

**CONSTRUCTING, CONTESTING AND  
CONSUMING NEW ZEALAND'S  
TOURISM LANDSCAPE:  
A HISTORY OF TE WAIROA**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The thesis focuses on documentation regarding the historical growth of tourism at Te Wairoa, Rotorua, New Zealand. Te Wairoa acted as a gateway to Otukapuarangi and Te Tarata of Rotomahana which represented an iconic tourism landscape in the nineteenth century. A theoretical engagement with tourism studies and the utilisation of history as an analytical device reveals that the consumption of the tourism landscape is an ongoing, contested, and negotiated cultural construction of place.

The history of tourism development at Te Wairoa exhibits the entrenchment of European colonial power in New Zealand. However, within the structures of colonial authority, strategies of survival for the colonised are employed. In this particular case, the strategies include the engagement with Western ethics of capitalism, the manipulation and appropriation of symbols of the ‘other’, and the control of access through land ownership. The economic and social development of Te Wairoa, based on a tourism economy, also highlights the existent tensions in both a colonial and post-colonial relationship in New Zealand.

The research further argues that individual tourism sites reflect culturally ascribed values associated with place. As the combination of exogenous and endogenous social, cultural, political and economic forces evolve so to does the production and consumption of the tourism landscape. Evidence for these considerations is provided by publicly available historical material including archival documents, historical literature, contemporary accounts, newspapers, and government records. The result is an in-depth study which provides an original and thematic interpretation of the history of Te Wairoa as well as supporting a model for investigating change in the cultural construction of place.

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## CONTENTS

Abstract	Page	ii
Acknowledgements		iii
List of illustrations		v
Chapter One: Introduction		1
Chapter Two: Contextualising Te Wairoa's Landscape		23
Chapter Three: Consuming Landscape		48
Chapter Four: Constructing and Contesting Landscape		72
Chapter Five: Commodifying the Tourist Landscape		99
Chapter Six: Displays of Landscape		121
Chapter Seven: Hinemihi o te Ao Tawhito		150
Chapter Eight: Conclusion		177
Bibliography		185



## ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Map of Lakes Tarawera, Rotomahana and settlements	Page 3
Figure 2. Map of Rotorua district	4
Figure 3. Photo of Te Tarata	20
Figure 4. Photo of Te Tarata	21
Figure 5. Photo of Te Tarata	21
Figure 6. Photo of Otukapuarangi	22
Figure 7. Photo of Otukapuarangi	22
Figure 8. Blomfield's painting of the Pink Terrace	64
Figure 9. Blomfield's painting of the White Terrace	65
Figure 10. Illustration of Herbert Meade's 'Maori maidens'	70
Figure 11. Photo of the <i>Rotomahana Hotel</i>	80
Figure 12. Photo of the <i>Terrace Hotel</i>	80
Figure 13. Photo of guides Sophia and Kate	103
Figure 14. Blomfield's painting of Mount Tarawera erupting	121
Figure 15. Watkins' painting of the ghost-canoe	127
Figure 16. Photo of Te Wairoa, post-eruption	132
Figure 17. Photo of the <i>Rotomahana</i> , post-eruption	132
Figure 18. Photo of Tuhoto Ariki's whare	141
Figure 19. Photo of Tuhoto Ariki's whare	141
Figure 20. Photo of Te Wairoa c.1886	142
Figure 21. Photo of signage at the Buried Village	143
Figure 22. Photo of signage at the Buried Village	144
Figure 23. Photo of signage at the Buried Village	144
Figure 24. Photo of signage at the Buried Village	145
Figure 25. Brochure of the Buried Village	147
Figure 26. Photo of Hinemihi c.1886	152
Figure 27. Photo of Hinemihi, post-eruption	166
Figure 28. Image of a NZ one pound note	169
Figure 29. Photo of Hinemihi at Clandon Park, England	173

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the acknowledgements.

Hamish Bremner

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

In 1882 a small group of European tourists travelled by boat across Lake Tarawera on their way to Rotomahana (figure 1) and the silica formations known as the Pink and White terraces. Before the Māori settlement of Moura was reached a protruding rock was passed and the guides and crew suggested that placing an item upon the rock to appease the local spirit would ensure a safe return journey. The exchange between paying guest and working host was published by Frances Ellen Talbot under the male pseudonym Thorpe Talbot whereby she felt:

*... it would be tempting Satan to pass without paying toll. So we hunted up our smallest coins- Sophia, good heart, insisted on the smallest- and passed them over to a tattooed old heathen in the stern. He struck the rock several times with a branch of wet fern, and did an incantation that excited frantic mirth amongst his countrymen. To us it was unintelligible, yet we pretty well guessed the gist of it, I fancy.*

*“Taipo! Taipo! here’s some more fools of pakehas. Help us to make them bleed rum; kapai rum.” During the incantation he passed up the rock a moment, and put his hand in his pocket – the hand with the sixpences in, you observe. Then he came back, and winked at his brethren. Then Sophia winked at me, and showed her white teeth; and I winked back, of course. Then we sailed on with easy minds and we were not capsized, which is the best possible proof of the expediency of having a coin handy whenever “there is the devil to pay”.*

(Talbot, 1882:47)

The two protagonists in the episode, the guide and the author, were engaged in a knowing arrangement where both recognised their respective roles in the drama that was unfolding. Both were foreign to the area. Sophia Hinerangi was born in

the Bay of Islands and the daughter of Alexander Grey of Aberdeen, Scotland and Hinerangi Kotiro of Ngāti Ruanui Te Atiawa (Masters, 1983). Frances Talbot was from Yorkshire, England and had resided in Victoria, Australia and Dunedin, New Zealand (Wevers, 2000). How and why these two women, with very different backgrounds, interacted with each other in a specific place at a particular time in colonial New Zealand is a microcosm of the themes central to this thesis.

Te Wairoa is located approx 20 kilometres from the city of Rotorua in the central North Island of New Zealand (figure 2). The settlement appears as a township on most road maps although it does not contain the facilities usually associated with small towns in New Zealand such as a general store, hotel, or church. The only building in the immediate area is the reception and entrance to the tourist attraction *The Buried Village*. The lack of amenities and facilities normally associated with a township belies the fact that in the late 1800s the area was home to a prosperous village community basing its economy around the tourists that gathered to start their journey to Rotomahana and the terraces Otukapuarangi and Te Tarata. Renamed the Pink and White terraces they were sinter formations on the shores of Rotomahana. Te Tarata covered an area of approximately 7.5 acres and rose to a height of 50 meters whereas Otukapuarangi covered 5.5 acres and rose 40 meters (figures 3—7).

A small, uninhabited area in the early 1800s Te Wairoa was populated by Māori and European in the 1850s, deserted during the wars of the 1860s, repopulated during the 1870s and 1880s, subject to the force of the erupting Mount Tarawera in 1888, and then re-inhabited by a small number of families thereafter. While there are numerous accounts focussing on Rotomahana, the terraces, and the eruption of Mount Tarawera (Conly, 1985; Keam, 1988; Andrews, 1995) this thesis focuses on the settlement of Te Wairoa. This is due to the fact that it was the centre of political control for access to the natural resources as well as the base for tourists on their journey to Rotomahana and the terraces. This means that Te Wairoa is a site of interstice of European and Māori interests providing an avenue for historical investigation.

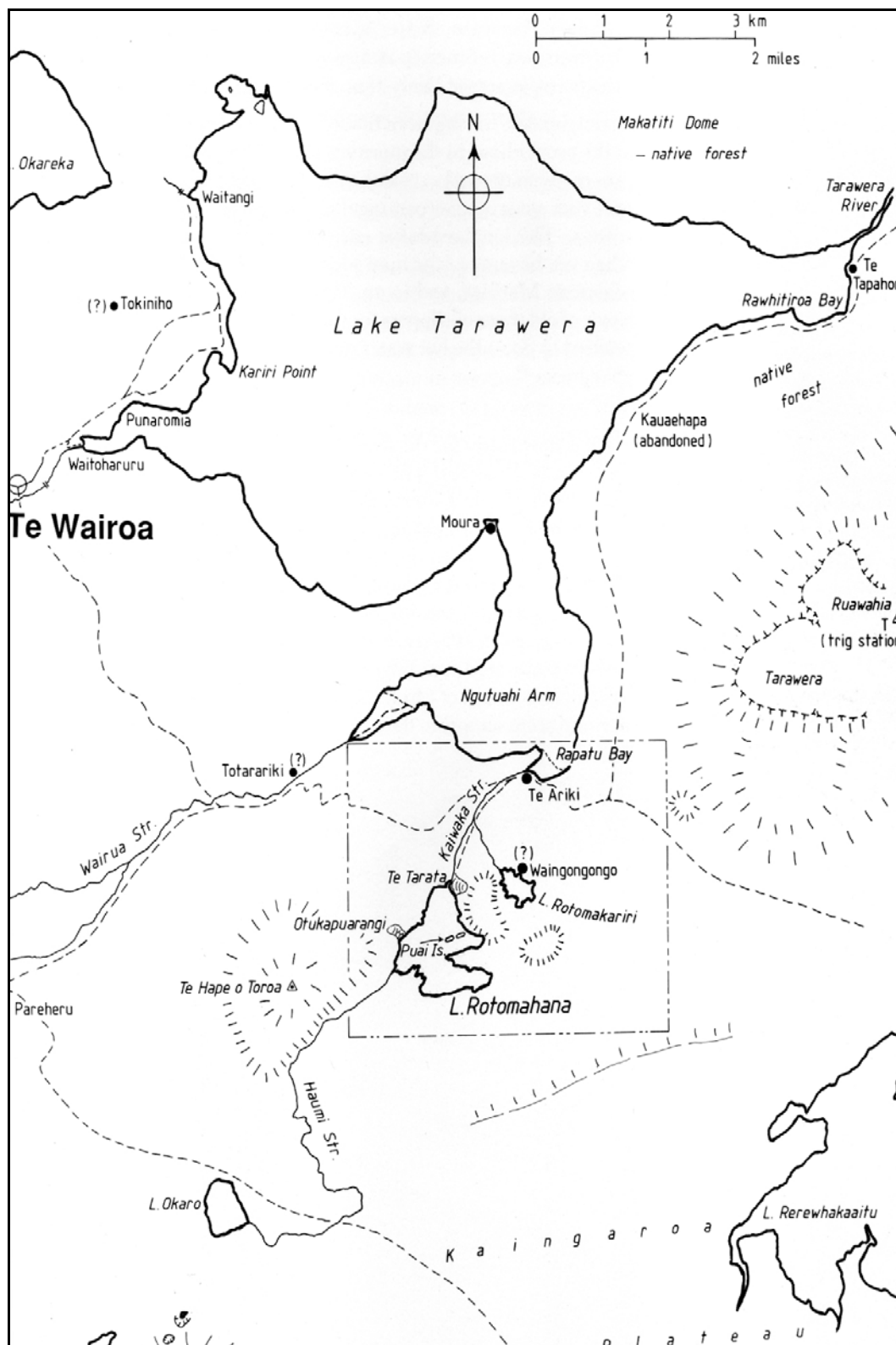
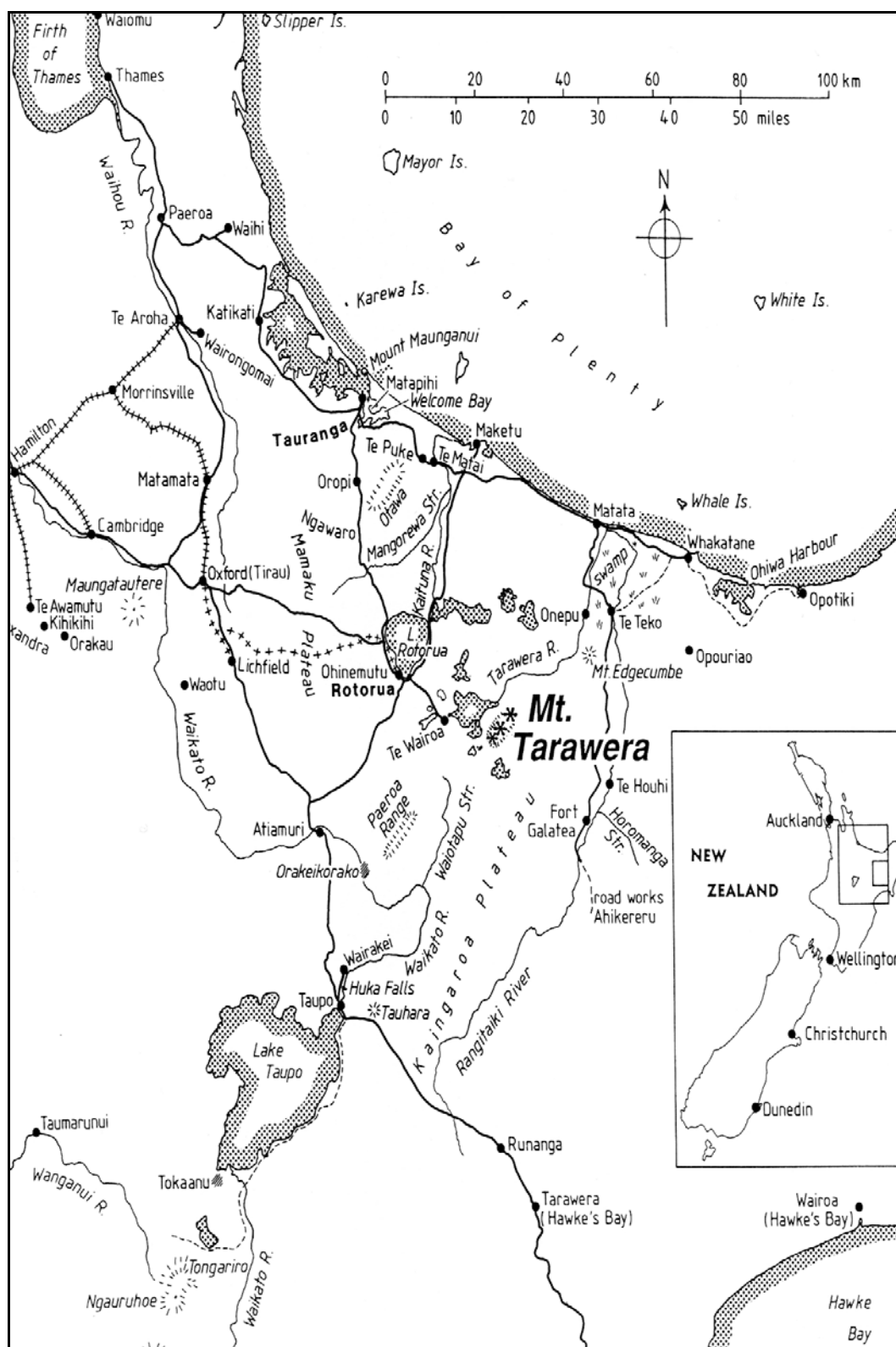


Figure 1: Te Wairoa in relation to Rotomahana. Keam (1998:33).



Te Wairoa, as a geographic site for historical research and interpretation in this thesis, has been chosen for the following reasons. It is, in the terminology of Mary Pratt (1992:6), a 'contact zone' between coloniser and colonised and in this particular case European and Māori. Accordingly, Te Wairoa is a 'space of colonial encounters, [which is] the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict'. Te Wairoa provides evidence to not only suggest that coercion, conflict and inequality was apparent at a specific time but that articulation of conflict manifests in differing forms as the socio-political environment changes. Of note is the fact that Te Wairoa did not exist as a settlement until the arrival of European interests. Therefore, Te Wairoa is a site created by the migration and subsequent interaction between Māori and European. This gives rise to the suggestion put forward by James Clifford (1997:2-3) that 'everyone's on the move, and has been for centuries: dwelling-in-travel' and that 'practices of displacement might emerge as *constitutive* of cultural meanings rather than as their simple transfer or extension'. These practices of displacement which constitute meaning have significance to New Zealand considering the migratory patterns of human settlement in the country's history. In Te Wairoa specifically, the transitory nature of short-term visitors and the migratory behaviours of the hosts assisted in articulating a fertile exchange between colonised and coloniser.

Lydia Wevers (2000:5) employs the notion of a 'hot' destination where cultural interaction between hosts and guests occurred in iconic tourism sites in New Zealand. Apart from the obvious metaphor of Te Wairoa being literally a thermal hot spot, an in-depth historical examination of a specific site provides a sharp focus for issues regarding the contested control of landscape, the cultural construction of place, and the production and consumption of services. Furthermore, Te Wairoa is a site of interstice between the global and the local which incorporate 'both exogenous forces and the endogenous powers of local residents and entrepreneurs' (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001:379). This is where John Urry (1995:152) suggests that research be undertaken as it is '... the complex

interconnections of *both* global and local processes [and] ... the *interconnections* between them which account for the particular ways in which an area's local history and culture is made available and transformed into a resource ...'. Added to this, is the concept put forward by Clifford (1997:219) whereby global-local zones are 'sites of identity-making and transculturation, of containment and excess, ... [which] epitomize the ambiguous future of "cultural" difference'. Although Clifford's remarks concern the establishment and maintenance of museums the parallels with Te Wairoa are apparent. Te Wairoa's history acts as a kind of museum, as the cultural and material artefacts of the site are exhibited for those wishing to look. It can also be argued that Te Wairoa epitomizes an ambiguous *past* of cultural difference, whereby cultural performance and displays of identity are subject to historical processes.

Te Wairoa provides evidence of a cultural constructions of place through the creation of a tourism landscape. These constructions are fluid, continually evolving and open to negotiation. This is theoretically derived from Simon Schama's (1995) argument that the natural landscape is inseparable from the cultural attributes ascribed to such and that these attributes are susceptible to change. Although Schama's evidence ranges from classical antiquity to present day and tourism is mentioned peripherally, the theoretical themes raised are relevant for this research as the manner in which landscape is consumed is reflected in the attendant production of cultural material. Of central concern to Schama is the manner in which dominant myths are created and reinforced from generation to generation. Indeed, it is the continual production of cultural items that reinforce memory thus enabling myths and images to be sustained through the passing of time. This notion is inherently linked to who produces myths and how the myths are consumed. Accordingly, 'not to take myth seriously in the life of an ostensibly "disenchanted" culture like our own is actually to impoverish our understanding of our shared world' (Schama, 1995:134). The myths that are created and reinforced through landscape and memory are intrinsically aligned with notions of power and control as landscape 'doesn't merely signify or symbolize power relations; it is an instrument of cultural power ...' (Mitchell, 1994:1-2).



Pratt (1992) builds on an established academic tradition of examining hegemony whereby social orders become dominant through physical coercion and through cultural consent (see for example Williams, 1977; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). Cultural hegemony acknowledges the existence of numerous groups that negotiate their own agendas, manipulating the symbols of each other in order to create some form of acquiescence to leadership and direction. According to Antonio Gramsci (1971:177) cultural hegemony is not a state of absolute or permanent social control, rather, it is a historical process whereby renegotiation is mandatory and control is 'a tenuous mix of approval, apathy, resistance and resignation'. Te Wairoa provides an opportunity to examine, from a historical perspective, how renegotiation takes place and what strategies are employed by individuals and groups at a particular time.

It is also proposed that the changing consumption habits of the visitors and residents, and the representations of Te Wairoa, provide an indication of a dominant constructed reality of place at a particular time. This notion stems from the notion that 'resources are not, they become; they are not static but expand and contract in response to human actions' (Zimmerman, 1951:15). Within a tourism context this research examines how the values and goals of visitors, residents, and the tourism industry coalesce to create inscribed landscapes at a particular destination (Ringer, 1998). This thesis expounds on the supposition that tourism sites are places that represent, through their evolution, the relationships that exist between the contested cultural construction, and the consumption of both the natural and cultural landscape.

These theoretical concepts, with regard to Te Wairoa, are exhibited through an examination of the abundant historical source material available which provides a basis for interpretation. Although Te Wairoa's history is not as well documented as other settlements in the Rotorua district, there is a plethora of evidence available. The European penchant for textualising their movements, intentions, and ideologies in the region created an archive which acts as a reservoir of readily available information. Local European newspapers began publishing in the region in the 1870s. Publication of the *Bay of Plenty Times* commenced in 1872 and,

although it was based in Tauranga, the paper carried items from Rotorua as a matter of course. The *Hot Lakes Chronicle* began in 1885 becoming the *Rotorua Morning Post* in 1931 and then the *Rotorua Post* in 1947 and is still published today (Scholefield, 1958). The Church Missionary Society, whose members were among the first Europeans in the region kept records and reports furnished by their representatives. Government involvement in the district ensured an accurate account of events from minutes of meetings between Ministers and tribal members to the attendance levels at local schools. These accounts can be accessed through *The Appendix to the Journal of House of Representatives* and the ideologies of governance are evident in publications such as the *Parliamentary Debates*. Non-governmental agencies such as the Royal Society and the New Zealand Institute provide a wealth of information on a variety of subjects including botany, geology, biology, natural history and their reports are available in their proceedings. Other organisations such as acclimatisation societies also have archived records. Contemporary travelogues, guide-books, scientific examinations and publications, accounts and narratives of journeys and ramblings, combined with settlers' reminiscences have also been published.

Although there are aspects of pre-European history that remain oral in nature and there are portions that may have been lost altogether, Māori history in the region is relatively well documented in writing. Native Land Court hearings and the Rotorua Minute Books provide evidence of Māori occupation and a documentation of key events. Don Stafford's (1967) *Te Arawa: A History of the Arawa People* recollects many stories of place told to him by tribal elders. His further publications regarding the history of the Rotorua district have left a legacy of note-taking of which has been lodged at the Rotorua Public Library.

Other recorders of historical knowledge include Ron Keam, whose life-time research into the thermal districts of Rotorua have created an outstanding information resource. Further sources of historical evidence include police records, documents collected by the Museum of Rotorua including official and unofficial records as well as many items of ephemera. All of these sources, combined with a number of local historical societies, whose membership maintain

an array of information and regularly publish items in their respective journals, have created a wealth of information resident in the public domain. This publicly available documentation is utilised in the production of this thesis and provides archival material upon which the findings are based.

In addition to the historical evidence there is also burgeoning academic attention given to tourism, and tourism development, as a legitimate area of social science research. Considering that Te Wairoa's society was heavily influenced by contact with short-term guests and the economy was based primarily on tourism it is appropriate to utilise theoretical advancements from this academic field. Tourism is often seen as a modern phenomenon and research is based around extrapolating meaning from contemporary situations (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001). According to John Towner (1996:vii) it should be recognised that 'tourism studies has lacked a strong historical perspective. At best the past appears as a short introduction to contemporary concerns ....'. This thesis is designed to counter the lack of historical emphasis in most tourism literature. Considering the period of time tourism had to develop in the area Te Wairoa offers an opportunity for in-depth historical research.

Tourism development provides an angle of investigation due to the emphasis and importance the industry assigns to image and the representation of place to the consumer. It is argued by Irena Ateljevic (1998:xi) that 'tourism activity not only gives shape to the land but also produces meanings and different representations ... [which] creates and projects powerful social, cultural and psychological meanings of place, increasing and reproducing its value'. Tourism is more than merely an escapist venture and there is a growing appreciation of the complexity of leisure's role in social change (Bailey, 1989). An analysis of historical tourism development at a specific site can be employed as one means of exploring the apparent tensions that existed in New Zealand's colonial relationship and continue to manifest in a post-colonial era.

According to Philippa Galbraith (1992:ii) colonial Rotorua was, in part, constructed as a play-ground in which the European tourist could 're-enact

Imperialist fantasies, such as the excitement and adventure of first contact and discovery. In this way, the colonial tourist re-asserted colonial authority, hegemony, and Western forms of scientific, anthropological and aesthetic knowledge'. However, it should be recognised that hegemony is renegotiated and that denying agency of local communities and individuals ignores the fact that 'destination areas were not always simply passive recipients of demand generated elsewhere' (Towner, 1996:9). In a colonial New Zealand context 'Maori did not passively receive Europe but actively engaged with it' (Belich, 1996:154), therefore, there is a requirement to strike a balance between structure and agency. This call for balance is further argued by Greg Ringer (1998:2) when he maintains that conceiving destinations as rooted in time and space and unable to adapt to change 'is to render mute the actions, motivations and values of local participants in the ongoing social construction of their place'. An interpretation of historical events at Te Wairoa indicates that the local community was able to manipulate exogenous forces for the survival of the self.

Although tourism, as an industry, is based around commercial transactions Ringer (1998:1) argues that 'tourism is a cultural process as much as it is a form of economic development'. Furthermore, it should be acknowledged that the 'significance of the means by which we have commercially constructed nature and ethnicity becomes more explicit when we turn to tourism as a particular economic use of the environment' (Ringer, 1998:9). This explicitness occurs as the nature of the tourism industry ensures that representations of place are eloquently articulated and well documented.

While tourism is regularly associated with personal leisure, recreation, and an implied freedom of individual consumerism, there are authors who consider that a more critical analysis of tourism development should include an investigation of issues regarding power rather than freedom (Rojek, 1993; Hall, 1994; Hollinshead, 1999). Michael Hall and John Jenkins (1995:xi) are explicit in their call for tourism researchers to acknowledge and investigate 'the role that power, values and interests play in tourism policy and tourism research [which] requires far greater attention than has hitherto been the case.' Divergent values and

interests interacting and negotiating over time indicate a possible conflict or, at the least, a contested relationship within the tourism industry and within the local host community. The contested nature of tourism sites is linked to relationships existent between authority, knowledge and power, both in actual and physical control over resources as well as the more existential aspects of representation of identity. This concept is derived from contemporary French philosophy (Foucault, 1980, 1994) and adapted to a tourism setting. Accordingly, under a collective and systemised tourist gaze (Urry, 1990, 1995), some attractions and ideas are made dominant, while others are subjugated, silenced or ignored (Hollinshead, 1999). The historical relationship between power, knowledge and authority, and the manner in which these are contested at a specific tourism site in New Zealand has not been previously explored in detail in an academic context.

Tourism is often cited as New Zealand's fastest growing industry and an important tool for the economic progress of the national economy (Harraway, 1998; Hall and Kearsley, 2001; Collier, 2003). While the New Zealand tourism industry has a past dating back to the nineteenth century the history of visitation, and tourism development, is something that is not often investigated in an academic context. Considering the depth of historical research in New Zealand and the economic importance of the tourism industry to the country it is somewhat surprising this is the case. An historical interpretation of a specific site of tourism development provides a unique means with which to explore aspects of New Zealand's cultural and social history.

With regard to the Rotorua region and tourism development Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1981) investigates the socio-cultural impacts of tourism on Te Arawa, the dominant tribal confederation in the area. Concentrating on the villages of Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa, Te Awekotuku maintains that the socio-cultural impacts of tourism are difficult to differentiate from the socio-cultural impacts of European colonialism as the two are one and the same. Te Arawa, according to Te Awekotuku, (1981:110), employed strategies to cope with the demands of both new settlers and tourists and 'still retained a strong tradition

of artisanship, dance, and hospitality, as well as a uniquely exotic lifestyle which was their own to share with, or carefully shelter from, the pakeha strangers’.

Other authors to explore Māori involvement and tourism at a more general level include Chris Ryan (1997, 1999, 2002) and Hall (1996). Both use the example of Te Arawa’s involvement in the tourism industry to suggest that any investigation must be considered within a broader socio-political context based around the bi-cultural relationship existent between Māori and Pākehā. Hall (1996:157) argues that ‘the resurgence of Maori culture in the last two decades has led to demands for Maori control over tourism development and over the use of cultural artefacts and images in promotion’ and that these issues are becoming a ‘major source of conflict in terms of the representation, interpretation and control of the cultural, and natural resources’. This thesis argues that these demands have not only been apparent for the ‘last two decades’ but are evident dating back to initial tourism development in the region. Te Wairoa illustrates how these tensions manifest themselves and what strategies are involved in order to maintain control over the use of cultural and natural resources.

A further rationale for this thesis is provided by Thomson Leys’ publication *Tarawera: Volcanic Eruption* (1886) in which the eruption of Mount Tarawera is described. The publication proved to be extremely popular with the New Zealand public and it was re-issued the following year under the title *A Weird Region*. The book continued to be re-issued with the last publication in 1953. This indicates that for over 60 years there was a paying public willing and able to consume the cultural production of material regarding the events leading up to, and after, one of New Zealand’s worst natural disasters.

Leys mentioned that:

*Incidents trifling in themselves and without significance, may, when interpreted by the light of subsequent events, be made to assume the aspect of premonitions ... But in a country that is in perpetual ferment ... trifling irregularities are but little noted, and similar disturbances may often have come under the observation of visitors before, and passed without record.*

(Leys, 1886:19)

Leys made these observations in regard to the scientific measurements of Mount Tarawera and the ‘perpetual ferment’ concerns the geothermal nature of the Rotorua region and the youthfulness of New Zealand in geological terms. On another level the ‘perpetual ferment’ reads as a metaphor for the history and historiography of New Zealand. The relative youthfulness of New Zealand as a colonised landscape and the continual production of historical narratives, of which Ley’s publication is a part, also demonstrate a *cultural* ferment. Each narrative not only concerns the history of the country but also becomes a *part* of the history (Phillips, 1987; White, 1987; Hilliard, 1997). The emergence of a plethora of literature regarding the country is an indication of the compressed time-frame of European colonisation which allows for analysis to be brought into sharp focus.

‘Trifling incidents’ having little significance unless seen in the light of subsequent events illustrates a changing environment of academic and intellectual theory in New Zealand’s historiography. A simple illustration of change over time is an analysis of the shifting meaning of the term ‘New Zealander’ when describing the people who live in New Zealand. Initial European accounts of New Zealand called the indigenous inhabitants New Zealanders (see for example Yate, 1835; Polack, 1838; Taylor, 1855). The term Māori, to describe the original inhabitants, began to find favour in publications after the 1860s (Gibbons, 1998) as a generation of Europeans who had settled in the country began to identify themselves as New Zealanders in opposition to recently arrived settlers. William Pember-Reeves’ famous history *The Long White Cloud: Ao Tea Roa* (1898) is an

example of the term New Zealanders meaning Europeans alone. Over one hundred years later James Belich (1996, 2001) utilises the term New Zealanders for his publications and it is explicitly expressed that the term includes both Māori and Pākehā. This difference in nomenclature is indicative of what Belich (2001:12) claims is the 'remarkable twentieth century resurgence of the Maori people' and serves as a demonstration of cultural survival in the face of the diaspora of European populations.

While the meaning of the term New Zealander has fluctuated there is an acknowledgement that there are two main historical perceptions in New Zealand; Māori and Pākehā, (Kawharau, 1989; Salmond, 1991, 1997) and that there should be a recognition of difference (Simpson, 1995). The appreciation of difference is partly in response to accusations that Māori history, which has a legacy of being written by Pākehā writers, should be constructed by Māori in an appropriate format (Pere, 1991; Royal, 1992). This dichotomy in historiography is mirrored by current Government recognition of Māori as tangata whenua, or 'people of the land', which is structured by legislated policy regarding bi-culturalism.

Although recognising there are differences it should be noted that two New Zealand historians have called for further explorations into the relationship between Pākehā and Māori. Judith Binney (1996:87) remarks that 'the admixture of peoples, is a cultural issue as yet little addressed in New Zealand's historiography'. Eric Olssen (1992:66) suggests that 'settler society, at least in the North Island, cannot be understood alone; the two distinct histories [Māori and Pākehā] can only be understood both on their own terms and together'. This has parallels with observations made by Frantz Fanon (1968) whereby an indigenous culture no longer exists alone it exists with the European. This thesis is, in part, a response for this request for a combined history and makes a contribution to the literature regarding the historical development of New Zealand and the relationships that exist between Pākehā and Māori. This research argues that there should be an acknowledgement of a space that exists 'in-between' Māori and Pākehā which is not necessarily classified as dichotomous.



This hypothesis is derived from the theoretical observations of Homi Bhabha (1994, 2000). Although the colonisation experience is largely concerned with the disempowerment and dislocation of the colonised there is opportunity for the colonised to manipulate the symbols of the coloniser resulting in a form of relocation and re-empowerment. It is in this relocation that Bhabha locates his search for cultural expression and articulation of identity. Expressed in dramatic terms of survival, Bhabha maintains that the colonised are able to utilise strategies of empowerment within a dominant mode of authority. One of the strategies described is the notion of 'colonial mimicry' whereby the symbols and signifiers of the coloniser are appropriated and manipulated for the survival of the self as well as the survival of the society. Accordingly, colonial mimicry is a 'complex strategy of reform, regulation, and discipline, which 'appropriates' the Other as it visualises power' (Bhabha, 1994:86). Te Wairoa offers an example of this occurring as individuals and communities which are subject to an array of historical processes and structural changes are also able to adopt, adapt, and appropriate the symbols of the other in order to survive.

Bhabha (1994:1) maintains that these strategies result in the expression of cultural difference and are the spaces 'in-between' the colonial relationship. He further argues that there is a need to 'focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences. These 'in-between' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood -singular or communal - that initiate new signs of identity and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself'. A result of Bhabha's colonial mimicry is the creation of a cultural hybrid in which the subsequent representations become a 'subject of difference that is almost the same but not quite' (Bhabha, 1994:86). Te Wairoa, as an interstitial site and backdrop location for cultural production, indicate that Bhabha's ideas are not solely located in post-colonial literature but are manifest in colonial New Zealand's tourism landscape.

Bhabha's theories have been rarely used by scholars studying culture and place in a New Zealand context. Michael Reilly (1996) is one of the few who applies Bhabha and calls for historical writing to articulate cultural hybridity allowing for

the intertwined discourses of Māori and Pākehā to be expressed. Bhabha's space of colonisation is utilised for the role of colonial surveyors as they visualised place in the absence of known boundaries (Byrnes, 2000). It is suggested that the individual surveyors were literally at the edge of colonial authority while being at the centre of colonial power through the transformation of landscape into a recognisable format. The concept of an ambiguous identity is explored through the changing definition of the term Pākehā-Māori in colonial New Zealand and it is argued that a space is created which, at least at a personal level, provides room to manoeuvre 'in-between' cultures (Bremner, 1999). In a tourism context, the notion that the indigenous is able to return the discriminating colonial gaze through the ethics of capitalism has been examined (Galbraith, 1992). A common denominator in these investigations is that there is a geographical, and historical, space where Pākehā and Māori interests meet. An interpretive history of Te Wairoa offers an opportunity to examine such an interstice.

Gisele Byrnes (2001:117) also calls for an acknowledgement of the role of the historian in producing narratives of the past. She argues that historians are biased, maintain pre-conceived assumptions, and should attempt some form of transparency in their research and consequent narratives. In order to achieve this 'we should be considering a methodology which indicates historians' own interests and reveals the circumstances of their own historical moment without masking ideological and methodological suppositions'. From this it can be argued that the function of a historian is to provide an 'interpretation, but an interpretation viewed as the rendition of one text (the past) into a new narrative version which is another text of the historians' own invention' (Munslow, 1997:143).

In keeping with such considerations the author must express his own interest in pursuing this particular research and recognise that this thesis is a 'self conscious narrative composition written in the here and now that recognises its literary form as its essential cognitive medium, and not merely its mode of report' (Munslow, 1997:164). My interest in the Rotorua region began when I started working as a tour-guide in the area. I was asked to provide an interpretation of the history and

culture of the region to visitors. With little in the way of training, I was left to invent my own interpretations and, depending on the circumstances, some visitors received a particularly skewed version. This ability to invent my own traditions to an unsuspecting audience ignited an interest in how the past has been represented and just how subjective such a representation can be. Formal study, using history as a discipline, further enhanced my appreciation of how the past is reconstructed and presented to an audience.

As important, is the fact I became interested in my ability to alter my identity, depending on the social and cultural situation, by adopting and imitating behaviours, language, and symbols. This interest in the manipulation of the symbols of an 'other' to suit the circumstances of the 'self' coincided with a suggestion to examine some of the cultural theories advanced by Bhabha. From this, I have provided an interpretative framework for this thesis which reflects, not only my background, but the theoretical themes that have been presented. These themes include, the culturally ascribed values placed upon landscape, the manipulation of symbols of the 'other', and the continual renegotiation of power, control and authority in a colonial and post-colonial context. These concepts, it is argued, are manifest in the development of the tourism settlement of Te Wairoa. The changing touristic consumption of the site over time, and the shifting interests that have played an integral part in the representations of place, are an indication that the ascribed values and the control of resources are in a state of continual ferment mirroring the volatility of the district's thermal landscape.

### **Chapter Outlines:**

Chapter Two provides a historical context to the research topic. Māori tribal interests in the region are examined and a response by Māori to the arrival of European colonists to New Zealand in general, and more specifically to Tarawera, is explored. Warfare in the 1850s between two local tribes, Ngāti Rangitīhi and Tuhourangi, is explained as an attempt to command potential economic development through the control of access to Rotomahana and the terraces. The initial settlement of Te Wairoa in the 1840s is investigated. Founded as a mission

station by the American minister Seymour Mills Spencer, Te Wairoa was one of a number of missions constructed in the region at the invitation of Te Arawa. The role of missionaries as disseminators of the word of God to native inhabitants was combined with the introduction of a capitalist ideology. The missionaries also provided accommodation to visitors who then recorded and reported information about the natural environment to a European public. Safe and secure access, one of the key requirements for tourism development, became assured after the cessation of warfare between Māori and European in the 1870s. These factors inadvertently created the pre-conditions for tourism development in the region.

Chapter Three, 'Consuming Landscape', examines the increasing number of tourists to the region and the development of a bona fide industry based around the thermal scenery as well as the novelty of an indigenous culture. Aspects of European consumption of the natural and cultural landscape are investigated through an analysis of published material regarding the region. It is argued that European traditions of scenic appreciation, leisure ideology and tourist consumption combined to codify Rotomahana and the terraces as aesthetically sublime. The production of place-myths, through the publication of commercially orientated guide-books, narratives of accounts, and promotional material marked the thermal landscape on the tourists' map as an iconic landscape as well as being an expression of a normative European presence in the landscape.

Chapter Four explores the response of the members of the local community at Te Wairoa to the European visitors' desire to consume place in a touristic manner. The construction of facilities and amenities suitable for the European traveller at leisure is seen as a means of ensuring control over development in the area as well as catering for the demand of the increasing numbers of tourists to the region. The operation of hotels at Te Wairoa is seen within a framework of competition for resources and the negotiation between European commercial interests, Māori land-holders, and the local community. The broader contested relationship between Māori and the colonial Government is evident in the implementation of the Thermal Springs District Act (1881), which sought to nationalise areas of thermal activity. While Tuhourangi were acknowledged as the owners of

Rotomahana and the terraces the colonial government sought to ensure legal status of land ownership through the auspices of the Native Land Court.

Chapter Five, 'Commodifying Landscape', provides examples of Māori entrepreneurship adept at engaging in a capitalist economy. The compulsory employment of a local guide ensured that tourists remained under a degree of control of the local community. Despite suggestions that Māori had a monopoly on the tourist trade it is argued that there was significant competition between Māori to ensure a monopoly did not exist. The numerous complaints by European travellers of exorbitant charges, bordering on the extortionate, is an indication of indigenous agency and self-determination by the hosts. Furthermore, the rationale behind certain fees demonstrates considerable commercial and political acumen of the local residents.

Chapter Six examines events after the eruption of Mount Tarawera in 1886. It is suggested that impacts of the eruption include the alteration and addition of place-myths, the alienation of land, and the creation of new tourism products in the region. The chapter discusses the development of the tourist attraction the *Buried Village*. Growth and development of this establishment is situated within notions of 'dark tourism'. Promoted as 'living history', the *Buried Village* represents the past within a commercial context and issues associated with this are examined. The proposed development of a new tourist attraction *Experience Tarawera* is also explored and it is suggested that this attraction is utilised as a tool by members of Tuhourangi to reclaim a 'sense of place' as they attempt to re-establish an economic presence in the area after some 120 years of absence.

Chapter Seven, 'Hinemihi o te Ao Tawhito' traces the history of the meeting-house *Hinemihi* and is used as a case-study within the thesis. Probably the first purpose-built cultural attraction in New Zealand's history, *Hinemihi* demonstrates attempts to commercialise Māori culture by Māori in a tourism context. After the eruption *Hinemihi* was shipped to England, reconstructed at Clandon Park, where the building remains to this day. While the building has been physically displaced and its purpose changed there is evidence to suggest that the building still

contributes to a sense of identity for Māori. Thus, the story of *Hinemihi* demonstrates the historical notions of continuity and change.

Chapter Eight provides some conclusions to the research by offering the case study of Te Wairoa as a potential model for analysing the historical development of tourist attractions. While the research is site-specific, it is suggested that the themes developed offer an avenue of exploration and that tourism development should be seen within a framework of contested cultural construction, and commercial consumption of place. Furthermore, it is argued that tourism should be examined in a historical context in order to elucidate broader thematic issues rather than solely rely on a contemporary economic emphasis.



**Figure 3: Te Tarata. Alexander Turnbull Library (F-118895-1/2).**



**Figure 4: Te Tarata. Alexander Turnbull Library (G-3896-1/1-BB).**



**Figure 5: Te Tarata. Alexander Turnbull Library (F-103404-1/2).**



**Figure 6: Otukapuarangi. Alexander Turnbull Library (F-61053-1/2).**



**Figure 7: Otukapuarangi. Alexander Turnbull Library (PA1-q-138-011).**



## CHAPTER TWO

### CONTEXTUALISING TE WAIROA'S LANDSCAPE

Exactly how, when, and who settled in the islands that came to be known as New Zealand is a key debate in the historiography of New Zealand (Howe, 2003). New Zealand was discovered by Polynesian people either through purposeful migration and systematic exploration (Irwin, 1994) or by accidental discovery (Sharp, 1956). Settlement was either through multiple journeys (Simmons, 1976) or a single 'great fleet' (Smith, 1913), and Hawaiki or the homeland of the settlers is still unclear (Belich, 1996). When the Polynesian settlers arrived is also open to question and has been a source of much speculation (Smith, 1913; Davidson, 1984; Sutton, 1987). A generally accepted view is that while there may have been earlier visits, prolonged settlement which left archaeological evidence, dates from approximately 1150AD (Anderson, 1991). By the time the Englishman Captain James Cook sighted the islands in 1769 the original settlers had occupied and utilised the land. A society and culture shaped by the landscape developed over time which was distinct from its tropical origins in the Pacific. The natural landscape was imbued with cultural meaning and boundaries of influence based on tribal allegiances, whilst fluid in nature, were marked.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans the indigenous inhabitants identified themselves along tribal and family lines and labelled themselves correspondingly (Walker, 1990). The term Māori, used to describe the indigenous people of New Zealand as a collective, was employed only after Europeans settled in the country. This new label is indicative of a process which alters identification and proof that 'to exist is to be called into relation of otherness' (Bhabha, 1994:46) as the differences between Māori and European were greater than that between Māori tribes. The term Māori is still debated amidst claims that it does not adequately articulate the status of indigenous people in New Zealand (New Zealand Herald (NZH), 07/08/2003).

There was also no one Māori name for the islands that make up the present-day political state that is New Zealand. The term Aotearoa, a Māori equivalent of New Zealand, came into existence once the Europeans arrived, indicating a recognition that the islands were a distinct entity. This serves as an illustration of the importance that is placed upon the naming of people and place and that the process is inherently historical as well as being shaped by the political. The changing usage of language, and in particular the naming of place and people, provides evidence of a contested history. An example of this is provided by Belich (1996:36) in his general history of New Zealand whereby ‘Old Britain, New Britain and New Zealand are all artificial labels. It is myth and history that shape and reshape their contents’. To this list should be added the labels ‘Aotearoa’ or the dual term ‘Aotearoa/New Zealand’. While these labels are indicative of the myths and histories that shape and reshape at a national level this thesis is largely concerned with myths and histories at a regional/local level.

It is recognised that Māori traced their tribal lines through the names of the canoes that brought their ancestors to the islands and these names have been retained through the passing of time (Walker, 1990). With regard to regional boundaries, Te Arawa proverbs maintain that the bow of *Te Arawa* rests at Maketu and the stern at Tongariro (Stafford, 1967) implying that the descendants from *Te Arawa* resided within these boundaries at the time of European arrival. The unwritten nature of Māori history makes it difficult to state with certainty when, where and how key events occurred. However, Stafford (1967) accepts that while Te Arawa traditions may not be chronologically logical they can be employed with confidence in recounting tribal history.

The association of Te Arawa tribes, broadly speaking, occupied the Rotorua lakes district and part of the central Bay of Plenty coastline. The extent of their territory ‘can be gauged approximately by drawing a line from Papamoa on the coast to Atiamuri in the south, and from Atiamuri to Kaingaroa in the east then north again to Matata where the Tarawera River reaches the sea’ (Stafford 1967:1). This region encompasses the central volcanic plateau and includes the lakes Okareka, Tarawera, Rotoiti, Rotorua, and Rotomahana among others.

There is a suggestion that the descendants from *Te Arawa* were not in fact the original settlers of the Rotorua district. James Cowan (1930) maintained he was given information from an unnamed Arawa source regarding aboriginal tribes in possession previous to the arrival of Te Arawa. This suggestion is gently chided by Stafford (1967:483) when he suggests it ‘would be interesting to know the identity of the “old chief” who gave the information’. According to Stafford (1967) this is the only reference, from an Arawa source, to suggest such a state of affairs. Because the source is untraceable the inference is that it should be dismissed as unsubstantiated. Therefore, it is generally accepted that Te Arawa, as a tribal entity, are the tangata whenua, or ‘people of the land’.

Prior to European arrival, Māori preserved knowledge of their past in non-literate ways which included waiata (songs and poems), karakia (prayers) and whakapapa (genealogy). This reliance on oral traditions provides ample opportunity for a selective recollection of the past. Accordingly, there is a natural preference for a past that supports the claims of present status and a corresponding access to resources (Taonui, 1994; Belich, 1996). Thus, Māori history told through the recitation of genealogy, prayer, and song provides cultural evidence of a place in a particular landscape.

Schama (1995), writing about the European relationship between landscape and memory, suggests that the physical adaptation of the landscape and the production of literature and art is evidence of a material cultural production that provides meaning to landscape. Schama (1995) infers that the landscape is open to interpretation and that such representations are contested with the passing of time. Belich (1996) takes up this theme, in a New Zealand context, when he maintains that Māori recollection of the past is not unlike nationalist European history as the champions of the present have the opportunity to ascertain the importance of certain events over others. Indeed, Belich (1996:23) adds that ‘the limits of memory were an added incentive to adapt and select’ and asks ‘why spend precious memory for the benefit of rivals?’.

With regard to Te Arawa, Rangitihi holds a special place in the history of the Rotorua region as ‘his children, from whom most of the lakes district tribes spring, were known as Nga pu manawa e waru (the eight hearts of Rangitihi)’ (Stafford, 1967:57). After Rangitihi died his bones were moved from their original burial place, as was custom, and reburied in a cave on the summit of Mount Tarawera overlooking Lake Tarawera. The mountain thus became a tapu (sacred) place and continued to be used as the final resting place of high-ranking Māori in the region. The three mountain peaks of Wahanga, Ruawahia, and Tarawera became a triad of burial places ‘he wahi tapu, he urupa ... a place of the dead. A place for the dying. A secret place’ (Te Awekotuku, 1991:156). This implies that the areas around Tarawera and Rotomahana were imbued with a sense of reverence by local tribes as the area was associated with death, sorcery and magic.

According to Te Arawa legend, as recounted by Stafford (1967), there are claims that Tuhourangi, the youngest of Rangitihi’s children, was born of an illicit affair. Tuhourangi was the youngest child of Rangitihi and was disliked by his siblings as well as by the three senior wives of Rangitihi. To counter this favouritism, Rangitihi devised a plan to ensure that all knew his youngest son was preferred by the chief. As a result, the other siblings became more enraged and the animosity forced Tuhourangi to leave the region and establish a new settlement on the shores of Rotoiti. Some time later, Rangitihi and the rest of his sons also moved to the Rotorua district and slowly spread out over the region.

This account of one portion of Te Arawa history illustrates the close ties between the particular tribes of Te Arawa as well their claims to a specific place. The tribes of Ngāti Rangitihi and Tuhourangi are closely related and they are able to trace their ancestry back to the same person. Although the tribes within this locale could associate their whakapapa to *Te Arawa* this does not necessarily imply that a state of harmony existed between them at all times and the tribes of Ngāti Rangitihi and Tuhourangi are no exception.

It is suggested that the notions of mana, utu, and tapu were of importance to the structure of pre-European Māori society (Walker, 1990, Belich, 1996). Mana referred to the spiritual capital or authority of things, both human and natural, collective and singular. Utu revolved around reciprocity whether it be revenge and warfare or a sense of obligation for returning hospitality. Tapu referred to a 'system of sanctity, social constraint and sacred laws' and is complimented by the opposite notion of noa 'which translates to being normal, ordinary or unrestricted' (Belich, 1996:18). One of the responses to the loss of a tribe's mana, through defeat in battle, was to exact some form of utu even if it was some time in the future. If revenge was sufficient then the mana of the original tribe could be restored. While this is a somewhat simplistic explanation for disputes regarding the control of land and its essential resources it serves to illustrate the fact that tribal boundaries were able to be altered and that there was a contested process regarding the dominance of one tribe over another. This control then enabled the superior tribe to lay claim to place through occupation and utilisation of the resources. Furthermore, the history of a particular place was also able to be dominated as legends and stories were accumulated and passed on by the victorious tribes.

In the late 1700s a struggle for survival and subsequent control of place occurred between Ngāti Rangitihi and Tuhourangi. Both the tribes occupied separate areas surrounding Lake Tarawera and 'operated as separate entities' (Stafford, 1967:164). Tuhourangi lived mainly on Motutawa Island on Rotokakahi. They also occupied a number of sites on the western and southern sides of Lake Tarawera. Ngāti Rangitihi lived almost solely at Tarawera, their chief pa being Moura, on the point of land at the entrance of the Ngutuahi arm. Although Ngāti Rangitihi occupied the arm of land, Tuhourangi claimed fishing rights in this part of the lake. On a particular occasion some members of Ngāti Rangitihi had been using nets to catch inanga (whitebait) in the waters claimed by Tuhourangi. The claim that the mana of Tuhourangi's authority over the resources had been diminished was enough to wish to extract utu on Ngāti Rangitihi (Waaka, 1982).

The indiscretion was punished by Tuhourangi who organised a victorious attacking force against Ngāti Rangitihi. In response to the defeat, Ngāti Rangitihi enlisted the aid of a Tuhoe tribe and attacked Tuhourangi. Countering this, Tuhourangi convinced another tribe from Ngāti Tama to join forces and attacked Ngāti Rangitihi. In the process of returning home from the attack this combined war party killed a member of Ngāti Whakaue, to which the utu was the destruction of Ngāti Tama's village and the killing of two of their chiefs (Stafford, 1967:164-5). This series of battles further complicated the cycles of revenge as the enlisted tribes then had their own loss of mana to avenge. These examples do not represent a definitive account of warfare between the two Te Arawa tribes, rather they are used as an illustration of the contested nature of tribal authority and highlight a process whereby areas of influence are not fixed and bound but are fluid and negotiated.

Further conflict in the 1850s, in the form of a series of pitched-battles between Ngāti Rangitihi and Tuhourangi, has special significance for this thesis as the outcome was used by Tuhourangi to lay claim to Rotomahana and the terraces (Waaka, 1986). The cause of this dispute, while exhibiting the traditional notions of mana and utu, had an added dimension of European involvement. By 1849, Abraham Warbrick an English immigrant, had settled on the coast at Matata near Tauranga. After his marriage to Ruhia Nga Karauna, daughter of the Ngāti Rangitihi chief Paerau Mokonuiarangi, Abraham became entwined with the history of Ngāti Rangitihi. For Warbrick to survive in his newly adopted country he required the assistance of local tribes and marriage was one avenue whereby a mutual relationship could take shape (Riddell, 1986).

The ability of Warbrick to manipulate the symbols of Māori and European worlds can be described as the actions of a broker between cultures. Accordingly, individuals who lived on the borders between cultures were partisan in their dealings, and manipulated and processed the message between the two groups to serve their own ends (Paine, 1971). While this focuses on the individual new-comer and their role, it is important to recognise that indigenous people also manipulated and processed the messages to serve their own ends. This situation is

best summed up by Belich (1996) when he mentions, in general terms, about the interaction between Māori and European during early contact years:

*Maori did not passively receive Europe but actively engaged with it. They chose, adjusted and repackaged the new, in many respects into a less culturally damaging form. They did so with courage and perceptiveness, exploiting a technologically formidable Europe that thought it was exploiting them, separating Europe and its things like a fool and his money, but Maori did not perform this feat as an act of collective wisdom, with an eye on the future and the common good. Instead their goal was the immediate subtribal good, or apparent good.*

(Belich, 1996:154)

In 1853, Abraham Warbrick, with the aid of his wife and her father, built a house on the shores of Rotomahana. According to Stafford (1967:337) ‘Paerau and his son-in-law determined to occupy Rotomahana to legitimise a claim to ownership of the area ...’. Although Paerau Mokonuiarangi had a measure of status within the region it did not stop Tuhourangi chief, Rangiheua, disputing Ngāti Rangitihi’s right to this land. As a result, ‘Warbrick was assaulted, his head ducked in the lake, his house destroyed and he was evicted’ (Waaka, 1982:37). Members of Ngāti Rangitihi were offended by the treatment of their kin and enlisted the help of other tribes to battle Tuhourangi. The resulting combat saw the death of Paerau Mokonuiarangi which caused the dispute to escalate and for the next two years neither tribe ‘lived outside their fighting pas’ (Waaka, 1986:2).

Although it is suggested the house was constructed to act as a trading station (Waaka, 1986) it can also be seen as a deliberate attempt to control access to Rotomahana and the terraces. By claiming ownership through occupation Ngāti Rangitihi, and in particular Warbrick, would have been able to set the conditions for European visitors wishing to view the terraces. Indeed, it is maintained that Warbrick ‘began to make a charge to those visiting the place’ (Stafford, 1977:11).

One European to witness the results of the warfare between Ngāti Rangitihi and Tuhourangi was F. Tiffen. Writing in 1857 he remarked:

*Close to the spring are two pas, now much dilapidated, but were formerly occupied with opposite tribes whom three years ago became contending tribes. But for what? For a bit of land about Roto Mahana which was not worth an acreage tax even, let alone blood. In the contest there were about 30 maories killed and many wounded and the result is that neither tribe occupies their pa but allows the land to remain neutral, but for how long is particular[ly] doubtful.*

(Tiffen, 1992:53)

Tiffen did not comprehend the complexity of the relationship between Ngāti Rangitihi and Tuhourangi and their shared past, nor did he fully realise the potential economic value of what he calls ‘a bit of land not worth the acreage tax’. Although local Māori used to travel to the region to visit related hapu, (Warbrick, 1934) the European notion of organised tourism and the granting of hospitality in return for cash was a novel situation for Māori. While the idea of profiting from European tourism was not a traditional one, the response by Tuhourangi to the Ngāti Rangitihi occupation of Rotomahana was. The years of warfare resulted in the deaths of some thirty people and peace was sealed between the two tribes in 1855 with the provision that Ngāti Rangitihi cease all claims to Rotomahana and the terraces. Thus ‘Tuhourangi, under their chiefs, Rangiheuea and Rangipuawhe, held complete authority over Tarawera, Rotomahana, and the Terraces, controlling both the tourist traffic and the accompanying recompense’ (Waaka, 1986:2). Arguably, Warbrick realised the potential revenue that could be gained by controlling access to the terraces. Certainly the timing of the construction indicates a conscious decision to benefit from the increasing tourist traffic to the region. It also coincides with the a proliferation of information about the region and the fantastic descriptions of the unique scenic wonders the area contained.



The first published description of Rotomahana and the terraces was by Ernst Dieffenbach, a German surgeon and natural historian connected with the New Zealand Company. Portions of his journey through New Zealand in 1839-41 were duly recorded in *Travels in New Zealand* (1843). The publication is a travel diary combining natural history and descriptive prose all the while being promotional material for the New Zealand Company's design for the colonisation of New Zealand (see Wakefield, 1845; Burns, 1980). Abraham Warbrick immigrated to New Zealand under the scheme devised by the New Zealand Company and sailed on one of the company's ships (Bremner, 1999). It is therefore likely that Warbrick had previous knowledge of Rotomahana and the terraces as there is a high probability that Dieffenbach's book was placed in the ship's library.

Peter Gibbons (1998:32) classifies *Travels in New Zealand* and other publications of a similar genre and period as an example of 'invasion literature' whereby writing in and about New Zealand provides evidence, through literature, of the implementation of European power. Accordingly, the genre was part of the process of colonisation 'in the description and justification of the European presence as normative, and in the simultaneous implicit or explicit production of the indigenous peoples as alien or marginal'. The content of *Travels in New Zealand* highlights the ability of Europeans to settle in a land that, through the efforts of European industry, had the potential to become prosperous. New Zealand at this stage, in the promotional words of Dieffenbach (1843:4), 'possesses such facilities for the establishment of a middle class, and especially of a prosperous small peasantry, insuring greatness to the colony in times to come'.

Dieffenbach was certainly not the first person to see Rotomahana and the terraces. At the time of his visit the surrounds sustained a modest Māori population (Stafford, 1986). Ferdinand Von Hochstetter's (1867) report maintained houses had been constructed on the island of Puai in the middle of Rotomahana. Channels had been cut in the rock in order to control the flow of water into purposefully built baths thus creating a form of temperature control. Heated stones were also used to dry berries. According to Stafford (1986:250), Rotomahana contains physical evidence of ancient cultivations and there are landmarks, placenames and

urupa associated with the region indicating that use of the area by Māori was, if not continual, at the very least intermittent. Despite the utilisation of the natural resources by local Māori, ‘tradition seems strangely silent about the thermal attractions’ (Stafford, 1986:250) of Otukapuarangi and Te Tarata. This silence does not necessarily imply that the locale held no importance to local Māori. Rather, it is an indication that if any historical events associated with the terraces occurred, they were not significant enough to warrant the construction of legends and stories to be recounted through waiata, karakia or whakapapa.

It is reasonable to assume that Thomas Chapman was the first European to visit the terraces sometime between 1839 and 1840 (Stafford, 1986). Dieffenbach’s party travelled to Rotomahana in June 1840 and the published account proclaims them to be the second Europeans to tour the terraces as ‘some natives came in a canoe to fetch us over the lake to their settlement. Mr Chapman, from Rotu-rua was probably the only European they had ever seen, as this lake has not been visited by any other that I am aware of’ (Dieffenbach, 1843:382).

In 1846-47 John Johnson, New Zealand’s first colonial-surgeon, visited the region while waiting to resume official duties. Nancy Taylor (1959:116) maintains that ‘for Johnson’s journey no special purpose appears, so it may not unreasonably be attributed to disinterested curiosity’. That there was no ‘special purpose’ to the trip has lead scholars to suggest that Johnson was the first person to be classified as the terraces first tourist (Reggett, 1972; Steele, 1980). Johnson’s ‘Notes from a journal ...’ was published as a serial in the *New Zealander* between September and December, 1847. The *New Zealander* was considered to be one of the most influential newspapers in the country at this time and the contributions reflect the opinions of the readership (Scholefield, 1958). Johnson recognised the potential for European settlement of the Rotorua region and offered encouragement to those who were willing.

Johnson's comments also illustrate the European notion of consuming landscape purely for leisure as:

*Rotorua would be a most agreeable summer residence, for the scenery is pleasing, and there is good hard riding-ground around the lake ... it may be anticipated, that at no very distant period, when the true character of its waters as remedial agents has been ascertained, and its beautiful localities and salubrious air are known, it will be a part of the country much resorted to by invalids, and by those whose leisure will permit them to vary their residence.*  
(New Zealander, 8/12/1847:2)

Hochstetter, an Austrian geologist, was the first European to undertake a systematic scientific examination of Rotomahana and the terraces. Hochstetter was invited by the Auckland Provincial Council to prospect the province in 1858. His descriptions and scientific evaluations of the lakes district published in *New Zealand: Its Physical Geography, Geology and Natural History* (1867) ensured that the international scientific community were left in little doubt as to the outstanding value of the natural phenomena that dominated the district. A later, less scientific, publication enabled Hochstetter to proclaim that the terraces were:

*... similar in kind to others long since renowned, such as the geysers, solfaratas, the steam jets, and other remarkable features of Iceland; as well as the grander display of these natural miracles, lately discovered and examined by a scientific expedition in America, at the head waters of the Yellowstone River. But the more characteristic and peculiar features of the New Zealand Hot Springs region, such as the cascade Terraces of Rotomahana, have no rival in any part of the globe.*  
(Mundy and Hochstetter, 1875:2)

The terraces of Rotomahana were complimented by a surrounding countryside that also contained hot springs and mineral waters. The suggestion that the

thermal waters had healing qualities provided a further natural attraction for Europeans. The first recorded evidence of this notion is by George Selwyn who travelled extensively in and around New Zealand during his period of residence as Bishop. During one of his journeys Selwyn visited the area in 1842 and mentioned that he had ‘... bathed in the tepid water which was about the usual temperature of a warm bath; a sprain which I had for some days was entirely removed’ (cited in Taylor, 1959:83).

Confirmation for Europeans that the thermal waters of the region had the potential to actually attract people for their healing qualities is first mentioned by Thomas Henry Smith. Smith became the Sub-Protector of Aborigines at Maketu for the Native Protectorate Department. A letter by Smith (1846) to his brother dated February 1846 reads in part ‘... our dear mother is now writing to you and she will I have no doubt tell you what benefit her visit to Rotorua has been to her and how much her health and strength is improved’.

These accounts were largely anecdotal and from people not specifically trained in medicine. Johnson (1847) maintained that further scientific examination and medical research should be undertaken to ascertain the true extent of the health benefits of the waters. He stated that:

*There is no doubt however, but they [the natural springs] possess valuable medicinal qualities both for internal use, and external application, ... an accurate analysis of their individual composition, which I had not the power of making, would throw light on their use in specific diseases ...*

(New Zealander, 20/11/1847:3)

While the medicinal benefits of the thermal waters of the region were an undoubted attraction to those with ailments, physically getting to the district was not the easiest of tasks during the 1840s and 50s. Travel within the lakes district, let alone to the region, maintained an element of danger as the hospitality of local

Māori was not guaranteed. The potential for animosity between European and Māori is revealed in a comment by Johnson whereby:

*... the Ngatirakaua chief took us aside, and told us that a chief at Ohinemutu, the principal settlement at Rotorua, had vowed that he would kill the first pakeha that came there, in retaliation for the death of 'his father, Rauparaha' ... We laughed at the idea, and told him we should certainly go on, for that no chief would be so cowardly as to kill unarmed and peaceful travellers, and accordingly wished him good morning. He however looked very grave, and shook his head significantly.*

(New Zealander, 17/11/1847:3)

Travel into the interior of New Zealand, during the mid 1800s, was a primitive affair by European standards. Roads, accommodation, ample and adequate food supplies were, at times, non-existent which is best summed up by William Swainson:

*There being no wayside hostelries, the traveller, if he be not content with the skies for a canopy and the earth for his bed, must snail-like carry his house upon his back; or, which he will probably prefer, must persuade some other person to undertake the labour for him. Native huts may indeed be met with in most parts of the country; in them you may find shelter, but not sleep; and the climate is too uncertain for bivouacking in the open air.*

(Swainson, 1853:123)

The published version of John Bidwill's expedition highlighted the hardships and dangers of travel in the region. Supplies were portaged, and tent accommodation was preferable to 'flea-ridden' local whare. Inter-tribal warfare also made venturing into the interior a dangerous prospect.

As Bidwill mentioned:

*About six weeks before I arrived at Tawranga, a small party started from Roturoa, and lying in wait near Tawranga, seized a number of people (about twenty, I believe) and cooked them absolutely in sight of the different villages. I saw all the native ovens in which the cooking had been performed, and a portion of the entrails, &c, were strewed about. My companion called me to see a head which was half the dogs; but I had seen enough for that day, and did not follow him.*

(Bidwill, 1841:7)

Organising such expeditions, depending on the size of the party, required considerable time, energy and finances. A combination of cash and tobacco were the major forms of payment for portage, access, accommodation and food. Tobacco especially became a favoured means of exchange. Despite the inconvenience of having to carry a large amount of tobacco it was valued by the number of local Māori that travellers relied upon for services rendered. Johnson recommended taking some 20-30 pounds of tobacco depending on the size of the party and the duration of the journey (New Zealander, 06/10/1847:4). Cash was preferred for the services of porters who travelled throughout the journey and for recompense for any major inconvenience to local communities.

An aspect of guiding was that people of mixed European and Māori parentage were able to dominate the business as they had less tribal affiliations than full-blooded Māori (Beale, 1971). Guides from one tribe who were in conflict with another were less likely to travel safely across opposition land. Being able to claim a certain neutrality offered the half-caste an opportunity to negotiate their, and their parties', way through the country. Of equal importance for the touring party was the guide's ability to speak both English, to accommodate one's European clients, and Māori to negotiate with local tribes whose hospitality for accommodation or permission for access was required.

Mission stations were often used by travellers as they were outposts of civilisation and a 'haven' for travellers against the hardships of the tracks and trails. The missionaries not only assisted with accommodation they also acted as conduits between local tribes and visitors. Although the central role of missions was to spread the word of their respective teachings and aid in the conversion of the native population they also unwittingly provided pre-cursors to tourism development. The introduction of European ways of thinking also included a European capitalist system and a new means of production. According to Belich (1996:129) 'the need to convert the heathen – to capitalism as well as Christianity – was central to the evangelicals, who therefore saw discoveries of convertible heathens in the Pacific as a special opportunity'. Although Belich provides no specific evidence concerning particular missionaries the implication is that missionaries were part of a larger European presence and were an inherently entrenched institution which was part of capitalist production systems and structures.

At Lake Tarawera, Seymour Spencer ministered to local Māori communities. At the request of members of Te Arawa, a missionary presence was initiated in the region. An exploratory survey by Thomas Chapman and Henry Williams was undertaken in 1833 and a more permanent presence established with a mission built in 1835. In 1843 the Church Missionary Society, an Anglican order, ordained the American Spencer as a Reverend in the Bay of Islands after the compulsory two-year missionary training programme based at the society's headquarters in London.

After receiving ordination Spencer, along with his wife Ellen Stanley and family, moved to the lakes district to undertake works for the Society. Originally the Spencers were to establish a mission at Lake Taupo however a decision was made to take over from Chapman at Te Ngae. During Chapman's absence Spencer was suspended from the Society and persuaded to resign as there were 'charges proffered by the Natives against Rev. S. M. Spencer, deeply affecting his moral character' (cited in Stafford, 1967:300). According to Philip Andrews (1995:11) Spencer was guilty of 'being seen with his arm around a Maori girl's neck'

although there was a suggestion that there was more to the incident as the ‘girl herself claimed that they had slept together’. The true nature of the affair will never be known as Alfred Brown, also a Reverend of the Society, investigated the case and stated that Spencer admitted the charge which ‘rendered it unnecessary to call in Native witnesses’ (cited in Stafford, 1967:301) therefore not providing documented testimony.

Without a stipend from the Church Missionary Society the Spencers had to rely on both the goodwill and hospitality of local Māori as well as their own ability to produce the necessities for survival. The Spencers moved to the shores of Lake Tarawera at an established Māori pa called Te Rua a Umukaria. This settlement was renamed Galilee by Spencer in keeping with the biblical rationale for the family’s work in the region. The appropriation of landscape, through the renaming of place, is described as a key component of the relationship between space and the politics of identity (Berg and Kearns, 1996; Byrnes, 2000). Although contemporary New Zealand abounds in place names associated with European royalty, settlers, explorers and military personnel, the central North Island is markedly different due to the retention of Māori names. These place names then ‘form a cultural grid over the land which provides meaning, order and stability to human existence’ (McKinnon, 1997:33).

The renaming of Te Rua a Umukaria provides evidence of an attempt to lay claim to a new identity of place although there is also evidence of the need to cede to local sensibilities. According to Ruawai Rakena (1971:15) Māori was the primary language of communication between missionaries and Māori during the 1800s although it was ‘doubtful if the Maori acquired by the missionaries really reached the depths and subtleties of Maori thought forms so as to ensure that at all times speaker and hearer were on an identical wavelength’. The Māori transliteration of Galilee is Kariri and this is the name that the settlement became known as. That Kariri has become the historically accepted name for the settlement indicates a compromise between Māori and missionary. The European was able to gain acceptance for a name change while Māori were able to convert the name to form that was more acceptable to them. The name change, while symbolic, combined



with the fact that the Spencers relied on Māori assistance for initial survival, suggests that contact between missionaries and Māori was not, as maintained by Evelyn Stokes (1984:9), ‘one way’.

Unlike most published accounts of Rotomahana and the surrounding lakes which were concerned with the scenic grandeur of the area the Spencers were concerned with more spiritual and humanitarian matters. One of the first requirements for the mission, albeit an unsanctioned one, was to construct a building as a focus for worship. The first church at Kariri was a rudimentary structure constructed from local materials and the Spencers, alongside the local inhabitants, ‘worked hard at every leisure for twelve months’ (cited in Stafford, 1967:306) to finish the building. This proved to be only a temporary circumstance as the building was accidentally burnt down on the November 16, 1844 after an attendee of a service deposited a lit pipe among some dry leaves which then ignited. After the fire an immediate decision was made to build a more permanent church.

Using timber rather than raupo rushes the second church proved to be a more substantial place of worship and the focus for the missionary efforts of the Spencers. The rebuilding of the church is symbolic of the continual dedication by Seymour Spencer and his family in the instruction of the local community in the ways of Christianity. This commitment to the cause enabled the Church Missionary Society to reconsider the status of Spencer and he was re-instated to the order in 1850.

Although there is mention of a European named John Faloon also residing at the settlement the Spencers were one of the primary means of introducing local Māori to European culture and civilisation. The Spencers, through industry and perseverance, played a key role in the physical transformation of place as well as cultural change of the people.

According to Johnson he was:

*... struck with the neatness of the cultivation, of the wares and of the paths which almost assumed the appearance of streets; there was none of the filth which renders the generality of pas so disgusting; and there was moreover a propriety in the manners of the people, very different from the rude, uncereemonious curiosity which is generally so annoying to strangers on their entering such places.*

(New Zealander, 24/11/1847:2)

Johnson attributes such a state of affairs solely to the efforts of Spencer who ‘had been the sole means of metamorphosing a New Zealand pa into place much resembling an English village’ (New Zealander 24/11/1847:2). The introduction of new crops and the methods of which to cultivate them, animal husbandry, and house construction methods transformed the living arrangements of the residents. Instruction in Christian ideology added another level to an already existing cosmology for the local community and Māori spirituality was subject to challenge and change. This illustrates the role missionaries played in their ‘civilising mission’ and there is little doubt that the ‘missionary was not only an important agent of culture contact, but also, consciously and deliberately the agent for culture change’ (Stokes, 1984:9).

The competing nature of cultural contact was also recognised by Johnson. The influence of the missionaries, and in particular Spencer, was not the only European interest in the area as the account of Abraham Warbrick testifies. The region, not being part of the coastal trading route, had a comparatively late timeline of European contact, speculation and settlement. According to Johnson (New Zealander, 24//11/1847:3) the relative isolation of the local people, and the relative lack of contact with Europeans benefited the efforts of Spencer in his attempts to exert influence.

Evidence that Spencer, as part of the general diffusion of European knowledge, acknowledged his role in the introduction of a capitalist economy is provided by comments made by Spencer to Johnson and subsequently reported. Spencer complained about Māori accumulation of articles to 'give away' as a sign of personal importance rather than the European notion of keeping material possessions as an indication of personal wealth. Spencer remarked that the people of lesser status don't have the same need for munificence so they, over time, became materially wealthy as opposed to people of traditional importance. Spencer at least appreciated the irony of this situation when he commented that 'if then we would make them industrious, we must in the first place, however repugnant the doctrine, make them avaricious ...' (New Zealander, 24/11/1847:3). Although not avaricious, the first evidence of the local community attempting to profit from visitors was in 1854 when Chapman noted that a sign had been erected by members of Tuhourangi which announced the charges for transport across the Ohiwa stream in order to access the terraces. The sign read; 'Listen! The payment for crossing Ohiwa is now 8/-. This is the payment, and that's all it is necessary to say' (Chapman, 1854).

Although Europeans were responsible for the introduction of new forms of economy the Māori response was also a significant factor. A feature of Māori adoption of the European economy was the willingness to move to areas where opportunities for financial reward were offered (Belich, 1996). Inland tribes in the Rotorua region were without immediate access to the coast and hence major trade routes. As a result a significant number moved to Maketu on the coast to engage in scraping flax for European demand (Stafford, 1967). Another example of people from Te Arawa moving to new areas occurred when the once buoyant market in flax began to diminish. Instead of returning to the lakes district some members of Te Arawa moved to the northern regions to dig for kauri gum (Stafford, 1967). While flax-processing and gum-digging were forms of production in the new economy, tourism was also a new form of industry. According to Andrews (1995:14) 'Spencer found his flock moving to Te Wairoa' in the early 1850s implying that Te Wairoa was becoming a new centre of economy. As European visitors to the area increased, bringing with them the

opportunity to benefit financially so to did the number of Māori who wished to move to the more favourable location.

It has also been suggested that the Spencers' decision to move to Te Wairoa was because it allowed the missionary to construct a 'model village' (Scobie, 1988; Conly, 1985). Other villages around Lake Tarawera had been long settled and their lay-out, thus fixed, did not allow for the designs of Spencer to be implemented. Furthermore, the valley at Te Wairoa provided ample flat land for the growing and raising of food crops. The implication of this is that local Māori followed Spencer to the new mission whereas Andrews (1995) suggests that Spencer followed local Māori. The latter has credence as there is the possibility that after the initial influence of the Spencers, competing forms of economy became as important as adherence to Christian ideology. This notion is highlighted by Chris Parr (1961) when he maintains that Māori, after an intense interest in Christianity and the opportunity to learn to read and write, lost interest in the Missions' teachings as a whole. The Missions' precepts no longer made the same impact as the increasing number of Europeans who paid 'only lip service to Christian ethics, [which] further lessened the Mission's standing' (Rakena, 1971:16). Whatever the initial reasons for moving to Te Wairoa were, the significant factor was that Te Wairoa was not a previously settled locale and the creation of a settlement was therefore due to interaction between European and Māori.

While some Europeans such as Johnson reported on the manner in which Christianity had transformed the local community most travellers primary reason for visiting was to view Rotomahana and the terraces. The Spencers knew the area well as they lived, worked, and raised a family in the remote location. One of their visitors in 1868, suggested that Mrs Spencer regularly accompanied guests to the terraces and that she 'had visited the spring some fifty times' (Hutton, 1868:107). Most accounts reflect gratitude at the hospitality of the Spencers (Hochstetter, 1867; Smith, 1858) although not all visitors appreciated the observances of the Spencers. One account of a journey in 1857 complained about Sunday being reserved for the Sabbath, with no work to be undertaken which meant that he was

unable to visit the terraces thus adding, unnecessarily, to the length of the journey (Tiffen, 1992).

The conditions for an industry based around tourism at Te Wairoa were in place by the late 1850s. Information about the aesthetically pleasing scenery, the healing qualities of the waters continued to be disseminated to an increasingly growing European population in New Zealand and a literate audience in Europe. Te Wairoa became an established settlement that provided hospitality and services to travellers and the local community had been introduced to, and showed a willingness to participate in, a new form of capitalist economy. Indeed, the locals were proving quite adept at extracting recompense for services provided, as illustrated by Bates' remark that their touring party were:

*... much impressed at the march of civilisation as shown by a board which stood at the entrance to the settlement and with large words inscribed the rates the natives required for travelling as guides or taking visitors to Rotomahana ....*

(Bates, 1969:2)

Tourism development requires peace and political stability which allows the leisurely inclined to journey freely without fear of personal attack. This relative peace and stability was disturbed by the start of warfare between Māori and European interests. The pressure of an increasing European population demanding land and resources to accommodate the settling of New Zealand inevitably caused conflict with the indigenous inhabitants. While the wars are beyond the scope of this thesis accounts of this period are well documented (see for example Cowan, 1922; Belich 1986). Te Arawa, by and large, fought for the Crown or at least remained constructively neutral against opposing Māori tribes. Armed conflict, with the occasional full-scale battle, in the Rotorua region halted most excursions to the region. The impending danger also convinced local Māori to vacate Te Wairoa and move back to their fortified pa. Spencer's family moved to the relative safety of Tauranga in 1869 and Spencer followed in 1870. The demand from potential visitors and the supply of services from a host community,

diminished to such an extent that any notions of a tourist industry are premature. The corresponding number of publications about the region by travellers also decreased. In their place, accounts were provided by the increased number of soldiers who visited the region whilst on duty.

Most of the pre-cursors for economic development at Rotomahana and the terraces were existent by the late 1850s. The dissemination of information about the region began in all haste by the late 1840s although the facilities needed to accommodate tourists were rudimentary and visitors had to maintain a level of hardship in their journeys to and within the region. Travel was for the determined and not the faint-hearted as the journey required a serious undertaking in both time and money. The majority of European travellers had a distinct reason for travelling to the region whether it be for politicking (for example Grey), scientific evaluation (for example Hochstetter), proselytising (for example Selwyn) or military duties (for example Bates). These journeys are not strictly in the realm of leisure tourism as the excursions were, by and large, sponsored by agents of European colonisation whether they be religious, scientific or military. However, 'seeing the sights' was a by-product of their travels and their descriptions of place facilitated the more leisure-orientated travellers that were to follow in their thousands.

Two events in the early 1870s aided tourism growth in the Rotorua region and in particular to Rotomahana and the terraces. Firstly, the wars that had enveloped New Zealand began to subside (Belich, 1986). Te Kooti and his followers, one of the remaining sources of armed opposition to European colonisation, fought a pitched-battle with colonial and Te Arawa forces at what is now the centre of Rotorua township early in 1870. Although defeated in this battle Te Kooti managed to escape to the Ureweras, the mountain range to the east of Rotorua, where he continued to harass his opponents. One of the responses to the military threat of Te Kooti was to hasten the installation of lines of communication and the construction of roads to the region in order to ease the deployment of troops and supplies (Cowan, 1922). This improvement in physical access from tracks to roads, although still rudimentary, reduced the time it took to travel to the Rotorua

district and eased some of the discomfort of travelling by foot or horseback, thus enabling an increasing number of travellers to visit the region.

While war may have been the immediate reason for improving physical access to the lakes district, the colonial Government also embarked on a general policy of improving access to the interior of New Zealand to advance economic opportunity. Under the Public Works Policy of 1870, the Minister for Native Affairs and Defence ordered the surveying of potential routes into the interior of New Zealand. This policy coincided with the massive capital borrowing scheme initiated by Julius Vogel. The central Government borrowed £10 million from the international loans market at 5.5% interest to 'open up' the country (White, 1990:647). At a cost to the central Government of £1,100,000 nearly 2000 kilometres of rail tracks were laid between 1871 and 1881 (White, 1990:528). The first practical steps for the construction of a road between Tauranga and Rotorua were taken in late 1870 with major improvements to the existing bridle track. This track opened for vehicular traffic in 1873 and remained the prime means of transport to the lakes district until 1883 when a road across the Mamaku plateau provided an overland route to Auckland.

The second event in 1870 was the visit to Rotorua by His Royal Highness, Prince Alfred the Duke of Edinburgh and his entourage. The bridle track between Maketu and Rotorua was improved under the supervision of Gilbert Mair and Te Arawa soldiers in preparation for the Prince's journey. Ostensibly, the journey was to present a token of appreciation to Te Arawa from the Queen of England for their support given to the Crown during the wars. Politically, the journey sent a clear signal to remaining opposition of the European political and military superiority thus symbolically demonstrating increased colonial power and authority. Furthermore, it was also a signal to potential European settlers and visitors that the region was safe and offered 'outstanding opportunities' to people willing to invest the time and money required.

Press coverage given to the Ducal party had a positive impact on promoting the region to would-be tourists as royal patronage acts as an attraction in itself to

leisure locations (Towner, 1994; Fieffer, 1985). This would have held particularly true for a newly created society with strong associations with the British Isles (Loughnan, 1902). George Bowen, the then Governor of New Zealand, accompanied the Duke of Edinburgh, and toured again in 1872 and his account of the journey was published in the *Southern Cross* (1872). Bowen's narrative highlighted the government's desire for growth in tourism and the corresponding development of facilities within the lakes district as:

*These natural phenomena have remained almost unknown but now that tranquillity has been established and that access to them will soon be rendered safe and easy by the completion of the roads, good inns will doubtless be erected ...*  
(Southern Cross, 29/04/1872:3)

The message that 'tranquillity has been established' suggests that colonial, and therefore European, control of the region was to be taken as a given. Indeed, a deliberate purpose of the journey was to illustrate that the Governor could himself traverse the country in 'safety and confidence' and 'would thus exercise a favourable influence in promoting immigration to New Zealand' (Southern Cross, 29/04/1872:3). The assumption that amenities for tourists would be erected indicates the Government was hopeful of economic development of the region through promoting visitation to Rotomahana and the terraces.

A further element for potential tourism development was the influx of immigrants to New Zealand and thus an increase in a possible domestic market. The European population increased from 60,000 in 1857 to half a million by 1880 (White, 1990:126). The Australian population also increased markedly during this period and they became an important source of tourists to Rotomahana and the terraces (Beale, 1971). It is difficult to estimate the number of visitors to Rotomahana and the terraces during the 1860s as few records exist. The earliest estimate of numbers is by Bates in 1860 when he mentioned that some '30 or 40 a year' visited the region (Bates, 1969:7). With the cessation of warfare it is evident that the number of people visiting the region increased dramatically. An indication of



the number of tourists who visited the lakes district during the 1870s is provided by Gilbert Mair who held a long association with the region. Mair (1923) observed that some four to five thousand people per year were visiting the area, with the majority attracted by the lure of the viewing the terraces.

This chapter has established that there were competing claims to a particular place before the arrival of European interests. While this contest can be viewed within a traditional system of mana and utu, the introduction of new forms of European capitalist production meant conflict incorporated control of resources for potential monetary benefit. Control of the land, and in particular the thermal landscape crowned by the natural phenomena of Rotomahana's terraces, had been established through warfare and was considered to be under the authority of Tuhourangi. The cultural landscape was also subject to new forms of influence as European visitors published their accounts of the area. The thermal waters were considered to be of medicinal benefit and the scenic vistas and natural resources of the region fulfilled a notion that the environment could be a play-ground for those with the means to engage in leisure activities. Missionaries provided accommodation for visitors and acted as brokers between European guests and local Māori, not only through the word of God, but also as conduits for the introduction of European commerce. Furthermore, the establishment of 'peace and tranquillity' to the region, through the imposition of colonial rule, ensured that travelling to Rotomahana and the terraces was without military danger. These factors combined to create the pre-conditions for the development of a tourist industry in the district.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **CONSUMING LANDSCAPE**

Technological developments in transport facilitated the increasing number of visitors to New Zealand. This enabled people to move around the planet in relative comfort and speed in an age of ‘cheap and expeditious travelling’ (Bracken, 1879:v). In 1879, the first steam-ship berthed in New Zealand and their commercial introduction halved the time it took to travel from Britain to the antipodes (New Zealand Shipping Company, 1908). Importantly for the New Zealand tourist trade the steam-ships also halved the time it took from Australia, an important source of potential short-term visitors.

In a global context ‘what used to take a life-time of travelling [could] now be taken in half a year’ (Talbot, 1882:i). British travel companies such as Thomas Cook and Son Ltd. expanded their operations to reach all corners of the British Empire thus enabling the opportunity of completing a tour of the colonies for those who had no wish to be involved in finalising the necessary arrangements for travel. Improved access within and around New Zealand was also important for making journeys less arduous and enabled more people to contemplate a visit to Rotomahana and the terraces. The completion of the road between Auckland and Rotorua in 1883 enabled the journey to be made in one day.

The development and advancements in access also caused evidence of what Claudia Bell and John Lyall (2002) call the ‘accelerated sublime’ whereby tourist sights (sites) are consumed at an increasing speed. Prior to the 1880s visitors were advised to leave Ohinemutu at mid-day arriving at Te Wairoa early evening, in time to make arrangements for the evening and the following morning. Starting at sunrise the party allowed for a complete day at the terraces leisurely bathing and enjoying a luncheon before returning to Te Wairoa for the evening. An alternative arrangement, according to the Langbridge and Edgcumbe guide-book (1875:13), was to camp at Rotomahana if the party was a large one or included women. The logic behind needing extra time for women was that the group would be encumbered by Victorian morality and dress standards and it would be ‘almost

impossible for them to see anything in one day'. Moving with agility out of canoes, over slippery silica, undressing and dressing for a bath combined with packing and unpacking supplies and equipment all took time. This was combined with the fact that it was not considered 'proper' for European men and women to bathe simultaneously therefore the men had to retire elsewhere while the women took their turn in the hot pools thus taking even more time to complete a trip to the terraces.

By the 1880s seeing the sights in four hours became the standard tourist timetable for visitors. As the operations and services became more organised and sophisticated and access less time-consuming, tourists were able to manage the trip to the terraces, needing accommodation for only one night at Te Wairoa. Associated with an accelerated sublime is the manner in which people view landscape. With less time available a tendency to rate some attractions as more spectacular than others occurs, thus a well-worn tourist trail develops which concentrates on the 'must-see' sights. This situation occurred at Rotomahana and led Charles Blomfield (1970:39) to reminisce that he 'often felt vexed at the careless way the visitors were shown over the sights by the guides. Some of the best things were missed' whereas he 'explored every corner of the lake, finding many strange and lovely sights out of the beaten path'.

Improvements in access and the establishment of peace facilitated the movement of visitors to the region. However, as Towner (1994:723) claims, there is a danger in assuming that the evolution of tourism is driven solely by changes in transport technology. Accordingly, different types of transport can create certain patterns of tourism but 'growth may have occurred in different ways' depending on the circumstances. Advancements in transport also do not explain why people want to visit a particular location in the first place. John Urry (1995:193) on the creation of 'place-myths' in the Lakes District of Britain maintains that 'the area had to be discovered; then it had to be interpreted as appropriately aesthetic; and then it had to be transformed into the managed scenery suitable for millions of visitors'. These remarks have some parallels with Rotomahana and the terraces in the 1800s. While the terraces never attracted 'millions of visitors' they would not

have become a tourist destination unless the area was discovered and interpreted as aesthetic. This is in keeping with the notion that ‘in order for the values ascribed to the particular landscape to be consumed by tourists, they must be reified, codified, or commodified’ (Bell and Lyall, 2002:10).

The first documented descriptions of Rotomahana and the terraces began in the 1840s when the first Europeans to visit the region published accounts of their journeys. Dieffenbach (1843:381) remarked that ‘the view which opened was one of the grandest I had ever beheld ... on the opposite side a flight of broad steps of the colour of white marble with a rosy tint, and a cascade of boiling water falling over them into the lake!’. Describing the terraces Johnson, although a person of science, did not provide a scientific account of the unique natural phenomena and was one of many authors to wax lyrical about Rotomahana and the terraces as being:

*one of the most singular scenes that imagination can picture. ... It would be an endless task to describe their varied forms. In truth the whole scene was so strangely beautiful that it looked more like those fairy scenes which are represented on the stage, where the artist has full scope for an inventive genius rather than a reality.*

(New Zealander, 27/11/1847:3)

These depictions represent some of the first published accounts of what was to become one of the most described natural scenes in New Zealand and a ‘must-see’ attraction for visitors to the Rotorua region. Of the myriad of portrayals two remarks summarise the European fascination with Rotomahana and the terraces. Bates (1970:23) claimed that ‘no one should leave New Zealand without seeing Rotomahana. ... [as] no country can offer objects of greater interest to the “savant” or to the lover of the picturesque’. James Kerry-Nicholls (1884:105) maintained ‘that in Te Tarata we have all that is divinely sublime ...’. Of note is the usage of the terms ‘picturesque’ and ‘sublime’ to describe the scenery of Rotomahana.

Bell and Lyall (2002:4) provide a brief history of the term sublime by examining its use over time. Accordingly, 'the sublime is an abstract quality in which the dominant feature is the presence or idea of transcendental immensity or greatness' which 'inspires awe and reverence, or possibly fear'. In contrast, the picturesque was considered to be pretty and of a human scale, something which could be framed within a picture. While the terms maybe contrasting they are not necessarily contradictory and the terraces were considered both awe inspiring and frightening, as well as being an example of aesthetic beauty which could be framed. The scenic grandeur was combined with a sense of menace as the subterranean thermal activity threatened to explode to the surface at any moment thus threatening the picturesque. A number of accounts recollect stories, told to the authors, of tragic events which reinforce the potential danger of the environment. Ernest Tinne (1873) and Richard Taylor (1855), despite visiting some twenty years apart, described the same story of two children dying after falling into a boiling pool. On a less human scale Lieutenant Bates (1969) mentioned observing the bones of a visitors' dog which had jumped into a hot pool on a previous occasion. This tale is retold by Anthony Trollope (1873) although he did not actually see the skeleton thus reinforcing aspects of place-myth. Other stories of visitors themselves being burnt by scalding water through inattention provided ample warning that the environment was a volatile one that needed some care taken when negotiating the thermal sublime.

The descriptions of the terraces, and narratives of journeys to Rotomahana, reified the natural phenomena into a system of cultural meaning. The reference points for this reification were from well-established conventions of European travel for leisure and pleasure. European awareness of Rotomahana and the terraces occurred at a particular time in history when more and more people were willing and able to travel. The origins of European tourism can be traced back to ancient Greece with Herodotus 'often being called the first tourist' (Feifer, 1985:8). Imperial Rome refined hedonistic pleasure in a tourist setting while the 'Grand Tour' and its variants aided in the creation of a travel culture in Britain. Until the nineteenth-century 'travel was only available to a narrow elite and was itself a mark of status' (Urry, 1995:130). While travel for leisure should always be

considered a mark of status in itself, the narrow elite of potential tourists expanded dramatically as the rise of the merchant classes, modern capitalism and industrialisation transformed society in Europe. The rise and celebration of travel literature, as a manifestation of increased touring, spread the word to a literate and growing middle-class.

Towner (1996:104) maintains that from the mid eighteenth-century 'the picturesque and the romantic landscape became the goals of tourists', a shift from previous travellers who were attracted to products of the human world. Architecture, art exhibitions, historical commemorations, as monuments to civilisation were still considered important but uninhabited natural environments which '... may have proved fearsome to earlier cultures, ... proved to be celebrated as the source of peculiar pleasure' (Soper, 1995:222). These uninhabited spaces were particularly evident in the new colonies of the Americas and Australasia which provided vast landscapes that were new and alien to Europeans travellers. The natural environment of the planet, to some, became 'regarded with pious attentiveness, the sheer diversity of the outward slopes of the world attested to the inexhaustible creativity of God' (Schama, 1995:428). This reverence for nature, in an American tourism context, saw 'the virginal paradise about which men had fantasised' become sacred places for aesthetic contemplation as well as the recreation of visitors (Sears, 1989:8).

At Rotomahana, a sense of Godliness was pronounced by visitors who suggested the terraces were 'God's handiwork' (Talbot, 1882:53), which created 'the most charming scenes ever designed by the divine hand of the Creator' (Kerry-Nicholls, 1884:98) or a 'scared spot, in which it was almost profane to speak aloud' (Inglis cited in Eisen and Smith, 1991:45). As a counterpoint to God's munificence, the region was also where 'Dante might here have borrowed a new phrase of horror' (Cumming, 1881:299) which exhibited 'Dantesque horror and sublime desolation' (Tangye, 1886:117). The references to the Devil as well as to God indicate the thermal sublime was considered part of the duopoly of creation and destruction consistent with Christian ideology. Indeed, the area around Rotomahana and the terraces was described as being 'heaven and hell in alternate

glimpses, so marvellous are some beauties, so dread the horrors' (Cumming, 1881:291).

Other tourists, not necessarily convinced of the presence of God in nature, were able to utilise the developments in natural science as a means of purposeful travel. Botany, geology, natural history in the 'age of classifications' epitomised by the publications of Carl Linnaeus, and in particular the numerous editions of *Species Plantarum* (1753), aided in the general awareness of new understandings of the natural environment. According to Pratt (1992:25) 'Linnaeus's system alone launched a European knowledge-building enterprise of unprecedented scale and appeal'. Furthermore, Linnaeus's classifications had a 'markedly democratic dimension' as the knowledge was not only widely published but was a relatively simple means with which to 'make order out of chaos'. Thus, scientific enquiry became, if not a sole reason, then a further rationale for undertaking journeys and 'specimen gathering, the building up of collections, the naming of new species, the recognition of known ones, became standard themes in travel and travel books' (Pratt, 1992:27) and acted as a catalyst for an increasingly mobile European population to travel to remote locations.

During the 1870s a number of commercially orientated guide-books regarding Rotorua were published. Examples include the *A Guide to the Hot Lakes* (H. G, 1872) *Chapman's Travellers Guide throughout the Lake District* (Chapman, 1872), *Handbook to the Bay of Plenty and Guide to the Hot Lakes* (Langbridge and Edgecumbe, 1875), and *Southern Guide to the Hot Lakes District* (Harris, 1878). These guides, and later publications, provided practical travel information about the locations of hotels (or absence of), providers of supplies, the time-table of transport, distances, travelling times, and 'what is of great importance to many, the cost' (T.T.H., c.1885:17). Varying in both their quality of production and literary construction the guide-books were commercially orientated publications which, in the case of the *Southern Guide*, provided information which was '... though needlessly verbose, ... in the main reliable' (Bay of Plenty Times (BPT), 20/02/1878:2). With regard to Rotomahana and the terraces, some guide-books claimed an inability to depict the beauty and suggested that 'seeing, in this case,

and seeing only is believing' (Ollivier, 1871:25). This situation allows for the commercial purpose of the travel guide to be fulfilled 'by inspiring others to make the pilgrimage to the hallowed site' (Galbraith, 1992:6).

The guide-books played another important role by providing semiotic markers and signifiers of what to look at and how to consume the landscape. According to Wevers (2002:171) these publications were able to 'educate tourists in ways that allow[ed] them to look at an unfamiliar landscape and see there a "place," marked by signs of cultural and aesthetic value'. The books contained information on what was considered scenic, interesting, and of note to the potential tourist market. For the Rotorua region, there were a number of places considered 'worthy' of visiting although Rotomahana and the terraces featured heavily in the literature as the culmination of aestheticism in New Zealand.

The publication of guide-books continued throughout the 1880s and there was also a marked increase in the number of published accounts by visitors to the area. The sheer amount of literature produced contributed to an ever-growing list of publications about New Zealand. This enabled the claim to be made that New Zealand was 'the most over-written of all the British Dominions' (Beaglehole, 1936:10). It was this literature produced by visitors which served to develop a 'place-myth' regarding Rotomahana and the terraces. According to Urry, (1995:194) 'such a myth could not have developed without visitors and without the literature that some of those visitors produced and read'. The literature was of such quantity that the terraces were reinforced as an iconic landscape that must be visited if at all possible. The descriptions of the sights in New Zealand, and in particular the terraces, created a 'textual culture composed of layers of recorded journeys' (Wevers, 2002:187) all consistent in their representations of aesthetic beauty and scenic grandeur. This act of writing has been described by Pratt (1992:7) as 'anti-conquest' literature which allows the representations of the European travellers to be perceived as innocent while at the same time exhibiting notions of cultural hegemony. According to Wevers (2002:3) these tourist writings were evidence of 'innocent investigators, motivated by their pursuit of knowledge, whose journeys happened to occur at the historical moment of



European dispossession and appropriation'. From the writings, as manifestations of a collective European tourist gaze, it is possible to maintain that the assumptions and ideologies of the author's self-claimed cultural superiority are affirmed in the publications. One example of this is the writing of Miss Muller when she commented that her:

*... crew asked the guide to enquire of me why I had come so far to see the hot lakes, surely the world was full of Rotomahana and Terraces everywhere? The natives look upon all these wonderful natural curiosities with the greatest indifference, not only because the sight is familiar to them, but they lack the admiration of nature altogether.*

(Muller, 1877:26)

One of the common features of the representations of the terraces was the supposed inability for the author to describe the scene in adequate terms. Some writers acknowledged shortcomings in their literary skills to explain a suitable aesthetic appreciation of place. The author of the *Newest Guide to the Hot Lakes* (T.T.H., c.1885:14) maintained that he did 'not intend to try to describe the Terraces, [as] far abler pens ... mine have tried and failed'. Another ploy was to explain that a textual description was ill-equipped to convey the true vista as 'photographs even do not convey the least idea of the beautiful tints and shades' (T.T.H., c.1885:14) therefore word were even less able to convey the scene. Despite the protestations of many, a full and lengthy description was normally provided.

A further recurring theme in narratives of journeys to the terraces was a requirement to compare them with places that were already known in the travelled world. This codified the terraces as a 'must-see' attraction within a system of global tourism as another sublime landscape that should be visited by those who were so inclined and with the means with which to do so.

Kerry-Nicholls' account provides an example of this whereby:

*I had seen the Himalayas and the Alps, the Blue Mountains of Tartary, the Rocky Mountains, and the Sierra Nevadas – all these were ponderously grand and awe-inspiring. I had sailed over the principal lakes of Europe and America, floated down the Nile, the Ganges, the Yangtze Kiang, the Missouri, and the Mississippi, through the thousand islands of St Lawrence, and up and down innumerable other rivers, all fair and beautiful. I had beheld the giant marvels of Yosemite and stood by the thrilling waters of Niagra, ... never had I gazed upon so wonderful sight as Te Tarata.*  
(Kerry-Nicholls, 1884:95-6)

The use of comparisons indicate that the world, by the 1880s, was a place which could be consumed by the tourist in their journeys to an array of locations. Although such terms as 'Wonderland', 'Geyserland', 'Maoriland' were used to label the Rotorua district, the most common label was the 'Hot Lakes District'. This term was a direct comparison to the Lakes District in Britain, which by the time Rotomahana and the terraces had been discovered by Europeans, had been well-established as a site of tourism consumption. The term Hot Lakes District thus codified the area as being part of a tradition for Victorian travelling to a natural environment for leisure and pleasure.

The number and variety of accounts were complimented by an outpouring of cultural material concerning the consumption of the tourism landscape. Photographs, post-cards, advertising, and ephemera all contributed to the cultural production of knowledge about Rotomahana and the terraces. This production of material was not only designed to be consumed by a reader/viewer it also educated the potential tourist on how to consume the landscape. Each representation added another layer of meaning that encouraged more consumption and correspondingly more production. Ateljevic (2000:378), adapting Steve Britton's (1991) model of a tourism production system claims that 'producers and consumers negotiate ... in [a] constant act of interpretation ... consuming the

(con)text and (re)producing circuits' of meaning. From this, it is argued that a theoretical space exists beyond a supposed dichotomy of consumption and production. In ever-continuing circuits of representation, meanings of place are both produced and consumed through negotiation.

While the commercially orientated guide-books and various narratives told the tourist how and what to consume, the potential visitor was also informed of how not to consume the landscape. An example of this was the practice of signing one's name on one of Otukapuarangi's terraces. This particular terrace became an impromptu 'visitor book' as the flowing silica turned the engraving into a permanent mark of the author. There is one account where the author admits to the practice and even then she regretted 'having written it, for seeing the beautiful steps of the Pink Terrace defiled with those written names, is really a disgrace' (Muller, 1877:27). This act of graffiti had its origins with Grey in the 1850s, and included such notable people as the Duke of Edinburgh in 1870. Not only did the signatures become a disfigurement to the terraces, souvenir hunters used chisels to dislodge the names of the more famous signatories.

The practice of marking the terraces, thus leaving a permanent trace of one's presence was labelled the 'pet vice of English travellers' and claimed to be the 'contemptible effusions of would-be poets' (Tinne, 1873:15). This remark implies that such activity was not unique to Rotomahana and the terraces as English travellers by no means limited their journeys to New Zealand. Indeed, Rudyard Kipling observed a similar habit at the hot pools of Yellowstone National Park in the United States of America (Fennell, 1999). There was wholesale condemnation of marking the terraces by the 'devil-possessed swine of Gadara ...' (Inglis, cited in Eisen and Smith, 1991:45) or 'insignificant human atoms' (Talbot, 1882:53) that were 'ambitious of immortality' (Froude, 1885:246).

One example of condemnation illustrates the class-based argument of the complainants as:

*Some have left a sort of business card, so that visitors for all time may know that a railway contractor from Wales, or a chemist or a printer from Shortland, or an umbrella merchant or a land agent from Grahamstown once honoured the spot with his presence. Others, and, perhaps, a still more objectionable class, have written their names under sickly sentimentalism, or doggerel verse. One of the latter I copied. It is a fair sample, and I give it verbatim, -*

‘I’ve done the thing – I’ve been the round;  
The lakes are full of water found;  
The hills are high as usual, -  
I trust they will amuse you all’

*The effect of all this is to dispel the sweet feeling of commune with nature which the beauties of place are calculated to inspire. One feels, instead, as if he were shoulder to shoulder with a crowd of vulgar sight-seers.*

(Morton, 1872:23).

This indicates that tourist behaviour, while at Rotomahana, was shaped by cultural practices and was clearly class-based as the occupation of the offenders were used in a derogatory fashion. The narratives share a consistent opinion that people who marked the terraces were of a ‘lesser class’ who were, not only employed in mundane occupations, had less intellectual capacity for appreciating natural beauty.

These accounts of graffiti acknowledged that some practices of the tourists caused degradation to the aesthetic beauty of the terraces. That damage to the terrace formation could be caused by the tourist’s very presence was, however, rarely acknowledged. Bates (1969:7) conceded to the possibility when he remarked that

‘ascending the steps, we feel it is almost a sacrilege to tread on the pure and bright gleaming marble, especially as at every step you crush some beautiful petrification ...’. Lunching at the terraces, tourists left behind tin cans, broken bottles and paper wrappings. Sheets of newspaper carelessly left behind on the terraces became enshrined in silica within days (Andrews, 1995). Froude (1885:249) remarked on this debris and casually commented that their party ‘contributed our share to the general mess’. Added to this, amateur scientists would break off specimens for study and bore holes into the terraces for measurement. Sightseers often threw stones and pieces of wood into the springs and geyser holes to observe the effects.

While few visitors appear to have recognised the potential problems of tourist behaviour, the colonial Government was aware at an early stage and it was used to justify demands for the area to be under Government control. William Fox, in a letter to Vogel, mentioned that ‘it is to the credit of the Maoris that they have hitherto done all in their power to protect them [the terraces], and express no measured indignation at the sacrilegious act of some European barbarians’ (Appendices to the Journal of House of Representatives (AJHR), 1874, H-26:4). Although the local community was given some credit, it was thus presumed that the Government was the only institution able to protect the natural resources by controlling development in the region.

Another form of consumption was the act of bathing in the thermal waters of the hot pools. The waters of the region were of an unknown scientific quality but it was assumed that the mineral composition of some pools would be advantageous to the health and well-being for the bathers. Calls to have the waters scientifically analysed indicate the perceived potential for the area to ‘become for the Australasian group of colonies what Switzerland and the German baths are to Europe’ (Southern Cross, 29/04/1872:3). This direct comparison to the spa resorts of Europe illustrates the cultural associations attached to bathing in the Victorian era. According to David Blackbourn (2002) the ideology of water treatment in Europe was based on taking the waters for health and well-being and, as recognition of curative properties developed, as a cure for certain sicknesses. The

thermal waters of New Zealand did attract the unwell as the various properties became known and were reported on although the journey was a serious undertaking and was limited to those who were able, both financially and medically.

With other more accessible thermal springs in the Rotorua region, Rotomahana was unlikely to attract invalids seeking a cure for their ailments as the journey was considered to be too arduous. Instead, the waters at Rotomahana were generally seen as being restorative rather than a cure for specific maladies. The general description of bathing was one of sensual pleasure instead of a cure-all. Trollope's (1873:484) account of bathing maintained that the terraces were 'a spot for intense sensual enjoyment, and there comes some addition to the feeling from the roughness you have encountered reaching it' and that he had 'never heard of other bathing like this in the world'. The flow of hot water from a crater at the top combined with the formation of the terraces enabled the bathers an option of pools ranging from the tepid to the scalding. By starting near the bottom the visitor was able to gradually step up to the next level slowly acclimatising to the increase in temperature.

Bathing in Victorian times, according to Blackbourn (2002:12), also became an 'antidote to the diseases of "civilization" – boredom, and "nerves, stress, and anxiety ...'. There is a certain paradox present in this rationale as the European spas that emerged were centres of civilised consumption with eating, drinking, shopping, and socialising high on the list of priorities. The European tradition of bathing was centred around social status and many went to 'fashionable watering places simply because they were fashionable' (Blackbourn, 2002:12). Bathing at Rotomahana was an experience consumed by both Māori and European. Māori in the Rotorua region had a long tradition of bathing for pleasure, especially in the winter months, and introduced certain pools to European visitors (Stafford, 1986). Māori also recognised the medicinal benefits of certain pools and found them 'very effective in the curing of chronic cutaneous disease and rheumatic pains' (Hochstetter, 1867:418).

While Rotomahana may have been without the facilities and amenities of a European spa a similarity in the ideology of bathing remains. A visit to Rotomahana was certainly considered fashionable and a measure of social status. By travelling some 12,000 miles to revel in the ‘natural wonders’ of the world and escape civilisation, the European tourist was able to exhibit a social standing based around mobility and an ability to engage in leisure pursuits. There is a further paradox apparent as the act of escaping civilisation, by utilising the advancements in transport technology and touring the world, meant an engagement with the processes of a civilising regime that promoted and confirmed imperial power (Clark, 1999). Thus, the act of escaping diminished the number of places that were available to escape to.

While revelling in the aesthetic beauty and partaking of the health-giving waters, the Victorian tourist was as far away from civilisation as could be safely negotiated. The irony of course is that progress and civilisation centred around European expansion was considered both inevitable and, on the most part, desirable. Trollope (1873:484) acknowledged the role tourists play in the changing consumption of landscape when he mused that ‘the time will probably come in which there will be a sprightly hotel at Rotomahana, with a table d’hôte, and boats so much an hour, and regular seasons for bathing’. As Trollope bathed in the water he calculated ‘how much it would cost and what return it would give’.

Despite the lack of facilities, Victorian women were provided with an affirmation that decorum was able to be kept to an acceptable standard. This reassurance is evident in the writing of Miss Muller who recalled:

*In the ti-tree scrub I undressed, ... I was apparently quite alone, for the guide and natives had retired, and let me say this for their discretion, that they not once attempted to look back at me; they are so accustomed to see each other scantily dressed, that it never enters their heads to be curious on this subject.*

(Muller, 1877:27)

Of further concern for Trollope was 'modern propriety' which required separate bathing facilities for the sexes. Unlike Māori, who bathed together, European morality dictated that the sexes not bathe together as it could increase the likelihood of inappropriate conduct, especially when 'vestments would spoil bathing to the touch' (Trollope, 1873:484). Furthermore, the willingness of the guides and locals to bathe with the tourists also caused anxiety to some visitors. Froude's (1885:250) account demonstrates a distaste for having to bathe with a local Māori whose 'black head and copper shoulders were so animal-like that I did not entirely admire his company; but he was a man and a brother, and I knew the he must be clean, at any rate, poor fellow! from perpetual washing'.

Not all tourists were as concerned with modern propriety as Trollope and not all were apprehensive about bathing with Māori, especially Māori of the opposite sex as Herbert Meade's (1870) and George Sala's (Dingley, 1995) narratives indicate. Bathing was also a euphemism, in some circles, for prostitution. According to Blackburn (2002:17) at some European resorts 'prostitutes [were] tacitly accepted at fashionable spas if they were discreet' and a similar proposal can be made for Te Wairoa. The increasing number of tourists visiting the region also had the effect of encouraging the possibility of prostitution. One of the few Europeans to mention the fact that prostitution existed in Rotorua was Max Buchner (1878:133), a German physician, when he stated '... among the Maoris as with other primitive races the unmarried women are allowed a certain freedom which has caused prostitution for money since contact with the Europeans'.

It is difficult to find documented evidence of organised prostitution at Te Wairoa as there are no definitive accounts or police records that prove such occurred. That prostitution existed is assumed because of a link between the motivations of a short-term visitor who is able to encourage acts of perceived social deviancy in a local population (Ryan and Kinder, 1994). It is also assumed due to a comment by Frederick Spencer, son of Seymour Spencer in which he reminisces that the 'shocking debauchery and reckless expenditure of travellers' created a 'thriving market for whores' and assisted in making Te Wairoa notorious for its 'gross and shameless immorality' (cited in Eldred-Grigg, 1984:31). This evangelical opinion



is tempered by the notion that ‘until she married, the Maori woman usually enjoyed considerable sexual freedom’ (Te Awakotuku, 1991:95) thus highlighting competing influences and sentiments.

A more acceptable, or at least more visible, form of consumption was the act of painting and sketching Rotomahana and the terraces. Landscape painting has been recognised as a way of inventing the land by modifying and reconstructing it in pictorial terms (Pound, 1983). Francis Pound (1983:82) suggests that the pictorial attitude to colonial New Zealand landscape, ‘to see it as a picture, is purely an imported convention’. This imported convention, from the point of view of landscape artists in New Zealand, provided reference points which saw ‘a style of painting conditioned by nostalgia – for a land thousands of miles away ...’ (Brown and Keith, 1969:22). Painting the landscape was also considered to be all that was ‘lofty, pure, and noble in art’ (Brown and Keith, 1969:22) and added another means with which to record a journey as well as adding to the cultural production of place.

According to Bell and Lyall (2002:117) painting landscape scenery involves a ‘series of decisions about how to represent the three-dimensional biophysical reality in the coded two-dimensional language of the sketch’. These decisions that are made are inherently cultural and the resulting representations are prime sites for the articulation of ideology (Bell, 1992). While the natural panorama is depicted as an environmental snapshot, the actual act of painting is culturally informed with a requirement to decode the landscape and then recode it on to paper or canvas.

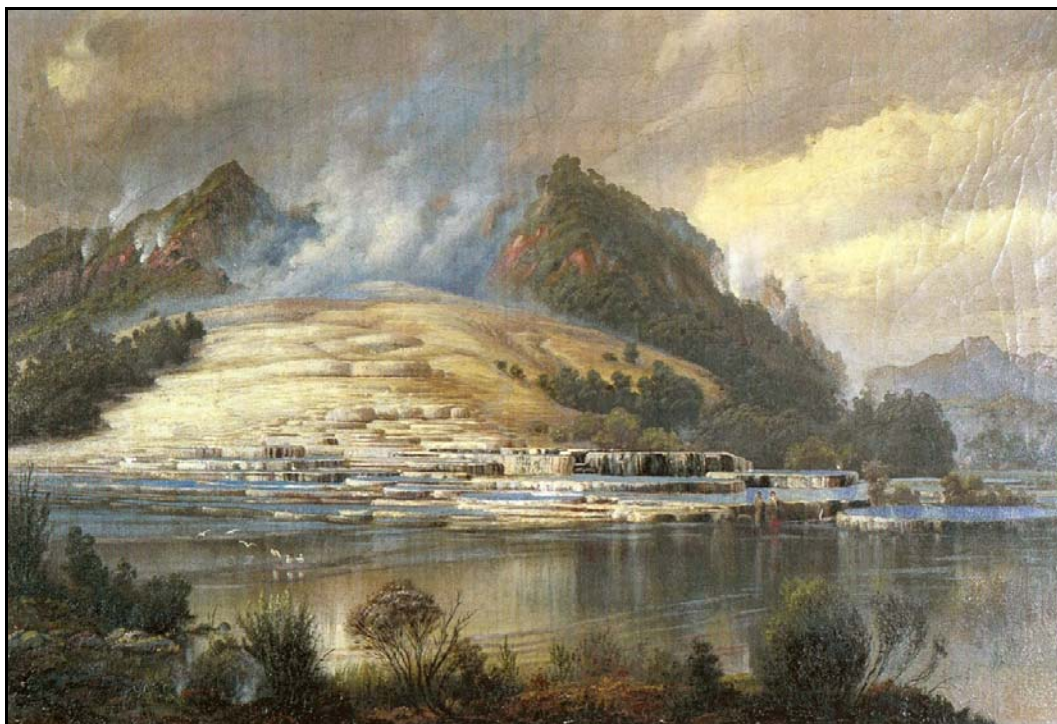
Rotomahana and the terraces, firmly in the realm of the picturesque, were prized as a landscape to be painted and sketched. The first European sketches of the area were produced in the 1840s with Joseph Merrett, John Mitford, and Cuthbert Clark publishing their sketches. Painters who exhibited their works in the 1850s and 1860s include John Kinder and J.C. Hoyte (Bell, 1995). Two artists, Constance Gordon Cumming and Charles Blomfield, particularly the latter,

enhanced their reputations with their representations of the terraces and exhibited works in Europe.

Blomfield visited Rotomahana twice before negotiating, in 1885, to spend six weeks camped in the area. During that time he produced twelve pieces of work that were to become the basis for a large number of copies which caused them to become possibly the most recognisable impressions of the terraces created (figures 8 and 9). Prior to the 1886 eruption some 60 paintings of the terraces had been sold and another 25 were in exhibitions awaiting sale, eleven of these at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London (Blackley, 1987). The majority of Blomfield's income came from the sale of Rotomahana paintings which 'secured his position as the most successful landscape painter in Auckland during the 1880s' (Blackley, 1987:13).



**Figure 8: The Pink Terrace by Charles Blomfield. Alexander Turnbull Library (G-675).**



**Figure 9: The White Terrace by Charles Blomfield. Alexander Turnbull Library (G-667).**

Blomfield's depictions of the terraces have the natural environment appearing tranquil and still, illustrating the difficulty of landscape painting as 'things that are dynamic [are] rendered still' and the depiction becomes 'a sublime that is sensorially and dimensionally impoverished' (Bell and Lyall, 2002:42). According to Roger Blackley (1987) Blomfield's terrace paintings rarely admit any indication of tourist activity at Rotomahana and are more often than not devoid of any human activity. There is a certain irony in Blomfield's decision to represent the terraces 'uncontaminated by tourism' (Blackley, 1987:14) as it was the tourist market that Blomfield was aiming to accommodate. Proof of this is provided by the orders Blomfield received from tourists during his stay at Rotomahana. Further confirmation is seen in an article in the *New Zealand Herald* advertising the works which are 'at present on view at his private residence ... we may add that Mr Blomfield is now engaged executing orders for several distinguished tourists' (Williams, 1979:73). When Blomfield did insert humans into the landscape, they were either a few Māori figures to codify the scene as being of New Zealand, or as a request by paying tourists who wished for their own images to be recorded for posterity.

Blomfield was also well aware that his paintings were able to contribute to the increased awareness of the Rotomahana and the terraces thus contributing to a growth in tourism which he purposefully excluded evidence of. This is confirmed in a letter to his wife while Blomfield was painting at Wairakei four months after the eruption. The letter mentioned that 'the Geyser Valley alone is a sight worth coming thousands of miles to see, and should prove in course of time a great attraction. It only wants to be known, and I hope to make it better known when I get back' (Williams, 1979:103).

Constance Gordon Cumming, on the other hand, included human activity into her landscape paintings of the terraces when she visited in 1877. Cumming inserted small figures, in scale with the scene, of Māori bathing and cooking while Europeans looked on, gazing at the exotic landscape, both cultural and natural. According to Leonard Bell (1995:37) Cumming's paintings depict 'both the spectacular and the everyday, the latter serving to "acclimatise" or assimilate the strange, distant and foreign ...'. This was achieved by having the Māori figures engaged in activities of 'home', everyday occurrences which codify the landscape as a safe spectacle. The danger of the thermal sublime was also reduced to a risk-free wonderland of aesthetic beauty thus encouraging people to view the picturesque.

Cumming's paintings should be seen within the context of her life and social standing. The daughter of a Baronet and financially secure enough to allow extensive periods of travel throughout the late 1800s, Cumming published accounts of her travels. The narrative of her time at Rotomahana is in contrast to what Bell (1995:38) describes as the serene 'mood of ease and equilibrium' depicted in her paintings. The demand for payment of £5 by local Māori aroused strong opinions in Cumming (1881:304) who refused to pay 'both from a natural aversion to being done, and also because such a precedent would have settled the question, to the detriment of all future sketchers'. This illustrates what Wevers (2002:192) calls Cumming's 'aesthetic sensibility as an agency of ownership' whereby she purports an inalienable right to the picturesque. It is assumed that not

only does the artist have a right but the potential viewers of the work also have the same prerogative.

These two painters also demonstrate Ateljevic's (2000) notion that continual circuits of reproduction ignore a dichotomy between consumption and production. The act of painting is a means with which to consume the landscape while the actual painting itself is a production of the scene. Both Cumming and Blomfield, had their works exhibited at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886 in London and the images were consumed by a European public when the eruption occurred. In Blomfield's case there is a further level of consumption whereby he was a working artist and derived his sole income from the number of paintings sold. Therefore, the more his works were consumed the more that were produced. The reproduction of Blomfield's images of the terraces and the sheer number of paintings he produced lay claim to the contemporary suggestion that 'works bearing pre-eruption dates are in some sense the "real" terraces, while the later ones are merely "fantasies"' (Blackley, 1987:13).

The natural landscape was not the only entity to be consumed by visitors. Getting to Rotomahana and the terraces, and staying at Te Wairoa, inevitably brought Europeans into contact with local Māori. Most interaction occurred within a capitalist setting thus the short-term relationship that formed between the two was framed by patterns of commercial consumption. The appeal for visiting locations occupied by indigenous inhabitants is documented as a desire by the tourist to observe an 'other' (Urry, 1995; Cohen, 1996; Hollinshead, 1996; Taylor, 2001). Characterised by both cultural and spatial difference Te Wairoa's inhabitants offered ample evidence of an other as 'for most tourists ... it was the thermal region which delivered foreignness' (Wevers, 2002:1999). By the 1880s most parts of New Zealand on the tourist trail were firmly under the control of European interests and there was a sense that 'the outside uses and bearings of the place declare it to be unmistakably English'. This also provides an irony for tourists seeking difference, or an exotic 'other', as the facilities required by themselves create an impression that 'after two months of travel the tourist has not at all succeeded in getting away from England' (Trollope, 1873:331). The Rotorua

region in the 1870s and 1880s, and Te Wairoa specifically, included few trappings of ‘civilisation’ and offered the traveller the opportunity to enter an area that was decidedly not English and provided an occasion to interact with Māori on a personal level.

The interaction, or more specifically the visitors’ recollections of interaction, provide evidence of what John Frow (1997:70) has called ‘the vanishing horizon of authenticity’. The tourist in their desire to experience the authentic will never entirely do so as the exchange is structured within a commercial short-term relationship (MacCannell, 1973; 1992). There was, according to Wevers (2002:200), an ‘... implication that Maori should maintain a cultural stasis while at the same time servicing the demands of tourism ...’. An example of this occurring is in the comment by Talbot on the appearance of Māori wearing European attire. Talbot (1882:42) expressed disappointment at a vanishing authenticity and remarked that it was ‘... a pity, for the few that I have seen bareheaded, barelegged, and enveloped in the *korowai*, or even in the parti-coloured blanket, looked so much more imposing ...’. Further evidence is provided by Kerry-Nicholls whereby he:

*... had hoped to find a big war canoe ready manned by half-naked warriors, waiting to convey us to the greatest wonder of the lakes, but, in place of that, we got into a craft built like a whale-boat, and manned by a stalwart crew of Maoris, some of whom affected striped calico shirts and white trousers, while others were satisfied with scant garments of a less attractive kind.*

(Kerry-Nicholls, 1884:87)

A further rationale for wishing to view Māori in their own environment was the ‘Victorian view that it was a dying culture’ (Ryan, 1999:232). Census figures indicated a dramatic decline in the number of Māori and, according to the guide-book *Maoriland* they had ‘dwindled to a comparatively insignificant remnant’ by the mid 1880s (Union Steam Ship Company (USSC), 1884:3). This suggested insignificance of Māori maintains a certain irony as the title of the guide implies

that the tourist is entering a space of an exotic 'other' despite the introduction admitting that this space no longer exists. Furthermore, the colonial process of which the guide-book was a part, also contributed to the diminishment of the exotic.

The representations of Māori by tourists provide an insight into the attitudes of the visitors in their desire to come face to face with both the 'exotic and erotic' (Galbraith, 1992:16). One of the better documented examples of Māori being considered in this light comes from Meade in his published account *A Ride through the Disturbed Districts of New Zealand* (1870). Meade and a companion Julius Brenchley along with Gilbert Mair and a Māori party made a 'semi-official' journey into the central parts of the North Island during 1864. Although Brenchley was the well-known author due to his previous publications it was Meade's family who posthumously published the journals of Herbert in 1870. The descriptions and illustrations (figure 10) of local Māori at Ohinemutu are some of the first to use a deliberate sense of romantic imagery of life in the Rotorua district. At age twenty-four Meade wrote that:

*... during our stay we saw young girls with complexions like southern gipsies, just fair enough to let the warm colour show through the clear olive skin, and the dark lustrous eyes, with great ever-changing expression, rosy lips, as yet un-defiled by the blue tattoo, and beautiful snow-white teeth ... in a few minutes a number of the prettiest young girls in the settlement were seated in a circle in very shallow water, looking like mermaids, with the moon-light streaming over their well-shaped busts and raven locks.*

(Meade, 1870:39)

Resorting to stereotypes, the impression conformed with the allure of a Polynesian femininity and Māori were represented as 'the pleasurable contradiction of exotic sensuality and sunlit innocence; a relentless lure' (Te Awekotuku, 1991:91). Other accounts were less flattering and realise the romantic falsity of fantasy. Buchner (1878:123) rebutting Meade's flight of fancy, maintained that 'I've never seen in



reality anything like that frontispiece in Lt. Meade's book on New Zealand showing classically-formed bathing beauties looking like European lilies, cavorting under the spray from a powerful geyser. Only the old hags are less embarrassed and show their unattractive bodies'.



Figure 10: Herbert Meade's 'Maori maidens' bathing at Ohinemutu. Rockell (1986:155).

Romanticised as a 'noble savage' replete in their barbaric and primitive culture Māori were a distinct other that provided difference and a counter-reference to European progress and civilisation (Barnett, 1996). According to Galbraith (1992:17) the typecast portrayed needed to be stripped of any fear or phobia and therefore racial difference was fixed 'in another, less threatening way – that is, through the creation of the Maori as a desirable aesthetic, passive and conforming object'. While there is evidence of this occurring in the limited number of accounts Galbraith analyses it should be recognised that this was not the only stereotype portrayed. Another stereotype was that of Māori as 'the perpetrators of an illegitimate and sometimes threatening exploitation' (Wevers, 2002:199). It should also be recognised that '... the stereotype, must always be in *excess* of what can be empirically proved or logically construed' (Bhabha, 1994:66). Furthermore, the construction of excess worked both ways as both Māori and European gazed at each other.



An indication of Māori perceptions of European visitors is provided in *Maoriland* whereby:

*...one pakeha is assumed to be equally wealthy with another, the presumption being that only people with abundance of money in their pockets would think of going so far for mere sight-seeing. The only consideration that remains ... is to what extent the pakeha may be induced to part with his cash, or to stand treat for beer, it being well apparent to the intelligent Maori that individuals differ in this respect.*

(USSC., 1884:269)

The European concept of ‘mere sight-seeing’ was confirmed by both the willingness of travellers to journey the world to gaze at sights of interest and by the proliferation of literature regarding such activity. The publication of travel literature codified Rotomahana and the terraces as aesthetically sublime and instigated notions of correct behaviour for the visitor. The representations of space, produced through travel narratives and exhibited paintings, assisted in the consumption of place and ensured that Te Wairoa became an area of engagement between Māori hosts and European visitors. This engagement, however, was not a one-way process and the commodification of place was actively encouraged by the local community.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CONSTRUCTING AND CONTESTING THE LANDSCAPE

The departure of Spencer and his family from Te Wairoa meant that the mission station was no longer viable and the village was left without a missionary presence. People eventually made their way back to the settlement, although without permanent habitation for several years the village fell into a state of disrepair. Te Wairoa, in the words of Trollope (1873:478), was a place where ‘everything was going back to the savageness of the wilderness’. Another to remark on the settlement and the people was William Travers (1876:6) who stated ‘it is difficult to describe the state of filth and demoralization into which the Maori population of this and the adjacent settlement of Wairau [sic] are gradually sliding’. The *Handbook to the Bay of Plenty and Guide to the Hot Lakes District* (Langbridge and Edgecumbe, 1875:13) was more even direct in its observations as Te Wairoa presented ‘a sad picture, as one can see nothing but the remnants of former labour, - these people having forsaken their habits of industry are now dwelling amongst the ruins, living a hand to mouth life, being actually too lazy to grow sufficient potatoes to keep themselves from starving’. These depictions of Te Wairoa are in direct contrast to the supposedly well-ordered village that existed prior to abandonment. Orchards, wheat-fields, captive livestock, and fenced-off house sections all contributed to the portrayal of the European ideal of a managed and manicured rural arcadia (Schama, 1995) which required commitment to maintain.

A perception about the degradation of life at Te Wairoa and the life-style of its inhabitants was that once the ‘civilising influence’ of Spencer’s teachings had been removed, local Māori were vulnerable to ‘lesser influences’. This view is evident in a comment by William Travers (1876:6) in that ‘it is certainly to be regretted that the efforts and self-denial of the early missionaries, in their attempts to introduce civilized habits amongst these people, should have been neutralized by the drunkenness and vice into which they have lapsed, as the result of contact with brandy-sellers and Pakeha-Maoris’. A further observation was that the settlement had little future as ‘much had been done to form a civilised settlement

of Maoris' and 'the attempt had been made, and had been made among a friendly tribe;- but it had failed, and the failure seemed to have been acknowledged' (Trollope, 1873:478).

Why then, did Te Wairoa become the staging point for people journeying to Rotomahana and the terraces if the population was demoralised and the land bordering on 'savage wilderness'? Lake Tarawera offered the easiest access to the terraces via the Kaiwaka stream so it is logical that a settlement on the shores of Lake Tarawera should become the base of operations. However, there were a number of settlements on the shores of Lake Tarawera that could have become a focal point of tourist activity. Evidence that other communities were also interested in the tourism economy and prepared to offer services to visitors is seen in accounts of journeys and guide-books to the region. Waitangi was a settlement on the shores of Lake Tarawera to the west of Te Wairoa and being farther away from the terraces meant that tourists would have to travel further to visit Rotomahana and the terraces. According to J. Chantrey Harris (1878) the villagers at Waitangi had whale-boats which were more comfortable and could carry more people than the canoes offered by the people at Te Wairoa. This suggests that the people at Waitangi were aware of the needs of the market and were prepared to offer a superior service than their counterparts at the settlement of Te Wairoa.

People at Kariri, the original settlement of Spencer's mission, also provided evidence of competition to the community at Te Wairoa. A temporary dwelling was built at Kariri in 1870 in readiness for the use of the Duke of Edinburgh and his entourage if he required it (Stafford, 1986). Temporary structures built for guests at Māori settlements were used for the occasion and would then turn into a place 'where the young people, and the not so young, gathered to dance, tell stories, play games and talk' (Simmons, 1997:16). After a period the building would deteriorate and a decision would have to be made whether to maintain it or to let it fall into decay. If the house at Kariri was one of these temporary structures then there must have been a decision to maintain the building with the logic being that it would have further use. According to the *London Spectator* this building was being used to accommodate European tourists as early as 1871 (cited in

Stafford, 1986) and the *New Zealand Herald* (29/04/1872:3) also reported that accommodation was available for visitors, indicating a conscious decision to profit from tourism by the local community at Kariri.

The key to Te Wairoa managing to stave off the other settlements and become the centre of the tourist trade was the creation of professionally run accommodation. Having visitors stay at a particular locale enabled an opportunity for increased interaction and the possibility of generating further revenue as well as creating a critical mass of amenities to meet the demands of the tourist. The *Guide to the Hot Lakes* first reported the operation of commercially orientated accommodation in 1872. The accommodation was simple, however the services of the host included arrangements for the provision of canoes and crew to cross Lake Tarawera, demonstrating an existent relationship between the proprietor and other service providers in the community. According to the guide-book:

*A Maori named Waretini keeps an accommodation house at Wairoa, and although the said accommodation in respect of food was worse than indifferent, owing to the non-arrival of his daily expected pack horses, I must do him the justice to say that he did his very best for us, and managed the whole trip to Rotomahana and back very well ...*

(H.G., 1872:7)

As the dispute and warfare involving Tuhourangi and Ngāti Rangitihi in 1853 indicates, local interests were fiercely protective of maintaining control of the tourist trade to the terraces and not any one could arrive at Te Wairoa and construct a guest-house. One of the first Europeans to obtain approval to accommodate and charge tourists was Pierre de Fougereaud. Fougereaud was in the area as a member of the 'Arawa Flying Column' which assisted in the armed protection of the area. Fougereaud lived with Mere who was the former Spencer family's house assistant who had stayed on at the mission-house after the departure of the Spencers. The couple married in 1873, ensuring a familial connection with Te Wairoa and the local community, which was a distinct

advantage in being able to operate a business in the village. The couple started to offer accommodation at the abandoned mission-house even though it was in a state of disrepair. A further shelter was built and by November 1873 it opened for business and advertised 'En route for Rotomahana. Maison de repos. Wairoa Accommodation House. Pierre Fougeraud. Proprietor' (Stafford, 1986:87). Despite the marriage there is proof that not everybody at Te Wairoa appreciated the business that Fougeraud was operating as he maintained that 'only shoost the other day, I horsevipped a Maori woman I caught setting fire to my house. Dey want all the trade of this place, so they are going to turn me aowt' (cited in Te Awekotuku, 1981:49). This indicates that some people at Te Wairoa were prepared to risk punishment in order to gain control of tourist traffic.

Undeterred by the threats, Fougeraud managed to stay in the area and conduct business despite it being reported that 'the want of proper accommodation is much felt at this place [Te Wairoa], the only place at present being a miserable raupo hut, presided over by a Frenchman, who, however, is an excellent cook'. Although an excellent cook, Fougeraud was unable to establish himself as a leading figure in the history of hoteliers at Te Wairoa as he moved to Ohinemutu and subsequently died in 1878.

It is unlikely that being accommodated in 'a miserable raupo hut' held much appeal to Victorian tourists and the increasing number of people wishing to visit Rotomahana and the terraces required facilities that reflected their demands for certain standards in accommodation. The first 'European style' hotel built at Te Wairoa was the *Tarawera Cascade* constructed in 1875. The *Cascade* was owned by the family of Aporo Te Wharekaniwha and his son Mika Aporo. Mika Aporo was an ex-Armed Constabulary Sergeant and also acted as the policeman in the village while Te Wharekaniwha owned the flour mill, several other buildings and at least one whale-boat used to ferry tourists (Keam, 1988). The construction of the hotel can be described as a 'tactic of autonomy' (Oakes, 1993:51) as local interests attempted to maintain authority in a commercial tourism context. The management of the hotel was contracted to a W. Wakeham who, according to Stafford (1986:88), billed himself as 'Late Steward Her Majesty's Royal Navy'.

The management arrangement between Māori and European acts as evidence for Eric Olssen's (1992) claim that settler society cannot be understood as two separate histories but should be examined on their own terms and together. The construction of accommodation, that the market would deem to be suitable, and the introduction of European managers indicates a conscious decision of Te Wairoa Māori to provide a facility that would maintain the village as the tourism centre of the area. Wakeham managed the hotel for a period of less than two years as the arrangement, at least at a personal level, was apparently an antagonistic one. The charges that both the manager and the owner brought against each other indicate such animosity. Several court cases between Te Wharekaniwha and Wakeham do not pertain to the management of the hotel but they do indicate that the relationship between the parties could be described, at best, as strained. Wakeham accused Te Wharekaniwha of petty larceny of a hammer while Te Wharekaniwha demanded restitution of £2.10.0. for replacing thatch of his whare which had been destroyed by Wakeham's horse (BPT, 20/09/1876:2). While these claims are seemingly minor incidents it is probable there was more to the dispute which provides literal proof of the 'joint entanglement of Māori and Pākehā' (Calder, 1993:9). Te Wharekaniwha's wife was caring for the illegitimate child of Wakeham and he sued Wakeham for £50 for failing to contribute to the upbringing of the child (BPT, 20/09/1876:2).

In March 1877, the management contract of the *Cascade* was transferred from Wakeham to G. Hamilton Browne and the Licensing Court changed the liquor license accordingly (Stafford, 1986). The change of management illustrates the ability of the of the land-holding interests to maintain control of who managed their property. The demand for accommodation, especially of an acceptable standard, grew rapidly enough in the following year to allow for the enlargement and refurbishment of the *Cascade*. Management also changed within the year and a Mr Meehan began his term running the affairs of the hotel. By February 1878 the *Cascade* was extended and upgraded to accommodate 15-20 tourists and according to an advertisement in the *Bay of Plenty Times* (20/03/1878:2) the hotel 'offered good beds, meals at all hours, wines, spirits and liquors of the best

quality'. Situated 'pleasantly close to the lake', with good stabling, the hotel also provided traps which regularly ran between the hotel and Ohinemutu.

The provision of meals at all hours and liquors of the best quality show that tourists were demanding and receiving a level of service that was previously unavailable in Te Wairoa. The *Cascade*, in true entrepreneurial spirit, also offered the opportunity to rent camping equipment for those unable to afford the luxury of a mattress with clean linen under a permanent roof or those who were unable to book during peak times. The stabling provided for horses demonstrates that transport requirements were considered important to attract tourists to a particular location. The supply of a regular transport service to Ohinemutu, by the hotel operators, was in direct competition with entrepreneurs based in Ohinemutu and suggests that being able to control transport to the area was also a vital component to controlling tourist activity. The use of traps and buggies also imply that tourists without their own horses were now able 'by careful management' (AJHR, 1876, G-1:27) to reach Te Wairoa in comparative comfort. However, not all were content with the service of the horse and traps provided and the road used to get to the village. One tourist mentioned:

*If I had guessed what discomfort I was paying for with my ten shillings for a seat in the coach to Wairoa I would have gone on foot, which would only have taken another half an hour, but at least would have been pleasanter and less agony. My companions had so much gear with them that we had to perch in odd corners of the old wagon which bounced about only a foot above the stones and holes, and the horses were so pitifully poor and weak with old age that one couldn't help being moved at how difficult increased speed was for them although the driver did everything in his power to encourage them ...*

(Buchner, 1878:134)

According to the *Bay of Plenty Times* (BPT, 06/03/1878:3) the *Cascade*, under the management of Meehan, made a great improvement on the 'old groggery' of the

previous proprietor. In February 1880 the management changed again and the name of the hotel was converted to the *Rotomahana*. The hotel was managed by Joseph McRae who continued operations until the eruption. The demand for the hotel was such that a decision to again increase the capacity of accommodation was made in 1881. Construction was commenced to increase accommodation available to visitors by doubling the number of rooms available for tourists. McRae and his brothers-in law also ran a general store from the hotel supplying both tourists' requirements and the growing number of local residents. In August 1884 a new dining room, extra drawing room and five more bedrooms were added creating a standard of accommodation able to attract and sustain affluent clientele. An example of the facilities provided by the *Rotomahana* is provided by an anonymous visitor who, in April 1885, maintained that;

*At McRae's hotel the traveller finds every comfort and convenience, while the accommodation provided is not only extensive but also very pleasant, including a large balcony upstairs, from whence a very fine view of the surrounding scenery is obtained. There are fifteen well appointed bed-rooms of all sizes in the house, besides three parlours and a large dining-room. A splendidly toned piano forms an additional attraction to musical tourists, and altogether this hotel, after the recent additions made to it by its enterprising owner, cannot fail to please even the most fastidious traveller.*

(cited in Stafford, 1986:240)

The amenities provided by the hotel indicate an awareness of the demands of the travellers and attempts were made to provide for the sensibilities and expectations of the European visitors. Parlours for smoking, reading, or conversation combined with a 'splendidly toned piano' enabled the owners to accommodate the desires for comfort and civility in an environment remote from the guests' home. Business was profitable enough to again add more rooms and by 1885 the *Rotomahana* had twenty rooms available for guests (figure 11).



The success of the *Rotomahana*, despite the problems associated with changing management, proved that providing the required facilities to tourists could be profitable and others in the settlement also saw an opportunity. Competition to the *Rotomahana* was provided in 1878 with the construction of the *Terrace Hotel* (figure 12) which demonstrates that within a tactic of indigenous autonomy there were competitive commercial pressures present. One advantage in attracting custom that the *Terrace* had over the *Rotomahana* was the employment of female guides who were able to speak English. The *Terrace* had an exclusive arrangement with Sophia Hinerangi who became recognised as the ‘guide of guides’ and guests would request her services and, in Edward Payton’s (1888) case, were prepared to pay extra for the privilege. The exclusiveness of the relationship between the *Terrace* and Hinerangi is mentioned by the *Bay of Plenty Times* (BPT, 27/12/1881:2) whereby ‘the disadvantage of going there [Rotomahana Hotel] is that you cannot procure the services of Sophia ...’.

The *Terrace* was built and owned by Isaac Wilson who was also the proprietor of the Ohinemutu Hotel in Rotorua. While the hotel was owned by Wilson the land was lease-hold and owned by Wi Kēpa Te Rangipūawhe (Stafford, 1986). Te Rangipūawhe fought on the side of the Crown during previous years and had been commissioned as a native magistrate by the colonial Government. In recognition, or as payment, for his services Te Rangipūawhe received an European style house from the Government and this was situated opposite the *Rotomahana*. The *Terrace* was two storeys and larger than the *Rotomahana* and it was said to reflect ‘great credit on both builder and proprietor’ (BPT, 06/03/1878:3) as well as being a very agreeable place to stay. Besides providing accommodation, the proprietors also offered the use of a whaleboat, for a fee, for the convenience of tourists to Rotomahana and the terraces.

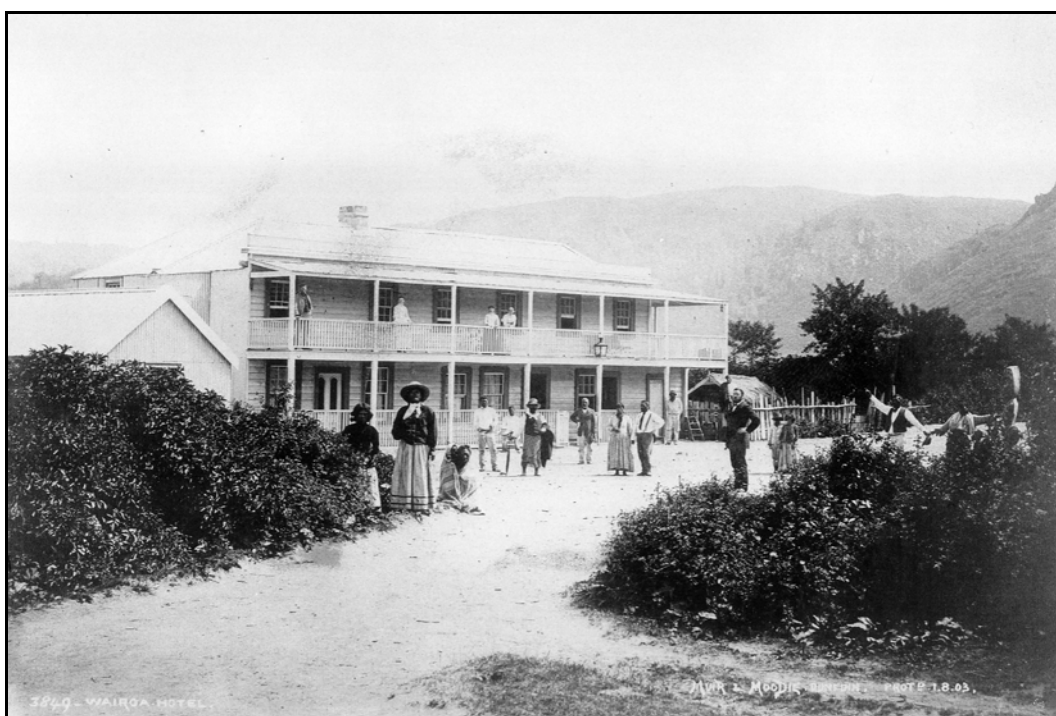


Figure 11: The Rotomahana Hotel. Alexander Turnbull Library (F3332-1/2).



Figure 12: The Terrace Hotel. Auckland Institute and Museum. Keam (1988:81)

The running of the *Terrace* was also not without problems of management turnover as a number of people came and went within a relatively short period. The number of managers of both the *Terrace* and the *Rotomahana* illustrates the nature of the tourism business in the region. Peak seasons in summer were followed by the troughs of the winter months when travel to the district became more arduous due to the conditions. Winter storms made the sea journey from Auckland to Tauranga more uncomfortable, increased rain made the road from Tauranga, and later Auckland to Rotorua, a slow undertaking and the decreased temperature made for uncomfortable nights in accommodation. Dealing with such discrepancies between tourist numbers made planning for the seasons essential for business survival and it is apparent that not all managers had the acumen, combined with luck, to do so.

For the Moncreifs, who managed the *Terrace* in 1883, their major concern occurred in December of that year when a fire destroyed stock from the general store they also ran. While the building was able to be saved, the entire contents were consumed in the fire. Being uninsured, and without other means, Moncreif was unable to repay creditors and was declared bankrupt soon after (Stafford, 1986). Other managers of the *Terrace* included F. Scott and A. Heard before the Moncreifs and W. Cranswick and C. Humphreys after.

Wilson's problems at the *Terrace* stemmed from his management of another hotel in Rotorua the *Ohinemutu*. The land on which the *Ohinemutu* was built was leased to him by Hone Werahiko, however, five years after the fact the acknowledged principle owner of the land returned to Ohinemutu and demanded an annual rental of £150 to which Wilson refused (Stafford, 1986:81). Mediation between the two parties was arranged and a 21 year lease at £25 per annum was prepared in favour of Wilson's wife, the rental to be paid quarterly. In 1879, Wilson missed payment and a penalty of £50 was imposed which was also ignored. As a consequence, a bailiff was organised to seize all goods and chattels to defray the due rent. Wilson refused entry and some three weeks later the bailiff managed to enter with the assistance of 'a band of some twenty local Maoris' (Stafford, 1986:82). Wilson

secured himself in an attached room to the hotel where, armed with a shotgun, he held out for five days before the police intervened to ‘avert a riot’ (Stafford, 1986:83). A long series of legal manoeuvrings subsequently ensued with numerous parties involved. The end result was that a Robert Graham managed to obtain the leases for both the *Ohinemutu* at Ohinemutu and the *Terrace* at Te Wairoa.

The issuing of leases to European interests, who generally had little knowledge of claims to land ownership, caused ongoing disputes between the various parties concerned. A further example demonstrates this state of affairs. The case of Mr J. Dargaville illustrates the contested nature of land in the region and the inability of European interests to recognise the rightful owners of such. In 1878, Dargaville maintained he had leased an acre of land by Te Tarata and according to the *Bay of Plenty Times* (BPT, 24/12/1878:2), despite the numerous Europeans who had attempted and failed, Dargaville ‘proved remarkably successful in dealing with the natives’. The reporter for the newspaper considered that the district needed investment capital as it was further maintained that ‘if men of substance and reputation like Mr Dargaville who take fancy to the district, and manage to overcome native scruples are driven away, we shall be injured indeed’.

The arrangement never eventuated as Dargaville dealt with ‘an individual who represented only one section of the owners of the land. The chief of the tribe was said to be very angry at this situation and immediately declared that he and his supporters recognised no obligation at all to Dargaville’ (Stafford, 1986:96). Those who had signed the agreement, however, maintained ‘their right to lease against the whole of the Tuhourangi Council’ (BPT, 13/02/1879:2). These particular incidents, and their aftermath, had ramifications for commercial operations in all of the Rotorua district, ‘of particular concern and consequence was the ultimate validity of any occupation based on a Maori lease between Maori owners and European occupier’ (Stafford, 1986:219). The confusion surrounding who had the right to negotiate on behalf of Māori led, in part, to a growing acceptance by some local Māori that the Native Land Court should be utilised to determine Māori ownership in a legal format.

A recollection of an incident by Richard Tangye (1886) highlights the potential tension that could exist between Māori landowners and European hotel managers and their guests. Although uncorroborated by other accounts and news-sources, Tangye claimed that the *Terrace* was built on Maori land without any lease and that the owners of the land:

*...are at perfect liberty to eject the landlord whenever they like, and a few years ago, when Mr. C- was here with a party of ladies, they were just going to bed, when a party of Maoris invaded the house, and drove everyone out on to the streets, where they had to stay until the landlord bribed the darkies to allow him to enter again.*

(Tangye, 1886:113)

Tangye's account, while exhibiting hallmarks of a supposed superior European gaze, illustrates that the lease arrangements were open to interpretation and that they were a cause of disruption to the provision of services to tourists. It also demonstrates a perceived requirement to manage commercial activity according to legal guidelines.

A more verifiable incident involving lease arrangements between European and Māori further illustrate the tenuous relationship occurred in 1885. Mrs Graham, the widow of Robert Graham, was evicted from the *Terrace* on November 10 at 5am by a party of five locals. The five were acting under the orders of the Te Wairoa Maori Committee who took action after the lease had expired and attempted to return possession of the hotel to its owners. Describing the incident, H. Dunbar explained that 'there can be no doubt that the Natives believed that they were only exercising their legal right' (AJHR, 1886, G-1:14). The treatment received by Mrs Graham was such that Constable Abrams at Rotorua was informed who then obtained an arrest warrant for the five offenders. The constable was assaulted during his attempts to arrest the men although it was later claimed that 'the assault upon the constable was brought about entirely by his own want of tact and judgement' (AJHR, 1886, G-1:14). The defendants were

later discharged without conviction as the complainant's solicitor declined to offer any evidence because the matter had been settled through arbitration. This shows that the parties were able to come to an agreement without the adjudication of a court of law and that negotiation was able to take place.

Although details of the settlement are unknown, it is presumed to include a renewal of the lease as Charles Humphreys and his wife, who had been managing the business for Mrs Graham, had their tenure renewed (Stafford, 1986). It is also possible that the arbitration decision included supporting an application to build another hotel on the shores of Rotomahana. An application by Humphreys for a license for a yet to be built hotel on the shores of Rotomahana appeared in May 1886 (BPT, 15/05/1886:3). The hotel was to be built with the approval of Te Rangipuawhe and the license application stated the benefits of situating a hotel in the particular location. The applicant highlighted the 'danger and discomfort that existed through the present arrangements [as] people arrived at the Terraces under a heavy downfall of rain which would have to be endured until their return to Wairoa'. Further to such discomforts the applicant also 'proved conclusively that for tourists to fully appreciate the great sights, accommodation must be provided ... which would enable tourists to make excursions and examine all worth seeing' (BPT, 10/06/1886:2).

While these stated reasons for locating a hotel at Rotomahana focus on the needs of the tourist the potential economic benefit of owning accommodation with views of the terraces is obvious. This shows a level of commercial acumen by the proponents of the hotel as well as an understanding of the logistics involved in travel to the region. It also provides evidence to refute a claim by Moore and Quinn (1993) that local Māori limited the number of accommodation houses in the area. The continual expanding and upgrading of facilities at Te Wairoa and the proposed hotel at Rotomahana suggest the local community were not deliberately restricting the number of tourists, rather it illustrates that they were attempting to keep control of development in their region.

The disputes between European and Māori regarding leases and the management of the hotels demonstrate the tension that existed in a commercial context. However, there is also proof that disagreement also existed between Māori at a social level in Te Wairoa. The Christian legacy left by the Spencer mission and the ongoing attempts to retain elements of the faith are apparent in proposed restrictions placed on tourists' activity. The Sabbath was proclaimed a day of rest and some considered commercial activity should not take place on the Sunday. A notice was reported in the *Bay of Plenty Times* in 1876:

*Te Wairoa, District of Rotomahana, April 14, 1876: This is a notification of mine to the Europeans who intend visiting Rotomahana for the purpose of viewing the wonders there, that you do not come to the Wairoa on Saturday or Sunday, on your way to Rotomahana. It is a setting on one side of the law of the Creator the Lord of the heavens and the earth, and all created things. Should any persons of the European race transgress and trample on this law of mine they will be subjected to a fine of £1 each. Any money so collected will be devoted to the propagation of the Gospel amongst my own countrymen. Kerehoma te Wharetotara. Servant of the Lord.*

(BPT, 20/05/1876:3)

This proclamation was treated with derision by the editor of the *Bay of Plenty Times* (20/05/1876:3) who suggested that Wharetotara 'indulges in trances and other religious experiences of a very high order'. The implication being that Wharetotara was not of sound mind and acting 'above his station'. Of further interest is the suggestion that Wharetotara 'has not the power to enforce his proclamations and the result is that tourists are now laughing it to scorn'. This indicates that there needed to be an element of control and authority by the proponents of such a decree before it would be taken seriously and have an impact on actual behaviour.

A source of animosity that did have elements of control and authority was the granting of liquor licenses to the hotels and this invariably brought a strong response from some of the community at Te Wairoa. The Licensing Court, with their ability to permit the sale of alcohol, was a mechanism of control by the Colonial Government either through raising revenue or imposing limits on its sales to Māori (Hutt, 1999). Not only did the European managers of the hotels have to negotiate the rules of their operation with local Māori interests, they also had to manage their business to the satisfaction of legal requirements of the Government. Applicants for the sale of liquor had to publicly notify their intent and were issued certificates by the Licensing Court which were then reviewed annually. This public forum allowed expressions of dissent to be heard.

Not all inhabitants of Te Wairoa were comfortable with the services provided by the hotels and in particular, the provision of alcohol and disorderly behaviour at the *Cascade*. This situation is demonstrated by a petition raised and reported in the *Bay of Plenty Times* (BPT, 01/09/1877:3). Under the heading ‘Fracas at Wairoa’ the newspaper maintained that ‘the Tuhourangi tribe, disgusted with the manner in which the Cascade Hotel has been conducted determined to oppose the licence being granted again’. According to the paper, ‘fatherless children and forsaken wives figured strongly in the opposition party’ as alcohol was sold to local people as well as tourists. This petition indicates a division between Te Wairoa residents who were morally opposed to the provision of alcohol and those who approved.

Further submissions to the Licensing Court also had a competitive commercial element to them as proponents for a licence for the yet to be built *Terrace* opposed the licence for the *Cascade* on the grounds of immoral behaviour. The police did not object to the continued licensing of the *Cascade* or the new licence for the *Terrace* although other objections were lodged and the judgement was reported in the *Bay of Plenty Times*. The concerns were considered by the Court and the commissioners disagreed with the protestations and granted licences to both hotels.



The newspaper, reporting events, maintained that:

*... serious quarrels had arisen between sections of the natives residing at Wairoa in consequence of circumstances connected with the hotel previously licensed there, and the commissioners were of the opinion that the best way to settle all grievances would be to grant both licenses. The certificate for Mr Hunter's house, the Terrace Hotel, would be issued on receipt of a certificate from Sergeant Kidd that the house was properly furnished and finished.*

(BPT, 05/12/1877:3)

A major concern for the commissioners regarding the *Cascade* was that it was part-owned owned by Mika Aporo who was also a 'Sergeant of the Police' at Te Wairoa. It was not considered fair to the *Terrace* that the *Cascade* be granted a licence while the owner was a member of the police force although the commissioners were willing to grant the certificate 'on being informed that Aporo has resigned his position in the police' (BPT, 05/12/1877:3). That the license was duly issued indicates that Aporo had ceded to the request of the licensing authority.

Liquor licenses, commercial competition between the hotels, unclear lease arrangements, and exclusive guiding contracts all serve to demonstrate that the community at Te Wairoa was not an homogenous entity. The divisions within the community, and between Māori and European, were either based on religion, perceptions of morality, commercial competition, or personal animosity. A further important source of tension and division within the resident community was based along tribal affiliations.

Te Wairoa was, simplistically speaking, also split between sub-tribes that made up Tuhourangi. The western half of Te Wairoa running back towards Lake Rotokakahi was occupied by Tuhourangi whereas the major and eastern portion, including the land running down to Lake Tarawera was occupied by Ngāti Hinemihi. Notes from the Don Stafford Collection (Te Arawa Notes, vol. 3)

suggest Ngāti Hinemihi were at one stage associated with Ngāti Rangitihi but had decided to change allegiances and associate themselves with Tuhourangi. Although this in itself would be enough to ensure tension, the decision by Ngāti Hinemihi to erect a toll-gate on the track leading down to the lake, combined commercial decisions with tribal divisions. According to Stafford (1986:243) Ngāti Hinemihi ‘announced that a fee of £2 per head would be required from anyone wanting to reach the lake, except those staying at the Rotomahana hotel’ (Stafford, 1986:243). The favouritism shown to the guests of the *Rotomahana* was due to the fact that Ngāti Hinemihi, through Te Wharekaniwha, owned the hotel whereas the *Terrace* was owned by Te Rangipuawhe.

The toll was, in part, to recover the costs of the construction of a newly improved track down to Lake Tarawera. This tax caused an array of complaints by both the tourists and by members of Tuhourangi. The *Bay of Plenty Times* (BPT, 14/09/1880:2) reported that a group of three tourists staying at the *Terrace* were forced to pay £6 in tolls which caused outrage but as ‘Ngāti Hinemihi were the rightful owners of the land in question there was little option’ (Stafford, 1986:243). Upon accusations of robbery the members of Ngāti Hinemihi, ‘who were firm in their determination to adhere to the toll ... said they had spent the £6 and did not care if they were put in gaol’ (BPT, 14/09/1880:2).

To resolve the dispute a meeting was called by Robert Graham, the proprietor of the *Terrace*, with the aid of Wi Maihi Te Rangikaheke. At the first meeting there was no sign of settling the argument so a second meeting was called for later in the evening. The second attempt at restoring peace between the tribes was more successful and ‘the tribe agreed to abolish the toll-gate and apply a set of charges applicable to all tourists’ and an agreement was drawn up and signed by the chiefs present (BPT, 14/09/1880:2).

A ceremony celebrating the conclusion of the dispute was reported in the *Bay of Plenty Times* whereby:

*The two tribes being summoned in front of the Terrace Hotel, Mr Graham addressed them, saying: "Now that you have all agreed to abide by my decision you must be friendly towards one another and dwell in peace for the future." Mr Graham then took Oporo [Aporo], the representative of Ngatihinemihī by the right hand, and Pirihiira, for the Tuhourangi by the left hand, and said: "I now marry the two tribes, live in peace, let there be no more trouble." Wi Maihi then said: "Now that the two tribes have agreed to the terms of Mr Graham I also say adopt them, for his words are good, live in peace." The natives gave three hearty cheers and partook of the marriage feast. News has just since arrived that the most friendly feeling on this hitherto sore point now exists between the two tribes.*

(BPT, 14/09/1880:2)

Despite the divisions at Te Wairoa, which indicate a contested relationship based on continual renegotiation of authority, the impact of exogenous forces had the ability to unify, to a degree, the communities based at Lake Tarawera and Rotomahana. The external interests to have the most influence was the colonial Government and their desire to own land in the region. The first documented suggestion that the Government should have a role to play in the development of the region was by Johnson in 1847. Regarding the investigation of the healing qualities of the thermal waters in the district Johnson suggested 'it would be desirable that such should be made under the auspices of the Government' (New Zealander, 20/11/1847:3). The first indication that the Government was prepared to commit resources to develop the district was in 1851 when Grey reportedly '... promised to establish a hospital for the natives who visit this part of the country in great numbers for the benefit of the warm sulphur baths for the cure of scrofula and other disease' (Cooper, 1851:186). While the proposed hospital was for the provision of the 'natives' of the country, future Government initiatives promoting

the region suggest that the natives were not the only ones supposed to benefit from developing the region.

Fox, the ex-Premier of New Zealand, was convinced that the New Zealand Government 'should proceed as rapidly as possible with the purchase of Maori land' and that the 'best way forward was by integrating Maori and European into one economy and one workforce' (Dalziel and Sinclair, 1990:135). To this ends, Fox recognised the potential for tourism development in the Rotorua region and at Rotomahana and the terraces in particular. Couched in concern for the environment, Fox, in 1874, decried the notion that Rotomahana and the terraces:

*... should be surrounded with pretentious hotels and scarcely less offensive tea-gardens; that they should be strewn with orange-peel, with walnut shells, and the capsules of bitter beer bottles (as the Great Pyramid and even the summit of Mount Sinai are), is a consummation from the very idea of which the soul of every lover of nature must recoil.*

(AJHR, 1874, H26:4)

Although Fox credited local Māori with trying to protect the terraces it was implied the natural resources would be best managed in the hands of the Crown. Fox therefore recommended Native title be extinguished and for the region to become the sole domain of the Crown. Thus, the Government sought to obtain, by purchase from Te Arawa, ownership of selected thermal areas (AJHR, 1874, H26:4). Fox based his proposals upon the example of contemporary legislation that nationalised the thermal area in the United States of America, which became Yellowstone National Park.

A further rationale behind the proposed Government involvement was that the natural resources could 'prove a great source of wealth to the colony' and that they should 'not become the prey of private speculators' (AJHR, 1874, H26:4). Private speculators had, and were continuing, to make enquiries about the possibility of leasing or buying land at Rotomahana. The Native Lands Act (1865)

abolished the Crown's right of pre-emption for land purchase from Māori landholders and allowed Europeans to negotiate directly with individual Māori. Examples of attempts to directly deal with Māori include Robert Graham who 'after spending several hundred pounds in presents was unmercifully "diddled"' (BPT, 28/12/1878:2) and the previously mentioned J. Dargaville who also was unsuccessful in private negotiations.

The perceived commercial value of the district is seen in proposals made to the Government by private business interests. As an example, an Australian entrepreneur 'made an offer to the Government to pay £25,000 if they would give him the management of the Rotomahana and adjacent lakes for a certain number of years' although '... the Government [had] no power to acceded to such a request, not having themselves acquired the country' (BPT, 31/10/1877:2). Such an offer further illustrates the potential of the region to become a resort for travellers. The question of the Government's ability to acquire land in the district was raised in the House of Representatives in 1878 as 'it was a matter of general interest and desirability that the Government should possess land in the neighbourhood of Rotomahana' (BPT, 10/08/1878:3). Additional questions regarding Government land acquisition were raised in 1880 and the reported response was that '...there was this difficulty in the matter; that the native owners did not want to part with it. Several governments had made approaches ... but, so far, they had not been very successful'. However, it was later reported that this particular Government had convinced some Māori to accept advances from the Government and became somewhat successful in pre-empting land sales in the area. Five thousand acres of the Rotomahana-Parekarangi block was recorded as being leased from 1878 (AJHR, 1878, G-4:11). The leasing of this land allowed the Government to report '... that Tuhourangi had accepted advances of money for their land and thus the land was proclaimed to be "under negotiation" and listed as such' (cited in Burgh, 1995:97).

The inability of the Government to purchase land around Rotomahana and the terraces was not from a lack of will on the part of Government, rather it was based on the position taken by Māori in entering negotiations regarding the sale of land.

Although it is generally recognised that Tuhourangi steadfastly refused to sell land (Stafford, 1986; Waaka, 1982) it is clear that continued interest and pressure by European interests required a concerted action by members of the tribe. A report of a meeting between representatives of Tuhourangi and the Government in December 1873 indicates that Tuhourangi recognised the need to act collectively in order to retain security over their lands. Tuhourangi were determined not to individualise the title to land and Te Wharekaniwha claimed that ‘twelve people have been selected to take charge of (*kaitiaki*) those boundaries, and protect our interests from the Pakehas, who were wishing to negotiate the purchase or lease of land within the same, and from the encroachment and interference from outsiders’ (AJHR, 1874, G-1:16). While this is evidence of a collective action, the same meeting also demonstrated that there was a degree of disagreement within the tribe as the following transcript illustrates:

Himiona: *We wish to have Rotomahana adjudicated upon .... Some of the hapu of Tuhourangi are desirous of appointing certain chiefs to undertake the management of that place.*

Petera: *Do not listen to that putake. Tuhourangi do not wish to have it adjudicated on.*

Hohepa: *Do not quarrel here.*

Himiona: *I wish to reply to Petera’s statement; he is the representative of one hapu, while I represent two, and this is why I said what I did with reference to Rotomahana.*

(AJHR, 1874, G-1:17)

The attempts by the Government to purchase land in the thermal district was not universally applauded by all European interests. In an editorial of the *Bay of Plenty Times* (28/12/1878:2) it was argued that the required injection of capital to fully realise the value of the land could be made more effectively by private capitalists rather than the Government, which needed to borrow heavily to finance any proposed development. It was recognised by the newspaper that ‘no one denies that the Treasury possesses the first and best right to make money out of the natural wonders of the country’. Of concern was the time it was taking for the

Government to initiate a programme of development in the region as ‘letting such a mine of wealth lie idle summer after summer can only be termed as folly’ (BPT, 14/01/1879:2). The editorial gives an indication of the public pressure exerted on the Government to aid progress and settlement of the region

Despite the position taken by the *Bay of Plenty Times* confirmation of a change in opinion occurred in 1880 once negotiations between the Government and Māori commenced. Accordingly, the newspaper reported that ‘we are glad to learn the Government has opened negotiations with the Natives for the purchase of the Lake Country, including the Hot Springs at Rotomahana. It would be an irreparable loss to the colony should these places be allowed to pass into the hands of private owners’ (BPT, 19/06/1880:3). These negotiations were more successful than previous attempts and there was increased Government attention in acquiring land and the possibility of developing the district as a resort and sanatorium, fulfilling the perceived potential of the natural resources of the locality. This is manifest in the passing of the Thermal Springs Districts Act (1881). The Act, in contrast to the Native Land Act (1865), re-established the Crown’s sole right to purchase land that contained natural mineral springs and thermal waters. The boundaries of such districts were to be defined by the Governor and were able to be varied, altered or abolished as the Crown saw fit (New Zealand Statutes, 1881:125). Specific to the East Taupo and the Tauranga districts, the Act legislated the Government’s determination to both profit from and protect the region. The Act codified the Fenton-Arawa (1880) agreement and the preamble clearly identifies the Government’s intentions. It reads:

*Whereas it would be advantageous to the colony, and beneficial to the Maori owners of land in which natural mineral springs and thermal waters exist, that such localities should be opened to colonization and made available for settlement.*

(Thermal Springs District Act, 1881)

Section Three of the Act confirmed the Government's re-establishment of pre-emption over land incorporated under the new legislation, whereby:

*After the publication in the 'Gazette' of any Proclamation defining a district as foresaid, this Act shall be in force therein, and it shall not be lawful for any persons other than Her Majesty to acquire any estate or interest in Native land therein, except by virtue of or through the means prescribed or permitted by this Act.*

(Thermal Springs District Act, 1881: S.3)

Two weeks after the Act became law provision for a township to be created on the outskirts of Ohinemutu was proclaimed and the first area of land incorporated encompassed some 3,000 acres. Two weeks later a further 646,790 acres was proclaimed under the Act (New Zealand Gazette, 27/10/1881:1375/76) which is proof that the Government was willing to utilise the power that Section Two of the Act enabled which stated that:

*The Governor may issue Proclamations from time to time defining districts of the colony to be subject to this Act, being localities in which there are considerable numbers of the ngawha, wairai, or hot or mineral springs, lakes, rivers, or waters, and from time to time may vary the boundaries or abolish any such districts.*

(Thermal Springs District Act, 1881: S.2)

European disapproval of the Act was reported in the *New Zealand Herald* as there was 'very strong feeling in Tauranga against this measure'. It was further reported that the legislation would be responsible for 'obstructing the progress of settlement in the district, and preventing that influx of capital and settlers which would otherwise trend in that direction' (NZH, 24/05/1886:9). The fact that the Government was acting with conservation in mind was generally applauded, however, the amount of land required was a source of contention. According to the *New Zealand Herald* (NZH, 24/05/1886:9) 'probably 700,000 acres has been gazetted as inalienable under the Thermal Springs Act. The settlers state that area



of 200,000 acres would conserve all that is necessary around the lakes and hot springs that the public can possibly require, leaving half a million acres available for legitimate settlement ...’.

Māori petitions to Parliament during 1882 and 1883 were investigated by Duncan Moore and Steve Quinn (1993:20) and they suggest that Māori opinion was divided over the introduction of the Act as ‘numerous petitions had been made ... some asking for removal and others asking for retention of the proclamations’ (Moore and Quinn, 1993:20). Some of complainants were concerned at the Government’s definition of what was a thermal region as much of the area ‘... under the proclamation contains no springs whatsoever and should therefore, not have been included’ (Weekly News, 15/04/1882:21). Regarding Tuhourangi specifically Moore and Quinn (1993:22) state on the evidence they ascertained that they, ‘would guess that Tuhourangi welcomed the Thermal Springs Act as a means of helping to calm their landshark-filled waters’. At the least, the decisions by the Native Land Court would provide some certainty as to the demarcation of the land and a recognition of who would be legally recognised as being able to enter into land negotiations.

In preparation for the Act’s implementation the land had to be surveyed in order to determine the extent of resources and to systematically classify the holdings. Surveying was an important method through which the Crown expressed its political sovereignty and ‘mirrored the wider efforts of the colonial enterprise: to contain, control and ultimately redefine the meaning of land’ (Byrnes, 2000:68). The first Government sponsored surveying of the Rotomahana–Parekarangi block was conducted in 1881 by Henry Mitchell. If the surveyors, and their maps, are considered to mirror colonial enterprise then the Native Land Court, which determined ownership of Māori land, was an ‘obliging instrument of Government policy’ (Williams, 1999:33) and was a key tool with which the Colonial Government enacted its programme of progress, economic development, and European settlement.

The Rotomahana–Parekarangi Block, which contained Rotomahana and the terraces, was submitted for consideration to the Native Land Court in 1882. The forum allowed for competing views to be heard in a legal context and 16 groups contested Tuhourangi's claim for the block (Moore and Quinn, 1993:24). The hearings enabled members of Ngāti Rangitihi to express their concerns about the ownership of land surrounding Rotomahana and the terraces. That the representation of Ngāti Rangitihi involved the Warbrick family is of no surprise considering their role in previous disputes regarding land in the region. The block was obviously a prized possession and it aroused intense interest at the hearings. With old disputes heard in a new forum the Judge declared that 'a great many witnesses have been examined and the evidence has been very conflicting' which 'has called for a large measure of patience and forbearance on the part of the Court' (Rotorua Minute Books, Vol.3:224).

Ten different successful claimants, from the original sixteen, were awarded shares in various lands although the judgement, with regard to the terraces, determined that the key area of the title belonged to Tuhourangi. The ruling stated that:

*With reference to Rotomahana and the adjacent hot springs, it appears that as Tuhourangi have for many years held possession in spite of the attempts to eject them it is not right that they should be dispossessed now and for this reason the Court now awards Rotomahana and all those portions of the Block now before the Court which are not affected by the previous clauses of this Judgement to the Tribe of Tuhourangi.*

(Rotorua Minute Books, Vol.3:231)

Other land within the block was divided and one site, disputed by Ngāti Rangitihi and Tuhourangi, was to be distributed equally among the two tribes. The judgement declared 'it will be for those two tribes to decide upon a line dividing the land into two equal portions' (Rotorua Minute Books, Vol.3:230). There is evidence to suggest that the two tribes managed to come to some arrangement and Ngāti Rangitihi were awarded land at the settlement of Moura which then gave

them supposed rights to passing tourist traffic. A representative of Ngāti Rangitihi, Karora, asked the Government to apply pressure on Tuhourangi to 'hand over the passengers to us to take them up to Rotomahana' (AJHR, 1885, G-1:57). The Government response, through John Ballance, was that tourists were 'perfectly safe in the hands of the Tuhourangi people' and the Government did 'not want the tourists torn in pieces between the contending tribes'. Ballance recommended that Ngāti Rangitihi 'settle it with the Tuhourangi people ... but do not interfere with the tourists' (AJHR, 1885, G-1:57).

It is likely that the two tribes were able to agree without Government intervention considering a recollection of William Bird, the storekeeper associated with the *Rotomahana* at the time of the eruption. Bird maintained that the tourists, after 'leaving Lake Tarawera, ... came under the watchful care of the Ngāti Rangitihi people, who shepherded them on foot along a track for about half a mile to Rotomahana Lake itself which led to the White Terrace' thus sharing in 'their dues from the well-lined pockets of their visitors' (Bird, 1972:77).

While agreement may have been reached on these occasions the ambivalent judgement was not to the satisfaction of either party and Te Rangipuwahue appealed the decision. At a further hearing the Court maintained the land in question had never been adjudicated upon and in 1884, under the Special Powers and Contracts Act (1884), the Rotomahana-Parekarangi Block was 'taken to be lands held by the Native owners according to Native customs or usages, as held before any action was taken in the Native Land Court of New Zealand to investigate the title to such lands' (New Zealand Statutes, 1884:352) and therefore the case should be reheard. A rehearing of the title was set to be heard in June of 1886 at Te Wairoa. However, the events of June 10 superseded the hearing and it was delayed until 1887. The judgment of this sitting of the Native Land Court ruled that 'Tuhourangi had not proved that any settled external boundary had been fixed at any time ... [and] therefore awarded the block in eight parts to various groupings of the claimants, with the bulk awarded to Tuhourangi' (cited in Burgh, 1995:100).

The Native Land Court process provides historical evidence of the contested nature of land in the Rotorua region. Other proof of an existent contest is the manner in which facilities were provided for tourists visiting Rotomahana and the terraces. The construction and management of European style hotels ensured that Te Wairoa became the centre of operations for tourists rather than other settlements. Competition between the hotels, the tenuous relationship existent with European management, and dissent within the community regarding the provision of alcohol also indicates that controlling development was a negotiated procedure. Government interest in the natural resources, and subsequent negotiations with landowners, further illustrates that competing historical influences were apparent at a particular time.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### COMMODIFYING THE TOURIST LANDSCAPE

Stages of tourism development at Rotomahana are commonly related to issues of physical access to the region (Beale, 1971, Reggett, 1972). The cessation of armed hostilities and the construction of roads assured improvement in transporting goods and people to the region. An impact of this was the lessened need for tourists to hire the services of Māori guides as European entrepreneurs began offering transport services to Rotorua. By the 1880s, with the completion of the road between Rotorua and Auckland, there was a change in attitude towards the employment of Māori guides. It was maintained that tourists should be ‘ware of guides except those recognised as legitimate ones; as the Yankees say, they are a “cuss,” and only bore you with a sense of their own importance. (T.T.H., c.1885:11). This illustrates a change in the colonial relationship between European and Māori as European interests were able to provide transport and fulfil the guiding role previously supplied by Māori. Harris (1878:63) was more direct in his racist observations when he maintained that ‘an intelligent white man, rather than a Maori, who can scarcely make himself or herself understood, is much to be desired ...’.

One guide-book maintained that ‘the only place the tourist really needs a guide is at Rotomahana ...’ (T.T.H., c.1885:11). This may have been due to the dangerous nature of the volcanic scenery or more likely because of the manner in which Te Wairoa Māori were able to control access to Rotomahana and the terraces. Accordingly, it was acknowledged that tourists ‘to Wairoa ... must abide by the rules’ (Froude, 1886:241) and pay the requested amount. This level of control led to complaints by the tourists although it should be mentioned that Te Wairoa was not the only area to receive complaints about the expense of providing tourist services in New Zealand. Trollope’s (1873:328) account provides an illustration of a pre-occupation with price when he observed that ‘in New Zealand the prices are no doubt very much higher than in Australia generally ... and in Australia they by no means startle the traveller with their lowness’. The tourists’ concern with the cost of services, at Te Wairoa, were combined with racial condemnation and

reported in the local newspapers. One complainant mentioned that the ‘... natives of Wairoa are carrying matters with rather a high hand. ...’ as the price for the canoe was 5s. per day and 5s. for each of the crew ‘two of whom they find it necessary to send with every passenger’ (BPT, 06/11/1872, cited in Stafford, 1986:93). While the price mentioned was 5 shillings per day these were not fixed charges and were open to negotiation. James Stewart (1891:592) maintained that during the 1870s ‘the costs and charges ... were, until the final squaring-up by the party, an unknown quantity’ and this uncertainty in pricing was also cause for consternation for some travellers.

The adoption of capitalism by Māori at Te Wairoa has led to the claim that ‘the greed of the Maoris was also very much in evidence. They were in a monopoly situation and the tourist had to concede to paying their exorbitant charges’ (Reggett, 1972:107). Because tourists were coming in such numbers ‘the Maoris knew they could afford to make these extravagant demands without offending them to the stage where they would cease to come’. These comments are a somewhat misleading representation of the services provided by Māori at Te Wairoa. While Māori, as an ethnic grouping, may have had a monopoly there was distinct competition between Māori at Te Wairoa for the provision of services. Furthermore, it is argued that the ability to control operations was continually renegotiated.

A comment by Harris provides further evidence that the local community were not necessarily acting in unison and did not have a monopoly on trade. He remarked that the residents at Te Wairoa ‘are factional ... to the great advantage of tourists, who otherwise would be subjected to the most extortionate demands for permission to inspect the wonders of Rotomahana. There are two contending factions at Wairoa, and in their little differences lies the great safety of the tourist ...’ (Harris, 1878:60). The factions, based on tribal lines, allowed the tourist to negotiate the fee for transport across the lakes and a guide to visit the terraces by trading one off against the other. This competition also aided in the keeping of the hotel charges at a level that was considered, by some European commentators, to be ‘fair’ (Senior, 1880).

Some observers suggested that overcharging tourists would lead to a decrease in the number of visitors able to afford the luxury of visiting the terraces (Stafford, 1986). In response to this concern, a meeting was called at Te Wairoa which attempted to agree on the prices that were to be charged. In early 1878 the resident Māori committee proposed that the fees were to be 'set at 17s. 6d. for one tourist; 15s. each for two; 12s. 6d. for three and so on' (BPT 06/03/1878:3) although these charges could only be enforced on canoes owned by members of the committee who agreed to the proposal. The newly introduced whale-boats by inhabitants at the Waitangi settlement were considered to be private property and therefore the price of these were unable to be fixed by the attendees of the meeting. This inability to regulate all water-based transport services indicates that control was not as complete as maintained by Reggett (1972). A more successful attempt in 1880 to regulate the charges was reported in the *Bay of Plenty Times* (BPT, 14/09/1880:2) when another meeting reduced the charges and the competitors agreed to amalgamate their services. Whale-boats became the transport of choice as they were able to carry more passengers in comparable comfort and the charges were fixed at £2 for one passenger and 5s. for every additional passenger thereafter. Guides were an extra charge of 10s. and were compulsory.

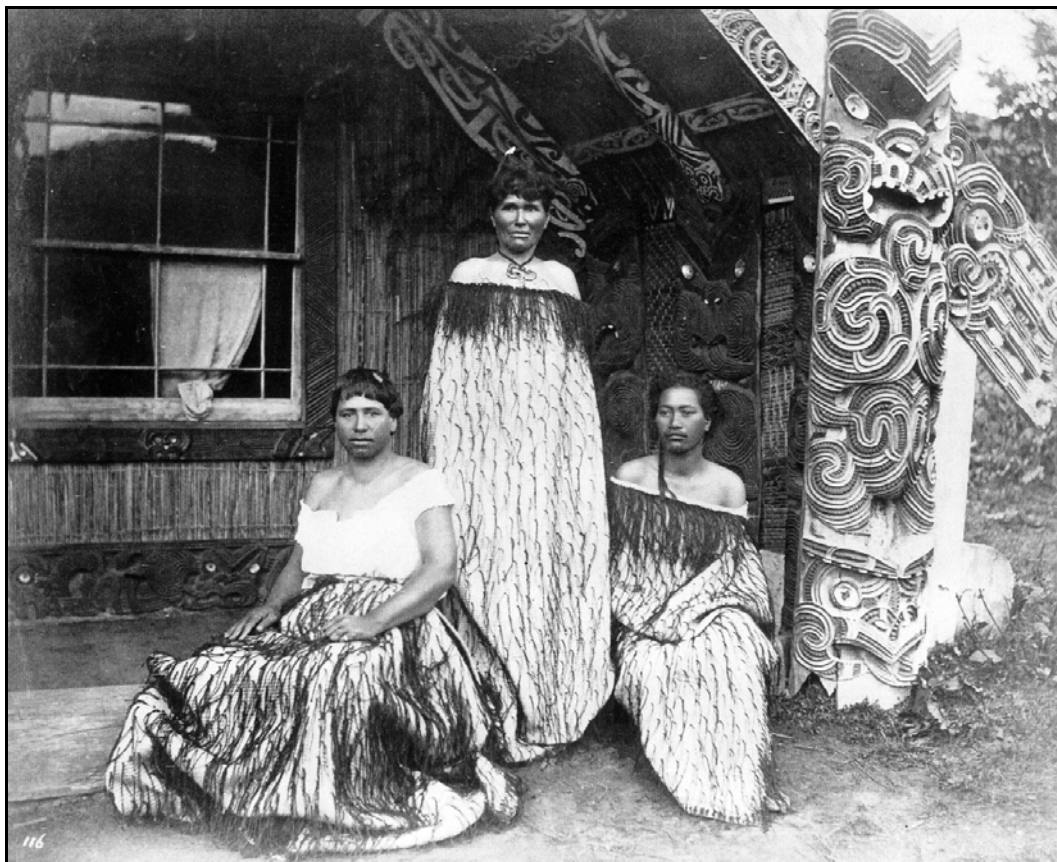
The system of guiding remained haphazard during the 1870s (Stafford, 1986). Nonetheless, it did not take long for the development of a system that was more organised and structured. A requirement that a local was to be employed to accompany a touring party is evident by 1875. Charles Blomfield's party raised the ire of the local community when they managed to find their way across land to the terraces without the use of a guide or permission and were accused of 'trespassing on forbidden ground without leave' (Williams, 1979:52). Te Wairoa Māori demanded a fee of £1 after the fact and the dispute was left unresolved as the party left the village before a concerted action could be taken against them.

Stafford (1986) maintains that the first mention of guides Kate Middlemass and Sophia Hinerangi, (figure 13) two women who became synonymous with escorting tourists to the terraces, is in 1880. However, there are references to the

two women starting work in 1878. Harris's (1878) guide-book mentions that Hinerangi was available for guiding duties and Senior's (1880) narrative of his trip in 1878 recalls that Middlemass was working from Te Wairoa. One basic requirement for successful guiding is the ability to communicate effectively with the paying customers. A disgruntled visitor wrote to the *Bay of Plenty Times* (BPT, 27/12/1881:2) about one particular guide and advised others to 'steadily refuse to have anything to do with him' as 'he can't speak English, and doesn't appear to know the ground accurately' who then 'proved perfectly useless, absolutely allowing one gentlemen to put his foot up to the ankle in red hot mud'. The ability to speak English was therefore considered essential. Both Hinerangi and Middlemass had European fathers and Māori mothers and were educated in a British manner. This ensured that they had an understanding of European culture and language as well as providing a literal example of Bhabha's (1994) hybrid culture.

Hinerangi and Middlemass were originally not from tribes in the Rotorua area which indicates a purposeful decision by both women to move to the region. It also shows a purposeful action by Te Wairoa Māori in permitting them to work there. This supports Clifford's (1997) assertion that everybody is on the move as well as proving Towner's (1996:9) claim that 'the need to support people at leisure created labour demands which may have had to be satisfied by inward migration ...'. Both women received a great deal of commendation for their guiding skills and are used as a starting point for the tradition of guiding in the Rotorua region (Stafford, 1986). Middlemass was recognised for her humanitarian escapades, saving a particular tourist from drowning, and it was suggested that she was competently 'able to protect any party to whom she acts as cicerone' (USSC, 1884:276). Hinerangi's ability to speak English was highlighted as her 'accent and pronunciation might be envied by many an Englishwomen' (USSC, 1884:277).





**Figure 13: Kate Midlemass (from left), Sophia Hinerangi, and unnamed guide outside Hinemihi. Alexander Turnbull Library (F-29217-1/2).**

The image generally portrayed of these two women was that they were able to assist tourists in navigating the dangerous thermal scenery as well as acting as conduits between European visitors and the local Māori community. Sala's 1886 account illustrates some of the privations of guiding at Rotomahana and the terraces. Regarding Hinerangi, Sala mentioned that 'her duties are no light ones, and that she was a 'very remarkable Belle Sauvage' (cited in Dingley, 1995:171).

By the 1880s a roster was in place for the employment guides. Froude's (1886) party were unable to secure the services of the person they requested and had to employ the guide whose turn it was. According to 'T.T.H' (c.1885:13) the hotels had a printed scale of the fixed charges 'so the tourist need not be afraid of being swindled by the Maoris ...'. The regularity and certainty of the fees for guiding and transport meant that the guide-books were able to publish an account of

expected expenditure on a journey to the Rotorua region and a visit to Rotomahana and the terraces specifically. Talbot (1880) reported that a tourist could make all their own arrangements and expect to spend under £10 on a four-day journey from Auckland to the terraces and return. The sum of ten pounds was a considerable amount to many not of the privileged classes and limited the number of people able to afford the journey. There were, however, alternatives to spending such an amount which is illustrated by T. Hammond's recollection of a conversation in 1886 with his potential travelling partner:

*... he suggested to me that we should take a trip next year and see the Terraces. Well, I explained to him, I said, I couldn't afford to go. I said it would cost a lot of money to take the coach from Thames to Tauranga and then, I said, we would have to stay in Tauranga a night and then we would have to take the coach from Tauranga to Rotorua – that's another expensive trip. Then we'd have to stay in an hotel at Rotorua. Then we'd have to pay the Guide fees in going out to see the Terraces. I said it would cost too much money. He said, "What about walking?" he said, "We could do it in stages."*

(Hammond, 1996:10)

The proposed journey of the pair was postponed due to the eruption of Mount Tarawera. Despite, or perhaps because of the disaster, they decided to undertake the excursion anyway to 'see what the country looks like after the eruption' and they duly walked to Rotorua, camping along the way.

In contrast to organising a tour individually it was possible, by the 1880s, to have all the arrangements dealt with in one 'package deal'. Steamer, coaches, hotels, the baths at Rotorua, and the various sights of interest could be organised for a similar £10 and a number of businesses advertised their services to provide such. According to one report 'by taking advantage of organizations of this kind the tourist is not only saved from much unnecessary expense, and the annoyance of "backsheesh" but is enabled to divest himself of the numerous troublesome details

incidental to the trip, and to do the Lakes systematically' (Stafford, 1986:265). This was used as evidence of the 'march of civilization in these colonies' (Stafford, 1986:265) with residents of Te Wairoa actively engaging in a systematic and structured tourist industry. So much so that economic impacts were being assessed by the 1880s and Alfred Ginders reported that the Te Wairoa community received £1800 in 1885 through tourist activity (AJHR, 1885, G-2a:7). Reporting of the actual amount of money earned has fluctuated with the passing of time and various estimates range from £4000 per annum (Conly, 1985) to £6000 per annum (Dennan, 1968; Waaka, 1986). Whatever the precise figure involved it is clear that tourism was an industry in its own right. Furthermore, it demonstrates how the local community was able to use '... the Western ethics of capitalism to turn the tourist gaze back upon itself, and in this way exert[ed] its own peculiar mockery of, and power over tourist desire' (Galbraith, 1992:17).

Another formal means with which revenue was obtained by the local community, and the one most objected to by tourists, was the requirement to pay for reproducing images of the terraces. Although originally applied to photography, the charge was also enforced for painting and sketching.

A notice placed in the *Bay of Plenty Times* reveals the position of Te Wairoa Māori:

*TO THE EUROPEANS who visit Rotomahana; who photograph at that place. They are to give Hoani Kahutaka Five Pounds (£5). Should they not consent to pay this money they must cease photographing at Rotomahana. The reason that this arrangement is determined on is that they will receive a great deal of money for their photographs when exhibited for sale. Also, let writing names on the Terraces cease. From Te Matenga Te Manu; Ma Ui Waikura; Himiona Te Kura.*  
(BPT, 09/09/1876:2)

This pronouncement provides evidence for Leonard Bell's (1995:40) claim 'that for some Maori the representation of landscape and other subjects was not regarded as neutral, simply aesthetic or illustrative activity, innocent of social and economic ramifications in terms of advantage and disadvantage vis-à-vis Maori-European relationships'. The stated logic of the decision, a set commission on future sales, is aptly demonstrated in the same edition of the newspaper. In the previous column an advertisement for 'The Tauranga and Hot Lake Photographic Company' appeared. The company offered 'a large and varied collection of views of the Rotomahana and Rotorua lake district taken by them during their late tour' (BPT, 09/09/1876:7). This illustrates that photographers were able to sell the images to a consuming public and that the decision to charge a fee for the privilege was an awareness of the commercial opportunities that images of Rotomahana and the terraces had. There was a practical element to further charges associated with painting and photographing the terraces as equipment had to be transported to the location requiring extra canoes and labour. Furthermore, the time it took to fully document the terraces, and the desirability of obtaining 'the right light' at dawn and dusk, meant that camping at the terraces was a necessity. Staying overnight incurred further charges as 'foreigners could only stay on the banks of Rotomahana if they had paid two men at 5/- per man per day' (Buchner, 1878:139).

An alternative point of view is provided by Te Awekotuku (1981) with the fee being seen as a way to supplicate guilt for the diminishment of the mauri, or spirit, of the terraces through the reproduction of their image. Including a spiritual element into the equation, some European visitors attempted to dismiss the proposition as some form of native superstition. Georgina Anderson (1989:9), visiting in 1884, remarked that 'apparently there was at that time some superstitious feeling about sketches or photographs, though I could not make out just what it was'. Anderson's comment suggests she was unable to comprehend the ideology behind the decision, preferring to classify it as a quaint custom especially considering that 'the superstition was not strong enough to make them refuse a good offer ...'. According to Hilary Ericksen (1999:107) the superstition can also be complemented by the logic of commercial considerations. Subsequently,

over representation 'has the capacity to demystify and normalize its subject' and that the 'perceived scarcity of the site invested it with auratic power and with symbolic value'. Thus, the increased number of representations permitted, the less power and spirit the terraces retained which decreased their perceived value.

It was unlikely that photographs could be taken surreptitiously considering the equipment required which had to be carried to the scene. The setting up of cameras, tripods and wet plates, all the while framing the image, would take considerable time and effort. A similar scenario was evident for painters as they had to set up easels, drawing blocks, and other associated paraphernalia. Pencil sketches were more likely to be achieved without observation although they too were not allowed without payment. A member of Froude's party, chose to ignore the rule and 'affected ignorance' of the protesting 'natives' (Froude, 1886:249). On this particular occasion the drawing was allowed to be completed as the guide, Middlemass, did not interfere between the antagonists. On another occasion Middlemass also acted as a mediator and was able to retrieve a paint box to a visitor after the equipment had been confiscated. Despite the return of the painting supplies 'the man kept my poor little sketch and tore it into small pieces and threw them into the air, "scattered them to the winds" in fact' (Anderson, 1989:9).

Constance Gordon Cumming's attempts to paint the terraces without paying the £5 were successful only because she managed to smuggle her watercolours out of the area (Cumming, 1881). Her visit in 1877 demonstrates the different attitudes between tourist and host with regard to ownership of scenery. The visitor considered that she had an inherent right to sketch the natural wonders as natural beauty belonged to everybody who was able to appreciate it. Cumming further maintained that she should not have to pay the fee because colour painting and photography were distinct arts. In contrast, the local guides demanded compensation for the reproduction of images of a particular place that belonged to them. Accordingly, the response to Cumming's argument was that 'coloured drawings give a truer idea of the place, and must therefore be more valuable' (Cumming, 1881:303) and the fee should be forthcoming.

More professionally-orientated image producers were willing to pay the fees that were asked for. This demonstrates the potential commercial value of the images to Europeans as well as providing a justification for Māori in charging for the privilege. Sala (NZH, 13/02/1886:9) reported that the photographer Josiah Martin had paid the required £5 'without murmuring'. Others to cede to the request were Charles Spencer of Tauranga and the Burton Brothers of Dunedin whose images of Rotomahana and the terraces became an enduring legacy of photographic representations. The artist Charles Blomfield spent some six weeks at the terraces in what was obviously a commercially orientated expedition. Blomfield (1970:38) had journeyed previously to the terraces and his companion suggested 'you should come here and paint some real good pictures of these exquisite scenes; you would do very well out of them'. Blomfield implied the £5 fee had meant that 'no important paintings had been attempted by any artist' signifying that he was able to capitalise on his position as the first.

The negotiations for payment took several weeks to organise and 'upon the payment down of a lump sum' he was allowed to camp on the lake, stay as long as he pleased and 'not be interfered with by anybody'. Upon arrival at Te Ariki, however, Blomfield was requested by Tamihana Te Rangiheua to pay a further £5. 10s. per day and was threatened with being thrown into the lake if he refused. Clara Haszard, daughter of the school teacher Charles Haszard and resident of Te Wairoa, assisted in making the wishes of Te Rangipuawhe clear to the chief at Te Ariki and Blomfield was allowed to proceed in his venture. This dispute was subsequently promoted by Blomfield himself in order to increase publicity for his project. In a letter to his wife, Blomfield remarked 'that it will do me good to have the affair published' (Williams, 1979:69). Indeed, the notoriety Blomfield received prior to painting the terraces led to an order being placed for two paintings before work had even begun.

The Government also expressed its concern about the £5 fee. In 1885 a meeting between the Native Minister John Ballance and Tuhourangi the subject was raised and Ballance was reported as saying:

*I think that it is an improper interference with their liberty; besides, it is injurious to yourselves. The owners of some of these wonderful places are anxious to get photographers and others to come and sketch their places in order that they may become popular. What has drawn tourists from all parts of the world to visit Rotomahana but the sketches that have been made of it. Why, you ought rather to pay for making these sketches than to charge them.*  
(AJHR, 1885, G-1:54)

The response by Tuhourangi to this suggestion was to point out to the Minister ‘that under the Thermal Springs District Act [we] are debarred from giving leases to Europeans and raising revenue in that way’ (AJHR, 1885, G1:54) therefore the charge was a legitimate means with which to raise capital. Blaming the Government demonstrates an astute political understanding of the colonial administration by Tuhourangi. The Thermal Springs District Act (1881) tied up the land in question through the time-consuming Native Land Court. Although the Native Land Court had adjudicated on the block of land in 1882, appeals by parties disaffected ensured that the area remained legally ambiguous. One of the attendees at the meeting, Tamati Paora, remarked that the charges for painting and photographing the terraces may be removed for images that contained Māori in the scene although this was yet to be discussed by the committee. It is unfortunate that further documentation on this subject is not available as it would provide an interesting historical pre-cursor to current discussions of cultural property rights and ownership of personal images.

The fee for painting or photographing the terraces illustrates an understanding, by Te Wairoa Māori, of the value of reproducing images for a consuming public and demonstrates an attempt to obtain a share of profits. The setting of standard charges for water-transport and guiding, indicates that the provision of services had become systematic and structured. While these fees were formally notified there were other avenues, much less structured and more opportune, with which the local community could profit from the number of tourists arriving. The opportunism and the ability of Māori to extract further money out of the pockets

of tourists caused Thomas Knox (1889:234) to suggest that ‘the Maoris here are as rapacious as the hackmen at Niagara Falls ... every step we take has a fee of some kind attached to it’. Another to comment on the ability of the host community to profit from tourists was Sala. The title of his serial *The Land of the Golden Fleece* (1886), published in the *Daily Telegraph* and then syndicated to other newspapers was a typical Sala play on words. Not only was it referring to a major antipodean product of sheep’s wool it also alluded to the opportunity and ability of the host communities to cozen the visitor.

Payton (1888:130) witnessed and described a means for the boat-crew to profit from tourists. The visitors’ schedule was able to be utilised as a tool for extracting extra payment for prescribed services. A coach to Ohinemutu left Te Wairoa at 4pm and on this particular trip to the terraces, two passengers were booked for the return journey. The crew, knowing only too well the importance of meeting the coach in time, decided to ‘go slow’ complaining that they were too exhausted to row at a pace to get them back to Te Wairoa in time. To assist the crew’s ability with rowing faster an extra bottle of rum was requested and duly proffered.

Another ruse by the boat-crews was the commandeering of each others’ rowlocks, essential equipment for rowing across the lake. The tourists, having pre-arranged their crew would arrive at the launching site to discover that the boat’s rowlocks were to be used by a competing crew. In order to obtain the use of the equipment further payment, or in Senior’s (1880:224) words ‘backsheesh’ was expected. It is uncertain how many tourists actually fell for this ploy and paid the extra charge. Senior’s party did not acquiesce and ‘were firm as adamant’, the crew relented and discovered an extra set of rowlocks that had been apparently misplaced. This ‘misplacement’ of equipment had its origins in the 1860s and is mentioned by Bates when he visited the terraces. The Kaiwaka stream running between lakes Tarawera and Rotomahana could be negotiated by poleing a canoe upstream. Bates (1969:5) mentioned that the crew claimed to have forgotten the poles and only after the party insisted did the crew consent and ‘managed “quite accidentally” of course, to find some poles’. It is clear that this type of ruse remained similar even after a twenty year period.



Not all attempts at ‘fleecing’ tourists by the boat-crews were as blatant as misplacing equipment or refusing to row quickly. Evidence of more subtle means to elicit further coins out of the tourists’ pockets is provided by the *New Zealand Herald* in a serial entitled ‘A trip to the lakes’. One particular article (NZH, 22/03/1886:6) contains a description of the whale-boat crews engaging in a game of “bluff” whereby ‘one boat’s crew call out that their tourists have backed them to lick the other crew. The challenged generally respond that *their* party are prepared to go two to one that they can pull the challengers out of the thwarts’. What the author of the article doesn’t mention, or doesn’t acknowledge, is that the winner of these races may often be pre-determined by the crews themselves and alternating between winning and losing ensures an equal share of the profits.

Individual tourist’s requirements were a source of opportunism and, combined with inventiveness, also presented an avenue for locals to profit. The *Bay of Plenty Times* (BPT, 06/05/1880:2) recalled an item in the *Dunedin Star* which indicates some locals showed a degree of lateral thinking in their approach to extra revenue gathering. The article mentioned a lady tourist who was uncomfortable with small boats wished to go overland from Te Wairoa to Rotomahana rather than via Lake Tarawera. She was offered a horse for the sum of £1 and was asked if she objected to riding a mare. On approval, the hirer produced a mare with a foal at foot and claimed that the foal had not been weaned and had to accompany the mare. The woman agreed to this but was unimpressed with the extra charge of 10/- for the foal. The newspaper reported that ‘the money had to be paid’. Another example of preying on tourist’s sensibility is provided by Buchner (1878:137) who recalled how, upon reaching a stream at Rotomahana, the guides ‘mockingly offered to carry us over for a shilling’. The guides were certain that the touring party would not want to get their clothes wet, however, the visitors initially refused the offer so the guides sat on the other side, lit a fire and waited until the ‘cold became unbearable and we weakened and yielded up our shillings’.

A further activity for the tourists, encouraged by the locals, was to visit the waterfall at Te Wairoa. The price for this also varied depending on the ability of the visitors to negotiate with the young people who acted as guides. Talbot (1882) was charged 1s. while Froude (1886:242) engaged the services of ‘an urchin guide’ to see the waterfall and was charged eighteenpence which ‘went into a general fund to be spent in the revels of the village’. This shows evidence of a learned behaviour of the younger residents of Te Wairoa and their ability to tout for tourists just as their elders did.

Selling food was also a means of obtaining local income. At the village of Moura it was possible to purchase extra food to complement the brought luncheon. Fresh fruit (in season) was complemented with the opportunity of eating ‘authentically cooked’ local produce. An added attraction of visiting the boiling springs was watching food being cooked in the water of certain pools. Freshwater crayfish were sold to those willing to add a local flavour to their luncheon. This tradition has been retained and is still in practice today as tourists are sold fresh corn to be cooked in the boiling springs of Whakarewarewa.

An example of how Māori traditions could also become a source of revenue is provided by the boat journey across lake Tarawera. Before the village of Moura was reached, a protruding rock was often stopped at by the crew. The water was claimed to be under the protection of an elemental spirit called Huruwhenua although Andrews (1995) claims this is a distortion of a ceremony called uruuruwhenua. The guide published by Miss Muller (1877:25) explained that passengers needed to furnish ‘a peace offering to the Taipo (evil spirit), who dwells there, and raises a contrary wind on our return if he is not pacified by some gift’. The boat-crew had ready supplies of dry fern-fronds to act as a symbol of respect for the spirit and duly handed her the offering to place on the rock. This ritual is also mentioned by Travers (1876) whereby an offering of a fern-frond and a prayer is requested from the passengers to appease the spirits and ensure a safe return voyage.

By the 1880s this observance, while remaining symbolically identical, required a new form of offering. Instead of a fern-frond supplied by the crew it was recommended that the passenger place their own coins on the rock, although a prayer or incantation still followed the procedure. It is apparent from some accounts that visitors realised the superstition had been transformed into a revenue gathering activity and the money collected was for the boat-crew rather than appeasing the spirit. Bertram Barton recollected how the crew assured the passengers a large sum of money lay amassed behind the rock from previous visitors donations. Although Barton (cited in Wevers, 2000:141) acknowledged that the offering was due to ‘an old belief of the natives’ he also recognised the commercial aspect as ‘I need hardly say who takes charge of the deity’s deposit account’.

Talbot’s (1882) account of this procedure illustrates a realisation that the ceremony had become part of a tourist transaction where both the visitor and the host knew their part in the ritual, demonstrating that some tourists appreciated the role they were playing in supplementing income to the local community. Payton’s (1888:121) recollection provides evidence for another, less charitable, attitude of tourists when he mentioned that the boatman ‘utters some gibberish, and comes down again with the coin in his pocket or boot, to be converted into rum on the first opportunity’. This indicates that not all tourists were happy with the procedure and derided the practice as a further chance to extort money and accusations of extortionate practices, bordering on the mercenary, was a common feature of narrative about travel to Rotomahana. While these accounts have been replicated as evidence of local Māori being avaricious (Reggett, 1972) it has been suggested that the complaints should be re-read as ‘instances of agency and self-determination that demonstrated great ingenuity in imbricating a new cultural order within an existing matrix of tradition’ (Ericksen, 1999:99).

Another money-making exercise combined entrepreneurial acumen with conservation principles. From the earliest scientific explorations, travellers were keen to extract a sample of the terrace formations. Indeed, Hochstetter (1867:413) mentioned that the scientific collector ‘has ample opportunity of filling whole

baskets with the most beautiful specimens of the tenderest stalactites, of incrustated branches, leaves ...'. Although chipping off pieces of the terrace required a reasonable undertaking and 'much of its beauty is lost when it dries' (Bates, 1969:7) tourists were willing to take what they could as memorabilia. A change of attitude is evident by the 1880s as it became apparent that such activity would do irreparable damage and destroy what was attracting tourists in the first place. Accordingly, the practice became considered as 'ample evidence of the gothic destructiveness of the travelling Briton' (USSC, 1884:288).

Souvenir hunting became such a cause for concern that restrictions were imposed on the activity. Notices were issued warning of monetary penalties for anyone who was caught collecting specimens of the terraces. Payton (1888:124), travelling in 1883, mentioned one notice that read; 'Anyone trying to chip a piece of the enamel as a specimen, or writing his name on the Terrace, is fined £20'. This sign was issued with the assistance of the Government who were also concerned at the behaviour of some tourists. Ballance, the Native Minister in 1885, expressed his opinion of what the penalty for people who took samples of the terraces should be.

At a meeting with members of Tuhourangi, Ballance mentioned that:

*The law is not nearly stringent enough, for I think a payment for damage done to the Terraces is not sufficient; my opinion is, that any person who wilfully damages the terraces ought to be liable to be criminally prosecuted and sent to jail. There are some rich savages who would not object to pay any amount of money for damage done to the Terraces; but if they were liable to a month's imprisonment they would think the matter over two or three times.*  
(AJHR, 1885 G-1:55)

Although the Government expressed concern and Ballance offered his opinion, there was little that could be done to enforce the suggestions. At the same meeting it was pointed out to the Government by Te Rangipuawhe that 'these notices have

not the force of law, although we try and persuade the Europeans that they have' (AJHR, 1885, G-1:55). Complaints that a 'party of ladies went there under the guidance of Mrs. Graham, and no attention was paid to these regulations; but these tourists carried away a great number of encrustations' (AJHR, 1885, G-1:55) were used as an example of the need for statutory power to be granted. A solution was proffered by Te Rangipuawhe when he requested that the Tuhourangi Committee should be legally recognised so it could have authority in such matters. Ballance indicated that the only native committee to have a legal standing was the Native District Committee and the Tuhourangi Committee, while not illegal, 'is not constituted under the law'. Ballance, recognising the ambiguous legal standing of the Tuhourangi Committee decided to 'see whether the law could be amended so as to afford ample protection to the Terraces' (AJHR, 1885, G-1:55). As fate would have it there wasn't an opportunity to amend the law as the eruption and subsequent destruction of the terraces preceded any discussion regarding a change to the legislation.

In an attempt to stop tourists souvenirising pieces of the terraces it was decided to appoint a local person to accompany each tourist party. The travel-guide *Maoriland* (1884:288) maintained that 'a native policeman accompanies every party to watch that the terraces are in no way mutilated or defaced, and that nothing is carried away'. It is probable that this policeman may have been Mika Aporo as another visitor, in 1884, recollected that the posted notices stated that 'Apara [sic] was appointed to the Maori committee to accompany the tourists always to see the rules were strictly observed' (Anderson, 1989:59). Although Aporo was supposed to accompany each party, it is apparent that he was unable to effectively police the whole of the terraces at the one time. It is also apparent that the rules were not consistently enforced, with complicit acknowledgment from the guide. Anderson recalled that she was able to 'pick up a few bits of encrusted sticks and little pieces of stalactites. Kate told me I might have them if I let no one see them!' (Anderson, 1989:9) indicating a certain degree of favouritism towards certain tourists.

Prohibition of taking items from the terraces may have assisted in protecting the natural phenomena, but it did not halt the tourists' desire to take home a physical souvenir of their visit as the previous examples illustrate. A more creative approach for the tourists' demand for souvenirs was devised by the local community in response. According to Payton's (1888:123) recollection the guides were 'in the habit of placing small birds, ferns, and any small objects in this water, ... and, if left long enough become quite petrified. These are sold to tourists for half a crown a piece, and the guides make a small fortune out of it in summer'. Knox (1889:232) described how the locals first killed the birds then stuffed them with a weighted substance in order for them to sink in the water until such time as their wings became encrusted with silica. Knox purchased several of these birds and described the specimens as 'pretty and interesting'. This shows a deliberate, if not thoughtful, approach to meeting the demands of tourists and further evidence of local agency within a commercial framework.

Another form of conservation elicited a much less favourable response from the tourists. Rotomahana and the Kaiwaka stream were home to a number of species of duck which the local community harvested once a year to supplement food-stocks. In order to ensure there were adequate ducks for harvesting, the areas were considered sacred, or tapu, and access was restricted in order to allow the birds to repopulate without disturbance. The first mention of this is by Bates in 1860 (1969:5) when he remarked that the ducks are 'secure from gun or snare' during the preceding months. Trollope's narrative illustrates a difference in attitude between Māori residents and European tourists concerning the ban on taking ducks out of season. Trollope (1873:480) wrote that 'the "tapu" in these days has become, even to Maori themselves, a thing very much of pounds, shillings, and pence, or of other material conditions' and that there was an opportunity to have the tapu lifted for 'any one who would pay high enough for a day or two's shooting'. This suggests a perception that Māori were willing to forsake the realm of the sacred for the opportunity of gaining financially. Another to comment on this in a similar vein was Knox (1971:232) who maintained that 'probably any one who would pay a high price could get it suspended long enough to allow him to satisfy his desires for shooting'.

Both these accounts provide evidence of the demands of tourists placed on a host community and illustrate a fundamental difference in how the different groups perceived the environment. It also demonstrates how the demands of tourism can cause cultural change on a host society. The tourist considered water-fowl and other game as an opportunity to engage in a recreational pastime of shooting for pleasure. This contrasts with the needs of the local people to hunt the birds for the sustenance of the community. If the harvest was less than required, caused by a disturbance of the breeding season, then compensation in order to purchase other food would be required. The logic behind charging people to shoot the game was not, as the accounts suggest, to lift the tapu but to compensate for loss of food supplies for the local community. Paul Moon's (2003) conversations with Hoheoa Kereopa, a noted Tuhoe tohunga, confirm a very practical element to the notion of tapu whereby commonsense prevails and tapu could be initiated for a specific reason. Both Trollope's and Knox's narratives also mention the fact that the Duke of Edinburgh and his entourage were allowed to shoot game in the area in 1870 and this is used as evidence that Māori were willing to accommodate the wishes of visitors. However, the accounts do not emphasise that the visit by the Duke of Edinburgh was considered to be an event of important significance by the local community and allowing the Ducal party to shoot the water-fowl was a symbol of the Duke's status, and not necessarily to be used as a precedent.

In the early 1870s the charge for gaining access to the terraces via the Kaiwaka stream was set at £2 per passenger (Ollivier, 1871). This fee, by 1878, had been increased to £3 (BPT 06/03/1878:3). As a comparison of prices in 1870s New Zealand, an Auckland-Tauranga return boat voyage (cabin class) in 1878 was £3.4s. (Harris, 1878). The deliberately high price to use the stream indicates that not only was the compensation considered serious but it also suggests there was an attempt to halt demand via pricing mechanisms. This stipulation, according to Harris (1878:72), was evidence of 'absurd native restrictions' and further proof of Māori engaging in 'vexatious extortion' (Harris, 1878:63). For Harris, it was not the fact that tourists were not able to shoot the game but the inconvenience of having to walk around the area rather than being transported by canoe. Whether Harris's guide-book had any influence on the local community at Te Wairoa is

open to speculation. However, his strongly worded complaints were published in late February 1878 and by early March of the same year it was reported that ‘it was decided that the charge for a canoe going up the creek should be 2s. 6d. for each passenger; that the creek should be open all the year ... [and] the old charge of £3 was exorbitant and should be done away with’ (BPT, 06/03/1878:3). The rationale for the charge remained the same nonetheless, with compensation for the loss of food being cited as the reason.

Despite Te Awēkotuku’s (1991:158) claim that local Māori had ‘no choice at all’ and ‘colonial enterprise was neither invited nor encouraged ...’ the above-mentioned examples demonstrate that local Māori were adept at adopting commercial attitudes and applying them with considerable acumen in a tourism context. The examples of the local community at Te Wairoa behaving in such a manner invited comparison not only to ‘the rapacious hackmen, of Niagara Falls’ but also the ‘guides and hotel-keepers of Rome, Naples and hundreds of other places on the Continent or the custodians of the Taj Mahal or the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky’ (Knox, 1889:234). This illustrates that Māori at Te Wairoa, by their ability to exploit the visitor, had not only invited comparison with a well established tradition of tourist manipulation but were considered the equal to the guardians of the world’s major tourist attractions. It also provides evidence of Bhabha’s (1994) ‘colonial mimicry’ whereby the symbols of the colonists are engineered to suit the self and in some respects ‘the insignia of authority becomes a mask’ (Bhabha, 1985:162).

Of all the complaints made by Europeans they are tempered by Arthur Russell, an army officer, who visited the region in the late 1860s. The quote sums up the attempts by Māori to profit from increased European visitation to Rotomahana and the terraces. Although written in the 1860s the comment has relevance for later periods and is framed in a global context. Russell (cited in Te Awēkotuku, 1981:38) mentioned that ‘tourists being fair game all over the world, I was well pleased’. This shows that some tourists recognised that their short-term visitation to an area was always going to be at a cost and that seeing the world had become structured, systematised and professionalised.



Māori at Te Wairoa were not the only people profiting from tourists to the area and they weren't the only subjects of complaint as 'tourists, as a rule, have an idea that coach drivers, hotel keepers, guides, &c., look upon them as legitimate prey' (T.T.H., c.1885:1). After the construction of hotels at Te Wairoa in the late 1870s the usual itinerary for tourists wishing to visit Rotomahana and the terraces was to depart Ohinemutu at 2pm by coach, arriving at approximately 4pm. The fare for the coach was directly related to the number of people offering the service at a particular time. During 1877 there was only one 'person who has a conveyance and horses for hire' (Muller, 1877:23) although later in 1877 the proprietors of the *Cascade* offered a similar service. Such a monopoly allowed the provider to attempt to charge £3 for his services. Considered an 'enormous sum' by the visitor, especially when compared to the £1 one-way fare between Tauranga and Ohinemutu, the offer was declined and the author decided to walk the approximate 20 kilometres to Te Wairoa.

By 1882 the fare to Te Wairoa from Ohinemutu had dropped to 10s. (Talbot, 1882), indicative of the arrival of competition in the provision of transport. According to the *Maoriland* guide (1884) the price had dropped to 15s. for a return journey and by 1885 the fare further decreased to a 'low 5 shillings' each way if one travelled using the services of Mr Kelly of which 'he deserves great credit for this innovation, the charge hitherto having been 10s. per head each way, and, indeed, is so still by the other Coach operators' (T.T.H., c.1885:10). It should be noted however that Kelly was a major advertiser and sponsor of *Maoriland* demonstrating the commercial alliances between guide-books and entrepreneurs.

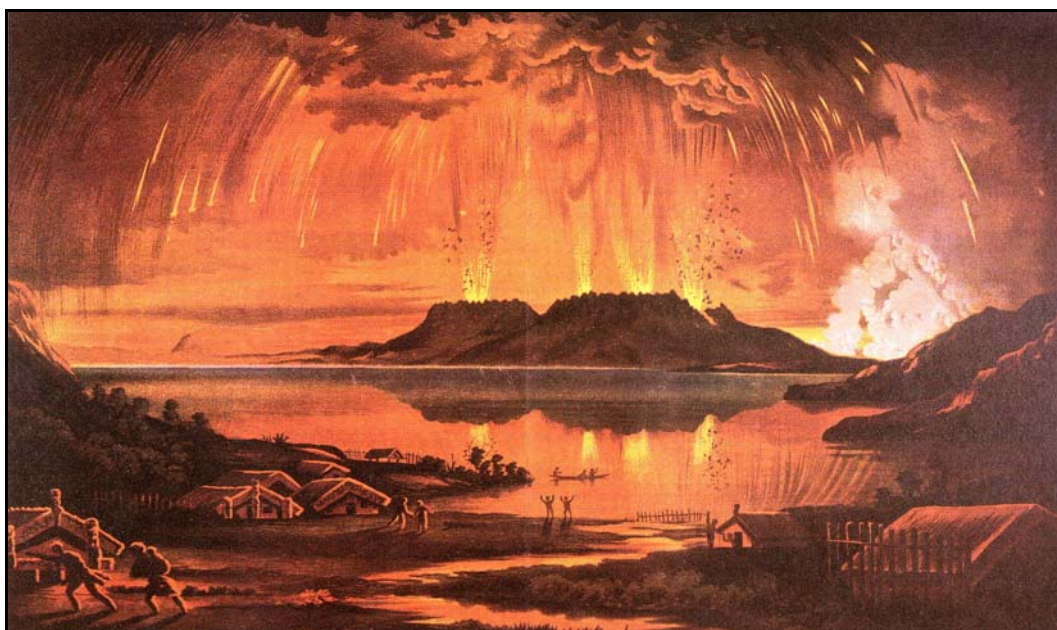
The 1880s saw a proliferation in the number of operators providing services to short-term visitors to New Zealand. Rotomahana and the terraces were but one sight among a number of regions of natural beauty promoted by the Government, commercial organisations and private entrepreneurs. A key difference between Te Wairoa and other areas of New Zealand was the ability of the local Māori community to commodify the tourist landscape to their own advantage and the examples of profiting from visitor behaviour are proof of this. Further evidence is

seen in the setting of standard charges for services by the hosts as well the attempts to halt destructive behaviour of tourists either signing their names or wishing to take souvenirs of the terraces home.

## CHAPTER SIX

### DISPLAYS OF LANDSCAPE

The explosions emanating from Mount Tarawera on 10 June, 1886 if seen from a safe distance were a fantastic display of light and sound. Closer to the source of the eruption, however, the spectacular show of the volcanic eruption was overshadowed, literally, by ‘an inky black pall’ which, with ‘dreadful rapidity spread fanwise blotting out the stars ... [and] with incredible swiftness – a black murk, shot through with globes of fire and flashing sparks’ (Bird, 1972:78). The eruption discharged two cubic kilometres of basalt and half a cubic kilometre of rhyolite, covering some 16,000 square kilometres. On par with Vesuvius for ejecta (Kearney, 1988), the 105 deaths caused by the eruption are not indicative of the scale of the explosion but reflect the low population density in and around the area at the time.



**Figure 14: Mount Tarawera erupting by Charles Blomfield. Alexander Turnbull Library (C-033-002).**

At Te Wairoa there were approximately 120 permanent residents (AJHR, 1885, G-2a:7). The fact that the eruption occurred during the winter months meant the number of tourists immediately impacted by the disaster was minimal. While Te Wairoa was directly in the line of fire, so to speak, the settlement was a safer

place to be than the villages of Moura, Te Ariki, and Waingongongo which suffered the most in terms of human casualties. The first concern was the evacuation of the immediate survivors from Te Wairoa and most managed their way to Ohinemutu. Rescue attempts of potential survivors were soon organised and a number of expeditions were undertaken in the following days, with limited success.

Reports of the disaster became one of the most sought after items of news and the telegraph office at Rotorua, during the peak days, was transmitting between 20,000 and 30,000 words in press telegrams daily (Keam, 1988:258). The two staff at the office were ordered to bed by the resident doctor and it was not until they were supplemented by a telegrapher from Tauranga and three more from Auckland and Cambridge, that the workload became manageable. This outpouring of information was to be just the initial production of material regarding the eruption. Newspapers such as the *New Zealand Herald*, the *Auckland Evening Star*, and the *Waikato Times* sent special correspondents to the region to report on the impacts of the disaster. Their subsequent accounts were consumed by an avid public, both in New Zealand and overseas, and approximately 140,000 additional newspapers were sent to Britain as a direct result of the demand for information (Keam, 1988:260). The newspaper coverage was complemented by scientific investigations and personal recollections which turned the eruption into, if not the worst natural disaster in New Zealand's populated history, then certainly the most reported natural disaster.

Once the initial press coverage was completed, attention turned to the fate of the terraces and expeditions were organised and paid for by the *Auckland Evening Star* and the *New Zealand Herald* among others. The accounts of the expeditions were duly reported and, even though no evidence of their existence was ascertained, speculation remained as to whether the terraces had been buried by mud or whether they had been blown apart by the force of the eruption. What was certain was the fact that they were no longer able to be found. The major attraction for tourists had disappeared.

Visual representations of the eruption were well served with a number of photographers and artists converging on the region to provide documentation of the events. The demand for photographs of the devastation was such that the renowned photographer Alfred Burton of Dunedin was unable to meet mail deadlines. Further use of the photographs were used by Burton in a series of lectures which were accompanied by scenes ‘illuminated by limelight’. Entitled ‘Through the Fire Belt in the North Island’ and given in Dunedin, Christchurch, Wellington, Auckland, and England the shows were profitable enough for a critic to comment that:

*Two things now engage the public attention in the matter of the Tarawera eruption: One is to explain it and the other to turn an honest penny by it. At present only the photographers have discovered how to do the latter, and probably it will turn out in the end that the eruption occurred chiefly in the interest of the photographers.*

(ODT, 26/06/1886:2)

Artists such as Arthur Vogan and William Blomfield also converged on the area and they produced a number of works inspired by eye-witness descriptions of the eruption or the devastation of the landscape. Charles Blomfield visited the region some two months after the eruption to paint scenes depicting the eruption. One of his paintings (figure 14) is complete with fleeing people trying to escape the exploding mountain which is seen in the background. The painting also depicts an unfathomably-still Lake Tarawera allowing a perfect mirror image of the mountain to be seen, offering a serene juxtaposition to the violence of the event. This suggests that even in images of extreme destruction Blomfield was still aligned with the tradition and the influence of European landscape painting. Post-eruption interest in Charles Blomfield’s pre-eruption scenes intensified as people wished to memorialise a natural environment that no longer existed. He was commissioned to paint a number of his representations which he undertook with the enthusiasm of a professional artist providing for his family.

The combination of newspaper reporting, photographing, painting, scientific analysis perpetuated the production (and consumption) of place-myths regarding the region, dramatically adding and altering stories of place to a paying audience. Given the propensity for human interest stories, heroes were honoured in true fashion, the less honourable were villainised and the inactive were pilloried accordingly. A common feature of the published material regarding the eruption was a pre-occupation with understanding and explaining why the event occurred.

According to Leys (1886:19) signs viewed with the perspective of the past can ‘be made to assume the aspect of premonition’ and the reporting of such incidents became endowed with importance, contributing to the establishment of new and altered myths of place. From a geological perspective the thermal volatility of the region was considered matter of fact although exact understanding of the connected nature of the subterranean forces were just beginning to be explored. Earthquakes, new areas of thermal activity, sudden changes in water-tables all contributed to establish a geographically prophetic hindsight. Possibly the most understated report prior to the eruption is reserved for the *Hot Lakes Chronicle* when the newspaper maintained that ‘various are the indications that considerable activity is going on below the surface of Rotorua and that probably some permanent alterations will take place in regard to some of the hot springs ...’ (HLC, 25/06/1885 cited in Don Stafford Collection (DSC)).

Scientific investigation was employed to examine how the eruption happened. Social perspectives were more concerned with why the event occurred. For some observers the eruption was evidence of God’s wrath at the perceived immorality of the inhabitants of Te Wairoa. The *Auckland Weekly News* reported one opinion which decried that the disaster was ‘the judgement of God for its [the village] great sins’ (Auckland Weekly News, 19/07/1886 cited in DSC). Accusations that the supposed inappropriate behaviour of Te Wairoa Māori caused the destruction were also exhibited. Cultural degradation, brought through capitalism via the tourism industry, was blamed and illustrates that not all opinions were sympathetic with the plight of the residents of Te Wairoa.

The *New Zealand Herald* reported that:

*Keepa and his people fully realise that the old days of Te Wairoa lavishness, extravagance, and dissipation, arising from the golden stream of tourist's money, is all over. They will now have to work for a living, the best thing that ever happened to them as ... they were decaying like rotten sheep from the violations of the laws of health, of temperance and of morality; aided downhill with accelerated velocity – to our shame it be said – by the vices of European civilization.*

(NZH, 18/06/1886:6)

While these comments reflect a Christian spiritual ideology, there were also aspects of Māori spirituality that were considered responsible for the eruption. Tuhoto Ariki, a tohunga of great age living at Te Wairoa, was buried alive in his whare for four days. Added to the remarkable survival of this man was the notion that he was to blame for the devastation of both the land and the people of the immediate area. Ariki was believed to be a tohunga of immense power despite being involved in the unsuccessful struggle with Ngā Puhī tohunga during battle on Mokia island in 1823. The failure of both Te Arawa warriors and their tohunga left Te Arawa defeated and those involved to the mercy of the attackers. The stories surrounding Ariki have been well documented (see Warbrick, 1934; Conly, 1986; Stafford, 1986; Andrews, 1995) and despite some discrepancies in the details it is suggested that Ariki called on the forces of Ruaumoko, Ngatoroirangi and Tama-o-Hoi to act in revenge for personal insult that he had received. The recollection of the incident, and the reverence with which Ariki was held, led Te Wairoa Māori to decline any assistance in rescuing the tohunga. Not only was the hospital room in Rotorua where Ariki convalesced for some three weeks before dying considered tapu 'the Maoris had specifically requested that Tuhoto be brought out of the hospital to die in a tent' (cited in Keam, 1988:208). Such was the depth of feeling that it was at least seven months before a Māori family used the room in the hospital (NZH, 11/03/1887:5).

The stories surrounding Tuhoto Ariki might have provided anecdotal evidence for the power of prophecy, however, there was another documented prophecy from Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki, the resistance fighter turned prophet. Recorded one month before the eruption Te Kooti pronounced:

*I shall release from heaven a black cloud with fire in it. I shall also send a cloud up from the land, and they shall meet in the region between heaven and earth. There I shall cast forth fire upon that cloud, indeed, I shall destroy your land. I shall cause to die all things made by my hand, including mankind, so that man shall know that I am Jehovah.*

(cited in Binney, 1995:348)

According to Judith Binney (1995) there are several reasons offered for the issuing of the curse cum prophecy. One reason is that members of Tuhourangi refused to give Te Kooti a large bible that was reputed to be from Israel and contained great power and mana. Another was that it was the failure of chief Te Rangiheuea of Te Ariki to provide Te Kooti with a requested £10 to assist in the continuation of his journey and aid in the enlisting of support for his brand of faith. One month after the eruption the *New Zealand Herald* reported that Te Kooti offered advice to the community to ‘clear out of this place. Something is going to happen. I cannot tell you when it will happen – it may be soon, or it may be late – but come it will’ (NZH, 15/07/1886:5). A third reason given was that during a visit to Te Wairoa, Te Kooti offered to remove a curse that had been placed on *Hinemihī*. The curse had been issued in response to the perceived sacrilege and greed that was associated with the meeting-house. Te Kooti requested a sum of ten shillings for his services and when the request was refused Te Kooti issued one of his many curses upon people who he perceived had offended him and his faith.

A further omen became enshrined in the region’s place-myth due to the involvement of European eye-witnesses and the heavy reporting of the story. The sighting by a tour party of a war-canoe, a type never seen before on Lake



Tarawera, ten days before the eruption elicited much comment and speculation. Dismissed as an elaborate hoax by the European witnesses, the Māori participants interpreted the sighting as an act of spiritual foreboding and the incident incited Ariki to claim ‘he tohu tera, ara ka horo katoa tenei takiwa (“it is an omen; it is a sign and warning that all this region will be overwhelmed”)’ (Warbrick, 1934:64). The sightings gave artists an opportunity to express their licence and one such painting by Kennett Watkins (figure 15) provides an apt example. The painting transforms a daylight event to a moon-lit scene and is complete with spectral-type figures in a war-canoe. A lone person in a canoe has his head bowed in awe of the fearsome scene in front of him and is subject to the power of an ‘other world’.



**Figure 15: The Ghost Canoe by Kennett Watkins. Auckland City Art Gallery. Keam (1988:72).**

Of more physical and immediate concern than omens, prophecies, curses, and scientific hindsight was the environmental and social impact of the eruption. The land around the immediate region was unsafe, volatile, and for the most part uninhabitable as the area became a wasteland of debris, mud and ash (Leys, 1886; Keam, 1988). The survivors of Te Wairoa moved to Ohinemutu where immediate refuge was provided. However, a permanent home for the survivors was soon required and a variety of suggestions were offered. Tribes from a number of

districts proffered pieces of land to aid in resettlement. The offers of land were both from within the Rotorua region and from outside. Te Heuheu the paramount chief of Taupo offered land near the Paeroa range, people from Ngāti Maru and Ngāti Tamatera also proposed the gifting of land in the Coromandel region. Inside the district, offers included a place at Te Ngae and Te Awahou and a further offer was made by Ngāti Wahiao at Whakarewarewa. Some preferred not to live in another thermally active area such as Whakarewarewa and opted for a perceived less volatile area. The large majority 'simply moved over to Ngapuna, and in with their closest relations at nearby Whakarewarewa' on the outskirts of Rotorua 'outnumbering their hosts 2:1' (Moore and Quinn, 1993:30).

Māori tribes were not the only ones to provide offers of assistance. The Government also proposed that Tuhourangi might be given a block of Government-owned land in exchange for the devastated Rotomahana and surrounding localities. Percy Smith, through the auspices of the Crown Lands Department, suggested land either in the Coromandel or on the Chatham Islands be made available for the purpose. Recognising the potential long-term value of the lands as a tourist attraction Smith maintained that 'the opportunity of acquiring a territory which must for ages be one of the very great attraction notwithstanding the loss of the Terraces, should not, I submit, be lost' (cited in Keam, 1988:296). Despite the fact that the Rotomahana lands were still subject to further Land Court hearings Smith considered that once title had been established there would be little difficulty in obtaining the land.

T. Lewis, the Under Secretary at the Native Office, was prepared to bypass the Native Land Court and wished to 'arrange with the owners to cede the Rotomahana Parekarangi Block ... and accept suitable land for immediate occupation in part payment, without the tedious preliminary process of investigation of title by the Native Land Court' (cited in Keam, 1988:296). This suggestion to circumvent the Native Land Court is used as evidence of the perceived urgency of the situation and the desire of the Government to act quickly in assisting the resettlement of Tuhourangi (Keam, 1988). It is also proof that the Government, seeing an opportunity of reaching a settlement regarding land they

had been desirous of, were willing to engage in direct negotiation without the authority of the Native Land Court.

The Government offer was informally put forward to Te Rangipuawhe by H. Dunbar Johnson, the Government agent at Rotorua. However, the various resettlement alternatives were already being considered by members of Tuhourangi. According to Keam (1988:297) all official reference to Government proposals for the exchange of land ceases after this juncture and it is suggested, the ill health of Te Rangipuawhe combined with 'possibly more suitable offers' meant that the urgency evaporated and the 'idea was probably just forgotten'.

The Native Land Court rehearing of the Rotomahana-Parekarangi block occurred in April 1888 in the Ohinemutu meeting-house Tamatekapua. There were 20 counter-claimants to the 211,000 acre block and Judge Brabant, in his judgment remarked that 'the Court then holds that the title of the Tuhourangi tribe to the bulk of the claim has been made out, but it does not hold that they have proved any settled external boundary to have been fixed ...' (cited in Moore and Quinn, 1993:32) and therefore awarded the block in eight parts to various groupings of the claimants, with the majority awarded to Tuhourangi. The legal standing of the land was thus confirmed in the eyes of European law and title was assured and documented although able to be appealed.

Despite the destruction of Rotomahana's terraces, the devastation of the surrounding country, and the evacuation of people from the region, tourism was still a tool through which profit could be made. Once the initial explorations of scientists, newspaper reporters, and artists had been undertaken, enterprising operators were quick to take advantage of those who were interested in viewing the impacts of the eruption. Prior to the eruption the scientific community and the scientifically inclined viewed the thermal region with curiosity. After the eruption the value of the region, in scientific terms, did not lose any of its appeal. Indeed Payton mentioned that 'to men of science the district will have increased in interest a hundredfold' (cited in Andrews, 1995:57). For the lay person the destruction was still a site of interest and confirmed the sublime nature of the

region. The *Auckland Star* illustrated the potential for tourism operators in the Rotorua region straight after the eruption as:

*No stranger dropping in on Rotorua to-day would have supposed that within the last eight days a terrible disaster had befallen the country ... In the bright clear air of the frosty morning, a party of seventeen, well mounted, with the colour of health in their faces, set out to visit the new wonder, and to wade through the sandy sea of desolation around Rotomahana, just as in the season they started to feat upon the glories of the terraces.*

(Auckland Star, 19/06/1886:2)

Herbert Way, the son-in-law of Spencer, had been conducting inclusive tours from Auckland to Rotomahana in the 1880s. He continued his operations after the eruption and within one month he was engaged in organising tours to visit the site of devastation where he ‘made a speciality of the Te Wairoa village which he ... knew so well’ (Stafford, 1986:266). Way was not the only person to attempt to maintain an income from tourists’ desire to experience, at close range, the effects of the eruption. Indeed, people were ‘travelling in considerable numbers to Te Wairoa, to visit the site of the village destroyed in the eruption’ and that ‘there was an unsatisfied demand to visit the scene of the disaster’ (Stafford, 1986:352/367) thus providing an opportunity to profit from the visitors’ requirements.

This opportunity, for the hosts, remained a contested activity and the aspiration to control the tourist trade was similar to pre-eruption times. Alfred Warbrick offered his services as a guide to the area and attempted to take tourists across Lake Tarawera. The boats Warbrick kept on Lake Tarawera were attacked and made unusable in order to cease such activities and this animosity soon turned into armed confrontation. Stafford (1986:273) maintains that the jealously guarded trade was ‘... a strange situation considering that he [Warbrick] was born on the shores of Lake Rotomahana to a woman, Ngakarauna, who was of noble descent within the people of that place’. While this suggests Warbrick’s parentage

should have enhanced his ability to operate in the area it overlooks the notion that there were more than one ‘people of that place’ and fails to acknowledge the antagonistic relationship that existed between members of Ngāti Rangitihi and Tuhourangi. It could be argued that it might well have been because Warbrick’s mother was of ‘noble descent within the people of that place’ that he had trouble establishing himself as a guide. The situation grew more volatile later in 1887 when a dispute took place at Te Wairoa, between members of Tuhourangi and the Warbrick brothers as to their right of taking tourists across Lake Tarawera. The *Bay of Plenty Times* reported that ‘one of the former drew a sheath knife in self defence but the brothers secured the weapon before any damage was done, the natives being lords of the soil took the impatient tourists, who were witnessing the affray into the boat and the Warbricks returned’ (BPT, 01/01/1887 cited in DSC).

Despite this initial set-back in the guiding career of Warbrick, over time he managed to become a central figure with the Government’s Department of Tourist and Health Resort’s sponsored ‘Round-Trip’. Warbrick’s ghost-written autobiography *Adventures in Geyserland* (1934) represents himself as a daring hero of a bi-racial, pioneering society that contributed to the identity of New Zealand by appearing as an authoritative eye-witness account to the past (Bremner, 1999). Despite the non-fiction classification of the book there are elements of fiction in the manner in which Warbrick is associated with place. Warbrick maintains he was born on the shores of Rotomahana and given his first bath by Middlemass in one of the basins of the terraces (Warbrick, 1934). Considering that Warbrick was born in 1860 and the first evidence of Middlemass being at Rotomahana does not appear until 1878 it is unlikely Warbrick’s statement is true. Further documentation in the form of birth certificates for some of Warbrick’s children have the birth-place of the father as Matata (cited in Bremner, 1999). This apparent fiction may be the result of ‘memory drift’ (Kearns, 1993:564) of an aging man recollecting his life. It could also be argued that it was a deliberate attempt to locate a past within a particular locale at a specific time, thus legitimizing a claim to place.

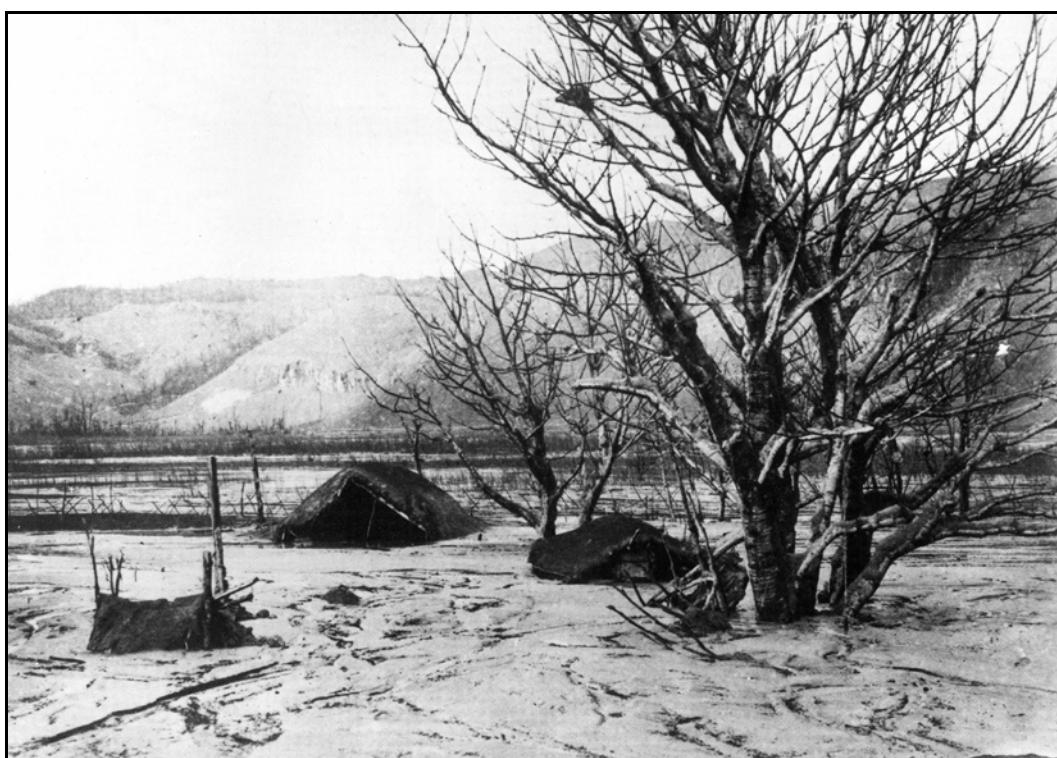


Figure 16: Te Wairoa post-eruption. Alexander Turnbull Library in Conly (1985:71).



Figure 17: Rotomahana Hotel post-eruption. Alexander Turnbull Library (F-2516-1/2).

Of more immediate concern than who had the right to take tourists to the area was the problem of looting from Te Wairoa. Directly after the eruption there were reports of the two hotels being prime targets due to their abundance of supplies. Joseph McRae had recently received stock in preparation for the upcoming Native Land Court hearing that was to be held in July of 1886 and his insurance claim for £2500 of goods and £1200 in furniture and silver indicates the value of the possessions (cited in Keam, 1988:286). Both McRae and Charles Humphreys, from the *Terrace*, returned to Te Wairoa on June 14 and proceeded to salvage items but were unable to store their possessions with adequate protection. The fear of theft was borne out sooner rather than later and the *New Zealand Herald* (14/06/1886:6) reported that looting had begun of McRae's store. Of particular interest to thieves was the liquor cellar and 'two men found lying intoxicated in the wrecked hotel' (Keam, 1988:285). The thoroughness of the looting is not reflected in the number of arrests made and only one person was apprehended and brought to trial for the offences of which the perpetrator received a sentence of four months imprisonment with hard labour (NZH, 03/07/1886:5). The *New Zealand Herald* also implied that looting was commonplace and within one month of the evacuation it was suggested that 'the Wairoa stores have now been thoroughly looted, so that there is nothing left in Wairoa for which any man need peril his life to get at' (NZH, 03/07/1886:5).

Accommodation houses were not the only places that suffered at the hands of thieves. Mika Aporo recalled that a few days after the eruption he returned to Te Wairoa and 'found that already some pakeha had taken away parts of Hinemihi as souvenirs' (Dominion, 17/05/1935). Purloining items from Te Wairoa became almost an accepted practice over the years as visitors removed pieces of the derelict buildings as a memento of their excursion as 'they felt that the abandoned, collapsed and mud-covered buildings could be ransacked at will' (Stafford, 1986:352). Just as tourists attempted to take home a piece of the terraces prior to the eruption, houses at Te Wairoa became targets for the same practice. The difference this time was that there was not the outcry or the people resident to halt such activity. It wasn't until 1896 that the practice was recorded as being of questionable habit. The *Hot Lakes Chronicle* reported that Sophia's whare was

‘being carried away piecemeal’ and that ‘it is high time that such practice should be put a stop to and something done towards conserving this interesting relic of that direful night’. Of interest is the wish to preserve the memory of the eruption within a tourism context. It was considered that the best place for the whare was ‘in the Sanatorium grounds, where it would prove most attractive to tourists and visitors ...’ (HLC, 08/01/1896 cited in DSC). Thus providing evidence that artefacts of the eruption could be used as a tourist attraction even if they were displaced from their contextual environment.

Although the taking of souvenirs from Te Wairoa was a deliberate action, inadvertent tourist behaviour was also a cause for concern. The remnants of the *Rotomahana* afforded shelter to visitors and there were at least two rooms that were used for this purpose. In 1897 Frank Parkes walked out to Te Wairoa from Rotorua to visit the scene of the eruption and he camped in the ruins of the hotel for the night. Parkes lit a fire which spread and before long the remains of the building were reduced to ashes and twisted roofing iron. Parkes reported himself to the Police after a complaint had been lodged and was committed for trial in Auckland where it was proved that he ‘did wilfully set fire to a building formerly known as the Rotomahana Hotel’ (Rotorua Charge Book 2/1 04/02/1897 cited in DSC).

The destruction of property at Te Wairoa, both Māori and European, was due to the lack of control and authority over a particular place. The opportunity for visitors to take items at will was because there was nobody resident to police the area. While it could be assumed that the post-eruption decisions of the Native Land Court provided Tuhourangi with a sense of security and certainty of land ownership, it is also argued that the processes of the Native Land Court signalled the beginning of alienation of Tuhourangi land in the region (Burgh, 1995).

Brian Burgh (1995:101) argues that ‘despite their opposition to land sales, Tuhourangi were, within 20 years of the establishment of the Native Land Court, left with little land’. The reasons for this occurring are considered to be twofold. Firstly, Tuhourangi were forced into participating in the Native Land Court



process due to the purchase activity of adjacent land, the objection by Tuhourangi to the Fenton-Ngāti Whakaue agreement, and dispute over boundaries in the Rotorua-Patetere-Paeroa block. These factors forced Tuhourangi to continually defend their boundaries in the relevant Native Land Court hearings which were expensive and time-consuming (Sorrenson, 1956). Secondly, the individualisation of title and the subsequent ability of the Government to purchase parts of land without the consent of the whole tribe facilitated land alienation (Williams, 1999). This was a state of affairs that Tuhourangi had steadfastly resisted prior to the eruption, preferring to entitle the land to the complete tribe (see AJHR, 1885, G1:51). The Government land purchasing agents proceeded to obtain land at the request of the Crown and evidence suggests that the Crown and its agents ‘were in a rush to purchase as much land as they could at as cheap a price as possible. In the case of the Roto-Pare block, by December 1895 the Crown had purchased 63,119 acres of the block at an average price of three shillings per acre’ (Burgh, 1995:101).

Another legal tool for the Government to obtain land, in later years, was the introduction of the Public Works Act (1910) which enabled the Government to compulsorily purchase land if it was in the ‘national interest’. The Act was enforced to expand the Crown’s commercial forests in the region and, according to Burgh (1995:102) Tuhourangi, as at 1995, owned ‘an estimated 15,000 acres (or 6 percent) of an original area of about 250,000 acres’. Tempering the arguments put forward by Burgh it should be recognised that Tuhourangi were willing participants in the Native Land Court proceedings (Moore and Quinn, 1993). Furthermore, Burgh places more emphasis on the Government’s actions than the actual eruption for the alienation of Tuhourangi from their lands. It is possible to argue that the aftermath of the eruption decreased the perceived value of the land and the Government was thus able to more readily obtain land in the district, at an agreed price.

Government control over the purchase of land was complemented by their creation and command of the Rotorua township. Originally established in 1881 in conjunction with Te Arawa as landowners, the advertising campaign for the lease

of land was more successful than the subsequent management of any development and payment of rent. Indeed, of the expected £2,750 per annum, Te Arawa received just £3,600 over nine years (Stafford, 1986:159). The economic depression of the 1890s combined with the non-payment of rent encouraged Te Arawa to sell the block and the Government was able to purchase the land. By 1900 the Government exerted full authority and passed the Rotorua Town Council Act (1900) which decreed the induction of a Town Council consisting of seven members, four to be appointed by the Governor, the remaining three to be elected. Not only did this ensure that the government have majority rule of the Council, the provisions for electing the three were such, that it was unlikely that community residents had a voice in Council proceedings. The qualifications to be eligible to vote were 'freehold, rating, and residence' (Rotorua Town Council Act, 1900). There were no freehold titles available at this stage and rates were not demanded. This left residence as the only means whereby people were eligible to vote. However, the stipulation that voters must also be in receipt of an annual £10 rental fee, meant that in reality, very few people were allowed to participate in elections.

Administration by the Government was taken further in 1907 with the passing of the Rotorua Township Act. This Act formalised the role the government had previously played in the district and Rotorua essentially became a 'state-run town' managed by the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, as:

*The property, assets, liabilities, and rights of the Town Council or Corporation as constituted under the said repealed Acts shall, on the coming into operation of this Act, vest in the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts as hereinafter incorporated, and thereupon the existing Town Council and Corporation shall be dissolved.*

(Rotorua Township Act: S.2(2), 1907)

With regard to Te Wairoa and its immediate surrounds 'under the operation of various Native Land Acts this area, except for some small pockets, ... [became]

Crown land and was available for lease' (Scobie, n.d.:7). A rationale for European settlement was that Māori considered the land at Te Wairoa had become tapu 'and nothing would induce a breach of that situation' (Stafford, 1986:265) or that 'for the superstitious native mind Te Wairoa was a place accursed by the anger of the gods' (Smith, n.d.:1). This ignores the pragmatic nature of tapu and an ability to find means with which to alleviate the imposition of such. Mokoia Island in the middle of Lake Rotorua was a scene of death and violence during the Ngā Puhi raids in 1823, however, this did not stop the island from continuing to be inhabited by the defeated tribe. Accordingly, ceremonies were able to be conducted to remove tapu and at the end of 1886 a group of Tuhourangi returned with a powerful and respected tohunga and 'under his guidance a solemn and ancient ritual was conducted ... with the object of removing the tapu that had been imposed on the lands as a result of the disaster' (Stafford, 1986:265). The implication of this is that tapu was only one reason why Tuhourangi did not return to Te Wairoa and other more pragmatic reasons, such as the alienation of land should be taken into account.

Te Wairoa retained an element of interest as a tourist site although it was never to regain the same reputation as a site for accommodation and cultural performance. Tea-rooms were established in 1895 (Richards, 1963) and the operation, in 1903, became a stopping point for tourists on their way to view the picturesque scenery. The 'Round Trip' was a tour organised and promoted by the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, which incorporated the scenic attractions of Waimangu valley and the lakes of Rotomahana and Tarawera. In 1906 the 'Wairoa Accommodation House and Tea Kiosk', described as 'elegant, extensive and elaborate' (Scobie, n.d.:10), opened to cater for the tourists in need of a cup of tea and obligatory ablutions. This building was accidentally burnt down and subsequently rebuilt by Cecil Way and reopened in 1910. The Way family moved accommodation from the old Spencer home into the tea-rooms and managed the operation for almost 20 years. In 1929 the tea-rooms were operated by the Muir family for a one year trial and after they departed the operation and buildings fell into a state of disrepair and 'remained vacant apart from the occasional Maori pig-hunter who camped inside. ... Weeds and creepers, blackberry and tutu,

honeysuckle and wild roses all rapidly encroached without, and dirt and dust and even some pigeon feathers within' (Scobie, n.d.:11).

In February of 1931, Reginald Smith bought the tearooms 'and adjoining acres' (Scobie, n.d.:12) from Cecil Way for the sum of £800 (Daily Post (DP), 07/02/1981:12). According to Philip Smith, a grandson, it was Reginald's wife Violet who was the main instigator in the purchase (DP, 07/02/1981:12). The Smith family moved in and began clearing the land of overgrown blackberries and gorse in order to provide grazing land for the horse and three cows that came with the property. Customers for the tea-rooms were initially few and far between as the world-wide economic depression affected people's ability to afford leisure trips and 'only one bus call[ed] per day along a rough unsealed road' (Scobie, n.d.:12). Wild blackberries picked by the sons were turned into preserves and used, along with cream and butter from the homemade dairy, to complement the ubiquitous 'Devonshire tea' available to visitors.

While slashing the overgrown property the two sons, Dudley and Basil, discovered relics of the settlement of Wairoa and began displaying the items in the tea-rooms, thus becoming the beginnings of what was to be known as the tourist attraction the *Buried Village*. In late 1932 'a deliberate decision was made to excavate the site of old Wairoa' (Conly, 1988:132) and work began on clearing further land. Due to the fact there were no plans of the village prior to the eruption the Smiths enlisted the help of previous residents to aid in assessing the previous layout of the settlement. Joseph McRae and Alfred Warbrick were the primary informants although 'significantly, no Maori came to the site of the old village' (Conly, 1988:133). The outlines of parts of the settlement were discovered and items found were displayed either *in situ* or in the ever-growing collection of the museum. Further items from around the region were appropriated and put on display 'partly to allow them to be exhibited, partly to ensure their preservation' (Conly, 1988:133). This idea of preservation and exhibition has a resonance with the notion of an act of salvage which is textually expressed by historians in New Zealand in the early to mid twentieth-century (Hilliard, 1997). Accordingly, it is

argued that the ‘threat of loss elevated the seriousness of collection: it became an act of rescue’ (Hilliard, 2000:119).

Bell’s (1996) investigation into small town museums in New Zealand revealed the role that local elites play in the display of items that are considered to be important to the region. Founding families often provide the information and the content for museums and very little about previous Māori settlement is included. The *Buried Village* differs in both respects as the local elite were no longer in a position to include items that represented themselves. Furthermore, many of the relics found were distinguishably Māori and therefore a major theme of the display was centred around the joint history of Māori and Pākehā and their interaction in the nineteenth century. The display of collected artefacts portrayed a bi-racial pioneering society which resonates with the notion that an ‘exhibition itself is reflective of a particular ideology’ (Norkunas, 1993: 5).

The relics offered on display, and the development of the *Buried Village* are an example of David Lowenthal’s (1985:271) claim that ‘showing off the past is the common result of identifying it. Labelling a relic affirms its historical significance; displaying it enhances its appeal’. For items to be valued as antique they first have to be proclaimed as such and then marked accordingly. The designation of a site or relic locates the ‘antiquity on our mental map and lends it status .... The marked antiquity becomes an exhibit contrived for our attention. ... But for markers, people would generally pass by most ancient monuments unaware of their antiquity’ (Lowenthal, 1985:265). The *Buried Village* as a site of antiquity and a relic of the past was clearly marked as such. The operation, as a commercial concern designed to attract interested tourists, illustrates that ‘processes of historic reconstruction demonstrate the fundamental principle of capitalism, that anything can be commodified’ (Bell, 1996:74).

One aspect of representing the past is the alteration of sites to suit the aesthetic sensibilities of the paying customer. Ruins need to be ‘made tidy’ (Lowenthal, 1985:271), manicured pathways leading from one site of interest to another, clean toilet blocks, adequate parking all contribute to the notion that tourists are ‘seldom

conscious of, or worried about, the alterations of the past that interpretation implies' (Lowenthal, 1985:273). Of more concern is the ability of the operator to impose 'a new layer of meaning on the cultural heritage landscape while chopping out a piece of parchment here and attaching another bit there. In the process, the owners ... often destroy or alter the physical evidence itself' (McLean, 2000:216).

Two examples of this occurring at the *Buried Village* illustrate such alteration of physical evidence. An exhibit of unearthed blacksmith machinery is displayed as a blacksmith's shop (Conly, 1988) and the textual interpretation insinuates that there was a permanent blacksmith, Albert Fretwell, resident at Te Wairoa. A dramatic story of Fretwell and his daughters' escape to Rotorua on the night of the eruption is also included in the display. This is despite evidence which suggests that 'a mistake has been made, and that Fretwell and his two daughters were in Rotorua/Ohinemutu and not at Te Wairoa at the time of the eruption' (Keam, 1988:401).

A second example is the display of Tuhoto Ariki's whare (figure 18). The maihi, or bargeboards, attached to the outside of the whare are intricately carved and cross each other at the apex of the building. The length of the maihi indicate that they were not originally designed for the building as there are no other examples of maihi crossing in Māori architecture (Neich, 2001) illustrating that they were added at a later date. The location of the whare is also incongruous with historical evidence. Situated some 30 metres from the remains of the *Rotomahana* it is difficult to imagine that Ariki would reside so close to the hotel. Indeed, when the artist Arthur Vogan recalled his part in the rescue of Ariki, he mentioned that he 'had sketched his little "whare" (cabin) the previous summer. It stood apart from the rest of the houses & huts, at the head of the charming glen ...' (cited in Keam, 1988:405). The *Rotomahana* was not situated at the head of the glen, rather it was in the middle of the valley (figure 20). The erection of a pataka, or elevated food-store, outside the whare (figure 19) is also something that would more than likely not have occurred before the eruption. Having food in such proximity to someone considered sacred is something that would have rarely happened in nineteenth century Māori society (Manning, 1863). This situation provides evidence to

question 'whose interpretation of history' (Norkunas, 1993:5) is being presented at the *Buried Village*.



Figure 18: Tuhoto's whare at The Buried Village c. 1970. Note very little substance to structure. Melvin (n.d.:8).

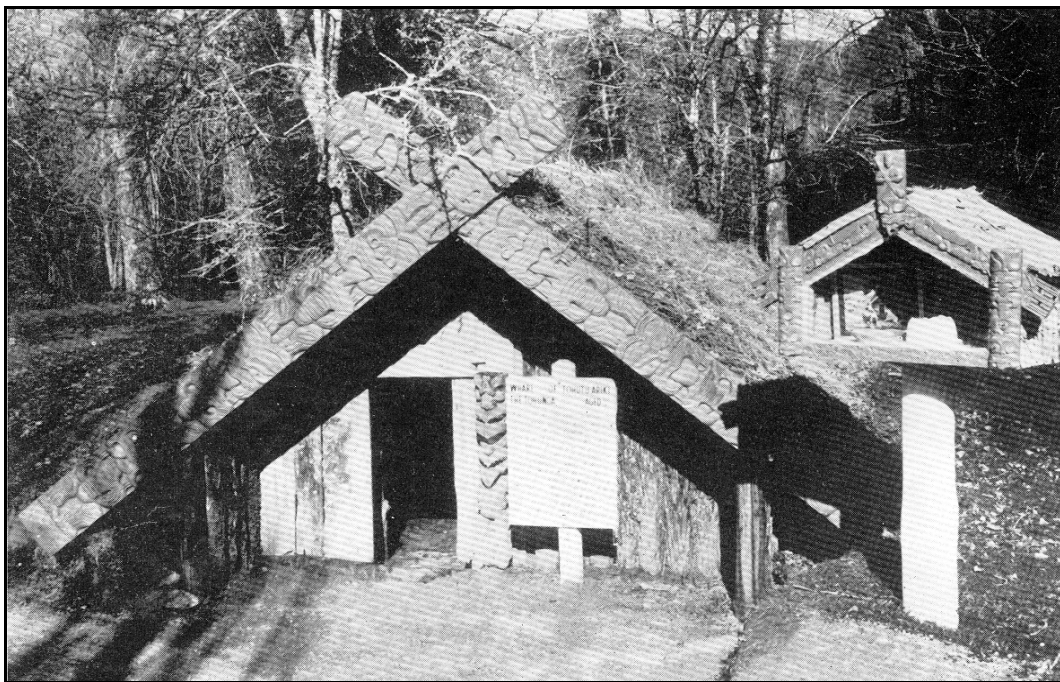


Figure 19: A re-built Tuhoto's whare complete with pataka. Smith (n.d.:6).



**Figure 20: Te Wairoa village pre-eruption showing the layout of the settlement. Auckland Insitiute and Museum. Keam (1988:28).**

The operation of the *Buried Village* continued over the years under different management but always within the same family. Most of the visitors, as evidenced by signatures in the visitor-books, were domestic tourists resident in New Zealand apart from the 1940s when American servicemen dominated (Conly, 1988). An animal enclosure was incorporated in 1968 (Stafford, 1988) and included the establishment of deer, pigs, assorted farm animals which complemented the trout in the stream bordering the property. In 1977 a \$100,000 refurbishment of the museum and tea-rooms based on a replica of the *Terrace* hotel was constructed to cater for the approximate 80-90,000 visitors the *Buried Village* attracted through its doors every year (DP, 10/06/1977:1). The new building culminated in 1998 with a new museum display ‘... which use[s] modern techniques, including sound recordings and judiciously selected artefacts tied to personal accounts to convey a real sense of being there when the Tarawera eruption happened’ (Labrum, 2001:186). Improvements in the signage of external displays was also undertaken in an attempt to correct inaccuracies and alleviate a sense of paternalism that was evident.



Inaccuracy in signage is still visible however and is seen in the plaque explaining Tuhoto Ariki's whare. Dramatic license is evident in the phrase 'they [Māori] guarded his whare for four days before they allowed him to be dug out' which is untrue. Further examples include the phrase 'he died a few days later' which is also untrue, as it was three weeks after his rescue that he died. The vagaries of Māori grammar are also evident in the sign as the term 'Maoris' indicates. The letter 's' to indicate a plural is not employed in Māori language. Several other signs also include this grammatical error although there is an acknowledgment to the situation as the notice above a war-canoe (figure 22) has the 's' blacked out in an apparent concession to correctness. Paternalism is seen in the sign (figure 23) where it is implied that Māori had nothing of value and that what they did require was minimal. New signage at the *Buried Village* attempts to overcome this by incorporating a fictional representation of a single tourist's letters home, describing the stay at Te Wairoa and news of the subsequent eruption (figure 24).

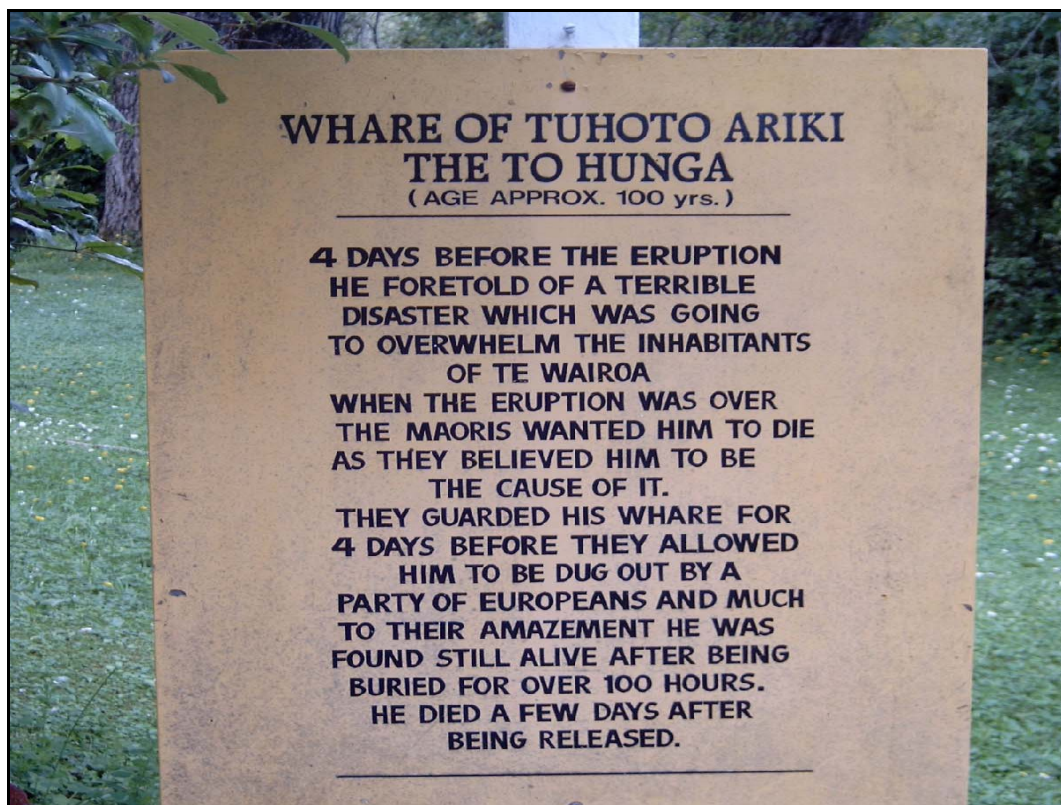


Figure 21: Sign at the Buried Village. Author (2003).

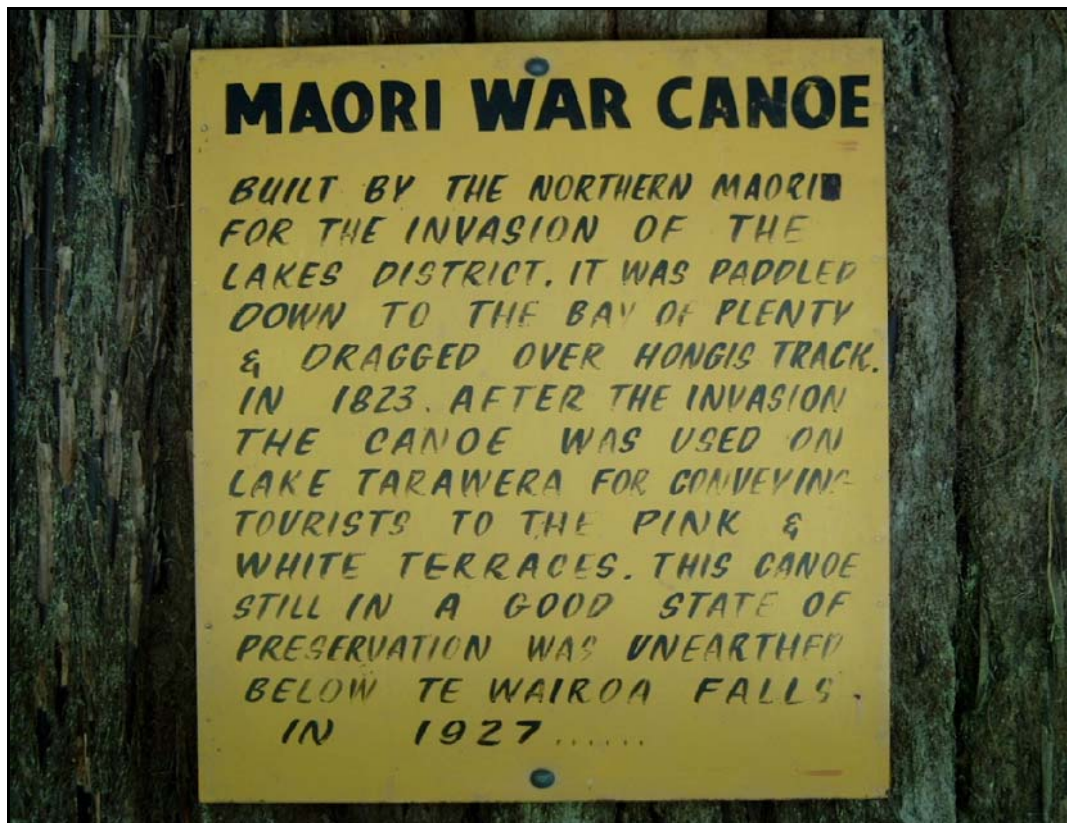


Figure 22: Sign at Buried Village. Author (2003).

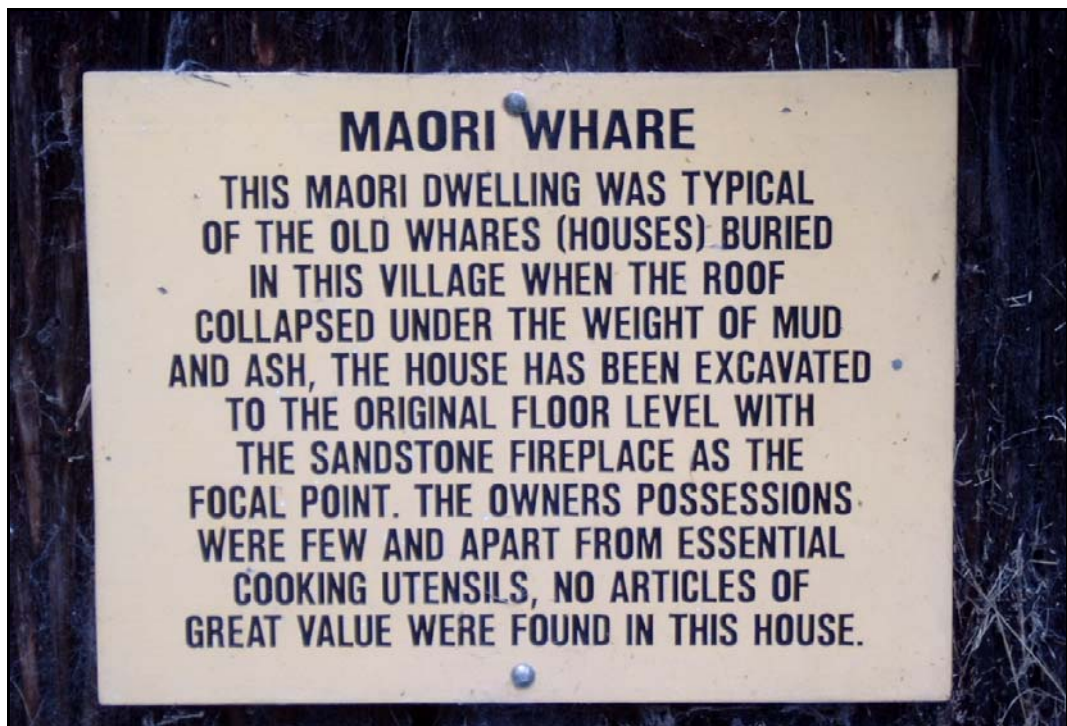


Figure 23: Sign at the Buried Village. Author (2003).





**Figure 24: New sign at the Buried Village. Author (2003).**

These examples provide evidence of the difficulty expressed by Jock Phillips (1996:122) in displaying historical complexity ‘in a mode of communication where the emphasis is upon objects, not extensive texts ...’. Phillips discusses the process of creating a Pākehā exhibit at the Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa and one avenue, not explored by Phillips, is the provision of interpretation through the presence of a guide. Interaction with a guide allows opportunity for a more comprehensive account of the past to be provided and the ability to impart personal opinions to visitors who are ‘often unaware of the contested nature of history’ (Norkunas, 1993:5). The *Buried Village* has followed this option and has employed Māori people with ancestral connections to Te Wairoa to act as such. This situation may have been prompted by a demand from the changing attitudes of tourists to the region who, according to Mike Tamaki, owner of a Māori cultural attraction in Rotorua, ‘are becoming more sensitive to cultural values of ethnic groups throughout the world’ (cited in Ateljevic, 1998:216). This notion is combined with the increasing number and importance of international tourists to New Zealand (New Zealand Ministry of Tourism, 2001) who are more likely than Pākehā New Zealanders to visit tourist attractions which involve Māori content (Ryan, 2002). It also indicates that heritage can be seen as a contemporary product which is ‘constructed according to the political, economic

and cultural values of the time. It is created and packaged, and can be recreated and repackaged, as values change' (Fountain, 1996:25).

Interest by tourists to visit sites of death and devastation is not a new phenomena as the people who wished to see the immediate destruction of Te Wairoa in 1886 indicate. What is novel, is the increased interest that such activity has received in academic literature. The activity has been variously labelled as 'fatal attraction' tourism (Rojek, 1993), 'disaster and conflict' tourism (Warner, 1999), 'thanatourism' (Seaton, 1996), or the most recent term 'dark' tourism (Lennon and Foley, 2000). John Lennon and Malcolm Foley (2000) have restricted their definition to sites where events are in the living memory of the visitors, and the events introduce anxiety and doubt about modernity. The limitations of this definition are disputed as 'living memory helps but it is not the *sine qua non* of the attractive power of dark events' (Ashworth, 2002:190). Despite the semantic arguments a common denominator in all of the labels is that it involves travel to a site which exhibits representations of death, disaster, or depravity which is 'partially motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death' (Seaton, 1996:240). Whatever term is utilised it is apparent that sites of such nature are of interest and act as an attraction for visitors in their own right.

The promotion of some dark tourist sites demonstrates a distinct lack of marketing and promotion regarding the brutality of events. An example is the brochures for the town of Oswiecim which defer mentioning nearby Auschwitz (Lennon and Foley, 2000) despite the fact that some 750,000 people annually visit the site of the German-run death camp. The *Buried Village* similarly de-emphasises death by promoting the site as 'History Alive Today' (figure 25). Indeed, the external displays provide a juxtaposition of the violence of a particular night with a rural serenity which exhibits an arcadia-like scene of tranquillity. The internal exhibits, despite the collection focussing on a natural disaster and the destruction it caused, retain an element of Lowenthal's (1985) tidy history. There are few references to any conflict occurring at the settlement of Te Wairoa, there is no mention of inter-tribal warfare, and the alienation of Māori land is not addressed.

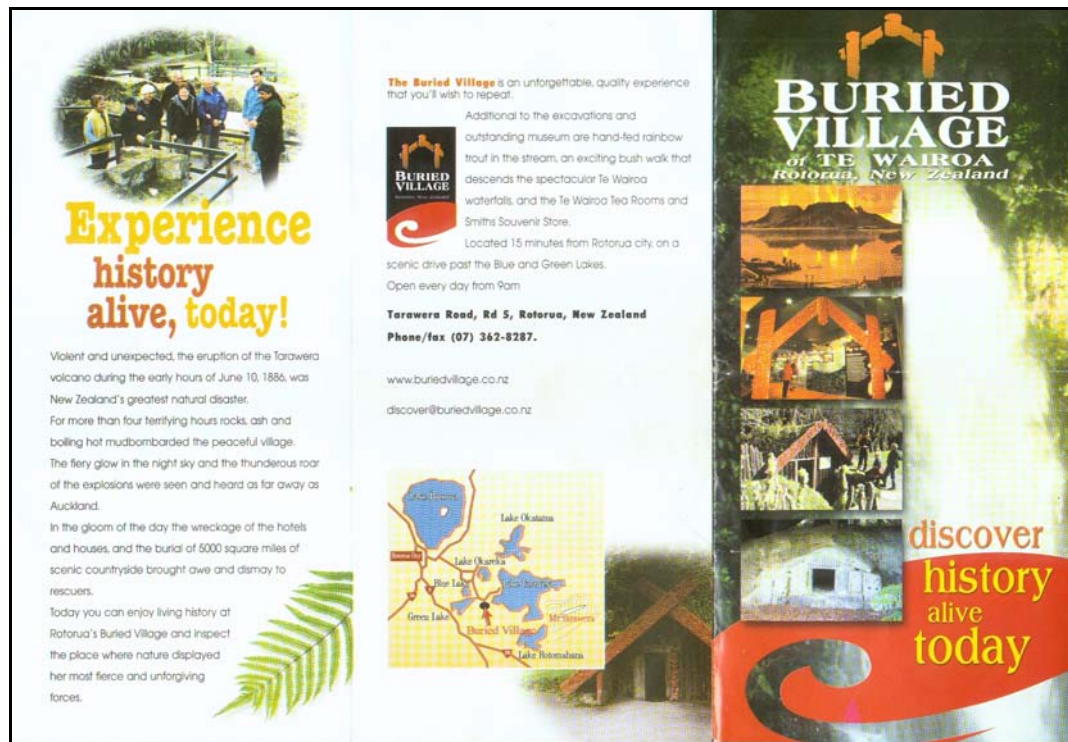


Figure 25: Brochure for the Buried Village, 2003.

In November 1999, the *New Zealand Herald* reported the proposed development of a new tourist attraction called *Experience Tarawera* to be constructed opposite the *Buried Village* (NZH, 22/11/1999:A6). The development, put forward by the Rotomahana Parekarangi 6J2B3 Trust, is designed to offer ‘an authentic recreation’ of life at Te Wairoa village before the eruption. According to the promoters the attraction, on 11.4 hectares of trust-owned land, will provide a ‘... simulation of life among the Tuhourangi people at the time of the eruption’ as well as a ‘40 minute audiovisual journey’ with which ‘visitors will experience the myth of the Phantom Canoe’. Included in the attraction will be ‘... a recreation of the Pink and White Terraces’ (NZH, 22/11/1999:A6). The initiative also allows an opportunity for the representation of the past to be controlled by the applicants.

The construction of the attraction, in order to satisfy local body regulations, had to comply with the Resource Management Act (1991). As part of the requirements of the Act, resource consent must be approved by the local council and the public have to be notified of the plans if there is reason to believe that the development will fall outside recommended guidelines. Appeals against the proposals can be lodged with the council and in the case of *Experience Tarawera* there were five

submissions lodged against the planned development. Of the five, three were associated with the Smith family and the *Buried Village* and their arguments were based around the impact the construction would have on the natural environment. Increased storm-water, dust during construction, the impact on water tables, and sediment in the nearby stream were all cited as negative environmental concerns (Bay of Plenty Regional Council (BOPRC), 2002:4).

The Commissioner, William Wasley, ruled that the proposal could proceed and framed the decision within a broader agenda than just environmental impact. The judgement stated that the scheme ‘will allow for the owners to provide for their social, economic, and cultural well being but at the same time ensuring any effects are mitigated, remedied or avoided’ (BOPRC, 2002:14). Furthermore, the report suggested that the ‘proposal will assist in the owners returning to Te Wairoa and that the proposed development symbolises such a return to the area’ at the same time ‘providing for a unique visitor attraction that will outline the history of events and people of the area’ (BOPRC, 2002:8). There are, however, some caveats placed on the construction of the attraction whereby ‘the consent holder shall advise the Regional Council of any artefacts, bones, or any other sites of archaeological or cultural significance which are discovered’ and should anything be found ‘... written authorisation should be obtained from the Historic Places Trust before any damage, modification or destruction is undertaken’ (BOPRC, 2002:21). The irony existent is that there were no such considerations observed or indeed the legal framework to ensure preservation of culturally sensitive archaeological sites in the 1930s when the *Buried Village* operation commenced.

The fact that there has been opposition to the construction of the new visitor attraction suggests that competition in the tourist industry at Te Wairoa has not lost its roots with the past. Further competition exists for *Experience Tarawera* within the Rotorua region with the operation of numerous Māori cultural performances in hotels, a recreation of pre-European village life at the *Tamaki Village*, the *Whakarewarewa Thermal Village*, the *Māori Arts and Crafts Institute*, tours to Mount Tarawera controlled by Ngāti Rangitihi, and a growing number of opportunities for tourists to stay at local marae. Outside of Rotorua,

despite Māori tourism accounting ‘for little more than 1 per cent of tourism turnover in Aotearoa/New Zealand’ (Barnett, 2001:83), there are both existent and proposed operations which provide *Experience Tarawera* with rivalry for tourist visitation and consumption.

For Tuhourangi, tourism development at Te Wairoa is but one means with which to reclaim a presence in the area. Arguments for the return of land have been submitted to the Waitangi Tribunal for evaluation (Moore and Quinn, 1993). The Tribunal, in part, conducts investigations into the Government’s historical role in their dealings with Māori regarding the Treaty of Waitangi. A key question for the Tribunal is whether the Government ensured that sufficient land was retained, or made available, to safeguard the viability of Māori communities. Although the Waitangi Tribunal has recommendatory powers only, the Governments of the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century have shown a willingness to accede to the recommendations of the Tribunal with regard to tribal ownership of land. A determination is still pending from the Tribunal and therefore it remains to be seen what the response of the Government to Tuhourangi claims are.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### HINEMIHI O TE AO TAWHITO

The *Experience Tarawera* proposal has similarities with one of the more enterprising ventures of Te Wairoa Māori in the 1880s, the construction and subsequent commercial use of *Hinemihi o te Ao Tawhito* (figure 26). The English translation is ‘Hinemihi of the Old World’ and the nomenclature chosen indicates that there were different spheres of influence operating at the same time at Te Wairoa. Allan Gallop (1998:46) claims that during the late nineteenth-century what European visitors ‘found at Te Wairoa was a community operating on both traditional native and British lines; a village with an identity crisis, reeling from the side effects of European colonisation while trying to hang on to Maori values’. What exactly is meant by the term ‘Māori values’ is not explored further and it should be recognised that the impact of European colonisation could hardly be classified as a ‘side effect’.

It would be simplistic to maintain that there were only two worlds operating at this juncture, one European and one Māori, one traditional and one new. This clear dichotomy implies that both European and Māori interests acted in a unified and exclusive manner. What occurred was more complex and Te Wairoa, as a site of interaction, illustrates Bhabha’s (1994:2) notion that there is a ‘third space’ or an ‘in-between’, whereby ‘it is in the emergence of interstices – the overlap and displacement of domains of difference – ... [where] community interest, or cultural value are negotiated’. An interpretive history of *Hinemihi* offers a case study with which these notions are articulated.

Te Wharekaniwha organised and financed the construction of *Hinemihi* and the carvers employed were Wero Taroī and his apprentice Tene Waitere. Based at Okataina, a nearby lake, the carvers were from the Ngāti Tarawhai tribe. Wero Taroī was considered to be one of the most prolific carvers who had learnt his skills before the arrival of European technology (Neich, 2001). This link with the past is considered important as Wero’s skill at merging new influences, while retaining knowledge of past practices, became a benchmark for future generations



of carvers (Neich, 2001). The meeting-house was completed in 1881 and is one of the first deliberate arenas for the commercial consumption of Māori cultural performances. There is evidence of tourists paying for impromptu performances at Ohinemutu by the late 1870s (Senior, 1880) and by the late 1880s they had become more formalised with considerable discussion surrounding the content of the show (Dingley, 1995). While these performances were for the tourists, Buchner (1878:132) maintained that the younger generation of locals at Ohinemutu were more interested in dancing European waltzes than Māori haka and that 'almost every evening a ball takes place in an old empty hut' thus demonstrating Bhabha's (1994:2) 'displacement of domains of difference' and a specific site of interstice.

Another domain of difference that shows evidence of displacement is the European influence on Māori communities in their use and construction of meeting-houses. The introduction of new crops lessened the need for tribes to move to seasonal gathering grounds to source food. This in turn meant that many villages became more permanent and, along with new construction techniques and building materials, the style of meeting-houses reflect this change (Simmons, 1997). Adzed timber frames and thatching made from raupō and nīkau plants were replaced with sawn timber planks and shingle roofs. The houses became larger and doors and windows were introduced. The introduction of metal tools enabled the carvings to become more intricate and new types of paint allowed for more vibrancy in the colours chosen.

The function of meeting-houses also changed over time. Prior to European landfall, the chief's house was used as the main gathering point to discuss matters of importance. Sidney Mead (1997) maintains that the Māori chiefs who converted to Christianity imitated the missionary example of having a private family house for the minister and a separate place for worship. Thus the meeting-house, although still firmly associated with the chief, was not lived in permanently. Like other forms of European influence, religious structures were adapted by Māori and then rearticulated to form something that was not one or the other creating a 'third-space' of cultural expression. The advent of the Ringatu

faith is one example of a new means of worship, one that was inspired by European scripture and by Māori mythology. According to Belich (1996:223) these new faiths ‘converted European Christianity as much as it was converted by it’ and the ‘conversion of Christianity by Maori was not solely retaining elements of tradition, but of developing non-European interpretations of Christianity, non-Christian interpretations of the Bible, and new elements that were neither traditional, nor Christian nor Biblical’. The new faiths are an articulation of the negotiation that occurred in-between Māori and European concepts of spirituality and suggest a manifestation of Bhabha’s (1994) cultural hybrid being more than ‘the same but not quite’ but rather something new based on the mergence of the two.



**Figure 26: Hinemihi at Te Wairoa c.1881. Greg Stevens Collection in Rotorua District Council (1986:28).**

Meeting-houses fulfilled a new role as Christian churches became less appropriate for incorporating Māori elements, thus an influence of the new forms of faith ‘fused the large church of the missionaries and the indigenous carved house of the Maori into one architectural form’ (Neich, 2001:174). This situation, combined with intense political activity associated with the land wars saw a need to construct buildings that could accommodate large-scale meetings to discuss land sales, politics, tribal affairs, as well as holding religious ceremonies. A less charitable and biased contemporary view of the meeting-house was provided by Bates (Bates, 1969:5) whereby it is ‘intended as a place for the Maoris to hold meetings in, to play at being magistrates and to talk treason in’. Whether the talk inside the meeting-house was treasonous or an expression of political-will is a moot point in the context of this thesis. However, what is important is that the meeting-house became a physical manifestation of new influences in Māori society and an example of how traditional forms are altered but still remain recognisable.

It should be noted that the meeting-house was considered to be a taonga, or treasure, of the local community and assumed the role of the war-canoe as the focus for a tribes ‘pride, prestige and identity’ (Neich, 2001:174). Not only was the meeting-house a place of congregation it was also considered to be an animate object acting as a spiritual mediator between the past and present that located individual subjects within tribal networks (Salmond, 1975). The structure of the meeting-house provided evidence for this ancestral relationship. Although there are variations among tribes the carved figure at the apex of the building is regarded as the head, the bargeboards represent the arms, the ridgepole symbolises the backbone, the rafters are considered to be the ribs and the interior signify the stomach. According to Anne Salmond (1984) when a person enters the meeting-house they are symbolically entering the body of the ancestors, thereby the living and the dead are joined together in the belly of the house. The carvings associated with particular meeting-houses, while utilising the new technologies of European tools, retained the signified expression of cultural and social structures with many meeting-houses featuring carvings representing important ancestors and mythical figures of significance to the particular tribe (Simmons, 1997). The

carvings, by their representative nature, act as a reference point for the telling of history aiding in the reconstruction of the past.

The change in construction to a more permanent building-style, along with the changing function of the meeting-houses, coincided with a change in payment structures. Roger Neich (2001:183) maintains that 'by the time Ngāti Tarawhai began to build large carved meeting-houses in the 1860s, cash payments were already a well-established component of carving transactions'. Although it is unclear how much was paid for the construction of *Hinemihi* a comparison may be made with *Tokopikowhakahau*, a meeting-house commissioned in 1878, costing the owner £500, although this included the cost of material and labour (Neich, 2001). Whatever the precise payment the important point is that the construction of *Hinemihi* was a commercial transaction illustrating that the local community was responding and adapting to change. In some respects the construction of *Hinemihi* can be seen as an act of the present, designed for the future, while recognising and representing the past.

Formally opened in March of 1881 *Hinemihi* contained carvings of special interest to the tribe. The centre-post was carved in the form of a lizard representing Kataore which, according to Stafford (1967), was a tame pet lizard of an important woman called Hinemihi. The murder of the lizard resulted in a series of serious wars between the Arawa tribes and is a central figure in the recollection of past battles and integral to the history of place in the region. Tribal identity was also reinforced by carvings on the outside of the house providing further recollections of the past to be interpreted as and when required. A symbolic recognition of the changing influences at work at Te Wairoa was the carved tekoteko at the apex of the house. The figure, representing an ancestor, was styled within both European and Māori contexts. While the face was carved with tattoos, reminiscent of past practice, the carving also had a European hat on top of its head, acknowledging the significance of a European connection. Further carvings incorporated European boots symbolically demonstrating a hybridisation of cultures and an admixture of peoples in Te Wairoa.

Neich (2001:170) suggests that the relationship between the patron and the carver is a dialectical one and that 'both the artist and the patron can set up new relationships and initiate new trends, as well as perpetuate old ones'. The patron is the one who had to support the project, raise the resources, employ the carvers, and suggest which representations should be used while the carver had the final decision on how best to technically produce the representations. It is unknown whether it was the carver or the patron who decided to insert European coins into the eyes of the carvings of *Hinemihi* rather than the traditional paua shell. Gallop (1998:32) implies it was Te Wharekaniwha's 'gesture towards his own status, wealth, tribe and that of the settlement in which he was proud to be a Chief ...'. However, the suggestion may have been made by the carver considering he was the architect of the meeting-house *Te Puawai o Te Arawa*, built prior to *Hinemihi* which also included the insertion of coins in the eyes (Neich, 2001). A male figure at the base of *Hinemihi's* centre pole had gold sovereigns for eyes while other carvings had silver half-sovereigns, shillings or sixpenny pieces inserted. These additional touches allowed the meeting-house to also become historically known as *Hinemihi of the Golden Eyes*.

*Hinemihi* was by no means the largest or most intricately carved meeting-house in the region. Nonetheless, *Hinemihi* displayed all the attributes of an important meeting-house with its symbolic carvings, use as a forum for discussing tribal matters, a source of prestige for the tribe, and reaffirmation of tribal identity. Another important use of the meeting-house was as a place to hold funerals or tangi. At Māori funerals the body of the deceased was normally displayed for a period of time so mourners could pay their last respects, and this usually occurred at a tribe's meeting-house. Unfortunately *Hinemihi* performed this function all too often, especially in the months leading up to the eruption with four people dying within the space of a month and it 'changed that usually gay and festive settlement into a "house of mourning", [as] tangi has succeeded tangi' (Waikato Times, 22/04/1886:2). The chief instigator of *Hinemihi's* construction, Te Wharekaniwha, died in May of 1886 and his tangi was also held at *Hinemihi*.

While *Hinemihi* had an important role to play in the representation of local culture for the local community it also had a role to play in the representation of local culture to visiting tourists. A deliberate decision by Te Wharekaniwha to charge tourists to enter *Hinemihi* just to view the carvings is one of the earliest examples, in New Zealand history, of the commercialisation of Māori culture in a formal tourism context. To enter the meeting-house a visitor was required to pay the sum of one shilling for the opportunity to gaze upon the exotic.

Another example of profiting from the European willingness to gaze at an exotic 'other' was the performance of a haka, or series of songs and dances, by members of the local community. Shows were held in the evening to capitalise on the free-time of tourists and the price of a performance varied on the type of show requested. Bertram Barton attended one performance and was charged one shilling per performer where he reported that it would be 'a mistake to call it a dance, as the artists do not move out of their double row of fifteen, women in front, men behind. One and all throw themselves heart and soul into the business of the evening, and it is certainly a very quaint and characteristic performance'. Barton's account reveals a level of expectation by the audience and in this particular case they were somewhat disappointed as 'there is not a great deal of variety about it, and after ten minutes you have really seen it all. (We had it for over an hour)'. To counter the perceived monotony of the show, Barton provided his own form of entertainment by lighting a piece of magnesium wire during the performance which 'elicited much excitement' from the locals who 'were not content till I had allowed one or two of them to light a piece for themselves' (cited in Wevers, 2000:139-40).

An extra cost incurred by the audience was the price of refreshments for the performers. The refreshments included beer, rum, or raspberry vinegar for the abstainers (Keam, 1988). Gallop (1998) maintains there is only one detailed contemporary account of a haka inside *Hinemihi* and that is from the memoirs of Merton Russell-Cotes who visited in May 1885 with his family. The description of the performance, it is said, is derived from notes Russell-Cotes penned for a lecture given to the Royal Geographical Society in London and then later

privately published in 1931. Accordingly, the haka was ‘similar to the hula-hula dance in Hawaii’ and the dancers:

*... trooped in and arranged themselves in two rows along the vacant side of the building –the women in front and the men behind. They seemed to be arranged pretty well in order of merit, the best dancers being towards the top of the whare, so that their virtues are brought well under the eyes of the visitors. The row tailed off towards the door, where the worst dancers were out of the direct line of vision and veiled in a judicious gloom. ... Ever and anon the chant of the leader swelled into a hoarse and guttural chorus, ending in a series of indescribable sounds, which seemed to come from far down the throat, half sign, half grunts. Gradually the motions quickened. The bodies of the dancers turned now to this side, now to that, but always in a state of intense agitation, seemed to be animated by one spirit, as perfectly simultaneous were their gestures. The arms, moving in a rhythmic motion to the chant, went through a variety of pantomimes.*

(cited in Gallop, 1998:40-42)

While this account is credited to Russell-Cotes it is probable that he may have had a copy of *Maoriland* by his side as he was writing the speech. *Maoriland* contains an almost verbatim description of the performance as previously cited (USSC, 1884:270). The fact that *Maoriland* was published in 1884, one year before the visit to Te Wairoa by Russell-Cotes, leads to the conclusion that the description is copied from the guidebook. This plagiarism provides further evidence to what Wevers (2002:190) maintains is the ‘high level of agreement about what constitutes the exotic’.

If this particular performance was considered ‘quaint’ there was an alternative production, a haka considered too robust for European women and the more demur gentlemen to attend. According to Froude’s (1886:244) recollection their party were approached by locals who suggested the group ‘might have a brief

ordinary dance on moderate terms. If we wished for a performance complete – complete with its indecencies, which they said gentlemen usually preferred – they would expect £3.10s.0d.’. Froude’s party refused the offer of both performances whether they be ‘mutilated or entire’. The difference in price between the two shows was two pounds, a considerable discrepancy. For a ‘brief ordinary dance’ the price was £1.10s or ten shillings per performer. Exactly what the considered indecencies were is unclear as most accounts either deliberately state their disavowal of the show or only include vague references to the scene. The performance, according to Keam (forthcoming), was known as a ‘poteteke where the performers danced topless or even completely naked’ which may account for the lack of detailed description in published narratives or guide-books. However, the unwritten has the potential to become the implied and it could be argued that the mention of indecencies and a show for men-only ‘may have titivated many admiring gentlemen, and teased the jaded Victorian palate’ (Te Awekotuku, 1991:160) which added to the lure of the exotic.

Altering the content of the performances indicates that local Māori had an awareness of the sensibilities of the European visitors and that not all would appreciate the more vigorous and robust renditions of the show. The difference in price also indicates an awareness that tourists were prepared to pay extra for a more risqué exhibition. The contrasting presentations further illustrate that local Māori were willing to adulterate, in a performative manner, aspects of their culture to suit an audience.

To modify the show to suit the sensibilities of a paying audience brings into question the notion of authenticity and the representation of identity. Authenticity as a concept, especially regarding the display of indigenous culture in a tourism setting, is extensively debated by scholars interested in tourism development. One argument is that the commoditization of cultural performance changes the meaning of the product (Greenwood, 1977) and the surrogate expression of culture becomes staged for the tourist in a contrived performance (MacCannell, 1973). These assumptions imply that the ‘commoditization, engendered by



tourism, allegedly destroys not only the meaning of cultural products for the locals but, paradoxically, also for the tourists' (Cohen, 1988:373).

While these authors are concerned with tourism in the latter part of the twentieth-century there is evidence of these concepts manifesting in the Rotorua district in the 1880s. Sala (cited in Dingley, 1995:158), in regard to viewing a haka, maintained that 'some of the European experts in the choreographic mysteries of Maoriland went, indeed so far as to declare that the performance ... was not a real "haka" at all, but a spurious compound of a war-dance and so much unadulterated humbug'. This comment pre-dates the desire of the supposed postmodern tourists' search and subsequent inability to discover an authentic experience (Urry, 1990; MacCannell, 1992) by some 100 years. A further remark in the *New Zealand Herald* demonstrates a perception that an authentic experience may not necessarily be in the best interests of the tourist:

*Perhaps it is just as well that the tourists do not see the Maori haka of the Olden Time, and that the mild fraud which is palmed upon them has about as much resemblance to a genuine Maori haka as the salutations of a Hallelujah Lass have to the demivoltings of the nymphs, "all agility and muslin" of the corps de ballet.*  
(NZH, 27/03/1886:9)

These comments are from the perspective of the tourist which provides Neich (2001:236) with the evidence to maintain 'it was the tourists to Rotorua who brought the concept of authenticity with them, introducing it to a place where it had never previously existed'. However, what is ignored is the role of the local actors in the performances and their ability to engage and manipulate the structure of the cultural exchange. Eric Cohen (1998) in his appraisal of authenticity and cultural performance in tourism maintains that old meanings do not necessarily disappear but may remain salient and that the concept of what is authentic is a personal subjective notion. John Taylor (2001:9) agrees with the subjectivity of the individual and further employs the idea of a 'sincere' encounter in which it is 'the moment of interaction' between the performers and the audience where

‘value is generated’. That *Hinemihi* was constructed, owned, and managed by local interests indicates an ability of the local to manipulate the demand from European on-lookers. This is evident in the fact that certain events such as tangi took precedence over performing for tourists in *Hinemihi*. Indeed, not all performances at Te Wairoa were for the consumption of tourists and not all were held in *Hinemihi*. A letter by H. Ward to his father in 1881 indicates that European tourists were excluded from some events in the settlement. Ward mentioned that:

*At Whairoa [Te Wairoa] I spent the night, much disturbed in my rest by a party of Maoris who were having a sort of war-dance in an adjoining field. Pakehas – as they call white men – are not wanted at these night orgies and a prick with a spear or light blow with a club – accidents of course – is their explanation to an intruding visitor that he is unwelcome. Had this been otherwise I should – tired as I was – have been out and among them.*

(Ward, 1989:59)

The poteteke provided further evidence, for those inclined to find it, of the worst aspects of Māori degradation in the face of European colonisation. It is important to note that the most vociferous of published objections to this performance were by people who did not actually see it. A ‘drunken orgy’ was the most common description of the performance and as Talbot maintained:

*... that it is every white man’s duty to suppress rather than encourage it. Excited by rum and pakeha approval, the dancers often bring this haka to a pitch of indescribable indecency, and the result of it often is a filthy, drunken orgie of several days duration. There are innocent hakas, the performance of which would harm nobody; but at Wairoa these innocent ones are more frequently exceeded than not, and the result is often unlimited drunkenness and immorality.*

(Talbot, 1882:43)

Another not to see the show but obliged to comment was Froude (1886) who suggested the blame for the indecencies should be placed not only upon Māori who performed the acts but Europeans who encouraged such behaviour. Froude remarked that:

*Tourists, it seems, do encourage these things, and the miserable people are paid to disgrace themselves, that they may have a drunken orgie afterwards, for that is the way in which the money is invariably spent. The tourists, I presume, wish to teach the poor savage the blessing of civilisation.*

(Froude, 1886:244)

A further commentary (USSC, 1884:269) suggested that it was alcohol consumption combined with the performance that made it immoral, whereby if the haka ‘could only be disassociated from beer-drinking which, almost invariably, more or less accompanies it, it would do little harm either to the visitor who looks on, or to the native who takes part in it ...’. One of the few references to the show complete with indecencies, by an actual observer, makes a comparison with European performances and suggests the show was not as immoral as some would have made believe. George Lacy remarked that the show was ‘though certainly not refined, [he had] seen as bad in Paris and Vienna casinos’ (cited in Te Awekotuku, 1991:160). That the show was not discontinued suggests there were enough tourists willing to pay the extra £2 to see the performance.

That the authors who expressed the disparaging opinions had not seen the show indicates a willingness to report a manufactured account based on hearsay. The supposed immorality of the show colluded with a portrayal of Māori in the region as ‘inconsistent, shortsighted, and illogical’ (Harris, 1878:60), or ‘a consummate race of thieves’ (Tinne, 1873:9). These notions became the basis for a production of historical accounts reinforcing a view that Māori were incapable of separating the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ influences of European culture and the shocking version

of the haka provided additional proof of such. The mortality rate of Māori at Te Wairoa also offered further evidence as the local community:

*... have received a constant stream of money from tourists, have been plied with liquor to get up hakas and dances, and have been kept constantly drunk and idle. As a consequence, notwithstanding all the money they receive, they live in a most wretched style, and never have a sufficiency of nourishing food. ... Only a small portion of the children who are born live.*

(NZH, 01/06/1886:4)

Such exclamations caused members of Tuhourangi to refute the claims that ‘Tuhourangi [was] a drunken and lazy tribe’ as the people who ‘died did not drink; some were children – one aged five years, one aged seven years, and one aged one month’. Accordingly, there were ‘many reasons amongst Europeans and natives for these deaths and misfortunes’ and Tuhourangi asked for ‘the writings of such foolish people to the newspapers cease, lest it be said that the statements are correct’ (Auckland Weekly News, 26/06/1886:15).

The production of narratives have reinforced, with little evidence, the nature of the performance on display in *Hinemihi*. Writing in the 1940s W. Phillipps, of the Dominion Museum, ignored the consumption of alcohol and linked the perceived debauchery to an era without the civilising influence of European culture. Phillipps (1946:35) maintained that ‘the Maori warrior was then closer to the days of his primitive forbears; and the haka was a drama that had to be lived to be acted. So inside *Hinemihi* many a wild scene was enacted once again for the entertainment of men only being admitted’.

Eugene and Valarie Grayland (1971:20) suggest the performance was a means to earn money for beer and make a tenuous connection that ‘the skimpy flax skirts of the girls became forerunners of today’s striptease’. The proposed evidence is that prior to European colonisation ‘dancing and singing had been a gay, spontaneous affair’. This ignores the fact that haka, similar to carvings, were a means of

reciting stories that recollected the past into an accessible format. Therefore, the songs and dances were well practiced and rehearsed and most would be deliberately sung for a specific occasion. This would suggest that spontaneity may have occurred in the timing of the delivery but not in the content or the purpose. Furthermore, not all songs were designed to be 'gay affairs', many had precise meanings and told of histories that included conquest, defeat, death, murder, and calamity.

The expressions of distaste and perceived immorality regarding the performance contained, to borrow an expression from Belich (1996:173), both a kernel of truth in myth and a kernel of myth in truth. The kernel of truth is that alcohol was freely available to the participants and its consumption was actively encouraged by some audiences. Despite the passing of The Licensing Act (1881) which specifically forbade supplying Māori with alcohol in native districts, the numerous accounts of providing rum as payment or beer as refreshment make it clear that this particular law was either unable or unwilling to be policed. Concern about alcohol consumption at the show was expressed by Gilbert Mair, ex-commander of the Arawa Flying Column. In a letter to the editor Mair pronounced shame at 'a party of English travellers encouraging the Natives to perform indecent dances, serving out a mixture of half a dozen kinds of drink by the bucketful, in order to make the women forgetful of their sense of propriety' (cited in Gallop, 1998:44). Alcohol consumption at the show was complemented by concern at the consumption by the Te Wairoa community in general and there were attempts to encourage abstinence from alcohol.

According to Marten Hutt (1999:43) while the series of laws regarding alcohol and Māori were motivated by the paternalism of the temperance movement, 'Maori may have contributed to the prevailing mood among politicians'. There is evidence of the temperance ideology and Māori willingness to adopt such at Te Wairoa when, in 1880, the American citizen William Snow decided to make Te Wairoa his home for two years (Stafford, 1986). A semi-invalid in search of cure Snow was also a strong supporter of the temperance movement and assisted the local community, or those who so desired, in promoting a teetotal existence.

While Snow and in later times Alfred Fairbrother had significant roles to play, their influence would not have been as strong without the support of key individuals living at Te Wairoa. The initial success of the temperance movement was, according to Snow (cited in Keam, forthcoming), largely ‘due to no one man more than to the chief’ as Te Wharekaniwha ‘stepped boldly forward, and calling upon all his tribe, men, women, and children, to follow his example declared himself favourable to the movement, and signed his name to the pledge ...’.

Snow’s legacy to the community is illustrated by the number of people willing to take up the cause. According to the *New Zealand Herald* there were 70 adults who were members of the ‘Maori Blue Ribbon Army’ and the ‘children were rampant Blue Ribbonites’ (NZH, 27/03/1886:9). If the numbers are an accurate portrayal of commitment then this would imply that approximately half the Māori population of Te Wairoa were sympathetic to the movement. The construction of Snow’s Temperance Hall in 1885, two years after Snow’s departure death en route to America, also indicates a strong level of support for the cause. The appointment of Te Rangipuawhe, a strong authority figure, to the management committee further illustrates the strength of the movement and the hall became a focal point for the movement and ‘neither drinking, smoking, dancing, nor gambling are to be permitted within its walls’ (NZH 27/03/1886:9).

The truth probably lies somewhere between total abstinence and drunken debauchery. Despite the illegality, Māori were far less likely to be arrested for alcohol related crimes (Eldred-Grigg, 1984) and the consumption of alcohol is defended as ‘those who criticised Maoris for wanton drunkenness seemed to have completely over-looked the social context of drinking’ (Waaka, 1986:3). Accordingly, Waaka (1986) maintains that money was often pooled together to purchase alcohol for social occasions such as weddings and the entertaining of visitors. Nonetheless, cases of extreme drunkenness by individuals were witnessed as Snow’s journals indicate. Snow maintained that he ‘had seen this chief [Te Wharekaniwha] carried from the hotel on the two shoulders of two men in an unconscious drunken stupor’ (cited in Keam, forthcoming). This is the same chief who two years later was to sign a pledge of abstinence. As fate would have

it, alcohol consumption became the least of the worries of the local community as the 1886 eruption overshadowed social sensibilities.

Three years after the eruption the fourth Earl of Onslow was appointed as Governor of New Zealand. Onslow accepted his appointment in 1889 and then relinquished the post in 1892. During the end of 1891 Onslow and his family began to look for souvenirs of New Zealand to take back to their English summer estate, Clandon Park (Gallop, 1998). Unlike some tourists who require an easily packaged and cost-effective souvenir of their short visit to a country, Onslow desired something more substantial as a souvenir of his time as Governor. It was decided that a Māori meeting-house would make an ideal reminder of the family's time in New Zealand. The Native Office of the New Zealand Government was requested to search for a suitable meeting-house and several hopeful approaches were made to people unwilling to sell or to people who demanded too much money. Mika Aporo, the son of Te Wharekaniwha, was approached to see if he would consider selling the damaged *Hinemihi* (figure 27). Aporo duly agreed and the meeting-house was sold to Lord Onslow for £50. The meeting-house was dismantled and Roger Dansey, the Rotorua Postmaster, described how he:

*... got the natives to write down the names of each carved figure with a short written statement connected with each individual represented, and numbered respectively to correspond with numbers in red paint at the back of each carving which I am translating into English; together with a short history of the whare for his Excellency's information, accompanied by a small plan shewing the proper position of each numbered carving should it be intended to re-erect the whare in England.*

(cited in Hooper-Greenhill, 1998:136)

Instructions were given to reconstruct *Hinemihi* at Clandon Park next to an ornamental lake. The English labourers reconstructing the meeting-house may have mislaid or misinterpreted the instructions as discrepancies from the original lay-out occurred in the reconstruction. Carvings that were unused in the re-

building were stored away and other carvings were either sold or given away. *Hinemihi* was then used as a shed for storing punts and small rowing boats. The front wall was removed allowing pleasure craft to be launched from the meeting-house directly onto the lake (Gallop, 1998).



**Figure 27: Hinemihi at Te Wairoa post-eruption. Alexander Turnbull Library. Conly (1985:111).**

When *Hinemihi* was in Te Wairoa one of its functions was as a community-based totemic display of belonging to place. By symbolically acting as a tool for a collective memory through its continued use, *Hinemihi* was a focal point for tribal identity. It could be suggested that despite the dislocation of time, place and ownership *Hinemihi* retained that particular role although in an entirely different context. Displayed as a working and practical souvenir of the Onslow's time in New Zealand *Hinemihi* became a functional reminder for an individual family of times past. Placed ornamentally next to the man-made lake across the manicured grounds from the stately home, *Hinemihi* conjured up images of exotic events in far off lands. That there are no other Māori meeting-houses in England provided further evidence of the Onslow's status, prestige, and privilege within British society.



While *Hinemihi* acted as a tool for an individual family's memory it can also be argued that the transposition of the meeting-house added to a collective memory which aided and abetted British conceptual notions of Empire. According to Tom Barringer and Tom Flynn (1998) taking objects from the periphery to the centre is illustrative of the unequal power relations existent in a colonial relationship. The ability of the coloniser to appropriate symbols and artefacts of the colonised and displace them from their original site of meaning indicates the control of the coloniser even if there was monetary compensation provided for the removal of the artefact.

During the First World-War, Clandon Park and the Onslow estate became a field hospital and place for recuperation for Commonwealth casualties. Thus Clandon Park became a haven for over 5000 foreign troops during its time as a hospital (Gallop, 1998:109). The New Zealand Government, committed to aiding the war effort in Europe, created the New Zealand Expeditionary Force which included some 2000 Māori troops as part of the Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion (Cowan, 1926:8).

Maui Pomare (cited in Cowan, 1926:ix) articulated a perceived requirement that Māori had to prove their worth before they were considered to be the 'racial peer of any man on earth'. The Great War, as it was known, 'satisfied in the one fitting fashion the intense desire of the Maori to prove to the world that he was the equal of the *Pakeha* in the fullest sense – physically, mentally, and spiritually'. Equally, according to Cowan (1926:1), 'with centuries of military traditions behind him, it was natural that the Maori should have been eager to shoulder rifle'. These ideas belie the fact that support for going to war was not universal among Māori and it is of little surprise that tribes who had been worst affected by land confiscations were less likely to commit young men as troops (McKinnon, 1997).

Another Surrey country home, Mount Felix, was the main hospital that New Zealanders were sent to although some of the New Zealand soldiers were taken to Clandon Park for recuperation after being wounded in battle. Of those soldiers there were a number from the Native Contingent and it is possible that some may

have been from Te Arawa as ‘the Arawa and Ngāti Kahungunu and others were the first to volunteer’ (Cowan, 1926:9). Walking the grounds and gardens as therapy for the soldiers rehabilitation, the Māori patients would undoubtedly have recognised the displaced and ill-maintained semblance of a Māori meeting-house.

In 1917 it was suggested by some of the Māori contingent that *Hinemihi* be moved away from the water to protect its foundations and walls from decaying and that the front wall be reinstated to protect the interior from the elements (Gallop, 1998). As a form of rehabilitation and recreation the Māori invalids at the hospital, with the assistance of fellow soldiers from the Commonwealth, dismantled the house and moved it away from the water and across the lawn to Clandon’s south front (Gallop, 1998). Although there were no plans to work from the party who assisted with the reconstruction would have had a better appreciation of the style of building than the English labourers who erected the house when it arrived in Clandon in 1892. Carvings that had been stored in the attic of the main house were brought out and re-attached to the meeting-house while existing carvings were cleaned and reassembled. A further carving depicting the legendary Te Arawa couple Hinemoa and Tutanekai, not originally associated with *Hinemihi*, but given to the Onslows as another souvenir was also attached outside on the front wall (Gallop, 1998).

While *Hinemihi* may have been relocated to an area less prone to causing rot, somewhat restored and reassembled more sympathetically, the meeting-house became, once again, a storage unit for the estate after the end of the war. Deck chairs, sports equipment and picnic tables for summer activities as well as lawn mowers, rollers and tools for garden maintenance were stored inside. During the Second World-War Clandon Park was used by the Public Records Office to store records out of London as security against German air raids. When the war finished and the Onslow family returned to their estate, *Hinemihi* was again altered with the front wall removed and the house became both a storage shed and a play area for the children (Gallop, 1998).

The 1950s saw the fortunes of the Onslow family decline and they were unable to maintain the expansive grounds and buildings of Clandon Park. Tax obligations, high labour costs and a limited supply of raw materials contributed to the decision to abandon the main building and move to smaller accommodations on the property. In 1956 Clandon House was presented to the National Trust, Britain's leading conservation society and the country's largest landowner, as a means of preserving the estate. Included in the deed was *Hinemihi* and the once privately owned meeting-house became the public property of the British people through the publicly funded National Trust.

This is not the first time aspects of *Hinemihi* had become public property. In 1934 the Reserve Bank of New Zealand issued a new set of banknotes and decided to insert images of Māori carvings on the note (figure 28). The one pound note was decorated with a reproduction of the carvings from the right-hand exterior carving of *Hinemihi*. The image originated from a photograph of Te Wharekaniwha and his wife standing outside *Hinemihi*. Thus, a representation of *Hinemihi* was in the public domain until the introduction of decimal currency in 1967. There is little doubt that the vast number of transactions completed with such £1 notes were conducted with a knowledge of the decoration's significance.



Figure 28: New Zealand Pound Note.

The amount of work and money required to restore the buildings of Clandon Park was a major undertaking by the National Trust and, to the assist in the achievement, several grants were made by the British Government. To assist in financing the maintenance of the estate the National Trust opened the grounds and the main house to a paying public who wished to view the grounds and the 'Onslow family treasures'. In the National Trust's guide-books to the estate 'little or nothing about *Hinemihi* appeared' (Gallop, 1998:119). It is therefore of no surprise that *Hinemihi* received scant attention during the restoration of the estate and subsequently fell into a further state of disrepair.

In 1974 it was reported that the Minister of Maori Affairs was to make an approach to the National Trust for the possible return of *Hinemihi* and that 'interviews with Maoris ... indicate all in favour of this move' (DP, 12/05/1986 cited in DSC). Bernard Kernot visited Clandon Park in 1974 and wrote various recommendations to the New Zealand Historic Places Trust. The main thrust of the reports were that 'the house has obviously suffered in its several transpositions, most noticeably in its proportions, its missing features and incorrect assembly. ... the general condition of the house leaves much to be desired' (Kernot, 1975:3). The first report assumed that *Hinemihi* was gifted to the Onslow's after referring to incorrect information published in Phillipps' (1946) *Carved Houses of Te Arawa*. It was also suggested that the preservation of the building could occur in England with financial and technical support from the New Zealand Government. This signifies the perceived historical importance of the building as '... it is today among the oldest meeting-houses still standing, and one of the few to have survived that era' (Kernot, 1975:3). Credit was given to the Onslow family and the National Trust for their part in preserving the house as 'many others of similar age have been allowed to rot out of existence in New Zealand' (Kernot, 1975:3).

Kernot also argued, however, that there was a strong case for the return of *Hinemihi* to New Zealand because of a perceived inability of the National Trust's administration to maintain the house. This argument was further augmented by the notion that *Hinemihi* and its association with the Tarawera eruption gave it an

‘undeniable claim to being a [New Zealand] national historic monument’. Of interest was a further comment by Kernot whereby ‘while I am sympathetic to the claims of the Tuhourangi tribe ... for the return of the house, I think this is more of a subsidiary claim being a matter of tribal rather than national interest’ (Kernot, 1975:4). From this assumption it is possible to suggest that, like the banknotes, *Hinemihi* was considered public property rather than the private initiative of its initial construction.

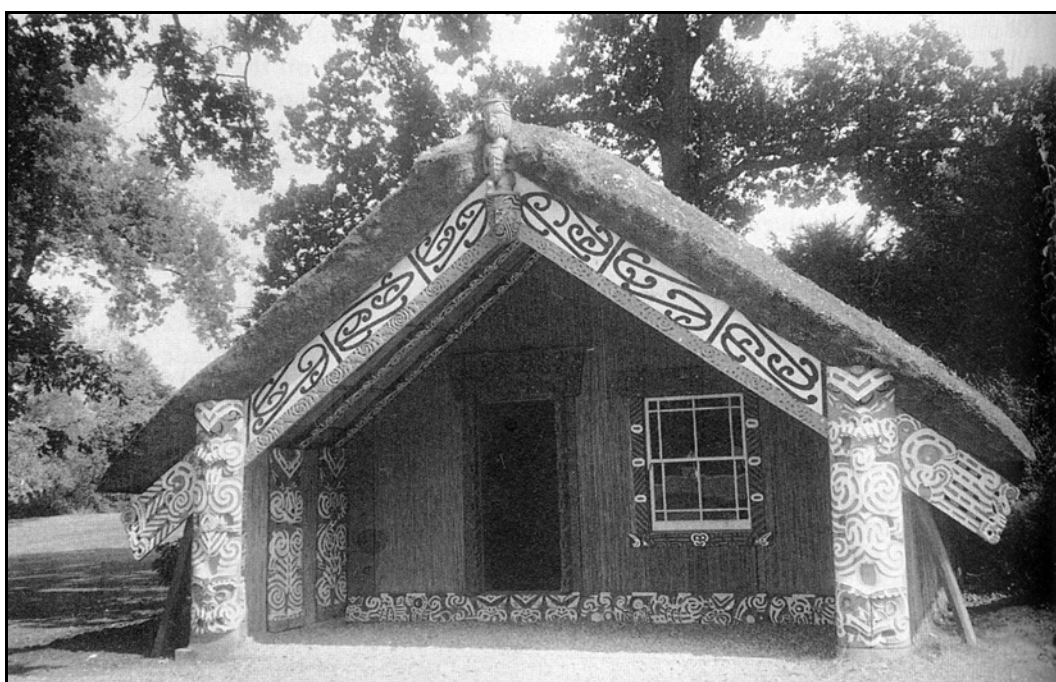
This call for *Hinemihi* to be returned to New Zealand was not the first. In 1935 Harry Lundius, a surveyor who was at Te Wairoa at the time of the eruption, requested through the New Zealand High Commissioner in London the return of *Hinemihi* to New Zealand. The response by the representative of the Onslow family was that ‘the property on which the old whare now stands is subject to entail and therefore not disposable by the present beneficiaries’. Lundius hoped that the New Zealand Government ‘might be induced to take a hand and that, with the approval and consent of the members of the Onslow family, the British authorities might find a way out, even if it required special legislation’ (Dominion, 17/05/1935). In an 1935 interview with Aporo, at age 83, the *Dominion* reported that Aporo admitted his role in sale of *Hinemihi* but that he was surprised that the carvings had gone to England and he assumed that they were going to be housed in Auckland. Even if Aporo was remiss in his recollection of events a significant comment was that he thought that *Hinemihi* should be ‘re-erected in some museum’ (Dominion, 17/05/1935) thus giving an acknowledgement that the meeting-house had become a building of importance in New Zealand’s history. Nothing more came of this request and the matter was seemingly dropped although two years later the *Rotorua Morning Post* (08/02/1937 cited in DSC) reported that a possible return had been put forward again. These attempts at repatriation pre-date, by half a century, recent recognition by a number of institutions that items of cultural significance should be returned to their original owners.

A further report was tabled by Kernot (1976:2) after ascertaining the legal status of *Hinemihi* and it became ‘abundantly clear that it will not be returned to New

Zealand'. Kernot noted that the County Planning Department in England had taken an interest in the meeting-house and were considering listing the house as a 'building of architectural or historic interest'. Despite this attention Kernot was inclined to think the National Trust would limit a restoration to protecting the timbers only. This perception was due to a belief that the British contractors would 'show little appreciation of the house as a cultural object with its own system of symbols, as distinct from a collection of carved posts and painted scroll designs to be restored' (Kernot, 1976:2).

Kernot (1976:2) added that *Hinemihi* should be of central concern and the restoration should also include conservation of its decorative features. It was suggested that a true restoration programme would require the expertise of a recognised Māori carver both for the reconstruction of the house and replacement of missing carvings. It was considered 'unlikely the National Trust would put itself to such expense and the New Zealand government would have to be asked to meet the greater part of the cost involved'. Nonetheless, the National Trust proved to be more sympathetic than Kernot was willing to allow. The Trust was prepared to restore the meeting-house on a grander scale than envisaged and set about raising the necessary funds for the project. It was estimated that at least £5000 would be required and that suitable expertise would have to be employed (Gallop, 1998). The company of J. W. Draper and Sons, specialists in restoration were employed to undertake the project thus ignoring the advice given by Kernot that expert Māori carvers be involved in the restoration.

Native New Zealand materials were unavailable to the restoration team, and post-eruption photographs of *Hinemihi* were used to aid in the reconstruction which caused some inaccuracies in interpretation. Nonetheless, the preservation team considered that 'although there are some items that are incorrect, we achieved against some odds, a fair representation of the original building, which the National Trust appreciated' (cited in Gallop, 1998:124). The National Trust, under the Town and Country Planning Act (1971), classified the building as a building of special architectural and historic importance and accordingly afforded *Hinemihi* Grade II status.



**Figure 29: Hinemihi at Clandon Park, England. Hooper-Greenhill (1998:139).**

On the hundred-year anniversary of the eruption of Mount Tarawera and the devastation of Te Wairoa, descendents of the original owners of *Hinemihi* visited Clandon Park and the house of their ancestors. An official appointment was made with representatives of the National Trust where a formal request for the return of *Hinemihi* to New Zealand was put forward. It was proposed that *Hinemihi* be re-sited on the outskirts of Rotorua next to a new meeting-house, also called *Hinemihi*, which opened in 1962. Although the delegation received a ‘sympathetic hearing’ (NZH, 31/05/1986:91) it was pointed out that legal ownership was with the National Trust through the acquisition of the estate of Clandon Park and that the meeting-house would not return to New Zealand.

Further visits to Clandon Park and *Hinemihi* by the descendents occurred in the following years and a decision to replace the still-missing carvings was made. The task to carve new pieces was entrusted to two young men who were training at the Māori Arts and Crafts Institute in Rotorua. Robert Rika, a fourth generation grandson of *Hinemihi*’s original carver and Colin Tihi, a third generation grandson of *Hinemihi*’s original owner were called upon to carve the works (Gallop, 1998). This somewhat remarkable connection over a hundred year period

illustrates the inaccuracy of the dire predictions of the late 1800s that the Māori race if not soon to become extinct (Hochstetter, 1867) then without ‘hardly a place for hope’ (Trollope, 1873:488). Not only did Māori manage to survive colonisation, traditions belonging to specific districts were also kept alive through the teaching of arts and crafts, and belatedly, language.

The Rotorua School of Maori Arts in the 1930s and 1940s provides an example of this education while the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute provided the same but on a national level. Dedicated to preserving the heritage of Māori carving and weaving traditions through training in traditional skills the Institute was opened in 1966. Originally deemed to be Rotorua specific with the passing of the Rotorua Maori Arts and Crafts Institute Act (1963) this was altered by the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Act (1967). The institute accepted one apprentice from each tribal area to ensure a national representation and despite continued political intrigue the Institute funds itself through an admission price charged to visiting tourists (Stafford, 1988). This provides one example of how tourism can be used as a tool to retain the knowledge of an indigenous culture. That tourism can be considered beneficial is also maintained by Te Awekotuku (1981:1) whereby she claims that there is ‘indeed substance to my people’s loud and frequent claim that tourism has not hurt Te Arawa; in many instances, it has helped us’.

The carvings were finished and duly attached to *Hinemihi* in a blessing ceremony in 1995, one hundred and ten years after the eruption of Mount Tarawera. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (1998) provides a self-declared ‘post-colonial feminist’ analysis of the ceremony whereby the differences in English and Māori cognisance of *Hinemihi* are highlighted. According to Hooper-Greenhill the English appreciated *Hinemihi* as an inanimate object which displayed ethnic craftsmanship and artistry. Conversely, Māori present at the ceremony viewed *Hinemihi* as animate, complete with feelings and signifying overtly personalised relationships.

Hooper-Greenhill (1998:141) provides a framework with which to analyse ‘structures of meaning’ that *Hinemihi* exhibits today. She maintains that legal



ownership is combined with ‘a cultural and interpretative hegemony within which dominant meanings [are] formulated’. Accordingly, the cultural significance of *Hinemihi* is largely invisible to many visitors of Clandon Park as they are overwhelmed by the ‘coherent materialisation of Western culture’ on display. Dwarfed by the stately home and expansive gardens *Hinemihi* is subsumed ‘reducing the complexity of a different world of myth and history to a small, somewhat exotic, garden collectable; a curiosity along with the grotto, parterre and Dutch garden’.

The legal ownership is undoubted and is highlighted by the display of the bill of sale within the estate and was pointedly remarked upon by the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Onslow at the blessing ceremony. The Earl mentioned that ‘remembering how little labourers and farm hands were paid back in those days, my great-grandfather actually paid quite a lot of money for the meeting-house in today’s monetary terms’ (cited in Gallop, 1998:155). Te Awekotuku (1991:160) provides a less charitable view about the ownership of *Hinemihi* when she pointedly suggests that *Hinemihi* symbolises that the ‘the legacy of greed, and pain, lives on’.

Despite the perceived legacy of pain the fact that *Hinemihi* remains intact and recognised, if only in a limited manner, is a metaphor for the ability of the indigenous to endure colonisation. The prevailing theory of the nineteenth century was that Māori, as a race of people, would not survive into the twentieth century. Indeed, it was suggested by Isaac Featherstone that all Europeans could do ‘as good, compassionate colonists’ was ‘smooth down their dying pillow’ (cited in Buller, 1884:57). The survival of *Hinemihi* from both potentially explosive destruction and a more sedate deterioration acts as a symbol of cultural endurance. The reaffirmation of identity through the replacement of carvings has enabled descendants of the original owners to exert a claim of both spiritual and cultural ownership although not legal ownership.

Ngāti Ranana, a ‘London Maori Club’, began using the meeting-house to perform a programme of songs and dances, and continue to use the meeting-house for special occasions. Hooper-Greenhill (1998:142) suggests that these performances

are an example of 'how cultural identity can be established and reinforced through the repetition of performative acts', thus reaffirming their 'Maoriness' and reinforcing a sense of identity in a large, cosmopolitan city. This also illustrates the notion proposed by Bhabha (1994:35) that the enunciation of cultural difference 'is the problem of how, in signifying the present, something comes to be repeated, relocated and translated in the name of tradition ...'. According to Bhabha (1994) one of the conditions to understanding the process of identification is that existence is inherently related to an otherness. In the case of members of Ngāti Ranana, the otherness is the cultural identities of Londoners and in their gatherings are able to reaffirm their difference. This, however, illustrates a paradox in the expression of difference. In articulating a distinctive difference to Londoners, the group as a whole are also articulating an identity of sameness. By utilising *Hinemihi* both physically and ideologically the group identifies as Māori and the meeting-house provides a collective sense of identity. A further paradox is existent with the fact that members of Ngāti Ranana are from a number of different tribes in New Zealand each with their distinct histories, suggesting that identity is ambiguous in nature and able to be altered to suit a particular set of circumstances.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### CONCLUSION

This thesis has investigated the history of a particular place over a period of time. It is argued that the historical development of Te Wairoa as a site of tourism activity reflects through its evolution, the existent tension between the contested cultural construction, and the consumption of a tourism landscape. By using historical and archival material, and history as an analytical device, it is argued that the recent demands of Māori to obtain increased ‘control over tourism development’ (Hall, 1996:157) is by no means a new proposition. Past events and occurrences at Te Wairoa illustrate that nineteenth-century tourism development exhibited similar concerns.

Prior to European settlement, Rotomahana and the terraces were utilised by local Māori communities as a place of intermittent habitation which provided a base for hunting, gathering, and harvesting food as well as bathing. The wider region was seen as a place of death and magic as Mount Tarawera became a burial location for high-ranking Māori, thus creating a spiritual element to the landscape. Conflict between Māori tribes for the control of resources, within a framework of mana and utu, was an ongoing occurrence. The dominant tribes were consequently able to assert their authority by physically controlling an area as well as through the creation and preservation of legends and stories associated with place.

The 1830s arrival of European missionaries to the Rotorua region, at the request of Te Arawa, enabled local Māori to engage with aspects of European civilisation. The renaming of Lake Tarawera settlements within a European religious pantheon provides a metaphoric illustration of Māori and European interaction. The European preference for Old Testament references was compromised by the use of Māori pronunciation and spelling thus Te Rua a Umukaria, changed to Galilee, became Kariri. The missionary presence at Te Wairoa in the 1850s also inadvertently supported the pre-conditions for economic development, through tourism, by supplying initial information about the area, introducing local

communities to capitalism, accommodating travellers, and acting a conduit between Māori and European.

European entrepreneurs also saw an opportunity to establish themselves in the Rotorua region. Abraham Warbrick, along with his wife's tribe, established accommodation at Rotomahana leading to warfare between Tuhourangi and Ngāti Rangitihi. The series of battles in the 1850s indicate that Māori in the region realised there was potential benefit from a resource that had developed a commercial base. It was perceived that controlling access to Rotomahana and the terraces was critical and the tribes were willing to engage in traditional methods to ensure their dominant position.

The entrenchment of colonial authority in the 1870s, first through warfare and then through the fact that 'tranquillity ha[d] been established' (Southern Cross, 29/04/1872:3) was further enhanced with the building of roads into the interior of the North Island. This new infrastructure enabled travellers to benefit from improved access to the region. The fact that tourists could travel without fear for personal safety, is evidence of an environment within the boundaries of colonial control and power. Furthermore, tourism development was seen as proof of the inevitable 'march of civilisation' (Bates, 1969:2), supporting the notion that tourism was not only symptomatic of colonial influence but also an active agent of colonial power.

Within the imposition of colonial authority in New Zealand, however, the colonised were able to employ strategies of survival with which to manoeuvre (Belich, 1996). The deliberate relocation of people to establish a new settlement en route to Rotomahana demonstrates that Māori were active participants in a new economy. Their engagement with 'western ethics of capitalism' (Galbraith, 1992:17) illustrates that members of the community were adept and astute in their observations of European tourist behaviour and the requirements for short-term visitation. The decision to permit the construction of hotel accommodation and provide services reveals a knowledge and understanding of tourist systems during initial European colonisation of the region. The reluctance to sell land to

European interests reflects an awareness that retention of property was important to the future prosperity of the respective tribes.

As European visitation to Rotomahana and the terraces increased during the 1870s, new layers of meaning were ascribed to the landscape. The attendant production of published material regarding Rotomahana inscribed the natural environment as an area of outstanding beauty and an iconic attraction for visitors to New Zealand. Accordingly, Rotomahana was promoted as a thermally aesthetic sublime which provided proof of God's creative capabilities; acted as a theatre for scientific investigations; and allowed a bathing experience which offered intense 'sensual pleasure' (Trollope, 1873:484). The textual accounts of the tourist landscape provide evidence of a tourist landscape being simultaneously consumed and produced which, if viewed collectively, can be seen as a means of collecting 'the world into European experience and epistemology' (Wevers, 2002:159).

While Māori were subject to colonial forces and structures it is important to recognise that they also manipulated the process to serve their own ends. In the terminology of Bhabha (1994), the symbols of the 'other' were engineered to suit the self. Tourist complaints of extortionate prices can be read as an example of the local community's engagement with commerce and a means of self-determination in the presence of increasing colonial authority. That engagement was conducted with such vigour that the obligatory guides, the fees visitors had to pay for painting or photographing, and any number of personal ruses all contributed to provide a comparison with the 'hackmen of Niagra Falls' (Knox, 1889:234). Thus, Māori entrepreneurship can be seen as a local response to colonial forces.

Despite suggestions that Māori had a monopoly over the tourist trade at Te Wairoa (Reggett, 1972; Steele, 1980; Conly, 1988), it is apparent that conflict within the Tuhourangi tribe created tension regarding any benefit from the increased commercial opportunities to the villagers. The repeated attempts by different factions to maintain authority indicate that Māori interests did not act in a coherent manner. Ongoing conflict and negotiation between Ngāti Rangitihī and Tuhourangi for control of access to Rotomahana and the terraces was

complemented with competition within Tuhourangi. Based on tribal affiliations and competition for the commercial provision of services in the hotel trade and the supply of water transport and guides, rivalry was evident within the tribe. Community perceptions of morality regarding alcohol, and the behaviour of both residents and tourists alike, caused further conflict. European interests were also engaged in a contest to advance their own causes. Missionaries, politicians, traders, and tour operators all had their own agendas and the fact that these operated simultaneously suggests a multifaceted site of interaction. Hence, this thesis is a case-study which highlights the complexity of existent tensions at a specific site within colonial New Zealand.

The economic value of Rotomahana and the terraces ensured political interest in the region as both a source of ‘great source of wealth’ (AJHR, 1874, H26:4) for the Government and a motivation for conservation. It was assumed that private speculators would destroy the natural environment in their quest to commercialise the scenery, and that local Māori were incapable of protecting the natural resources. Accordingly, public ownership of the thermal districts was considered the most appropriate means to preservation. To these ends the nationalisation of the thermal landscape was initiated with the passing, after negotiation with Te Arawa and neighbouring tribes, of the Thermal Springs District Act (1881). Land in the region was correspondingly subject to Government pre-emption and a process of land acquisition was undertaken by Government agents.

The construction, and consequent use, of *Hinemihi* as a tourist attraction symbolises the interface between Māori hosts and European visitors. The creation of Māori meeting-houses was a direct result of European influence which signifies the ‘joint entanglement of Māori and Pākehā’ (Calder, 1993:9) and confirms the notion that ‘to exist is to be called in relation to an other’ (Bhabha, 1994:46). The commercialisation of cultural performances, and the flexibility to modify content depending on the sensibilities of the visitor and their willingness to pay, further indicates a location of intricate relations between European and Māori. The removal of *Hinemihi* to England, and the corresponding contextual displacement

of a symbol of Tuhourangi identity, is a literal example of a significant shift in the ability of Māori to control resources.

The alienation of Māori land in the Rotomahana region, due to the 1886 eruption of Mount Tarawera and the processes of the Native Land Court, allowed for new representations of place to be formulated. The scenic beauty of the area was combined with the notion that the region was of historical importance due to the significant events that occurred there. Post-eruption literature focussed on the devastation of the landscape combined with human endeavour in surviving the forces of nature.

The sight of Te Wairoa engulfed in mud, ash, and debris continued to act as an attraction for the curious tourist and tours were specifically designed around viewing the physical impacts of the disaster. Thus, the 'disaster tours' are a manifestation of an alteration in the consumption of place as well as reflecting a means of continuing economic opportunity. By displaying the natural environment as a source of danger rather than as a place of beauty, entrepreneurs were able to continue profiting from visitation to the region.

The Government establishment and subsequent control of the township of Rotorua in the 1880s, combined with the nationalisation of thermal resources, contributed to their maintenance of power and authority in the region. Māori landholding decreased and consequently their influence diminished as European settlement increased and the tourism industry became firmly entrenched under the auspices of the Government's Department of Tourist and Health Resorts.

Although the Government controlled the major flow of tourists to the region, entrepreneurs were still able to operate. The provision of ancillary services to tourists on Government sponsored excursions was one such means and the 1895 construction of tea-rooms at Te Wairoa fulfilled this role. The subsequent sale of the property in the 1930s saw the discovery of artefacts belonging to the settlement of Te Wairoa which were then displayed as an attraction to visitors.

Exhibiting aspects of the past, to a paying audience declared the site as an historical place of interest. The presentation of information relating to an earlier period denoted the site as something as *it used to be*, as well as its distinctive contemporaneous status. The preservation of relics from the surrounding area can be seen as ‘an act of rescue’ (Hilliard, 2000:119) as well as being an exercise in benefiting economically from the affects of the eruption.

The changing manner of exhibiting the past at the *Buried Village* provides evidence that the representations of place are not fixed. It also indicates that heritage can be viewed as a contemporary product which is able to be altered as values change. The symbolic encounters with death and disaster that tourists experience at the attraction are presently complemented with an interpretation provided by guides with ancestral connections to Te Wairoa allowing the opportunity for personal views of the past to be imparted. Thus ‘all kinds of tourists – madcap tourists, shabby tourists, fractious, sullen, exigent, impatient, and pusillanimous ones’ (Sala, cited in Dingley, 1995:171) are able to have their guide act, like Sophia Hinerangi in the 1880s, as a ‘philosopher, and friend’ (Kerry-Nichols, 1884:88 or like guide Rangi Dennon in the 1950s as a provocateur to ‘sell you the Maori race’ (Richards, 1963:1).

The evolving representations of place through tourism development suggest that tourism can be viewed as a system of cultural markers as well as an economic exchange (Ringer, 1998; Urry, 1995). The social and psychological meanings of place, in a tourism context, are projected through the representation of images, and through interpretative articulations. In a historical setting, tourist sites are marked by and for the visitor. Aesthetic, historic, and cultural constructs are ascribed to place and these attributes are then consumed by the visitor. The documentation describing the site, along with the host provision of services, provides for the educative and entertainment goals expected by tourists.

For the researcher, the experiences and the documentation that tourists consume can be fused with historical research, and with academic debates regarding tourism and tourism development. The historical development of tourism is



something that is rarely contemplated (Towner, 1996) and tourism in New Zealand's history is only given cursory acknowledgment. Tourism in New Zealand is normally seen within a wider colonial context (Te Awēkotuku, 1982; Hall, 1996; Ryan, 1997) as tourism acts as an agent of colonial power (Galbraith, 1992). The production of travel literature associated with visitation to New Zealand has been investigated (Wevers, 2002) although the historic production by local communities, and their role in the cultural construction of place, is largely ignored. It is this entanglement of consumption and production, combined with the interface of exogenous and endogenous forces which make Te Wairoa a site of interaction between the local and the global and between Māori and Pākehā.

The control of resources, both natural and cultural, emerge as an area of central concern. Derived from the notion that 'resources are not, they become' (Zimmerman, 1951:15) it is proposed that place is inherently cultural. Considering that culturally informed practices endow a specific site as having value, the entanglement of political, economic, and social forces, combine to ascribe worth to a particular place. A history of Te Wairoa, through the development of tourism, demonstrates how differing ascribed meanings of place are constructed and subsequently layered to provide new and multiple meanings. The representations of place are then articulated through the production of cultural material which encourages additional consumption of the landscape. What is further argued is that the cultural construction of place is a negotiated, or contested, process and one that is ongoing.

Land ownership is a key factor in being able to maintain an influence on development, and any subsequent expression of identity. The fact that Tuhourangi were displaced from their land meant that the local community were unable to maintain control of tourism development. Demands of redress for the alienation of land include the utilisation of European legal structures which further prove that manipulation of symbols of the 'other' is an ongoing strategy for survival. The desire for Tuhourangi to return to previous inhabited lands is manifest in future investment in tourism development at Te Wairoa, thus a tourist attraction is utilised as a tool for reclaiming place. Furthermore, the proposed visitor attraction

offers an opportunity for the operators and investors to control representations of the past within the operation.

The fact that the Waitangi Tribunal recommendations regarding land at Rotomahana and Te Wairoa, and the Government responses, are pending is indicative of the notion that history is continually being produced (and therefore consumed). Combined with this, is the fact that construction of *Experience Tarawera* has an uncertain start date, and decisions concerning the installation of displays and subsequent operational matters are yet to be finalised. It remains to be seen what the impact of these considerations will be on tourism development at Te Wairoa and the associated representations of place. From the historical evidence presented in this thesis it is certain that any tourism development will continue to be a negotiated process. Future research, comparing the representations of the past between *Experience Tarawera* and the *Buried Village*, would provide a fruitful avenue of investigation and could add weight to the themes discussed in this thesis.

That particular avenue of research would likely show that the culturally ascribed values placed upon landscape, the manipulation of symbols of the 'other', and the continual renegotiation of power, control and authority not only exist in a colonial context but are also evident in post-colonial New Zealand. These concepts indicate a cultural ferment which symbolically mirrors the thermally dynamic natural environment of the region as a kinetic landscape in a state of continual change.

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