From 'Useless' Lands to World Heritage: A History of Tourism in Tongariro National Park

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'What is the motive of men in striving to reach the summits of mountains sometimes in the face of hostile opposition, from both man and nature? To some it is the desire to add to the geographic and scientific knowledge; to the vast majority, however, the dominating urge is that of adventure, and the love of nature'.

Magurk, J. Early Ruapehu Ascents. The New Zealand Railways Magazine. 1939, March 1. pp 22.

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The Relationship between Tourism and National Parks: Towards an Environmental History of Tongariro National Park

1. An Introduction

> Tongariro National Park is New Zealand's oldest national park. It is unique in that it is a product of dynamic volcanism and is entrenched in Maori and European history. Until 1800, the imprint of humans on the landscape was feeble. However, the tables have been turned through the workings of science, technology and industry - now it is the habitat that is vulnerable, not humans (Opie 1983, p 14).

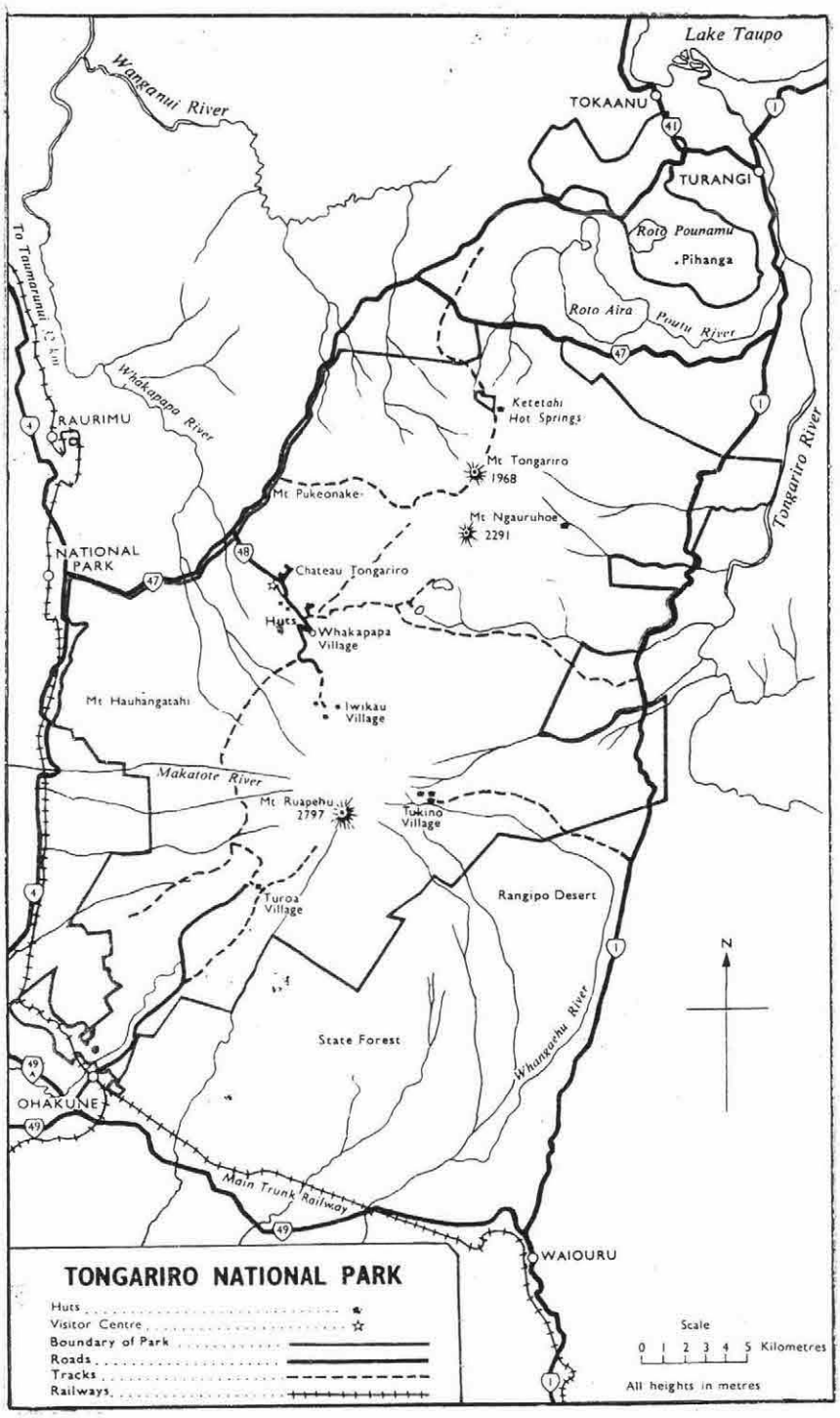
Tongariro National Park covers a total of 79,598 hectares (197,500 acres) in the centre of New Zealand's North Island (Figure 1.1, p 2). It is an extensive natural area with a wide range of features illustrating a long period of volcanism, which is still active today. Within its boundaries are three major active volcanoes - Ruapehu 2,797m (9,175 ft), Ngauruhoe 2,290m (7,504 ft) and Tongariro 1,968m (6,458 ft). These have produced a diverse range of ecological communities and an outstanding scenic landscape. In the park there is mingling of volcanic and hydrothermal, of the alpine and sylvan. There are many geological and physiographical features that can be discovered here: boiling lakes, ice-cold lakes, glaciers, snow-fields, sulphurous pits, huge cliffs and rocky pinnacles, and mountain meadows are all to be seen (Grace 1992).

In the 1800s, these mountains in the centre of the North Island were virtually unknown to the Pakeha (European). All this changed in 1887 when Te Heuheu Tukino IV and other chiefs of the Tuwharetoa tribe from the Tokaanu district, donated their sacred volcanoes Tongariro, Ngauruhoe, and Ruapehu as the nucleus of Tongariro National Park, to the New Zealand government and people. Its original size was 2,630 hectares. This was New Zealand's first national park, only the fourth in the world and the first given by indigenous people (Thom 1987).

The Volcanic Plateau of the Tongariro Region has been known to human beings for several hundreds of years. The Maori discovered, explored, respected, and lived around the mountains as long as 300 years ago. They would retreat to the slopes of the mountains to bathe in the therapeutic waters of Ketetahi Springs and to hunt for particular animals and plants that lived in the area. Therefore, as early as the 1600s, the Tongariro Region was used for relaxation and recreation.

Use of the region has continued to grow and diversify as European settlement expanded. Now a national park with World Heritage status, it accommodates one private and two commercial ski-fields. It is used by large numbers of people for skiing, tramping and hunting and is the most visited national park in New Zealand with an estimated 850,000 visitors in a normal year of operation - mostly skiers (Department of Conservation 1994).

Figure 1.1: Tongariro National Park Map.



Source: Department of Lands and Survey, 1982.

Half way between Auckland and Wellington, the park is easily reached from both cities. Ruapehu has the only commercial ski-fields in the North Island and this makes the mountain a popular place to visit. In the early pre-auto times visitors would spend several days in or near the park. However, after World War II, as a result of changes in transport technology and life style, the park became a day use area with increasing numbers of visitors began to spend only part of their day in the park, climbing, tramping, and skiing.

As both the numbers of visitors and the range of their activities have grown particularly with the promotion of New Zealand's 'clean and green' image to international tourists, so pressures on the national park, as with all of New Zealand's parks and reserves, have continued to intensify (e.g., Higham 1997; Kearsley, Hall and Jenkins 1997). With increased use, demand continues for greater development involving improved facilities, on-mountain accommodation, better access roads and larger ski-fields. However, some of these demands may conflict with protecting the park's natural resources and values and also interfere with the experiences and levels of satisfaction of other park visitors. Indeed, the park is now one part of an integrated set of recreational and development opportunities available in the central North Island region. Nevertheless, it is not the intention of management, nor is it required by law, to make provision within the park for the full range of activities in the recreational opportunity spectrum (Department of Conservation 1990). Nowadays, the park is not only a sightseeing centre and major tourist attraction, but also the main resource for many recreational operators in the surrounding towns (Kaspar 1992).

As well as being a major recreation resource, the park also serves other purposes. Particularly in its role as a huge water catchment area and the hub of the Tongariro hydroelectric power scheme. This project takes the water, from the Tongariro area, through a maze of tunnels and along canals, using its driving power on the way to Lake Taupo. Nevertheless, it is for its tourism and recreation functions that the area is best known. Total visitor growth is expected to increase at a steady rate with most being generated by the domestic tourist market. Tourist demands in the park are likely to focus on: short stays local features (Whakapapa Village); ski-field development (Whakapapa and Turoa ski-fields); and shorter overnight tramping trips, especially to the Tama Lakes - Ketetahi - Mangatepopo areas (Department of Conservation 1990, p 20). As a result of this, and in conjunction with international recognition and World Heritage status, there is real concern that tourism and recreation use could exceed the ability of some sections of the park to cope with demand (e.g. Swaine 1992). Yet, as this thesis will note, such concerns over how the park should be managed and what is appropriate use for the natural area are not new. Indeed, although the national park is now held up internationally for its significance as a natural and cultural heritage site (e.g. Thom 1987), it is ironic that when the park was being established it was only on the basis that it was worthless landscape that Parliament decided to approve the park's creation (Hall and Shultis 1991)

1.1 Park Management Philosophy

Tongariro National Park, as with many national parks around the world, is rapidly becoming an island of ecological history within areas of development and settlement. They can represent the way the world once was. They are cultural icons, which tie people to the land from which they grew.

The current management philosophy adopted for Tongariro focuses upon the need to protect those natural values and resources, which have given the park its national and international significance. The Tongariro National Park philosophy is to protect the environment and landscape and yet still promote usage of the park - at times achieving both aims seems impossible (Harraway 1987). Finding a balance between fully preserving an area in its natural state and altering it by allowing visitors is a challenge. In some countries there are national parks that do not allow visitors at all; areas of land are set aside and protected to maintain a completely undisturbed natural environment. This is an extreme management policy and most parks, like Tongariro, strive for a policy that protects the land, plants and animals, while allowing people to visit, enjoy, learn and recreate.

It is the responsibility of the park's responsible authority - the Department of Conservation (DOC) - to see that these preservation values are balanced with the activities that bring hundreds of thousands of visitors annually to the park. The Department does not see conservation and recreation in conflict in Tongariro National Park. Despite the fact that the Department was established for conservation purposes, it does agree that recreation and tourism are important components of Tongariro National Park (Green 1993 - interview). Under Section 6 of the *Conservation Act*, it is stated that one of the functions of the Department is to provide recreation. Therefore, recreation fits within the *Conservation Act* framework. However, if there was a conflict over recreation/conservation issues, the mandate for the Department of Conservation states that conservation shall take precedence (Bignell, A. 1993 - interview).

The Department of Conservation's guiding criteria for management decisions are the *Resource Management Act 1991*, the *National Parks Act 1980*, the *Conservation Act 1987* and statutory guidelines - National Parks and Reserves Authority General Policy: Tongariro National Park Management Plan; Tongariro Park By-laws (Department of Conservation 1990, p 19). The Tongariro National Park Management Plan is a document that stipulates guidelines for the management of the estate. The Tongariro/Taupo Conservation Board reviews this approximately every ten years. The Conservation Board discusses issues of park management decisions such as whether a ski-field boundary may be extended, or whether aircraft should be allowed to land in the park. Decisions are made by the Board, which includes Maori representatives. However, draft management documents are made available for public comment and anyone can send a submission to the board.

One important issue with which the Board has to deal is visitation. Many conflicts related to tourism and parks result from excessive numbers of visitors seeking to undertake unacceptable or inappropriate recreation activities, thereby impacting upon the park environment or the recreation experience of others beyond acceptable limits

(Department of Conservation 1990, p 104). However, with the increasing popularity of outdoor recreation and such easy accessibility, many areas in the park are now suffering from over-use (e.g., see Swaine 1992). The current Tongariro National Park Management Plan encourages activities that draw people to under-used areas of the park and it's surrounding areas. It is important that visitors to the park realise that the environment is extremely fragile. Carelessness can spoil hundreds of years of natural creation and seriously affect future enjoyment of the park.

On tracks such as the Tongariro Crossing, there are now problems with erosion and huts are often overcrowded. People are not always stringent with their personal hygiene and waste and streams could become polluted with Giardia now present in the park.

One of the most important aspects of managing the park is to inform and teach park visitors to respect and care for the environment for the benefit of other generations. In cities, there are certain rules, which help prevent accidents. There are rules in nature too, rules such as keeping human waste well away from rivers and streams so that the water remains pure and not picking flowers or killing wildlife enabling them to live out their lives and produce another generation. It is important for visitors to think about what they are doing and how their actions may affect others. This is particularly important in reserves and national parks as there are so few areas left which are anything like they were before humans arrived.

In an attempt to accommodate the dual purposes of Tongariro National Park, the land is divided into areas depending on its use and accessibility. Each area has different management guidelines. There are areas set aside which have no facilities at all - no tracks, routes or huts. These are called wilderness areas, which can be accessed, but not used. Such areas are to be kept in as natural a state as possible. Special places, such as the tops of the mountains, are recognised for their uniqueness and are designated as pristine areas. Amenity areas are those which have the greatest impact on the land - places such as Whakapapa Village, Iwikau Village and the ski-fields. These areas have buildings, roads, power-poles and ski-tows, which attract very high visitor numbers. Other facilities are minimal and may include only an emergency shelter or a poled route for safety.

Huts and tracks serve a number of purposes. Tracks carry the flow of walkers to prevent large areas from being trampled, killing vegetation and exposing fragile soil to erosion. Huts provide a place to stay, preventing large areas of land from being damaged by camping. They also have toilets to help deal with the problem of human waste. Many of these toilets now exist so that waste is removed (usually by helicopter). Tracks and huts contribute to visitor safety by providing routes and shelter in unfamiliar areas.

The Department of Conservation's responsibilities also involves managing exotic plants (like pinus contorta and heather) and animals (such as possums, goats, pigs and deer), while still providing and maintaining huts, tracks, visitors centres and services. The priority - and the challenge - for park managers, however, is to achieve all this while preserving the park's natural features. This management task did not come into being overnight. Instead, it is the result of the development of administrative and institutional

arrangements over the previous years of human occupation. However, despite the significance of such environmental histories for understanding present-day visitor management problems (e.g., see Gilbert 1991; Mackintosh 1991; Mark 1997), relatively little research has been conducted on such histories in New Zealand.

In comparison with the American and Australian experiences, relatively little has been written about the history of New Zealand parks. Researchers in New Zealand, in the last 25 years, have tackled many human use issues, notably those looking at the visitation and recreation aspects of national parks (see Higham 1996 for a recent account of this research). In the case of Tongariro, the parks' potential for tourism, impacts from tourism, motivations and usage have been popular issues researched. A few of these works have also given a historical account of visitation and touristic development.

Devlin (1976) and Gerritsen (1984) both analysed summer time visitors to Tongariro National Park. Gerritsen (1984) assessed the impacts of the Summer Nature Programme, which aims to create public awareness about the care, protection and preservation of natural areas in the park. His results suggest that the programme does promote participants' awareness of natural areas. There has also been an increase in works published about the conservation/recreation issues in national parks. Popular issues researched were conflicts of interests, recreation usage of national parks (Booth 1986; Cardno 1975), impacts of recreational activities within specific parks (Clayton 1990; Swaine 1992), and perceptions of visitors (Cessford 1997; Higham 1996; Ward 1993). Devlin (1993) trace the evolution of the discipline to the backcountry boom of the 1960s. However, few give historical accounts of conservation/recreation issues for Tongariro National Park.

Lythgoe (1985) compiled a recreational history of the south-western slopes of Ruapehu. His work offers a direct commentary about the recreational events on the south-western side of Mount Ruapehu, known as Turoa and Ohakune. However, the scope of his study did not include other areas of Tongariro National Park. James Cowan published the latest known, complete history of Tongariro National Park, in 1927. His book gave an informative account of the area's history, as well as a thorough description of the Maori's sacred mountains. It gives a full description of the history, Maori associations, topography, geology, alpine and volcanic features of this public park. He describes the development of the park as a national playground (Cowan 1927; Evening Post 1927). This was one of the last complete works on the history of Tongariro National Park. No one has examined the history of the Tongariro National Park from a conservation and recreation perspective. Therefore, the aim of this study is to investigate the environmental history of Tongariro National Park with particular reference to the relationship between tourist/recreational use and conservation/preservation demands. As this thesis will discuss, the tourism/conservation relationship has not always been one of harmony. From the initial establishment of national parks, there have been arguments concerning public exploitation of them. The foundation of this debate has been the conflict between preservation and use. The ideal of national parks is that an area is set aside to provide places in which nature can be preserved without interference from humans. However, as stated in the New Zealand *National Parks Act 1980* (NZ Statutes 1980), national parks are also 'for the benefit, use and enjoyment of the public'. Therefore, national parks are also reserved for certain kinds of recreational

activity. To permit people to use the parks may jeopardise the natural qualities upon which they are founded, but to exclude people is to risk losing support for the national park concept.

With New Zealand's current natural, clean, green image trend and the increase in visitation to New Zealand's natural reserves, the issue of the relationship between the resource and its use is becoming increasingly controversial. Among all of the debates affecting national parks, the most enduring is where to draw the line between preservation and use.

1.2 Objectives

The primary purpose of this study is to examine the history of tourism and recreation in Tongariro National Park in relation to the overall management of the park as a conservation resource. This is undertaken primarily from an environmental history perspective, which is an increasingly utilised approach to the study of the relationship between tourism and national park development (Mark 1997). In covering this region's history the conflicting issues of conservation verses recreation, which have continued to recur, are also examined.

The main objective of the study is to undertake an historical analysis of the contribution that tourism and recreation have made to the development of Tongariro National Park. It is argued that this objective may serve to illustrate the evolution of the broader tensions between visitation and conservation over the last century. Such an exercise has not been undertaken in detail to date and this thesis proposes to redress this situation.

The study also investigates the extent of conflict and relationship between national park usage and its natural resource preservation prior to the parks' establishment. Such an examination may shed further light on way the park was established and, hence, cast light on the evolution of present-day management problems in this park and, perhaps, given the significant role of Tongariro in the overall evolution of the national park concept in New Zealand, in the national park system overall. Yet again, this is an issue, which has received very little attention in New Zealand national park and environmental history.

At every stage of the park's history, from the earliest exploration to the most recent, tourism, scenery and adventure compelled people to record their observations and experiences. Many writers merely described the mountain panorama; far fewer recorded events of wider historical significance. Only a handful of writers (e.g., Harris 1974; Hall 1988c; Shultis 1991; Thom 1987) have ever attempted to chronicle the march of humankind and the conservation movement into the Volcanic Plateau and place the events of the past into perspective in relation to its environmental history. It is to this task that this study will now turn. However, prior to discussing the development of the national park and tourism relationship in New Zealand and North America this chapter will briefly discuss the significance of national park histories and the methodological approach utilised in this study.

1.3 Writing Environmental and National Park Histories

As noted above, this thesis is a study of the relationship between recreation and conservation in Tongariro National Park. To date few studies concerning selected aspects of Tongariro National Park and the region's history have been undertaken. The majority of research about the region has focused on utilitarian aspects, land use and recreation. Areas dealt with include the Waimarino, the advent of the North Island Main Trunk Railway, the logging and timber industry (Cooper 1982), the subsequent conversion of the forest farmlands and market gardens (George 1990; Hawke 1991), as well as several studies on the ski industry (Booth 1986; Buckland 1982; Mark 1986), the types of visitors in the area (Devlin 1976; Gerritson 1984) and impacts caused (Grose 1983; Swaine 1992; Ward 1993). Little has been written on the historical development of recreation and conservation issues related to the park as a whole. The only substantial exception being the 1974 thesis by Harris on the development of the national park concept in New Zealand. However, although this thesis provided some useful insights into the park's history it did not adequately place the New Zealand experience in the wider context of environmental, park and wilderness history (e.g., Nash 1963, 1967, 1970; Runte 1972a, 1972b, 1973, 1974a, 1974b). Neither did it give sufficient attention to issues of the tension between tourism and conservation, and Maori concerns in relation to park management. However, in this it is perhaps a product of its own time and reflects the concerns of the early 1970s rather than the issues of the late 1990s.

The history of national parks or of New Zealand's wilderness heritage has not been the subject of historical narrative in New Zealand until recently. Of the books (e.g. Thom 1987), theses (Hall 1988c; Harris 1974; Higham 1996; Kliskey 1992; Shultis 1991), and articles which have been written (e.g., Higham 1997; Kearsley 1990, 1997; Kearsley, Hall and Jenkins 1997), none attempt to retain as their primary focus either the history of recreation and conservation in Tongariro National Park, or its wider significance in terms of its environmental history.

As environmental concerns have grown in recent years, more scholars have turned their attention to the national parks. Most have focused on visitors to the park, their demographics, or a specific conservation issue. In spite of an increase in studies, few have attempted to place parks in a broad historical context from a conservation and recreation perspective, or to view them as one whole rather than isolated entities (Mark 1997). Nevertheless, the writing of environmental and park histories can have a positive contribution to park management as well as also providing a contribution to a better understanding of a significant issue in contemporary society. For example, Mark (1997) notes that the conduct of such histories can be extremely valuable for

a) the reconstruction of past environments;
b) understanding and interpreting the cultural landscape;
c) developing a knowledge of previous decisions with respect to park management and land use; and
d) the history of a park's administration.

A number of useful histories have been written of American national parks in general (e.g. Runte 1977, 1979, 1991) and of specific national parks, including Olympic (Twight 1983), Rocky Mountain (Buchholtz 1983), Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks (Dilsaver and Tweed 1990), Yellowstone (Haines 1977), and Yosemite (Runte 1990). In Canada a general history of the national parks is also available (Bella 1986), while a specific history of the Ontario National Park system has been written by Killan (1993). The most comprehensive history of parks in Australia has been written by Hall (1992), with an account of the wilderness history of Eastern New South Wales written by Prineas and Gold (1983). No New Zealand equivalent exists of any of these works, with perhaps the nearest publication being the 'coffee-table' book of Thom (1987) to mark the centennial of national parks in New Zealand. It is therefore within this relative vacuum of New Zealand park and environmental history that this thesis is undertaken.

1.4 Methodology

'...the past is essential not only to understand the present but even more important to evaluate the potential outcomes of modern trends.'
Karl Butzer (cited in Lewis 1993, p 56)

Parks continue to be a major focus of heritage management but have had a relatively quiet past in historical narrative. Environmental history can however, place them within a larger context of interaction between nature and culture (Griffith cited in Mark 1996). Environmental history is a field concerned with the role and place of nature in human life, encompassing a wide range of disciplines, such as history, geography, ecology and economics.

In investigating the environmental history of Tongariro National Park it has been attempted to provide a comprehensive ordered account from a chaotic chronological past (Mark 1996). To achieve this a variety of sources have been utilised, providing a useful chronicle of political, public and economic values and perceptions of tourism and recreation in national parks.

The main sources for this thesis were archival records, and published and unpublished governmental and industry reports. Information was obtained through a thorough examination of written records in Parliamentary Debates, Bills, Statutes, agency and departmental reports, media reports, interest group publications, academic publications and the reports of organisations involved in recreation or preservation in national parks.

These sources were complemented by an intensive literature search, including a variety of case studies to suggest fundamental relationships and generalisations (Mitchell cited in Hall 1988c). To widen the scope of historical narrative and complete documentation, less traditional sources, such as oral histories, maps and photographs have been analysed. Oral histories are important in providing a perspective not readily apparent in administratively generated records (Mark 1996). This approach to the environmental history of Tongariro National Park has resulted in the coverage of a wide field of

information. However, some information was not available for analysis as either the material was regarded as confidential and could not be made available for the purposes of this research or interviewees did not wish to be have their perceptions and comments available on the public record.

Limitations of the study

Travel accounts have been utilised, were possible, to establish a baseline from which to assess subsequent changes (Mark 1996). However, many of these accounts may not necessarily be idiosyncratic with their experiences, due to the nature of writing the account after the experience has taken place. Another difficulty encountered was that travel accounts are few, as many early travellers (especially in the 1800s) did not keep a record of their journeys. As the numbers of travellers to the area increased (particularly in the 1890s), fewer visits were recorded in relation to the numbers travelling – the number of accounts recorded has not been representative of the number of travellers.

Traditionally, Maori legends and history have been passed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. Due to the nature of these oral histories accounts vary. There are differing versions and no presentation of it is likely to entirely escape criticism. As many sources as possible have been obtained and examined, to endeavour to present a true and balanced history.

Perhaps due to misinterpretation, in the past there has been much confusion over the names of the volcanoes. Tongariro has been applied by some, as a generic name, to the whole range of volcanoes (Wakefield cited in Duncan 1918, p 69). Others used the name to describe Tongariro and Ngauruhoe, as one mountain (Bidwell 1974; Colenso 1884; Dieffenbach 1843, p 345; Kerry-Nicholls 1974, pp 179-198; Dyson cited in Thomson 1853). For this dissertation Ruapehu, Ngauruhoe and Tongariro are used to refer to each individual volcanic mountain. Tongariro is used to refer to the mountain. The Tongariro volcanoes or Tongariro Trio are used as collective names for Ruapehu, Ngauruhoe and Tongariro.

It has been recognised that the reliability of historical sources varies, as there can be limitations associated with insufficient description, bias in recording data and so on. The choice of resource subjects has, therefore, been selective, determined by the importance, accessibility and availability of original source materials. At all times the attempt has been made to separate fact from speculation.

1.5 Thesis Outline.

The primary purpose of this study is to examine the history of tourism and recreation in Tongariro National Park in relation to the overall management of the park. This is undertaken primarily from an environmental history perspective, which is an increasingly utilised approach to the study of the relationship between tourism and national park development. The dynamic nature of both the tourism and national park concept is discussed, reflecting the changes in the volume and types of tourism in the past century, and evolution of policies and role of national park since their establishment

at the end if the 1800s. The role of tourism in the establishment of national parks is also investigated, as well as the relationship between national park and people, both indigenous and visitors, the environment issues arising from the use of national park for tourism, and the place of tourism and national park in the broad debates on conservation and sustainable development.

This thesis is organised into nine chapters. The present chapter serves as an introduction to the scope and aims of the study. Chapter Two and Three review literature concerned with the development of tourism and the preservation ideal in North American and New Zealand national parks. These chapters are structured to provide a rationale and framework for the case study on Tongariro National Park. Literature that has evolved within the field of recreation and preservation within national parks is discussed, in both an international and national context. The significance role tourism has played in creation of the first national parks and in their development as public recreation places is noted.

Accordingly, chapter Two looks at North America's national parks system, as the national park concept originated in North America and tourism was a major factor in the decisions to establishment national park by the American government. Chapter Three then looks at the New Zealand situation, tracing its growth and difficulties experienced, with similarities to the North American and Australian situations being outlined.

Chapters Four to Eight are a case study of the history of Tongariro National Park, particularly emphasising development of touristic activities and conservation issues related to the park. The history of the area is traced from pre-European times through to present day. Changes over the last century are outlined to indicate the development in the relationship between tourism and conservation. Thus, the 'problem' to be investigated is elaborated and discussed in terms of the need to understand the relationship between the tourist and their environment.

Chapter Nine provides an overview of the main findings of each chapter. Recommendations are then made in relation to requirements for further research of national parks, to better understand the relationship between tourism and recreation. Other conclusions are also made.

2. The Historical Relationship between Tourism and National Parks: The American Experience.

The social, economic and environmental impacts of recreational development in national parks have been subject to research on a variety of levels in Australia, Europe and North America (Kaspar 1992, p 1). From an international perspective, the New Zealand national parks system has been heavily influenced by the park management practices of North America, which has a predominantly recreational perception of wilderness (Hall and Shultis 1991). From the earliest actions taken to protect nature through to present-day national park policies, North America has had a major influence on preservation in New Zealand (Hall 1988c; Shultis1991), while American writers have dominated the environmental and parks history literature (Mark 1997). Therefore, this chapter will provide an overview of the history of national parks in the United States in order to identify some of the major issues that emerge within the American experience of the role of tourism in national parks. In addition, brief comment will also be made of the Australian experience for comparative purposes. This can therefore be used to provide a basis of comparison with the history of Tongariro National Park and the wider New Zealand experience.

2.1 Early European Settlement

The Wilderness Regions of America appear to have undergone long periods of transformation. Prior to the 1600s, these regions were feeding grounds for the Native American Indians. The land possessed deep religious and symbolic significance for them. The regions then became hunting grounds for the increasing numbers of white men. The first European explorers were trappers and traders. They, like the Native American Indians, were attracted to wilderness areas by the animals for their skins and food, to earn their livelihood (Sutton and Sutton 1972).

Despite the popular American perception of national parks as wilderness areas (Runte 1989), many of the present-day American national parks have an early history of mining, milling, agriculture and grazing prior to the area gaining national park status (Buchholtz 1983; Hughes 1978; Nash 1968; Runte 1990). During the mid-1800s, the search for gold in the United States was well under way. Many of the untouched wilderness regions became popular areas for prospectors and miners. With them came land speculators, town builders, merchants, homesteaders and pleasure-seekers. The local Indians' way of life did not mix with the ways of the newcomers, with violent clashes occurring between the Native Indian and the White man. Finally, the Indians were forced out of their homelands and into reservations on lands that the European settlers did not want (Buchholtz 1983; Hughes 1978; Nash 1968; Runte 1990; Sutton and Sutton 1972).

Within a couple of decades, the small communities that had been established reported news of the natural wonders in the wilderness to the rest of the world. By this time many of the prospectors had wandered away and enduring ranchers had started 'resorts'. Many settlers were actually forced into the tourism business as more and more visitors arrived in the area being only too glad to pay for accommodation during their

stay. It was these mountain-loving tourists rather than miners and prospectors who established recreation as the principal use of America's wilderness regions (Buchholtz 1983).

2.2 Motivations Behind Preservation

Prior to the arrival of Romanticism in the 'New World' during the Eighteenth Century, the wilderness was thought of as needing to be dominated and controlled if it was to become pleasant and acceptable to the people (Nash 1968). The Industrialisation of society during this time caused nostalgia for the pre-industrialised rural landscape. As the physical and mental impact of this industrialised lifestyle took its' toll on society the perceived health benefits of natural areas in which to recreate were recognised. The need to slough off the tensions and cares of civilisation brought about the idea that a failure to provide areas where people could find the glories of nature could result in serious mental disorders. Wilderness areas became a source of inspiration as an aesthetic and therapeutic appreciation of wild country developed. This served to make the protection of wilderness compatible with progress and economic welfare (Hall 1988c; Nash 1968; Shultis 1991).

Wilderness areas also played a role in the search for an independent cultural identity. Unlike the Old World, America lacked an established cultural past, particularly as expressed in art, architecture and literature (Runte 1979). America's short history, weak traditions and minor literary and artistic achievements seemed negligible compared to those of Europe - the nation suffered the embarrassment of a scarcity of recognised cultural achievements. In at least one respect Americans sensed that their country was different: their wilderness had no counterpart in the Old World. Seizing on this distinction, many Americans embraced the wilderness as a replacement for man-made marks of achievement, arguing that the wilderness was actually an American asset.(Runte 1979; see also Sutton and Sutton 1972).

This laid the groundwork for an appreciation of the value of wild land (Hall 1992). By the mid-1850s, the tide of American expansion had reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean. The acquisition of these lands for preservation assured the United States dominion over some of the most varied scenery on the continent (Runte 1979). Exploration of this region indicated the natural uniqueness of this landscape in comparison with Europe and created a basis for the nation's cultural advancement through nature. The early days of national park preservation in other new world nations closely paralleled the North American situation. Creation of the first national parks, emphasised scenic values, preservation of nature's monuments, restoration of mental and physical health, and virtues of the 'bush' as opposed to the 'city'. The preservation of flora and fauna for their scientific ecological values was only a minor force (Hall 1988a).

It was no accident that the national park innovation first happened in new world nations which lacked cultural edifices to enshrine as national monuments, but still had extensive tracts of unspoilt wilds (Jefferies, B. cited in Potton 1987, p 9). The incentive for the national park idea lay in the persistence of a painfully felt desire for the time-honoured

traditions of the Old World. Protection of the environment for the sake of the native ecology was perhaps the least of park advocate's aims (Runte 1979).

There was further incentive for land preservation when Yosemite Valley and the Sierra Redwoods seemed destined to fall victim to whims of private enterprise (Runte 1979). To ignore the threatened seizure of natural wonders by private interest would be equivalent to admitting that the United States had no pride in its culture. It was this anxiety and the dedicated politicking of a handful of preservationists - like John Muir and Frederick Law Olmsted - that led to the realisation of the national park idea, with the creation of Yosemite State Park in 1864.

In March 1872, the national park idea, shaped beneath the monumental grandeur of Yosemite Valley and the Sierra Redwoods, was realised in name and fact with the establishment of Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming. In marked contrast to the Yosemite grant, Yellowstone Park was huge (Nash 1968; Runte 1979). This spaciousness resulted again from concern for the safety of its attributes. Like Yosemite, Yellowstone's initial advocates were not concerned with wilderness. They simply acted to prevent private acquisition and exploitation of the region's natural wonders (Nash 1968). Monumentalism again prevailed over preservation.

Scarcity has long been a motivation to preserve resources (Hall 1988c). Beginning in colonial times, the economy of the United States was dependent on the abundance of wood. People of the United States not only depended on it for commerce and industry, but also took intellectual and cultural refuge in the promise of an unspoiled continent (Runte 1991). By the Nineteenth Century, many of the natural resources of the Old World had diminished. Unfortunately, at this time the wilderness in colonial countries was also decreasing quickly. It came to be realised that even the most bountiful nations can fall victim to the excesses of exploitation.

The rapid depletion of forests and other natural resources following the movement of the frontier, made people realise that a superabundance of natural resources was a myth. Land formerly considered limitless, gradually became more precious. Forests, minerals, grazing land and water could no longer be considered abundant. This growing fear of scarcity, as well as an increased appreciation of natural beauty, gave Americans an incentive to consider the need for greater restraints on wasteful exploitation. What to do beyond regretting was a problem (Buchholtz 1983; Nash 1968; Runte 1991). However, a few people reacted to the loss of natural resources and forest resources in particular and began to express concern for the future of the land with a call for protection of natural landscapes across the country.

In 1859 Thoreau protested, 'let us keep the New World new, preserve all advantages of living in it' (cited in Nash 1968, pp 102-103). It was from these clarion calls that the conservation movement sprang. Therefore, partly as a response to fear (regarding poor national health, particularly at time of war, and concern at losing the nation's natural monuments) and partly as a reflection of greater wilderness appreciation, the first inklings of conservation had taken hold in the American mind (Runte 1979).

2.3 Park Establishment.

The world's first national park, Yellowstone, is purported to be the result of a campfire discussion in 1870. According to the Yellowstone myth, during this discussion a group of outdoor enthusiasts changed their ideas of profiting commercially from the scenic wonders of the area, to preserving them in perpetuity for all future generations to enjoy (Runte 1977). Traditionally considered the birthplace of the national park idea, Yellowstone was in fact the beneficiary of the *Yosemite Park Act*. The protection of extraordinary scenery had begun in 1864, with the establishment of Yosemite Valley Park. By way of precedent, the *Yosemite Park Act* had already been publicised, established, challenged and upheld (Runte 1990, 1991).

The establishment of Yellowstone National Park marked the beginning of the national park movement. The *Yellowstone Act 1872* withdrew some two million acres of public land from settlement, occupancy or sale and dedicated it 'as a public park... for the benefit and enjoyment of the people. The law provided for preservation of all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities and wonders in the park in their natural condition' (Nash 1968). However, the initial motivation was not concern for the wilderness, but preventing the exploitation of natural resources and the private acquisition of these grand monuments.

Establishment of the first national parks reflected changing attitudes towards nature and marked a weakening of traditional American assumptions about uninhabited land. However, the wilderness preservation that occurred was virtually accidental as opposed to the result of a national movement. It was not until a later date that it was realised that a significant result of the establishment of the first national and state park was wilderness preservation (Nash 1968). Gradually people realised that Yellowstone National Park was not just a collection of natural curiosities, but a wilderness reserve. However, there was some opposition to the national park idea, and nature continued to suffer at the hands of man. There were no precedents for Yosemite or Yellowstone so the objectives behind the parks were not known, and potential problems were not foreseen (Sutton and Sutton 1972).

2.4 Wastelands.

The Yosemite and Yellowstone areas had spectacular scenery. However, they were of little value for lumbering, mining, grazing or agriculture - the majority of the areas were in a sense wastelands that had very little recognised economic value. From Yellowstone and Yosemite there evolved an unwritten policy that only worthless lands might be set aside as national parks. Commercial lands were to be excluded from parks or opened up later to exploitation regardless of their location (Runte 1979). Hence, the majority of national parks declared during the early period were established not so much for what they were, but rather for what they were not. The potential economic value of the parks (excluding tourism) had to be minimal to ensure acceptance of proposed park sites. The idea of locking up potentially valuable resources was unacceptable. A surplus of rugged, marginal land enabled America to 'afford' scenic protection (Hall 1992; Runte 1990).

An increasing number of wilderness areas were being protected at the beginning of the Twentieth Century. However, their protection was still based on proof of commercial worthlessness. It was difficult to make their preservation permanent. In the early 1900s, the *Crater Lake Park Bill* was created. The Bill prohibited exploration for minerals but was later amended to allow mining. This decision neutralised wording that the national park was to be 'forever' (Runte 1979). Throughout the history of the national park idea, the concept of useless scenery has virtually determined which landmarks the nation would protect with park boundaries conforming to economic rather than ecological dictates (Runte 1979).

National parks were therefore created for reasons of tourism and the appreciation of scenic beauty. However, they also had to lack intrinsically valuable resources. The land was regarded as worthless with no value for agriculture, although timber cutting and grazing continued. Emphasis was placed upon scenic value, the preservation of nature's monuments and the restoration of physical well being. Preservation of wilderness as wilderness played only a minor role in the creation of the first national parks (Hall 1988c, 1992).

Even as the national park idea matures, awareness about a growing need for wilderness, wildlife and biological conservation has not changed the primary criterion of preservation - worthlessness. The ecology, flora and fauna, scenic preservation and recreation of the reserves are still considered insufficient reasons to preserve the land. It appears that national parks must begin worthless and remain worthless to survive (Hall 1992, 1993; Runte 1979).

2.5 The Visitor

Many of the first prospectors and miners reported spectacular scenery and natural phenomena. These reports created a nation wide interest. Many miners constantly received visitors and it was not long before they saw them as a valuable source of income. They discovered their trails and land had value for tourism, which equalled or exceeded its mineral value. Originally, these first tourists entered the first national parks by foot or on horseback and camped in the meadows. Many of the miners acted as their guides and then began to provide accommodation (Hughes 1978; Runte 1979).

As parks' popularity increased the days of the hardy tourist were numbered. During the late 1880s, many prospectors began to argue successfully that visitor's comforts and conveniences were 'needs'. Major compromises originated from the fact that many members of Park Commissions believed that not all development was necessarily intrusive and inappropriate (Runte 1990). Decisions were based on the values of that era.

The first century of national parks saw countless attempts made to improve upon nature for visitors. The principal victims of such improvements were the plants, animals and wilderness (Sutton and Sutton 1972). The first publicists in the late 1800s, like many others, did not embrace the parks' wilderness, they thought the region needed to be refined and improved upon for the comfort of the many to come. Nathaniel Langford's

visions for Yellowstone, found in his diary, supported this 'improvement through development' idea. He stated that not many years would elapse 'before the march of civil improvements will reclaim this delightful solitude', embellishing it with 'attractions of cultivated taste and refinement' (Runte 1979).

Throughout the early Twentieth Century, many national park entrepreneurs devised schemes to attract and entertain ever-increasing crowds so they themselves could profit by improving on the nature experience. Two of these schemes were the fire-fall in Yosemite and the tunnelling of trees in the Sierra Redwoods. These 'sideshows' attracted a lot of publicity in magazines and newspapers and in turn stimulated more interest in the parks. Unfortunately, these artificial amusements had nothing to do with the beauty and wonder of the parks. As more visitors flooded the parks, the demands for all kinds of 'improvements' arose. More accommodation, comforts and entertainment were demanded, the wilderness was increasingly threatened (Runte 1979). Societies needs and attitudes of that time prevailed.

Tourism, as a stimulus for development, was the inevitable result of the popularity of many national parks. It was realised that although development must be controlled, it must still be allowed. Under early administration, the use, rather than the resource, moved ever closer to dominating the parks and their future. National parks, as public land, had to accommodate the public by adding those facilities that appeased popular social tastes (Runte 1990).

The survival of the parks seemed to depend on the encouragement of much greater visitation. To save the national park system, some development was allowed, and the preservationists of the early 1900s, clearly preferred hotels, roads and trails to dams, reservoirs and power lines. Tourism provided national parks with a solid economic justification for their existence (Runte 1979). This economic significance of tourism provided a valuable weapon for preservationists in the creation of new parks and reserves. However, materialistic considerations, the tourist dollar, was still the dominant factor in the establishment of national parks (Hall 1992; Nash 1969; Runte 1979). Nevertheless, it should also be acknowledged that tourism equipped national parks with a defence mechanism against other forms of economic exploitation, such as agriculture and mining, and continues to do so.

With the development of accommodation, roads and trails came, a very important infrastructure development, the railway. The interrelationship between railways and national parks demonstrated that the protection of flora and fauna was a secondary consequence to the government providing recreational and tourism opportunities for the general population. Railway lines enabled parks to be within quick and easy reach of the city dwellers. The role of the railways was to ensure the continued prosperity of the parks as major recreation and tourism destinations (Runte 1979; Hall 1988a).

Between the 1930s and 1950s, the national parks of America became popular refuges for American domestic tourists seeking recreation and relaxation. During this time national parks reflected the pulse of the nation (Buchholtz 1983; Hughes 1978). By the late 1960s, a recreation revolution in outdoor sports such as hiking and backpacking

had developed. The combination of this revolution and the 'environmental movement' propelled nature-lovers into national parks (Buchholtz 1983). The 1970s saw a greater interest in nature talks and trips and increasing numbers of visitors seeking out more remote places for hiking, backpacking and camping. Due to these increasing demands, resources were again stretched and the visitor experience deteriorated (Hughes 1978). Often, too late, people realised that experiencing the wilderness was not saving it and that use exacted a price. Conflict between recreation and preservation, would always be part of national park history.

2.6 Utilitarianism

Many parks in North America, prior to gaining national park status, were forest reserves or national forests. These national forests were administered for different types of continuing land use and development. Administration allowed such activities as hunting, grazing, mining and timber cutting, in conjunction with the protection and regeneration of the forest (Buchholtz 1983; Hall 1988a, 1992, 1993; Hughes 1978; Nash 1968; Runte 1990). Unfortunately, the concept of using the reserves' resources carried over into national parks. Many people felt that if economic gain could result from resource exploitation, preservation of all of these natural resources should be overlooked for the benefit of the country's economy.

From the day of their conception to late in the Twentieth Century, there are many accounts of exploitation of parks' natural resources. For example, water projects threatened the ideals of wilderness and preservation early in the history of European settlement in North America. From the 1860s, the resources of the Rocky Mountains were being developed to provide the farming regions with water. The simple irrigation canals of the 1860s soon gave way to major diversion projects and water tunnels by the early 1900s. It seemed evident that the preservation ideals were to be constantly undermined by economic gain (Buchholtz 1983).

In February 1901, Congress passed the *Right-of-way Act*, allowing utility corridors across all public lands, including national parks, to every known form of utility transmission. Aqueducts, tunnels, power lines and utility poles could invade each park. The effect of the Act was potentially disastrous for the parks. If utility issues conflicted with the parks' protection, utility would inevitably win (Runte 1990).

If preservationists once hoped that Congress did not intend to open up national parks to development, the return of Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park to the public domain was evidence to the contrary. As early as 1882, the city of San Francisco looked to the Valley as the ideal site for a reservoir. Approval of this development set the stage for the most controversial lawsuit in the early history of the national park movement in the United States. Conceivably, the outcome would determine whether or not the national park idea itself could survive. If the Hetch Hetchy Valley could not be protected in perpetuity, no national park could be considered safe from exploitation, then or in the future. In 1908, San Francisco City was granted permission to begin construction, five years later legislation was signed by Congress granting San Francisco all rights to the Valley (Runte 1979, 1990).

During the early 1920s, Richard Leonard (President of the preservation group, the Sierra Club) had a strong argument against an impinging road development. In his opinion: 'We don't build public thoroughfares through museums, libraries, art exhibits or cathedrals. Let us not build them through our parks.' Others agreed that 'a highway down the centre aisle of a cathedral would enable more people to go through it, but would not enable more people to come there for peace and spiritual inspiration' (cited in Runte 1990, pp 195-196).

Following the Hetch Hetchy incident, preservationists took a different perspective. They agreed that the national parks could no longer be defended on scenic merit alone, they needed to strengthen the position of national parks in terms of the country's economy. By pirating utilitarian conservation slogans, preservationists defended the national parks as a means of preventing 'waste', the stakes were merely in human 'efficiency' (Runte 1979). By providing recreation and relaxation, parks kept 'at work men who otherwise would be away from work' (McFarland cited in Runte 1979). Revitalisation of people for the sake of civilisation, was now the key weapon in the preservationists' fight for national parks.

In the early 1900s, what was known as the 'Utilitarian' conservationist movement was gaining popularity. This movement's objective was the efficient use of resources. For example, professional foresters argued that trees should not be preserved indefinitely, but rather should be grown much like a crop, with harvesting occurring at intervals (Runte 1979). Under the Utilitarian movement, conservationists aimed for regulation of natural resource usage rather than total restriction - it was felt that failure to seek out natural resources was every bit as wasteful as traditional environmental abuse. Long-term productivity through efficient and proper management was the overall goal.

As recently as the 1960s, park resources were compromised for economic gain. A classic statement of compromise during this period occurred when the wild Colorado River was dammed within the Grand Canyon. This meant that its volume was controlled by the need for power generation and transference of water to other areas lower down the Canyon. Again economic potential dominated the need to preserve an environment in its original natural state. Further plans were made for more dams in the Grand Canyon. Fortunately, environmentalists opposed them, believing that if they could not protect the Grand Canyon then no other American national park or treasure could be safe from similar invasions of similar kinds. Congress finally decided, in response to the cries of a great majority of Americans, that the Grand Canyon should be preserved in all its natural beauty for future generations (Hughes 1978). This was a rare occasion where the preservation of park resources triumphed over economic potential. Although mining was forbidden within the Grand Canyon National Park by a law enacted in 1931, a number of claims remained from the years before the park was established. These were settled, as money became available. Resources however were still used until they were purchased (Hughes 1978).

2.7 Voices Against Exploitation

Those against utilitarianism were a minority. These preservationists soon realised they needed to change their strategy if any parks were to remain in a reasonably natural state.

Theodore Roosevelt's own philosophy was to leave the wildlife in its natural state. Roosevelt was one of the first true advocates of conservation. He suggested in 1903 (Sutton and Sutton 1972, p 193) that people should 'leave [the wildlife] as it is. You cannot improve on it. The ages have been at work on it, and man can only mar it'. If this policy had been adopted during this period, much of the destruction of American national parks would not have occurred in the later Twentieth Century.

In August 1865, Frederick Law Olmsted warned the Yosemite Park Commission about the onslaught of civilisation in the park. His report literally anticipated the ideals of national park management. He believed the main concept to be implemented was 'the preservation and maintenance as exactly as possible of the natural scenery'. Structures should be allowed only 'within the narrowest limits consistent with the necessary accommodation of visitors'. Olmsted predicted that visitation levels would eventually 'become thousands and in a century the whole number of visitors will be counted by the millions'. 'An injury to the scenery so slight that it may be unheeded by any visitor now, will be one of deplorable magnitude when its effect upon each visitor's enjoyment is multiplied by these millions.' Unfortunately, Olmsted's report was suppressed by members of the Park Commission who may have feared the competition from requests in the report for limited state funds (Olmsted cited in Runte 1990, pp 28-29). Another reason for the Park Commission objecting to Olmsted's report was its stipulation that if preservation was to succeed, compromise had absolutely no role to play in park management. It is a matter of speculation as to whether park management may have differed had Olmsted's recommendations been heeded earlier.

2.8 Legislation

The lack of a definition declaring the purpose of national parks has resulted in ambiguity as to the interpretation of legislation. 'The law has never clearly defined a national park [nor specified] in set terms that the conservation of these parks should be complete conservation' (Robert Sterling Yard cited in Runte 1979, p 160).

With the settlement of the west, Native American Indian ruins and artefacts were jeopardised by souvenir hunters and other vandals. In 1906, a bill was passed to preserve as national monuments all 'objects of historic or cultural interest that are situated upon the lands controlled or owned by the Government of the United States' (Runte 1979). The choice of the sites to be set aside was left solely to the President. This *Antiquities Act* did not provide for the protection of the landscape. However, the flexibility of the President provided him with the opportunity to considerably broaden the impact of the legislation. It was through implementation of this Act that Theodore Roosevelt won the respect of the preservationists. Roosevelt interpreted the word 'scientific', featured in the Act, to include areas noted for their geological (scenic) and man-made significance (Runte 1979). As a result of this interpretation many scenic

wonders of the United States such as Devils Tower in Wyoming, Mount Olympus in Washington State and the Grand Canyon were protected.

President Roosevelt did not adhere to the guidelines of the *Antiquities Act.* The Act stated that 'in all instances' each monument must be 'confined to the smallest area compatible with the proper care and management of the objects to be protected.' The Grand Canyon and Mount Olympus were far from mere 'objects'. However, as none of the 'objects' appeared to be of immediate economic value, little dispute was encountered. Americans now substituted the dwellings of prehistoric Native American Indians for the Greek and Roman ruins of the Old World. Yet again, the uniqueness of the west was protected for the purpose of cultural identity (Runte 1979).

2.9 Refinement of the National Park System

In 1916, following a fragmented past in park management, preservationists' efforts to create a separate government agency committed solely to park management and protection, was rewarded. Congress approved the National Park Service, an agency responsible for managing national parks and monuments as an integral system (Runte 1979). Only then did a constant philosophy and uniform policy for national parks appear. Administration of national parks, after the development of the National Parks Service, began to reflect the preservationists' goals.

The *Park Services Act* that followed was a clear-cut blueprint of what national parks stood for and how they should be administered. Title to all existing and future national parks and monuments passed to the new agency - this transaction was not complete until some 17 years later when the Forest Service and War Department were forced to give up the monuments under their jurisdiction. This transaction had little impact on the integration of park goals under a single statement of purpose. That purpose 'is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations' (Runte 1979).

Proof that the United States was indeed committed to wildlife protection in the national parks could not be seriously demonstrated until congress recognised the parks because of their wildlife and not their lack of economic value. It was not until 1934 that the first unmistakable pledge to ecological preservation was made, with the authorisation of the Everglades National Park, Florida. For the first time a major national park would lack great mountains, deep canyons, and tumbling waterfalls, preservationists accepted the protection of its native plants and animals alone as justification for a national park (Runte 1979). The Everglades confirmed the depth of commitment to protect more than the physical environment. The Everglades National Park was the all-important precedent of total preservation, but compromisable it was not. In truth human values and emotions, still largely compromised the application of 'complete conservation' to both wildlife and landscape, in the 1930s. Until the evolution of that degree of detachment based on ecological understanding, allowances would be continued to be made for 'desirable' as opposed to 'undesirable' features of the natural world (Runte 1979).

The refinement of the American national park system resulted in numerous sites receiving protection. North Americans learnt they could preserve their nation's character and produce substantial income in a way that would not use up or destroy the their natural resources.

2.10 Interpretation

In addition to being ideal recreation areas, national parks and reserves serve as classrooms for the study of nature. By the 1920s, traditional park values and long held beliefs, such as recreation being a park's primary purpose, were challenged by several scientists. This group believed that a national park 'should be seen as a great open-air classroom, a sanctuary where every native resource, from the smallest plant to the largest predator, would be protected and studied in its natural environment' (Runte 1990).

Between 1910 and 1920, J. Grinnell began lectures on natural history. His objective was to educate the public about wildlife and conservation. In 1920, he instigated the first official programme of field interpretation at Yosemite National Park. By the end of the 1920s, ranger-naturalists were conducting daily nature studies and lectures in an effort to add an educational dimension to national park visits. These programmes formally recognised the educational role of scenic preservation (Buchholtz 1983; Hughes 1978; Runte 1979, 1990). Interpretation programmes were set up in nearly all the parks to ensure visitors were educated about conservation and preservation issues. Efforts had to be directed toward educating people to appreciate the parks without destroying them - the best weapon against destruction is education.

2.11 Recreation Boom Years

World War Two interrupted vacations worldwide, resulting in a decline of visitation to parks for the first time. Finally, when the War ended, bringing with it the end of gasoline rationing, travel increased significantly. Post War prosperity brought more and more tourists into the parks (Buchholtz 1983; Hughes 1978). Foreign visitors became an increasing component and the economic importance of the tourist industry became apparent.

Most of America's national parks experienced an onslaught of tourists after the war. With this boom in visitor numbers also came deterioration of facilities, and an increased load of protection work for the park staff. Littering by the general public was the biggest problem. A crisis occurred, as facilities in the parks were inadequate for the numbers visiting. The definition of national parks as both pleasure grounds and natural preserves became a contradiction in terms. A common fear developed that protection in the parks would be compromised by greater visitation and tourist development (Nash 1968; Runte 1977, 1979).

The popularity of the parks challenged their relatively pristine condition. The increase in demand (and deterioration of supply) required a major reconstruction programme. To balance preservation and use was difficult. Excluding visitors, by whatever means, risked a loss of support for the national park idea; to accept more people in order to ensure support, jeopardised the parks themselves. Finally, in 1956, relief came from Congress and the National Park Service in the form of the ten year programme, 'Mission 66' (Hughes 1978; Runte 1979, 1990). The objective behind the programme was to remedy old problems and prepare for the future, providing 'maximum enjoyment for those who use the parks' as well as 'maximum protection of the scenic, scientific, wilderness, and historic resources that give them distinction' (Mission 66 Report cited in Buchholtz 1983). This was achieved by reconstructing roads, adding visitor's centres and increasing overnight accommodation.

The 'Mission 66' programme was especially controversial among preservationists, who favoured lessening, rather than expanding, park facilities. Their view, as written by Ansel Adams (cited in Runte 1990), was that 'it is not so much what is wrong with Mission 66 as what is missing'. The programme should have reinforced the national parks' principles of preservation, not stressed planning of recreation.

2.12 Management

From the early 1900s through to the 1920s, rangers' and wardens' idea of game management and protection was to work towards the preservation of some animals and the destruction of others. Also during this period, the release of fish in lakes, tributaries and streams became one of the most active and popular programmes. The motive behind the implementation of such programmes was the fishing opportunities it created for recreational fishermen and other tourists.

Such predatory animals as mountain lions, bears, foxes, bobcats, eagles and coyotes were killed. In carrying out this action it was thought that the environment was being improved for the benefit of the people. Later, this practise caused major environmental problems. The numbers of protected animals, such as deer, dramatically increased and put stress on grazing resources. Culling of animals took place to remedy the problem. Eventually park administrators decided it was best not to try and improve upon nature. It was not until after the early 1980s that the old practices of predator prejudices, especially towards the bear, finally died. The protection of the parks' natural flora and fauna was at last being considered as significant as tourism. The climb to improved preservation policies was underway, the destruction of predators ceased and the practice of improving on nature was near an end (Buchholtz 1983; Hughes 1978; Runte 1990).

During the Depression President Theodore Roosevelt instigated a programme to provide unemployment relief by putting people from the cities to work in the nations parks. In April 1933, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was created. Between 1933 and 1942, when the CCC was finally disbanded due to war, nearly 3,200,000

young men had gained employment through this programme, working to improve the conditions of the parks across America (Buchholtz 1983; Hughes 1978; Runte 1990).

After the War the ideal of sanctuary was certainly winning its share of converts. People were beginning to realise that if parks were to survive they had to be managed for their resources as well as for their visitors. Guaranteed protection of national parks depended on the unified management of the entire ecosystem of a region. Finally, in the 1960s, the Park Services recognised the need for change - growing crowds forced decisions. The Park Service could no longer ignore the fact that staged attractions were drawing too many spectators who brought too many cars and left behind too much litter, car exhaust and trampled vegetation (Runte 1990).

Unfortunately, the future of national parks lay in the hands of Congress more so than the Park Service. For the reserves to be managed as biological units, Congress first had to provide enough land. Its reluctance to do so said a lot about national priorities in the 1960s - just as when the park idea was realised, the economy still dictated (Runte 1979).

A solution to the problem of increasing demands on parks was to define more carefully their purpose and areas. In September 1964, Congress constituted the *Wilderness Act* with the aim of resolving any ambiguity. It defined wilderness as an area that retains its original character, without human influence; as well as being a place 'where man himself is a visitor who does not remain'. The preservation aspect of national parks finally received equal attention to recreational use. 'For decades the playground idea was emphasised, now the preserve aspect gained the spotlight' (Buchholtz 1983). In order to achieve a fair balance between recreation and conservation, it was realised that it is necessary to identify which areas require a high degree of protection. If an area is particularly fragile or unique, any impact should be prevented or at least minimised. For example, this desire was entrenched in the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) definition of national parks adopted in 1969:

> National parks are places where relatively large areas with one or several ecosystems are not materially altered by human exploitation and occupation; where plant and animal species and geomorphological sites and habitats are of special scientific, educational and recreational interest; the highest competent authority of the country has taken steps to prevent or to eliminate as soon as possible exploitation or occupation in the whole area and to enforce effectively the respect of the ecological, geomorphological, or aesthetic features that have led to its establishment; visitors are allowed to enter, under special conditions, for inspirational, educational, cultural, and recreational purposes (cited in Sutton and Sutton 1972 , p 193).

2.13 Summary

> The reason for establishing a park is because there is something worth preserving. While compromises have to be made so that some may view the beauty of such an area, the compromise should never be such that the beauty is destroyed (Calvert 1974 cited in Buchholtz 1983).

Recreational values dominate the national park and wilderness literature. This is partially, due to a predominantly recreational perspective of American research on wilderness, but probably also related to the way in which the wilderness concept developed (Nash 1963). However, over recent years the biocentric concept of wilderness has become increasingly important in research. This is probably due to an increase in importance of 'ecological research relative to recreational research in national park and reserve management and to a recognition that flora and fauna have an intrinsic right to exist' (Hall 1992, p 17). Overall emphasis was placed upon scenic values, preservation of nature's monuments, restoration of physical well being and, to a certain extent, preservation of fauna and flora for their scientific and touristic values. They were generally regarded as waste or worthless lands that could be made productive through the development of tourism. As this chapter has highlighted, preservation and continued protection of national parks in the United States has been as dependent on the absence of material wealth as it has been on the weight of aesthetic and ecological wilderness values.

The economic goal of the time has always been dominant in decision-making related to national parks. Utilisation of North America's national parks has been considered acceptable as long as it was in the nation's interest, even if the pursuit of personal gain was involved. The integrity of the national park ideal has been compromised, as resources not wilderness were considered the ultimate measure of the nations wealth (Runte 1979). Undoubtedly, the most pervasive form of opposition to the creation of national parks and reserves has been based on materialistic values. This materialism stands in clear opposition to the idealism and altruism of the national park idea (Hall 1992).

Conceptions of what public parks are, or should be, have evolved through the years. Spectacular scenery initially drew people to the parks and scenery, embellished with accommodations and services, seemed perfectly acceptable to early park visitors. The precedent had been established: development was inside the parks, where it could not help but exert pressure on preservation goals (Buchholtz 1983; Runte 1990). The influence of elitism during the early years of the park movement, and its decline, can be seen in those facilities that were developed and the type of visitor that utilised them.

The Romantic Movement gave added impetus to the parks movement. Sensitive to English critics of their scenery, as lacking proper associations to be truly cultural, the New World nations found an answer in the works of romantic thinkers - the answer to the man-made monuments of Europe. Influenced by Romanticism, increasing numbers turned for enjoyment and rehabilitation to the wilderness.

As scientific study of natural wonders became widespread and sophisticated, the Romantic impact - and Monumentalism, its product - gradually declined. Parks increasingly became places for the rational study of nature. Later, parks reflected the growing interest in outdoor recreation. Park management aimed to bring national parks into more immediate contact with the country's urban population by responding to its needs, in the form of facilities, infrastructure and activities.

Changing times and travel habits meant that parks had to satisfy more people with a greater variety of interests. The methods of meeting visitor needs that appeared appropriate in the 1920s, no longer suited the realities of 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. Different strategies were required for different times.

Until the development of formal wilderness preservation and conservation groups in the early 1960s, the efforts of individuals or a small group of influential people brought about the establishment of national parks and wilderness reserves. These people were able to persuade government that a reserve would be beneficial to a nation (Nash 1963; Hall 1992). The problem, as preservationists began to recognise, is that the wilderness is fragile enough to disappear if subjected to heavy recreational usage. Indicators point to greatly increased recreational demands on wilderness in the near future as both the population and the desire for contact with the wilderness increase (Nash 1968).

Conceptions of parks have changed as the intellectual and social environment in which they have existed has changed. Dominant views have become less elitist; less romantic; more ecologically, and at the same time, recreationally orientated. As a result of these changes, decisions about parks made in one era have sometimes come into conflict with the perceptions of another era.

The extent of the contemporary influence of the national park systems of North America on other countries, such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand, has been substantial (Hall 1992; Hall and Shultis 1991; Higham 1996; Shultis 1991). The next chapter examines the development of the wilderness and recreation concept of national parks in New Zealand, demonstrating the significance of the United States in influencing the development of New Zealand's national parks.

3. The Historical Relationship between Tourism and National Parks: The New Zealand Experience

> Increasingly we associate ourselves with our tools and our possessions, our science and our dreams. But we are inescapably still part of the natural world of plants and animals, of soils and air and water, a world which preceded us by billions of years and which will outlast our science and our species. National parks are the great cathedrals, galleries and museums of this natural world, as worthy of preservation as any edifice or achievement of our culture and civilisation.
> Andy Dennis 1984 (Cited in Potton, C. 1987, p 145)

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an analysis of the evolution of the national park concept in New Zealand - one of several countries, such as Canada and Australia, which have been significantly influenced by the American approach to wilderness and its management. As noted in the previous chapter, the idea of a park belonging to the whole nation became a reality in 1872, at Yellowstone in the United States. It marked the beginning of an acknowledged relationship between tourism and national parks. Canada and Australia soon followed with parks of their own and two decades after the creation of Yellowstone National Park, the *Tongariro National Park Act* established New Zealand's first national park.

This chapter provides an overview of the development of the national park concept in New Zealand. It highlights the perceptions of early European settlers towards the New Zealand landscape and the motivations behind the early moves to protect the New Zealand landscape. As will be noted, the American experience with respect to the development of parks, particularly with respect to the role of tourism, is to be found in the New Zealand experience, a point that will be returned to at the end of the chapter.

3.1 New Britannia

The land possessed deep religious and symbolic significance for the New Zealand Maori, just as it did for the Aborigines of Australia and the Native American Indians. The first European settlers did not recognisable this significance (Shultis 1991). Maori had roamed the plains and forests of New Zealand for hundreds of years, without leaving any buildings, gardens, farms or structures of a permanent nature. Even though they had been in New Zealand for a few hundred years, Europeans settlers gave evidence of their presence by what they produced in the way of houses and other buildings, or farms, orchards and gardens. Unlike the Maori they had no cultural connection with the land.

During the early years of colonisation, the overwhelming impression was that the settlers feared the wilderness, or found it dreary. They were afflicted with a nostalgia for 'the man-centred biotic community of English country life with its cottages, domestic animals, domestic plants, and field patterns resembling rural and village patterns of home' (Shepard cited in Molloy 1987). Attitudes revolved around a catalogue of what was absent when the settlers first came to New Zealand - roads and fences, farms and gardens, towns and shops.

The scrub lands, sandy coastal plains, the interior volcanic plateau and the tussock grasslands were, to many of the early settlers, 'the bleakest, most barren and uninteresting lands' (Shepard cited in Molloy 1987). It is easy to see why these landscapes are least represented today in New Zealand's reserves system and have borne the brunt of land development. The wilderness was tamed.

This preoccupation with overcoming the environment scarcely encouraged any concern for that same environment. After all, initially in New Zealand, as was the case in Australia and North America, wilderness was abundant and people were few (Hall and Shultis 1991). It would have been unthinkable to the early settlers that the great abundance of flora and fauna could ever diminish.

3.2 Motivations Behind Preservation

The period from the mid-1800s on was most notable for the development of an indigenous 'rural vision' possessing strong influences from British landscape. However, the barren landscape caused nostalgia for the wilderness. Wilderness areas became a source of inspiration as an aesthetic appreciation of wild country developed. During the mid-1800s the New Zealand wilderness attracted artists such as G.F. Angas and P.F Connelly. Angas claimed that he 'went to the antipodes activated by an ardent admiration of the grandeur and loveliness of Nature in her wildest aspects' (cited in Hall 1992, p 82). Some early New Zealand settlers also saw the wilderness as 'wild, magnificent, fresh from the land of nature and inspiring thoughts of God' (Earle cited in Molloy 1987). However, these Romantics were few and weak in their influence in comparison to the American experience.

Scarcity has also been a motivation to preserve natural resources. By the end of the Nineteenth Century, many of the natural resources in New Zealand were decreasing quickly. It came to be realised that New Zealand, like other bountiful nations, could fall victim to the excesses of exploitation. Land formerly considered limitless, gradually became more precious. There was a dawning realisation that many unique natural features were under threat of extinction and needed rescuing before it was too late.

The 'reluctant conservationist' (Galbraith 1989), Sir Walter Buller, was an individual who, unintentionally, assisted the conservation movement, during the late 1800s. For most of his life, Buller was only interested in birds as a taxidermist; he had little interest in the idea of saving the wilderness to keep New Zealand's birds from extinction. Yet he managed to save a small area of lowland forest and swamps, known as Papaitonga, from destruction. This was still Romanticism, but less concerned with beautiful views than vanishing birds. Later after fire had destroyed some of his precious Papaitonga, Buller declared he would 'spare no pains to preserve it in all its native beauty as a heritage for those who may come after' (Park 1995).

The realisation of the finite nature of New Zealand's natural resources appeared to come early compared with other New World nations, perhaps due to the relatively small size of the country (Hall and Shultis 1991). This realisation that the bulk of the country's forest cover was disappearing coincided with economic and social circumstances that would lead to a significant change in attitudes towards the New Zealand landscape. As in the United States, the nation's nostalgia for the departed wilderness was becoming increasingly evident (Cullum 1978), particularly as there was a growing sense of New Zealand identity. Indeed, it was at this time that some settlers began to appreciate the special qualities of the native flora and fauna that had formerly blocked development (Galbreath 1989).

A growing dialogue about the consequences of forest depletion occurred. Several politicians, such as John McKenzie (Brooking 1996), William Reeves and Edward Tregear, voiced their concerns about the diminishing wilderness. Tregear reported on 'charming pieces of forest' he saw on his travels and commented on how the destruction of the wilderness was 'ruining the hem of the old lady's garment recklessly every year... Miles of blackness, alas, miles of white skeleton trees, when a year ago was the exquisite undulation of hills clothed with forest' (cited in Park 1995).

As in North America, the tourism potential of hot springs as spas and resorts served as a catalyst for the creation of national parks. In 1874, Premier Fox suggested that the central North Island hot springs should be utilised for their 'sanitary purposes'. He evidently praised the American Yellowstone legislation 'and urged a similar course of action in New Zealand' (Hall 1988b). The efforts of Fox and fear of despoliation of the hot springs and geysers led to the passing of the *Thermal Springs Districts Act* in 1881. The Act echoed the creation of Yellowstone and which provided for the relative protection of the hot springs in the Rotorua district (Hall and Shultis 1991).

New Zealand's early days of wilderness preservation closely paralleled the situations in other New World nations. The creation of the first national parks emphasised scenic values, preservation of nature's monuments, restoration of mental and physical health, and virtues of the 'bush' as opposed to the 'city'. The preservation of flora and fauna for their scientific ecological values was only a minor force (Hall 1988a).

3.3 New Zealand's First National Park

During the last two decades of the Nineteenth Century, assigning use, value and ownership to the new lands was an integral part of the establishment of New Zealand's first national park. These land ownership considerations were prominent factors in the negotiations leading up to the formation of Tongariro National Park (Grace 1992; Harris 1974; Pearce and Richez 1987; Roche 1987).

Although the circumstances leading to the preservation on Tongariro National Park were somewhat unique, the intention behind its preservation was largely the same as Yellowstone and other national parks. This was 'to circumvent the possibility of any party making a profit to the disadvantage of others' (Devlin 1976). To the early Maori,

their laws of 'tapu' were an institutionalised means to keep the profit motive subservient to the common good. However, with the increase of European settlers and other Maori in the region, these laws were threatened. This is a principal reason for the establishment of Tongariro National Park. As stated by Harris (1974), Pearce and Richez (1987) and Roche (1987), Te Heuheu Tukino's gift appeared to be an attempt to rebuff possible European encroachment and rival Maori claims for ownership of the land.

As indicated by Harris (1974), in 1887, when Te Heuheu IV awarded to the people of New Zealand, a gift of the Tongariro Trio for the purpose of a park, it was evident the government was making little effort to promote acquisition of the land for protection. It was also indicated at this time, that the American 'Yellowstone' ideal had found its way to New Zealand and that the decision to create Tongariro National Park was not unrelated to a desire to duplicate the American precedent (Cowan 1927; Harris 1974). However, the first New Zealand National Park created in 1894 can to an extent be regarded as something of an historical accident - an answer to a difficult set of circumstances and partly an impressive concept to be derived at comparatively little cost. As discussed in more detail in later chapters, a degree of wilderness protection was only a fortunate byproduct of national parks declaration not a primary cause.

In June 1893, the Bill for New Zealand's first national park in the Tongariro region was re-introduced by the Minister of Lands, John McKenzie, to preserve what he described as 'some of the most finest scenery in the world' (Brooking 1996; NZ PD 1893, Vol. 79, p 310). The fourth national park in the world, and the first in New Zealand, was established when the *Tongariro National Park Act* became law on 11 October 1894, providing for a park of 25,000 hectares (62,350 acres).

3.4 Wastelands

Even during the 1880s, the emphasis of the Crown Lands Department still remained heavily on the opening up of land for settlement and little positive value was seen in areas that were not suitable for this purpose. Nearly a third of Crown Land was considered 'worthless for settlement consisting of barren mountaintops and lakes' (AJHR 1881, C-5). It was within these wastelands that the possibility of protection of wilderness lay.

Many politicians at this time, like John McKenzie, promoted reservations with non-economic goals saying that the land in the vicinity of the park was 'of no great value'. Apparently, it 'was almost useless as far as grazing was concerned' (NZ PD 1894, Vol. 86, p 579). No better use could be found for an area that was clearly 'wasteland' and unable to produce anything of economic value (Brooking 1996). McKenzie's view supports Alfred Runte's wasteland theory (1979) dealing with early national park designation in the United States. This theory claims that the location for a natural national park was determined by the lands lack of economic value. The dominance of

material over aesthetic and ecological values was such that national parks were only designated on land which was regarded as waste or worthless (Hall 1988a, p 441).

The New Zealand national park and reserves system grew steadily after establishment of Tongariro National Park. In 1900, Egmont was constituted a national park by legislation. Although Fiordland was administered virtually as a national park from 1905, Tongariro and Egmont remained the only parks formally constituted until 1929 when Arthur's Pass was established under the first general legislation for national parks - the *Public Reserves, Domains and National Parks Act 1928* (Harris 1974).

These early efforts to protect land concentrated on high mountain areas with little economic value, minimal public opposition to protection and no opportunity for mineral extraction-oriented development. Abundance of public land that seemed worthless and of no economic alternative - as opposed to environmental concern or aesthetic appreciation - made possible the establishment of the first national parks in New Zealand. Throughout the international history of national parks, the concept of 'useless' scenery has virtually determined which area nations would protect and how they would be protected. Many of the first parks were seen to be of little potential economic value, as they contained no significant timber, mineral, grazing, or agricultural resource (Runte 1979). New Zealand followed this trend.

The notion that national parks were worthless lands in North America and Australia was paralleled in the New Zealand experience. Only because the land was regarded as worthless, with little economic value, were national parks created. They were generally regarded as wastelands that could only be made productive through the creation of tourism opportunities (Hall 1992, 1993; Runte 1977, 1979). Preservation and continued protection of national parks, has been as dependent on the absence of material wealth as it has been on the weight of aesthetic and ecological wilderness values.

3.5 The Visitor

In 1884, the Union Steamship Company of New Zealand issued one of the first handbooks about the various attractions of the 'new country'. This handbook was met with appreciation by the public, including an ever increasing number of overseas visitors, especially from England (Wilson, Waddle and Whitson 1884, pp i-ii). In this publication the Tongariro region was briefly mentioned (p 319). Publicity of this kind, in the late 1880s, was instrumental in promoting New Zealand to prospective tourists (Thom 1987).

According to Molloy (1993, p 60), the tradition of guiding visitors to New Zealand's scenic wonders and natural phenomena was already established in the late 1800s. By the mid-1870s the Rotorua geothermal areas (with Maori guides) were well-established tourist attractions and guiding in the Waitomo Caves began in 1887. The fiords of Fiordland and Wanganui River also became popular and in 1890 the Milford Track was opened.

The motivation for preserving areas of natural beauty, by politicians, was due mainly to the potential to attract tourists. The *Land Act 1892* made provision for the preservation of scenery, flora and fauna and instructed the Department of Lands to investigate areas which should be designated as suitable for such care and in 1903 the *Scenery Preservation Act* was passed. However, the focus on developing land and acceptance that the destruction of plants and animals constituted an inevitable cost of progress, meant they were compromisable. The general settler indifference to preserving native flora and fauna and the economic drive to develop farmland and thereby burn bush and drain wetlands proved much more crucial than the actions of individual politicians in determining the fate of native species (Brooking 1996).

A Member of Parliament, John McKenzie, expressed his genuine pleasure that the 'beauties' of the Tongariro National Park 'had been preserved for all time' (NZ PD 1894, Vol. 86, p 679). However, both McKenzie (1894 in Brooking 1996) and Ballance (NZ PD 1894, Vol. 86, p 769) emphasised the areas economic value through preservation and use. As in the case of Yellowstone Park, the politicians acted with an eye on tourist potential rather than conservation. McKenzie's recommendation, in the 1892 *Land Act*, that the government could beautify the park by planting exotics species and introducing deer reinforces the notion that he had not discovered the wilderness preservation idea of American conservationists such as John Muir (Fox 1981; Harris 1974; Jones 1965). The park management's commitment to the wilderness ideal was also questionable, as in 1897 red deer were released in Tongariro without the Park Board having actually met (Cullum 1978). Thereby, indicating the extent to which naturalisation of exotic species was regarded as a 'natural' element of the management philosophy for the park.

By the early 1900s, the government began preserving the wilderness for scenic values. Settlers went to the wilderness for entertainment, which helps explain why the clearing of a space in the wilderness to allow for recreation was one of its first resolutions, when the government's Scenery Preservation Commission met in 1903 (Park 1995). The establishment of this Commission also confirms the Romanticist perceptions of wilderness in the mind of the early European settlers (Weston cited in Higham 1996).

The increased emphasis given to wilderness recreation following the First World War is illustrated by the increase in activities in New Zealand's national parks, with the development of huts and tourism infrastructure. As with Australia and North America, tourism, as a stimulus for development, was the result of the new-found popularity of New Zealand's national parks as sources of domestic recreation.

From the early attempts to protect New Zealand wilderness, through until the 1950s there was little alteration to the dominant concern for reserving areas of high scenic merit. Scenic views and economic prospects were the most likely recognised values in land protection and continued to claim a high priority in the reservation of land for resource oriented recreation (Cullum 1978). Not only have the number of parks increased, there has also been a great increase in the public use of them. Wider ranges of people now visit them. Increased leisure, money and mobility coupled with publicity

and the expansion of facilities played a major part in the trend towards the increase in the numbers of tourists and casual visitors. Prior to the 1950s, keen climbers, trampers and club skiers were the numerically predominant park users, but this is no longer the case. For example, on the ski-fields of Tongariro National Park, club members are now well outnumbered by casual day skiers and by those who come merely as spectators (Green 1993 - interview).

New Zealand's unspoilt, unique and varied wilderness has attracted tourists virtually since European colonisation began in the early Nineteenth Century. At that time, the industry was primarily geared to domestic tourists. The rapid development of mass air transport in the 1960s forced a change of focus from domestic to international visitation (Kaspar 1992). Over the last two decades, New Zealand has attracted an increasing number of tourists in search of an unspoilt destination (Hall, Jenkins and Kearsley 1997; Higham 1996).

The images and perceptions currently held about New Zealand as a holiday destination by travellers centres around the picture of natural scenic beauty and the unique quality of life found in this country. Beautiful scenery and the expectation of a clean and green environment emerge as the most attractive features of a trip to New Zealand for 98% of all visitors (Kaspar 1992, p 39). The mountains, the unique flora and fauna, national parks, the wilderness and water attractions are all major components of the natural scenic beauty of New Zealand.

In 1989, the New Zealand Tourism Board (1991, p 14) set an ambitious target to increase the annual number of international visitation to three million by the year 2000 (Kaspar 1992, p 28). Facing such an increase in visitor numbers, it was inconceivable that management standards could be maintained without significant effects on resources (Hall and McArthur 1993; Higham 1996). More recently, the New Zealand Tourism Board target of three million was succeeded by an expression of desired foreign exchange earnings from tourism. Nevertheless, the NZTB is still seeking to attract increased numbers of foreign visitors to New Zealand (Hall et al. 1997).

In New Zealand, tourism is considered one of the top priority industries. Its expansion is encouraged by all sectors of the New Zealand Government within economic, environmental and conservation constraints. Approximately 55 per cent of all international tourists visit a national park during their stay (Higham 1996; Kaspar 1992; Molloy 1993). Management must therefore take action to ensure the sustainable use of these natural resources for future generations (Higham 1996).

While the key areas of national parks have continued to receive much attention, supporting literature confirms that the motivations of visitors to conservation estates continue to evolve. According to Kearsley and O'Neill (cited in Higham 1996), throughout the 1990s, an increasing proportion of visitors sought greater degrees of physical engagement and challenge. While the field of ecotourism has also emerged as a major area of tourism product development (Hall et al. 1997; Higham 1996).

3.6 Utilitarianism

Maori land was considered by the first European settlers as a wilderness which was a waste and unproductive. Not only was it covered in bush; it was also infested with weeds and bred small birds. This land lying waste and unproductive was blocking the settlement of the crown land of the colony. Only hardworking, thrifty and progressive British settlers could unlock their resources and bring it into utilisation (The *Native Land Purchase and Acquisitions Act 1893* cited in Brooking 1996). From the very beginning of colonisation Europeans believed in resource exploitation.

The European settlers transformed the bush into productive pasture. Where possible, wasteland and utilitarianism were the sentiment in New Zealand during the late 1800s. New Zealand's pioneering founders were so utilitarian in their approach to land use that most of the remaining wilderness protected under some form of reservation today is in fact mountainous, unsuited to any form of agricultural development.

In 1896, Professor Benedict Freidlander visited the Tongariro region (Duncan 1918 p 130; Gregg 1960, p 12). In an article published in the 'Transactions of the New Zealand Institute', he stressed his opinion that it was time the volcanoes of Tongariro 'were made more accessible to the general public'. He was one of the many that shared a utilitarian view that the wilderness areas, like the Tongariro region, should be used practically and for the benefit of the country as a whole. He believed that opening the area would 'contribute to the income of the country' (Freidlander 1899).

From the day of their conceptions to late in the Twentieth Century, there have been many accounts of exploitation of park resources. For example, Davies' (1982) dissertation on Fiordland National Park illustrated management's conflicts inherent in the activity of mineral exploration. Even in the 1960s it was clear that utilitarian views still governed whether wilderness areas should remain protected or not. The damming of Lake Manapouri in Fiordland National Park, was an example of how an alternative more profitable use of a designated national park could compromise an area's wilderness (Pearce and Richez 1987). The 1965 Tongariro Power Scheme was a similar situation of utilitarianism. The preservation of natural resources was over looked for the benefit of the country's economy.

The influence of the North American national park idea was clear. As in the American case, the first New Zealand park was inspired more by dominant utilitarian desire to develop worthless land through tourism than by a love of nature. As in North America and Australia, the initial purpose of New Zealand national parks was to promote economically beneficial tourism. Nevertheless, the tradition of reserving lands, which have little economic value, still continues. New Zealand faces the prospect of conflict between conservationists and the powerful mining industry and energy corporations over hydro-electric power development (Hall and Shultis 1991).

3.7 Voices for Preservation

The establishment of national parks and wilderness reserves in New Zealand, as with Australia and North America, was brought about by the efforts of influential individuals. Te Heuheu's gift was intrinsic in Tongariro National Park's establishment. However, others were also able to persuade government that the designation of a national park would be in the best interests to the nation as a whole.

While the pioneer wrested his farm from the bush there was already emerging concern by some people at the extent of the devastation of the natural vegetation. In 1867, a Select Committee of the Provincial Council recommended public reservation of striving forest-lands to prevent 'wilful waste'. This recommendation was rejected. However, in a debate in the General Assembly the following year, Thomas Potts (New Zealand Tourism Board 1949) moved 'that it is desirable government should take steps to ascertain the present conditions of the forest of the colony with a view to their better conservation.' Opposition to the motion came from those who regarded it as interference in settlement of the country, but many Members agreed with Potts and the motion calling for investigation was passed (Harris 1974). This resulted in a new surge of parliamentary interest in conservation, and finally the introduction of the first *State Forest Bill* in July 1874.

Unfortunately, this first major attempt at wilderness conservation in New Zealand was largely aborted in the mid-1870s. The socio-political environment was unfavourable towards land preservation. The dominant attitude was that New Zealand could not afford the luxury of wilderness that may have a productive potential. The 1874 *Forest Act* was shelved (Harris 1974).

However, at the turn of the century, valuable interest in and support for nature conservation came from a small group of active and influential individuals. Scientists were of great influence in the protection of the wilderness, the most significant being the botanist, Leonard Cockayne. In addition to being employed by the government on special projects such as the definition of the boundaries of Tongariro National Park, Cockayne was also active in promoting the concept of national parks and wildlife sanctuaries (AJHR 1908, C-11, p 5; Brooking 1996; Harris 1974).

By the early 1900s, much of the wilderness had been destroyed and New Zealand's landscape had taken an English countryside appearance. In 1927, Dr. Arthur Hill (Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew) was invited to New Zealand to report on the possibilities of establishing National Botanical Gardens in the country. As a botanist primarily concerned with preservation of plant species, Dr. Hill was horrified at the spread of introduced plants in reserves, especially at Tongariro National Park. He regarded the reserves as a priceless heritage, one that should be guarded and conserved. If urgent measures were not taken Dr. Hill believed that the character of the park (as a reserve of natural vegetation) would be destroyed beyond repair. He suggested that the Director of the proposed Botanical Garden should have some control over the management of reserves like Tongariro (Taranaki Daily News 1928a and 1928b; and

Thomson 1976, p 6). This was the first recorded proposal for unity of control in regard to New Zealand's national parks. This marked the start of the movement, which lead to the establishment of the *National Parks Act*.

Later, during the 1930s and 1940s, revision of national parks' administration was supported by individuals such as E. Phillips Turner, 'a former Director of Forestry and self-styled conservationist', and interest groups such as the Federated Mountain Clubs (Pearce and Richez 1987; Thomson 1976). In 1936 Turner attempted to define the objectives of a national park policy in terms of a balance between conservation and recreation and advocated the establishment of a bureau for the administration of national parks. He highlighted (P. Turner cited in Thomson 1976, p 7) that in North America recreation was a main purpose of national parks but flora and fauna needed to be protected and interfered with as little as possible. Turner believed that 'in New Zealand the Acts under which the national parks are constituted do not define the purpose of reservation'. He further stated that 'there should be a new Act passed defining the purpose of each class of reserve, so that no departure from that purpose can be affected... The Act should provide for the establishment of a district branch - the Bureau of National Parks and Scenic Reserves - of the Lands Department, under the control for the efficient administration and management of the reserves'.

In 1931 the Federated Mountain Club was formed. The future decisions, in relation to the utilisation of National Parks and wilderness, were now subject to the scrutiny of this strong pressure group. Similarly to the Sierra Club of the United States (Jones 1965), this small group, who's goal was to further promote and safeguard mountain and forest recreation, proved to be influential in the eyes of decision makers and the public at large. For the first 20 years of their existence they promoted the idea of rationalising the rather chaotic system of the national parks and reserves (Cullum 1978; Molloy 1987; Pearce and Richez 1987; Thomson 1976). The efforts of the Federated Mountain Clubs and a handful of individuals resulted in the passing of the *National Parks Act 1952*.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s there was an increase in concern about mounting pressure on the ecology of New Zealand's national parks and reserves. It came to be realised that New Zealand's national park system did not contain representative examples of all of New Zealand's ecological systems. A result of this increase in public concern was better protection policies for ecosystems by the Lange Labour Government (Hall 1988c).

A main role of central government in outdoor recreation has been the protection, planning and management of the Crown lands. These public lands (national parks and reserves, state forests, rivers and lakes, offshore islands, coastlines and high country) constituted almost 60% of New Zealand's land surface and provided the bulk of land for outdoor recreation (Molloy 1980). Since 1987 these components of the Conservation Estate have been under the authority of the Department of Conservation and the Crown Estate Commission administer most. It has been their responsibility to develop policies that ensure the sustainable management of New Zealand's natural assets, a task which is increasingly open to question (Higham 1996).

3.8 Management

Prior to 1952, there was little or no administrative co-ordination of the four national parks. Not only did a different Board control each national park, but also Tongariro and Egmont were administered under separate acts, and Arthur's Pass and Abel Tasman under 1928 legislation (Harris 1974). Increased post-war interest in national parks revealed weaknesses in the existing administrative framework. A subcommittee of the Tourist Development Committee of the Organisation for National Development was appointed. They noted that systems of central control had been successfully adopted by the United States and Canada, and recommended that a central or national authority should be established in New Zealand (Hall 1998a, c; Harris 1974).

Ron Cooper, chief Land Administration Offices for the Department of Lands and Survey, was one individual who played a prominent role in the creation of the *National Parks Act 1952*. Cooper conceived New Zealand's national parks as wilderness to which the general public should have access. Similarly to North American perspectives, he had an anthropocentric perception of wilderness in which New Zealand's wilderness areas were seen as being recreational in character and did not see them as purely scientific reserves. The *National Parks Act 1952* reflected the recreational importance of New Zealand's national parks (Hall 1988c, p 121).

In 1950, the Minister of Lands asked for a *National Parks Bill* to be prepared, as the existing statutes needed an overhaul. The outcome was the *National Parks Act 1952*. This Act established the National Parks Authority; a cohesive body under which all national parks were governed (Harris 1974).

The *National Parks Act 1952* served to consolidate and simplify the best features of the previous system and incorporated them into a new two-tiered administrative structure, including both government officials and representatives of recreational, conservation and local body interests. For the first time the dual responsibilities for national parks of nature conservation and recreation was made explicit.

The enthusiasm that greeted the Bill was testimony to the new-found interest and environmental concern of the public. Confusion as to the definite roles of parks as national playgrounds resulted in the mass development of structures within parks. Even though the Act states that preservation should be first priority and use a secondary concern, many interest groups tended to quote the Act's provisions for freedom of entry and access without acknowledging the former clause in which preservation and welfare of the parks overpower such entry (McCaskill 1976 cited in Devlin 1976, p 6). The Act was also regarded with certain ambivalence, as governing environmental bodies were involved with exploitation of the natural environment (Higham 1996).

The national park system has grown considerably since 1952 when there were four parks, four Boards and five rangers. However, only in the last 30 years have significant lowland forest areas, wetlands, coastal margins and marine areas been added to New Zealand's protected estate. The 1960s, 1970s and 1980s witnessed a fundamental evolution of attitudes towards the environment, along with the rapid increase in outdoor recreation. This climate of change prompted the Government to condemn the

fragmented administrative system of environmental protection and restructure it (Higham 1996). This restructure resulted with all national parks being administered by one body, the Department of Conservation, which was formed in 1987 under the *Conservation Act 1987*. The Act requires the Department to advocate the conservation of natural and historic resources. Further legislation designed to protect the environment was developed in 1991 with the *Resource Management Act*. This attempts to operationalise procedures that promote sustainability as a key component of development. The Act has resulted in the delegation of a number of environmental management responsibilities to district and regional governing bodies, supervised by central government (Higham 1996). However, even today, while ecological factors have assumed greater importance in park management and establishment, the vast majority of parks are preserved for humancentred values of preservation and use as reflected in contemporary legislation and management practice (e.g., Hall and Shultis 1991; Higham 1996; Shultis 1991).

3.9 Summary

Present day attitudes towards the New Zealand natural landscape have been shaped to varying degrees by the values of the earliest settlers. Attitudes of Maori, explorer, missionary, traveller and early European settler have all contributed to the shaping of the New Zealand sense of wilderness. The forces that shaped wilderness at the turn of the century have made a major contribution to the establishment of the wilderness heritage that New Zealand possesses today.

Many current issues in New Zealand tourism have been reflected in the early history of the industry. They are centred largely on the development of natural areas to serve the widest possible spectrum of tourist preference (Higham 1996). Nevertheless, concepts of the national park ideal have evolved through the years as the environment in which they have existed has changed. Initial emphasis was placed upon scenic values, preservation of nature's monuments, lack of economic value, touristic value, and to a certain extent, preservation of fauna and flora for their scientific. Most significantly for the purposes of the present work, we can not forget that New Zealand followed the American example of preserving 'worthless' or 'useless' scenery on the basis of economic exploitation through tourism. In early conservation the economic utilitarian ideal was paramount.

The Maori began to change the nature of New Zealand by hunting and clearing land for cultivation. The impact of introduced species (e.g. dogs) was felt by native species. By the time the European settlers arrived in New Zealand, the forest had been trimmed back to 80% of the land; now not yet 200 years later, the natural lands have shrunk to 40% of their virgin state (Graham 1993). Europeans have conveyed the belief that human kind is a state outside nature, that nature can exist in the state of well being if people are excluded from it. Maori have included themselves as part of nature. Nature has been the medium of their cultural association. Whereas, 'God' was the medium of European's association with culture (Park 1990). The New Zealand wilderness, like the Australian and American experiences, was something to be tamed, ordered and made useful - a new Britain. The ideal landscape was that of the rolling pastures of England

(Hall 1992), a point reinforced in the parliamentary comments on the establishment of Tongariro National Park. The similarities between North America and New Zealand situation were reinforced when America's forefather of the conservation movement, John Muir, visited New Zealand in 1904. He commented in his diary about a landscape of 'melancholy remnants of a once glorious forest slowly burned out of existence' for grazing land. A scene reminiscent of the impact of grazing and agricultural activities of his beloved forests of the Sierra Nevada (cited in Hall 1987).

Early preservation efforts in New Zealand were expressions of efficiency of resource use. Emphasis was on utilisation, not preservation. Water resources were to be harnessed and soils were to be made more productive. The idea of land conservation in an aesthetic sense came later. After the 'rural vision' of the 1800s, there were a number of examples of an evolution of a new set of landscape values. The departure of wilderness had resulted in nostalgia for the pre-industrialised landscape. New Zealand's first national park, scenic reserves, wildlife sanctuaries and the *Scenery Preservation Act 1903* were established (Brooking 1996). Where justification was needed the tourist potential provided it. The influence of tourism during these early years of the park movement can be seen in those facilities that were developed. Initially these facilities seemed perfectly acceptable to park visitors.

The first reserves were not created to protect entire landscapes, but, as in Australia and North America, were established to provide a degree of protection for scenic sites of significance for commercial tourism (Hall and Shultis 1991. This was facilitated by the lack of heavy pressure from competing and more traditional land uses such as pastoralism, milling, mining and settlement (Harris 1974). The protection of New Zealand's natural monuments with tourism, parallels the first reservations at the Blue Mountains in Australia, Yosemite and Yellowstone (Hall 1992). Therefore, of major significance in shaping the attitudes towards New Zealand landscape around the turn of the century was the growing awareness of a New Zealand national identity. The implications for scenery preservation of this emerging sense of national identity were considerable. As with the Australian and North American situation at this time, New Zealand had few claims to a cultural heritage, particularly as the Maori cultural experience was then alien, if not abhorrent..?, to many European settlers (Thom 1987). Scenery therefore provided compensation for the lack of sophisticated cultures (Cullum 1978).

By the early 1950s the effects of the depression and the Second World War had been largely countered. Attitudes towards the parks were that of playgrounds for recreation. Post war prosperity brought more and more people into the parks and more facilities were required. The need for change was recognised, as the increase in demands forced decisions. The increase in prosperity and demands saw a new emphasis on environmentally oriented legislation, resulting with the *National Parks Act 1952*. The Acts emphasis lay clearly on preservation, with recreational potential being a subservient value. Scenic qualities, beauty and uniqueness were the prime qualifications for National Parks (Cullum 1978).

North America has influenced New Zealand attitudes towards wilderness preservation. This is conveyed in the recreational emphasis that has been placed on the identification

of wilderness areas, like national parks, in New Zealand (Hall 1988c). However, there has been increasing awareness in the value of wilderness preservation. During the 1960s there was a gradual change in emphasis to the protection of coastal, lowland areas (Cullum 1987). Recognition in the 1970s, that some native bird's ecosystems span from lowlands to uplands, and many different forests, profoundly influenced the design of forest reserves in New Zealand, resulted in the protection of areas that would have been logged. Attitudes towards wilderness and its inhabitants had changed over the years to a more ecological approach (Park 1995), although tourism remains extremely important as a component in park management strategies.

The Department of Conservation (1994, p 134) has recently aimed to manage national parks in an integrated approach. 'To foster visitor enjoyment of the land managed by the Department through authorising recreation and tourism that are compatible with the natural and historical values of the area, and which do not significantly reduce the enjoyment of these values by existing users.' Dominant attitudes have become recreationally and ecologically orientated. Nevertheless, there will always be tension between tourism organisations and national park groups. Different institutions and objectives and adamant interest groups inevitably mean that there will be different views as to what is or is not appropriate and acceptable (e.g., Cessford 1997; Swaine 1992; Ward 1993).

In conclusion we can note that it is apparent conceptions of national parks have shifted, not in some random way, but as intellectual and social currents have shifted. Literature demonstrates that attitudes toward the wilderness have changed over time and these have been reflected in people's ideas about national parks. Parks and park management of one era differs from those of another, serving as a barometer of changing attitudes and perceptions. An understanding of how the national park idea has developed cannot be had without an appreciation of the national and international dimensions of wilderness. The following chapters therefore provide a case study of these issues within the context of Tongariro National Park, an area which was not only New Zealand's first national park but which continues to act as a barometer of the wider issues facing the tourism-conservation relationship in the national parks.

4. Early Human Involvement in the Tongariro Region

It is uncertain when Polynesian people first arrived in Aotearoa (New Zealand). It is believed that voyages from the Islands of Hawaiki began about 800 AD. They landed in the Bay of Plenty first and headed inland from there and arrived in the Tongariro region via Taupo. It is therefore hard to establish the date when humans were first present in the Tongariro Region. According to archaeological excavators at Maowhango and Pihanga, there were aboriginal people in the area before the arrival of people from the Te Arawa Canoe. However, the first known or named man was undoubtedly the Tohunga (priest) of the Te Arawa Canoe, Ngatoroirangi (Blount 1975, p 3; Buckland 1982, 2.1). He was the first Maori to claim the mountains as his home. Since Ngatoroirangi's arrival, the Maori people have continued to live in the region under the shadows of the Tongariro Trio (Mount Tongariro, Mount Ruapehu and Mount Ngauruhoe).

The mountains were 'tapu' (sacred) to the Maori; they were considered the 'backbone and head of their great ancestor'. The personification of artefacts and natural features of the environment was deeply rooted in Maori culture (Keelan 1993, p 101). The concept of tapu encompasses sacred burial sites, mountain peaks and shrines. It can be extended to include all aspects of the environment from which the Maori people base their decent. This doctrine of sacred space is not unique, other groups such as the Native American Indians, hold similar views. Like the Maori, Native American Indians perceive the earth as a living being, sacred in all its parts (Hughes and Swan cited in Keelan 1993, pp 98-99). The Maori have never separated the land from plants and animals, nor have they differentiated between it and the surrounding water, air and minerals.

There is little evidence of permanent occupation within the current national park confines. It would appear that Maori used parts of the park for hunting. In addition to this the Ketetahi springs were used for their healing properties and numerous battles were fought within the park's boundaries. The absence of any permanent settlement has been attributed either to fear of the sacred mountains, an inappropriate climate or lack of ample food sources. Nevertheless, an analysis of Maori use of the region is still a very important component of the park's history, as the mountains remain sacred to the Maori and therefore influences the management regime of the park. Indeed, the World Heritage status of the park recognises its significance as a cultural landscape.

4.1 Traditional Maori History

> Ko Tongariro te maunga; ko Taupo to moana; ko Ngati Tuwharetoa te iwi; ko Te Heuheu te tangata (Tongariro is the mountain; Taupo the sea; Tuwharetoa the tribe; Te Heuheu the man)
> Ngawaero Tuwharetoa – chieftainess (Cited in Potton, C. 1987, p 127)

The first individuals associated with the volcanoes of Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu were the Maori people of the Ngati Tuwharetoa and Upper Wanganui tribes. The largest area of the park as we know it today was Tuwharetoa land. Their claim to

the area extends back to the arrival of the great canoe, Te Arawa, and the exploration of Ngatoroirangi, the high priest from the canoe.

The origin and activity of the Tongariro Trio are entrenched in Maori stories detailing the battles and love of the mountains. In these poetic legends, the Maori have communicated their concepts of the geology and vulcanology of the area. The primeval mystery and religious awe with which the Tuwharetoa Maori regard the heart of the North Island is the result of cumulative tapu, which have clung to the Tongariro group. For the Tuwharetoa Maori, the Tongariro Mountains were their matua (parent of the land) and the centre of their mana (power). They identified with them as their tapuna (god-like ancestors) and that is why they were considered tapu (sacred).

Volcanoes have long been viewed by man with superstition and fear. The Maori experienced first-hand geological truths and like other ancient people, they wove their observations of volcanic activity into myths and legends about gods and demons. The Maori have a genius for story telling in which natural phenomena are explained (Kaspar 1992, p 13). It is alleged that the gods brought volcanic fire to New Zealand from Hawaiki, the Pacific homeland of the Maori (Williams 1985). The legend, as recorded by Grace (1992), tells of a Seventeenth Century journey by Ngatoroirangi, the great priest. Shortly after arriving in Aotearoa (New Zealand) by the great canoe Te Arawa, Ngatoroirangi set about claiming a portion of this new land. Travelling inland he reached the Tongariro mountains and recognising their sacred nature climbed them to survey the lands and lay claim to them. As he was climbing Tongariro he saw another man, Hapekituarangi, standing in the heart of what is now known as the Rangipo Desert, making his own claim. Ngatoroirangi warned Hapekituarangi not to climb the mountain, but he paid no heed to the threat and started to climb. Ngatoroirangi called on his gods and upon Ruaimoko, god of volcanoes, to destroy the trespasser. The gods responded - a storm appeared and great banks of fire and stone erupted from the mountains, destroying much of the forested landscape and creating the Rangipo Desert on the eastern side of the mountains.

Later, the desert was avoided and dreaded by the Maori. Whenever they had to travel through it, no one was permitted to speak. They wore wreaths made of large leaves to confine the view to the track and shield from their gaze the mountain of the gods. It was forbidden to question the deserts stunted vegetation or peculiar appearance in case the gods became offended and loosened the darkness of the heavens as they had done with Hapekituarangi (Grace 1928). Only the high born Maori who understood the power of the mountains were able to look freely at their peaks.

After the destruction of Hapekituarangi, Ngatoroirangi continued to ascend the mountain. He encountered the snowstorm that killed his countryman but struggled on to finally reach the summit. Weakened by the cold he called in desperation to his priestess sisters in Hawaiki to send him fire – 'Ka riro au i te Tonga! Haria mai he ahi moku!' ('I am borne away by the cold south wind! Send fire to keep me warm!') They heard him and with the assistance of the fire god's heat was sent. It came from underground and passed White Island, Moutohora, Okakaru, Rotoehu, Rotoiti, Tarawera, Rotorua, Paeroa, Orakeikorako, Taupo and Tokaanu to the mountains. All these localities are active thermal areas. Ngatoroirangi killed his slave Ngauruhoe, as an offering to the

gods to strengthen his prayer. When the life-giving fire burst forth he threw the body into the crater, thus giving the mountain its present name – Ngauruhoe (This legend of Ngatoroirangi is the figurative Maori way of describing the discovery of the mountains of fire and steam).

The high Priest, Ngatoroirangi, of the canoe Te Arawa in the Great Migration, became one of the first Maori to visit the area and claimed it for his tribe. Eight generations later, a great warrior, Tuwharetoa, a direct descendant of Ngatoroirangi, ruled the tribe (Buckland 1982). He gave his name to the tribe - Ngati Tuwharetoa. Later in the 1820s, when the he was elected paramount chief of all the sub-tribes, he adopted the family name of Te Heuheu, Te Heuheu Herea.

The Tuwharetoa Tribe defeated the Ngati Hatu and the Ngati Ruakipiri to confirm their claim, over the mountains. However, the Wanganui Tribe, Ngati Hau, also claimed ownership of part of the summit of Ruapehu. They came to the area from the coast, travelling up the Wanganui River onto the Waimarino Plains, and felt a close spiritual link with the mountains (especially Ruapehu). During the 1600-1800s, there was nothing more deeply meaningful to the Maori than the land. For this reason alone the mountain peaks were sacred. The Tuwharetoa warriors invaded the Ngati Hau and were defeated. Thereafter, it appears the Wanganui Maori retained possession of the greater part of Ruapehu. The Ngati Rangi, Ngati Hotu and Ngati Uenuku, not the Ngati Tuwharetoa, are all considered the local tribes of the Ruapehu-Ohakune area.

For several hundreds of years, Maori tribes lived on the slopes of Lake Taupo and Rotoaira and thrived on ample food supplies. Nobody settled on the slopes of the mountains due to their inhospitable climate and because the mountains were tapu. Maori culture was solid with strong leadership and counselling from their Tohungas (tribal priests). Through their various customs, traditions and tapu (sacred) laws they coexisted with the region's environment and avoided most conflict between use and preservation. Maori dealings with the environment were carefully balanced by religious requirements and in the pursuit of their own interests - the act of surviving - the historic Maori did little to exploit the source of their sustenance (Devlin 1976). Social laws were embedded in environmental necessities.

Certain parts of the area, such as the Onetapu Desert, were highly revered and tapu to the Maori. The Maori went to the Tongariro region to gather mutton-birds or to bathe in the therapeutic waters of the Ketetahi Springs on the north-western slopes of Tongariro. Hence, even in its early history the region was used for a kind of recreational pursuit, although in those times activities were primarily for survival.

For many generations, the Maori, through their various customs, traditions and laws (tapu) coexisted with the environment, avoiding any conflict between use and preservation. Early explorers coming to what we now know as Tongariro National Park often experienced hostility from the local Maori people. This hostility stemmed from differences in ideas and feelings towards the mountains. The arrival of the Pakeha (European), with their different customs, brought a change to the Maori way of life. The European settlers and explorers brought with them ways of the 'Old World' -

England. The Maori began to trade with them for guns, tobacco and alcohol and soon learnt the ways of the white men.

To the visiting Pakeha (European) the mountains were a place to explore and conquer. To the Maori they were sacred. Much of the land is still considered to be sacred or 'tapu'. The mountains are seen as 'atua', places of spiritual forces, which control the natural world; their wild actions can create and destroy on a large scale. For the Maori, the importance of the Tongariro Trio remains as valid today as when they were first gifted in 1887.

4.2 Mananui Te Heuheu's Reign.

Herea's son, Mananui Te Heuheu, followed him as paramount chief. He was one of Maoridom's most distinguished chiefs. In the spirit of independence of the area he refused to sign the *Treaty of Waitangi*. He also refused to sell land to the New Zealand Company - a British firm interested in purchasing land from the Maori to attract and accommodate a major wave of European settlers. In May 1846, Mananui died when a landslide engulfed the village at Te Rapa near Waihi, Lake Taupo.

The first European known to visit the district was Andrew Powers in 1831. As he had been forced to journey from Wanganui to Maketu via Taupo as a Maori captive it is unlikely that he enjoyed any part of his journey or was inspired by the wonderful natural attractions (Dollimore 1959; Gregg 1960; Lythgoe 1985). There is no documentation of earlier European visits to the Tongariro Plateau.

By the mid-1830s, missionaries were beginning to penetrate into the Taupo area. In 1839, the Reverend Thomas Chapman visited Taupo and Rotoaira (Bidwell 1974; Gregg 1960). It is likely, that he was the first white man to see the Tongariro mountains at close range, with the exception of Powers.

Occasional European contact with the future park began early on in the history of New Zealand colonisation. The only means of travel was by foot and horseback and there was no source of accommodation. Travellers stayed at the few Maori settlements in the region or camped in tents.

The earliest account of the Tongariro volcanoes is from John Carne Bidwell, who made the first known ascent of Ngauruhoe in March 1839 (Bidwell 1974; Buckland 1982; Dollimore 1959). Bidwell had met with Chapman and visited the region only 3 weeks after the Chapman's journey to Taupo. He ascended the volcano without the consent of the local Maori. Even though the Maori were afraid of the volcanoes, they were jealous of Bidwell's achievement. After his descent, he was ordered to the presence of the paramount chief of Taupo, Te Heuheu Tukino II (Mananui). Te Heuheu was angry with Bidwell for ascending their sacred Mountain and ordered the Tuwharetoa to deny access to all Pakeha (European), thus making it extremely difficult for other explorers to scale any of the peaks.

Other early explorers who later climbed the volcanoes did so by avoiding the Tuwharetoa people. Where diplomacy failed, secrecy succeeded and a number of Pakeha (European) described the bizarre landscapes of Tongariro and Ruapehu and the frightening scene of Ngauruhoe's crater (Figure 4.1, p 48). Here, Bidwell (1974, p 51) explains the Crater of Ngauruhoe:

> The crater was the most terrific abyss I ever looked into or imagined... I did not stay at the top as long as I could have wished, because I heard a strange noise coming out of the crater, which I thought betokened another eruption.

Bidwell's visit was notable not only for the earliest known ascent of a mountain in the park by a European, but also because the first collection of plants from the central mountains of the North Island was collected on that occasion. Bidwell kept a comprehensive record of plants he saw and took specimens of many, establishing a reputation for himself as a botanist. Bidwell later forwarded this collection to the eminent botanist, Sir W.J. Hooker in England (AJHR 1908, C-11; Dollimore 1959; Lythgoe 1985).

Soon after Bidwell's explorations, two other missionaries passed along the outskirts of the future national park. They were the Rev. J. Buller (father of Walter Buller)(in Galbreath 1989) and the Archdeacon Henry Williams. In December 1839, Williams crossed the central North Island via the Rangipo Plains and Onetapu Desert to the east of Ruapehu and by Lake Rotoaira (Rogers 1961). These plains became the favoured route for travellers across the centre of the North Island (Dollimore 1959; Lythgoe 1985). Williams entered in his journal: '...At eight o'clock we were thankful to find ourselves clear of the wood, and entering a level country. The volcano Tongariro rose before us, the summit covered with snow, a splendid sight!' Henry Williams also made notes in his journal as he travelled about the rare flora and fauna he discovered.

While Henry Williams was travelling up one side of Taupo, the Rev James Buller was travelling down the other side on his way to Wellington. Buller continued his journey by the eastern route of the Volcanic Plateau (now Desert Road) and joined the ranks of those early travellers who were among the first Europeans to approach the mountains of Tongariro (Dollimore 1959; Lythgoe 1985).

In November 1841, Edward Jerningham Wakefield visited the area. He came from Wanganui by canoe and on foot accompanied by another European named Niblett. They crossed the Waimarino Plains and visited Rotoaira and Tokaanu settlements. At Tokaanu Niblett became ill, Wakefield was hence detained in the region for about a month. Having a traveller's curiosity, Wakefield wanted to climb the mountains, but he was aware that Bidwell's ascent during Te Heuheu's absence had angered the chief. Wakefield deemed it prudent to ask permission to climb the mountains - he was refused, and left the region without ascending them (Dollimore 1959; Duncan 1918; Wakefield 1845). In his book, *New Zealand after Fifty Years* (1889, pp 56-57), Wakefield presents his view of the mountains: 'The beauty and, above all, the strangeness of the scenery are indescribable.'

In 1841, the naturalist, Dr Ernst Dieffenbach, visited Rotoaira accompanied by Captain William Cornwallis Symonds. They were anxious to attempt an ascent of Tongariro, but were refused permission due to the solemn tapu that had been laid on the mountain. The accounts of his travels include what were probably the first published illustrations of the volcanoes. He also made several geological observations (Dieffenbach 1843; Dollimore 1959).

The Reverend Richard Taylor also made a number of journeys to the region. His early visits to the mountains were often made on trips between Wanganui and Taupo. He used both the western and eastern routes. His first journey was in November 1843 when he met another missionary, the Bishop G. A. Selwyn. During his journeys, Taylor collected information on the native plants and Maori customs and traditions. He recorded all of this information in his diaries and sketchbooks for publication at a later date (Dollimore 1959; Lythgoe 1985).

Others to visit the region before the Maori wars and subsequent formation of the King Country were interested in the artistic attributes of the land. George French Angas visited the area in October 1844 for the purpose of sketching. He found that to even paint the sacred mountain was forbidden, but he did manage to make some sketches. The results of his tour were published as a 10-part volume, *The New Zealanders Illustrated*, in 1846-1847 (Lythgoe 1985).

These pictures preserve a useful, graphic record of contemporary New Zealand. Like most early travellers Angas was anxious to climb Ngauruhoe and the other mountains and like others, he was forbidden. Angas offered Mananui everything he had in order to gain access to the peaks, but permission was never granted and Angas would break no 'tapu' (Angas cited in Duncan 1918, p 89; Dollimore 1959, pp 11-12).

Summary

Among the earliest travellers to the volcanic plateau were the clergy, the men of science and the curious sightseers. The clergy came in search of converts to their own particular creed. The scientists were eager to investigate and record the unique features to the region - features which curious travellers came to see for themselves (Cooper 1989).

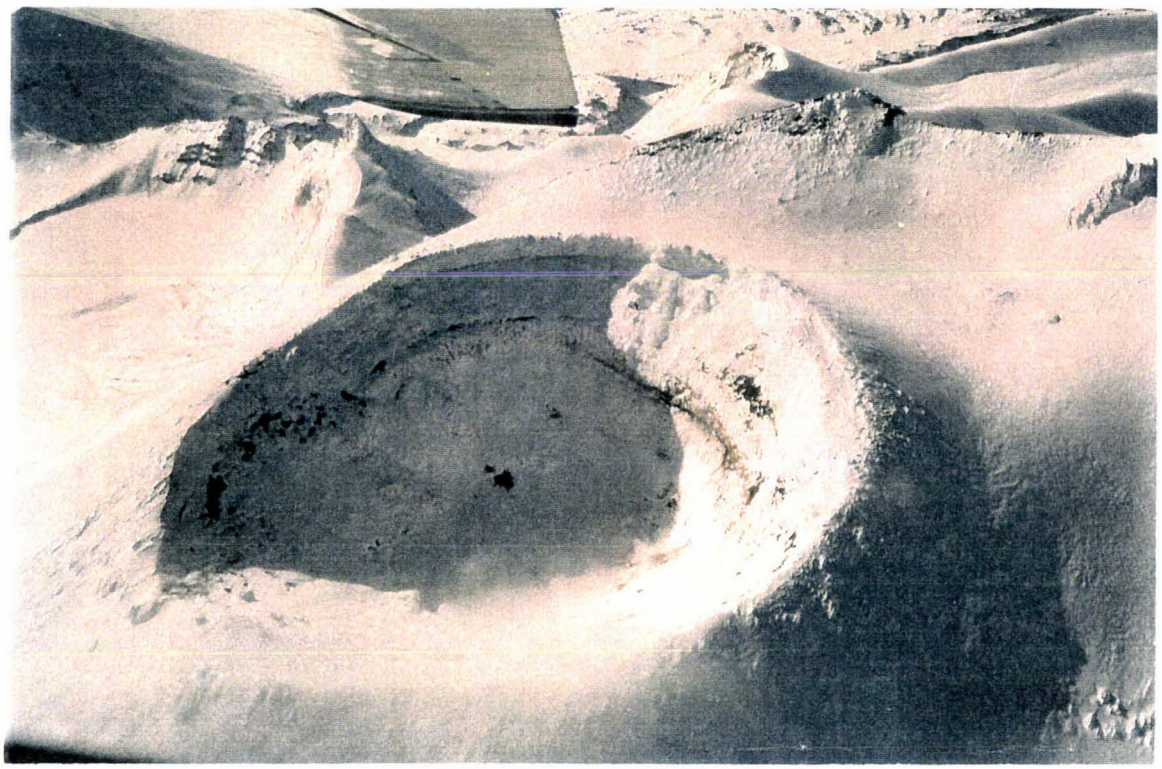
It is difficult to know exactly when wandering explorers first climbed the heights of the Tongariro Trio. Most people came and went with out leaving a record of their experience. Hence, early records of the region's inhabitants - the Maori, and their occasional visitors - some European explorers, are few and far between. The first reliable record is that of John Bidwell. For thirty years after his 1839 ascent of Ngauruhoe the Tuwharetoa successfully prevented almost all attempts to climb the volcanic summits. Bidwell's ascent was considered insensitive as the mountain was regarded as tapu and his climb was made despite the known views of the Tuwharetoa (Department of Conservation 1990, p 9). It came as a severe shock to the Tuwharetoa that the Pakeha (European) colonists apparently did not perceive the mountains as sacred.

From the late 1830s, after Bidwell's climb, the mountains of Tongariro attracted climbers and recreationists in increasing numbers. Inevitably, as time passed more Europeans visited the centre of the Volcanic Plateau. They were explorers, hardy surveyors, missionaries and Government officials. Sheep farmers and shepherds followed with dwellings and tracks being constructed. These early tourism pioneers helped draw the public's attention to the natural areas. A public appreciation developed which, in turn, lead to political pressure to declare the area a national park.

Access to the Tongariro Region in the 1800s was restricted to the foot tracks used by the Maori for generations. These tracks were the only means of communication for many years, until the 1870s. The Maori track networks were used for access, trade and food collection. Some tracks passed through strange and mysterious landscapes, such as the Rangipo Desert. At this stage, it was the difficulty of access and impediments of Maori law that prevented the mountains from being conquered.

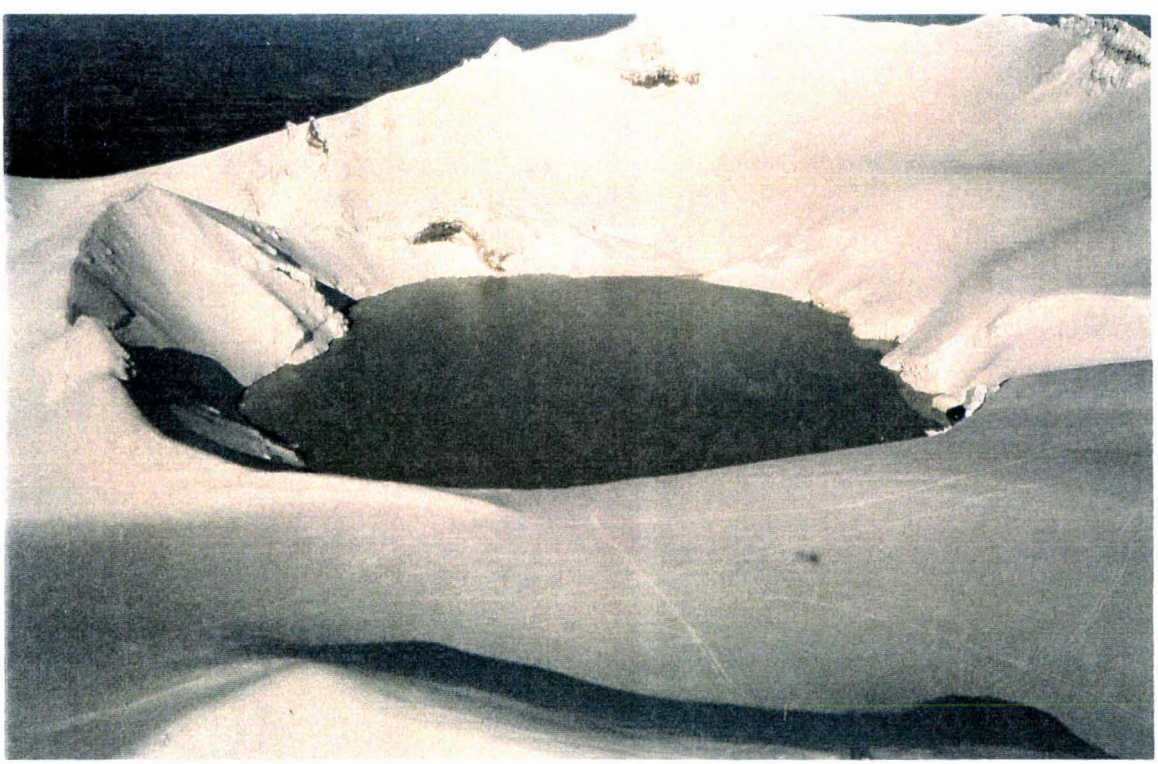
The work of early missionaries, scientists and other scholars was printed in the *Journal of Polynesian Society* and in the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, early explorers often went into print for the benefit of a wider public, possibly contemplating immigration, but also early tourist arrivals to New Zealand from either Indian, Australia or other parts of the British Empire (Lythgoe 1985, p 6).

Figure 4.1: Ngauruhoe's Crater.



Source: Personal – Harlen.

Figure 4.2: Mount Ruapehu's Crater Lake.



Source: Personal – Harlen.

4.3 Iwikau Te Heuheu's Reign 1846–1862

When Mananui died in 1846, his brother, Iwikau, succeeded him. For about 16 years Iwikau, a strong Christian, protected the Ngati Tuwharetoa from a period of increasing aggression between Maori and Pakeha (European). This was the time when the true scale of social and cultural change affecting the northern and coastal tribes was beginning to be felt in the more isolated inland areas. Change included widespread social dislocation (caused by pressure for land sales from the colonists) and an increase in disease and alcohol use among the Maori. From this unsettled state came the Land Wars. The real cause of the wars was the constant coercion to which the natives were subjected, in order to induce them to part with their lands (Grace, T.S. cited in Potton 1987).

Traditionally, Maori occupation, use and defence of an area ensured that members of a particular tribe held rights over the land. European law was set to fragment this long-standing relationship by imposing concepts of individual title and rights (Potton 1987). Iwikau was against wars with the European and restricted the sale of his territory to the Government (Grace 1992).

However, during this period, visitation to the area began to steadily increase. In February 1847, the missionary, Rev. William Colenso, crossed the Onetapu Desert after making the first known crossing of the Ruahine Range by a European. He began his journey at a village near Lake Rotoaira. While crossing the Onetapu his party was overcome by the violent natural weather forces for which the Desert had earned a reputation. He was fascinated by the charred remains of trees that lay around and by the unique vegetation and other physical aspects of the desert. He collected many botanical specimens on his travels and added to the knowledge of the region's botany (AJHR 1908, C-11; Colenso 1884, pp 40-41; McClymont 1940). Colenso again visited the central volcanic region in November 1849 (Dollimore 1959).

Early in 1850s, the Te Heuheu family decided to transfer the bones of Te Heuheu the Great, Mananui, to Tongariro-Ngauruhoe. Taylor wrote of this event and the significance of the mountains when he stated that 'the body of Te Heuheu being placed there renders it very sacred' (cited in Dollimore 1959, p 20).

In 1851, Henry Dyson made a second secret ascent of Ngauruhoe. When the chief, Iwikau Te Heuheu, learnt about the ascent he was extremely angry (Dollimore 1959, pp 15-17; Gregg 1960, p 10; Hewitt and Davidson 1954, p 20; Thomson 1853). Dyson stayed at Rotoaira and journeyed to the mountains from there. When reports of gold being found at Waiheki penetrated as far as Taupo, Dyson made frequent unrewarded excursions to look for the precious metal among the surrounding region of the Tongariro Trio. Dyson did find the glittering metal sulphuret of iron leading many to believe that he had discovered a mine of diamonds (Thomson 1853). This was one of the only mining events known to have taken place in the Tongariro region.

In January 1850, the first of many official government visits to the Tongariro region was made by Sir George Grey, Governor of New Zealand. This expedition consisted of Mr G.S. Cooper, Captain Symonds, Mr Peter Brady, Mr Cuthbert Clarke and

Pirikawau. Te Heuheu Iwikau and a train of his wives and followers escorted them. Grey and his party had come with the clear intention of climbing Tongariro (Ngauruhoe) but considered it wise to refrain due to the tapu (Duncan 1918). Three years later, in January 1853, Sir George Grey returned. He and Richard Taylor explored the eastern slopes of Ruapehu but turned back, when they were not far from the summit. On another occasion, Grey returned and climbed the same route previously taken with Taylor to a spot that had a great view over 'a vast extent of country'. He eventually reached the summit but only spent a few moments there and descended. It was thought that he did not discover the Crater Lake (Magurk 1939). However, when Hochstetter published his book on New Zealand in 1867, it was recorded in a footnote (Page 378) that when Grey reached the summit of Ruapehu he discovered a crater with hot springs (Dollimore 1959) - the first known sighting of the Crater Lake (Figure 4.2, p 48).

The history of the Taupo region would be incomplete without mentioning Thomas Samuel Grace and the assistance he gave to European travellers who passed through the interior. Grace first visited Tokaanu in 1853. He arrived with his wife and young family at Pukawa, on the south-western shores of Lake Taupo in April 1855, and set up the Pukawa mission station. He and his family lived there for ten years (Grace 1928, pp 42-109). Thomas Grace was the restraining force that kept Ngati Tuwharetoa out of the Waikato War when Te Heuheu Iwikau was alive. The Grace family had connections to the park in its future evolution. Thomas Grace was also the major proponent of the attempt to introduce sheep to the area. In 1856, the first sheep were brought overland from Hawke's Bay by the local Maori at Grace's suggestion. This early attempt at sheep farming soon failed, as did a venture of Grace's sons John and Lawrence - in the period between 1878 and 1880, they brought in a flock of 9,500 sheep to the Tongariro region (Department of Conservation 1981).

Ferdinand von Hochstetter came to New Zealand as geologist in the Austrian Novara Expedition. In 1859, he journeyed through the North Island via Tongariro and Taupo accompanied by Julius Haast, and dubbed the area 'the remotest interior'. He too was unable to persuade Te Heuheu Iwikau to grant permission to climb the volcanoes. Hochstetter prepared the first geological map of the district and made several useful observations (Dollimore 1959; Hochstetter 1959; Magurk 1939). His book, *New Zealand*, was considered the first most authoritative, interesting and, important of early accounts of the Volcanic Plateau which now contains Tongariro National Park (Dollimore 1959). His book also included several sketches of the Tongariro area (Figure 4.3, p 51).

Summary

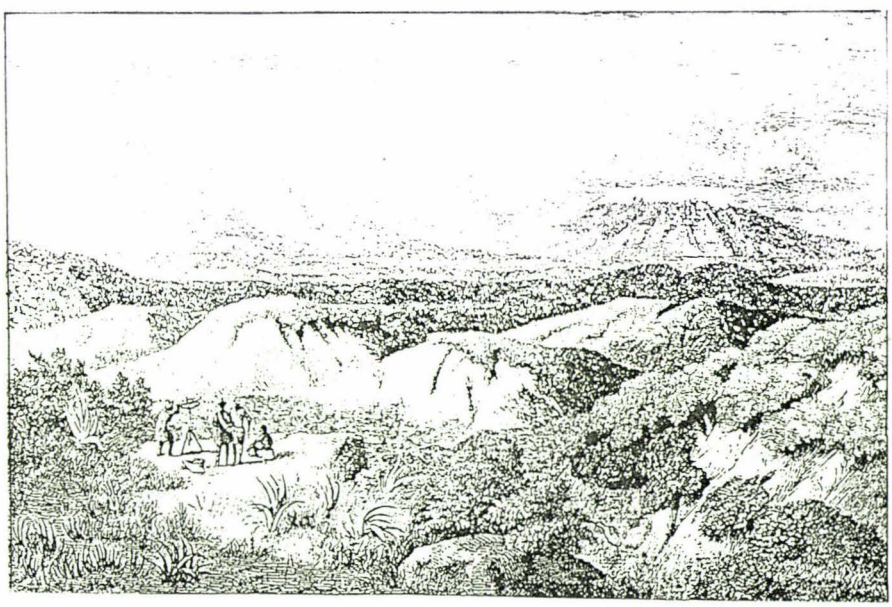
During these early years of visitation, travellers dubbed the region 'the remotest interior'. It took an arduous journey to get anywhere near the mountains. However, curiosity prompted many of the early visitors to the area. They had heard of the magnificent mountains and scenery and wished to view them, and were prepared to undergo the strenuous trip. These were the first tourists to arrive in the Tongariro

Region. Stories of the thermal features, glaciers, volcanoes, springs and strange flora and fauna had been exchanged and recorded - these were powerful lures for others to follow. The extensive range and variety of natural phenomena fascinated people.

The significance of these early visits lies in the publicity that resulted. Basic in its earliest forms, publicity detailing the beauties and charm of the area started in conversation, letters and newspaper articles. A few early tourists kept a journal and wrote of their encounters. These were later submitted and published in various journals and books. Most included a description of the regions beauty and its geological landscape, and were useful early promotional tools for the region.

Initial tourism in the region primarily catered for recreational pursuits. Most of the early visitors to the area wanted to climb the mountains and discover the secrets that they held. The only way to climb one of the three major peaks was to avoid the Maori as Te Heuheu always refused permission. The principal use of the region in the late 1800s was therefore not recreation but grazing, mainly due to the efforts of the Grace family.

Figure 4.3: Hochstetter's sketch.



Source: Alexander Turnball Library.

4.4 Horonuku Te Heuheu's Reign 1862-1888

Figure 4.4: Te Heuheu Tukino IV.

Source: Tongariro National Park Collection.

When Iwikau died in October 1862, Mananui's younger son, Rotatai (known as Horonuku 'landslide' in memory of his father), gained leadership of the Tuwharetoa - Chief Te Heuheu Tukino IV (Figure 4.4). Horonuku lived in a time of great transition, as the European hold on the country became stronger. During this time troubles over Waikato land ownership took place. Due to strong family ties to the Waikato tribe, Horonuku had no alternative other than to fight with them against the Europeans, in 1863. Having assisted the Waikato he later found himself obliged to assist Te Kooti. Fortunately, the Ngati Tuwharetoa escaped land confiscation due to their limited involvement in the land wars, and because their lands were less suitable for farming than the Waikato region.

The present park was then part of the territory forbidden to Europeans. The inhabitants of the areas to the north and west yielded loyalty to the Maori King. The future park was part of the King Country and remained virtually closed to European settlement until formal peace was made in the 1880s (Dollimore 1959).

4.4.1 Visitors

The wars of the 1860s between Maori and Pakeha (European) and their aftermath disrupted interior travel for the next two decades. Despite the danger, some attempts were made by Europeans to explore the mountain land (George 1990). The Land Wars also disrupted the traditional Maori way of life. This coupled with the expansion of European laws, culture and religion, facilitated a wave of exploration into the mountains of Tongariro by the Maori, as they became more westernised in their ideas.

In the mid to late-1860s, several explorers began to investigate the mountains between the Hawkes Bay coast and what is now the Tongariro National Park in search of gold. It is possible that some of the eastern parts of the future park were examined by gold seekers, but there is no record of any such investigations (Dollimore 1959).

By the 1860s, pastoralists from the Hawkes Bay region came to the area to find new country for their increasing flocks (Dollimore 1959). In 1878-79, the first large-scale sheep farming began in the Tongariro area thanks to Lawrence and John Grace. The main sheep block was called the Taiwhai Block and was situated east of what is now State Highway 48, reaching across to Ohakura Bush and up to the Saddle between Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu. Due to inferior communication and transport systems it was not an economical proposition. Sheep farming in the area was gradually phased out. Possibly the most interesting aspect of sheep farming was that it led to the erection of the first building in the future park (Blount 1975).

One of the first recorded ascents of Mount Tongariro was made by an European in 1867 when geologist James Hector made a climb. Ngauruhoe was climbed ten years later in 1877 by the English artist, P.F. Connelly. He used Maori guides for his ascent, thoroughly explored the crater and took a number of sketches and photographs of the locality. However, on his return to the Maori settlement, at which he was staying, he was robbed of his horses, sketches and clothes for breaking tapu (Allison 1895).

Another early climb of Ruapehu was the ascent of Te Heuheu (Ruapehu's northern peak) by two brothers, John and Thomas Allison. They met Connelly at Tokaanu and were told of his misfortune. The Allisons wisely avoided Maori settlements. On the 12 December 1877, they began up a north-eastern spur. Nearing the peak, they were enveloped in fog, which became thicker as they climbed. After seven hours they reached the summit. Visibility was limited to about a hundred yards and they descended without seeing the Crater Lake (Allison 1895; Dollimore 1959; Pascoe 1958).

In 1879, George Beetham and Joseph P. Maxwell set out from their base camp by horse to climb Ruapehu. Initially, it was believed that they were the first Europeans to see the Crater Lake (Beetham cited in Dollimore 1959, p 28), but unknown to them Sir George Grey had gained this status some twenty years earlier.

In 1880, Rauriri Ketu, a shepherd built the first hut in the park, at 400m, as a cottage for the Taiwhai end of the Tongariro Run. Local Maori regarded the area as being haunted by the ghost of a young woman who had been murdered there. In winter, a young shepherd was found dead in the hut and it was promptly burnt. They believed

that the ghost had something to do with the shepherd's death (Blount 1975; Dollimore [undated]; Harrop 1935). John Grace built another hut at a nearby site and this was called the Haunted Whare. During its time, the whare was occasionally occupied by tramping parties who climbed the mountains and it was said that the ghost of the handsome Maori woman visited there frequently (Blount 1975; Debreceny 1981; Dollimore [undated]). Later in 1944, this hut also burnt down. The site can still be seen to the left of State Highway 47 at Whakapapa just above the Tawhai Falls Track.

A shepherd, Robert Thompson Batley, became a pioneer European resident in the district in the 1860s. He was familiar with the Tongariro Trio at a time when other Europeans were forbidden to climb them. During either 1869 or 1870 he observed steam rising from the summit basin of Ruapehu raising the questions as to whether or not the volcano was actually extinct. Batley was so highly esteemed by the Tuwharetoa, that their paramount chief granted him permission to ascend Tongariro in the 1880s. This concession did not apply to the higher peak of Ngauruhoe. It was the first occasion on which the paramount chief relaxed the ban for a Pakeha (European) (Batley 1994; Dollimore 1959). In August 1886, Batley successfully submitted an article to Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle's literary competition, describing the regions natural and cultural aspects. This would have been one of the first published pieces available to the wider British public to give an insight into the Tongariro Region.

In 1881 a party consisting of W. Birch, his wife, and H.H. and A.E. Russell, climbed Ruapehu. This was the first female traverse of Ruapehu. They reached the top and found the crater to be warm, confirming Bately's observation (Dollimore 1959; Hewitt and Davidson 1954). Prior to this it was thought that Ruapehu was no-longer active. This discovery opened up new doors of exploration in the area.

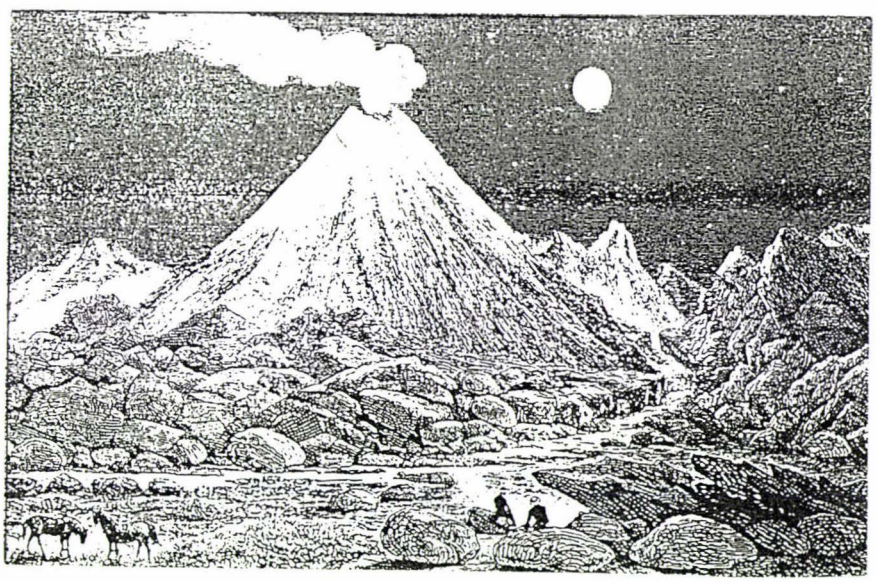
In 1882, a gentleman-explorer, J.H. Kerry-Nicholls, and his guide and interpreter, J.A. Turner, volunteered to explore the Central Plateau and King Country for the Government. While in the region, Kerry-Nicholls and Turner, unknown to the Maori, made an ascent of Ruapehu and Ngauruhoe. They reached the summit of Ruapehu to see a snow filled crater furrowed into deep chasms (Magurk, J. 1939). During their ascent of Ngauruhoe, Kerry-Nicholls and Turner obtained a magnificent view of Mount Egmont, miles away on the West Coast, and an extensive panoramic view of plains and forest to the west. Kerry-Nicholls stated that (cited in Dollimore 1959, pp 39-40):

> ..here was... a model Switzerland under a semitropical sky - a region designed, as it were, by the artistic hand of nature for a national recreation-ground, where countless generations of men might assemble to marvel at some of the grandest works of creation. With the Te Pakaru Plain proclaimed as a public domain, New Zealand would possess the finest and most unique park in the world. For healthfulness of climate, variety of scenery and volcanic and thermal wonders, there would be no place to equal it in the northern or southern hemisphere, no spot where within so small a radius could be seen natural phenomena so varied and so remarkable. It would embrace within its boundaries the hot springs of Tongariro and those of Tokaanu, and would stretch from the waters of Lake Taupo to those of Rotoaira. The surrounding table-land, with its millions of acres of open plains

> covered with rich volcanic soils, would eventually become the granary of the North Island, while the Kaimanawa Mountains and the Tuhua should give forth their mineral treasures on either side.

Kerry-Nicholls' travels were published in his book, *The King Country* (1974). This book includes several sketches of the area that Kerry-Nicholls made whilst in the Tongariro Region (Figure 4.5, p 55). He also kept a record of flora and fauna he encountered on his journey into the King Country (Dollimore 1959; Kerry-Nicholls 1974). Nevertheless, Kerry-Nicholls' comments are interesting because they reflect on the aesthetic values of the time and the manner in which such portrayals of the landscape would contribute to the development of tourist promotion of the region.

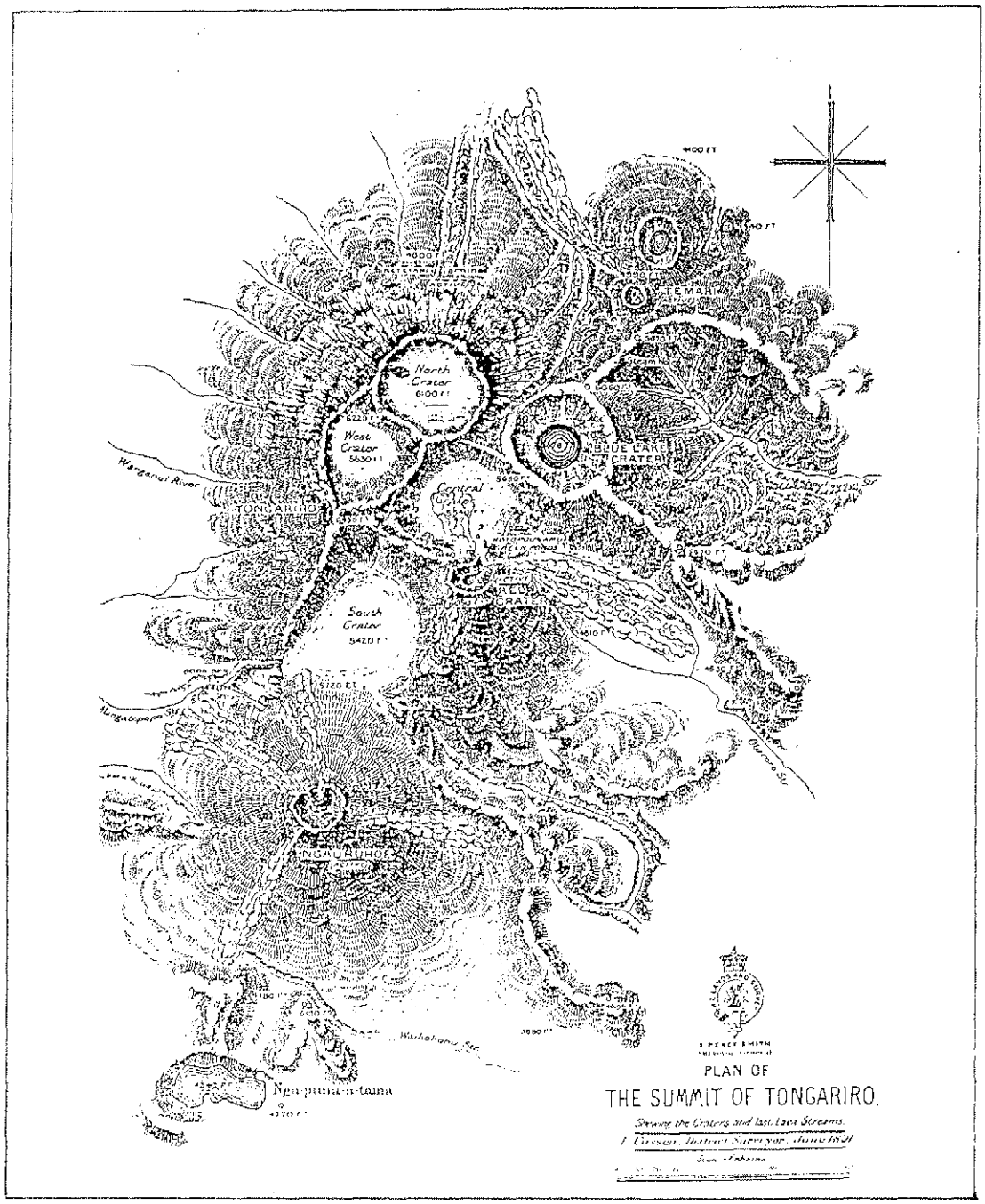
Figure 4.5: A picture by Kerry-Nicholls.



Source: Alexander Turnball Library.

In March 1883, Government Surveyors, Laurence Cussen and a William Simms, began the first triangulation of the district - stations were erected on Ruapehu (8,878 feet) and Ngauruhoe (7,376 feet). The surveyors were able to climb Ngauruhoe by misleading some of the local Maori about their intentions (AJHR 1883, C-2, p 12; Dollimore 1959). Later, in April 1886, Laurence Cussen undertook more official explorations of the region. He climbed Ruapehu and found the Crater Lake steaming vigorously. After these visits, Cussen published an important paper stating that Ruapehu was not extinct as was presumed (AJHR 1908, C-11). Cussen also collected many rocks and recorded the geology of the King Country (Dollimore 1959, p 42). In 1891, Laurence Cussen was the first to complete a detailed topographical map of the mountains (Figure 4.6, p 56).

Figure 4.6: Laurence Cussen's map.



Source: Alexander Turnball Library.

In January 1886, J. Park of the Geological Survey led a party consisting of William Dunnage, C. Dalin and F.G.S. Walter. They travelled on horseback, camped and climbed Ruapehu. When they reached the top, they found a frozen Crater Lake. Park then went on to become the first man to ascend Ruapehu's highest peak, Tahurangi, then Paretetaitonga. (Dollimore 1959; Gregg 1960; Hill 1895). He described the geology of the country west of the Volcanoes in his book, published in 1887.

The period 1887-90 saw several ascents by Henry Hill, a geologist. He spent much of his holiday time in the park country and nearby areas. For many years, he was the most active investigator of the region's volcanoes, geology, topography and vegetation (Dollimore 1959; Pascoe 1958). In 1891, Hill submitted a paper to the Hawkes Bay Philosophical Institute describing the Tongariro area and included detailed descriptions of each mountain's botany and geology. The paper was published the following year in the publication *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* (Hill 1892).

R. Duncan and F. Rhodes set out on horseback for the Volcanic Plateau, in December 1889. They crossed the eastern side of the mountains, climbing the north-eastern side of Ruapehu to the snow line. Near Lake Rotoaira they came across a post marked 'To Tokaanu,' one of the first signs in the area (Duncan 1918) and an indication of the growth in visitor traffic to the region.

One of the first mountain guides in the area, Roderick Grey, published his book *Tongariro*, in 1890 (cited in Cooper 1989). In it he made reference to what must have been the earliest accommodation for tourists near the central North Island mountains. Grey describes a neat little accommodation house, located at Papakai - in between Ketetahi and Lake Rotoaira, providing easy access to the mountains. It had been established by a Mr Leake, who provided everything tourists might have required during their stay. A road had been put through from Tokaanu as far as Papakai in 1887. It had been intended that it should link up with the Main Trunk Railway at Waimarino (now National Park), but it had not been completed (Cooper 1989).

In 1892, Beetham, his wife, niece and two friends made a holiday trip. They climbed Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu. Mrs Beetham and her niece were thought to be the first white women to climb Mount Ngauruhoe and it was unlikely that Maori women had ever preceded them (Dollimore 1959; Pascoe 1958). However, Harry Wilcox, a guide in Tongariro National Park, disputed this claim. Wilcox claimed that, in the late 1880s or early 1890s, he had taken two ladies from Edinburgh to climb Tongariro and Ngauruhoe (Dollimore 1959).

Summary

From the beginning the unique and diverse landscape of the Tongariro region attracted tourists from near and far. However, the Land Wars disrupted travel throughout the interior of the North Island, and the ban against European ascents of Ngauruhoe and Tongariro continued until the late 1880s. After the ban was lifted, the flow of tourists to the Tongariro Region increased as other parties undertook explorations of the area.

From the 1860s through to the 1890s, explorers came with the main objective of climbing one or more of the volcanoes. Visitors investigated various aspects of the plateau; sketches were made, photographs were taken and biological species and geographical formations were recorded (AJHR 1895, C-1; Dollimore 1959; Duncan 1918). Although the driving force of an ascent at this stage was to conquer, another reason to explore the region was for science - it was important to discover more about this volcanic 'wonderland'.

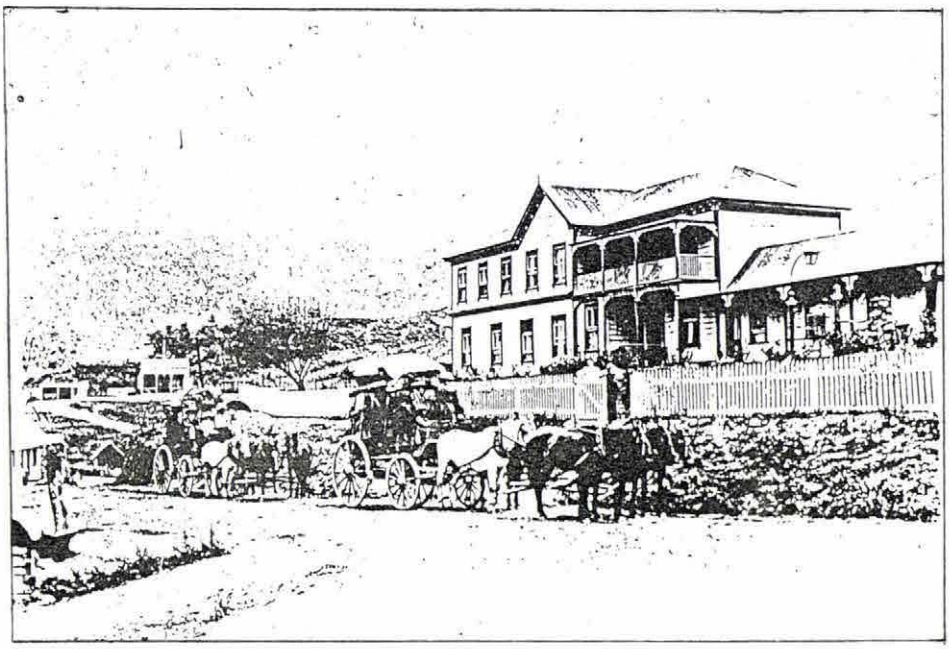
People came to the area to study volcanoes, plants and animals, fascinated by one of the only areas in Aotearoa (New Zealand) which is continually modified by volcanoes. However, through more advanced transportation, as New Zealand opened up, other people began to visit. Visitors came to the park for a variety of reasons; from passive sightseeing and picnicking to back country uses such as rock and ice climbing. The nature of the park - its volcanoes, plants and other characteristics - made it an ideal place for people interested in educational trips and photography, geology and botany, as well as outdoor recreational pursuits. By the 1890s, there were a number of people visiting the area to see the volcanoes and their unusual landscape.

Due to increasing visitation to the area, demand increased for better access. The Desert Road, on the eastern side of the mountains, was started in 1893. It was established from Waiouru to Tokaanu in the face of great difficulties, becoming the chief means of access for climbers and tourists. Prior to this, the only means of access to the Volcanic Plateau was by foot or horse via Maori tracks through bush country.

By the 1880s, many visitors to the region travelled up the Wanganui by riverboat to Pipiriki, where at the Hotel (Figure 4.7, p 59) they transferred to a horse-drawn coach for the winding route through the Waimarino forests to Waiouru, and along the Desert Road track to the Waihohonu. Except for supplies that could be obtained from Tokaanu, Waiouru, Pipiriki or local Maori villages, all food and equipment had to be carried by back or horseback. The excursion was one for rich, robust and enthusiastic tourists only.

In the early days, tourists en-route across the North Island cruised up the Wanganui River aboard a grand steamer, admiring the lush forest scenery. However, the arrival of horses in the region did mean that travelling became easier (Figure 4.8, p 59). Parts of the region could be traversed by buggy, but as the tracks were rough, walking or riding on horseback was usually easier (Terence 1888). The introduction of horses made the mountains more accessible to a greater number of people. With increased visitation, thoughts turned to the formation of a tourist infrastructure to support them.

Figure 4.7: Pipiriki Hotel.



Source: Tongariro National Park Collection.

Figure 4.8: Pack horse.

Source: Tongariro National Park Collection.

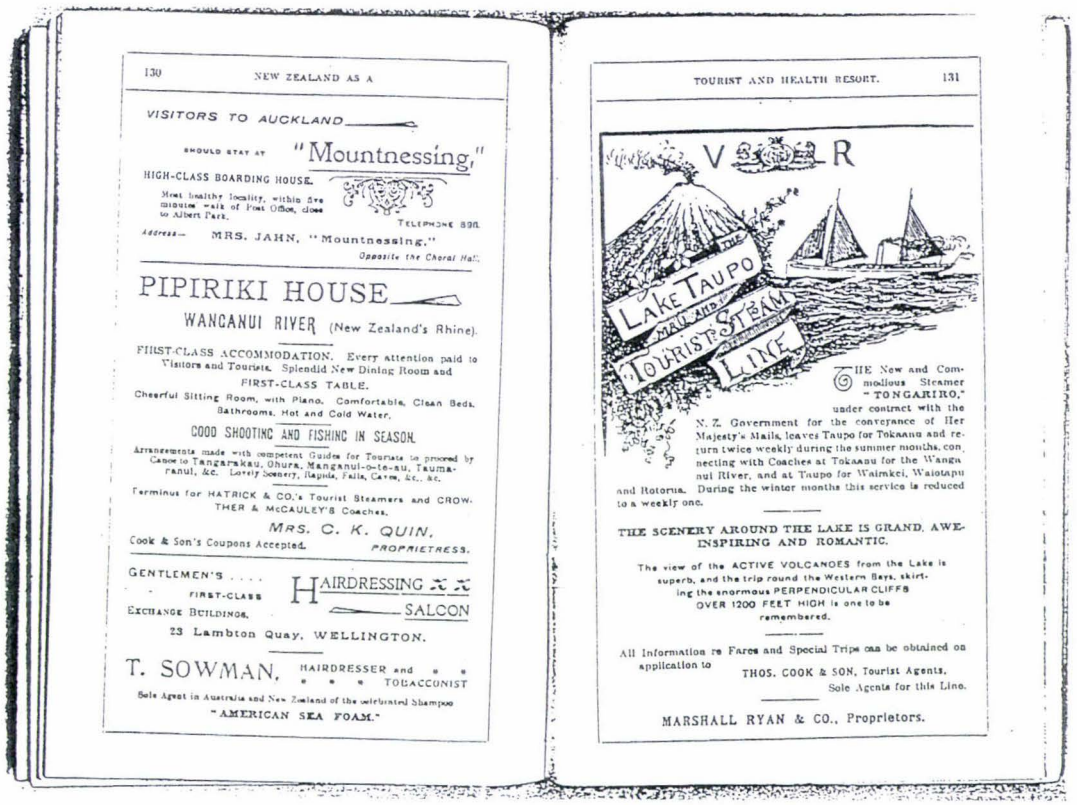
During this time, many visitors used the hotel at Tokaanu as their base and travelled from there to the Volcanic Plateau. Tokaanu was regarded as an excellent headquarters for mountaineering parties - the accommodation was more ample than at any other place in the vicinity of the central mountains (Dollimore [undated]). However, the majority of visitors to the plateau stayed in Maori pas (village), shepherd huts, or their own tents (Terence 1888), or at Mr Leake's accommodation house at Papakai. The remoteness of the Tongariro Trio necessitated the provision of facilities such as accommodation, supplies and equipment, closer to the mountains.

Tokaanu served as a base for climbing trips into the Tongariro National Park. Guided ascents of Ruapehu and Ngauruhoe took at least four days; food, tents and pack and saddle horses were provided. Sturdy packs and saddle horses were an essential part of any excursion to the park for many years, as there were no roads suitable for cars in the vicinity of the park until nearly 1920.

Prior to the 1890s, guiding services were occasionally provided by local Maori (Te Heuheu Tukino 1900 cited in Dollimore [undated]). Perhaps the earliest guide to publicise was the shepherd Roderick Gray. Others that appear to have been well known pioneer guides of the district, were H. Wilcox, R.B. Maunsell, and G.F. Allen. Maunsell led horseback parties from Tokaanu to the mountains. In 1894, George Allen established and maintained a 'holiday camp' on the banks of the Waihohonu Stream and guided many parties to the area's attractions. He did a lot to publicise the park (Dollimore [undated], 1959).

At this time, most people who had heard of the Tongariro Trio and its environs had a vivid idea of its actual appearance. As the region became more widely known by being depicted by artists; studied, mapped and described by scientists; and written about by travellers in guidebooks and articles, more people wished to visit. By 1889, the *N.Z. Herald* carried an account of the tourist traffic at Tokaanu: 'A great many tourists are now making their way to this side of the lake, to view the wonders of this district which are many and varied.' It was the universal opinion of those who had been in the region that it was 'far more interesting than anything they have seen in the Rotorua district or Taupo side of the lake and that ultimately it will become one of the greatest tourist resorts in New Zealand' (Cooper 1989). Gradually, publicity attracted those seeking experiences in recreation, such as climbing, tramping, fishing, shooting, skiing, to the region (Figure 4.9, p 61). Ketetahi Springs, on the northern flank of Mount Tongariro (Figure 4.10, p 61) gained a reputation for curing skin complaints and rheumatism.

Figure 4.9: Tourist and Health Resort Travel Guide, Advert.



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Source: Tongariro National Park Collection.

Figure 4.10: Ketetahi Springs.

Source: Personal – Harlen.

Increase in the region's popularity was also prompted by interest expressed by influential people. Many Members of Parliament, such as William Fox (AJHR 1874 H-26, Dollimore 1959), showed an interest in the area and its tourism potential. The first important government official to visit the area, George Gray, expressed continuing interest in the area for many years and was responsible for much publicity. Many early explorers also wrote of their adventures and these glowing reports nurtured a sense of national pride. The Tongariro Trio was also mentioned in *Maoriland*, a publication issued by the New Zealand Steamship Company Ltd (Wilson, Waddle and Whitson 1884). Some of the growth in tourist traffic could be attributed to this publication.

The increase in visitation from the 1880s lead to the realisation that there was money to be made from New Zealand's natural attractions. Therefore, at the end of the Nineteenth Century and the beginning of the twentieth, there were attempts to develop tourism. This initially manifested itself in the opening of tracks, which were intended to become roads.

4.4.2 Creation of Tongariro National Park

> Let us not consume everything to-day without thought of the morrow.
> Potts, T.H. (1882 & 1976, p 33)

Increasing numbers of Europeans visited the Tongariro region toward the end of the Nineteenth Century. As laws and land ownership began to change, the Tuwharetoa tribe fell on troubled times in the confusion which followed colonisation - their ancestral lands were threatened. This was a central reason for the establishment of the nation's first national park.

During 1870-1880, a painter-politician, William Fox, stood ground against the wholesale development of New Zealand's natural area. Fox had been to Yosemite and was interested in the *Yellowstone Act* and its possible implications for the North Island thermal districts. In February 1874, he began a tour of the Volcanic Plateau. Later he wrote to the Premier of New Zealand about the initiative of the United States in acting to protect such areas. He regarded with horror the prospect that the hot springs and geysers might become 'surrounded with pretentious hotels and scarcely less offensive tea-gardens' (AJHR 1874 H-26). Fox urged that New Zealand should implement similar legislation to that at Yellowstone for the Tongariro Region.

Unfortunately in 1874, the contemporary feeling against land preservation led to a rejection of such a proposal. Despite this, in the years that followed, Fox was the most influential voice for the creation of a park in New Zealand similar to Yosemite and Yellowstone. The link Fox established between the national park concept and the future of the thermal areas was to persist well into the next decade and prove important in the moves establishing Tongariro National Park. Fox's proposal for the Tongariro Region also influenced other conservationists (Harris 1974).

During this period, under the *Land Act 1877* reserves were established. These were envisaged as providing for production and protection of forestry rather than for ecological purposes. The first scenic reserves and flora and fauna reserves were established under the *Land Act 1892*. Agricultural settlement was regarded as the primary land use for both economic and social reasons. Consequently, scenic reserves, flora and fauna reserves and national parks show peculiar location bias. They were typically established primarily on lands unsuited for settlement. Fortunately, scenically valued landscapes tended to coincide with areas unsuited for settlement. However, where lands contained both scenic and settlement value, the latter had unquestioned priority (Roche 1984).

From the late 1890s aesthetic and scientific efforts at protecting the natural environment were directed towards certain landscape types. The European alpine tourist tradition coupled with the idea of panoramic scenery pushed attention towards upland-forested areas. Lowland forest areas, were more highly values for saw milling and conversion to pasture. Preservation efforts were therefore also pushed by the settlement frontier towards upland regions (Roche 1984).

A significant statement for nature preservation also dates from this period. Thomas Potts, a Canterbury run holder, politician and naturalist, presented what is probably the earliest detailed expression of preservationist goals in an 1878 paper entitled National Domains (Potts 1976, preface). This paper was reprinted in a collection of Potts' essays in 1882 (1976, pp 30-36). The article was written 'with the faint hope of calling public attention to the wisdom of making provision for the future by timely reservations of land for the important purpose indicated' (Potts 1976, preface). Potts was concerned by the rapid rate at which development was occurring. He wrote,

> reserves for forest conservancy commend themselves to those who take into thoughtful consideration some effects that follow the speed with which the settlement of Europeans... progresses... effects which every year makes it more manifest, that the indigenous objects which illustrate the province of natural history are becoming rarer from day to day.

However, during the major land acquisition phase, prior to 1920, little attention was paid to the question of biological viability of reserves. The 'worthless' lands view of national parks, so characteristic of early attitudes towards North American parks (Runte 1977, 1979; see also Chapter Two), was clearly also dominant in New Zealand.

The early 1880s brought a shift in the general socio-political environment, a shift back to an atmosphere more tolerant of schemes concerned with preserving areas from private capture and the depredation of the frontier. There was a feeling that they should be public property. Visitor numbers to the Volcanic Plateau were on the increase and this magnified a growing concern for the preservation of attractions (Harris 1974).

In 1882, four years after Potts' deliberations, the special Commissioner from *the New Zealand Herald*, J.H. Kerry-Nicholls, volunteered to explore the Central Plateau and King Country. He travelled on behalf of the Government, which was hoping to open up the land. On his return in early 1883, Kerry-Nicholls wrote an article for the *Weekly*

News stipulating that a purchase of part of the Volcanic Plateau from the Maori should be one of the foremost priorities of any Government with the welfare of the State at heart (September 8, 1883). This call for a specific 'public park', in addition to Fox's (1873) and Potts' (1878) suggestions, assisted in the later declaration of Tongariro National Park (Harris 1974).

Following Kerry-Nicholls' proposal, members of the House became strongly interested in the movement to preserve the Tongariro Trio. Dr Alfred K. Newman (Minister for Thorndon) put forward his own proposal for preserving the area in 1884 (NZ PD 1884, Vol. 49, p 532). Another member of the House, Lawrence Grace (Minister for Tauranga), had an interest through close personal ties with the region. His father, Thomas Grace, had been an early missionary in the Taupo region. Lawrence Grace had grown up in the area and married a daughter of the paramount chief of the Tuwharetoa tribe. Over the next two years, Grace approached his father-in-law, Te Heuheu Tukino IV, about selling the mountains to the Crown for protection as a public reserve. Initially, Te Heuheu was not interested (Harris 1974). However, in January1886, a sitting of the Land Court was held at Tapuaeharuru (near Taupo) to determine the ownership of the various blocks of land within the area in accordance with Maori custom and usage. As Te Heuheu had assisted the Waikato tribe and Te Kooti, the tribes who had fought on the side of the Crown came to the Court to question his rights. The main challengers were tribes from the Wanganui District who still claimed parts of the territory to the south of Mount Ruapehu. This party was lead by Keepa Te Rangihiwinui Taitoko, known by the Europeans as Major Kemp.

At the sitting, Te Heuheu Horonuku heard the speech of Keepa. He rose and answered him,

> Who are you that speak of your fires of occupation burning on my country? Where is your fire, your ahika? Where is it? You cannot show me, for it doesn't exist. Now I'll show you mine! Look yonder. Behold my ahika, mountain Tongariro. There burns my fire, kindled by my ancestor Ngatoroirangi. It was he who lit that fire and it has burned there ever since! That is my fire of occupation! Now show me yours!

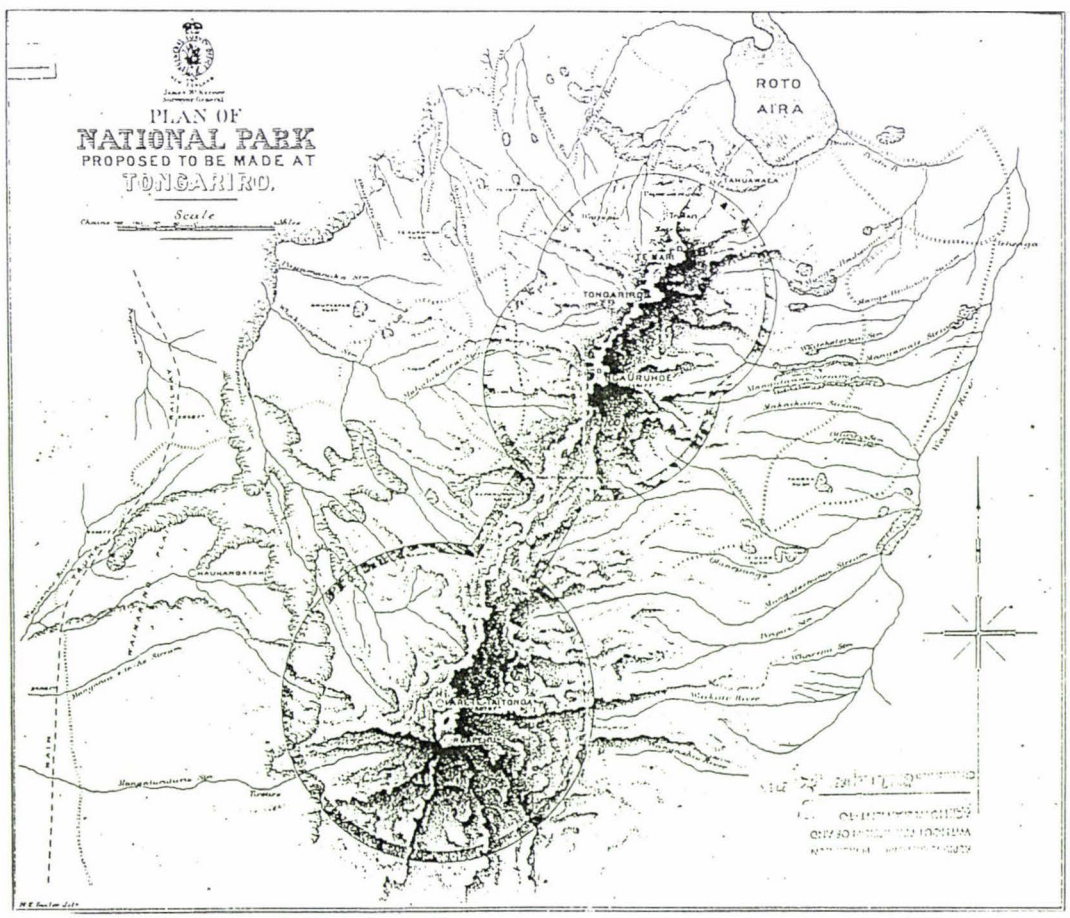
The wit and force of the argument, so thoroughly Maori and appropriate, silenced Keepa. He and his party had no standing to pursue their claim. However, pressure mounted from all sides, and Ngati Tuwharetoa were in the middle. During the Court investigations, Lawrence Grace, his Pakeha (European) adviser and son-in-law assisted Te Heuheu Horonuku. Grace recognised the importance of Horonuku re-establishing his mana before the Court, as well as the importance of resolving the land problem before the Land Court hearing. Grace could see that one possible way of saving the mountains was to protect the peaks by forming a national park. He was aware of the creation of Yellowstone National Park in the United States and that public ownership, under the legislated protection of the Crown, was an option for preserving Tongariro. Grace made known to Horonuku his ideas about the formation of a national park (Cowan 1927).

Te Heuheu realised that change was inevitable. He was worried that the separation of Maori land into legally described parcels meant that his sacred mountains could, at some

further date, be sold off piece by piece. Therefore, Te Heuheu and Grace decided that the only way to save the sacred mountains and Te Heuheu's mana was to offer the land 'to the Government as a reserve and park, to be the property of all the people of New Zealand, in memory of Te Heuheu and the Tuwharetoa tribe' (Cowan 1927, Harris 1974). The foundations of Tongariro National Park were laid. Two years later in 1888, Horonuku, Te Heuheu Tukino IV, died and was succeeded by his son Tureiti, Te Heuheu Tukino V (Cooper 1989).

From the day of the gifting, in January 1886, it was recognised that the land involved was too small and disconnected. The original park was only the 2,630 hectares (6,500 acres) surrounding the mountaintops. This area, with no trees and little vegetation, was hardly representative of the Tongariro region (Potton 1987, p 134) and there was a feeling that it did not live up to the standards set in the United States (Yellowstone was 3,600 square miles). A national park was meant to be spatially continuous, not three disconnected units, none of which go beyond the craters of the respective cones (Figure 4.11).

Figure 4.11: Map of original gift area and proposed park, 1887.



Source: Alexander Turnball Library.

Over the next few years, the Crown set about buying adjoining lands (Potton 1987). Negotiations with owners of non-gift blocks became long and tedious. The seven-year interval before Tongariro National Park was finally established could not solely be blamed on the difficulties that arose in securing additional land. Procedures were also delayed by a succession of challenges. The Maniopoto tribe of the Wanganui District was still adamant that the placing of the Tuwharetoa boundary encroached their land. In August 1889, it was found that the Maniopoto did have a case and the boundary was adjusted accordingly. This settlement facilitated continued negotiation for additional land.

The Member of Parliament for Thorndon, Dr A.K. Newman, was the most prominent and persistent figure in ensuring that a park did eventuate from Te Heuheu's gift. Throughout 1888 and 1889, Newman was constantly badgering the government about finalising the park's establishment. The Government was reluctant to establish the park before possession of a bulk of the non-gift area was assured and unfortunately many of the natives were unwilling to sell or willing to sell only at an exorbitant price (NZ PD 1890, Vol. 69, pp 952-953). Therefore, it was another four years before a national park was established.

Fifteen years after Potts first proposed the idea of reserves for preservation, the concept was accepted and gained widespread publicity. This publicity was generated by a small number of enthusiastic, well-known campaigners including Henry Wright (a business man), Mr Ballance (the Premier), Lord Onslow (the Governor of New Zealand) and Walter Buller (a magistrate for the natives). Their continued support for preservation and the establishment of reserves helped to realise its acceptance (Galbreath 1989). However, the park notion remained hazy and ill defined during the early years of negotiations. The Native Minister, John Ballance, introduced the *Tongariro National Park Bill* into Parliament in 1887. During this reading, Ballance remarked that he thought the park 'will be a source of attraction to tourists from all parts of the world, and that in time this will be one of the most famous parks in existence' (NZ PD 1887, Vol. 57, p 399). He also proposed charging tourists visiting the area a reasonable fee and leasing portions of land to people who would keep accommodation houses and provide services (NZ PD 1887, Vol. 57, pp 399-400). The motive behind these suggestions was for the park to become self-sufficient in funding. Even though Ballance emphasised preservation of the area, his concept of a national park also emphasised its recreational possibilities. In a similar fashion to North America and Australia, the New Zealand government saw national parks as a means to develop areas through tourism, the aesthetic values of regions being the attraction to the tourist (Hall and Shultis 1991).

In June 1893, the *Tongariro National Park Bill* was re-introduced by the Minister of Lands, John McKenzie. A clause to make the territory inalienable was suggested by the member for Halswell, Mr Rolleston. This was designed to deal with the fact that forest reserves had previously been alienated whenever there was any political pressure - several other members agreed (NZ PD 1893, Vol. 79, p 310). McKenzie's approach was quite different to that of Ballance. He promoted reservations with non-economic goals saying that the land in the vicinity of the park was 'of no great value'. Apparently,

it 'was almost useless as far as grazing was concerned' (NZ PD 1894, Vol. 86, p 579). Similarly, McKenzie's view supports the wasteland theory dealing with early national park designation in North America and Australia, claiming that the national parks were determined by the land's lack of economic value and as a means to develop areas through tourism.

Both McKenzie and Ballance emphasised the areas economic value through preservation and use. Ballance said 'it ought to be set aside as a national park for New Zealand. The beauties of that portion of the country would be preserved for all time to come for the benefit of the people of New Zealand and they would be thought a great deal of in time to come' (NZ PD 1894, Vol. 86, p 769).

Summary

New Zealand was the first country to reserve a national park in cooperation with its indigenous people. However, the reasons for Te Heuheu's gift appear to have been political rather than environmental. Firstly, other tribes in the area were contending for ownership of parts of the park. Secondly, the encroachment of the Pakeha into the area had the potential to violate the sacred nature of the peaks to the Ngati Tuwharetoa.

Even from before the designation of the country's first national park at Tongariro the significance of the North American national parks system was substantial. In the late 1800s a few influential individuals, such as the politician William Fox, had visited to North America, and could see the advantages of setting aside an area as a national park, in New Zealand. During the late 1800s, several Members of Parliament came to realise the importance of the area around the mountains; they could see the possibilities that the Tongariro Region had as a reserve. However, the motives of these views were varied. From the conception of the idea of a national park, many saw the recreational benefits that could result from developing the area for tourism. Early park advocates, Fox and Ballance, recognised the potential of the Tongariro Trio as tourist attractions. Others, such as McKenzie, were interested in setting aside the area as a national park due to its natural wonders. The only reason he agreed to preserve such a large area was that he could see no other economically viable activity for the land - it was 'worthless'. Hence, even though several people deemed the region worthy of preservation, as in America, it was on the proviso that the land was seen as economically valueless.

By the 1880s, it had become evident that the land would pass from the traditional tribal tenure and be owned and managed under European laws. It was decided that one way to protect these very special peaks was to ensure that they were special to the people of New Zealand. Thus, Te Heuheu Tukino IV gifted the mountaintops to all of New Zealand's inhabitants, forever under the tapu of the Crown. Preservation of the sacredness of the mountains was ensured when these peaks were gifted.

Te Heuheu's motive in the gifting of the three volcanoes was by no means unselfish generosity. He was concerned that his sacred ancestors would end up as small plots of land and destroyed by the Pakeha (European). The gift was to ensure that the sacred land of the Tuwharetoa tribe remained intact and as natural as possible. Precedent for

such parks had first been established in the United States where, in 1864, the Yosemite Valley had been declared a 'State Park' and, in 1872, Yellowstone was declared a 'Nation's Park'. However, Tongariro was the first to be offered by indigenous people.

It was after the signing of a deed in 1887 by Te Heuheu Horonuku that the southern portion of the great Taupo plateau became known as Tongariro National Park. However, many of the chiefs of the Taupo Region had not assented and letters of objection were immediately sent to the Government marking the beginning of many negotiations in the history of Tongariro National Park. This was at a time when the idea of parks belonging to the nation as a whole began to gain momentum in New Zealand. Finally, the idea was accepted (though perhaps not unanimously) that the Tongariro area was worthy of national park status.

From the beginning parks were meant to function as money-making attraction, and were only designated if the central government controlled ownership of the land, and had satisfied themselves that the area was of little economic value (Hall and Shultis 1991). The dominant attitude towards the national park concept in New Zealand, as well as Australia and North America, was that they were established for the provision of recreation and tourism, and not for the preservation of nature.

When the deed of the gift was drawn up in court on 23 September 1887, Tongariro National Park began to take shape. Today, the mountains are the centre of an area in its natural state set aside for all generations to enjoy. Since the original gift of approximately 2,630 hectares, large areas of land have been added to the park, which now covers approximately 79,000 hectares (Buckland 1982).

5. Early Days of Tongariro National Park

'Civilisation, a destroying as well as a creating power.'
Parkman 1852 (Cited in Nash 1968, p 99)

5.1 Early Tourist Use.

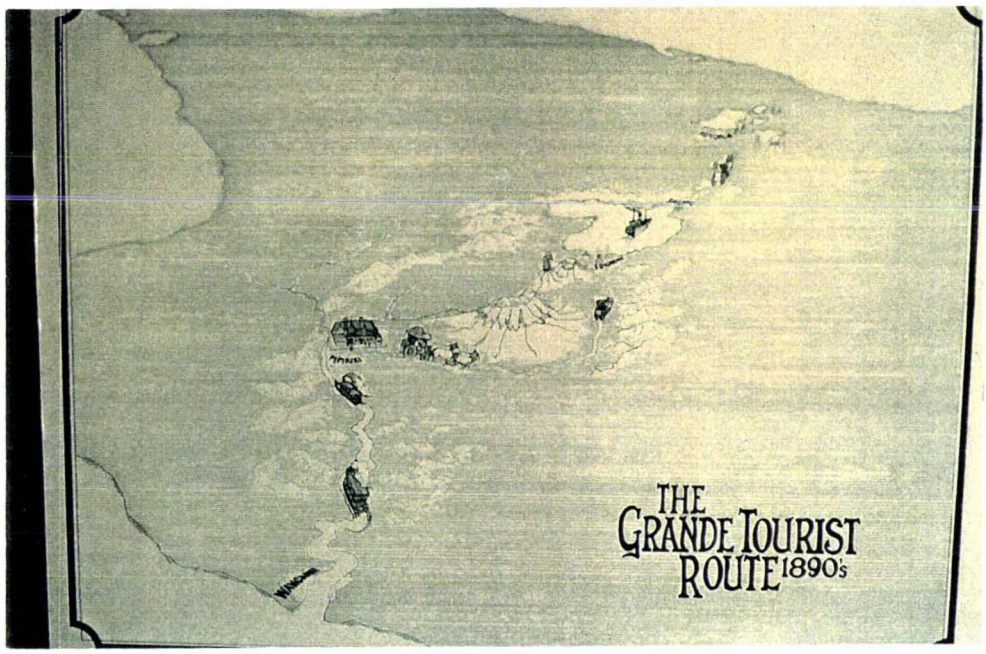
The 1890s and early 1900s saw a continued increase in visitation to the Tongariro Region. This increased demand was catered for by a number of businesses established specifically to handle tourists. The region under-went significant changes and as visitor numbers to the region increased, so too did the publicity the area received. New Zealand's infant tourist industry quickly promoted Tongariro National Park as a curious mixture of icy peaks and hot springs; golden tussock lands and dense green forests; clear lakes and vast expanses of lava. Hundreds of years of Maori history and the exploits of early European explorers added to the romance of this wild and desolate place.

The journey between Waiouru and Tokaanu (approximately 70 kilometres) then took ten hours; today travellers cover a similar route in less than an hour. Travellers disembarked at Tokaanu, on the southern shores of Lake Taupo and keenly sought the numerous thermal pools (puias) clustered near the town. Originally, the park was accessible only to the rich and hardy. Tourists came by steamer from Wellington to Wanganui, by riverboat up the Wanganui River to Pipiriki and then by stagecoach to Waihohonu on the eastern side of the park or to Tokaanu. During this time, tourists tackling the 'Grande Tourist Route' from Wanganui to Rotorua also passed this way by the Tongariro Trio (Figure 5.1, p 70).

The late1800s were a time of considerable track and road development in the region. In 1894, the Desert Road was completed and this route became the chief means of access for climbers and tourists. Stagecoaches made regular trips from Auckland to Wellington (Figure 5.2, p 70). The mail coach would detour to drop passengers at Waihohonu. Despite this improved travel, difficulties arose, as there were frequent 'wash-outs' meaning passengers had to walk (George 1990, p 245).

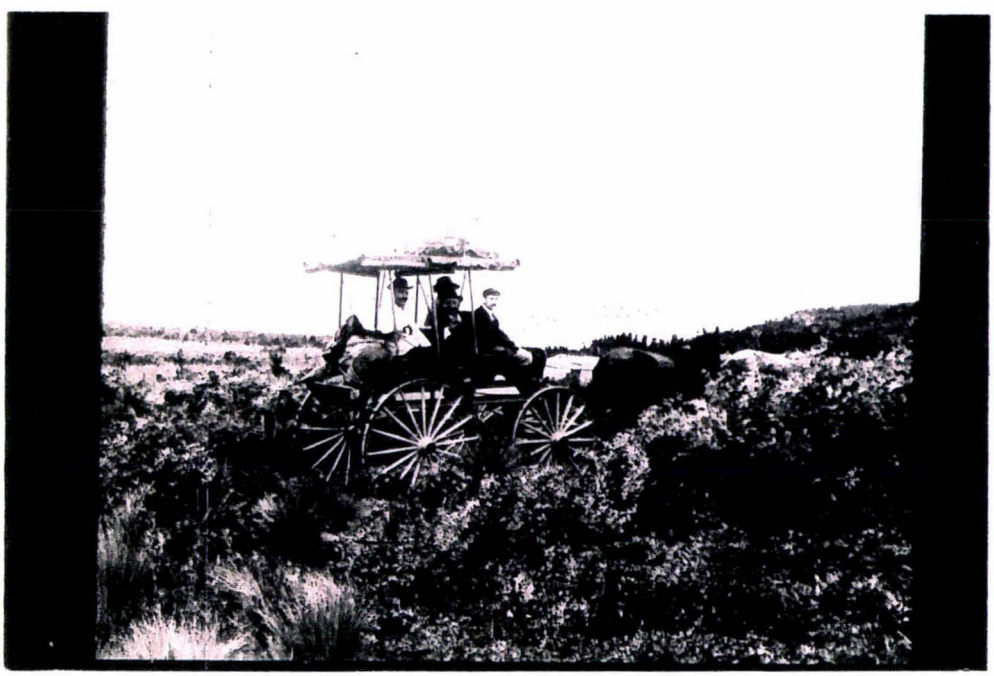
In the late 1890s a bridle road was made which lead from the Otukou Native village, close to Lake Rotoaira, up to the Ketetahi hot springs on the side of Mount Tongariro. Visitors were now able to ride up to these springs, which reputedly had great healing properties (AJHR 1898, C-1, p vii).

Figure 5.1: Grande Tourist Route.



Source: Tongariro National Park Collection.

Figure 5.2: Stagecoach.



Source: Tongariro National Park Collection.

By the turn of the century, the demand for accommodation had become pressing. The Waihohonu Hut was erected in 1901(Figure 5.3), as a result of interest in the area following the opening of the Desert Road. It was built by the Tourist Department to be used as accommodation for climbers and skiers. Offering water, firewood and food for horses, Waihohonu had been a resting-place from the times of the earliest travellers, it was a focal point for the mountains. The hut still stands today, preserved as an historical building. Another coaching hut was built two years later near Ketetahi Springs. During 1903-1904, a three mile buggy road was formed from the Waiouru-Tokaanu Road to the Waihohonu Hut (which was erected in 1901) (Dollimore [undated], 13/1-1). The Desert Road Coach Service detoured up to the hut on a side road that suffered severely from weather and traffic. Present day walkers can still see the remains of the road, a testimony to the long-term impact of humans on a delicate environment.

Figure 5.3: Waihohonu Hut.

Source: Tongariro National Park Collection

In January 1904 the conservation movement's forefather, John Muir, visited the Tongariro region as part of his trip to Australia and New Zealand from the Unite States of America. He travelled by stagecoach from Tokaanu to Pipiriki on the Wanganui River via Waiouru. This section of the trip had a deep impact on Muir as he saw the volcanic peaks of mounts Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu. As he passed through the then recently established Tongariro National Park, he commented that he would never forget the 'brown plain... with grass in magnif[icent] tussocks which shine in the wind' (Muir cited in Hall 1987). However, interestingly, Muir at no point commented in his diaries that he was passing through the national park.

Hunting began in the early 1900s with the introduction of Red and Sika deer by the Government Tourist Department (Department of Conservation 1981). The region became an area for recreational hunting, a role that was to be continued for some years to follow. By 1908, the park board realised that in releasing these animals they had made an error. Regulation ten 'did not prohibit the introduction of animals ... into the park', but the presence of the deer was considered 'detrimental to the best interests of the park'. It was recommended that the 'Tourist Department... capture the deer... and transfer them to a more suitable locality' (Mazey 1973a).

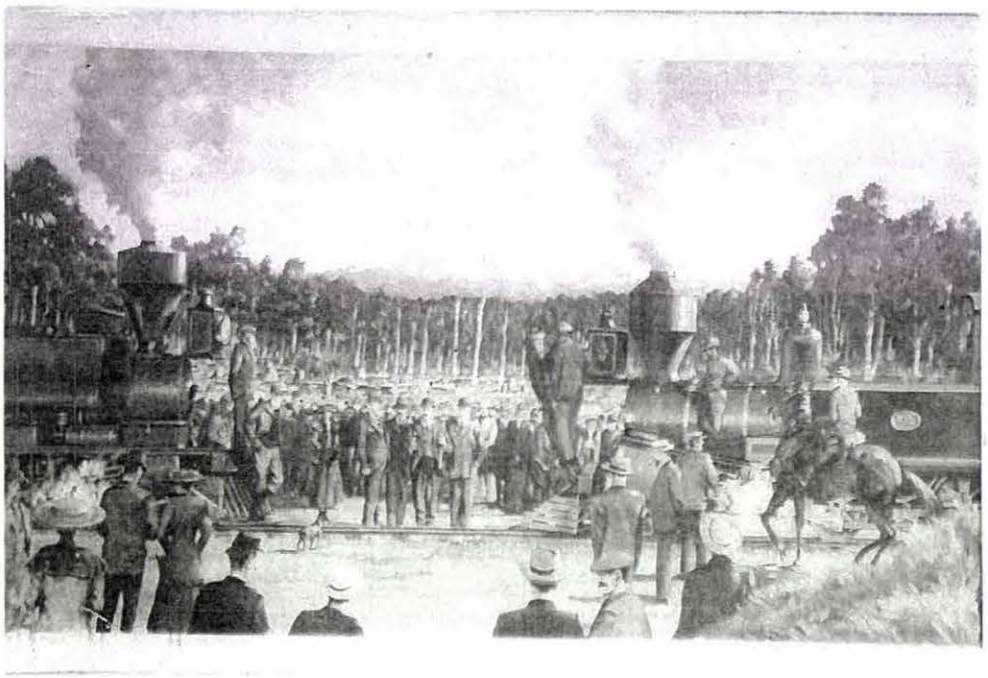
During the summer of 1907-1908, E.H. Snow, a surveyor based at Rangataua, took over two hundred tourists up a track to the summit. Snow had pioneered a route from Rangataua to a spot above the bush line, about 2.5 kilometres south-east of Ohakune. He would escort travellers to a camp and charge track and guiding fees, board at the camp and horse hire and would also sell photos to tourists (George 1990). Snow continued his guiding until 1918.

At the turn of the century, one of the main developments that contributed to the parks' popularity was the construction of the Main Trunk Railway to Waiouru. This made it possible for a person in Wellington to reach the Waihohonu Hut in 16-17 hours travelling by train as far as Waiouru and then by coach. It provided a relatively cheap and clean way to get to Tongariro National Park. At this time the only road access to the hut was by the Desert Road. By leaving the Desert Road at the nineteen mile peg and travelling over a four mile track the Waihohonu Hut was reached.

During the early 1900s, construction of the railway continued from Waiouru around the western side of the mountains. This changed the focus for tourism, benefiting Ohakune and Waimarino (National Park). Temporary camps were erected for the railway workers and these moved along as the track progressed. Some more permanent villages were built where the work was slow. Raurimu was first settled in this manner and housed approximately 700 workers. These areas grew into thriving villages with boarding houses and other businesses.

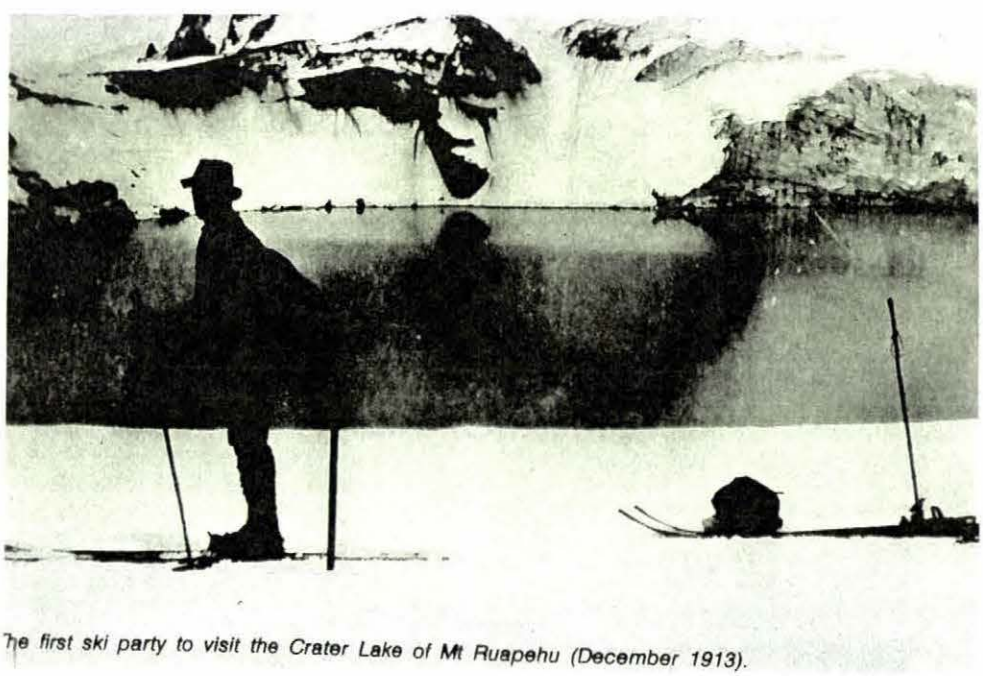
The opening of the Main Trunk Line, in 1908, meant that access to the southern side of the park was improved (Figure 5.4). The railway brought the park within easy reach of visitors and many people came to climb the three peaks. As written by the Assistant Surveyor, H.E. Girdlestone (AJHR 1909, C-1), 'since the opening of the Main Trunk Railway' the park's 'many beauties have been brought before many hundreds of people'.

Figure 5.4: Opening of the Main Trunk Railway.



Source: Tongariro National Park Collection.

Figure 5.5: Picture Drake at Crater 1913.



The first ski party to visit the Crater Lake of Mt Ruapehu (December 1913).

Source: Tongariro National Park Collection.

The completion of the railway also exposed large areas of native forest and milling became the economic mainstay. The area saw extensive native timber milling around Ohakune, Raetihi and Erua. The people working in these settlements frequently explored the park for recreation and, for access, they cut tracks through the forest often to above the bush line. At one stage in the early 1900s, over 20 mills were operating in the Ohakune, Raetihi and Rangataua districts. In 1917, a major fire swept from Ohakune to Raetihi and down to the Wanganui River destroying much of the forests forcing many out of the logging industry (Buckland 1982). However, milling still continued in the area for many years.

The construction of a road around the western side of the mountain provided improved access to the park. During this time, roads were beginning to be used by automobiles. The first Wellington to Auckland car trip was made in 1912, passing the western side of Mount Ruapehu on a very rough clay track (Debreceny 1981). The arrival of roads and motor cars spelt the end to river traffic as well as a decrease in rail traffic.

In 1910, the Ohakune Ruapehu Alpine Club was formed and several local men opened a track through the bush attempting to provide easier access to the upper slopes. Originally a toll was set up for track users, but the club soon let a contract to the Reid Brothers 'to clear a track 1.2 m wide from the Railway'. The First World War interrupted activities on the track in 1914-1918. However, work resumed with the return of men to the district (George 1990, pp 245-246).

One of the best remembered characters of Mount Ruapehu is T.A. (Joe) Blyth. Joe was the Head teacher at Ohakune School and an ardent devotee of the mountain. He was an active member of Ohakune Alpine Club and had a strong interest in promoting Ohakune and Ruapehu. Much of his leisure time was spent arranging itineraries for visiting parties and conducting groups around the heights. Joe also made a practice of introducing youths to the joys of the mountain. His guidance of school parties to the summit, became one of his most inspiring activities. He supervised approximately 500 pupils on mountain excursions without mishap. In addition to these activities, Joe Blyth was an active worker on the Ohakune Track in the early 1900s, and was made honorary warden and appointed as a member of the Tongariro National Park Board in 1923 (Williams 1987).

The winter of 1913 marked a milestone in the history of tourism in the park. This was the year William Mead and Bernard Drake first skied in the park - the beginning of what was to become a major industry. In August 1913, Mead and Drake set out in a buggy from Waiouru for the Waihohonu Hut. They were armed with skis imported from Switzerland and the only textbook then written in English about skiing. After a half day's ride to the hut and an afternoon's practice they skied cross-country to the slopes around Tama Lakes and the base of Ngauruhoe and then returned to the hut. They next took provisions for two days and set out to see what the Whakapapa slopes on Ruapehu were like, realising that if the area could be given road access and huts, it would be much better than any other place on Ruapehu for skiing and summer parties. Before Mead and Drake departed for Waiouru they left a note, at Waihohonu hut, informing other visitors that they were organising the Ruapehu Ski-club (Figure 5.5) (Grose 1983; Williams 1991).

After World War I, the Tongariro National Park Board was dissolved and the park came under the control of the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts. The Department was the driving force behind the construction of the first huts in the Whakapapa area. As an employee of the Department, William Mead, was in a position to stress the need for winter visitor accommodation, as well as the need to develop access to the Whakapapa slopes.

In 1919, Mead, Drake, William Salt and other members of the newly formed Ruapehu Ski-club, set about the task of making a road through the bush up the Whakapapanui Valley to the snow line. The track had to be sufficient for a bullock wagon, which was to transport timber, iron and other materials for a hut to be constructed at Whakapapa. Later, this track became the major access route into the park (Grose 1983) and was known as the Bruce Road. By using the track, early park enthusiasts had a safe and relatively comfortable walk to the snow line (Grose 1983).

As a result of the railway and roads, people were able to come to the park in far larger numbers than was previously possible. Increasing visitation put great pressure on the accommodation facilities in the park area. In the early 1920s, additional huts, dining halls and recreation rooms were erected for tourists, to form the Whakapapa Village (Debreceny 1981).

With a growing interest in skiing, still more accommodation was required. Another hut was built in the Mangatepopo Valley in 1918 (Figure 5.6). The hut was provided by the Tourist Department for the Ruapehu Ski-club and was established at the head of the Mangatepopo Valley. Even though this was built as a base for skiing, the Glaciers Hut (built in 1923 on Hut Flat) proved more popular. At times as many as 60 people would breakfast there (Debreceny 1981).

During the early 1920s, the Ohakune Mountain Cottage Hut (known as the Mangawhero Hut), was constructed at 1,386.84m. After Joe Blyth's death, the Ohakune track was renamed Blyth track and the Mangawhero Hut became Blyth Hut as a memorial to a man who gave so much to the Ohakune mountain development (George 1990).

The accommodation erected in the park during the early 1920s proved to be inadequate for the growing number of recreation advocates. In July 1925, the Board agreed to allow a hotel to be constructed and in 1929 the Fletcher Construction Company completed the Chateau Tongariro Hotel (Figure 5.7). The Chateau Tongariro opened for business in 1929 by the Tongariro Park Tourist Company in agreement with the newly formed Tongariro National Park Board (Department of Conservation 1981).

Figure 5.6: Mangatepopo Hut.

Source: Tongariro National Park Collection.

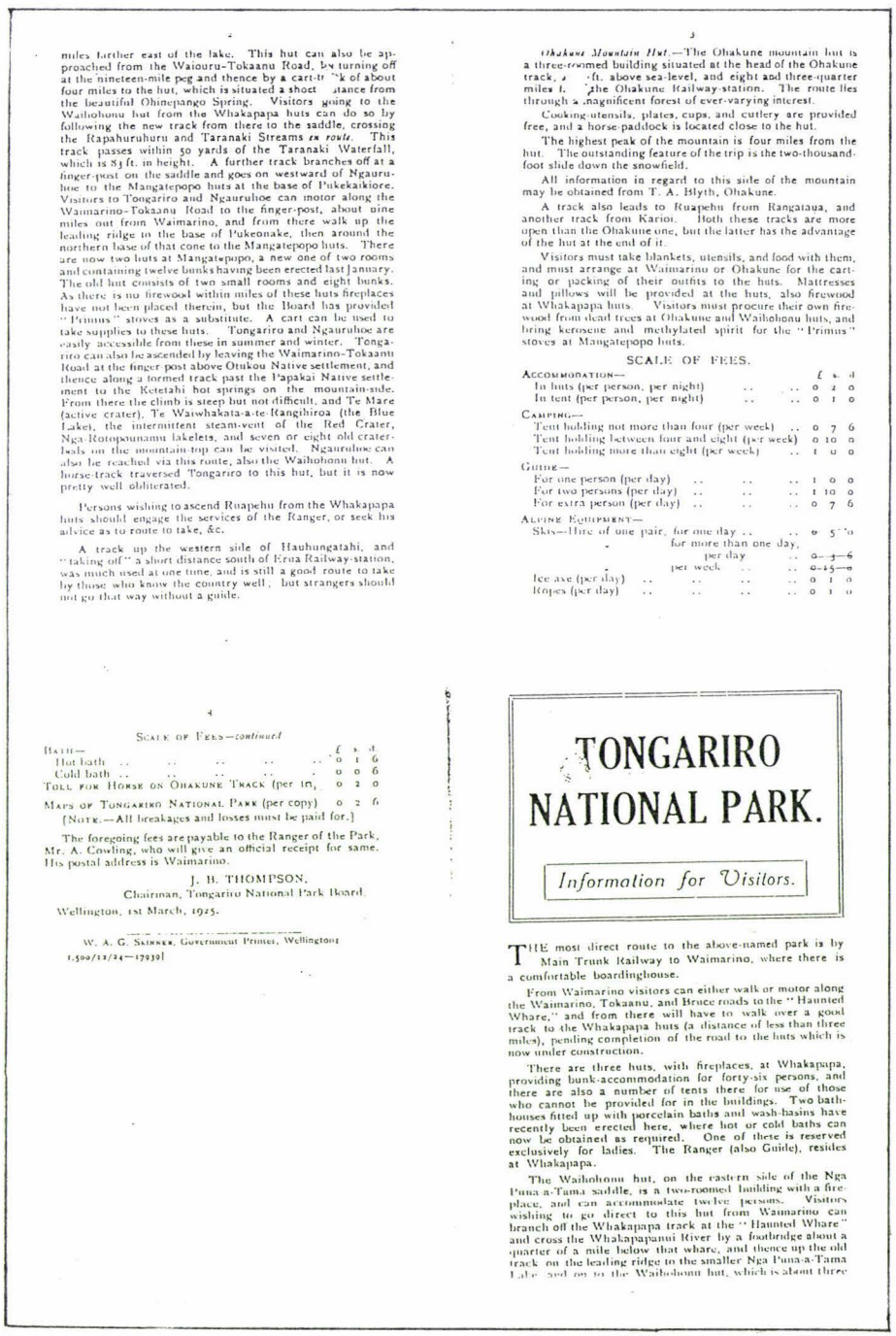
Figure 5.7: Picture of The Chateau.

Source: Tongariro National Park Collection.

Summary

Park management of the Tongariro region began with the same kind of inactivity that followed the creation of Yellowstone and other Nineteenth Century national parks. However, in the years after both Wars recreation prospered resulting in the development of more roads, accommodation and other facilities within the park.

Figure 5.8: Visitor Brochure, 1925.



miles farther east of the lake. This hut can also be approached from the Waiouru-Tokaanu Road, by turning off at the nineteen-mile peg and thence by a cart-track of about four miles to the hut, which is situated a short distance from the beautiful Ohinepango Spring. Visitors going to the Waihohonu hut from the Whakapapa huts can do so by following the new track from there to the saddle, crossing the Rapahuruhuru and Taranaki Streams *en route*. This track passes within 50 yards of the Taranaki Waterfall, which is 85 ft. in height. A further track branches off at a finger-post on the saddle and goes on westward of Ngauruhoe to the Mangatepopo huts at the base of Pukekaikiore. Visitors to Tongariro and Ngauruhoe can motor along the Waimarino-Tokaanu Road to the finger-post, about nine miles out from Waimarino, and from there walk up the leading ridge to the base of Pukeonake, then around the northern base of that cone to the Mangatepopo huts. There are now two huts at Mangatepopo, a new one of two rooms and containing twelve bunks having been erected last January. The old hut consists of two small rooms and eight bunks. As there is no firewood within miles of these huts fireplaces have not been placed therein, but the Board has provided "Primus" stoves as a substitute. A cart can be used to take supplies to these huts. Tongariro and Ngauruhoe are easily accessible from these in summer and winter. Tongariro can also be ascended by leaving the Waimarino-Tokaanu Road at the finger post above Otukou Native settlement, and thence along a formed track past the Papakai Native settlement to the Ketetahi hot springs on the mountain-side. From there the climb is steep but not difficult, and Te Mare (active crater), Te Waiwhakata-a-te-Rangihiroa (the Blue Lake), the intermittent steam-vent of the Red Crater, Nga-Rotopounamu lakelets, and seven or eight old craters—all on the mountain-top—can be visited. Ngauruhoe can also be reached via this route, also the Waihohonu hut. A horse-track traversed Tongariro to this hut, but it is now pretty well obliterated.

Persons wishing to ascend Ruapehu from the Whakapapa huts should engage the services of the Ranger, or seek his advice as to route to take, &c.

A track up the western side of Hauhungatahi, and "taking off" a short distance south of Erua Railway-station, was much used at one time, and is still a good route to take by those who know the country well; but strangers should not go that way without a guide.

Ohakune Mountain Hut.—The Ohakune mountain hut is a three-roomed building situated at the head of the Ohakune track, [illegible]-ft. above sea-level, and eight and three-quarter miles from the Ohakune Railway-station. The route lies through a magnificent forest of ever-varying interest.

Cooking-utensils, plates, cups, and cutlery are provided free, and a horse-paddock is located close to the hut.

The highest peak of the mountain is four miles from the hut. The outstanding feature of the trip is the two-thousand-foot slide down the snowfield.

All information in regard to this side of the mountain may be obtained from T. A. Blyth, Ohakune.

A track also leads to Ruapehu from Rangataua, and another track from Karioi. Both these tracks are more open than the Ohakune one, but the latter has the advantage of the hut at the end of it.

Visitors must take blankets, utensils, and food with them, and must arrange at Waimarino or Ohakune for the carting or packing of their outfits to the huts. Mattresses and pillows will be provided at the huts, also firewood at Whakapapa huts. Visitors must procure their own firewood from dead trees at Ohakune and Waihohonu huts, and bring kerosene and methylated spirit for the "Primus" stoves at Mangatepopo huts.

SCALE OF FEES.

	£	s.	d.
ACCOMMODATION—			
In huts (per person, per night)	0	2	0
In tent (per person, per night)	0	1	0
CAMPING—			
Tent holding not more than four (per week)	0	7	6
Tent holding between four and eight (per week)	0	10	0
Tent holding more than eight (per week)	1	0	0
GUIDE—			
For one person (per day)	1	0	0
For two persons (per day)	1	10	0
For extra person (per day)	0	7	6
ALPINE EQUIPMENT—			
Skis—Hire of one pair, for one day	0	5	0
for more than one day, per day	0	4	6
per week	0	15	0
Ice axe (per day)	0	1	0
Ropes (per day)	0	1	0

SCALE OF FEES—*continued*

	£	s.	d.
BATH—			
Hot bath	0	1	6
Cold bath	0	0	6
TOLL FOR HORSE ON OHAKUNE TRACK (per [illegible])	0	2	0
MAPS OF TONGARIRO NATIONAL PARK (per copy)	0	2	6

(NOTE.—All breakages and losses must be paid for.)

The foregoing fees are payable to the Ranger of the Park, Mr. A. Cowling, who will give an official receipt for same. His postal address is Waimarino.

J. B. THOMPSON,
Chairman, Tongariro National Park Board.

Wellington, 1st March, 1925.

W. A. G. SKINNER, Government Printer, Wellington.
1,500/12/24—17930]

TONGARIRO NATIONAL PARK.

Information for Visitors.

THE most direct route to the above-named park is by Main Trunk Railway to Waimarino, where there is a comfortable boardinghouse.

From Waimarino visitors can either walk or motor along the Waimarino, Tokaanu, and Bruce roads to the "Haunted Whare," and from there will have to walk over a good track to the Whakapapa huts (a distance of less than three miles), pending completion of the road to the huts which is now under construction.

There are three huts, with fireplaces, at Whakapapa, providing bunk-accommodation for forty-six persons, and there are also a number of tents there for use of those who cannot be provided for in the buildings. Two bath-houses fitted up with porcelain baths and wash-basins have recently been erected here, where hot or cold baths can now be obtained as required. One of these is reserved exclusively for ladies. The Ranger (also Guide), resides at Whakapapa.

The Waihohonu hut, on the eastern side of the Nga Puna-a-Tama saddle, is a two-roomed building with a fireplace, and can accommodate twelve persons. Visitors wishing to go direct to this hut from Waimarino can branch off the Whakapapa track at the "Haunted Whare" and cross the Whakapapanui River by a footbridge about a quarter of a mile below that whare, and thence up the old track on the leading ridge to the smaller Nga Puna-a-Tama Lake, and on to the Waihohonu hut, which is about three

Source: Tongariro National Park Collection.

In the early days, it was a jolting, dusty, dirty ride by stagecoach or on horseback to get near the park. These visits, by today's standards, were major expeditions. This difficulty of access was seen to justify the development of roads, accommodation and other services inside the park. Early park enthusiasts and sports people had few of the luxuries that users have today. Facilities in the park were rough and inadequate for the number of users. Later, during the 1920s and 1930s as tourism grew, accommodation, services, roads, tracks and transportation were developed to cater for demand (Cowan 1927; Dollimore [undated]; Grose 1983). One of the first National Park brochures was published in 1925, which outlined attractions, facilities available and equipment rental fees (Figure 5.8).

Rotorua and the Wanganui River were well-established tourist attractions by the late Nineteenth Century, and it became a natural progression for both areas to link up. To facilitate the link up, the Desert Road was built in the early 1890s. This was the start of organised tourism within Tongariro National Park and the beginning of the 'Great Tourist Route'. The popularity of the rigorous tour across the Tongariro Plateau from Taupo to Wanganui and vice versa escalated. The trip was made in four stages - the first from Taupo to Tokaanu; to Waiouru or Kaioi; to Pipiriki; and the climax on the river to Wanganui. At each stop on route accommodation houses had been constructed. As visitor and migration numbers increased, these settlements, and others such as Ohakune, Waimarino and Raetihi, started to be overtaken by civilisation.

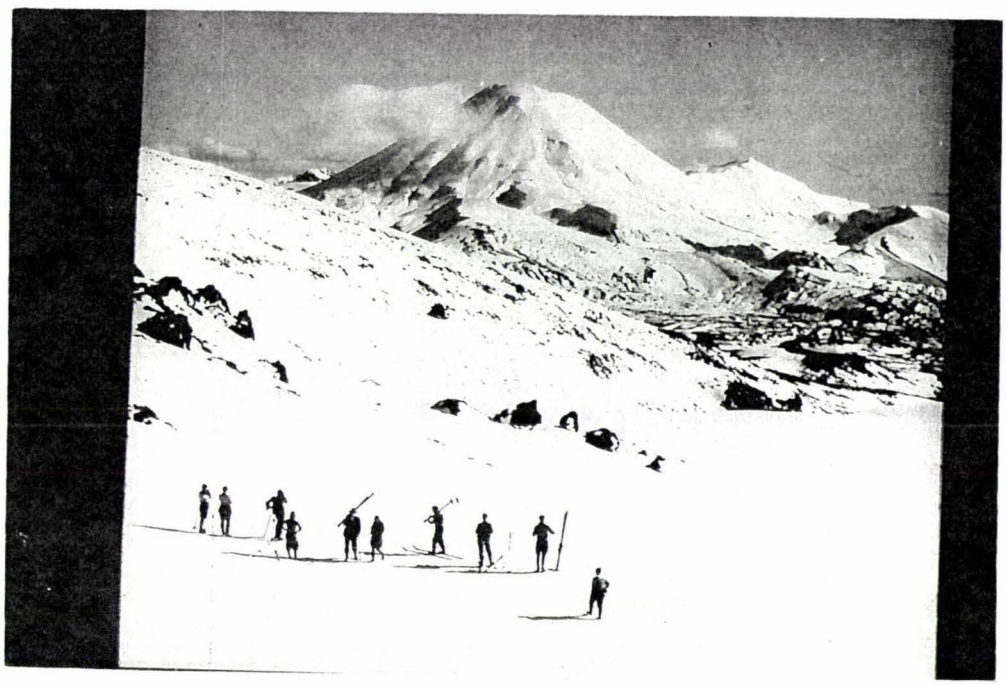
The Ohakune Township rapidly grew with the milling of native timber in the area. Land was cleared and farms settled. During the early 1900s, the railway link from Auckland to Wellington approached the Tongariro Region. Due to the tremendous supplies of native timber on the western side of the mountains, the line took this route as opposed the eastern Desert Road.

Public awareness of the Tongariro National Park greatly increased after the opening of roads and the North Island Main Trunk railway in 1909. These made the Central Plateau much more accessible to farmers, millers and prospectors, and to tourists seeking a recreational experience. As in the North America situation, the railways played a prominent role in bringing tourists to the parks (Hall 1988c).

The railway and development of the automobile and reasonable roads brought visitors to the park in greater numbers. This in turn lead to more demand for facilities. Need for better access to the park and adequate accommodation within the park was recognised. Lacking funds required to build a hostel, the park board continued to provide hut accommodation. Similarly, with North American national parks, huts were established within Tongariro National Park to provide comfortable surroundings for visitors. Eight were constructed; one at each Ketetahi, Ohakune and Waihohonu; three huts at Whakapapa; and two huts at Mangetopopo. Marquees and tents supplemented this accommodation during the holiday period. Although, the first hut in the area was built to the east, at Waihohonu in 1901, with the completion of the Main Trunk railway the development emphasis moved to the western side of the park and corresponding demand for development of the Whakapapa Village which then became the main centre of accommodation.

After Mead and Drake's first expedition on skis and the development of the first ski-club of Tongariro National Park, the onslaught began. Skiing grew in popularity with the development of several other Ski and Alpine Clubs (New Zealand Ski YearBooks 1948-1992). Tongariro National Park had now become a winter and summer playground (Figure 5.9), with nature conservation as an afterthought.

Figure 5.9: Skiers on Mount Ruapehu.



Source: Tongariro National Park Collection.

The various huts that were erected in the park to cater for the increase in visitors soon became inadequate and could not cope with demand. Due to unbalanced relationship between supply and demand, a company was formed in 1928 to construct a hotel at Whakapapa. Restricting tourist numbers was not a consideration. Indeed, the extent to which tourism was a driving force in the management of the park is witnessed in the fact that the Tongariro National Park Tourist Company built the Chateau Tongariro with a loan from the National Park Board and opened for business in August 1929. This was built on a grand scale along the lines of Canadian and American national park lodges to usher in an era of elegant tourism. However, its opening was ill timed as the years that followed were lean, with the Depression and subsequent World War thwarting early entrepreneurial dreams.

5.2 Conservation

> ...no other country would do so ludicrous a thing as to convert the most distinctive of its national parks into a game preserve... this thing is an insult of New Zealand as New Zealand (Evening Post 25 September 1924).

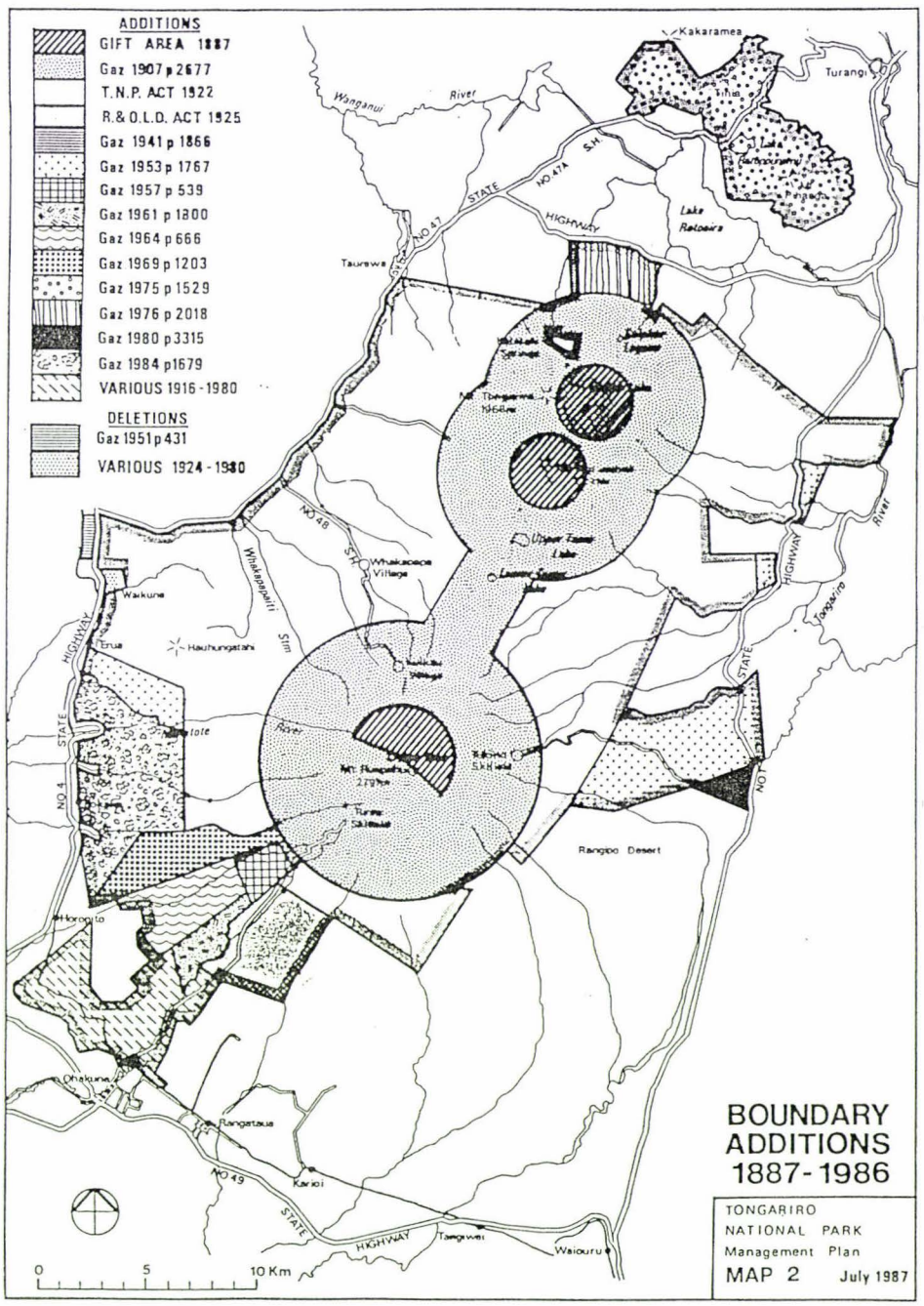
The period from the late 1890s to 1920s was one of many proposals and differing opinions. Due to continuing differences of opinion it took 24 years from the offer of the gift from Te Heuheu to the actual passing of the *Tongariro National Park Bill*. During this time the park underwent many changes.

The *Tongariro National Park Act* became law on 11 October 1894, providing for a park of 25,000 hectares (62,350 acres). However, by 1898, approximately only 1,600 acres of land was reserved for the preservation of native fauna and flora and for historical and scenic purposes, while 953 acres of land was set aside for public recreation purposes (AJHR 1898, C-1, p vii). The plants and animals, which gave the mountains their unique New Zealand quality, belonged mainly to the middle and lower slopes that unfortunately were excluded. Left outside of the park was most of the grasslands, the fine forests on the south side of Ruapehu and northern flanks of Tongariro and the desert regions to the east. The succeeding decades involved a long saga of frustrated efforts to rationalise and extend these original park boundaries (Potton 1987). Finally in 1907, the Crown had purchased all the sufficient adjoining lands to legally gazette the area as Tongariro National Park (refer to Figure 5.10). The park now consists of approximately 79,000 hectares (197,500 acres).

At this time the first Tongariro National Park Board was appointed. The designation of a Board was seen as essential so that development could be monitored carefully. The Board was also set up to look at extending the park boundaries, as the initial gift had included only the peaks of the mountains. For the purpose of gazetting the area for geographical record, the gift was defined as arbitrary circles centred on each of the three peaks, with an adjoining corridor (AJHR 1898, C-1). This gave the park geographically measurable boundaries. However, the gazetted area bore no relation to vegetation patterns or the boundaries created by the transport routes, the Desert Road and the Main Trunk line.

To assist in the Tongariro National Park Board's recommendations for extending the park, it was decided to engage the services of E. Phillip Turner, an Inspector of Scenic Reserves, and Dr Leonard Cockayne, an eminent botanist and pioneer conservationist. In 1907, they set out to explore the region. Cockayne was to undertake a botanical survey of the park; Turner's duty was to survey the boundaries of the park. They were both to report on the park as a national reserve and offer suggestions about extending the boundaries (AJHR 1908, C-11, p 5).

Figure 5.10: Tongariro National Park: Boundary Additions Map.



Source: Department of Conservation. 1990.

On their return, Turner and Cockayne concluded that the national park, as defined in 1894, was highly unsatisfactory in a number of ways. The boundaries were completely arbitrary (refer to Figure 5.10) and bore no relation to the topography; the park was largely above the hush line ('a true desert'). The forests of South Ruapehu and North Tongariro, the most important aspect of the region's scenic grandeur, were left completely unprotected (AJHR 1908, C-11; Davies 1987; Dollimore 1959; Harris 1974).

In April 1908, Turner and Cockayne reported the need to expand the boundaries by a further 31,000 hectares. In effect, this would allow a band of forest, scrub, grassland and desert to encircle the original boundaries (Potton 1987). This area also avoided land suitable for farming or milling and, although the recommendations had the Board's backing, it quickly brought opposition from European locals who feared that productive land would be 'locked up'. The report started a long campaign to extend the park boundaries to the Desert Road. Ironically, despite a primary concern for preservation, the report went on to recommend the development of further huts, tracks and associated visitor facilities.

Even though Turner and Cockayne both supported complete ecological environs, it seems that they wanted to improve upon nature. In their report to both Houses of the General Assembly, they state that: 'although the Tongariro National Park was set apart as a reserve by the passing of the Tongariro National Parks Act 1894... it has remained untouched and undeveloped'. It appears that there was an expectation of development, even though later in the same report it was stated that 'preservation of the vegetation should be matter of first consideration' (AJHR 1908, C-8).

In May 1908, the Park Board agreed that there was a need for boundary extension. It also spoke out against the introduction of exotic animals and plants and the incursion of milling. The Government seemed generally receptive to Turner and Cockayne's report. The *Tongariro National Park Amendment Bill* was drafted to give the Government power to add Crown, private and native lands to the park. In creating such a vast permanent reservation, the Government became concerned about economically valuable land - was it not locking up valuable resources? As a result of this consideration, the Government became uncertain and the Bill remained incomplete (Dollimore 1959).

In 1912, the great friend of the farmers and millers, W.F. Massey, became Prime Minister and the Bill was shelved. This aroused much opposition from individuals and public bodies who were in favour of the Turner-Cockayne report. Massey resorted to delaying tactics and submitted the proposal to the Forestry Commission for further investigation. However, pressure mounted and in 1913 several members of the House of Representatives spoke out in support of extending the boundary to the Main Trunk Line (Harris 1974). They viewed it as a popular, profitable tourist attraction. The Forestry Commission also backed the idea of extending the park boundary along the tourist track forcing Government to make a move.

In 1914, the *Reserves and Other Lands Disposal Bill* was passed transferring park administration to the Tourist Department. The aim was to pacify those calling for action

in park development and to provide the Government with power to authorise boundary extensions. At the same time, the Wellington Lands Office made plans for the extension of the park boundary along the tourist track at Ohakune (Harris 1974). This effort continued until World War I, when all activity on the Tongariro front came to a virtual halt. Finally, in May 1916 the Gazette notice appeared.

The Tourist Department appointed an honorary park warden, John Cullen, in 1918, who resurrected the subject of boundary revisions. In 1922, the *Tongariro National Park Act* became law and the boundaries were extended to 58,700 hectares (refer to Figure 5.10). Unfortunately, this was more limited than most proponents desired, particularly Turner and Cockayne (77,000 additional acres) and the Tourist Department (137,000 additional acres) (Harris 1974). Despite this limitation, the principal issue was that the park's lands, which originally had been disconnected peaks, became a continuous block encompassing some of the region's unique flora and fauna. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that it was the Department of Tourism that was most enthusiastic to enlarge the area of the park available for tourist consumption.

A new Tongariro National Park Board was established under the *Tongariro National Park Act 1922*. The new Board was also noticeably different from the previous Board. For the first time it included representatives from recreational interests as well as scientific membership (NZ PD 1922, Vol. 198, p 240). As noted earlier in the chapter, it was at this time that widespread development and use of the park commenced. By the 1920s, many recreational organisations had established themselves in the region pursuing their own activities. These organisations supported development within the park. In 1922, members of the Ruapehu Ski-club, Tongariro Sports Clubs, and Tararua Tramping Club were all part of a deputation to the Prime Minister regarding development in the park (Harris 1974).

The public was overwhelmingly in favour of the development of accommodation and facilities in Tongariro National Park. They were anxious to see the region fully utilised and it was at this time that the Minister of Tourism first suggested building accommodation facilities on the western side of Ruapehu. Nevertheless, others still held strongly to the idea that a park was meant to be preserved as an unspoilt, primitive wilderness with development limited strictly to essential access roads, a minimal number of huts and internal tracks only where necessary. For example, G.T. Salmon 'hoped that motor roads would be severely restricted'. He felt that 'people went to national parks for relaxation and peace... Why allow in New Zealand parks proliferation of roads which fly in the face of their prime function...' (cited in Dollimore 1959, pp 127-128). Therefore, in an early statement of a long-standing issue in the relationship between tourism and conservation, development was seen as a potential destruction of the very landscape which visitors came to see.

One of the first major Tongariro conservation issues arose during the mid-1920s. The Tongariro Sporting Club planned to plant heather, release grouse and obtain exclusive rights for game bird shooting in the park. They also wanted to erect private bungalows (Evening Post 1924, 19 September). However, due to opposition of several bodies, only the planting of heather actually took place. The warden, John Cullen, was responsible for the heather planting, which spread rapidly in the park (Blount 1975, p

7). The damage had been done. The introduction of heather and other exotic flora was a testament to the aesthetic and recreational sentiments of Britain that dominated the calls for nature preservation, in New Zealand and Australia (Hall and Shultis 1991).

Scientific bodies and pioneer conservation groups condemned the introduction of the plant, which came to be known as 'Cullen's Curse'. They argued that the sowing of the heather was against national park principles, which were to protect native flora and fauna. Arguments began to appear in the newspapers. For example, the *Dominion* stated that 'the sole object in the creation of the parks... has been to preserve inviolate in their primeval condition the tracts of country so reserved' (Dominion 1926). Similar articles appeared in other newspapers (Figure 5.11), such as the Auckland Star (1926), the *Evening Post* (1925), and The *New Zealand Times* (1924). Preservationists, on the park board, seized upon this stand and in 1924 they passed a resolution condemning all introductions and proclaiming that the park should be held 'inviolate' (Harris 1974).

Figure 5.11: Newspaper Cartoon Introduced animals.

Source: The Dominion, July 1926.

Officials also voiced their opposition to the idea of turning the national park into a game park. The Hon. Mr Thomson addressed the Council in 1924 on the subject of the introduction of grouse into the park. He moved that the park 'should be kept for all time as a preserve for native plants and birds...' and that 'it should not be permitted to anyone to convert it into a preserve for imported game or plants' (NZ PD 1924, p 1157). However, this view was by no means unanimously supported. Many Members of Parliament liked the idea of a game park. For example, in reading the *Tongariro National Park Bill*, the Hon. Member for Whakatipu, Mr Horn, commended John

Cullen in stating that they could make the area 'much more attractive in years to come by continuing the good work that Mr John Cullen has done in the direction of planting the heather' (NZ PD 1922, Vol. 198, p 227).

In September 1926, there was a proposition to eradicate the heather on the Waimarino Plain and, in October 1927, the *Dominion* termed the liberation of game animals 'an amazing misuse of a national park'. The end of the confusion between a national park and a game park - after the introduction of deer and heather for grouse shooting - did not end the problems in dealing with the ambiguity of national park idea. The new era merely brought new dilemmas. This began with the building of the Chateau and the construction of its golf course in 1929 - activities which raised further questions about the compatibility of use and preservation (Dollimore 1959), concerns which were to be expanded as time went on.

Summary

The early 1900s saw the beginning of the evolution of the preservation movement. The idea on conservation in New Zealand had, as Walter Buller put it, 'taken hold of popular fancy'. Increasing numbers of people began to see the importance of preserving areas of New Zealand. This was reinforced by an increasing national pride in those things identified as unique to New Zealand. It applied not only to forests and birds, but also to scenery and native folklore. It aimed at protecting a resource from waste and depletion, not for the sake of complete preservation, but to ensure a continuing supply (Galbreath 1989, pp 260-261). It is therefore important to note that the motivations behind this preservation movement varied considerably. The objectives that underlie the establishment of Tongariro National Park were uncertain and ambiguous and this lead to considerable conflict over its use.

The publication of Cockayne and Turner's report initiated a long campaign to extend the park boundaries. Negotiations meant that the *Tongariro National Park Bill* law was postponed for more than two decades. It was not until 1922 that the Bill was finally passed. With hindsight, it would seem that the park had the support of officials due to its potential tourism and recreational use, not it's ecological importance or rarity. In readings of the *Tongariro National Park Bill*, the tourism potential of the area was highlighted. The Hon. Member for Dunedin South, Mr Sidney, stated that the objective of the park was 'for the good of the people of the country and for visitors from overseas' (NZ PD 1922, Vol. 198, p 222). As with America's first national park, many of those who supported the preservation of the Tongariro Trio had utilitarian motives.

The objective of utilitarian conservation was the efficient use of resources. Under these principles, conservationists meant to regulate, rather than totally restrict use. At this time, many writers and officials had these utilitarian views. Buller, Cullen, Freidlander, Horn and Turner and Cockayne stressed the importance of protecting the Tongariro area as an important resource with potential economic value. In Turner and Cockayne's report, it was stated that if their proposals for the extension of the park were accepted 'the foothills of Ruapehu will be protected from denudation by their garment of forest.' They could also see other benefits of extending the park's boundaries to the Main

Trunk line. Stating that this land 'is destined to play a great part in the farming industry of the future, and the matter of saving the farms of this future from floods and of conserving their water-supply is one of supreme importance' (cited in Dollimore 1959). In this respect, their views were also utilitarian in that there was an economic objective in such measures, conserving nature for nature's sake was not a primary consideration.

Despite a degree of sympathy, held by a few individuals, for the national parks concept, the dominant attitude towards national parks in New Zealand in the early 1920s was that they were provided for the purpose of recreation and tourism, not for the preservation of nature (Hall 1988c, p 120). Although Turner and Cockayne promoted the protection of the park for tourism and recreation, they had considerable foresight into the potential negative impacts of tourism. In their 1908 report, they expressed concern about invasion and destruction of the park even though conflict between preservation and public use was still forty years away. The report initiated reconsideration by the park board of relative management objectives and practices. This was marked by a significant strengthening of the preservationist viewpoint evidenced by a number of statements published which expressed regret about previous liberation's of exotic animals and plants (Davies 1987).

Throughout the early 1900s many of those who settled in New Zealand had beautified their surroundings, introducing flora and fauna from England to remind them of home. This 'improvement upon nature' philosophy carried through to Tongariro National Park. The healthy abundance of introduced heather is the most unfortunate legacy of this period (Department of Conservation 1990).

During the reading of the 1922 *Tongariro National Park Bill*, the honourable member of Otaki, Mr Field, voiced his concern about the introduction of heather. He stated that it is killing 'the plants of great botanic interest...it is the preservation of the purity of the native vegetation which I have most at heart' (Tongariro National Park Bill 1922, p 232). A movement against development and activities that would destroy the natural attractions of the park was under way.

6. From Depression to Prosperity in Tongariro National Park

> Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilised people... are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home, that the wilderness is a necessity, and that the mountain parks and reservations are useful not only as fountains of timber and irrigating rivers, but as fountains of life - John Muir (cited in Runte 1979, p 82).

The years between 1930 and the introduction of the *National Parks Act* in 1952 saw the biggest and most noticeable changes in the park's history. These changes were caused manly by the introduction of exotic plants and animals and by visitors (mainly skiers) increasing demand for better access, accommodation and facilities.

6.1 Recreation

Since its opening the Chateau Tongariro had difficult times. Two years after it opened the Tongariro Park Tourist Company struck financial problems and, in 1931, went into liquidation. The depression years were not the most opportune time to begin a hotel business and it passed back into the hands of the park board as mortgagees. The Board operated the hotel for one year until the Tourist Department took over its management (Buckland 1982). Nevertheless, although the hotel had these financial problems, a considerable increase in visitation was reported at the Chateau Tongariro during the 1930s.

After the depression of the 1920s, recreational activities flourished in the park. Visitors from all areas of the North Island flocked to participate in some form of recreation within the park's boundaries. By the 1930s, more facilities were being established to cater for the increasing demand. In 1931, the park board agreed to the establishment of a camping ground on the area above the Chateau at Whakapapa. The Board instructed that 'no trees were to be felled' in its development (Mazey 1973b). With the availability of more extensive accommodation and facilities, the Whakapapa area increased in popularity.

Its central location and reliable falls of snow made Tongariro National Park the obvious focus for skiing in the North Island. Interest in Mount Ruapehu grew with the arrival of regular parties from Auckland and Wellington. Despite the pleasures of camping, climbing and cavorting in the park, tragedies did occur. In August 1931, a party of 14 Auckland students were caught in a blizzard while on the summit, resulting in one of the biggest searches carried out in the history of Tongariro National Park - over 500 people were involved in the Stanton Search. Fortunately, there was only one fatality. A memorial plaque was set in a rock at the head of Whakapapaiti Valley, in memory of Warwick Stanton (Graham 1960; Pascoe 1958). This pre-empted other accidents and deaths where visitors were either careless or simply unfamiliar with the strains and hazards of mountain recreation. As a result of this tragedy, better arrangements were made for mountain safety and the organisation and control of search parties with the Ski Patrol being formed.

The 1930s saw increased settler activity in the regions surrounding the park, bringing intensified encroachment. The main problems involved fire burn-offs and wandering stock from settler's farms. One farmer caused particular problems in converting some land for stock. Frequent unsupervised fires were lit; cattle and sheep wandered freely into the park and free rights of access through the enclave were demanded (Harris 1974).

In 1938 the Tourist Department installed the first rope tow on the mountain. It was approximately 450 feet long and was a forerunner to today's extensive skiing facilities at Whakapapa, Turoa and Tukino. While considerable development was occurring at Whakapapa, with the erection of more accommodation and the instalment of rope tows, development at Ohakune was also taking place. During this period, the Ohakune Mountain Track was enlarged and improved and tourist traffic increased markedly. The Mangawhero (Blyth) Hut, with its three rooms and twenty-two bunks, was booked out for holiday periods months in advance (George 1990). The development of the park's third ski-field, Tukino, can also be traced back to the early 1940s when soldiers from Waiouru took jeeps up the mountain in order to gain access to ski-able areas. Subsequently, the army built a road into Ministry of Defence land on the eastern side of Ruapehu. The beginning of World War II curtailed nearly all further development in the park.

During the war years, the Chateau was used to house patients from the Porirua Mental Hospital following an earthquake that destroyed the hospital in Porirua. In 1945, after a large eruption of Mount Ruapehu that contaminated the Chateau's water supply, all patients and staff were evacuated (New Zealand Tourism Board 1946) and the Chateau lay empty for several years. Meanwhile, the huts and lodges in the vicinity of the hotel were maintained and made available to ski-club members and winter sports enthusiasts. Accommodation for 100 people was available and each weekend from the 1 July to 31 March, in 1947, was fully booked. By August 1948, enough work had been done on the Chateau and its water plant for it to be re-opened as a hotel (New Zealand Tourism Board 1949).

After the war, the popularity of recreation within the park again increased. Ski-Clubs hastened the building of club lodges with better facilities and development continued. To cope with the surging pressures of recreational demand and the heightened threats of destructive intrusion, the park board had to adjust it's own organisational structure. A full-time staff resident position was established within the park in 1951. The appointment was designed to ensure that public demands were catered for without compromising the preservation of the park. It was after the war, that people really began to see the problem of 'use' verses 'preservation' (Harris 1974). How could the park be maintained in its natural state for future generations when it had to cater for intensive mass use by the current generation?

6.2 Conservation

During the 1930s, there was mounting pressure from people who feared that if conservation were postponed there would be little left to conserve. They wanted reform to the national parks (Thomson 1976). In 1931, a body representing park users was formed called the Federated Mountain Clubs (FMC). At its first general meeting in 1932, concern for the welfare of national parks and reserves was expressed. Through a comparison of overseas initiatives in park planning they decided 'to put forward a suggestion for more systematic general control, based upon the successful and business like examples of North America' (Thomson 1976). For the next twenty years, members of the FMC pursued better policies for and administration of the national parks and reserves of New Zealand. It appears that the main ideas in the *National Parks Act 1952* were simply an expansion of the policy put forward by the FMC during the 1930s (Thomson 1976).

The notions of game reserves were well exorcised by the 1930s, and a determination to destroy the results of the notions was rising to a new intensity (Harris 1974). However, humans continued to alter the natural environment by introducing many strange plants to the area. These have become a problem in the park. The introduced plants have often been more robust and have survived more successfully than natives, but have not been as useful as part of the food chain of native fauna. Plants such as heather, lodge-pole pine (*Pinus contorta*) and broom have all continued to be serious weeds in the park.

The Forest Service introduced *Pinus contorta* in the Karioi plantings of the 1930s. This weed adapted to the high plains so well that by the early 1940s it was invading the neighbouring national park lands and military reserve. To eradicate the weed the Board had to revert to the laborious process of grubbing and poisoning. Problems of invasion by noxious flora and fauna continued. Tongariro National Park has also become home to many introduced animals including deer, possums, stoats, goats, pigs, rats, mice, rabbits and hares which have all contributed towards an imbalance between the native flora and fauna.

Prior to World War II, New Zealand had no central agency charged with formulating a coherent national park policy and co-ordinating the activities of the existing Boards. After 1945, the circumstances changed and a climate was created that was receptive to the reforms advocated in the 1930s by the Federated Mountain Clubs. The Cabinet established a body responsible for managing the transition from war to peace called the Organisation for National Development. The Chairman of the national parks subcommittee within the organisation, R. Cooper, wrote a report in 1945 that recommended extensive reconsideration of national parks' administration based on the understanding of a national park as an area with the dual status of a nature reserve and a recreational resource. It was also proposed that a system of centralised direction and control was required in the interest of more efficient administration and better reserve protection (Cooper cited in Davies 1987). Due to the state of post-war New Zealand and lack of finances, introduction of these proposals was delayed.

The national park subcommittee's proposals, as well as a renewed movement by the Federated Mountain Clubs, proved to be the starting point of legislation. The first draft

of the *National Parks Bill* was completed in 1949 and the second in 1950. Some twenty years after the first proposal of the Federated Mountain Clubs for a cohesive administrative body, the *National Parks Act* was passed. The primary purpose of this legislation was to reorganise the administrative structure of the park system.

6.3 Summary

The 1930s saw an end to the Depression years bringing relative prosperity to the settlers of New Zealand and more people to the park to participate in recreational activities. With this increased visitation came demand for more and better facilities. Unfortunately, an increase in visitors led to an increase in accidents. Many people visiting the park did not take its harsh environment seriously and accidents resulted.

World War II brought with it another decline in park activity. While public opinion was apathetic and money was scarce, no politician would support an expensive 'luxury' such as a national park (Thomson 1976). However, after the war, social conditions in New Zealand began to change. The lean and difficult years of the Depression and World War II gave way to comparative affluence and optimism. Even though the Chateau's doors were not open to patrons in the post war period, recreation flourished. The late 1940s saw economic recovery, increased mobility and a proliferation of interest in leisure pursuits. By 1952, prosperity and public opinion rendered reform and the unfamiliar affluence and interest in leisure activities meant increased numbers of trampers, climbers, skiers and sightseers for Tongariro National Park. This development in the park showed not only recognition of the recreational importance of natural areas but also the need for them to be rationally managed in a way which enhanced their recreational and conservation value.

7. The Era of the National Parks Act and Recreational Development in Tongariro National Park

Before the *National Parks Act 1952* came into force, the administration and control of New Zealand's national parks had been erratic. The piecemeal nature of development, and the need for planning to protect sensitive areas, was recognised early on by many national park users. From the early 1950s a marked improvement in the economic and social well being of New Zealanders was evident. Legislation was finally passed - in the form of the *National Parks Act 1952*. Increased leisure time and more efficient transport systems brought ever-increasing numbers of people to the park and with them came demands for additional accommodation and facilities. At this time, the use verses preservation issue also became a more pronounced management problem for park authorities.

7.1 The National Parks Act

In 1952, the *National Parks Act* was passed establishing a National Parks Authority. This Authority was empowered to 'recommend the enlargement of existing parks and the setting apart of new ones', as well as to 'control in the national interest the administration of all national parks in New Zealand'. The Authority's chief tasks were to formulate general policy for national parks and to delegate administrative powers to local committees (NZ Statutes 1952, s.4).

The major theme of the *National Parks Act 1952* was the preservation and protection of national parks. However, following North American national park legislation, New Zealand's *National Parks Act 1952* also reflected the recreational importance of New Zealand's national parks. Section 3 of the *National Parks Act* (NZ Statutes 1952) reads as follows:

> It is hereby declared that the provision of this Act shall have effect for the purpose of preserving in perpetuity as national parks, for the benefit and enjoyment of the public, areas of New Zealand that contain scenery of such distinctive quality or natural features so beautiful or unique that their preservation is in the national interest... It is hereby further declared that, having regard to the general purposes specified in subsection one of this section, national parks shall be so administered and maintained under the provisions of this Act that -
>
> (a) They shall be preserved as far as possible in their natural state;
> (b) Except where the Authority otherwise determines, the native flora and fauna of the parks shall as far as possible be preserved and the introduced flora and fauna shall as far as possible be exterminated.
> (c) Their value as soil, water and forest conservation areas shall be maintained;
> (d) Subject to the provisions of this Act and to the imposition of such conditions and restrictions as may be necessary for the preservation of the native flora and fauna and the welfare in general of the parks, the public shall have freedom of entry and access to the parks, so that they may receive in full measure the inspiration, enjoyment, recreation, and other benefits that may be derived from mountains, forests, sounds, lakes, and rivers.

In Section 28 of the Act, every National Park Board is given the authority to exercise in respect to the land under its control all or any of the following powers:

(e) Appropriate and use any portion of the park as sites for residences of officers or servants of the Board or Rangers.
(f) Erect or authorise the erection, by any mountaineering, winter sports, or tramping club, or by any other association, society or body approved by the authority, of huts on the park, on such terms as to size, materials, situation, custom use, and otherwise as the Board determines.
(g) Erect or authorise any person or any body of persons to erect in the park ski tows or other apparatus of works designed to facilitate tourist traffic or the enjoyment of skiing and other winter sports, on such terms and conditions in all respects as the Board determines.
(i) With prior consent of the authority, appropriate any part of the park for camping sites or for parking places for vehicles, for the convenience of persons using or visiting the park, and prohibit camping or the parking of vehicles on any part of the park not so appropriated.
(ii) With prior consent of the authority and subject to... granting leases or licenses of land within the park, as sites for dwellings for persons or bodies of persons carrying trade, business or occupation within the park, or as sites for dwellings for any person permanently employed by such persons or body of persons.

The Act gave specific decision-making powers to the park boards, which allows them to operate with considerable independence. However, as stated under Section 26, a Board shall 'administer, manage and control the park' in accordance with the Act and 'subject to the general policy and direction of the Authority' (NZ Statutes 1952). The Board is charged to administer both for recreation and conservation.

7.2 Recreation

Propelled by the post-war rise in prosperity, ski lifts, ski huts, tramping huts, tracks and other structures were built across the mountain in the 1950s and 1960s. Large recreation systems developed throughout the park encouraged by the Board in order to promote park usage and development and interest in the ski-field. As more accommodation was available, more people visited the park to ski, climb and tramp within its boundaries.

During the 1950s, ski facility development at Whakapapa advanced considerably. In 1952, Bryan Todd and Walter Haensli entered into negotiations with the Tongariro National Park Board to obtain a licence to operate a ski-field on the Whakapapa slopes. In 1953, the Ruapehu Alpine Lift's prospectus was issued and a 21 year licence was given in 1954 for an area of approximately 250 hectares (Dollimore [undated]).

Ski patrolling began on an organised basis in the same season that Todd and Haensli entered negotiations - 1952. During the early days of patrolling, L.D. Bridge was the major influence and various Ruapehu Mountain Clubs were rostered for weekend duties. During the years that followed, the patrol had to develop as the numbers of skiers rapidly increased (and hence, the number of accidents) (Mark 1986).

Ruapehu Alpine Lift installed the first chair lift in New Zealand on Whakapapa ski-field in 1954 and a second was installed one year later. These chair lifts not only increased visitor numbers but also made it possible for inexperienced skiers to go higher up the mountain making safety a problem. To cater for the greater number of visitors and potential accidents patrol numbers were multiplied (Mark 1986). Further development of the Whakapapa ski-field in the 1950s and 1960s included the installation of rope tows and chair lifts and the construction of lodges for skiing and tramping club members. Gradual upgrading of access, transport and lift facilities also took place. From the early 1960s, problems in the daily running of Whakapapa ski-field became increasingly apparent. These problems related mainly to overcrowding - road access, car parking, sewage disposal, full cafeterias and toilets and the lack of public shelter on the ski-field. The field was beginning to experience significant environmental impact from increased development and visitation.

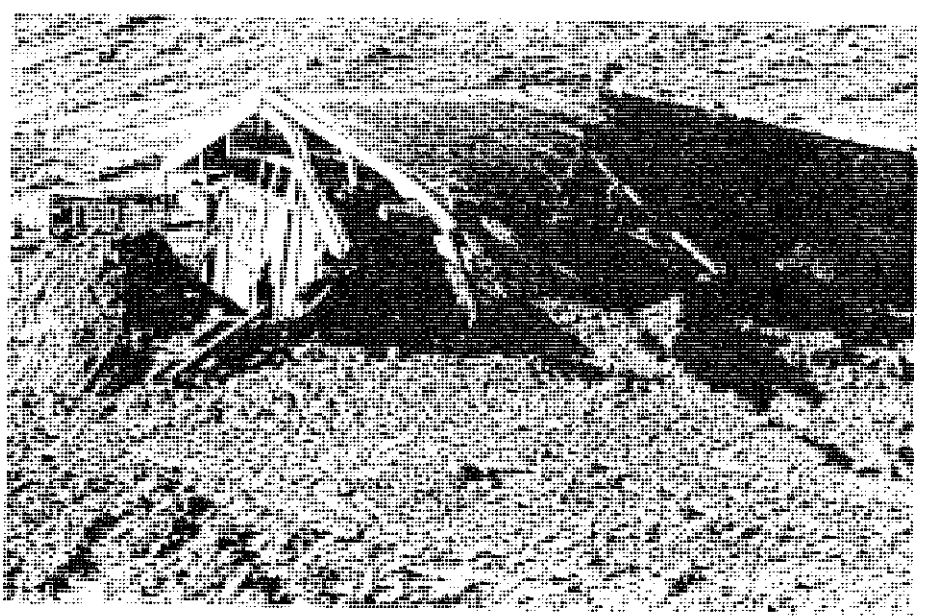
During the development of the 1950s and 1960s, the volcano of Ruapehu was extremely active. The two biggest volcanic occurrences were lahars - one was fatal and the other could easily have been. In New Zealand lahars have killed more people than any other type of volcanic activity. The unpredictability of lahars makes them potentially one of the most destructive and life threatening volcanic events. Lahars are triggered when volcanic material is converted into a mudflow by the addition of water from heavy rain. Lahars may also occur when an eruption takes place beneath a crater lake or in a region where large amounts of water are stored as snow and ice.

On Christmas Eve 1953, an ice barrier collapsed at the Crater Lake starting a lahar. An enormous volume of water poured down a channel beneath the ice to the Whangaehu Valley. The flood swept down the Whangaehu River collecting sand, silt and boulders. It surged through the Tangiwai area, carrying away parts of the rail bridge, and cutting off access to the park from the south. Minutes later carriages from the Auckland Express plunged into the river. One hundred and fifty-one lives were lost in the disaster (Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1: Tangiwai train disaster.

Source: Harry and Wilcox cited in Potton, C. 1987

Figure 7.2: Cafeteria, lahar disaster.



Source: Tongariro National Park Collection.

Just after mid-night on 22 June 1969, an explosion from the Crater Lake created the second seething mudflow in 15 years. This lahar was no less destructive than the 1953 one. It destroyed a shelter hut on the crater rim and snaked down the mountain at high speed, wrecking a kiosk on the ski-field (Figure 7.2). Twelve hours prior to this, several thousand skiers had been scattered across the same slopes. Had the lahar occurred then, many people could have lost their lives. A reminder that the park is a complex natural volcanic environment of which people are a part.

Even though these two life-threatening lahars occurred, the popularity of the national park as a recreational playground continued to grow. With this increase in use came increasing pressures on the environment. An attempt to mitigate this growing conflict between preservation and use took place in September 1958 when zoning was applied. Different areas were zoned for different purposes in an attempt to limit development in both its scope and space (Figure 7.3). The different areas were wilderness, amenity and pristine (Department of Conservation 1990). The vicinity of the Chateau and Iwikau Village at the Top O' the Bruce was regarded as the logical site for the Development Area - the area to which visitor facilities were to be largely restricted. Buildings were to blend in with the landscape and construction was to disturb natural features as little as possible.

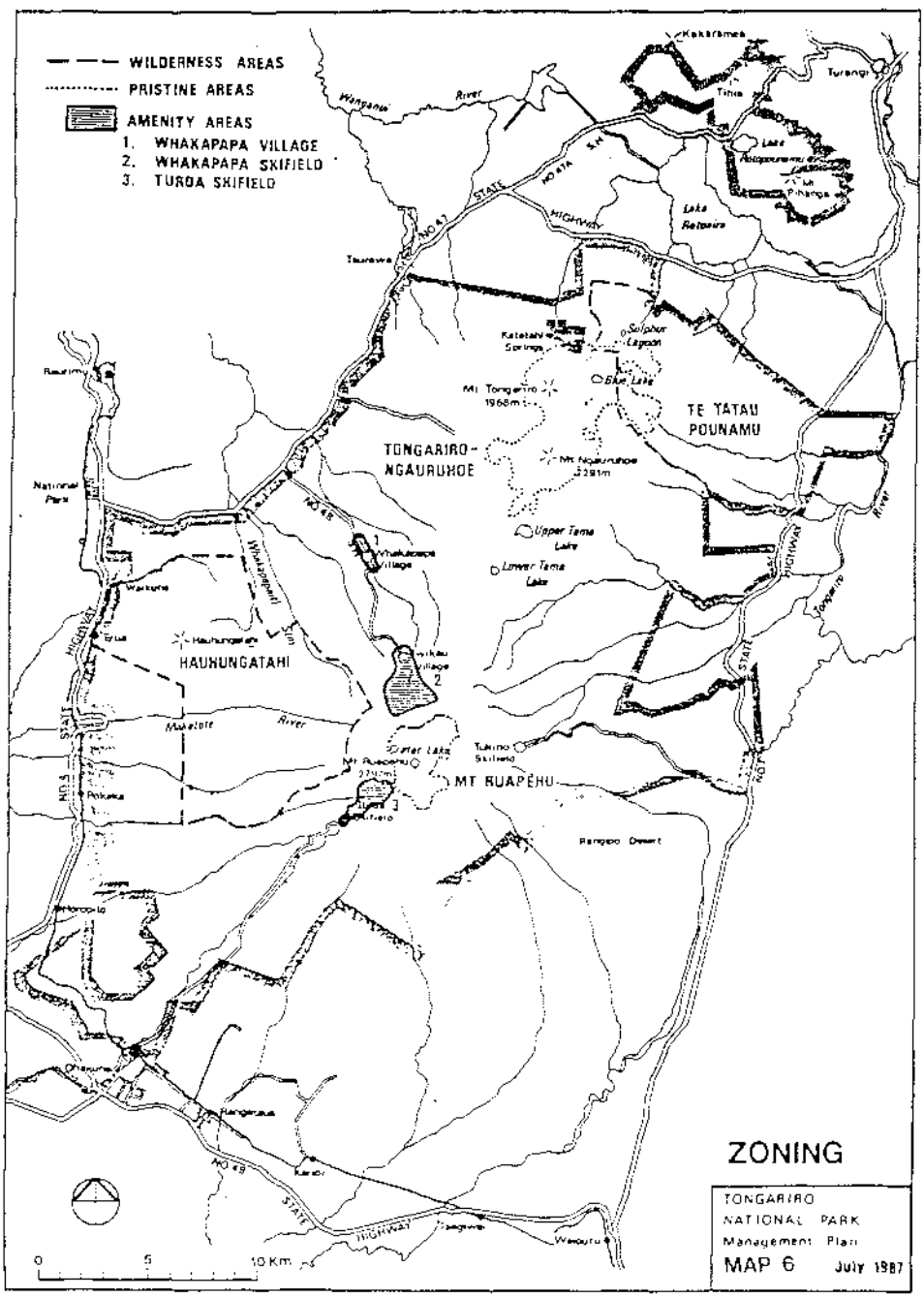
With the growing popularity the park, the other faces of Ruapehu, Tukino and Ohakune began to receive more attention. The Ohakune Mountain Road Association was formed in November 1952. It was established to promote the construction of an access road into the park from Ohakune. The purpose of the road was not only to enable access to the snow and ski slopes, but also to make possible a scenic drive through native bush. The President of the Association, Max Gould, perceived the road to be a means of prosperity for the district, he concluded in his first report (George 1990):

> 'Let us remember that the work we are attempting is a national one. Its completion will give to many thousands young and old, the pleasure and opportunity of experiencing mountain scenery and sport unsurpassed in the world...' The official opening of the Ohakune Mountain Road was on the 2 March 1963 when the first 12 km were legalised (George 1990, pp 253-254).

In 1962, the Army Road on the eastern side of Ruapehu was extended into the park when the Waiouru Alpine and Ski-club's Nissen hut was built. In the summer of 1962-1963, the Aorangi Ski-club began constructing its lodge. Others followed these lodges in later years. Tukino ski-field had begun to evolve.

The development of skiing facilities on the south-western slopes of Ruapehu above Ohakune also began in 1962, when the Winchcombe brothers installed the first rope tows. They obtained an annual licence from the Tongariro National Park Board. There were prerequisites to the licence, such as the necessity of providing toilets, shelter and some form of catering. User numbers varied - forty to one hundred people used the tows on weekends and during school holidays. At these times, tour groups would collect their equipment from Winchcombe's ski hire, get the Mountain Goat Transport

Figure 7.3: Zoning.



Source: Department of Conservation 1990

as far as the road was built and then walk to the tows. The 'mountain goats' were ex-army vehicles operated by Peter Hansen and Alwyn Moss (George 1990).

In 1965, the National Park Board approved a ski mobile for the Ohakune side, constructed by Robin Reid, Laurie Weller and Ron Dane. Skiers would sit on a platform and be winched up the mountain before skiing down. During this time the Trans Tour Company was operating bus tours to Ohakune at weekends and staying in the hotel Robin Reid had acquired. Over a two year period approximately 100-150 people from the tour groups used the facilities at the weekends (George 1990). In 1967, John Broadbent took up a licence to operate a rope tow for 10 years. However, the Board cancelled this licence at the end of the 1974 winter, due to a failure to comply to licence requirements and by-laws. A more organised operator was required for Turoa and was found in Alex Harvey Industries.

From the 1960s, the National Park Board began to receive many proposals designed to increase visitor numbers by building more facilities and providing more services. To resist catering for those who use the area would have been naive, but to accept all proposals would have been environmental suicide. Examples of proposals include the introduction of heli-skiing, gondolas and over-snow transporters. However, it was decided that infrastructure of this kind would be too intrusive on the natural environment and it would contradict the national park philosophy (Harraway 1987).

7.3 Conservation

The first management plan for the park was produced in 1964. In part, it attempted to resolve the growing traffic problems at Whakapapa. The principal behind the *National Parks Act* and the Management Plans was to ensure proposals for change were examined carefully before they were implemented thus ensuring the retention of some areas in pristine condition. If each proposal was not exposed to such scrutiny, many regrettable decisions could have been made. Hasty and inappropriate decisions relating to park use could have disastrous effects on the park's long-term future.

In 1965, planning began on the Tongariro Power Scheme. Despite the fact this scheme had a positive effect at a national level, in terms of geological mineral conservation for power, it had many adverse effects on the local environment. Questions of resource management, town and country planning, water and soil conservation, social, environmental and ecological impacts and aesthetic perceptions were not given proportionate attention in the documents prepared as part of the project. The scheme appears to have proceeded on the premise that the diverted water would enhance the generating capacity of the Waikato River.
This proved that a dominant factor in revocation of wilderness areas is material interest, particularly hydroelectric power generation, forestry and agriculture.

The exact tributaries to be diverted were not specified. Over 60 rivers and streams rising in the Tongariro National Park were ultimately affected by the Power Scheme - the most significant of these being the Whakapapa (Chapple [undated]). The ecological impacts of the Scheme have been considerable. The manipulation of water flows

affected wildlife such as the whio (blueduck), whose habitat was being destroyed. This is one of the few ducks that can live and breed in the swiftly flowing mountain river (Dann 1987).

By the late 1960s, the pressure of overcrowding on Whakapapa ski-field concerned the Department of Lands and Survey and the Park Board. It was beginning to experience significant environmental damage from increased development and visitor numbers. In 1968, a Committee on Ruapehu Facilities was established to look into the adequacy of facilities available to skiers and other visitors to Tongariro National Park. It reported on existing difficulties and outlined a programme to alleviate the problems. This programme had positive results for skiers, with old facilities being upgraded and new facilities provided. The Board was also keen to see Turoa ski-field developed to relieve the pressure.

7.4 Summary

Prior to the 1950s, the concept of park management was usually a combination of leaving nature to its own devices and providing facilities for tourists. It was not until 1952, with the passing of the New Zealand *National Parks Act*, that some kind of co-ordinated system of national park management began to emerge within the Department of Lands and Survey (now Department of Conservation). The *National Parks Act* was designed to present a more clear-cut and concise manner of policy for the control and administration of national parks. The Act recognised the dual purpose of national parks and dealt with this area, concessions of public use were therefore allowed subject to the preservation of the native flora and fauna. However, the New Zealand National Parks Authority and Tongariro National Park Board were so successful in providing tracks and roads, club huts and public accommodation within the park, that the number of visitors continued increasing. Demand from park users resulted in hut and infrastructure construction, which in turn drew more people into the park. As Devlin (1976) stated: '... the factors responsible for the upsurge in recreational demand have been both circular and causal. Pressure from those with interest, mobility and capital has resulted in the establishment of facilities, and these in turn, have resulted in attracting an enlarged clientele who then press for more facilities'.

The park's facilities were regularly overloaded at certain times of the year, posing difficult questions of both a practical and philosophical nature. When built, tracks were of a high standard, but they soon deteriorated due to weathering and over use (Buckland 1982; Department of Conservation 1990; Grose 1983). This was only one problem park management faced, as overcrowding exacerbated other environmental problems.

The management strategy needed to change as the ski-field area had grown and pressures had increased on the natural environment. Restrictions had to be placed on some aspects of use and development. The Tongariro National Park Board faced some of the greatest management dilemmas. It also illustrated fundamental disagreements about the roles of national parks and challenged park managers to formulate clear and coherent philosophies regarding the use of protected areas (Department of

Conservation 1990). The Board had to decide what was best for the park, its natural habitat and for the users and then decide on an appropriate compromise.

Tongariro National Park was the first park that felt the impact of the new recreational pressures and served as a convenient guinea pig for the implementation of the *National Parks Act 1952*. It was seen that strategies needed to change enabling administration to adapt quickly to different situations and pressures - decisions needed to be made based on what was happening in the park at the time. In Tongariro National Park, where tourism has always been an important part of the park, the arrival of mass tourism resulted in conflict between conservationists and those who wanted to develop facilities for tourists in protected areas. However, those who framed the *National Parks Act 1952* could not have foreseen the increased park usage, which has developed over the years.

8. Tongariro: the Recreation Mecca of the 1970s to the Era of Sustainable Resource Management?

> 'The challenge of wilderness is clear. Do we care enough to do something to save some of it before that all too close day when there will be none left to save?' Wotton 1985, p 36 (Cited in Hall 1992, p 1)

The period from the early 1970s through to the 1990s has been very dynamic for Tongariro National Park years. It saw continuing increase in recreational usage of the park, resulting in increasing pressure on park administration, to provide for visitors whilst still protecting the natural environment. It was a period of reviewing attitudes towards wilderness, leading to new legislation such as a new *National Parks Act 1980*, the *Conservation Act 1987* and the *Resource Management Act 1991*.

The 1990s were years of prominence, trials and tribulations, and co-operation. Eruptions of Mount Ruapehu caused many operators to reassess their situation, resulting in new strategies and relationships for many. This sense of crisis led to a situation in which the Department of Conservation and other concessionaires began to work together in order to achieve the common goal of protection of the parks natural resources, whilst still working to attain their own objective.

8.1 Boom Years

In the 1970s, when the Whakapapa ski-field became overcrowded from the surge of recreationists, the controlling authority resolved to seek tenders for the development of an alternative ski-field at Turoa on the southern slopes of Mount Ruapehu. The Department and the park board were keen to see Turoa ski-field develop and relieve the pressure on Whakapapa. In 1970 the Tongariro National Park Board issued a worldwide prospectus inviting proposals for commercial development of the Turoa ski-field. Alex Harvey Industries (AHI) won the Turoa Development Project in 1976 and applied to carry out a feasibility study for development. AHI confirmed its intention to proceed with development the following year. A master plan was submitted and a 45 year licence was signed in November. An environmental impact assessment study was published in 1978 (George 1990).

The result of this development was a series of chair lifts on the south side of Ruapehu. During the first official season of 1979 facility development continued. In 1980 field patronage increased by 50%. A further 40% followed in 1981 and by 1982 a record 110,000 skiers took to the slopes. The number of users has continued to grow in subsequent years (George 1990).

With lessons learned from managing the Whakapapa ski-field, the controlling authority resolved not to allow any resident accommodation on the Turoa ski-field. Skiers are accommodated in the township of Ohakune, adjacent to the park boundary and twenty kilometres away from the actual field. This has reduced the environmental effects of the ski-field, particularly visual impacts, problems with traffic management and sewage and waste disposal. It also meant healthy development for the township of Ohakune (Green

1992). However, opening of an alternative field at Turoa did not cause any drop in numbers at Whakapapa. It appears that the overcrowding had imposed self-regulation of numbers and the alternative ski-field, Turoa, actually increased demand.

With far higher numbers congregating on the mountain, the potential for tragedy from sudden volcanic activity was much higher. In 1975, the same kiosk that was hit in the 1969 lahar was caught again in a lahar flow and destroyed (Potton 1987). In 1983, a lahar warning system was established, to give people 5-10 minutes to move to higher ground. However, it is vital to realise that mountains like Ruapehu are time bombs which are constantly ticking away - there will always be some element of danger in playing on a volcano (Potton 1987; Williams 1991).

8.2 Refinement of the National Park System

Park administrators learned a great deal between 1952 and 1980 (when the time arrived to review the administrative structure of National Parks and Reserves). In 1980, Caucus developed a new *National Parks Act* (NZ Statutes 1980). The essence of this Act is that the national parks are to be maintained in their natural state and that the public has the right of entry. The Act functions to preserve in perpetuity as national parks, for their intrinsic worth, and for the benefit, use and enjoyment of the public, areas of New Zealand that contain scenery of such distinctive quality, ecological systems, or natural features so beautiful, unique, or scientifically important that their preservation is in the national interest. The inclusion of reference to ecological systems and the scientific importance of national parks in the 1980 Act marked a philosophical development that was not present in the earlier Act.

The *National Parks Act 1980* placed the control and management of national parks with the newly established National Parks and Reserves Authority, a function previously carried out by individual park boards. The role of the park boards was now to prepare, review and amend management plans and report to the Minister of Lands and Survey on general policies. Tongariro National Park Board were to reflect the 1980 Act's principles in management goals and provide the framework for developing objectives and policies for the management of Tongariro National Park (Department of Conservation 1990).

In the early 1980s, the Tongariro National Park adopted a new management plan (Department of Lands and Surveys 1982). This plan maintained the status quo as it stated that no further commercial residential accommodation would be permitted in the park and that no new club huts would be allowed. Those that are there already may rebuild in the park. But those club huts currently outside the Iwikau Village area at Whakapapa would have to relocate at the village, around the Ring Road.

In 1987, the Department of Lands and Survey was abolished and replaced by the Department of Conservation (DOC), under the *Conservation Act 1987*. The Department of Conservation is a decentralised organisation with 34 districts contained within 8 regions or conservancies. The Tongariro/Taupo conservancy, which includes Tongariro National Park, is the largest. Each conservancy is responsible for physical

management of the region, as well as for the preparation of a Management Plan which aims to achieve the objectives of preservation and public use specific for that region (Green 1993 - interview). Their role is therefore two-fold, aiming at resource management and at looking after public interest in the public estate to allow appreciation and recreation in the estate.

8.3 Education – A Catch 22?

The park is considered a living museum and, is therefore valued in the area of education. A better understanding of the park, its values and resources facilitate respect and promote protection. Informing and educating the tourist before they reach the park and while they are in the area is therefore an important strategy for handling national park visitation. During this period, park management implemented an interpretation programme, so that visitors are taught the objectives of preservation, along with the impacts of use and what the individual can do to minimise these impacts (Campbell 1993).

It been a general consensus, in Australian, North American and New Zealand national parks, that only by educating people, by making them aware of the beauty of the environment, can it be expected for them to come to its defence when threatened. People have been given the opportunity to see the environment at close hand while at the same time ensuring that their presence did not harm it in any way (Hutchins 1980).

Many New Zealand pupils are introduced to the natural environments through school programmes either on the basis of day trips or residential camps. It is apparent from research conducted by Bignell and Smith (1984) that these experiences in childhood are a key determinant of future propensity to partake in recreation in natural environments. As more people are introduced to natural areas it can therefore be expected that these same people, in future years, will return to natural environments for recreational purposes. Therefore, what may have commenced as an exercise to impart greater understanding sympathy for ecological objectives, through interpretation, may in fact be exasperating the future problem by creating pressure for increased recreational use of protected areas (Bignell and Smith 1984).

8.4 Resource Management Act 1991

During the late 1980s, it was recognised by the Government that a review of the resource management laws in New Zealand was required. Resource management must protect the needs of future generations by acknowledging the concept of sustainable development. Laws were required to help people use and enjoy what they have without endangering or compromising their quality of life or that of future generations (Ministry of Environment 1991a). The result was a profound change in the way the people of New Zealand balanced their own needs with their responsibility to sustain and protect the environment.

The government approved the *Resource Management Act* in August 1991 (NZ Statutes 1991). This is the world's first legislation with a single, clear and complete purpose in terms of the promotion of sustainable management of natural and physical resources (Ministry of Environment cited in Kaspar 1992). Prior to this, planning for tourism and the environment had been controlled by a variety of different Acts including the *National Parks Act*, the *Forests and Reserves Act*, and the *Water and Soil Conservation Act*. By integrating New Zealand's resource management laws, the *Resource Management Act 1991* emphasises three factors: safeguarding the environment for future generations; protecting ecosystems; and avoiding and remedying environmental damage (Ministry of Environment 1991b). Parts of previous Acts that proved successful were kept and adapted with suitable measures. The 'user pays' concept, which includes 'polluter pays', applies where it is appropriate - those who benefit bear the cost.

The *Resource Management Act 1991* is different to previous legislation, in that it focuses on adverse environmental effects, rather than controlling particular activities themselves. This means that planning controls no longer direct development activities. Development is less restricted as long as damaging effects on the environment are avoided or minimised to levels determined by the public. The new Act goes further than previous legislation in demanding more attention be paid to the justification, development and implementation of policies by consenting authorities. Without this sector input into policy and plan preparation, monitoring and reviewing outcomes, the industry's needs may be overlooked (Ministry of Tourism 1991).

8.5 World Heritage Status

In 1990, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) granted Tongariro National Park World Heritage Status. According to Hall and Zeppel (cited in Kaspar 1992), heritage is the things of value which are inherited and people want to keep - it is thought of as acknowledged cultural values. There are two main understandings of heritage that may be perceived in New Zealand. First, a European concept of heritage, which identifies specific elements of the landscape (natural or man-made), such as humankind as, separate from the landscape. Second, an indigenous (Maori) notion of heritage that emphasizes that humankind is not separate from the landscape but part of an individual whole – a cultural aspect. Tongariro National Park was originally designated World Heritage Status according to only the European concept of heritage, identifying specific elements of its natural landscape.

World Heritage Status internationally recognises the fact that the volcanoes of the park are a landform that is unique on this planet. In gaining this status, Tongariro National Park joined over 315 other areas such as the Grand Canyon and Sagarmatha (Mount Everest). This status ensures increased international awareness of the park (Hall 1992, p 54). World Heritage Status had, originally, been given to Tongariro National Park on 'natural grounds', according to the European concept of heritage. New Zealand's Tongariro application for World Heritage Status on 'cultural grounds' had been declined. This application was turned down as Maori cultural values did not align with criteria that were more site specific.

The World Heritage Organisation has since changed its criteria to be more accepting of different cultural values. The criteria for cultural World Heritage Status have been realigned to allow acceptance of Maori cultural values. Tongariro National Park re-submitted an application for World Heritage Status on 'cultural grounds' (Green 1993 - interview). This cultural aspect was finally added to the park's World Heritage Status in 1993 (Wakelin 1997). The public celebration of the parks new cultural status was organised by the Ngati Tuwharetoa tribe in 1996. Since the granting of World Heritage Status on cultural aspects, the relationship between the Department of Conservation and the local tribes have become more co-operative - there is a genuine partnership (Green 1999 - interview).

According to UNESCO (cited in Hall 1992, p 54), listing of an area as a World Heritage Site enhances the appeal of that area as a tourist destination. The implications, of natural and cultural concepts of heritage, for tourism are substantial (Hall and Zeppel cited in Kaspar 1992). However, the effects of the World Heritage Site status on visitation to Tongariro National Park have not yet been surveyed (Green 1999 - interview).

8.6 Relationships

Lately, it seems that an increasing number of people understand the destruction of New Zealand's natural heritage might not only be tragic for the flora and fauna, but also endanger the tourism resource (Kaspar 1992). Most of the current operators in Tongariro National Park comprehend this and, as such have very similar ethical ideals as the Department of Conservation. They do not wish to destroy that which the visitor comes to enjoy.

Through out the 1990s, the Department of Conservation has had a proactive approach towards management of concessionaires and have fostered good working relationships with them (Wakelin 1997). The result of this approach has been positive relationships, which have enabled the maximisation of recreational opportunities, while carefully providing for the conservation of the natural and historic resources within the park (Mazey 1999 - interview). However, there have always been areas subject to a difference of opinion.

8.7 Areas of Disagreement

In the early 1990s, one of the more common realms of disagreement between the ski-field operators and the Department of Conservation was that of expanding the ski-field boundaries further into the original gift area on Mount Ruapehu. The Department has been against encroachment of this area as a mark of respect to the Tuwharetoa people who gifted the park. The operators acknowledged the significance of the peaks to the Tuwharetoa people, but the relevance the 'original gift area' has been questioned. As D. Mazey (1993 - interview), Ruapehu Alpine Lift's General Manager, pointed out the Tuwharetoa Maori would have originally gifted the 'mountain peaks'. The concept of a one and half kilometre radius from a point is a European concept. This circular area is a

survey line, drawn by a European to represent the gift area. Te Heuheu gifted the peaks and as there appears to be no specification on the amount of land offered. Indeed, several operators have questioned the original gift boundary in relation to further development.

Expansion around the mountain has been another controversial subject. The argument from operators was that only 2,000 of nearly 200,000 acres have been subjected to some degree of human development. Therefore, only 1 percent of the total area of the park is affected by human development. However, according to the 1990 Management Plan there have been virtually no more changes in land use planned for the future (Department of Conservation 1990). Undoubtedly more lifts will be installed on the ski-fields, but these will not increase the amount of park land already utilised.

A further topic of disagreement has been that of alternative commercial development such as over-snow transport and helicopters. D. Mazey's argument was that if it can provide easier access with no long term impact, then why refrain. Operators would like permission to use over-snow transport as they could be operated all ski season on routes away from the public - ninety percent of people on the mountain would not be aware of them. Alternatively, many operators have been against using helicopters in the park due to the noise the aircraft make. With the number of helicopters that would be required, the noise level would be offensive to the recreationist below (Mazey 1993 - interview).

8.8 Attitudes

Tongariro National Park is a unique area with a fragile nature and any proposals for further development should be investigated thoroughly. A former ranger for Tongariro National Park, Bruce Jefferies, believes that parks are places where people come to generate their own entertainment. His wife, Margaret Jefferies (Dann 1987; Harraway 1987), summarises,
'We feel it's a very special place ..., and to achieve anything special, whether it's mental or physical, requires special effort from a person. So if that thing is easily accessible it is no longer special and therefore not worth trying to achieve'.

This view is shared internationally by other park rangers and users. Sutton and Sutton (1972, p 198) quoted a naturalist talking about Yellowstone, who also emphasised that 'the real enjoyment of the park requires considerable effort... it takes a good deal of conditioning for a person to be able to appreciate the basic values of wilderness'.

This philosophy appears to be gaining popularity. Recent trends show that an increasing number of visitors to Tongariro National Park are choosing to get away from the crowds, to more remote areas. They are tending to utilize other, previously less often used, parts of the park (Green 1999 – interview). However, as Higham (1996) has noted with respect to the South Island, the long term effects of such recreational displacement may be substantial for the maintenance of natural values.

8.9 Eruptions

In 1995, the ski industry was ready for the beginning of a promising ski season, when Mount Ruapehu began to erupt (Figure 8.1). Again in 1996, just prior to the opening of another promising ski season, Mount Ruapehu began yet a further series of eruptions, causing greater concern for many of the concessionaires. The effects of two seasons of eruptions were exacerbated by bad ski seasons, in the two years that followed, due to El Nino. These events have resulted in four years of poor income for many operators. Consequentially many have been in financial difficulty.

Figure 8.1: Mount Ruapehu Erupting 1995

Source: Personal – Harlen.

8.9.1 Publicity

The tourism industry used the eruptions as a draw-card for international tourism. The New Zealand Tourism Board's message to international visitors, stated by Chris Ryan (Manager of Public Affairs) was: 'come to New Zealand, New Zealand is a safe and beautiful country, that currently is providing a unique chance to see some spectacular volcanic activity in relative safety. The eruption of Mount Ruapehu is the kind of event that enhances the splendour of and wonder of New Zealand's nature'. However, it was considered that international media also exaggerated the effects of the eruption, thus causing many prospective visitors to possibly cancel their trips. Domestically, media reports also had positive and negative influence on visitation. Publicity raised the profile

of the area. Mount Ruapehu became an attraction on its own, as many sightseers headed to the area specifically to see the erupting volcano. Scenic flight operators, in the region, reported having full reservations during this period (Department of Conservation 1995a; Dominion, 1996 p 3; Griffin 1999 - interview). However, media also induced fear by exaggerating the situation, causing many skiers and other prospective visitors to stay away for a limited time (Mazey 1999 - interview).

8.9.2 Physical Damage

The eruptions also disrupted uses of the Park. The main physical damage, resulting from the eruptions of 1995 and 1996, was caused by volcanic ash. It contaminated rivers and streams resulting in the disconnection of water supplies and deaths of fish. There were even cases of deaths of other fauna, within the park, and of stock in neighbouring areas. These deaths were due to the presence of ash in the gut (Department of Conservation 1995c). Surrounding areas were also effected from ash falls (as far away as Auckland and Wellington), with some local communities, such as Waiouru, being evacuated. Hunting conditions in the neighbouring Kaimanawa Ranges were effected (Department of Conservation 1995b). The ash also influenced the surrounding transport infrastructure, with State High Way One being closed as well as the main rail link (Shelton 1996). A large air exclusion zone was established, requiring flights to take diversions around the plateau and causing cancellations and delays of not only domestic but also international flights (Samson 1996b; Williams 1996).

Skiers were unable to ski for the majority of the 1995 and 1996 seasons due to the ash, and ballistic missiles and sulphurous gas coming out of the crater. Visitor numbers during these two years were therefore less than previous years. Many people, including staff, were too nervous to stay (Griffin 1999 - interview). The ash caused major damage to the ski-fields, mainly to snow, machinery and water supplies. All of RAL's (Ruapehu Alpine Lifts) steelwork associated with lift equipment, roofs of buildings etc., sustained corrosive damage from both the ash-fall and sulphur dioxide gas. As volcanic ash is very fine and corrosive it took a lot of time and effort for operators to it clean up. Three years later, this corrosive damage had not caused structural damage but has required extensive stripping of equipment and re-coating with appropriate corrosion resistant coatings (Green 1999 - interview; Mazey 1999 - interview).

Even though there were several lahars that occurred during the 1995 and 1996 eruptions, the physical destruction that has resulted from them in the past didn't transpire on these occasions. However, it was discovered for the first time, that the paths formed by the snow-groomers directed the lahars. It was coincidental that no structures were in the path of the lahars. Management have learnt from this and are now grooming accordingly (Green 1999 - interviews).

8.9.3 Financial Damage

For Ruapehu Alpine Lifts (RAL), the eruptions of 1995 and 1996 caused a huge loss of profits and the loss of hundreds of permanent and seasonal jobs (Ruapehu Press 1996a; Samson 1996a). They recouped approximately one fifth of the loss through a loss of profits insurance cover they had. However, the balance of the loss of profits is the subject of legal proceedings RAL has taken against their insurers. RAL believe that they had loss of profits cover for these events. They have also taken out a more detailed insurance cover to provide both material damage and loss of profits insurance in the unlikely event of eruptions occurring again during the next few years (Mazey 1999 - interview). Unfortunately, Turoa ski-field did not fare as well as RAL, as they had not taken out such a comprehensive insurance plan (Green 1999 - interview).

The eruptions also affected The Chateau financially, resulting in major redundancies and loss of jobs. This was due to eruptions occurring during the ski season, which would normally be the peak time for The Chateau's operations (Griffin 1999 - interview).

With decreases in the number of member's subsidies, the ski-clubs in Tongariro National Park also found the later years of 1990s difficult, with many having financial problems. On the Tukino ski-field, several of the clubs vacated and sold their huts. In 1999 only three huts remained, one of which was contemplating selling out. If this happens the last two may have to look at closing the field down completely.

Ski-clubs in Iwikau Village, on Whakapapa Ski-field were also faced with financial difficulties, partially due to the bad ski seasons from 1995-1998. These problems have been exacerbated by the fact that the ski-clubs, Ruapehu Alpine Lifts and the government committed themselves financially to a new sewerage system for Whakapapa in 1995, prior to the eruptions. Payment for this much-needed system was being reassessed in 1999, due to the financial difficulties of many of the parties involved.

8.10 New Strategies

RAL understands that they operate in a high-risk business and the last four years have re-emphasised that. The business is riskier than they had perceived. To ensure company survival RAL intends to ensure they have the financial resources available to carry them through the bad years, whether they are caused by volcanic activity or lack of snow (Mazey 1999 - interview). Many operators have developed and implemented new marketing strategies following the eruptions, poor ski seasons and bad financial years. They have begun to actively promote their products to summer time markets. Ruapehu Alpine Lifts are slowly building a summer business and will, over time, become more involved in summer related guiding and other similar activities within Tongariro National Park (Mazey 1999 - interview). The Grand Chateau and Skotel are now actively marketing themselves as providers of summer accommodation (Griffin 1999 - interview). Some of these strategies have included promotion of summer activities, such as the Tongariro Trek or Crater Lake Walk, and ensuring that potential visitors know about other attractions in and around the park; apart from skiing, such as walking, golf,

tennis, 4 wheel bikes, and the 42 Traverse. (Griffin 1999 - interview). All operators are working more closely together to sell their new products.

Through out the 1980s and 1990s the nature of skiing in the park has changed, day skiers now outnumber the club skiers. This change, along with the problems of the late 1990s may bring about the end of an era for club skiing on Ruapehu. Clubs need to begin to market themselves and their facilities to other recreationists, such as summertime visitors, as the Chateau and other concessionaires in the park have done (Green 1999 - interview).

The ski-fields priorities have changed in the last decade. RAL is no longer pursuing the idea of boundary extensions, which was an issue in the 1990 Management Plan. They are now looking at ways to develop facilities and areas within the current boundaries, to intensify, utilizing the technology and equipment they have (Green 1999 - interview). The issue of boundary extensions is therefore no longer a management problem for the Department of Conservation. However, due to the eruptions and bad ski seasons many of the main concessionaires are in financial strife. This has lead to a change in the role of the Department of Conservation as an advocate. Previously, the Department was involved with maintaining restrictions; lately their priorities are more in maintaining standards, such as in safety (Green 1999 - interview). Recently, the Department of Conservation has implemented new strategies to correct past environmental damage, through such projects as bio-control of wild weeds in the park. The heather beetle was released into selected areas of heather to assist in eradication. Four years of intensive trials with the beetle were carried out in Britain and New Zealand before its release. This was to ensure that the only effects of the beetles' release in the park would be beneficial (Wakelin 1997). The Department of Conservation has made several plans like this, to improve the natural environment through the reintroduction of native species and the removal of obsolete developments.

8.11 Summary

The period from the 1970s through to the late 1990s was progressive for Tongariro National Park. During this time it became obvious that a planning framework was required in order to set clear standards for the coexistence of tourism and environmental protection, particularly under the *Resource Management Act*. The 1990s were a reminder that Tongariro National Park is a complex natural environment, of which people are a part. Attitudes have changed and respect for the landscape has increased, as people appear to be more aware of the value of wilderness.

Ruapehu was the Mecca for many North Island skiers. With the development of Turoa the pressure on Whakapapa was expected to decrease. However, supply triggered demand - Whakapapa continued to receive thousands of visitors and so too did Turoa (Figure 8.2).

Park administrators became aware of problems and consequences of development within a national park. All available evidence suggest staff accommodation be located outside the park boundary. In fact in the late 1970s the National Park Board did

Figure 8.2: Whakapapa Ski-field early, 1990s.

Source: Personal – Harlen.

construct staff housing in Ohakune and National Park village. However, this policy was discontinued in the early 1980s due to a few minor problems with staff living away from the park's operational location, at Whakapapa Village. As Buckland (1982, 3.5) states if park administrators in Canada and America can cope with housing located outside the park, then Tongariro should be able to as well.

The 1980s brought the new *National Parks Act*, changing the roles of the organisations involved and showing more concern about controlling use and preservation. A new Management Plan for Tongariro National Park reflected the control of use of land to preserve the environment and all continuing public enjoyment. By the end of the 1980s, a national park system had evolved that was the envy of the rest of the world (Thom cited in Molloy 1993, p 60).

When Tongariro National Park gained World Heritage Status in 1991 it was originally only given on natural grounds. The World Heritage Organisation later realigned its criteria of cultural heritage to encompass the cultural values of the Maori. This realignment took into account both spiritual and physical values for cultural aspects of World Heritage Status, and resulted in Tongariro National Park receiving dual status – natural and cultural. New Zealand influenced this adjustment of criteria for World Heritage status, to a certain extent.

Attitudes towards use of the park also appear to have changed. An increasing number of organisations and individuals understand the need for sustainable resource management of wilderness areas. People have also begun to seek out remote areas to recreate in - away from the crowds. The Department of Conservation has been encouraging this in order to assist in reducing pressures on other high-use areas, such as the Tongariro Crossing.

Mount Ruapehu, Tongariro and Ngauruhoe are and always have been active volcanoes. The eruptions of 1995 and 1996 and the following bad seasons caused much hardship for many operators. Publicity of this volcanic activity had positive and negative effects on visitation. Negative publicity was due to exaggerated reporting where tourists were given worst scenarios, which had a short-term negative effect on visitation. Publicity did, however, raise the profile of the area and provided an opportunity to attract visitors interested in the volcanic aspects of the park (Green 1999 - interview; Griffin 1999 - interview). Although the eruptions attracted sightseers to the region, it also disrupted other, more traditional, uses of the Park. Volcanic ash was the main cause of these disruptions in and outside the park. The hardest hit by the eruptions were the ski-fields. Premature ski-field closures and major disruptions in the 1995 and 1996 ski seasons, due to volcanic activity and ash-fall, impacted on ski service and accommodation industries, resulting in loss of revenue and employment. Other operators and recreational activities in and around the park were also effected.

The impact of these volcanic events on market perception of a skiing holiday in Tongariro National Park was minimal compared to the impact of the light snowfalls that occurred in 1997 and 1998 (Mazey 1999 - interview). Many of the South Island ski-fields took advantage of Tongariro National Parks' operator's misfortune and actively promoted their own facilities to the residents of the North Island (Green 1999 - interview).

Recently the Department of Conservation has begun corrective measures to reconstitute the wilderness to its former state. For example, research has been carried out and a programme implemented in relation to eradicating heather without effecting the indigenous flora and fauna of the park. Many operators have also changed their strategy and are promoting their products to summer markets, this is predominantly due to four bad ski seasons. A co-operative relationship has developed between operators and the Department of Conservation, as they all work together for the good of the park and their own survival. Currently, they respect each other's objectives and realise that they have a common goal – the sustainable resource management of Tongariro National Park.

9. Conclusion - The Future

Whakangarongaro he tangata; Toitu he whenua (Man passes but land endures) - Williams, K. 1985

The common colonial background of North America, Australia and New Zealand has created many similar types of attitudes towards the environment and the exploitation of natural resources. Many people view national parks as national assets with significant benefits for tourism. They are areas which, for many years, have been used in the successful promotion of tourism. In times of rapid agricultural and urban development, parks are increasingly serving as refuges, as well as fulfilling a burgeoning recreational demand. As society changes and the goals of the industry expand, the question that must be addressed is whether parks can withstand the pressures to which they are increasingly being subjected (Devlin 1976). New Zealand must plan to cater for guests and to preserve the natural features initially attracting people.

The primary purpose of this study was to examine the history of tourism and recreation in Tongariro National Park in relation to the overall management of the park as a conservation resource. This was undertaken primarily from the perspective of environmental and park history (Mark 1997). This historical analysis of the contribution that tourism and recreation have made to the development of Tongariro National Park has illustrated the evolution of the broader tensions between visitation and conservation since even before the park was established. Indeed, the placing of a tapu over the mountains by the local iwi could be regarded as a form of cultural conservation during the last century. Nevertheless, one of the most significant findings of the study was the role that economic utilitarian values, most clearly seen in the description of the park area as 'useless', played not only in the parks establishment but also in its management well into the Twentieth Century. Such an understanding is critical to appreciating present-day management issues in the park as previous land use and designation of appropriate activities establish a set of institutional arrangements which predicate future use and management and which may take many years to change.

The study also investigated the extent of conflict and relationship between national park usage and its natural resource preservation prior to the parks' establishment. One of the key findings, which the dissertation has made, is the extent to which the establishment of the park and its early management practices need to be related to Maori concerns over appropriate land use and issues of ownership. It is possible that these concerns may become increasingly prominent in the park in the future as Maori desire to exercise stewardship in the park becomes more significant, especially as the cultural values of the park exercised through Maori cultural history are recognised under the World Heritage Convention.

Over the years that followed the establishment of Tongariro National Park considerable change has occurred. New Zealand evolved from a pioneering frontier to a technological, urban-oriented society, which deals with both the luxuries and the weariness of western civilisation. Not only have there been social and economic changes, but also changes in attitudes towards the environment. In particular, resource

management has influenced the ways people use, think about and contribute to the developing national park system.

This final chapter is divided into three main sections. First, it provides an overview of the thesis. It then goes on to make a set of recommendations over future research. The thesis then concludes by noting the key issues that need to be addressed as the park enters a new century of visitor use.

9.1 Overview of Thesis

According to Hall (1992) the value of natural areas are not static, they alters over time in accordance with changes in the needs and attitudes of society. In this sense all landscapes should perhaps be regarded as cultural. Ideas of the values of natural and primitive land have shifted in relation to the changing perceptions of western culture. Not only are the values of wilderness altered in accordance to societies changing needs and attitudes, but so to are the decisions made in relation to the management of that wilderness areas. This thesis has examined the history of tourism and recreation in national parks, specifically Tongariro National Park, the main findings are outlined below.

Even though in recent years a biocentric concept of wilderness has become increasingly important in research, it is evident from chapters Two and Three that recreational values have dominated national park and wilderness literature. In the designation of national parks, New Zealand, like North American, has placed overall emphasis upon scenic values, preservation of nature's monuments, lack of economic value, touristic value, and to a certain extent, preservation of fauna and flora for their scientific. They were generally regarded as 'waste', 'worthless' or 'useless' lands that could be made productive through the development of tourism. As Chapters Two and Three have highlighted, preservation and continued protection of national parks in North America and New Zealand has been as dependent on the absence of material wealth as it has been on the weight of aesthetic and ecological wilderness values. The economic utilitarian ideal has been paramount in the history of national parks.

One of the most difficult things for Twentieth Century preservationists and conservationists to realise is that the situation of today is not the same as that of yesterday. National parks are not static - what they contain and how they are perceived is constantly changing in relation to the society in which they exist. Values relating to wilderness have altered in accordance to societies changing needs and attitudes. The decisions of the day are therefore based on the residing needs and attitudes. Hence, the decisions of yester-year are not wrong, just based on different information. Many people look at parks with contemporary Twentieth Century eyes, yet parks were established well before that (Mazey 1993 - interview).

The remainder of this thesis provided a case study of Tongariro National Park, which revealed the ever changing nature of ideas about land, people, recreation and nature. The types of visitation that are outlined in Chapter Four illustrate that initial visitors to the Tongariro region were part of a European colonial tradition that had been repeated

around the globe. They arrived to follow the conventions of the 'Old World', to understand and interpret the resources and people of the region with European eyes (Rothman 1998). Initially, 'scenic reserves' were not really set aside to protect natural processes. Their setting was thought to be aesthetically pleasing and the government was persuaded that - as beauty spots- they could earn the country more in tourist revenue than if their forest was cleared with the rest. Nature's only protection from the settlers fires was under the influence of scenic beauty, as something that might attract tourists and as an antidote to the land as solely a site of trade and work (Park 1990).

The significance of the North American national parks system on the New Zealand experience has been substantial, even from before the designation of the country's first national park at Tongariro. A prerequisites to preservation of the Tongariro region, like the North American situation, was that the area was seen as 'worthless' - there was no other economically viable activity for the land. Emphasis was also placed upon the regions scenic values. Several influential individuals saw the economic benefits that could result from developing the area for tourism, like Yellowstone and Yosemite. When the government began setting aside bits of the natural wilderness as reserves, it was a different world, with different language and ideas - the colonial world of the perfect scene. The politicians behind it were the ones who started the conservation estate. Its foundations are their ideas, not those of modern conservation biology. They rescued many beautiful places from destruction, but in the process many auspicious Maori places became spots for the colonial bush picnic (Park 1990).

It is established in Chapter Five that, the objectives that underlie the establishment of Tongariro National Park were uncertain and ambiguous, which lead to considerable conflict over its use. Throughout the early 1900s, the practise of 'improvement upon nature' carried through to Tongariro National Park. Park managers began to cater to demands of the increasing numbers of visitors. This lead to the introduction of exotic flora and fauna for recreation purposes, as well as the provision of facilities.

The opening of roads and the North Island Main Trunk railway in 1909 made the Central Plateau much more accessible, to those who could afford the fare but never would have attempted a trip on foot or by horse. As in the North America situation, the railways played a prominent role in bringing tourists to the parks (Hall 1988c). Travellers became less interested in their surroundings and more interested in their experience in making the journey (Rothman 1998). The railway and development of the automobile and reasonable roads brought visitors to the park in greater numbers. This in turn lead to more demand for facilities and yet greater access. Traditionally, New Zealand has been very selective in those parts of the landscape elected to set aside in reserves; there has been little co-ordinated attempt to achieve a full representation of all kinds and classes of plants and animals originally found in New Zealand. This is due to the fact that the rationale behind scenic reserve acquisitions in the early Twentieth Century did not embrace ideas about protecting representative areas. It is fruitless to blame earlier administrators for this, however this does illustrate how reducing options at an early stage does impose subsequent limitations later, in this case representative ecological areas (Roche 1984).

Hardin (cited in Devlin 1976) suggests that the morality of an act is a function of the state of the system at the time it is performed. Hence, it was no real crime to the pioneers of the 1800s and early 1900s if their sheep trespassed over unfenced park boundaries. Nor did it seem wrong to burn areas of tussock to establish heather and encourage the acclimatisation of grouse. During the early days of national parks, it was possible to use and conserve them, as visitor pressures were not significant enough to impact in any major way. In recent years however, the debate over the relationship between tourism and national parks has attained a new significance. This is partly due to increased concern about environmental quality and decreasing wilderness areas, escalating visitation to natural areas, perceived economic and employment benefits from tourism and increasing longevity and leisure time.

As outlined in Chapter Six, although the World Wars brought about decline in recreational activity in the park, the years after the Wars brought relative prosperity to the settlers of New Zealand. Recreation and visitation in national parks increased dramatically, due to n increase in mobility, disposable income and leisure time contribute to an accelerated interest in recreation in national parks (P.H.C. Lucas cited in Cardno 1975). More people came to the park to participate in recreational activities. However, with this increased visitation came demand for more and better facilities, which resulted in yet more development. This development showed not only recognition of the recreational importance of natural areas but also the need for them to be rationally managed in a way that enhanced their recreational and conservation value. However, park management was fragmented, usually a combination of leaving nature to its own devices and providing facilities for tourists, with a piecemeal attitude towards development.

A new era in the management of the park, discussed in Chapter Seven, came with the passing of the National Park Act 1952. This was designed to present a more concise policy for the control and management of New Zealand national parks. While tourism has been seen as essential for the maintenance of Tongariro National Park, the more traditional problems of conventional tourism have appeared, including crowding, stress on wild life and modification of wild life. The park management were so successful in providing infrastructure, that the number of visitors continued increasing. More demands from park users resulted in more hut and infrastructure construction, which in turn drew more people into the park ñ supply stimulated demand. Overcrowding in some areas caused facilities to become overloaded and a deterioration of the environment.

At the time of the post-war boom in park activity, especially the construction of club lodges, no Board member could have reasonably been expected to foresee what would be the position be the 1970s. Certainly the 1952 National Parks Act did not envisage large, luxurious lodges when it stated that the Board might permit the erection of huts. The number of visitors were not predicted, and nor were the problems that came with them.

Chapter 8 outlines the increase human use of the park, along with increasing pressure in park managers to provide for more, improved facilities. The National Parks Act 1980 (which superseded the 1952 Act) and Park Management Plans are two documents that

have guided management in decision making. The National Parks Act 1980 states that national parks are to be dual purpose. On one hand they are to be preserved and, on the other, they are to be used for recreation. This poses a dilemma - how can both be achieved effectively? Some see natural environments as good places to pursue recreational activities while the ecologist sees natural environments as good places to observe and study nature. Ultimately, both groups want natural environments available for their purposes and a coalition must be forged in order to achieve this end, such as the prevention of despoliation of natural environments. However, ecologists may wish to retain the area in a natural state to study nature while the recreationist desires facilities to be provided. Therefore, there has been a conflict of interest which has become more important as the areas of natural environment continue to decrease (Bignell and Smith 1984).

The history of tourism development in Tongariro National Park is one littered with instances of physical disruption and impacts of varying severity. The passage of time appears to have legitimised activities by mere fact of their longevity or endurance. However, this has not guaranted the continued compatibility of an activity with the objectives of a national park. A major concern arises when an activity has not changed its basic form but when the number of participants and the technology used in the activity substantially increases the impact of the activity on the environment and other users. Snow skiing within Tongariro National Park is an example. It is seen by many to be a traditional and acceptable use, but skiing in the 1990s, with its associated network of ski-lifts, buildings, services and massive increase in user numbers, is significantly different in its environmental impact from skiing in the 1930s. The Resource Management Act (1991) has been modified to take these changes into account. Existing uses are permitted to continue provided that the 'effects remain the same' (s.10).

In recent years, there has been more of 'a recognition that flora and fauna have an intrinsic right to exist' (Hall 1992). Originally, this intrinsic value developed from the discovery that wildlife areas have a monetary value in the form of tourism. However, the environmental, economic and social impacts of tourism on national parks will always be both positive and negative. In the past, perhaps too much emphasis has been given to the positive economic benefits and too little to the social and environmental costs. Nowadays, more people are aware of 'ecology' and the great possibilities of nature. They speak out when they sense a threat to a piece of native land. Yet environmentalism is about more than just wild, indigenous things defended. It is about the union of humans, other species and the land itself (Park 199).

The park is being used more extensively by people seeking a wider range of recreational pursuits. However, people are beginning to recognise that one park cannot cater for everyone. Visitors are being encouraged to use areas outside the park for recreational activities as well. More people are using the surrounding forest parks for other kinds of recreational activities, such as mountain biking and rafting. By using these forest areas, adjoining Tongariro National Park, there is a greater opportunity for people to recreate without any conflicts occurring. Also this network of recreation and conservation areas increases the ability, of the Department of Conservation, to manage the parks in an effective and co-ordinated way (Green 1993 - interview). Nowadays, it

is frequently tourists who are the strongest advocates of the preservation of New Zealand's protected areas.

This is an encouraging sign. There is a growing awareness of the interdependence between tourism in New Zealand and the country's natural and scenic assets. New Zealandís greatest tourism resource is not just natural beauty, but unspoilt natural beauty (NZTC cited in Higham 1996, p 9).

The way people act towards natural areas is driven by how they perceive it. These perceptions are cultural constructions. They can change dramatically over time, and they can differ considerably at any one time between cultural groups. Developments in national parks are responses to the demands and perceptions of the public of the day. Responsible management usually makes good decisions if they are based on the best information available at that time. However, whatever the decisions may be, they will please some, horrify many and have no effect on others. As time and situations change, it is inevitable that decisions may appear to be wrong when studied at some later date. The situation and information will have changed, and the initial decision will probably be inappropriate for that new period - but that does not mean that they were the wrong decisions when they were made. As John Mazey stated: 'its not a question of whether the decision is right or wrong from today's conservation perspective. But whether it was the right decision made at that time with the information and situation at hand' (Mazey 1993 - interview). Tourism has and always will be an important component of national parks.

9.2 Recommendations

Tourism has changed significantly in form and volume since the establishment of national parks, and the image and expectations of national parks have similarly changed. In undertaking this historical analysis of the contribution that tourism and recreation have made to the development of Tongariro National Park, there is clearly a need for further studies in the field of tourism and recreation in national parks. More research is required, about the past, to produce information in relation to the direction in which park management must plan to cater for the future. In this respect it is important that national park management and recreation operators recognise their common ground and combine forces to develop and produce sound policies for future generations who will use natural areas, such as Tongariro National Park, for recreational, tourism and conservation related activities.

The recreational needs of an increasing population and the problems surrounding such needs must be carefully researched. Recreation in natural area, such as Tongariro National Park, is a prime demand of western societies, and any future strategies of national parks must account for this demand. Park administrators must also remember that national parks present an example of constantly changing perceptions and social attitudes - the future value of natural areas therefore, cannot be easily predicted.

9.3 Conclusions

For the mountains to remain sacred, each generation must honour the motivation behind the original Maori gift. People must also respect the European philosophers, poets and conservationists who developed and nourished the idea of national parks. Beneath the mountains, two cultures have come together and must persist in creating a strong relationship. The challenge is to sustain the ancient bonds and to guarantee future protection of the land so that it may continue to speak of forces beyond us - Bruce Jefferies (Cited in Potton 1987, p 9).

Establishment of a national park is only the beginning of the conservation story. Heritage can only be preserved for future generations, if appropriate management policies and processes are developed and implemented. The tools for effective management of parks have been set in place. What is required from all involved is that they be utilised efficiently and according to appropriate guidelines as specified in recent legislation, such as the Resources Management Act 1991, National Parks Act 1980, and Conservation Act 1987.

During the early days of national parks, it was possible to use and conserve parks, as visitor pressures were not significant enough to impact in any major way. In recent years however, the debate over the relationship between tourism and national parks has attained a new significance. This is partly due to increased concern about deterioration of environmental quality and decreasing wilderness areas, escalating visitation to natural areas, perceived economic and employment benefits from tourism and increasing longevity and leisure time. The public's attitudes have changed. The Department of Conservation's job is no longer so much having to defend policies to conserve and restrict peoples use of the park, as it was in the 1970s and 1980s. At present, policies are better understood by users of the park, and they are more accepted - sometimes reluctantly - by people (Green 1993 - interview). More people appear to understand that the destruction of New Zealandís natural heritage might not only be tragic for the flora and fauna, but also endanger the main tourism resource. Although there is this new understanding on environmental pressures at public level, these pressures will always be there. The greatest protection natural areas can therefore receive is an educated public, although it should also be noted that given the lack of comprehensive park and administrative histories here in New Zealand, the park management authorityís understanding of how parks came into being and how present uses have been shaped by past decisions is very poor.

Sustainable Resource Management

Maintaining and enhancing New Zealand's ëclean greení reputation is critical to the long-term viability of the tourism industry, which is dependent on environmental resources. It is this resource base which supports opportunities to attract, meet and exceed the expectations of visitors. If lands are destroyed and visitors discovered that New Zealandís wilderness is deteriorating, the promotion of a 'clean green' environment may be jeopardised and New Zealand would not be able to market itself so successfully. The safeguarding of the sustainability of New Zealand's natural and physical resources is therefore crucial to tourism.

The sustainable use of resources and the management of the effects o activities, as required by the Resource Management Act 1991, offers significant benefits to the industry. If environmental damage is prevented, New Zealand will continue to attract international visitors and a range of opportunities for both international and domestic visitors can be supported. New Zealand's ëclean greení image is fragile, only safeguarded by the sustainable management of natural and physical resources (Hall et al. 1997).

Operators in Tongariro National Park acknowledge that the park is a unique, fragile environment, a national park and a World Heritage Site. Now, New Zealand has only a few developers, who want to develop the park to make a short-term profit. Tourism and recreation operators are aware that if New Zealand's landscape and protected lands are destroyed the tourism industry will die. They realise that the park has significance to a whole range of people for a variety of activities and reasons. There is no long-term advantage in destroying the landscapes that they rely on, for short-term gain, and they do not wish to do so (Mazey 1993 - interview). Both DOC and the tourism operators are now more informed about the others needs and the interdependent nature of their relationship. However, further development of existing policies and research into new strategies is required if a level of sustainable development is to be obtained.

The Role of Tourism

Although tourism has had some negative impacts on park environments and visitor experiences, it can also provide a stimulus for the conservation of natural resources, as in the case with the establishment of New Zealand's national park system. As the intangible benefits of preserving nature and the environmental quality could not be readily quantified in monetary terms, value through tourism and allied services were a valued additional argument for national parks, particularly when competing resource users, such as agriculture and forestry were involved. The introduction of administrative and planning controls also assisted in maintaining the quality of the environment and ensuring the provision of a satisfying experience for tourists. Tourism can however, be described as in conflict with nature conservation, when the presence of tourism has the potential to be detrimental to nature conservation. Conflict is serious when a particular type of tourism occurs in an unsuitable area or where the demands of an appropriate type of tourism are excessive for the environment. How national parks can best be cared for depends not only on management knowing the vulnerabilities and limits of its indigenous animals and plants, but also the nature and significance of its historical information. Considerations also need to be made relating to what the place has meant to people, how that meaning has made the place what it is and how those values have changed. In Tongariro National Park, the challenge is not how to prevent change or development, but rather to decide what are natures limits, how much change or development can be allowed, where it will be permitted and the policies and conditions required for control.

The preservation of New Zealand's reserves and national parks hinges not only on bureaucratic and political acceptance and dedication, but also on an involved public. The public has access to broad-based environmental education. People are becoming more aware of the environment and more interested in nature as is reflected by an

apparent increase in nature tourism. With this increase will come increased pressures on national parks. Park managers intend to develop a more proactive, rather than a reactive, response to these pressures. However, the real problem is that management may never know with any real certainty where the dividing line is between the preservation of a particular ecosystem and its very gradual decline - a decline that can reach the point of no return without anyone aware of any danger (Walker 1980). As the demands of tourists grow and natural areas deplete, new strategies will be required to safeguard resources and optimise visitor satisfaction. The most formidable task for park management is to build institutions which implement and control development policies (Kaspar 1992). There is an ongoing need to improve understanding of the natural features of the park as well as its cultural history and interpret this understanding to visitors and other stakeholders. Indeed, one of the great gaps in interpretation at the park is provision of information of how the park has been managed over the years, noting the dynamic nature of such management, and using this to pose questions as to the future direction of the park. Nowhere is this need clearer than with respect to Maori involvement in the park.

Maori Issues

There is a need to understand Maori lifestyle, customs, beliefs and traditions and their relationship with the land and culture. It is important to recognise that the traditional Maori relationship with Tongariro National Park is more than legal, and that every culture has a right to its own history, within a multi-cultural society such as that of New Zealand. The commitments to the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi must be a fundamental concern in considering the ethics of recreation in Tongariro National Park.

The presence of the Treaty of Waitangi in the Conservation Act 1987 requires consideration of the past, not just to treat it as something long gone and irrelevant. Some individuals want to distance themselves from the official attitudes towards land, nature and Maori that prevailed a century ago. However, a sound knowledge of the influence Maori had on shaping the wilderness could aid conservation estates in the future (Park 1990). The Maori have never differentiated themselves from the wilderness, but have regarded themselves as part of it. This doctrine meant that they did little to exploit the source from which they considered they were descended from. The Department of Conservation could utilise this knowledge of sustainability in strategy and policy development. They also must take into account not just environmental and safety factors, but also the values of Maori who consider the mountains as tapu (sacred), when considering development in Tongariro National Park. The reinvigorated relationship of Maori people with their Maoritanga (roots) will be critical for the achievement of sustainable forms of Tourism in New Zealand. The tourism industry and the Department of Conservation need to appreciate Maori cultural values and perceptions of heritage and incorporate these in the tourism development process. It is the natural as well as the cultural heritage that attracts many tourists to New Zealand. Therefore, if tourism in New Zealand is to remain a driving force, the tourism industry must learn to understand and adapt to the cultural and natural environment in which it operates (Hall 1993).

The Department of Conservation and the local Tuwharetoa tribe currently have a co-operative relationship. All parties involved respect the others views and values. For example, the ëDraft Conservation Management Strategy for Tongariro/Taupo 1995-2005í (Department of Conservation 1994) is in the process of being reviewed, due to issues that the Tuwharetoa people have outlined, that maybe in conflict with the Treaty of Waitangi (Green 1999 - interview). The Department intends to continue to develop this effective conservation partnership with local Maori and assist in the resolution of any outstanding Treaty of Waitangi issues within the region relating to the park (Department of Conservation 1994). This genuine partnership needs to be fostered for the future of the park.

The Park Remains

The history and evolution of national parks in New Zealand can help explain New Zealand perceptions of wilderness. Undoubtedly, many New Zealanders see national parks and other conservation reserves as valuable for a variety of reasons. However, there are also many people who perceive parks as wastelands that can be used for commercial gain. The value of wilderness is not static; it alters overtime in accordance with changes in the needs and attitudes of society (Hall 1988c). Therefore, parks like people are partially shaped by the times in which they originate.

The story of the park has not yet ended. People have come and gone in Tongariro National Park. However, some areas of the park are today largely the same as they were when the Maori passed below their sacred forms; when the first explorers gazed into Ngauruhoe's gapping crater, and when the New Zealand pioneers settled on surrounds. This is due to the fact that the people of New Zealand have decided that it is best this way; that human beings should have the unmarred majesty of the Tongariro Trio to see, to marvel at, to study and to try to comprehend. The Tongariro Plateau, which represents New Zealand's past, belongs to New Zealand and to all future generations that come to dwell in the Central Volcanic Plateau.

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Appendices A: Chronology

800 AD Estimated arrival of first Polynesian People.

1820's Tribal wars ravage the North Island

1831 First record of European journeying through the Region - Andrew Powers.

1839 First recorded ascent of Ngauruhoe by John Bidwell.

1846 Mananui Te Heuheu killed in landslide. Succeeded by Iwikau Te Heuheu.

1850 First visit to the interior by government official, Governor Grey.

1853 Sir George Grey is believed to be the first to climb one of the summit peaks of Ruapehu and see the Crater Lake.

1856 First sheep brought into the region.

1859 First geographical map of the area made by Hochstetter.

1862 Death of Iwikau. Succeeded by Horonuku Te Heuheu.

1863 Horonuku sends warriors to Waikato to assist in the Land Wars.

1869 Tuwharetoa people assist Te Kooti in battle against the Government.

1872 World's first national park created at Yellowstone in the United States.

1874 First public proposal to preserve the Tongariro Region made by William Fox.

1877 John and Thomas Allison climb Te Heuheu, the Northern peak of Ruapehu.

1870s Pakeha (European) lease land around the Tongariro Mountains for sheep stations.

1880 First hut in the park, built by a shepherd.

1883 Cussen and Simms made the first triangulation of the area. Kerry-Nicholls made proposal on protecting the Tongariro Trio for the public.

1884 Dr Alfred Newman asks the Government to reserve the Tongariro Trio as a national park.

1886 Land Court sitting discussing tribal ownership of the Tongariro Region. Gift of mountain peaks as a national park suggested.

1887 The Paramount chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa, Tukino Te Heuheu IV gives land, comprising the summits of Tongariro and Ngauruhoe, together with part of the summit of Ruapehu, to the Crown.
Tongariro National Park Bill introduced in Parliament by Ballance.

1888 Death of Horonuku, Te Heuheu Tukino V.

1890 Thomas Cook and Son appoint a guide to take parties to the mountains from Tokaanu.

1891 Cussen completed the first topographical map of the mountains.

1893 The Desert Road pushed through from Waiouru to Tokaanu, becoming the chief means of access.

1894 Tongariro National Park Bill passed, establishing the fourth national park in the world.

1901 The Waihohonu Hut, the first recreational building in the park constructed.

1907 Tongariro National Park gazetted.
First park board appointed.

1908 Turner and Cockayne report published on desirable park changes.

1909 The main trunk railway completed providing access to the western side of the park.

1913 Bill Mead and Bernard Drake the first to ski the park.
First ski-club in New Zealand formed, the Ruapehu Ski-club.

1917 Mahuia and Whakapapanui Streams bridged and road access to the western boundary of the park.

1919 A government grant of 500 pounds made to build a hut and an access road on the north-western side of Ruapehu.

1920 The access track to Whakapapa completed and the Whakapapa Cottage erected (near the site of the present Chateau) on behalf of the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts.

1922 New Tongariro National Park Board set up, under the new Tongariro National Park Act.
Major extension to park boundaries.

1923 Cullen planted heather for proposed grouse hunting.
Ruapehu Ski-club built Glacier Hut on Hut Flat, at 1760m; the first ski-club hut in New Zealand.

1925 Sir James Gunson, Mayor of Auckland and H. W. Glen, Director of Waikune Prison, are the first to drive to Whakapapa on the newly formed Bruce Road.

1929 The Tongariro Park Tourist Company Ltd formed to build the Chateau.
The Grand Chateau opened.

1930 The mountain road, an extension of the Bruce Road, began above the Chateau.

1931 The Department of Tourist and Health Resorts take over the running of the Chateau.
Stanton Search.

1936 Ruapehu Ski-club's second Hut built on Hut Flat.
Colin Wyatt, an English ski champion, brought out to New Zealand by the Ski Council of Federated Mountain Clubs to assist in the development of skiing.

1938 The first ski-tow in New Zealand installed near Salt Hut, on Upper Scoria Flat, Whakapapa. It operated for only a few hours before breaking down.

1940 Bruce Road completed.

1942 Chateau used as a psychiatric hospital.

1945 Between August and November frequent volcanic eruptions take place from the empty active crater of Ruapehu. Skiing disrupted and the Chateau's patients evacuated.

1947 Ted Pearse builds two commercial rope tows - one on Scoria Flat and the other up the Rock Garden.

1948 The post-war building boom begins, continuing for the next two decades with over thirty club huts built at Whakapapa.
The Chateau reopens as a hotel.

1949 A Hamilton rope tow installed on the Stair Case by the Tourist Department.
R. A. Mckenzie establishes a skiing scholarship for boys and girls from the North Island.

1952 National Parks Act passed.
Ohakune Mountain Road Association was formed.
Bill Bridge forms a rudimentary volunteer Ski Patrol - the beginnings of the Mount Ruapehu Ski Patrol.
Walter Haensli obtains a license from the Tongariro National Park Board to operate chair lifts and other ancillary services at Whakapapa.

1953 Christmas Eve, Crater Lake erupted causing a lahar, causing the Tangiwai Disaster.

Ruapehu Alpine Lifts Ltd formed and a prospectus issued.

1954 The first single chair lift on the Rock Garden commenced operation in August.

1955 T-bar at Staircase installed and operating.
Second chair lift from the foot of the staircase to the top of Knoll Ridge installed and operating.

1956 Electric power to Iwikau Village Huts.
Formation of Ruapehu Mountain Clubs Association.

1957 Tourist Hotel Corporation takes over the running of the Chateau from the Tourist Department.

1958 Application of zonation to accommodate increasing conflicts.

1960 Jimmy John of Ski Enterprises Ltd helped by Roy Turner, installs a 1000m rope tow on the National Downhill area.

1961 Tom Bates begins a service with the 'Whakapapa Cat', a tracked vehicle, from the top chair lift terminal to the crater lake.

1962 Peter and Rodney Whitcombe of Ohakune, install the first tow on the south-west slopes of Ruapehu.
First permanent building erected at Tukino - the Nissen Hut, erected by the Waiouru Alpine and Ski-club.

1964 Happy Ski Valley Ltd commences operations.
First Tongariro National Park Management Plan.

1965 Tongariro Power Scheme commenced.

1966 The Ohakune Road reaches its present terminus (summer 1966-67).

1968 Tongariro National Park Board adopts a development proposal for Turoa.

1969 An eruption from Ruapehu totally destroys Dome Shelter and a lahar sweeps through the kiosk near the Staircase T-bar.

1970 Tongariro National Park Board issues a prospectus world-wide for the development of Turoa.

1974 Waterfall poma installed at Whakapapa.
RAL renews its licence with Tongariro National Park Board for a term to end in 1995.

1977 Forty-five year licence made between Tongariro National Park Board and Alex Harvey Industries for a major ski development at Turoa.

Tongariro National Park Board decides to restrict development at Tukino.

1978 Development at Turoa begins with two road end buildings, one mid-field building and the installation of two triple chair lifts.

1979 Turoa Ski-field officially opened.

1980 New National Parks Act.
National Parks and Reserves Authority established.

1987 Conservation Act 1987.
Department of Lands and Survey replaced by Department of Conservation
Centennial of Tongariro National Park.

1990 World Heritage Status gained, on natural aspects.

1991 Resource Management Act.

1993 World Heritage Status gained, on cultural aspects.

1995 Ruapehu Erupts.

1996 Ruapehu Erupts again.
Ngati Tuwharetoa tribe celebration of World Heritage Status, on cultural aspects.

1997 Bad ski season.

1998 Bad ski season, again