work of Augustus Earle, there is little representation of Maori as either owners of the land or living from it, and Dunn describes them as sidelined and effectively edited out of the action in early paintings. This passivity made the process of colonisation appear more positive, less controversial and ultimately more defensible than it really was. The landscape appears empty and without ownership. While the colonial wars of the 1860s were recorded in paintings by soldiers, more general landscape paintings did not reflect the disturbance (Dunn 2003: 13). For Dunn, it was not the style of painting that was influencing the interpretation but the British ideology of imperial expansion. This is well documented in Leonard Bell's *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840 – 1914* (1992).

Francis Pound (1983) takes the view that early colonial painting was even further removed from reality and the expression of the real New Zealand environment. It was in fact, according to Pound, heavily influenced by the painting genres of the time. So distorted are these depictions of New Zealand's landscape, filtered by these genres, that it can be argued that there is no basis to say that these paintings represented the way people saw the landscape during these years.

Pound's metaphor is that the painting was a window, and what was being painted was heavily influenced by the window itself. It was more than just aesthetically arranging a composition. There were a number of distinct genres that were so formulaic that the genres interpreted the subject matter almost independently of the artist (Pound 1983: 12-13).

“So landscape painting, for the first settlers in New Zealand as for us, was a way of inventing the land we live in, in terms of the codes of the genre. No visual experience of nature – whether in New Zealand or elsewhere – can exist outside the frames of the genres: there is no innocent eye, no possible access to a ‘real’ and pre-existing New Zealand nature” (Pound 1983:14).

The principal genres for Pound are the ideal landscape, the sublime, the topographical, the picturesque and the sketch. Ideal landscapes were painted with oils on canvas and often had biblical, historical, mythological or Arcadian themes that depicted perfect beauty. The ideal landscapes were painted in a way that made them recognisable, but also to make the observer feel a sense of beauty.

The sublime painting conveyed a sense of *“vastness, solitude, obscurity, magnificence, infinity, darkness and even terror”*. This contrasted with the *“beautiful”* that was warm and possibly comforting. Wilderness was often painted this way, with mountains, vast oceans or skies, storms, fire or volcanic eruptions as their subjects (Pound: 1983, 19).

Topographical landscapes were small watercolours and painted accurately depicting a particular place. These paintings often included information such as heights of mountains or names of features, but were never painted to convey anything other than practical information. They were formulaic in that they were views from high places, often with darkened foregrounds and framed by trees or rocks. They painted nature, but only a selected part of it, and that brought out the features that made the landscape more inhabitable either as towns or fertile land for farms. The pictures were conventionally arranged in terms of foreground, middle ground, background and frequently with a fictional figure looking into the view.

The picturesque, like other genres, was structured and contrasted to the ideal although different to the sublime. If the ideal had smoothness, regularity and symmetry then the picturesque had roughness, irregularity and asymmetry. The sublime, by contrast had ruggedness with very few right angles but with solid shapes often depicting gloom and darkness (Pound: 1983, 25). The picturesque was often used to depict the mountains, the forest or the traditional Maori village, and was frequently used in traveller's accounts of New Zealand. Finally, the sketch was a preparatory work for any other painting, but this has become a genre in itself.

In considering Pounds framework, it is often difficult to place some paintings into distinct categories, or identify the mixing of these genres in the general development of art. While it is important to recognise the influence of genre, it is also important to move past these distortions and attempt to understand what these painting represent.

Landscape painting from the 1870s

By the 1870s, it was possible for a small number of artists to work professionally. While the Auckland Art Gallery opened in 1888, it was often well into the 1930s before many cities and towns had galleries to host exhibitions. However, art societies were established in Auckland (1871), Dunedin (1875), Christchurch (1880) and Wellington's opened in 1882. Most of the art exhibited were landscapes painted in watercolour. Oil paintings became more popular with selections of still life and portraits.

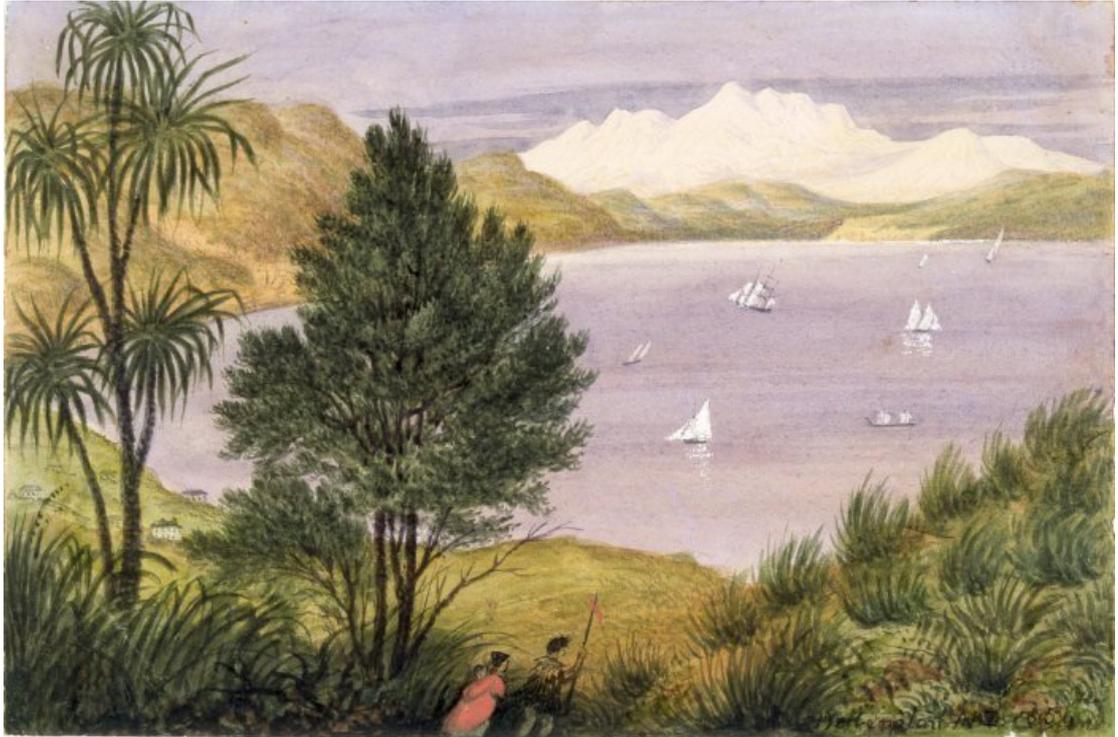


Figure 3 - Charles Gold (1809-1871) : Wellington Harbour (ca 1856)

Settlers looking toward a wide Wellington harbour with tall ships and the exaggerated white Tararuas in the background. (ATL Reference No. A-288-017)

Art schools were opened with Canterbury College of Art in 1882, Wellington School of Design in 1886 and Elam School of Art in 1890. While pupils were taught life drawing, Dunn is of the opinion that there was little competent training in this area and landscape painting remained dominant and almost the sole focus of professional and amateur painters between 1870 and 1890 (Dunn 2003: 15).

Around 1890, topographical painting declined and Dunn suggests that this happened for a number of reasons, although primarily that there was a demand for a greater range of works and bigger paintings. This allowed photographers to produce the equivalent of topographical work. By the 1890s, reviews were expressing a view that the public were tiring of seeing views such as Rangitoto or the Auckland harbour. Reviewers were also expressing the opinion that there should be more portraits, pictures with figures, as well as landscapes with more light and shade (Dunn 2003: 15). This seems to indicate that people were becoming too familiar with the New Zealand landscape as it was painted, and were looking for more, either in terms of people and everyday life, or new perspectives of the landscape.

It was not until the 1890s that impressionism had reached New Zealand and this gave artists a new genre to explore, although Dunn and Pound describe it as arriving in an “*attenuated form*”. (Dunn 2003: 41; Pound 1983; 26)

Up until the 1890s New Zealand painting had developed with little knowledge or awareness of European developments, other than from the influence of immigrant artists. From the 1890s, painting broadened to cover many more themes than just landscapes and portraits, although professional landscape painting reflected more of the European impressionists’ awareness of light and mood (Dunn 2003: 41; Keith, Tomory & Young 1968: 3-7). This meant that the depiction of the New Zealand landscape was still largely being influenced by European genres.

Landscape Paintings of Wellington

The New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts was established in 1882, although the members had been active in earlier art societies and included people like Charles Barraud and William Hodgkins. The Society of Artists in Auckland, formed in 1870, included notable artists such as John Hoyte (1835- 1913), Charles Heaphy and William Fox. In response from Academy members for art classes, the Wellington Art Club was formed in 1892 by James Nairn (1859-1904) as both a teacher and painter (Kay & Eden 1983: 12, 28). Nairn emigrated from Glasgow at this time, having made his name as a landscape artist, initially living in Dunedin before settling in Wellington. His landscapes had everyday subjects rather than the grand views and suggest that he was influenced by Impressionist ideas (Dunn 2003: 51). His sketches were less topographical and more concerned with light and tone. Better known paintings were of Wellington Harbour and the Kaikoura coast.

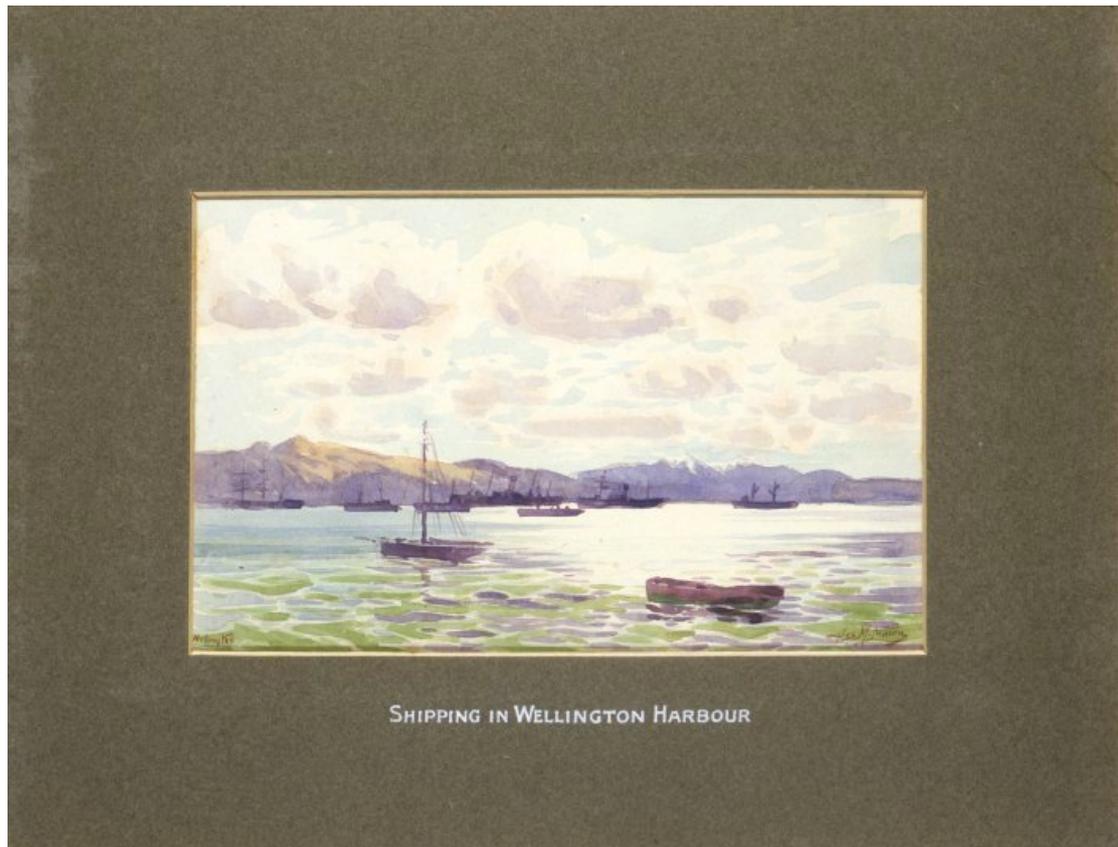


Figure 4 - James Nairn (1859-1904) : Shipping in Wellington Harbour (ca 1903)

**Nairn's Wellington harbour showing an impressionistic awareness of light.
(ATL Reference No. E-567-f-011)**

There is little to suggest that Nairn saw himself as a radical when he arrived in New Zealand. While he was unspectacular by European standards, he seemed controversial to Wellington newspaper critics.

William Baker (1864 – 1929) was a Wellington artist of whom little has been written. He was described as the “*best and most consistent of a large group of Victorian landscape artists influenced by Gully*” (Parker 2007). However, reviews of an 1897 exhibition in Wellington described his paintings as “*commonplace*”. Despite the reluctance of art critics to credit him acclaim, his artwork was popular and his exhibitions sold well.

He stuck to a formulaic English landscape style of painting and made his living from his work. Baker painted multiple copies of his favourite scenes and often gave different geographical references to similar looking scenes. Despite Baker taking an artistic license by repeating details that would sell, he also painted riverbank Maori settlements

that included details that have become a valuable insight into the customs and social life of Maori. From about 1900, Baker painted many watercolours of Titahi Bay and the surrounding coastline (Parker 2007).

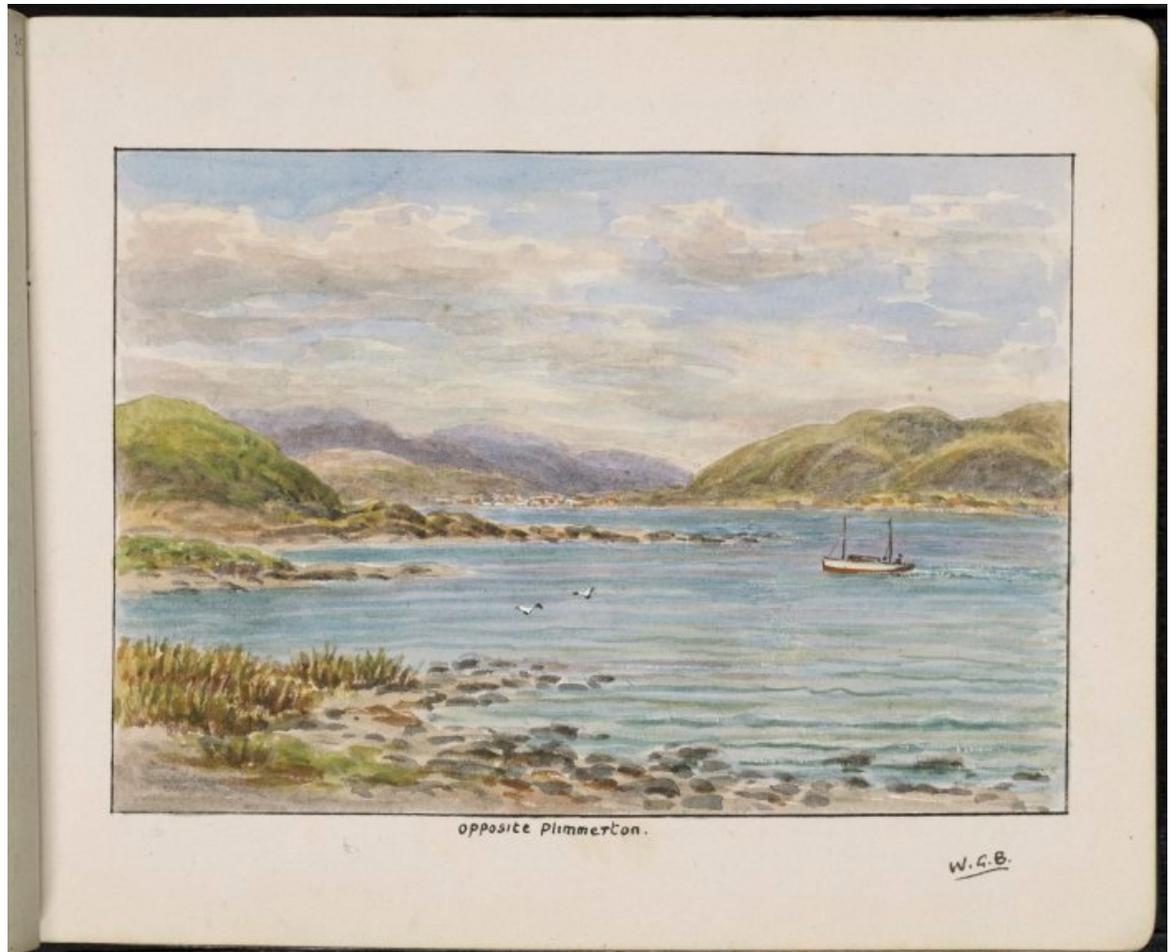


Figure 5 - William Baker (1864-1929) : Opposite Plimmerton (ca 1920 – 1925)

William Baker's simple paintings show typical Wellington clouds and a more ordered and softer landscape, with what looks like Porirua township in the middle. (ATL Reference No. E-628-035)

Other artists at the turn of the twentieth century who painted the Wellington Landscape include Nugert Welch (1881 – 1970), who exhibited later in 1904 and professionally from 1909; Dorothy Richmond (1861 – 1935), who studied under James Narin in 1896 and painted mainly Wairarapa scenes and John Duncan (1881 – 1942) who painted many Wellington landscapes using elevated viewpoints and distant horizons. (Johnstone 2006: 45,47,48).

Photography in the late nineteenth century

The first documented instance of a photograph taken in New Zealand dates from 1848 when Lieutenant Governor Edward John Eyre (1815 - 1901) took a portrait of Governor Grey's wife, Mrs. Eliza Gray, on the veranda of Government House in Wellington. Unfortunately, that particular picture failed. Photography could have arrived in New Zealand in the early 1840s, as Australia's earliest photograph was in 1841, and it would be a fascinating insight to have actual photographs of settlers wading ashore on Petone beach or tall ships in the Bay of Islands. Main and Turner lament the lack of early photographs and consider it unlikely that there are photographs yet to be discovered (Main 1971: 6; Main and Turner 1993: 3).

In the 1850s, photographers were taking mainly portraits although there are only a few authenticated daguerreotypes existing today. Main and Turner attribute the lack of landscape photographs from the 1850s to the high relative cost of the daguerreotypes (about a quarter of the average person's weekly wage) and that the equipment bought out to New Zealand at that time was better suited to portraits. Main's *Wellington through a Victorian Lens* (1971) has documented the photographic business and the individuals involved from newspaper advertisements. In the 1850s and 60s, there were only one or two photographers in Wellington, and he considers that only one was able to make a living professionally. Unless they were commissioned to take photographs of homes or estates, photographers kept to the more lucrative portrait trade. As a result of early photographers taking mainly portraits, there is now a better record of people than had there been just portrait painters.

Main and Turner see the New Zealand bush as too chaotic for most photographers, who would have been more comfortable with more open deciduous forests (Main & Turner 1993: 4; Main 1971:4). Early photographers who did take landscape photographs included William Meliush (1823-1888), taking several of Dunedin in 1861-2, and Daniel Mundy (1829 -1881) (Main & Turner 1993: 4).

Other photographs, often depicting men at work building roads or local Maori, were taken by surveyors, geologists or soldiers who were not professional photographers.

Some painters were also taking photographs, such as Rev John Kinder (1819-1903) and a many of his topographical photographs were replicated as paintings (Binney 2003; Main & Turner 1993: 15).

As a result of the long exposures needed, most photographs taken in the late nineteenth century made city streets look less populated than they really were. Most photographs were either of people in portrait settings or of city and townscapes.

What is striking with the Wellington photographs of the 1880s are the bare hills, dotted with logs or stumps and with strips of erosion. The Wellington hills were completely cleared and it is noticeable that there are no substantial trees (native or exotic) even in the built up areas (Stewart 2006: 116-123).



Figure 6 - James Bragge (1833-1908) : View of Te Aro, Wellington (ca 1870s)

A typical landscape photograph that replaced the topographical painting. Note the lack of trees on Mount Victoria and surrounding farmland. (ATL Reference No. PA7-30-11)

By the late nineteenth century photographic technology had improved, allowing more people to take it up as a leisure activity. In 1892, the Wellington Camera Club was formed with regular club nights and held frequent exhibitions and field trips. Amateur photography was rising in popularity by the 1890s and many of the photographic

conventions and artistic rules that were coming from the photographic societies were no longer being followed by those happy to just take pictures. As cameras became more popular, people also became more relaxed about being photographed (Main 1972: 20). Postcards had also become popular allowing professional photographers to make a living from more general landscape or urban scenes.

Given how difficult it was to travel around New Zealand during the 1870s, how bulky the cameras were, and how difficult negatives were to prepare, Main and Turner consider it surprising that so many rural and provincial photographs were in fact taken (Main & Turner 1993: 18).

Of all the photographs taken in Wellington in the late nineteenth century, the work of James Bragge is considered by Main to be the Wellington master (Main 1981: 13). For Main, Bragge's finest work was an album of 56 photographs called *Wellington to the Wairarapa*. In 1876, and again in 1878, he took his special horse drawn wagon to the Wairarapa, with a large 10 x 12 inch plate camera, and photographed the region as it had changed with improved road and railway access. For this series of views, he stopped every few miles from Wellington to the Wairarapa and set up his camera and recorded scenes adjacent to the road. The Wairarapa railway had only opened a few years before (1874) and allowed the Wairarapa plains to be more easily settled, viewed and photographed. Main and Turner see the series as a good silent commentary of the public works and changes to the landscape. The photographs are particularly effective due to the high vantage point (from on top of his wagon) and the low winter light (Main & Turner 1993: 18; Knight 1981: 16).

Even at the time the *New Zealand Mail* (April 29, 1876) reported "*There are on view in the shop windows of Mr Bragge, Photographer of Lambton Quay, a set of photographs of New Zealand scenery for which their faithfulness to nature it would be difficult to surpass*" (Main 1981:14). Bragge's fifty photographs were printed to order from 200 negatives and made into albums of which only a few are known to be in existence (Main 1971: 14).



Figure 7 - James Bragge (1833-1908) : Looking north along the Wellington to Masterton Road (ca 1874)

The person on the road adds a scale to the landscape and shows the scrappy remains of the bush as it was cleared. (ATL Reference No. 1/1-000782-F)

In 1879, James Bragge was commissioned by the Wellington City Council to take thirty large photographs of Wellington's principal buildings. These photographs celebrated the industrial, commercial and civic amenities of Wellington and were shown at the Melbourne International Exhibition in 1880-81.

Main considers that the strength and character of Bragge's work was his ability to see a scene and record it with simplicity. Bragge also included people, which was difficult given the length of time needed to expose the film. People would have had to pause and remain still to appear in his photographs, indicating that Bragge must have had respect from the community, or a charming way with people (Main 1981: 15). The people in Bragge's photographs also give us an insight into the life and times of people in the street, which was absent from the stiff and formal poses of studio portraits.

Alfred Burton (1833 – 1914) was another photographer who took many panoramic photographs of Wellington in the 1880s and 90s. Burton worked with his brother Walter and were the Burton Brothers of Dunedin. The Burton Brothers were one of New Zealand's largest photographic companies and while Walter did the portrait side of the business, Alfred travelled New Zealand taking landscape photographs. In 1874, he took landscape photographs of Fiordland and exhibited them in Wellington only a month later. The *New Zealand Mail* (11/04/1874) carried a lengthy article describing the breathtaking views his camera had captured (Main 1972: 15). Burton was better known at the time for his street and city photographs but was one of the first photographers to take purely landscape photographs. Between 1870 and 1890, Burton took 250 photographs of Wellington (Main 1974: 16).



Figure 8 - Burton Brothers : View of Lambton Quay, Wellington, with the Union Bank and a fountain at right centre (ca 1870s)

The long exposures made the streets look less populated. The Tinakori hills appear to be treeless. (ATL Reference No. PA7-35-07)

Summary

Art historians are inconclusive about the degree to which painting was influenced by the genre or a direct perception of the environment. Some view the genre as interpreting the landscape, and in effect extending the colonial view of the world (Pound 1983). Others see New Zealand's leading artists responding more directly to the New Zealand landscape (Brown & Keith 1969).

An important aspect to consider for the arguments presented in this thesis is that historical research often uses reproductions as illustratively neutral, when they are frequently laden with meaning and social attitudes, beyond the influence of genre.

If paintings and photographs can be seen as a window into how people viewed the environment, this must be tempered with the fact that most paintings and photographs were generally commissioned by those with money, which may have reflected the taste of a particular section of society. By the 1880s, there were art and photographic societies that had regular exhibitions, and these often had wide interest from the local community. Newspapers did not carry photographs, but the one or two professional photographers in Wellington did have window displays that were viewed by the general public.

Early painting viewed the New Zealand landscape in topographical terms, very much with the idea that land was to be surveyed and settled. This interpretation was to make harbours and the land more expansive and similar in many ways to the European landscape settlers had left behind. By the 1880s, European art traditions influenced a few artists to paint the New Zealand landscape with more sensitivity to light, weather and represent the ruggedness of the hills and mountains.



Figure 9 - Samuel Brees (1810-1865) : Porirua Harbour and Paramata whaling station (1843)

Porirua Harbour is depicted as ideal for settlement with a wide harbour and open rolling pasture. (ATL Reference No. PUBL-0011-12)

Painting of this period seems to be either of rugged forces of nature and wilderness, or of topographical views of hills, pasture, harbours and towns. In the topographical paintings, bush was confined to the gullies, where it mostly was in fact, but the grassy hills were often softened with fewer stumps and straighter fences and roads.

Paintings can be seen to be reflecting a European interpretation with the taskscape being pastoral and urban, and no defined place for the bush. Artists in the latter nineteenth century began to reflect some more subtle and distinctly recognisable New Zealand features, such as the shape of the steep and weathered hills and the windy skies. There does not seem to be the idea that the taskscape included the bush, as bush was still confined to gullies and the distant mountains. The bush was more likely to be depicted as tangled, messy, dark and far from inviting, or as a backdrop or vista as part of another subject.

William Baker's paintings of the Wellington landscape sold well, indicating that people liked the paintings and that they must have represented the landscape in a credible way.

His landscape paintings were topographical in style, often from high vantage points looking back towards the Wellington or Porirua harbours or Titahi Bay.

In looking at paintings and photographs of Wellington over the 1870–1900 period, it is noticeable that while most photographs were of towns, the hills were bare or scattered with logs and stumps. Even in the towns, there were no mature trees, indicating how completely the native forest was cleared. Paintings of the time often softened the landscape, making the hills less steep, more lush and pasture like. The work of James Narin is unique as it demonstrated an impressionistic view of light in the Wellington scenes.

The scope of photography was limited by technology but as the equipment became less expensive and cumbersome, it can be seen as replacing at least the simple documentation purpose of topographical painting. Because the equipment was so heavy, photographs could not be too far from roads and this probably restricted hilltop views to where there were roads. Many artists were also photographers and so the two forms complemented each other. Photographs, too, like paintings, had compositional styles to frame up the subject or lead the eye, which may have limited what photographers felt they could do. The rules for aesthetically pleasing photographs may have restricted their subject matter.

Photography became more popular as it became more affordable and the range of photographs became more diverse and perhaps more representative of individual taste. Photography can be seen as a more direct view as the details in the background can be studied. While streets seem uncluttered, the muddy roads and steep hills with stumps and erosion scars show a landscape that was rugged and relatively recently cleared.

Both paintings and photographs show a separation between the inhabited landscape and the bush. An interesting interpretation to consider is that landscape paintings were portraying a perceived taskscape, reflecting a desire or perhaps an ideal, while photography can be seen as a window into the actual landscape. Once images are understood in terms of their own genre and influences, they can then be interpreted for what they reveal.

Photographs largely replaced topographical painting, at least professionally, allowing painters, perhaps stimulating them, to express the landscape in different ways. Photography from the 1870s and 80s shows that it was a landscape still in the process of change. The memory of how Wellington was covered in bush still had clues in the form of large tree stumps and logs that took a long time to rot away.

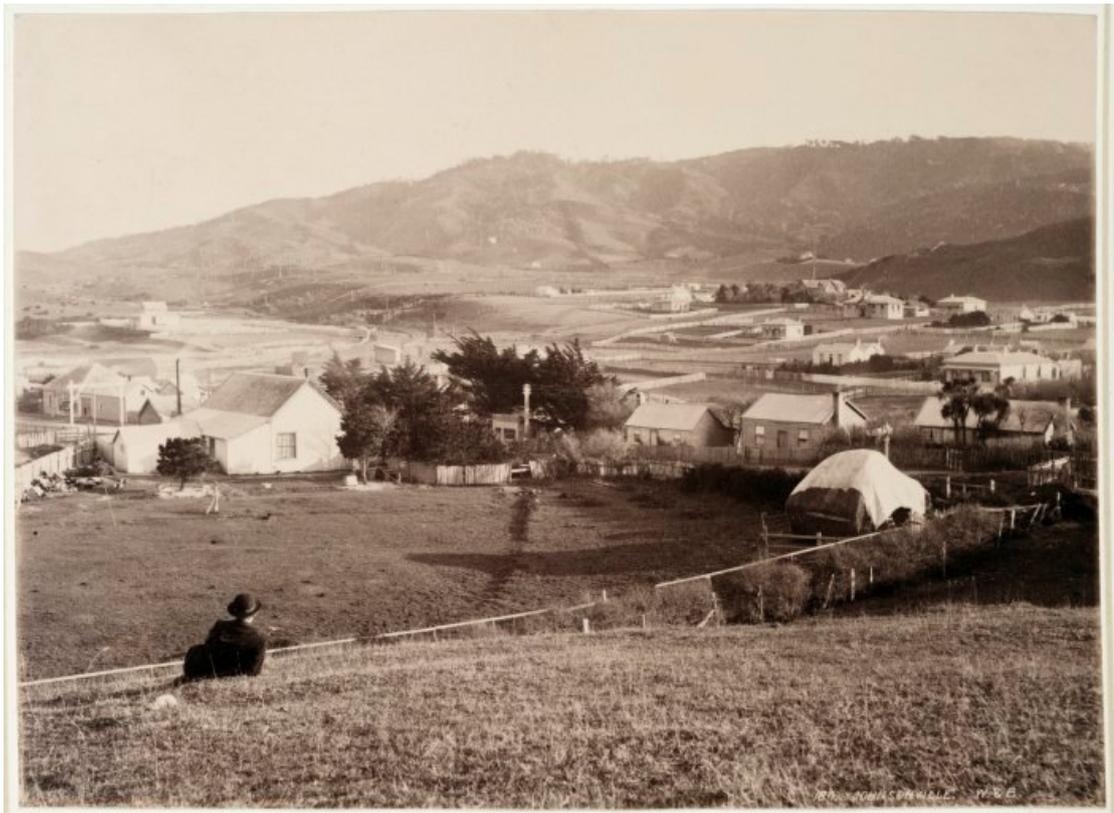


Figure 10 - Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company Ltd : View of Johnsonville (ca 1885)

**Composed like a painting with the subject looking into the landscape, perhaps contemplating the view. Exotic trees have been planted with only bits of bush on the hills behind.
(ATL Reference no.: PA1-f-239-06)**

What can be seen through the paintings and photographs is a taskscape and a landscape that has been almost entirely transformed by human dwelling. It is a landscape that has been defined but still one in the state of change. It is also a landscape that people perceive directly as well as have defined culturally. To understand taskscapes further the next chapter looks at the historical geography of clearing the Wellington region. The accompanying illustrations can now be understood in terms of the genres and styles, as well as reflecting cultural perceptions of the landscape.

Chapter Five

Clearing the lower North Island and Wellington bush - 1840 to 1900

The Wellington region followed a similar trend to the rest of New Zealand that saw most of the lowland native bush cleared and replaced with pasture between 1840 and 1900. By tracing the progressive clearing of the bush, it is possible to appreciate cultural perceptions of the Wellington landscape and just how much the landscape had changed in just two or three generations of the first European settlement.

The rate at which the forest cover was cleared, as well as the sequence and pattern of its clearance, can be seen as closely related to the social and economic developments of the time. Clearing the land for pasture and timber production is understood in most social and economic history as a regrettable, but perhaps inevitable, by-product of the expansion of settler population and economic development, which involved using New Zealand's natural resources.

By understanding how people settled, and what it was like to break in the land, it is possible to appreciate the circumstances settlers were in and the cultural perceptions they had. It is also possible to then comprehend just how much the landscape had changed by the end of the nineteenth century.

The Wellington geography

Historically, the Wellington province covered the Wellington peninsular north including what is now the Manawatu and Wanganui regions but not the Hawkes Bay region. Appendix One has a 1914 map with the boundary of the Wellington province added. The area covered by this historical boundary was roughly 6.4 million acres. This boundary (NZ Yearbook 1906) differs from the current regional boundaries which ends north of Otaki for the Wellington region and Mount Bruce for the Wairarapa region. Geographically these regions are divided by the Tararua ranges, that form a continuous mountain chain starting in the north at the Manawatu Gorge and ending in the south at

Cook Strait as the Rimutaka and Orongaronga ranges. The Horowhenua-Manawatu and Wairarapa plains are shaped by rivers and their sediment originating in the Tararua ranges.

The earliest record of the total area cleared is in 1853, when there were only 15 thousand acres cultivated and 11 thousand acres of fenced land in the Wellington province (Statistics NZ 1858: 52). Five years later, the total area cleared had increased to 40 thousand and by 1864 to 95 thousand acres. The total area of land cleared for cultivation doubled every six years until 1880, when it reached 800 thousand acres. By 1885 one million acres had been cleared, 1890 1.4 million, 1895 2 million and 2.5 million acres in 1900.

To give an idea of the scale of forest clearance, from the 1840s to 1870, an average of 33 thousand acres were cleared annually. In the 1870s this rose to 60 thousand acres per year, 70 thousand for the 1880s and 110 thousand acres per year between 1890 – 1900. (Statistics New Zealand 1901: 199).

By 1901, there were only 3 million acres still in bush. The biggest being Waimarino (700 thousand acres), Rangatiki-Hautapu (350 thousand acres) and Wanganui (300 thousand acres). Three hundred thousand acres was still in forest on the western side of the Tararuas (Pukerua to Manawatu) and 175 thousand acres on the eastern side (Featherston to Manawatu Gorge). In 1894, Forty Mile Bush (Masterton to Manawatu river) had approximately 260 thousand acres and by 1900, this had been reduced to 50 thousand acres, with most of this to the east of the Puketoi Range (New Zealand Year Book 1901; Peterson 1956: 102). Most of the remaining bush was in the northern part of the province, the upper Rangatiki-Wanganui area.

Over the next twenty years, to 1921, another million acres were cleared, at an annual average of only 50 thousand acres per year (NZ Statistics 1921). The New Zealand statistics series changed in the early 1920s, making further comparisons less reliable.

Pre European Wellington bush

Botanically, Wellington's pre European vegetation consisted of podocarp/broadleaf forests that filled the valley floors and sheltered hillsides. These podocarp forests were giant rimu, matai, totara and tall rata, hanging over a canopy of tawa, titoki, hinau and rewarewa. There were pockets of swamp in poorly drained bays containing kahikatea, pukatea, swamp maire and cabbage trees. Black and hard beech originally grew right to the foreshore of Wellington harbour's eastern hills and at higher levels there was red and silver beech forest. At the sub-alpine level, the forest gave way to leatherwood extending to the ridge tops. The coast facing the southern Cook Strait had cliff hanging flax and silver tussock growing up the greywacke cliff faces and the gullies of coastal hills were filled with karaka and kohekohe. There is a natural climatic line separating podocarp from beech forest that runs along the eastern side of the Wellington harbour and the eastern hills of the Hutt Valley and up through the Akatarawa valley. The Kapiti Coast and the Manawatu had north-westerly swept sand dunes that went inland one or two kilometres to where there would often be swamp forests. Following the swamps there was solid bush right up to the tree line in the Tararuas. The valley floor of the Southern Wairarapa was podocarp, broken by open fern and swamp until it became continuous bush around Masterton (Gabites 1993: 7-8, 43).

There are still many pockets of vegetation reflecting these botanically diverse areas, and early photographs of Wellington, the Hutt Valley and Porirua confirm these historical descriptions of the botanical areas. More detailed accounts show that there was very little pre European forest on the Miramar Peninsula, Mt Victoria or Te Aro flat, but there were extensive areas of swamp and flax in Te Aro and Miramar. From Brooklyn and Kelburn there was continuous podocarp forest to the west coast. Thorndon flat was covered in ferns and Lambton harbour up to Kelburn had high manuka that was probably secondary growth from earlier Maori fires. Early photographs show no stumps on Mt Victoria and there is no record of there ever being forest there (Boffa 1998: 3-14)

Early Maori settlement

Pre 1840, the Wellington region was occupied by a number of Maori tribes. The Cook Strait itself had always been busy as a trade route and Kapiti and Mana Island, and Porirua and Wellington harbour were used as links to the Marlborough Sounds or to the southern coast of the Wairarapa. Maori settlements and pa were situated along the length of the Wellington coast and archaeological sites indicate that there were settlements as far east as Black Rocks and Palliser Bay, around Wellington Harbour and up the west coast in Paramata and on Mana Island (McIntyre 2002: 23; Wilson 1987: 19). The majority of Maori were west of the Rimutakas along the Kapiti Coast and an estimate of the Maori population in the 1820s for Port Nicholson was about 1500. Ngati Ira had been living in Port Nicholson and the Hutt Valley for hundreds of years (Millar 1972: 1- 3), and although ancestors of Ngati Ira are unclear, lineages indicate origins with tribes from the east coast of the North Island (Hamer & Nicholls 1990: 12-13). By the time the first settler ships arrived in 1839, there had already been twenty years of warfare with Ngati Toa, led by Te Rauparaha, moving south from Taranaki and basing himself on the Kapiti Coast (Hamer & Nicholls 1990: 17-18). Mana Island was one of the first areas to be cleared by Maori and by the 1820s it was known to have Maori cultivations and housing. Te Rauparaha and, later in the 1830's, whalers used both Kapiti and Mana Island and whalers had been operating out of Paramata since the early 1800s (Gabites 1993: 85-89).

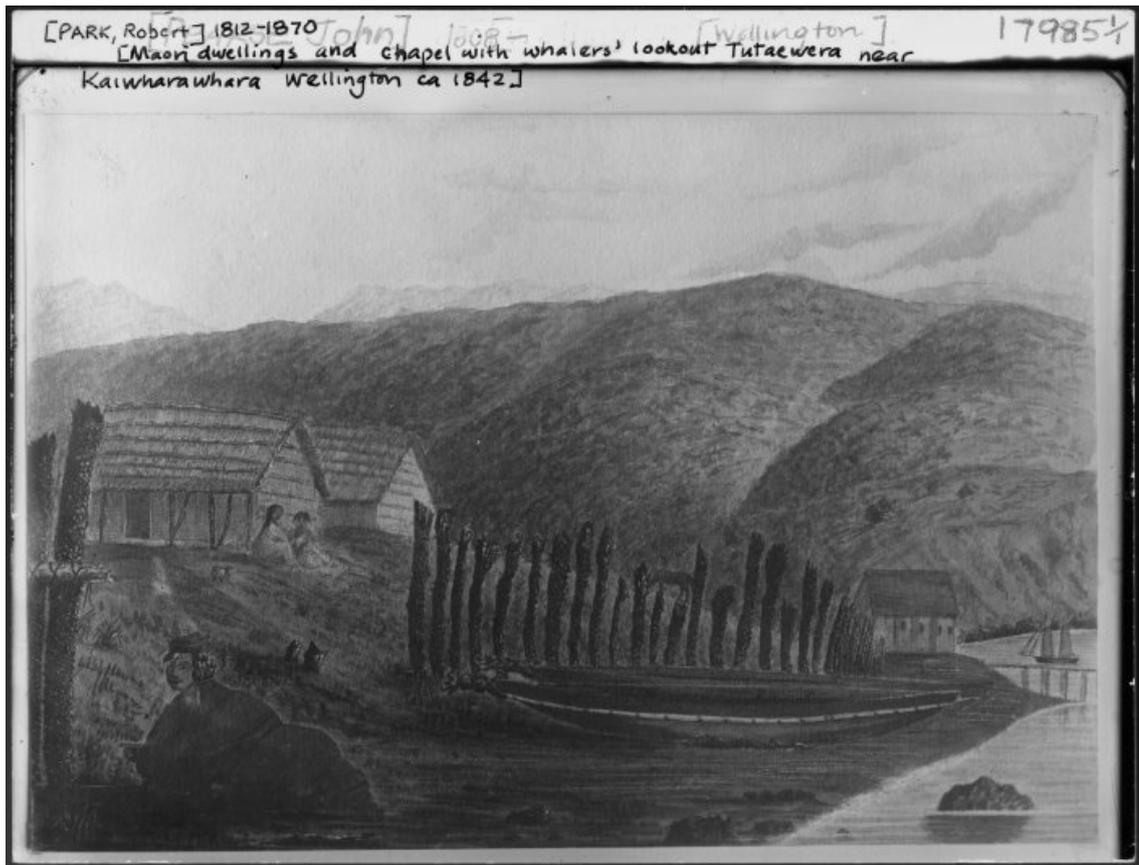


Figure 11 - Robert Park (1812-1870) : Maori dwellings and chapel with whalers' lookout Tutaewera near Kaiwharawhara (ca 1842)

One of the few early pictures of a Maori pa site in Wellington. There looks to be a European building on the right showing that these villages were on land Europeans wanted. (ATL Reference No. NON-ATL-P-0004)

By all accounts there was very little bush cleared by the Maori in the Wellington region as they lived on the coast or had settlements with access by river. While there were a number of settlements, bush was only cleared for firewood or housing material or burnt for bracken root cultivation and gardens (Gabites 1993: 9). There was a network of tracks linking Pauatahanui with the Hutt Valley, the Hutt Valley with the Wairarapa, Porirua with Belmont, and Kaiwharawhara with Makara (Carman 1956: 14; Hamer & Nicholls 1990: 14; McIntyre 2002: 35). The Maori settlements to the west and north to Kapiti and the Horowhenua were on the coast or followed river courses into the bush. There are accounts of the bush giving way to clearings and areas of swamp as the Horowhenua later became a source of flax (Park 1995: 177). The Southern Wairarapa had been progressively burnt off since the fifteenth century and most Maori settlements and gardens followed the Ruamahanga River (McIntyre 2002: 19-24; Brooking & Pawson 2002: 32-34). Accounts from the early 1840s describe it as a grass and fern

plain with belts of bush (McIntyre 2002: 34). The mix of clearings, fern and bush probably extended until the bush thickened up somewhere near Masterton and to what was later known as Forty Mile Bush (extending to the Manawatu river) or Seventy Mile Bush (to southern Hawkes Bay).

Early Wellington settlement

The Wellington harbour that Charles Heaphy saw was surrounded by bush almost to the beach and was “*teeming with birds*” (Park 1995: 85). Trees overhung and dipped into the harbour along the western and eastern sides, with tall forest only a couple of hundred metres behind the Petone sand hills (Mulgan 1939: 66). Lambton Harbour, the site of the future Wellington, was swamp with forest overhanging the water (McGill 1983: 10). Dozens of species of birds were said to be in every tree and settlers could walk into the bush and “*pick off*” kereru, parakeets and pigeons with their rifles (Park 1995: 85-95).

sometimes incomplete so that titles were often difficult to prove. In the early years there were a high proportion of absentee landlords which slowed development of the land (McGill 1983: 40).

The layout of the 1100 one acre blocks did not fit very well with the actual topography of the Thorndon and Te Aro landscape. Much of Te Aro was still in swamp needing to be drained and access was difficult via the beach (Boffa 1998: 7; Ward 1928: 304-312). It was not until after the 1855 earthquake that Te Aro and the southern suburbs in the Miramar peninsular could really be developed.

The 100 acre blocks followed the valleys to the west and north opening up the Ohariu, Porirua and Hutt Valleys. Settlers found the forests of Karori and Tawa Flat less dense and with larger trees, compared to the Hutt Valley, and this made the Karori and Tawa farms more popular. Settlement and forest clearing generally followed the development of roads (Gabites 1993: 11) and this included Johnston farm (now Johnsonville) and Karori. Karori was a 20 minute ride by horse in the 1840s from Wellington and a large proportion of the Karori basin was cleared by 1842, quickly giving it reputation of being the best dairy land in Wellington. It wasn't until the Wairarapa opened up that it was felt that the Karori land could be used for urban development without reducing agricultural output (Smedley 1980:11).



Figure 13 - William Smith (1799-1869) : The harbour of Port Nicholson and the town of Wellington (1842)

Typical of the topographical style showing room for settlement (the Pipitea pa site and what is now Thorndon). It may be deliberate that the hills look pasture like, but they were probably still bush and scrub. (ATL Reference No. PUBL-0011-16-1)

The early records of Judge Chapman indicate that the Karori bush was once mature rimu, kahikatea and matai, with the larger trees dating over 300 years old. Judge Chapman did not seem to be impressed by either the size or age stating that there were “hardly any trees reaching 400 years and none as old as 500, whereas oak trees in England are said to be as old as Saxon times” (Smedley 1980: 12). The comments reveal that people were often unable to accept the character of the New Zealand forest on its own terms. Others expressed a desire to keep pockets of bush or “fine trees” but found it difficult to leave selected trees or plots because the process of burning the bush destroyed everything (Smedley 1980: 11-20). By the 1850s, the more level land had been cleared although there was still a lot of bush on the hills and outlying areas.

Clearing the bush was slow and often done by hired labourers as the owners were frequently more interested in their town acres. John Yule was one of the few settlers to buy, clear and then subdivide the Karori basin (Smedley 1980: 11-20), and it seems that it was often a few hard working farmers who opened up these areas.

Bush fires were an ongoing danger during the late nineteenth century and the hazard was predominately from cut-over bush that became tinder dry in the late summer months. In early 1851, Karori was surrounded by fires, with two reported to the north on the Porirua road, one on Wadestown hill to the east and one at Makara to the west (Smedley 1980: 37).

Milling timber for building construction did not seem to feature as a major method of clearing the land. Farmers were probably impatient and access was very important in being able to get the timber out for sale. Nevertheless, by the early 1840s there were a number of timber mills in Wellington and the extensive stands of totara became the main building material. There were mills in Ngaio, Johnsonville (Johnston's farm), along the Porirua road, Kaiwharawhara and a number in the Hutt Valley. While individual houses were made from nearby trees, the difficulty in working with large logs often meant it was cheaper to use imported timber (Hamer & Nicholls 1990: 109).

When the Hutt Valley was first viewed with the intention of establishing the main Wellington settlement (to be called Britannia) (Hamer & Nicholls 1990: 68; Park 1995: 98), the area was estimated to be *"not less than 30,000 acres of what will be first-rate meadow land, when the bush shall have yielded to the axe and saw"* (Park 1995: 77). There were plans for a settlement starting at the Petone foreshore, but migrants arriving expecting to see a settlement only saw thick bush a 100 metres behind the windswept beach. The planned township turned out to be a number of newly constructed huts cut from the nearby bush. The first-rate meadows turned out to be swamp and were frequently flooded by the Hutt River. Surveying the valley floor was slow because of the thick bush and it was cleared initially by access up the river (Mulgan 1939: 92; Park 1995: 106).



Figure 14 - Charles Heaphy (1820-1881) : Port Nicholson from the hills above Petone (1840)

The wide Hutt Valley with a Maori figure in a meadow like foreground. The size of the trees seems to have been diminished and lack the layers typical of podocarp forest. In many ways it resembles European forest. (ATL Reference No. PUBL-0009)

Wellington's more open areas had largely been cleared of bush by the 1860s and while the Hutt Valley was cleared, it was not permanently settled due to periodic flooding (Park 1995: 107). Access north to the west coast was important and was traditionally gained by following the narrow pre 1955 earthquake beach up the western side of the Wellington harbour, climbing over the Korokoro hills and down to the head of the Tawa Valley to Porirua. Building the Porirua road was a long process as the route went up the present Ngaio Gorge and down into the Tawa and Porirua Valleys. Forest from Johnsonville to Porirua was described as dense and was one of the main obstacles in cutting the road (Boffa 1998: 13). Work also came to a halt a number of times due to perceived Maori unrest following Maori wars in Taranaki. Farms were cleared as the coach route was developed in the 1850s and the army barracks at Paramata were constructed giving a military presence. By 1875, the Tawa valley was described as high quality pasture (Carman 1956: 15-20).



Figure 15 - William Travers (1819-1903) : Forest on Porirua Road, Wellington (ca 1865)

The thickness and height of the bush is revealed with a house completely enclosed by the vegetation. (ATL Reference No. PAColl-1574-13)

The Wairarapa, with its flat and partially cleared valley, was viewed as a hinterland that would supply Wellington with produce (Hamer & Nicholls 1990: 245). Early accounts have the lower Wairarapa described as a mixture of bush and clearings following the Ruamahanga river. Access to the Wairarapa was initially by track around the southern coast or, if there were supplies, directly from ships in Palliser Bay. The Mukamuka rocks on the south coast were the biggest obstacle to travellers, especially those with goods or stock. By the end of 1845, 40 or 50 Europeans were living in the Wairarapa and there were a total of 12 sheep stations (McIntyre 2002: 41).



Figure 16 - William Smith (1799-1869) : Ruamahanga from the east ; the range of mountains divides Wairarapa from the Pakarutahi and Hutt Valley (1849)

The wide open country of the Southern Wairarapa held much promise as an agricultural hinterland. (ATL Reference No. C-011-010)

Settlement of the Wairarapa did not really get under way until the mid 1850s for a number of reasons. The route taken by settlers, from Wellington up the Hutt Valley, over the Rimutakas, was originally a Maori route, although it was surveyed as a road by Samuel Brees (Stewart 2006: 9). It was not until 1847 that the road was pushed through and 1856 before it was made ready for wagons and coaches (McIntyre 2002: 78; Cameron 2006: 9-12). While the route over the Rimutakas took a long time to make, the late start in establishing Wairarapa farms was also due to disputes over titles and boundaries. One of the principle disputes was over the lakebed exposed firstly by the 1855 earthquake and then lowering of the lake when the sandbar was cut on Lake Oneke (McIntyre 2002: 72). As the lakebed was exposed, Europeans claimed the land as the titles often described the boundary as going to the lake edge. Uncertainty over land titles was compounded by the threat of Maori hostility in 1850s and this made settlers hesitant in establishing farms.



Figure 17 - James Bragge (1833-1908) : Horse drawn carts on the Rimutaka Hill, one mile from top (ca 1870s)

A scene that was typical of most Wellington hill country and shows just how much timber was wasted by clearing and burning. (ATL Reference No. PA7-30-03)

The major area with bush east of the Tararuas in the 1860s was Seventy Mile Bush. This extended from Masterton to just south east of Takapau in the lower Hawkes Bay. This was first surveyed by Charles Kettle who, in 1842, came east through the Manawatu Gorge and south through 40 miles of bush to the Wairarapa plains. William Colenso was the first to go north from the Manawatu Gorge to the Takapau plains later in the 1840s. The forest was described by Colenso as the “*most primeval I have ever seen in New Zealand. The soil for many feet in depth was composed only of decayed vegetable matter, mostly leaves and many trees were of immense size*” (Peterson 1956: 11). Colenso also noted the unusual observation of lack of bird life, although the significance of the observation is hard to assess.

During the 1860s, Seventy Mile Bush was considered to be an obstacle in linking Wellington and the Manawatu to Hawkes Bay. Schemes to sell land as farms, while road and rail routes were being developed, were hindered by the colonial war with Maori. In 1870, Julius Vogel presented a scheme for opening up the Wairarapa forests

that would see a railway line pushed north to the Hawkes Bay and the sale of blocks of land to Scandinavian settlers (Peterson 1956: 10). The Scandinavian camp, just north of Masterton at the beginning of the bush, was as basic in 1872 as settlers had in Wellington 30 years earlier. There were many hygiene and diet related problems as more and more settlers arrived to join the working parties clearing and building the road north.



Figure 18 - Burton Brothers : Forty Mile Bush, Wairarapa (ca 1868 – 1898)

The track seems narrow and dwarfed by Forty Mile Bush. The use of a barely recognisable figure in the middle ground gives a scale to the bush. (ATL Reference No. 1/2-004700-F)

Clearing the bush during the late nineteenth century was done by felling the bigger trees, cutting the scrub and burning the tangled mass of trunks and branches in the following February or March. In burning the Wairarapa bush, the smoke would fill the valley and drift south into the southern Wairarapa (Peterson 1957: 57). It took five years (beginning in 1872) for the Masterton to Woodville road to be completed and partly metalled. It was another nine years before the main road and rail was completed to Napier, and it was the rail link that allowed the pace of settlement to increase.

Throughout the 1880s there was a demand for skilled bushmen in the Wairarapa and Hawkes Bay. Clearing was difficult due to the relative isolation, with only one railway track and very few sawmills (Peterson 1956: 102).

Mount Bruce Forest was reserved in 1889 and it is one of the last remaining stands of bush from Seventy Mile Bush. Scadden (2000: 8) suggests that it was set aside by settlers as a future supply of timber. It was also part of the Maori track that went from the Makakahi River to the Ruamahanga River and was a traditional area of hunting for Maori as it had access from both rivers by canoe.

The settlement of the west coast, from north of Pukerua Bay to the Manawatu river followed at least a decade later than the Wairarapa. The west coast of the lower North Island has a long history of Maori activity with pa sites on each of the rivers. While the westerly prevailing wind often makes the sea rough, there is a wide sandy beach that stretches from Paekakariki to Wanganui. Much of the history of Maori tribal wars and settlement was facilitated by the easy access south along the beach. Travelling up the west coast before the railway, Europeans made do with either coastal transport that went from Wellington to Foxton and then onto Wanganui, or by stage coach that went up the beach. Starting from Wellington, the route north went along the Porirua road, over the Paekakariki hill and onto the beach. From there, coaches used the beach, turning inland before each of the five rivers to cross them either by punt or ferry (Dreaver 1984: 57-65). The use of the wide beach was one of the main reasons why the Horowhenua-Manawatu was left largely in native forest until the 1880s and this bush covered the entire Manawatu south to the Paekakariki foothills.



Figure 19 - Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company Ltd : View of Waikanae hills from the Wellington and Manawatu Railway (ca 1885 - 1888)

**A view of how the grasses gave way to bush and continued to the bushline in the Tararuas.
(ATL Reference No. PA1-f-239-17)**

The Horowhenua, like Wellington and the Wairarapa, was slow to develop until the mid 1860s because of unclear titles and unrest with local Maori. The Maori Wars, with bloodshed between Maori and Colonial soldiers in other districts, created a local unease and anxiety that the wars would spread south (Belich 1986: 15). Early farms in the 1850s grazed the strip of land between the sandhills and the forest. Sand drift from the fore dunes became a problem in managing the long narrow properties (Dreaver 1984: 83). The dunes sometimes extended a few kilometres inland before being covered in dense bush which contained large areas of swamp, many lagoons and old river elbows (Adkin 1948: 4). The Bush held no attraction for farmers and cattle often “went bush”, having to be rounded up in the thick lowland vegetation. A few farmers cleared parts of their land back into the bush although this did not happen until the late 1870s.

It was not until the late 1870s that plans for a railway from Wellington to Foxton via Longburn Junction was even considered. The railway from Wanganui to Foxton was

completed in 1878, and it was 1882 before work began on the Foxton to Wellington portion. It was the construction of the railway from Wellington to the port of Foxton that opened up the Kapiti Coast-Horowhenua region. The surveyors led the way cutting the railway route through the bush from the bottom of the Paekakariki hill north, with towns planned every 10 miles (16 Km). With the tall forest hanging over the cleared route, it was described as a symmetrical tunnel cut through a sea of standing bush, “*huge trench in the solid forest*” (Dreaver 1984: 162-164; Park 1995: 166).

With the opening of the railway in 1886, the land was quickly cleared back from the tracks as farms were developed. The biggest farms were in the Horowhenua block near Levin, and other similar blocks opened up close to the railway line. Flax harvesting had become an important industry (Park 1995: 177) and, along with timber, was one of the only indigenous plants with a market value (Dreaver 1984: 141). The Horowhenua flax industry had been taking flax from the coastal swamps since the 1840s, although this was limited to the extent that it was accessible from the beach. The railway opened up access to flax groves further inland and provided transport from the mills.

Farmers often hired gangs to clear the bush in the 1880s, a contrast to the 1840-50 period when labour was scarce. The methods remained largely the same, with larger trees being felled and the lighter growth cut in winter and spring so it would parch through the summer and be set alight in the autumn. A sluggish fire would leave a tangled mess that often could not be lit until next summer or autumn. Once burnt, standing logs, stumps, roots and cables of supple jack required many seasons of sawing and horse and chain work to remove. During most of the 1880s there were hundreds of fires each year in the autumn covering the Manawatu with a smoky haze (Dreaver 1984: 184).

Felling had to be done in the winter months (and completed by October for the February or March burn). Conditions were not pleasant and winter bush, with heavy rain, has stories of men being driven off their work by sandflies and mosquitoes. A good bushman could fell an acre of average bush in two days or about 50 acres in three winter months (Peterson 1956: 103).



Figure 20 - Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company Ltd : Settler's hut, Manawatu (ca 1885 - 1888)

This shows just how basic the settler camps were and how they had to start from nothing to establish a farm. (ATL Reference No. PA1-f-239-41)

The best timber grew on the best soil, and by the early 1890s, farmers wanted access to the best soil faster than the millers could deal with the timber. By 1895, mills in Levin were put on part-time while every man who could be spared was sent to Hautere to fell trees. The logs were stock-piled and railed to Ohau or Levin and used later as orders came in. During the 1890s, sawmills were near most railway stations and over the next ten years the plains were cleared. But by 1905, many mills had closed and timber was now only meeting local demand. Settlers were so active in clearing their land of bush that Shannon was treeless by 1894 - only twelve years after it was established. By 1905, the Tararua foot hills and valleys were being cleared as well as the harder to reach areas behind Shannon and the upper reaches of the Ohau River (Dreaver 1984: 163-169).



Figure 21 - Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company Ltd : Shannon station and yards (ca 1888)

Shannon was cleared of bush in twelve years. This shows just how totally the bush was cleared as the railway went through. (ATL Reference No. PA1-f-239-48)

In the 1880s, fires were the main method of clearing the land for farming, and in early 1886 they raged out of control in the Wellington district. In January that year, after a summer long drought, fires swept through large areas of bush in Taranaki, Manawatu, Hawkes Bay and the Wairarapa. Accounts show that the fire devoured thick bush just as quickly as dry cut-over forest, burning crops and houses as well. Taranaki suffered many fires, with the worst event being a firestorm that swept through Stratford on January 6 1886. Wellington also had fires, with one destroying a number of buildings along Lambton Quay. The last weeks of 1885 saw large bush fires behind Thorndon and several in the surrounding hills with smoke obscuring the Hutt Valley. Masterton was at one stage completely encircled by fire and Carterton residents feared that the mass of smouldering fires would reach the long grass to the east (Arnold 1994: 85).



Figure 22 - Wellington and Manawatu Railway Company Ltd : Land cleared by burning at Manakau (ca 1885 - 1888)

With no people in the picture for scale it is easy to underestimate how big these trees were, and how large the destruction was. It is possible to appreciate what impact this made on Julius Vogel when he saw similar scenes in the South Island in the 1870s. (ATL Reference No. PA1-f-239-40)

Even though milling timber was not the main method of clearing land, it did have a large impact on the forest cover. Access to good timber for building meant that the areas cleared followed different patterns. In the 1880s, there was a steady shift from water to rail based delivery to mills. The large areas of totara in the Wairarapa were only milled with the development of the railway, and it was only the good stands of totara that were in demand. Bush of this sort was cleared quickly when there was good access. Bush with timber not in demand was either burnt and cleared or cut-over for firewood which was a much slower process. The totara in Seventy Mile Bush was logged from the north and this went to Hawkes Bay and on to Auckland. Saw milling did not flourish in Taranaki because the good timber was too scattered and labour costs were high.

Using an 1876 survey taken in Taranaki of firewood consumption, Roland Arnold estimates that more firewood was taken from the forests than sawn timber.

Most of New Zealand's industries were making use of wood-fuelled steam power, and wood was the main source of domestic heating and cooking. The heavy demand for wood as a building material and a fuel was a common theme among many countries at this time (Perlin 1989: 18), and an important source of energy before coal (Freese 2003: 5). Farming and railways were great consumers of posts and sleepers. In 1885, forest harvests (timber and firewood) made up 57% of the tonnage of the Wellington - Masterton railway (Arnold 1994: 134-141).

From an 1886 description of a Taranaki farm, Arnold uses a rough model of what was achieved, taking into consideration the Taranaki climate and road and railway links to the ports of New Plymouth and Wanganui. For a farm of 180 acres, purchased in 1875 and heavy in bush, it took six years before the first two acres were sown with grain crops. It took eleven years to clear 110 acres and have 15 acres of that plough-able. By 1886, there were several acres of hay and grass seed, and one and two acre plots of wheat, oats, potatoes and carrots. The farm also supported a dairy herd of 23 cows with the remaining 70 acres of bush still to be cleared (Arnold 1994: 150).

Arnold refers to analysis of similar farming in the nineteenth century England that indicates that large commercial operations needed more than 100 acres and below this size production was family based. This low intensity family farm operation seems to have typified much of the land ownership in New Zealand. This can be contrasted to the perceived problems in the Wairarapa, dominated by large estates that were later broken up in the 1890's. While ownership was preventing the development of the Wairarapa, bush farmers lives, according to Arnold, had a "*medieval flavour*".

"The necessaries of life were cheap and plentiful, the habits of life were simple, all the members of a yeoman's family were labourers on the farm; the women milked the cows, spun the wool, and made up the garments; almost every article consumed was of home manufacture" (Arnold 1994: 152).

As a result, clearing the bush was done by the farm labourer, often with minimal assistance from draught animals (as they competed for feed with cash crops). Establishing a farm was a long hard process where logs and stumps had to be cleared before ploughing could begin. In Arnold's case study, where the mahoe decayed quickly, it was six years after felling before crops could be planted.

Even as the farm matured and farmers built up capital, clearing the bush was limited to basic technology. For several decades, there were extensive bush settlements that had primitive and semi-subsistence, hand-tool, peasant farming co-existing with modern railways, telegraph systems and sawmills (Arnold 1994: 153).

By the turn of the twentieth century, a considerable portion of the usable land had been cleared of bush and was now predominantly pasture. Milling continued in foothills of the Tararua ranges until the 1920s (Dreaver 1984: 163-170) and while reliable figures are difficult to obtain, there were still many smaller stands of bush in less accessible areas.

Summary

From a geographical point of view, the sequence and method of clearing the bush provides an idea of what settlers faced. Settlers had often used all their money immigrating and purchasing land, and had little choice in clearing the bush for pasture to support themselves and their families. It can be reasonably argued that farms might have been just as productive if more bush had been left. Many people admired and appreciated the bush, perhaps recognising its uniqueness or grandeur, or even its timelessness, but burning the bush meant little could be saved. Some did not think the bush amounted to much and that it was inferior to the forests of England or Europe with their 500 year old oak trees (Smedley 1980: 12).

Podocarp bush blanketed the Wellington hills and valleys in the 1840s and 50s and it was thick with vines and damp undergrowth. Travelling through it was slow and disorientating when not on tracks. Tracks and roads were often twisty, steep and muddy,

and done by foot, horse or coach. Even thirty kilometres was a long way and travel between cities took many days by coastal steamer or horse drawn coach.

Early settlers purchased 100 acre blocks of bush, and had to clear the land themselves before they could start farming. Having come out as settlers looking for a more prosperous life, they can be seen as committed to making a living from the land. Titles and survey markers were unclear and relations with the local Maori tribes were tense, adding to obstacles they perceived.

These descriptions of the Wellington province covered in thick podocarp forest in the 1840s make for a dramatic contrast to the landscape of 1900. While some areas were cleared by 1870s, the Horowhenua and Manawatu were cleared later than this, and in less than 20 years. The lowland bush was cleared in less than two generations and well within the living memory of those alive in 1900.

Chapter Six

Wilton's Bush – Historical perceptions of New Zealand's bush

The history of Otari-Wilton's Bush, known more simply over the years as Wilton's Bush, can be used as a case study in the exploration of cultural perceptions of the environment. The history begins with Maori settlement in Wellington and the sequence of known events that led to the Pipitea Maori owning what was to become the Otari-native reserve. Job Wilton purchased his farm in 1862 and kept 17 acres of bush near his homestead which was later to become part of Otari-Wilton's Bush. The sequence of events in the ownership of the land has been well documented in the Otari–Wilton's Bush Management Plan (Wellington City Council: 1996, 2007).

While there are areas of detail that can be researched further, to add either biographical or historical richness, the chronology is largely complete. This account seeks to understand why the Otari natives land and Wilton's Bush became a significant feature of the local area. The attitude of Job Wilton and Wellington residents in wanting the bush preserved in 1902 is revealing of the cultural perceptions of the environment of the time. It also illustrates how people had become aware of how the environment had changed through the almost total deforestation of the lowland Wellington region.

The establishment of Otari Native Botanic Garden

The present Otari–Wilton's Bush reserve includes the Otari Native Botanic Garden, and covers 77 hectares. Two hectares of the reserve are in cultivated specimens and is considered to be New Zealand's foremost native plant collection. The reserve is in a deep valley cut by the Kaiwharawhara stream that runs northeast before flowing through the Ngaio Gorge and into the Wellington Harbour. The other 75 hectares are mostly in mature and regenerating native forest. The podocarp-northern rata forest of Otari-Wilton's Bush is now the only substantial remaining example of the forest that once covered the Wellington peninsula.

The reserve is now in the suburb named Wilton, five kilometres northwest of Wellington City and partially surrounded by other suburbs. Otari-Wilton's Bush joins the Karori cemetery and Johnston Hill reserve to the southwest, the suburb of Wilton to the east, Chartwell to the north and farmland to the west. See Appendix Two for the current map of Otari-Wilton's Bush.

Otari-Wilton's Bush was made up from two farms, the bush Job Wilton fenced on his farm, known as Wilton's Bush and the land on the west side of the gully belonging to the Otari "natives". The history of the reserve and gardens begins with the European settlement of Port Nicholson and the particular circumstances leading to the Otari natives owning the land on the western side of the Otari-Wilton's Bush gully.

Ngati Tama migrated from Taranaki around 1821 and had a pa site at the mouth of the Kaiwharawhara stream. A trail went through the pa that started in Thorndon, went up the Kaiwharawhara stream and crossed the river at the present Otari-Wilton's Bush picnic area before going over the spur to the north to the Makara coast. The river was known then as Te Mahanga and the track that followed it was the main route linking Maori settlements between Kaiwharawhara and Makara. Makara was one of the points for leaving the North Island across the narrows of Cook Strait, making it an important trade route.

Early records of settlement near what was to become Otari-Wilton's Bush and "Kaiwharawhara" section No 1 (see figure 23) in the 1840s make reference to gardens on the north facing slopes of the valley. These gardens were tended by a Maori and his wife who caught kaka in the clearing across the stream. The Wellington City Council historical outline (1996, 2007) speculates that this Maori may have been Otere Hepapa, who was described as living at the foot of the Wadestown hill where the two creeks of Wilton's Bush join to form the Kaiwharawhara stream. Reference is made to Hepapa raising pigs for the immigrant market in the early 1840s and of befriending Henry Burling who arrived in 1842. Burling built a house "*on a rise at the back of Wilton's Bush*" although the location of Hepapa and Burling's houses is only approximately known (Wellington City Council: 1996, 2007).

The Otari Natives Reserve

The first sales of Wellington land by the New Zealand Company were done in 1839, of what is commonly known as the 1100 sections as outlined in the previous chapter. The New Zealand Company apportioned one tenth of the land to be set aside for chiefly families of local Maori. The blocks of land were allocated by drawing lots and Maori were displaced from their original areas. Only 43 of the country lots were taken up by Maori and they often continued their cultivations in what had now become settler's property. Te Kaeaea, the chief of Ngati Tama who lived at the mouth of the Kaiwharawhara stream, moved his people to Heretaunga as settlers cattle trampled the cultivations and plundered their Kaiwharawhara clearings.

After the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, it became illegal to purchase land directly from Maori and all land titles had to be derived from Crown Grants. Lieutenant Governor Hobson set up a commission to look at all purchases before the annexation of the colony from New South Wales in January 1840. The commissioners reported back to the Governor on lands British subjects had obtained, the payments made, and how fair and legal the sales were. It was intended that this would establish what land would remain in Maori ownership and allow settlement of alienated lands.

Brad Patterson (Hamer & Nicholls 1990: 35-57) covers the work of the New Zealand Land Commission in detail. The New Zealand Land Commission was established in August 1840 and began by examining land sales in the Bay of Islands. A separate commission was set up in Britain to look at sales made by the New Zealand Company which had claimed to have purchased about 20 million acres in the lower North Island and the upper South Island, and had already sent hundreds of settlers there by the end of 1840. William Spain was appointed to look at the New Zealand Company claims. The New Zealand Company were granted 111,000 acres in Port Nicholson and 50,000 in New Plymouth out of the 20 million they had first claimed. Maori objected to the New Zealand Company title of Port Nicholson and Porirua land, but Colonel Wakefield argued that the Maori title was fairly and completely extinguished by the Company's system of reserves. The reserves made up one tenth of the Company's land and were allocated to Maori on a random basis.

The Land Commission's task was to establish the title of the seller of the property that had been sold, and Spain and his commissioners found this difficult as Maori often disputed among themselves about their own rights to areas of land. The New Zealand Company's claim had been based on six deeds presented to the Commission. Three had been signed in 1839 by Port Nicholson Maori and covered an area from Sinclair Head to Cape Turakirae and inland to the Tararua range. The other deeds were signed by Ngati Toa in the Kapiti Island-Porirua district. When Colonel Wakefield journeyed across Cook Strait to Cloudy Bay, the local Ngati Toa told him that they had bought the harbour from the wrong people, and that Te Rauparaha and Ngati Toa owned the entire Cook Strait. Colonel Wakefield then sailed to Kapiti Island and negotiated with Te Rauparaha for sale of most of the land around Cook Strait.

The main disputes began when the New Zealand Company ships arrived and settlers began occupying within Port Nicholson. The original site for settlement was in the Hutt Valley, but after seeing how flood prone the area was the site for settlement was moved to the present area of Thorndon and Lambton Harbour. The local inhabitants of pa in Te Aro and Pipitea pulled up surveyors pegs claiming that they should return to the land they had purchased in Ngauranga and Petone. In 1842, Spain recommended to Governor Hobson that compensation should be paid to Maori who had missed out on general payments in 1839 and who might not want to leave their land and pa sites without further payment. It was difficult for the commission to determine the amount of compensation as the value of the land was increasing with European settlement. They were worried about either having to pay Maori compensation at a market rate, that was now far above what was paid to Maori only a few years before, or pay them a pre-settlement price that risked undercutting current property prices. The New Zealand Company directors authorised Wakefield to spend 500 pounds of company money and allocate 1000 acres of Company land for land disputes. The main negotiations were with the people of Te Aro, Kumutoto, Tiakiwai and Pipitea pa, whose land was vital for Wellington settlement. Spain visited and negotiated with all the chiefs and purchased these sites. Te Aro pa received 30 pounds, Pipitea and Kumutoto 20 pounds each and Tiakiwai 30 pounds.

In March 1844, Spain visited the Kaiwharawhara pa and offered the chiefs 40 pounds. Te Kaeaea, the chief of Ngati Tama, declared that this was not enough and that the

reserves were poor quality land and inadequate. Te Kaeaea had been involved with resistance to European occupation in the Hutt Valley, and when Spain went to the Ohariu pa to the west, he found the occupants were away in the Rangitikei. The main chief of the pa was Te Kaeaea and the absence was seen as deliberate. Being unable to settle the Ohariu site was not seen as important as it was not an obstacle to central Wellington settlement (Hamer & Nicholls 1990: 35-57).

It was another three years (1847) before further Native Reserve Lands were designated as compensation for lost cultivation on land now occupied by European settlers. The Otari Natives Reserve was part of a previously unsurveyed block of 500 acres that went westward from Kaiwharawhara into the Ohariu and Makara Valleys. This land was allocated to the people of Ngati Tama at the pa at the mouth of the Kaiwharawhara stream (200 acres), Ngati Tama of the Ohariu and Makara Valleys (167 acres) and the Ati Awa of the Pipitea pa (134 acres) (Wellington City Council, 1996, 2007).

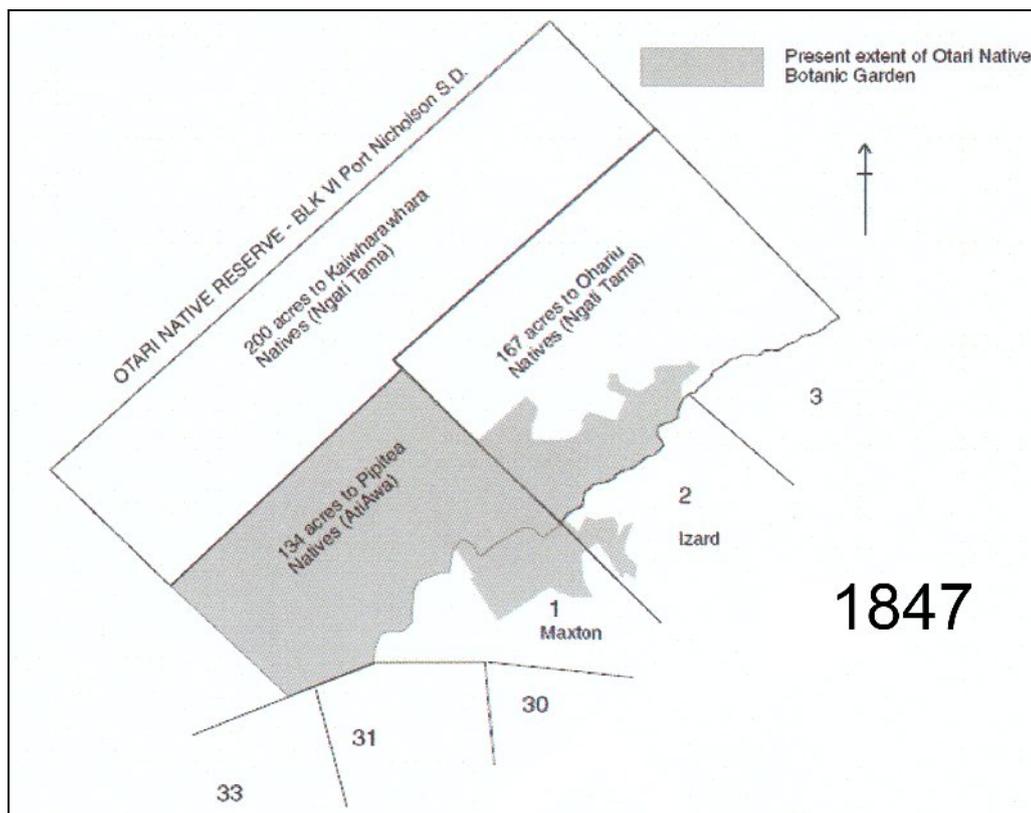


Figure 23 - Wilton's Bush 1847 (Wellington City Council 2007)

The illustration from 2007 Otari Native Botanic Garden Management plan shows the change in ownership. The blocks of land owned by the Ngati Tama Kaiwharawhara and Ohariu natives were leased and later sold, and it was only the land of the Ati Awa Pipitea natives that stayed in tribal ownership. By 1862, there were only five Pipitea Maori living at the pa compared to 134 nineteen years earlier. It was observed at the time that there were no Maori cultivations around Wellington as local Maori were leasing good cultivation land from Europeans in the Hutt Valley.

In 1862, the “Kaiwharawhara natives” leased their land (200 acres) to three European settlers. Some of this was sold with the remaining being leased or sub-leased. In 1870, John Witton took a seven year lease and in 1876 purchased the “Ohariu natives” land and cleared the bush fairly quickly. The Witton’s and Wilton’s owned land adjacent to each other and were frequently confused.

It was the land of the Pipitea natives that was to become the Otari Native Reserve. It was leased to Samuel Woodward in 1874 and later to one of the sons of the Maori owners in 1879, but it stayed in Pipitea natives ownership until the Government purchased it in 1906.

The Wilton farm

Both Job Wilton and his future wife Ellen Curtis came out to New Zealand, to Wellington, as children in 1840 aged five and six. A Wilton family story is that after arriving on the ship the Oriental, grandmother Elizabeth Wilton was so shocked at the conditions of the Petone settlement, that she said she would not take her clothes off until they took her back to England. Family notes also describe how Maori hung around the European settlements, and at how there was often an unease with the local Maori. Job Wilton’s father was a stone mason in England and found work as a plasterer and leased land in Ohariu Valley. Four of Job Wilton’s brothers took up land in the Wairarapa while two other siblings settled on farms in the Mornington area in Wellington. The family were involved in the meat trade and supplied beef and mutton to ships and local retail outlets. Job, as a young man, worked on a farm near Castlepoint in the Wairarapa as well as spending some time in the Australian goldfields. He also served with the local

militia. In 1860 (at the age of 25), after looking at land around the district, he bought “Kaiwharawhara” section No 1 and married Ellen Curtis.

Ellen Curtis immigrated with her parents and grew up in Thorndon. Ellen’s father was an engineer and millwright but found it difficult to get work in Wellington. He built a wagon and started a carrying company later known as J.J Curtis & Co. Carriers (Waugh 1991: 2; Wilton family notes).

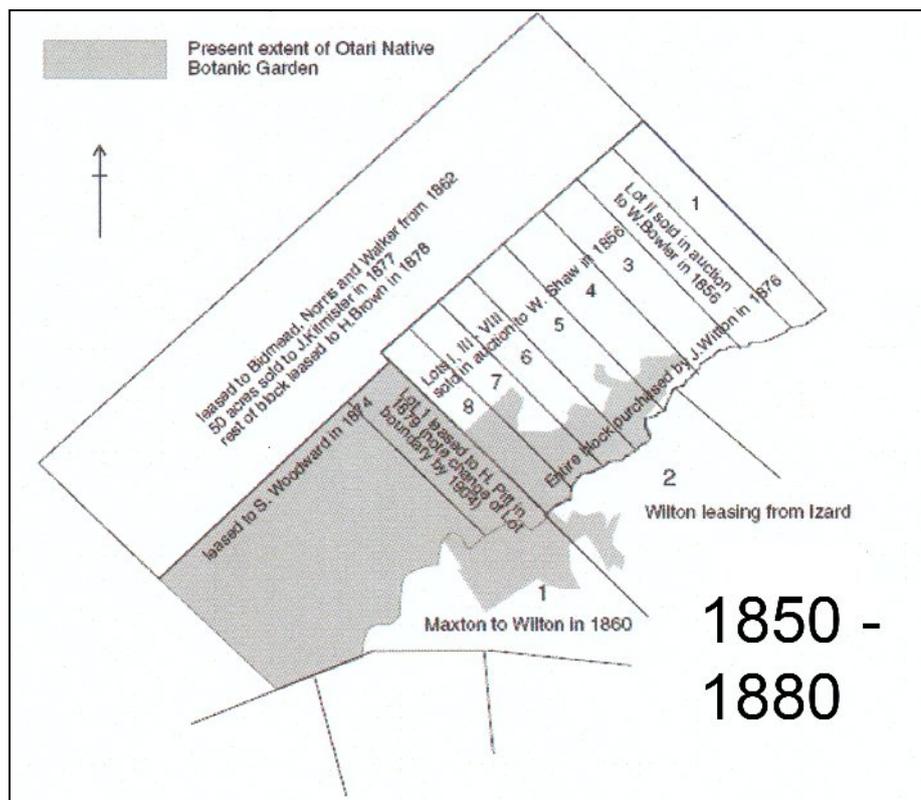


Figure 24 - Wilton's Bush 1850-1880 (Wellington City Council 2007)

Job Wilton purchased 108 acres (43 hectares) from Samuel Maxton in 1860. Maxton had only taken up his crown grant of the land of “Kaiwharawhara” section No 1 the previous year, although it seems likely that that he had been farming the land on the western flanks of Tinakori Hill since the mid 1850s. The Wilton farm ran from the Kaiwharawhara stream and up the western side of Tinakori hill. The farm had bush on the flanks of Tinakori hill and in the early years this was cleared as needed and sown in grass for grazing. Timber was pit sawn and used for the original farm house and building.

In 1861, a two room cottage was built from pit sawn timber on a “*sunny knoll bounded by two streams, over looking the Kaiwharawhara valley*” (Waugh 1991: 2). Access to the farm was over Wireless Hill and in the summer of 1862 the Wiltons moved in with two children to a two room cottage. The family grew to eight boys and three girls, and the five eldest walked over the hill to Thorndon School until the Wadestown School opened in the 1881. Family history records that Ellen Wilton used to keep a lamp burning in the kitchen window to guide them home from the top of the ridge after dark (Waugh 1991: 3).

While timber was felled and pit-sawn for the cowshed, hayshed, fences and other buildings, the larger farm house, built in 1880, used totara from Taupo (an area between Plimmerton and Pukerua Bay). Many of the larger trees in the Wilton’s Bush gully were taken out for timber and there are remnants of the Wilton’s pit-saw.

Quite early, Job Wilton fenced off 17 acres of forest near the homestead to keep the cattle out. Fencing this part of the property would have been a lot of work, and while fencing the boundary to stop cattle straying into other properties was important, fencing to keep cattle out of your own bush was less common. Family history notes that the boys were kept busy around the farm when not at school, cutting gorse and making totara roofing shingles. During the period 1880 to 1900, the Wilton farm ran about 330 sheep (up to 380 sheep in 1891).



Figure 25 - Entrance to Wilton Bush (ca 1896)

(ATL Reference No. 1/2-049735-F)

Governor Glasgoe frequently came for walks in the bush, and recollections by Job Wilton's daughter May, tell a story that Job challenged him for bringing a dog into the property.

“The farm was a much tidier place than it is today, no gorse or noxious weeds. Governor Glasgoe called it “the model farm”. The Governor often came for walks there. Once the Governor had brought his dog along with him. Our notices had had no dogs allowed (because of the sheep). My father met him, and his first thoughts were to let it pass, but others would want to bring their dogs, so after saluting him he said “you are Governor of New Zealand, and I am governor of this little farm, and dogs are not allowed here”. “He shall not come again Mr Wilton, he shall not come again”. The Governor must have told some of his friends. It went round the city that my father had stopped the Governor with his dog. My father laughed, and said “It was a good advertisement for him” ” (Wilton family notes).

Having the farm accessible for day trippers and picnics was not without an inconvenience. An *Evening Post* article (24 July 1882) opens with:

“One of the most charming pieces of scenery to be found in the suburbs of the city, as is well known, is situated at the back of Wadestown on the property of Job Wilton. It has long been the favourite resort of visitors from Wellington.

“In a disgraceful spirit of vandalism, which cannot be too strongly expressed, some of the people who visit the place have been damaging the fences and posts and carrying away the ferns for sale. The climax was reached yesterday when Mr. Wilton discovered people digging up a grove of tree-ferns 200 yards from the house”

The article concludes that he was going to talk to his lawyers and perhaps limit public access. Job Wilton even put a notice in the *Evening Post* advising:

“I, the undersigned, do hereby give notice that any person found passing with dogs, shooting, digging ferns, making fires or otherwise in my property will be prosecuted” (EP 24/07/1882).

People digging out ferns from the bush for their own gardens was a problem. Ferns were easily trampled by cattle and not easy to find in the few other areas of accessible Wellington bush.

In 1850, there were only five houses in Wadestown. By 1880, Wadestown was described as having thirty houses of various architectural styles with dairy farms over the back fence. Up until 1881, local children had to go to school in Thorndon and the first school was “Fernhill”, in what is now Fernhill Terrace in Wadestown. By 1874 Fernhill had Sunday School classes and Presbyterian Church services. The Education Board had purchased land from Job Wilton in 1881 for 60 pounds and opened the new state school with 28 pupils. Both Wilton and Maxwell were on the school committee and May Wilton and her brothers were among the first pupils (Peebles 1957: 5). Wadestown had only a few streets in the 1880s and there was very little playground at the new school, although, as Peebles points out, the children had the whole hillside to

play on (Peebles 1957: 5). After school, children often went down into the gully to play and in the summer months down to the stream.

By the 1880s, Wilton's Bush had become a popular picnic spot. Schools, church groups and families regularly came out from Wellington for picnics. Access in the 1880s was mainly by buggy or horse through Wadestown, and then down Wadestown and Blackbridge roads to the track that led to the homestead. Another way was up over what is now Northland from Tinakori Road and across neighbouring farms to the south of Wilton's property. Wilton Road was only constructed when the farm was subdivided.

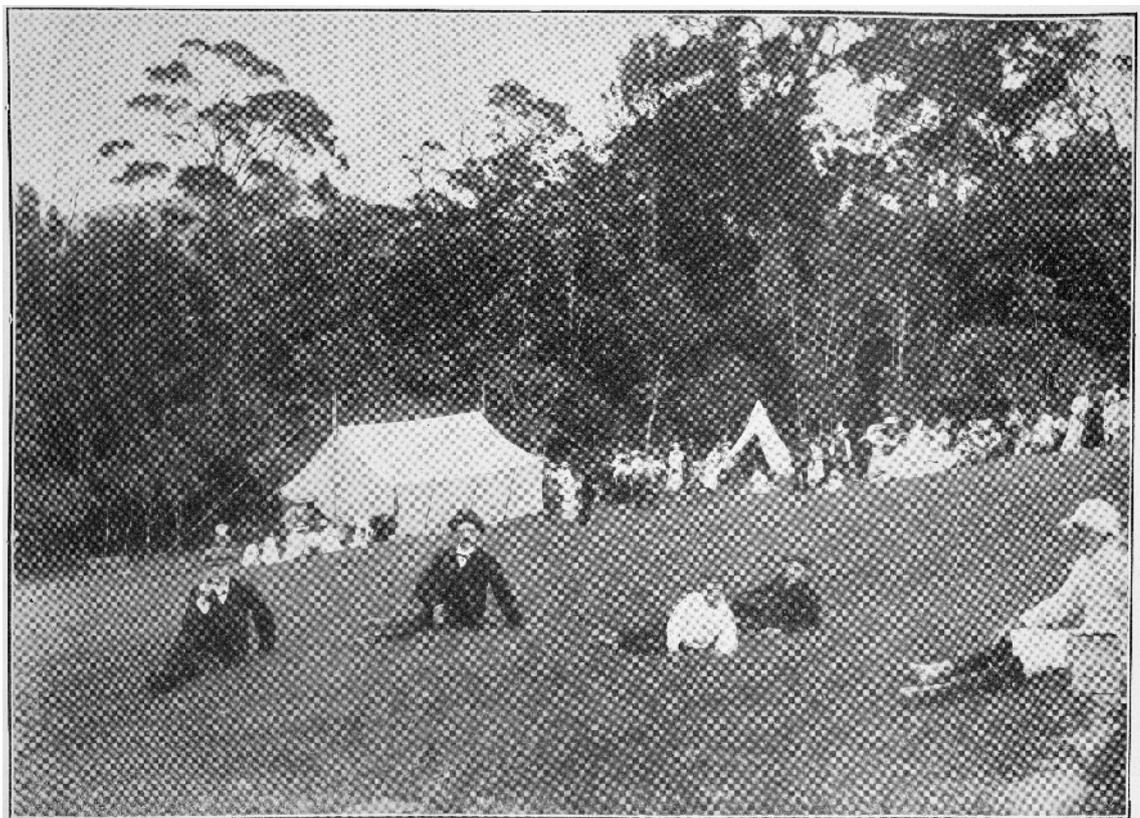


Figure 26 - Wadestown School picnic at Wilton's Bush commemorating the opening of the school (1881)

A rare photograph showing that the picnic was quite close to the bush. There is distinct contrast between the paddock and grass and the thick bush with its huge trees. (ATL Reference N-P 1151-37A)

Fires were a continual risk during the summer when it was common for picnickers to make fires to boil water for tea. Each night, Job Wilton would send one of his boys around to check that the fires lit by picnickers were out. In 1902, during a drought over

the summer, Wilton's bush narrowly escaped several bush fires that started near the Kaiwharawhara stream (EP 1902 – clippings from Otari archive).



Figure 27 - Boiling the copper, Wilton's Bush (1907)

While it is unclear what the purpose of boiling this copper was, this picture shows just how close fires were to the surrounding bush. (ATL Reference No. PA1-o-229-28-1)

The establishment of Wilton's Bush

By 1900, Job and Ellen Wilton were in their mid 60s and were considering the future of the farm. Their family had grown up and four of the boys had married. Job had helped his sons into their own farms and most were in the lower North Island on land that needed breaking in. These farms also had bush set aside, so many of Job's values were inherited by his sons. That Job did not encourage his eldest to inherit the farm was due to his feeling that the farm was too close to Wellington and would eventually become residential (Waugh 2005: personal correspondence). The Wilton boys would shoot stray city dogs on the farm as they went after sheep, and this became an increasing problem

for farms close to urban areas (Waugh 1991: 4). Sheep numbers on the farm reduced in 1901 to 199 from 328 the year before, and although the reason is unclear, the farm was probably being prepared for subdivision. In 1902, the Wilton Estate Company was formed for the subdivision and sale of the land, and land was also purchased so Wilton Road could be built. The homestead block was separated and the intention was to auction the rest of the land as sections.

By 1900, most of the land in Maori ownership had also been subdivided and cleared leaving only the Pipitea Native Reserve. In 1902 it became known that the “Pipitea natives” were considering selling their block.

The Evening Post (22/09/1902) reported that a large deputation including W P Field (MP for Otaki), the Mayors of Wellington and Onslow, “waited upon the Minister last night to ask him to take such steps as would lead to the preservation in its native state of land near Wadestown called Wilton’s Bush.

“It was submitted to the Minister that the natives who own the land are desirous of letting it, and it was feared by the delegation that the result of this step would be the loss of the native bush on the land, one of the last bits of bush left in Wellington” (EP 22/09/1902).

The delegation suggested that the government exchange this land for other government land in order to preserve the bush block. Many of the speakers at the meeting expressed regret that Wellington had been “*denuded of bush*”, and now that the bush was gone, much of the land from which it was cleared was “*useful for little or nothing*”.

The suggestion that the government should have an injunction to restrain the owners from interfering with the bush was met by the Minister saying that it was difficult to interfere in native lands in that way. There was also a feeling that Job Wilton might become personally involved in the injunction and that was not the wish of either the Minister or the delegation.

Job Wilton was at the meeting, and assured the Minister that his portion of the bush would remain in its present state.

“The Minister in replying said that he had for a long time held similar opinions to those expressed by the deputation regarding the destruction of the native bush. We had been far too extravagant in clearing it off. Anyone who now looked at the Rimutakas would recognise that the bush was the best covering that those hills could have had”

The delegation was assured by the Minister that he would look into the issues and would seek the opinion of the Surveyor-General on how a suitable exchange might be done. The Minister also said that if the government secured the Native portion of the land, that he would like to arrange for Job Wilton’s land to be included, so as to make it one piece for preservation.

The editorial in the same issue of *The Evening Post* (22/09/1902) expressed thanks to those who made up the deputation meeting the Minister of Lands and welcomed the prospective preservation of Wilton’s Bush. Wilton’s Bush was described as:

“One of the few natural beauty spots in the vicinity of Wellington which has escaped the axe and fire-stick. As it stands, it is an admirable place of resort for picnic parties and lovers of the picturesque, and it would be indeed regrettable if its native owners should throw it open for destruction.”

The editorial made a comparison with New South Wales which had native reserves such as Springwood, Wentworth Falls and Blue Mountains.

“This good conservation spirit appears to be lacking in our people; but for prosperity’s sake the more far-seeing amongst us should insist on a new order of things. It cannot be too emphatically impressed upon the public that once gone, the natural beauty spots of the colony can never be replaced.”

There was also an awareness in the editorial of what the landscape used to be like.

“How evident this will seem to those who picture for a moment what Wellington would be to-day from a scenic point of view if the noble mountains which constitute its background had not been denuded of their primitive mantle of bush.”

The editorial endorsed Mr Wilton’s assurance to the Minister that his land would not be *“interfered with, pending the arrangements with the native owners”* (EP 22/09/1902).

It is interesting that the Minister was asked to consider an exchange of land with the “Otari natives”. There seemed to be a preference for exchanging land as opposed to a monetary settlement. For the Pipitea natives this would have been the second time they had exchanged their land. They were exchanging land Europeans wanted for land Europeans did not want. Exchanging land avoided the complex issue of putting a price on land for which Maori and Europeans had different values and uses, much as the Spain Report recommended 60 years earlier.

The Department of Lands and Survey looked at the proposal in 1903, by which time the Scenery Preservation Commission had been established under the newly passed Act. In September 1904, a schedule of plans and a proposal was written by the Commission. As was common for many proposals at the time, the commission sought a financial contribution from the local community. In this case, the Commission felt that it would be appropriate if the Wellington Municipality (City Council) also contributed 500 pounds towards the purchase of the Land. The Wellington Municipality requested that the Scenery Preservation Commission *“issue a proclamation taking the area”* (Scenery Protection Commission letters April 1904, March, May & June 1905)

It took another two years before the transaction was settled and it is unclear why the Municipality took so long. The land was divided between the Wellington City and the Hutt County, and until the Wellington boundary moved north, both councils seemed reluctant to spend money in the area. There are several letters from the Scenery Preservation Commission to the Wellington Municipality, asking if they would contribute five hundred pounds. In March 1905, a letter between The Tourism Department and Lands and Survey Department asked what progress had been made

with the City Council. In May that year a letter from the Town Clerk informed the Commission that “nothing further has been decided”. Finally in June 1905 the Municipality approved the 500 pounds.

On being informed that the Wellington Municipality was contributing to the purchase, W Smith from the Scenery Preservation Commission visited the prospective bush to assess its current condition. The report outlined the condition of the Otari reserve, in which it noted that it had wild pigs and cattle trampling through it. The dense undergrowth had been destroyed and many of the outlying areas were very thin due to exposure from the prevailing wind and summer sun drying out the soil, preventing the growth of seedlings.

“Some of deeper glens, however, still retain much of the natural beauty of this old primeval bush. On the steeper slopes of the latter the undergrowth is well preserved and about two dozen species of beautiful ferns including two of tree ferns and many species of mosses and lichens flourish luxuriantly especially near the rills flowing through them.”

The report concluded:

“Although the acquisition of Wilton’s Bush is a question for the Government and the Wellington City Council to deal with, it is extremely important that the area should be acquired without delay. As the last remaining vestige of the magnificent native forest formally clothing the whole extent of the Karori Stream, and its close proximity to the City of Wellington, it would be regrettable to have it undergo further despoliation before it is acquired.

“The beautiful area, if carefully fenced, would rapidly regenerate in places and again provide a delightful sylvan retreat during the hotter and drier months of the year while it would also provide a safer retreat than at present for tui and other native birds who still live in its thicker shades adding to the charm of the bush with their varied songs and calls” (Smith 1905).

A letter later in July 1905 noted that the owner of the property on the east side would sell his portion on very fair terms, although it is unclear who this is, but it was probably the Witton's.



Figure 28 - Bridge across a stream in Wilton's Bush (1886)

**Black and white pictures of New Zealand bush tend to make it look messy and jumbled while colour paintings bring out the subtleness of the foliage (see figs 34, 36 and 37).
(ATL Reference No. 1/1-025551-G)**

The reserve was finally gazetted in August 1906 as a scenic reserve under the Scenery Preservation Act 1903. The Native Land Court awarded compensation for the 135 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres and this was eventually paid out to the hapu.

An interesting insight comes from an editorial written in *The New Zealand Mail* in 1906. It reflected optimism for the growth of Wellington, anticipating that when the Panama Canal was to be opened, Wellington would become a major port between the “Old World” and Australia. Wellington’s growth would need land for housing and this would extend west to Karori and to the north into Hutt Valley. The editorial pointed out that one of Wellington’s most “*beautiful and delectable*” valleys, on the western side of Tinakori Hills, was still rural land. Mention was also made of a new road down from

Wadestown to the Karori reservoir, which was Wilton Road and Curtis Street. There was even mention that some people imagined that the new suburb would be reached through a tunnel from Grant Road.

The editorial comments on the exceptional nature of Wilton's Bush:

“It is a deceptive piece of bush. From a distance it looks like an ordinary patch that a fire has spared from a big forest. It is when you make your way up through the deep gullies that you find the grandeur of the New Zealand forest. It is bush of many-tinted leaves, bush of luxuriant undergrowth. Out of a sea of green leaves and tree-ferns, a tall slender tree raises its head, swaying lazily”

The editorial goes on to make the point that Wellingtonians did not realise what they had just a few miles away.

“Every holiday and Sunday hundreds of people take (the) ferry to the bays around the harbour; hundreds are pulled by electricity to the Gardens or Island Bay; many bear the smoke and jolting of the railway for the sake of a glimpse of open fields. But how few go to Wilton's Bush? Yet it is only three miles away.

“It is a fact hard to believe that a great number – probably a majority – of the people of Wellington have never been to Wilton's Bush. At one time many picnic parties used to make their resort. Is it that the prevalence of locomotion by machinery is leading mankind to forget the use of legs?”

The New Zealand Mail editorial concludes by giving Job Wilton the “*greatest of gratitude*” for preserving the bush on his property.

“Coming to the valley in the days when Maoris were restless and menacing, Mr Wilton made his home and the land into use as a pasture; but a few acres of bush below the homestead he jealously preserved.

“In guarding this, the real Wilton’s Bush, he helped to keep the natives reserve across the stream from destruction with which was constantly threatened by thoughtless pleasure makers.

“But we now hope that the bush will stand long after its preserver, who is a hale old man, has passed. What better monument could be raised than Wilton’s Bush”
(New Zealand Mail: 05/12/ 1906).

The *New Zealand Mail* article reveals a number of attitudes of the time. There is an optimism of Wellington’s economic prosperity, primarily through being part of the sea route from the Panama Canal to the western side of the Pacific. There is also the prospect of an expanding city needing urban land. The article then changes topics, lamenting that Wellingtonians do not realise the treasure of original bush that is Wilton’s Bush, and how fortunate it was that Job Wilton had the foresight to preserve the bush. These two themes seem, somehow, to be reconciled within the article; that there was now (in 1906) a more enlightened view of the relationship between nature and economic development. In fact it was the need for land and economic growth that saw the landscape cleared in the first place, and the relationship between conservation and economic growth is far from reconciled, even 100 years later.

Shortly after the establishment of the Otari Reserve, the Wittons made their land further down the gully available for sale. The Department of Lands and Survey purchased this in 1907. Job Wilton did not sell his portion of the bush to the government and while the Scenery Preservation Commission spent two years arranging the purchase of the “Otari natives” block, Job Wilton had set up the Wilton Estate Company with the intention of subdividing the farm. The property was sold in 1906 to a syndicate who themselves subdivided the land. The Wilton Estate purchased lots 30 and 31 and built what is now

Wilton Road, making the subdivision complete. According to the historical outline researched for the council (Wellington City Council 1996, 2007), maintaining the forest was part of the sale agreement of Wilton's farm. This understanding was agreed to when the Government bought the adjacent land, and the Minister of Lands expressed a desire that Job Wilton would preserve the forest on his land.



Figure 29 - Wilton's Bush : The gate between the Otari scenic reserve and the Witton's property (1906)

There seems to be a significance in placing people with the landscape. While the woman adds a scale, she is also standing quite purposefully behind the gate. (ATL Reference No. PA1-o-229-08-3)

Job Wilton, in subdividing the farm, felt that protection of the 17 acres of original bush would only come from selling the land privately to the right person. Because it was important to Job Wilton that the land remain intact, he sought a buyer that had similar values to his own toward the bush (Waugh, family notes).

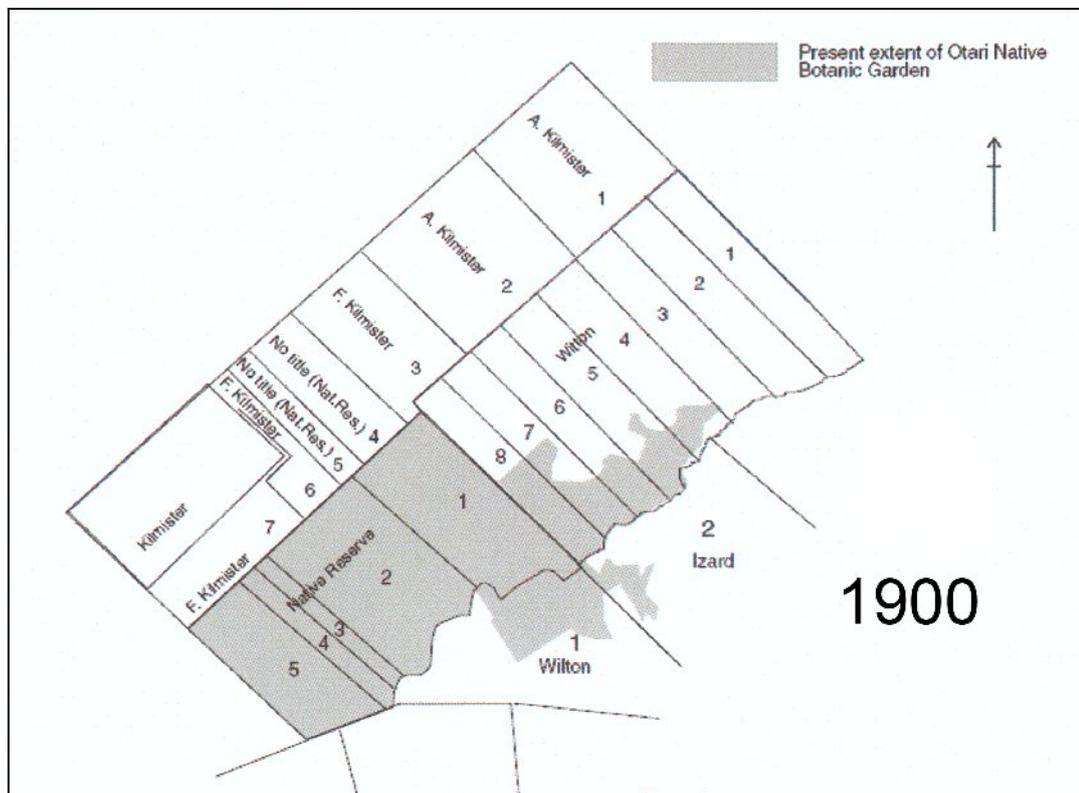


Figure 30 - Wilton's Bush 1900 (Wellington City Council 2007)

Martin Chapman purchased the 17 acre section. He was a pre-eminent Wellington Lawyer with an appreciation for the bush who had lived in Homewood, one of the original Karori estates. While Chapman never built a house on the site, exotic flowers and shrubs were planted and the property became known locally as “Chapman’s Gardens”.

In 1915, The Department of Lands and Survey appointed a board to manage the Otari Scenic Reserve. Lack of funds hampered the plans of the board and a year later it was suggested by the Department that the Wellington City Council should administer the reserve. In 1918, the council took ownership of the reserve and its status changed from a “reserve for scenic purposes” to one for “recreational purposes and for preservation of Native Flora”.

From the 1920's, Otari Scenic Reserve became more popular and the council developed tracks, built fences, bridged the stream, added car parking and improved the road. There were even plans for a band rotunda (Wellington City Council, 1996, 2007).

During the 1920's, there was also a growing interest in indigenous vegetation, and following similar lines to the botanic gardens, a desire to have a collection close to the city that would be appreciated by the public, students and researchers. The Otari Scenic Reserve became a logical choice.

In 1924, Martin Chapman died and a year later the trustees of the will sold the gardens and bush to the council. The purchase of "Chapman's Gardens" meant that the council finally owned the entire "Wilton's Bush".



Figure 31 - Opening Day of the Otari Native Plant Museum (12 October 1926)

**Lady Norwood planting a young kauri inside the Banks Entrance.
(ATL Reference No. PAColl-6304-56)**

The idea of an indigenous garden, most likely in Wellington, had been around since the early 1920s and had been discussed periodically within the New Zealand Institute of Horticulture around that time. Public interest was increased further with an article in the *Daily Press* supporting this idea by the Wellington City Council's Director of Parks and Reserves. The Institute of Horticulture responded to this and in 1926 presented a formal proposal to the Council's Reserves Committee suggesting that Otari was a widely held choice. The proposal was accepted and later that year the Otari Open-air Plant Museum was officially opened. Chapman's Gardens, having been purchased from Martin Chapman's estate two years earlier, became the site for plant collection. Many of Chapman's exotic plants and flowers were removed, with the protest of some locals, and Dr Cockayne, who had who been instrumental in its planning, became Honorary Botanist and effectively the director of the plant museum (Wellington City Council 1996, 2007).

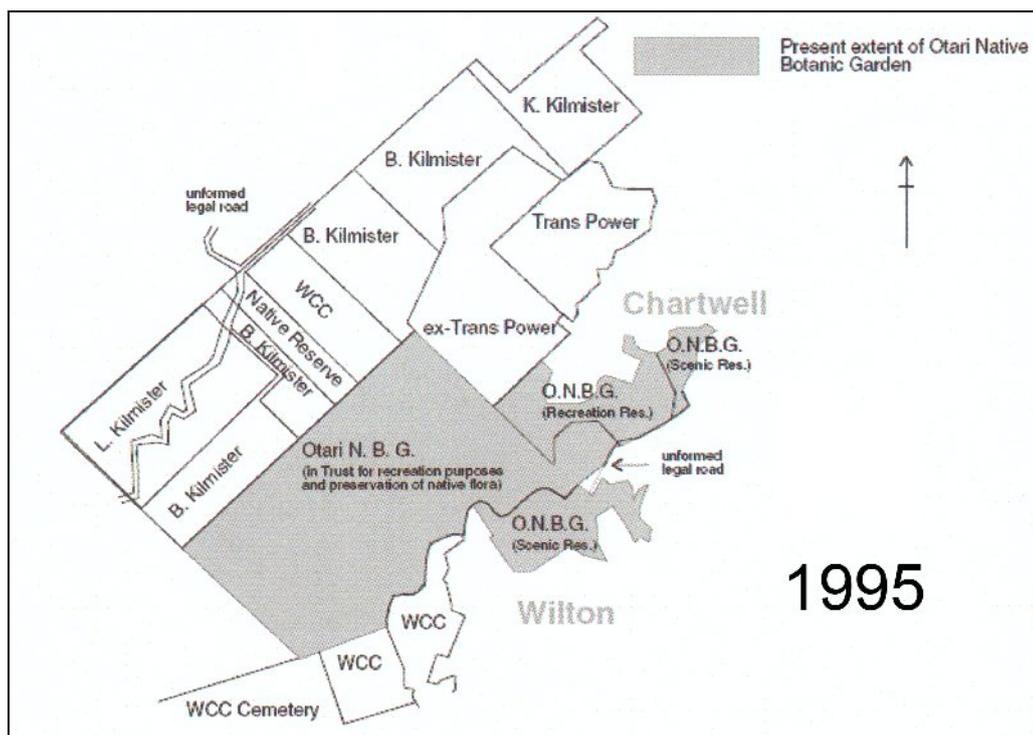


Figure 32 - Wilton's Bush 1995 (Wellington City Council 2007): See also Appendix One

Summary

The Otari Natives Reserve and the bush on Job Wilton's farm were spared the axe and firestick by a particular sequence of historical circumstances. The Maori owners did not seem particularly interested in clearing their side of the gully and Job Wilton deliberately set aside the bush on his side of the gully. While the rest of the Wilton farm was cleared, this patch of bush became a popular local picnic spot.

The Wellington landscape when Job Wilton bought his farm in 1860 would still have had most of the hills to the west covered in bush. Through the 1870s and 80s there was a regular haze at the end of summer as farmers cleared more bush by burning it and Job Wilton would have been witness to these hills being progressively burnt off and cleared.

Given that in the 1870s and 80s Job Wilton set aside this gully, when the cultural perception of the bush saw it as covering valuable pastoral land, his attitude seems quite ahead of the times. It is interesting and probably relevant that Job Wilton came to New Zealand as a child in the 1840s, and would have seen Wellington with its blanket of bush. He was not a settler who came out to break in the land, but the child of a settler who would have seen the changes. Job Wilton was of a generation that probably saw the most dramatic change to have ever happened to New Zealand's landscape. While it is unlikely to be known at a personal level why he appreciated bush on his farm, seeing Wellington almost completely covered in bush as a child would have given him an appreciation of what had changed.

Both the views expressed by the September 1902 delegation to the Minister of Lands and the *New Zealand Mail* article in December 1906, were that Wilton's Bush was now important. Both express a regret that the original bush was cleared so extensively and the *New Zealand Mail* article even had a tone that the conflict between preserving bush and economic development had been resolved. The history of New Zealand forest conservation shows this to have never been the case.

Wilton's Bush can be seen as an example of a remnant of native bush that had by 1900 been imbued with social significance and part of the taskscape that Wellingtonians enjoyed as a picnic area. The bush gully had been named Wilton's Bush long before the Government purchased it in 1906.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion - the changing cultural perceptions of Wellington's bush

The material in the previous chapters has sought to compile historical information in such a way that cultural perceptions of the last quarter of the nineteenth century can be more thoroughly understood. There is a tendency to be drawn into either condemning or condoning the way settlers so totally cleared the New Zealand lowland bush. To understand history more comprehensively does not preclude judgments about whether clearing the bush was a good or bad thing and this thesis would be incomplete if it did not try and take some lesson from history. In understanding why the lowland forest was cleared so totally, it may be possible to apply some wisdom to contemporary environmental issues.

There is also a tendency to see the beginning of the twentieth century as an enlightened period for forest conservation, when in fact clearing lowland forest continued into the 1980s. The conflict between economic development and land conservation (as conservation now includes wetlands, coastal dunes, high country and other significant ecological areas) is far from reconciled even today. The 1903 Scenery Protection Act can be seen as the outcome of cultural perceptions of that time, and had elevated the social value on the pockets of bush and scenic areas that remained.

Limitations of commonly used theories

As discussed in chapter two, theories that link culture directly to the environment, or to a particular type of society, do not sufficiently explain the diversity of cultural perceptions, nor do they accommodate the particular history of individual societies.

Many of the attitudes attributed to people of the time, and what they thought of the New Zealand bush, have been viewed through ideas of settler capitalism or Marxist modes of production. Using an explanation that settler capitalism or technology was underpinning cultural perceptions of the New Zealand bush would lead to the conclusion that only

economically unproductive bush was protected, or that tourism had turned bush, as scenery, into another form of resource to be exploited. Perhaps this was the driving force, but those debating these issues from the 1870s onwards were aware of the waste and destruction of the bush, and the debates included economic arguments for setting aside bush for later uses. There seems to be more to the story than just the simple dominance of economic forces or technology influencing cultural values at that time.

Cultural ecology is more specific in attributing cultural perceptions to core technologies, although it is difficult to define a consistent set of core technologies for late nineteenth century New Zealand. Cultural ecology works better with smaller communities that have a more immediate or closer relationship to the local environment. Complex societies, being part of larger systems, have cultural patterns that may or may not be linked to particular environments. While technology was evolving throughout the nineteenth century, agricultural production was fairly well established, so it is unclear how changing perceptions might be linked to this type of technology. There was a realisation that keeping bush in the ranges helped to prevent floods (Wynn 1977: 129), however, this does not explain why the bush (and birds and mountains) became symbolic of New Zealand, or why people felt the need to preserve bush that was closer to where they lived.

Another form of environmental determinism, as outlined in chapter two and typified by Roy Rappaport's *Pigs for Ancestors* (1968), connects ecosystems to cultural systems and removes people from any active role. It would be difficult to show that New Zealand's ecosystem subconsciously influenced cultural perceptions, as there is much evidence to demonstrating that people were aware of the changes to the landscape. The explanation that there was a subconscious link between the ecology and cultural perceptions does not make it clear which ecological changes are influencing cultural perceptions.

The key point for me is that once the landscape had been transformed into an agriculturally based ecology, the values that had previously reflected the pre-European environment would surely have waned. Other than providing water catchments, the agricultural system had no need for pre-European bush. But the values that called for the preservation of scenic bush seemed to strengthen, indicating that the images and

memories of the previous ecology were still prevalent and that cultural perceptions were not passive responses to the environment.

Similarly, making culture independent or “*superorganic*” (Vayda 1968:351) detaches both the agency of people and the influence of the material subsistence in how people live. Cultural perceptions, then, become historically particular and influenced by other cultural perceptions in an unpredictable way. Taking this approach, changing cultural perceptions were predominately influenced by new ideas of conservation and science, or the mixing of cultural perspectives from immigrants, or simply unanchored to anything other than themselves. As Milton points out (1996:48), culture generating culture offers no coherence or direction, and no explanation as to where cultural perceptions ultimately come from.

Placing cultural perceptions in a middle position, being influenced both by technology and economics on the one hand, and the collective memories of existing culture and history on the other, allows a more valuable insight. This mixing is not done in a kind of vacuum, but in the context of people and how people live. The ideas underpinning the analysis of cultural perspectives of Wellington’s landscape are those of dwelling, taskscape, phenomenology of landscape and the hybridity of nature.

Taskscape and dwelling give an understanding of the intentional and practical activities of day to day living. By “dwelling”, people can be seen as constructing their day to day worlds around them (Ingold 2000: 179). By imagining, designing, physically constructing, and modifying the environment around them, people are making their taskscapes.

A phenomenology of landscape acknowledges that people are not oblivious to the environment around them. People encounter spaces and through the process of dwelling, attach knowledge and ascribe meaning to these spaces, thus making them places. Taskscapes, dwelling and cultural perceptions require a landscape that has been defined and ordered in some way. This ordering is often in terms of boundaries, features and place names. A phenomenological approach to understanding landscape argues for the centrality of direct perception of the environment. Direct perception is the impact or a reaction to an undefined environment before dwelling and taskscape imbue it with

meaning (Franklin 2002: 71-72; Ingold 1996: 115; Tilly 1994: 13-14).

Phenomenologically, the raw landscape is not passive and is not being completely dominated by existing cultural perceptions. Direct perception of the immediate landscape leaves a mark, or a residue, that is incorporated into the ongoing cultural perception of the environment.

The hybridity of nature is an idea that allows taskscape, dwelling and direct perceptions to be combined in a way that sees the environment as being perpetually modified by humans. Direct perception of what the environment is currently like continues to influence cultural perceptions, and dwelling continues to change the landscape. Very little of the inhabitable environment has not been changed by humans. People hybridize nature by actively changing it, by dwelling in it with taskscapes they have created and have a direct perception of it. Cultural perceptions then become the framework for understanding the world around them, which are in turn continually influenced by dwelling, taskscape and direct perception.

By applying and building up these ideas in the same order, cultural perceptions of Wellington's bush can be appreciated more fully. Although the dates of 1870 and 1900 are points in time in a continual process of environmental, economic and social change, they can be seen as markers highlighting just how much had changed. The 1870s can be seen as having more in common with the previous thirty years and 1900 more representative of the decades immediately after. The decades in between are of great geographical change as the population expanded across New Zealand.

The taskscape of the Wellington landscape

The taskscape and dwelling of urban and rural 1870 New Zealand was one of a land still being settled. Travel between cities was by coach or coastal steamer, and travel across New Zealand was slow. The land was still seen as covered with bush that needed to be cleared for productive pasture. Work in the bush was dangerous and the dense undergrowth made it slow and disorientating to get through. The bush that contained larger trees was valuable for building material and firewood but on the whole, lowland bush was just burnt and cleared. The taskscape of the 1870s was still of immigrants

purchasing farmland, often still covered in thick bush, and of having to make a living from the land.



Figure 33 - William Swainson (1789-1855) : Clearing bush (ca 1845)

**This shows how impenetrable the bush must have seemed.
(ATL Reference No. E-295-q-045)**

These were practical taskscapes driven by the needs of subsistence. The land that settlers and immigrants had purchased was covered in thick bush that was very different to the more open forest of Europe. The bush did not have animals to hunt and what plants that could be eaten were known mainly by Maori. There was probably a strong association in the minds of Europeans that connected Maori with the bush. Europeans had no pre-existing cultural framework to deal with the New Zealand bush, although they certainly had colonial values about indigenous people. Colonial attitudes towards Maori, as being racially inferior, probably inhibited Europeans learning more about the natural world of the bush. The bush could be used for extracting timber, flax or firewood, but the Europeans ultimately burnt and cleared it to make way for pasture. If New Zealand's bush had been more open, or if there had been animals to hunt, Europeans may have viewed the bush as more of a source of food and livelihood. Rowland Arnold's (1994:152) account of Taranaki farms in the 1870s was that it took

six years to have ploughable land and eleven years to clear 110 acres, showing just how slow the job was of breaking in the land. In the 1870s the Manawatu was still in thick bush and the clearing of Seventy Mile Bush in the Wairarapa had settler camps like those thirty years earlier.



Figure 34 - Charles Gold (1809-1871) : Bushy river gorge, possibly a gorge of the Hutt River (ca 1846 - 1850)

This can be compared to the photograph of Wilton's bush (fig 28) and how the artist has given a contrast to the light and dark of the bush, even with a blue sky. (ATL Reference No. A-288-020)

Over the thirty years to 1900 the lowland bush was almost totally cleared. The population had doubled and roads and railways allowed this expanding population access to the bush country. The political debates and the series of Acts that attempted to limit the milling and burning of the bush show that there was an awareness of what was happening. Through the 1880s and 90s many areas were protected, although these were areas around mountains and land that was not seen as potentially productive pasture. The 1903 Scenery Protection Act, reflecting a combination of conservation ideas and an awareness of how little was left, allowed native bush to be protected according to its scenic value.

The taskscape of Wellington in 1900 had changed quite considerably. Little lowland bush was left other than in the gullies that had missed being burnt or that was too steep for farmers to cut. The Wellington landscape was of a city, and of roads and railways, leading up the valleys to what was viewed as the hinterland of farms in the Manawatu and Wairarapa (Hamer & Nicholls 1990: 253). The taskscape was no longer of people breaking in the land and living in subsistence conditions until their farms became productive. Nor was there much bush left to be cleared. While bush was still being milled in the foothills of the Tararua ranges until the 1930s, bush was now scrappy pockets on the edges of farmland or in the rugged hills and mountain ranges. What bush was left on farms was now also much more open as undergrowth was trampled by cattle.

Wellingtonians as part of their leisure had been going to Days Bay, the Botanical Gardens and Wilton's Bush for picnics since the 1880s. These all had tracks through the bush (although there was less bush in the Botanical Gardens) and people would steal plants for their own gardens. People enjoyed walks through the bush without the fear of getting lost (as the pockets of bush were small) and no longer associated it with hostile Maori. By 1900, more adventurous people were also venturing into the easier parts of the Tararua ranges.

The contrast between these two periods can also be understood in terms of dwelling. In the 1870s, people were intentionally changing the New Zealand landscape. They were constructing and building and opening up the land. Cultural perceptions are seen by Ingold (2000: 186) as being grounded in dwelling and the bush was something to be

changed. There seemed to be no existing culturally defined place for bush other than in the rugged mountains or in parks and gardens, and even then people planted European trees. The lack of native trees in parks and domains was probably because of the indiscriminate burning to clear the land in the first place. Oaks and pines were planted instead, probably because they were faster growing, but also because they were English (or from the United States) and more familiar. By dwelling in the 1870s landscape, people were in it and intentionally changing it. As the debates of the 1874 Forest Act revealed, conservation was seen as virtuous, but creating farms and prosperity from what was seen as wasteland was more important.

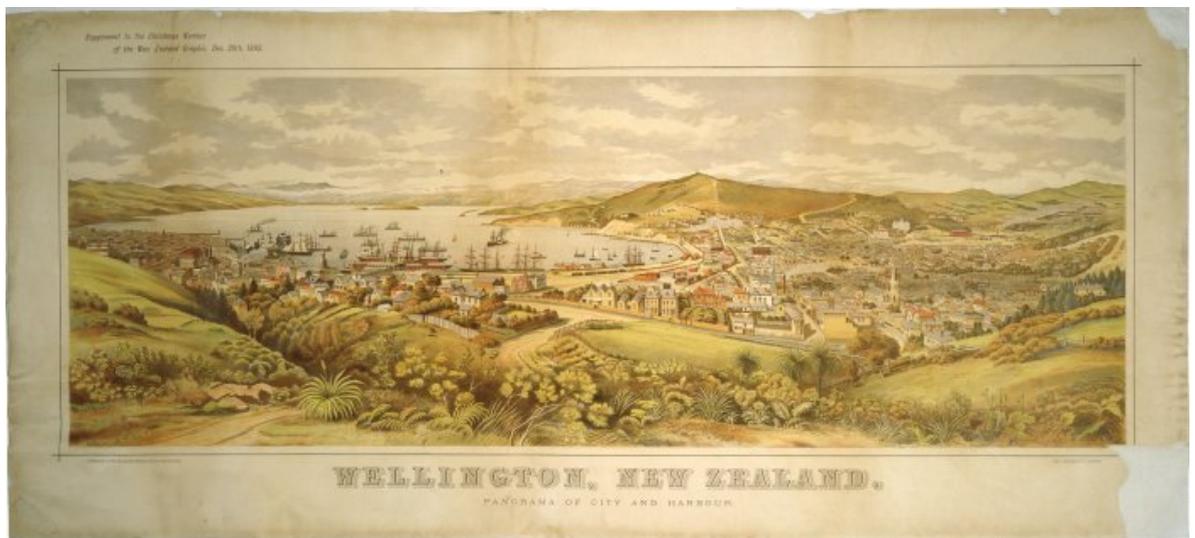


Figure 35 - E. A. Cockerell : Panorama of Wellington City and harbour (1893)

Wellington City looking prosperous and the countryside ordered and economically productive. This picture would have looked very appealing to those immigrating from England or Europe. (ATL Reference No. D-001-005)

By 1900, living in Wellington was very different and it was now a city surrounded by hilly farmland. Dwelling was more about an expanding city and productive farms rather than clearing bush for farms. Urban people were travelling out of the immediate city into the countryside as part of their leisure. The countryside was more open and train travel could take people to the Manawatu or Wairarapa on short trips. As dwelling was no longer about clearing the bush for pasture, and remaining bush had no immediate conflict with farming, bush could now become scenic reserves. Scenic reserves had to be readily accessible, pleasant to be near and make people feel comfortable in the surroundings. Dwelling can be seen as intentionally changing places to suit this need

and Otari–Wilton’s bush is an example that shows this change. People could be in the bush but not feel that they were too far from the familiar urban environment.

Phenomenology of the Wellington landscape

A phenomenological approach to the Wellington landscape extends these ideas further. Vast areas of bush were being cleared and then defined and imbued with meaning as places. Places were named; that in turn defined them as socially important areas. These places became associated with narratives and stories, and the landscape became inscribed with a cultural code that signified its relative importance to society.

The bush would seem to have been “rolled” back from the land, and the landscape became defined as it was cleared. The naming of places, such as farms, sections of rivers, hills and mountain peaks all contributed to this defining process. Wilton’s Bush was a gully of bush that became defined as part of the landscape and this definition gave it an importance that later helped to preserve it.

The phenomenology of landscape also attends to the degree to which something of the initial encounter and process of defining the landscape had a lasting effect on people. By the 1870s much of the land closer to Wellington had been cleared but the Manawatu and northern Wairarapa were still covered with bush. This bush was largely impenetrable for anyone other than surveyors or local Maori. Direct perception of the bush was of it as damp, thick, vast and disorientating. Maori moved freely through it, and there were hostile images of Maori associated with the bush long after the Colonial Wars. Clearing the bush must have diminished the perceived threat of Maori. Ironically, it was the appropriation and clearing of the land that contributed to Maori hostility. As New Zealand photographs and paintings of the time show, the tall trees and vistas from high points were picturesque, but the bush was in fact quite intimidating. Direct perception of the bush seemed to illicit a reaction of both admiration and wonder and as well as practical caution and fear.



Figure 36 - John Hoyte (1835-1913) : Wades Town, near Woodward's (ca 1870s)

A track leading into the Wadestown bush with Maori walking out of what looks like an endless forest. (ATL Reference No. G-200)

As outlined in the chapter on painting and photography, art historians clearly see that the New Zealand landscape and bush influenced artists, even if it was genre bound. A unique New Zealand image was coming from directly perceiving the landscape.

A phenomenological understanding of the Wellington landscape by 1900 was very similar to the dwelling cultural perspective previously described, but one where the landscape had already been defined. New Zealand's landscape, as it was cleared, turned the olive bush into green grass, which was now exposed to the wind and rain. Pasture was littered with stumps which would often take another twenty or thirty years to rot. Once the Manawatu and Seventy Mile Bush had been cleared, the only remaining lowland bush was along the foothills of the Tararuas. The establishment of national parks and bush reserves gave the bush a place within the landscape. Bush reserves with names and associations with settlers, or mountain peaks named after explorers or prominent people, gave natural features a cultural significance. After 1900, many reserves were set up around Wellington, often named after the original farm owner. This connection to the original farmer has become increasingly significant. Even though

Wilton's Bush was an exceptional stand of bush, it had been defined as special because of the congenial surroundings for picnics and its proximity to Wellington.



Figure 37 - George Angas (1822-1886) : Scene in a New Zealand forest near Porirua (1847)

**Even though this painting has botanical detail, the bush quickly becomes dark and shadowy.
(ATL Reference No. PUBL-0014-06)**

Wilton's Bush, and other bushy picnic areas, can be seen as having phenomenological connections to the original bush experience. Small pockets of bush with picnic areas beside them allow people to venture safely into the bush and return easily.

The defining of a place may not always align with the predominant cultural perception. It would be interesting to know what local farmers thought of Job Wilton in the early 1860s, when he first fenced the bush. His own values toward the bush were obviously

different from most settlers of the time, and reflected not only his own admiration of the bush, but possibly his own awareness that within his generation most of bush would be gone. Job Wilton, having grown up in Wellington in the 1850s, would have seen the landscape cloaked in bush. As a child he was not involved in its destruction for farmland but by 1860, when he bought the farm, many areas around the city had been cleared.



Figure 38 - Samuel Brees (1810-1865) : Hawkestone Street, with Mr Brees' cottage. (ca 1845)

An interesting mixture of a European looking Wellington landscape with Maori hauling a canoe. (ATL Reference No. A-109-021)

The history of Wilton's Bush shows how there was a specific course of events that led to the reserve being what it is today. The circumstances leading to the Pipitea Maori owning the Otari natives block and Job Wilton deciding to keep the area of bush near his homestead were unique. To set aside a gully of bush so close to the homestead was fairly rare, although very practical for collecting firewood. To fence the bush gully was exceptionally rare and showed a deliberate intention to protect it from stock. By 1900, cultural perceptions of bush had changed, and Wilton's Bush had been defined as a special pocket of bush to be preserved.

The hybridity of the Wellington landscape

Cultural perceptions of the Wellington landscape are also of a landscape that has been modified by people dwelling and their taskscapes. Adrian Franklin's ideas on hybridity would argue that small native bush reserves were not just aesthetic. Even in the 1880s people were "*re-embedding*" themselves with New Zealand's nature. In the case of Wilton's Bush, Job Wilton had fenced his stand of bush and it had become a regular picnic spot, at a time when bush was being cleared nationally at its greatest rate.

Franklin's ideas suggest that the bush had been turned into a form of garden. It could be walked through without getting lost and it was a contained view, symbolising and representing wild New Zealand bush. It was close to the city and could, for all intents and purposes, be treated as a garden. Protecting pockets of bush allowed people to have an ongoing relationship with New Zealand nature, including stealing ferns for their own gardens. Having the gully of bush surrounded by farmland and close to the urban environment defined its boundaries and symbolically contained it. The dwelling and taskscape process had transformed the environment, but direct perceptions of the bush now had a culturally defined place. Wilton's Bush had become a hybrid environment where people could move in and out of the bush, between the historically wild bush and the ordered gardens and fenced paddocks.



Figure 39 - Evening Post : Panorama of the suburb of Wilton (1932)

A later view looking east over the Otari-Wiltons Bush Gully, which is now surrounded by farmland and the beginning of the new suburb of Wilton (ATL Reference no: 1/2-088440-G)

By 1900, bush reserves quickly become part of the accepted taskscape which people incorporated into their daily lives. Taskscapes also seem to envelope the personalities that are attached to these places, and Job Wilton and later the curators of Wilton's Bush became well known within the small community. For those dwelling in and around Wilton's Bush, it was part of their perceived and experienced world. For those living in the urban environment, the bush was not something to be removed for pasture, nor was it particularly wild and unknown.

This thesis has argued that by looking at how people dwell and how they directly perceived the landscape, cultural perceptions of the environment can be more thoroughly understood. Cultural perceptions of Wellington's landscape changed considerably between 1870 and 1900 and people perceived the bush very differently at the end of this period.

Cultural perceptions of Wellington bush around 1870 were the result of direct perception of bush they did not understand and an imperative to clear it to make a livelihood. The lack of an existing cultural perception of the New Zealand bush, and the association with hostile Maori may explain why the bush was cleared so completely, as many trees could have been left without restricting farm production. Similarly, today, parks and domains in New Zealand's towns might have many more older native trees (assuming they would survive exposure to the weather)

By 1900, the cultural perceptions had changed to reflect a taskscape that had a place for the remaining bush when it was easily accessible and conducive to picnics. Direct perceptions of the environment and the ongoing process of dwelling are continually producing cultural perceptions that reflect this relationship. The hybridity of nature can be seen in the case of Wilton's Bush as the product of dwelling, but also of forming cultural perceptions that overcame the lack of European understanding of the bush. The bush needed to be contained and surrounded by farmland and gardens in order to be defined. It could be argued that cultural perceptions of the New Zealand bush still lack an appreciation of the natural pre-European environment, especially of the Maori relationship with the bush.

The Wellington landscape has been so completely transformed since the 1870s that it is hard to imagine today that the Hutt Valley, northern Wairarapa and the entire west coast from Makara to Foxton were once covered in thick tall native bush.

Any wisdom gained by reflecting on why settlers cleared the lowland bush so totally comes down to a number factors: the dense nature of the bush for which Europeans had no cultural knowledge; the rapid expansion of the population across the country dependent on pastoral production; the way the bush was burnt as an expedient way of removing it; and a theme not specifically explored in this thesis, the association of the bush with images of hostile Maori.

By 1900, the impact of having cleared the lowland so completely created a separation between people and the bush, and made places like the Otari-Wilton's Bush gully fairly unique. The gully of Otari-Wilton's Bush, in being able to be looked down at, picnicked beside, and walked through, had lost many of its former associations.

It could be attributed with romantic and historical connotations without the historical reality that compelled farmers to clear it so totally in the first place.

Standing in Wilton's Bush, or any lowland bush, we can begin to appreciate what it must have been like in the pre-European and early settler years. The dense canopy of the New Zealand bush means that just a few hundred meters into it, we can imagine being in the depths of rugged back country, or back in time. From certain angles, the Otari-Wilton's Bush gully does just this. By being in the bush, our direct perception can suspend knowledge of where we are. By recalling what we know of the realities of settler life we can construct an imagined world of the settler, and even a glimpse into the world of pre-European Maori. By using historical imagination and anthropological insight, we can understand settler and late nineteenth century cultural perceptions of the bush.

There is an appreciation of the past that is so much more comprehensible when it is somehow brought to life. This may be imagining the day to day life of a village while standing amongst archaeological ruins or looking up a glacial valley and contemplating the timescale and forces of nature. The ideas for this thesis came from a walk in the bush and telling my children how most of New Zealand was covered in bush like this 150 years ago. I felt compelled to ask myself; why was the bush cleared so totally? What did settlers actually think of the bush? Why are there not more great big old native trees in New Zealand parks? And what had changed by 1900 that prompted the protection of pockets of bush like Otari-Wilton's Bush? In order to understand this, I felt that it should be approached anthropologically, and that I should attempt to build up material in a way that gave a context and view into the Wellington landscape of the late nineteenth century.

These questions open up more general issues about our relationship with the environment today. There is an important role for history in providing wisdom and, if not lessons, then certainly consequences. There is also the role for anthropology in understanding societies and the way people live within the environment.

The anthropological approaches provide a way of appreciating the practical world people live in, and how the environment is both defined culturally and perceived directly. I consider there to be a rich area of research that seeks to blend historical material and anthropological ideas.

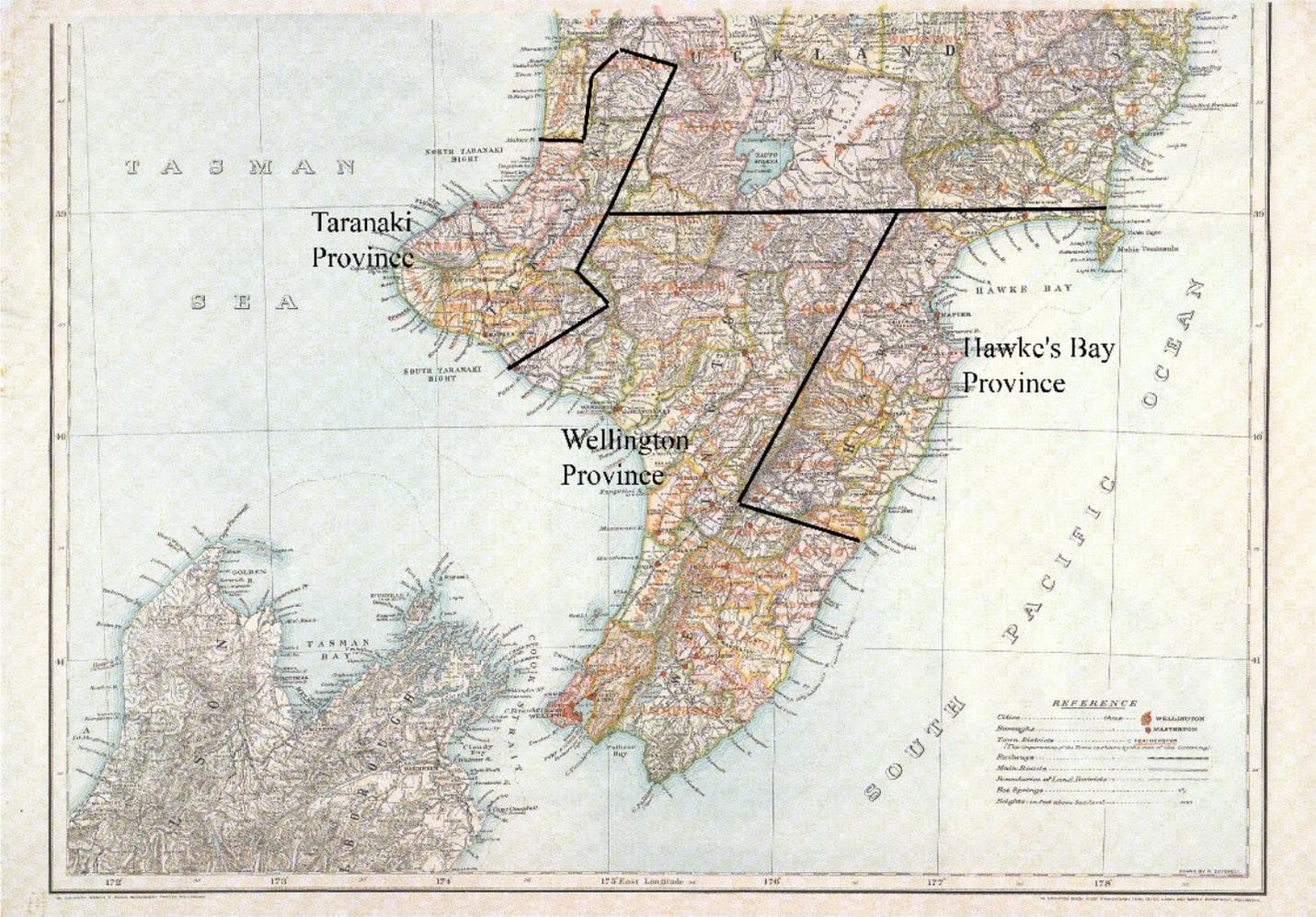
The historical ethnography, that seeks to express the contextually rich picture of what life was like for people, is a difficult and ambitious project. Despite having to cope with the epistemological issues of both history and anthropology, I view the historical ethnography as an approach that can bring another dimension to historical material.

The loss of the majority of New Zealand's lowland bush in the nineteenth century leaves me with a feeling of regret and reflecting on how history could have been different. Only one aspect needed to have happened in a different way and New Zealand's landscape today might be dotted with older natives and pre-European bush that is far more accessible.

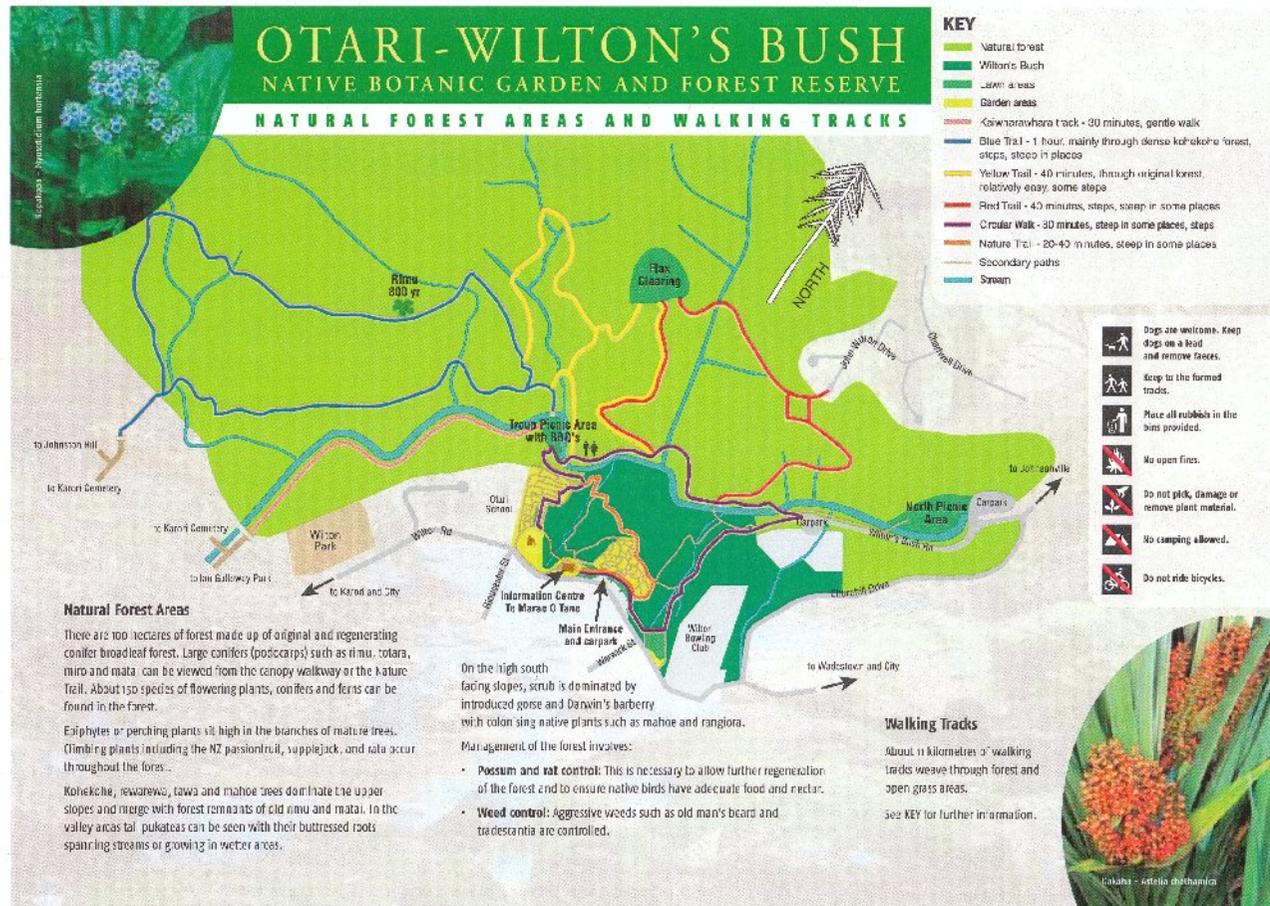
I see a positive and very valuable contribution for anthropologists in environmental debates, and most environmental issues would be better understood from the point of view of cultural perceptions. In the environmental literature, there is a dominating pessimism for the outlook of humanity unless we change our relationship with the environment, and often an equally pessimistic view of the prospect of this happening. There is still a gap, or perhaps disjointedness, between the ideas and ideals of how we should interact with the environment, and the way people actually live. Many of the attempts to reconcile this disjointedness could be supported by thinking in terms of the concepts applied in this thesis.

Appendix 1 – Map of Wellington 1914

ATL MapColl 830a (1914) acc 7379. (Copyright Land Information New Zealand)



Appendix 2 – Map of Otari–Wilton’s Bush 2007



Bibliography

Adkin G., *Horowhenua its Maori Place-names & their Topographical and Historical Background*, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, New Zealand, 1948.

Anderson G., *Fresh about Cook Strait: An Appreciation of Wellington Harbour*, Methuen Publications, Wellington, New Zealand, 1984.

Arnold R., *New Zealand's Burning: the Settlers' World in the Mid 1880's*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, New Zealand, 1994.

Ballantyne, T and Bennett, J (eds), *Landscape/Community Perspectives from New Zealand*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, New Zealand, 2005.

Belich, J., *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Penguin books, Auckland, New Zealand, 1988.

Belich, J., *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the end of the Nineteenth Century*, The Penguin Press, Auckland, New Zealand, 1996.

Bell, L., *Colonial Constructs. European Images of Maori 1840 - 1914*, Auckland University Press, New Zealand, Auckland, New Zealand, 1992.

Bennett J W., *Human Ecology as Human Behavior: Essays in Environmental and Development Anthropology*, Transaction Publishers, London, 1993.

Binney D., *John Kinder : Founding Vision, Local Realities*, Kinder House Society, Auckland, New Zealand, 2003.

Boffa Miskall., *Wellington's Native Vegetation: a Brief Survey of Early Historical Records*, Wellington City Council, Wellington, New Zealand, 1998.

Brooking, T and Pawson, E (eds), *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, New Zealand, 2002.

Brown, G and Keith H., *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839 – 1980*, David Bateman, Auckland, New Zealand, 1969.

Calhoun, C., (ed) *Contemporary Sociological Theory*, Blackwell, Malden, MA, 2002.

Cameron, N., *Rimutaka Railway*, New Zealand Locomotive Society Inc, New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand, 2006.

Carman, A H., *Tawa Flat and the Old Porirua Road 1840-1955*, Wright and Carman Ltd, Wellington, New Zealand, 1956.

Comaroff, J & Comaroff J., *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1992.

Condliffe, J B., *New Zealand in the Making: A study of Economic and Social Development*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, 1959.

The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand Vol 1 1897., Wellington, New Zealand, 1897.

Descola, P & Gisli P., *Nature and Society: Anthropological Perspectives*, Routledge, London, 1996.

Docking, G., *Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Painting*, A H & A W Reed, Wellington, New Zealand, 1971.

Dreaver, A J., *Horowhenua Country and its People: A Centennial History*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, New Zealand, 1984.

Dunlop, T., *Nature and the English Diaspora: Environment and History in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999.

Dunn, M., *New Zealand Painting: A Concise History*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, New Zealand, 2003.

Evans, R., *In Defence of History*, Granta Books, London, 1997.

Evans-Pritchard, E., *Essays in Anthropology*, Faber and Faber, London, 1962.

Evening Post, 22 Sept 1902.

Fairburn, M., *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850 –1900*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, New Zealand, 1989.

Franklin A., *Nature and Social Theory*, Sage Publications, London, 2002.

Freese, B., *Coal: A Human History*, Arrow Books, London, 2003.

Gabites, I., *Wellington's Living Cloak: A guide to the Natural Plant Communities*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, New Zealand, 1993.

Galbreath, R., *Working for Wildlife : a history of the New Zealand Wildlife Service*, Bridget Williams Books and Historical Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs, Wellington, New Zealand, 1993.

Green, A & Troup, K., *The Houses of History: A critical reader in twentieth-century history and theory*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1999.

Grey, A., *Aotearoa and New Zealand: A Historical Geography*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1994.

- Guthrie-Smith, H., *Tutira: The Story of a New Zealand Sheep Station*, Reed, Wellington, New Zealand, (1926), 1999.
- Hamer, D and Nicholls, R (eds)., *The Making of Wellington 1800 – 1914*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, New Zealand , 1990.
- Hardesty, D., *Ecological Anthropology*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1977.
- Harris, M., *Cultural Materialism: The Struggle for a Science of Culture*, Random House, New York, 1979.
- Harris, M and Orna, J., *Cultural Anthropology*, Parson Education, Boston, 2001.
- Hobsbawm, E., *On History*, Abacus, London, 1997.
- Husserl, E., *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a phenomenological philosophy*, The Hague, Boston, 1982.
- Ingold, T., *The Appropriation of Nature: Essays on human ecology and social relations*, University of Iowa press, Iowa City, 1987.
- Ingold, T., *Key Debates in Anthropology*, Routledge, New York, 1996.
- Ingold, T., *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*, Routledge, New York, 2000.
- Jackson, M., *Things as they are: New Directions in Phenomenological Anthropology*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1996.
- Johnstone, C., *Landscape Paintings of New Zealand: A Journey from North to South*, Godwit Random House, Auckland, New Zealand, 2006.
- Kay, R and Eden, T., *Portrait of a Century; The History of the N.Z. Academy of Fine Arts 1882-1982*, Millwood Press, Wellington, New Zealand, 1983.
- Keith, H, Tomory, P and Young, M., *New Zealand Art: Painting 1827-1967*, A H & A W Reed, Wellington, 1968.
- King, M., *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 2003.
- Kroeber, A., *The Nature of Culture*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1952.
- Main, T & Turner, J., *New Zealand Photography from 1840 to the present*, Photoforum Inc, Auckland, New Zealand, 1993.
- Main, W., *Wellington through a Victorian Lens*, Millwood press, Wellington, 1971.
- Main, W., *Bragge's Wellington and the Wairarapa: Images of a City and it's Provinces from the 1860s to the 1890's as Recorded by Photographer James Bragge 1833 – 1908*, Millwood press, Wellington, 1974.

- Malinowski, B., *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, E. P. Dutton & Co, New York, 1922.
- Marsh, G.P., *The Earth as Modified by Human Action*, Sampson Low, Marston Low and Searle, London, 1874.
- McGee, J and Warms, R., *Anthropological Theory: An Introductory History*, McGraw Hill, Boston, 2004.
- McGill, D., *The Pioneers of Port Nicholson*, Reed, Wellington, New Zealand, 1983.
- McIntosh, R., *The Background of Ecology: Concept and Theory*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985.
- McIntyre, R., *The Canoes of Kupe: A History of Martinborough District*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, New Zealand, 2002.
- McKinnon M (ed.), *New Zealand Historical Atlas*, D. Bateman in association with Historical Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs, Auckland, New Zealand, 1997
- McLintock, A, H (ed.), *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Government Print, Wellington, New Zealand, 1966.
- Merleau-Ponty, P., *Phenomenology of Perception*, Routledge, London, 1962.
- Messer, E and Lambek, M., *Ecology and the Sacred: Engaging the Anthropology of Roy Rappaport*, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2001.
- Millar, D., *Once Upon a Village: A History of Lower Hutt, 1819 – 1965*, NZUP, Wellington, New Zealand, 1972.
- Milton, K., *Environmentalism and Cultural Theory; Exploring the role of Anthropology in Environmental Discourse*, Routledge, London, 1996.
- Milton, K., *Ecologies: Anthropology, Culture and the Environment*, UNESCO, Blackwell Publishers, 1997.
- Mitchell, I., *Picnics in New Zealand during the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries: an Interpretive study*, thesis (MA), Massey University, 1995.
- Mulgan, A., *The City of the Strait, Wellington and its Province*, A H & A W Reed, Wellington, New Zealand, 1939.
- New Zealand Mail*., 29 Apr 1876.
- New Zealand Mail*, 05 Dec 1906.
- The New Zealand Official Year-book*, Government Print, Wellington, New Zealand, 1894.

The New Zealand Official Year-Book, Government Print, Wellington, New Zealand, 1901.

The New Zealand Official Year-Book, Government Print, Wellington, New Zealand, 1921.

Nightingale, T and Dingwall, P., *Our Picturesque Heritage: 100 Years of Scenery Preservation*, New Zealand Department of Conservation, Wellington, New Zealand 2003.

O'Brian, J and Roseberry, W (eds.), *Golden Ages, Dark Ages: Imagining the Past in Anthropology and History*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1991.

Otago University website, www.otago.ac.nz/nzpg/land_people/index.html. Viewed 20 January 2008.

Owen, S., *Society for Landscape Studies Annual Conference (2000)*, Centre for North-West Regional Studies, University of Lancaster, 2000.

Park, G., *Nga Uruora The Groves of Life*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, New Zealand, 1995.

Park, G., *Theatre Country: Essays on Landscape and Whenua*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, New Zealand, 2006.

Parker, A., The Peoples Painter, *The Dominion Post*, May 19 2007, 2007.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) / House of Representatives, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand, Vol 11, 1871.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) / House of Representatives, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand Vol 10, 1871.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) / House of Representatives, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand Vol 16, 1874.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) / House of Representatives, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand Vol 41, 1882.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) / House of Representatives, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand Vol 53, 1885.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) / House of Representatives, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand Vol 77, 1892.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) / House of Representatives, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand Vol 127, 1903.

Parliamentary Debates (Hansard) / House of Representatives, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand Vol 127, 1904.

- Peebles, H A., *Parish Church of St Luke Wadestown 1881-1957*, Wellington, 1957.
- Perlin, J., *A Forest Journey*, W W Norton, New York, 1989.
- Peterson, G., *Forest Homes: The Story of the Scandinavian Settlements in the Forty Mile Bush*, AH & A W Reed, Wellington, New Zealand, 1956.
- Poole, A L., *Forestry in New Zealand: The Shaping of Policy*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1969.
- Pound, F., *Frames on the Land: Early Landscape Painting in New Zealand*, William Collins, Auckland, New Zealand, 1983.
- Prichard, M F L., *An Economic History of New Zealand to 1939*, Collins, Auckland, New Zealand, 1970.
- Rappaport, R., *Pigs for the Ancestors: Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1968.
- Reeves, W P., *The Long White Cloud Ao Tea Roa*, Golden Press, Auckland, New Zealand, 1950.
- Roche, M., *Forest Policy in New Zealand: An Historical Geography 1840 –1919*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, New Zealand, 1987.
- Roche, M., *History of New Zealand Forestry*, GP Books, Wellington, New Zealand, 1990.
- Scadden, C., *Mount Bruce National Wildlife Centre*, National Wildlife Centre Trust, Masterton, New Zealand, 2000.
- Scenery Protection Commission., Letters April 1904 to June 1905 Ref LS70 8 Letters/correspondence, New Zealand Archives, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Shepard, P., “English Reaction to the New Zealand Landscape before 1850”, *Pacific Viewpoint Monograph No 4*, Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand, 1969.
- Simkin, C G F., *The Instability of a Dependent Economy: Economic Fluctuations in New Zealand 1840 - 1914*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1951.
- Sinclear Keith., *A History of New Zealand*, Penguin Books, Auckland, New Zealand, 1988.
- Smedley, B., *Homewood and its Families: A Story of Wellington*, Mallinson Rendal Publishers Ltd, Wellington, 1980.
- Smith, W W., *Report to Tourist Department*, NZ Archives L5 70/8, Wellington, New Zealand, 1905.

- Spiegelberg, H., *The Phenomenological Movement: a Historical Introduction*, Martinus Nihoff, The Hague, 1969.
- Star, P., *From Acclimatisation to Preservation*, Thesis (PhD-History), University of Otago, New Zealand, 1997.
- Star, P., “Native Bird Protection, National Identity and the Rise of Preservation in New Zealand to 1914”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand, 2002.
- Statistics New Zealand 1853-58., New Zealand Government, Wellington, New Zealand, 1858.
- Statistics New Zealand 1901., New Zealand Government, Wellington, New Zealand, 1901.
- Statistics New Zealand 1921., New Zealand Government, Wellington, New Zealand, 1921.
- Steward, J C & Murphy R F (eds)., *Evolution and Ecology: Essays on Social Transformation*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1977.
- Stewart, G., *Wellington: Portrait of the Region*, Grantham House, Wellington, New Zealand, 2006.
- Sutch, W B., *The Quest for Security in New Zealand: 1840 to 1966*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1966.
- Tilley, C., *A Phenomenology of Landscape Places, Paths and Monuments*, Berg, Oxford/Providence USA, 1994.
- Tourism New Zealand., *100 Years Pure Progress: 1901 – 2001*, Tourism New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand, 2001.
- Trotter C., *No Left Turn :The Distortion of New Zealand’s History by Greed, Bigotry and Right Wing Politics*, Random House, Auckland, New Zealand, 2007.
- Vayda, A P (ed)., *Environmental and Cultural Behavior: Ecological Studies in Cultural Anthropology*, The Natural History Press, New York, 1968.
- Ward, L., *Early Wellington*, Whitcombe & Tombs, Auckland, New Zealand, 1928.
- Warnock, M., *Existentialism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1970.
- Waugh – Family notes. Otari-Wilton’s Bush Archives, Wilton, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Waugh, Helen, Telephone and written correspondence, 17 March 2005.
- Waugh, Susan, Telephone conversation, March 2005.

Waugh, H., "The Wilton Story", *The Onslow Historian*, Onslow Historical Society, Wellington, New Zealand, 1991.

Wellington City Council., Historical outline: *Otari Native Botanical Garden, Otari Native Botanic Garden Management Plan 1996*, Wellington Policy Unit, Social & Cultural Commissioning, 1996.

Wellington City Council., *Otari-Wilton's Bush Management Plan 2007*, www.wellington.govt.nz/plans/policies/otari/index.html, Viewed 20 Jan 2008

Wellington City Council Archives., Council Correspondence 1924/1070, 1924.

Willis, P., *The Ethnographic Imagination*, Blackwell Publishers, Malden, 2000.

Wilson, G., *The Urge to Clear the "Bush": A study of Native Forest Clearance on Farms in the Catlins District of New Zealand, 1861-1990*, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 1992.

Wilson, J., *From the Beginning: The Archaeology of the Maori*, Penguin books, Auckland, New Zealand, 1987.

Worster, D., *Natures Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985.

Wynn, G., "Conservation and Society in the late 19th century New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol 11, 1977.

Young, D., *Our Islands, Our selves; A History of Conservation in New Zealand*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, New Zealand, 2004.

Yska, R., *Wellington, Biography of a City*, Reed, Wellington, New Zealand, 2006.