'Schooled by Nature'

PAKEHA TRAMPING BETWEEN THE WARS*

ORGANIZED RECREATIONAL WALKING — known colloquially as tramping — made its debut in New Zealand soon after the First World War. The Wellington-based Tararua Tramping Club, founded in 1919, was the first club set up in New Zealand for men and women to undertake tramping regularly for its own sake. This club became a model for others and the number of tramping clubs in the country increased rapidly during the inter-war years.[1] In 1944 Tararua trampers celebrated the club's twenty-fifth anniversary and commemorated the occasion by printing a special jubilee history.[2] Two years later the Auckland Tramping Club came 'of age'. Members marked its twenty-first birthday in a fashion similar to that of their Wellington counterparts — a special issue of *Wanderlust*, the Auckland club's magazine.[3] Clubs in other parts of New Zealand followed these precedents, by writing and publishing their own histories.[4]

While anniversaries have given individual clubs the opportunity to reflect upon their history and identity and to chronicle a wide range of activities and achievements, historians have generally been uninterested in the history of tramping as a leisure activity and the insight into the sport and its culture that these texts offer. With some exceptions, those historians who allude to tramping and trampers stress the contribution trampers have made to policies for national parks and the conservation movement in New Zealand.[5] Studies of conservation and conservators are preoccupied with explaining the development of a Pakeha environmental attitude and the origins of a heightened national environmental awareness; and trampers appear in this literature because they 'represent' this view of the land. Typically these accounts chart the transformation of colonists' contempt for and carelessness towards an alien environment into approval for the land they are settling. The environmental degradation of the colonial period serves rhetorically as a point from which the trajectory of an altruistic conservation awareness emerges. In such studies, Pakeha conservation is a product of the passage of time, a result of the length of Pakeha occupation of the land, and a 'natural' consequence of a developing sense of national identity.[6]

These assumptions need critical interrogation because they provide a rather one-dimensional and homogeneous view of the trampers and their practices, as if their activities and sentiments occurred naturally, and the adoption and dissemination of a national conservation ethic are the only aspects of trampers' activities that are worthy of scholarly attention. A more searching investigation of tramping clubs and the attitudes and actions of their members suggests that a range of social and cultural matters were debated in clubs. This article indicates some potential avenues for historical enquiry, concentrating on the first two decades of tramping club activities. It focuses especially on ways in which

trampers may be seen as colonizers, how they negotiated gender issues, and their reactions to the incipient commercialization of the landscape and their sport.

Recreational walking was already a popular leisure activity in rural communities when the first tramping club was established. Tramps, however, deviated from spontaneous or practical walks in that they were well organized and often involved camping out overnight. Tramping was also related to nineteenth-century mountaineering although the climber's focus on summit 'bagging' was largely absent from the new sport. Nor did tramping club members need to spend as much money on their sport as mountaineers. Special equipment and professional guides were unnecessary for negotiating a path through the landscape. Moreover, tramping was not confined to a particular season or location, and this may have also added to its appeal.

Before the 1920s, though, it was still novel for groups of men and women working and living in towns and cities to go bush walking regularly out of work hours. The formation of clubs attracted and united members. Concern about the safety of new and inexperienced recreationists was another motive for improving the organization of bush walking. This was the case when the Levin-Waiopehu Club was formed, in 1927.[7] The pursuit and development of tramping were central to club philosophy.[8] Companionship was a highlight of weekend 'fixtures' and clubs self-consciously promoted 'social intercourse between members'.[9] Photographs of tramping groups and reports of club excursions in club magazines provide evidence of this sociability.[10] They also reveal details that membership lists do not: club trampers were generally young and Pakeha.

In the early days of tramping, labour intensive 'landscaping' such as track-cutting, hut-building, map-making and place-naming were undertaken by clubs to enable longer, safer and more frequent occupations of the land.[11] This also transformed 'space' into 'place'. These activities were an elaboration of pioneers' efforts to domesticate and occupy the landscape.[12] In making physical space for themselves in the bush, trampers also tried to protect the environment. The preservation of flora and fauna was an objective frequently written into club constitutions and reiterated in club publications. In theory, the adoption of this principle meant that present and future generations of trampers would be able to enjoy the landscape in its natural state. Civilized behaviour and the careful appreciation of the bush therefore distinguished trampers from their colonial predecessors. Respect for the environment differentiated club trampers from many of their contemporaries who, largely through changes in technology and the organization of labour, were able to visit the bush but often, through a lack of education, 'vandalised' it.[13] The identity of club trampers was therefore inextricably linked to a particular and 'proper' use of the outdoors. If trampers protected the environment they would not be 'indicted' in the future as 'wasters' of their 'heritage'.[14] Their more enlightened attitude towards the environment separated trampers from past generations and set them apart as examples for the present.

Like members of team sports, club trampers selected visual and cultural markers to identify themselves. During the 1920s and 1930s Pakeha New Zealanders frequently constructed and signalled collective identity with native

phenomena and culture, though seldom with any personal knowledge of indigenous culture. Tramping club members also adopted this practice. Club logos, badges and blazers, club mottoes and club songs frequently contained Maori motifs.[15] The Auckland-based Alpine Sports Club's badge, for example, featured a tiki. Club hakas were also devised for performance before other groups of trampers. The Christchurch Tramping Club began in 1932 as Te Hapu Koa Tramping Club; the name chosen by members at their first meeting meant 'the happy tribe or family'.[16] The Auckland Tramping Club's first hut, constructed between 1928 and 1929, was called Ngaro-te-Kotare, which was translated as 'The Hidden Look-out'.[17] Club members were 'going native' as they tramped.

Figure 1: Members of the Auckland Tramping Club on the bridle track up to Rua Kenana's community, Maungapohatu, in 1932. This photograph shows pack-laden men and women blending into the native bush, seemingly 'naturalized' by the environment.
Source: Auckland Tramping Club Photograph Collection, no.558, Auckland City Libraries Special Collections (reproduced with permission).

Tramping in groups required a certain amount of co-ordination and communication between members. Committees administered clubs, planned fixtures, appointed leaders and discussed general club matters. Sub-committees ensured 'social intercourse' between members by arranging additional leisure activities that also maintained and developed club spirit and enthusiasm.[18] Club evenings of the Alpine Sports Club included recitals by amateur musicians. Members of the Otago Tramping and Mountaineering Club formed a small orchestra and a drama group.[19] Dancing, bridge and fancy dress events were also popular. Some clubs formed Botany Circles and carried out their own

botanical explorations. Local scholars often spoke at club evenings on a range of informative subjects. For example, the Auckland Museum's botanist, Lucy Cranwell, entertained members of the Auckland Tramping Club in November 1930 with a lantern lecture entitled 'Tuhoe Land'. The talk was based on the tramp that she and fellow botanist Lucy Moore had made to the summit of Maungapohatu in the Urewera district earlier that year.[20] Talks such as Cranwell's were based on the scientific exploration, collection, and classification of the landscape and its phenomena, activities that had featured in an earlier phase of cultural colonization of New Zealand when local understandings were 'naturally' effaced by the 'objective' scientific systems of colonists.[21]

Club magazines circulated textual versions of the landscape where information about its geography, flora and local Maori history was archived. Short items about tramping areas were synthesized from standard ethnological and natural history texts, and material solicited from club members. Knowing something of the events connected to tramping places made trips more interesting for participants.[22] *Wanderlust* contributor and Auckland Tramping Club member Jack Diamond published a history of the Waitakere ranges, an achievement that was applauded by the magazine.[23] Other trampers, Leslie Adkin for example, collected a Maori past (and artefacts) from the landscape and published their interpretations for a specialist audience.[24] Signs and stories of a Maori presence provided trampers with the prehistory to their own occupation of the terrain. However, like many of their contemporaries, trampers did not reflect on the politics of the production of these texts, nor how a Pakeha occupation of the land affected the present situation of Maori. It was as if a rational view of the landscape filtered out any awareness of the processes and consequences of colonization.

Magazines were also important for the smooth operation of clubs and tramps. They circulated practical information about future tramping fixtures and descriptive reports of past events. They were also important sites for developing and maintaining club camaraderie. Poems, book reviews, and news about members were regular features. Textual recreations of past tramps printed in club magazines enabled participants to replay their outdoor experiences. Reading tour reports allowed others to tramp vicariously. Illustrations and photographs of club members out and about in the countryside complemented these aides memoires. Personal experiences were archived and woven into a communal history, a process captured in the second stanza of F.L. Johnston's poem 'Tramping Memories', written in 1946:

> What shall we save from our tramping holidays?
> Precious each moment in retrospect appears.
> Laughter and song weave golden threads a-down the ways:
> Listen and you will hear them ringing through the years.[25]

Clubs' social identities meshed with the personal meanings that tramping had for members. Some, like scholar and photographer Leslie Adkin, sought and created intellectual and aesthetic meaning from tramps. Others wrote self-consciously about the 'mental and even spiritual side' to their sport.[26] Away

from the distractions of the 'hurrying daily round' trampers gained 'a truer perspective' on life and had a chance 'to delve a little deeper' into their 'inner selves'.[27] Mountaineer, Tararua tramper and writer John Pascoe, for example, contemplated the motives and meanings he believed underpinned trampers' and mountaineers' pilgrimages to the hills in a series of books about alpine activities and the history of the men who explored the mountains.[28]

Tramping restored physical and mental order. In particular, it was seen as the antidote to work and the pressure of living in the city, as a means of re-creating the true and inner self sapped by city life. B.D.A. Greig of the Tararua Club, for example, tramped to escape the intrusive and mechanized nature of a modern existence: 'For days off the beaten track, dependent on what you carry, away from radios, telephones, trams, and landladies with the daily routine of work forgotten, you have a chance, like Kipling's ship, to find yourself.'[29] Scott Gilkison from Otago wrote about his time in the hills and the mountains in a similar vein: it was a way of being 'completely cut off from the rush and bustle, the primness and conventionality of city life'.[30]

This romanticized image of tramping seems to stem from an ambivalence about urban life and the effects of civilization, and especially about urban commercial leisure. An expanding range of leisure options was available to consumers.[31] Auckland's first cinema opened in 1908; there were at least 38 venues screening silent movies before the talkies arrived in 1929. Theatres, cabarets and dance halls were other attractive places where men and women could meet and spend their spare time.[32] Although tramping was also a 'new' and 'mixed' form of recreation, it was, by contrast, distinctly non-commercial. An antagonistic attitude surfaced in sceptical comments made by trampers about the quality of relationships that were formed out of commercial recreation. Tramping offered participants a sense of community and superior friendships 'cemented . . . by weary miles in the mud and rain, by glorious days in the sun and wind, and by happy evening hours of relaxation round the log fire after the day's march is done'. Such relationships were preferable to those friendships made in the 'rather artificial atmosphere of the dance hall'.[33] Tramping could also correct the 'tendency' for men's and women's attention to be 'distracted from the sounder elements of life into . . . artificial channels'.[34]

Not surprisingly, trampers generated astonishment from 'distracted' observers. John Pascoe wrote: 'A lowlander discusses a mountaineer in the same breath as a moron and cannot understand why a man will deliberately forgo the delights of the seaside resort in the summer to cross an inhospitable pass or explore a new mountain route'.[35] Club members acknowledged that their sport and its adherents were initially considered slightly bizarre. Reports in the press of trampers lost in the bush may have contributed to this view.[36] Tararua tramper Stella Gibbs recalled that members of her club were regarded with 'scandalized amazement by the general public'.[37] Auckland Tramping Club members recalled, in 1946, that their leisure pursuit was first thought of as a 'disreputable hobby' and that trampers were perceived as 'queer cranks or of a rough type' or a 'distinctly ludicrous breed'.[38] Similar opinions prevailed in Dunedin where the Otago Tramping and Mountaineering Club was formed in 1923.[39]

There was perhaps another reason for the 'suspicion' that trampers generated.[40] Magazine articles periodically commented about tramping's effect on women, hinting that tramping made women too 'natural' and uncivilized. Tramping, like other new forms of leisure, reconfigured gender relations. The 'spectacle' of young women, especially if they wore shorts, suggested that club tramping eroded orderly and acceptable gendered behaviour.[41] Such perceptions prompted tramping clubs to manage 'mixed' membership with care. As the Hutt Valley Tramping Club realized, the 'honour' of the club and others, and tramping, generally, was in the hands of trampers and club organizers.[42] Chaperones usually accompanied mixed groups of younger single members to allay speculation about activities on overnight tramps.[43] Young women were also warned against pairing off with men, or 'twosing'. Men in the Alpine Sports Club were asked to make sure that women members could 'feel justly proud of their membership'. A senior member of the club also tried to control the image of tramping by asking members to keep a check on their behaviour in public. The club even conducted a publicity campaign to boost the 'prestige' of tramping and to correct 'erroneous ideas' among the public about trampers and what clubs and tramping represented.[44]

Facing hostile public opinion, clubs used tramping's personal, social and 'national' value to promote their sport in the wider community.[45] Tramping, claimed a writer in the *Auckland Star*, was perfect for young people who, if 'schooled by Nature', developed into 'self-reliant, clear-thinking, truth-telling' individuals, 'fitted to take the lead and direct the effort of the rank and file'.[46] In other words, tramping clubs produced good citizens. Tramper Fred Vosseler thought that the creation of 'a love of nature, and a love for the invigorating out-of-doors' in the wider community was doing 'national work for the present and future generations'.[47] Such recreational use of the outdoors would improve the nation's moral stamina. Fortunately some New Zealanders were already convinced of tramping's capacity to increase physical fitness and several commentators applauded its ability to rejuvenate jaded city workers.[48]

The understanding that some trampers had of tramping — that it was above all an escape from the 'negative' elements of city life — created tensions. To some club members, certain social activities undermined this conception of tramping. Debates concentrated on how much emphasis clubs should place on the 'social side' of their programmes. In the pages of *Alpinesport*, the magazine of the Alpine Sports Club, at least one member expressed disapproval at the way tramping and climbing had become, by 1930, 'a small part of the Club's activity and of secondary importance'.[49] A year later club members were asked, anonymously, to retain at least a few social graces: tramping, although 'unconventional and free-and-easy', did not mean 'everyday courtesies' should be neglected. Rough, unsociable treatment of 'inexperienced girl trampers' by 'lusty' male members was particularly distressing to this critic.[50] Acting 'roughly' was obviously how some men behaved away from the 'primness' and 'conventionality' of the city. In the Tararua Tramping Club, some club leaders believed 'more sociability and spirit of friendliness and cooperation' was needed to 'discourage the "he-man" spirit' and reconcile a split between 'social trampers' and so-called 'he-men'.[51] Tramps were therefore graded according to their

difficulty so that the hardest were nominated 'men-only'. Some groups were also concerned about potential feminization.[52] Since the number of female members in the Alpine Sports Club was increasing faster than the number of male, membership was set at a ratio of 45 women to 55 men.[53] Although it was never stated explicitly, members were concerned that the combination of too many social activities and too many women would make tramping seem merely 'fashionable' or 'commercial' and, as a consequence, would discourage 'serious' trampers.

Social evenings, however, were well patronized and marriage between club members common. This verse from a 1923 Tararua Tramping Club song suggests that men's resistance to women and the sociability they represented was selective:

For your wife don't take a 'vamp',
But choose a charming healthy tramp,
One who with you will fondly stay
Over the hills and far away.[54]

In other words, tramping men should choose as life partners women who were trampers and helpmeets in the bush rather than women who embraced modern life and found their enjoyment in the 'artificial channels' of city entertainment.

During the Depression, tramping clubs faced a challenge to their sport's special character when its commercial potential was exploited by New Zealand Railways, the state-owned national transport system. In 1932, New Zealand Railways began marketing a different definition of tramping as part of its campaign to encourage New Zealanders to use rail transport for recreation and domestic tourism. Tramping was re-evaluated in commercial rather than subjective or social terms. The mystery train idea was imported to New Zealand from England via Australia, but was advertised as an activity that would give city-dwellers a healthy day in the countryside. Just before the tramps began a letter to the *Auckland Star* from 'Would-be Hiker' observed that organized mystery tramps would both increase railways revenue and 'provide enjoyment and education, to say nothing of exercise, to a large class of people . . . debarred from . . . taking up this healthful pastime'.[55] The proposed tramps obviously appealed to those anxious about the effects of urban and industrial life, increased 'free' time and the economic depression on the nation's physical and moral fitness.

While the mystery train tramps would purportedly benefit the general public (and New Zealand Railways), club tramping's image was vulnerable to this new version of tramping. To the casual and uninformed observer, there was no apparent distinction between the two types of trampers. Mystery train tramps were a commercial form of leisure, and trampers — whether they belonged to clubs or not — were cast as a group of consumers. Publicity used to promote the mystery train tramps and other products raised tramping's profile but affected its image. The noticeable increase in advertisements featuring trampers in these months, for goods such as chocolate, beer, nugget, cameras and sewing patterns, suggests that manufacturers and retailers exploited this sudden vogue for tramping.[56] Women's tramping outfits were displayed at an Auckland department

store, John Court Ltd. Jaunty ensembles 'for the style-minded hiker' featured in the display and were also advertised in the *Auckland Star*.[57] These outfits were very different from the practical and comfortable gear improvised by regular women trampers.[58]

The mystery train tramp concept was novel but remarkably simple. Mystery trampers paid a low flat fare — between two and three shillings — and were transported by train to an unknown destination. Upon arrival, trampers were given a map or directed along a route that either led them on a round trip back to where they had started or to another railway station. Hot water for tea was supplied at lunchtime.

Figure 2: Hundreds of day trippers dominate the landscape as they set off on Auckland's fourth mystery train tramp between Opaheke and Drury on 16 October 1932.
Source: *Auckland Star*, 18 October 1932, p.9 (reproduced with permission).

The first New Zealand excursion, which attracted 300 people, ran from Wellington to Paraparaumu on 7 August 1932.[59] Others are known to have run from Christchurch, Auckland and Hamilton. In Auckland, six mystery excursions were held at fortnightly intervals from 4 September 1932. Several local and national papers and magazines published photographs of the first tramp that left from the Waitakere station west of Auckland.[60] Images in the press suggest an atmosphere of mixed sociability. The *New Zealand Railways Magazine* even made fun of the prospect of mystery tramp romances.[61] Unlike club tramping, mystery tramping seemed to direct men's and women's attention towards so-called 'artificial channels'. The notion that tramping was simply a means for women to meet men was thought by several club members to depict tramping

in a bad light – even though some male trampers did admit that clubs were 'eminently successful as matrimonial agenc[ies]'.[62]

The mystery train tramps were very popular. Literally thousands took to the hills at a time when a club like the Alpine Sports Club could 'boast' a membership of just 170.[63] The mass escape to the countryside meant that mystery train trampers had a large number of walking companions, many of them probably strangers.[64] Moreover, the retreat from civilization that motivated club trampers did not seem to play a part in the mystery train experience: marketing solitude in nature for small groups would not have made any money for the New Zealand Railways. Nor were mystery train trampers quiet and reflective sojourners. Crowds were often urged on their way by musicians. The *Christchurch Star* reported that on 4 September 1932 a 'party of troubadours directed the colourful band of hikers . . . and the music of the banjo and banjoline and ukuleles was heard for the first time along the sheep tracks of unfrequented valleys'.[65] Music, and particularly the 'community singing' that often occurred on the tramps, may have created the brief equivalent to 'club spirit'.

Club trampers seemed detached from yet bemused by this reinterpretation of their sport, though, since the suspension of Sunday rail services had affected trampers' ability to get to tramping sites, some clubs took advantage of the cheap day fare.[66] Sixty-five members of the Alpine Sports Club were aboard the first Auckland mystery train on Sunday 4 September 1932, but then made their way along an alternative route to that of the mystery trampers. While the cheap fares and convenience encouraged club participation, the author of the subsequent tour report speculated that 'the opportunity of seeing something of the genus "mystery tripper" proved to be an attraction' for members of the club who used the mystery train.[67] Other clubs also used mystery trains to suit themselves. Members of the Auckland Tramping Club made the most of the low day-fare two weeks later and were joined by fellow trampers from the Alpine Sports Club.[68]

The mystery trains were used in a distinctive and selective manner by club trampers. That distinguished them from the 'mystery trippers'. Divergent ways of treating the bush differentiated the two groups as well. References to the bad behaviour of mystery train trampers in the press indicate that the young Pakeha excursionists were unfamiliar with club tramping and lacked a 'proper sense of country', as it was defined by trampers and their supporters. For example, 1200 mystery trampers 'desecrat[ed]' the bush on 2 October 1932. This report provoked an alarmed response from commentators. Mystery trampers had littered and ruined the 'velvety green of Ferndale' and hacked native plants from the bush. On the eve of the next mystery tramp, young readers of the *Auckland Star* were reprimanded for this earlier vandalism. They were also warned that respect and restraint were necessary, otherwise open spaces and beautiful bush — the 'heritage of every New Zealander' — would be 'out of bounds' to the 'city dweller'.[69] A few weeks later, 'Sunday Hiker' reported 'unseeming behaviour' on a train returning from a mystery tramp. This included shouting and the use of 'vulgar expressions' by 'certain youths'. 'Sunday Hiker' believed that if other well-behaved patrons were to continue to participate in the tramps, there ought to be 'someone in authority who could prevent this hooliganism'.[70]

Mystery tramper misbehaviour and vandalism signalled to some clubs that sections of the community needed recreational guidance. The Alpine Sports Club's president offered his services to the Auckland radio station, 1YA. The station responded favourably and was glad to broadcast a talk from an experienced tramper.[71] It was the perfect opportunity for the club, representing club tramping's interests, to lead commercial trampers along the right track. Reforming the behaviour of mystery trampers also gave the club a chance to present trampers' interpretation of the landscape and outdoors as authoritative. There was a similar concern in Christchurch: George Jobberns, a geographer who believed that 'every citizen is a better citizen for having a better knowledge of geography', gave a short descriptive talk on the formation of the countryside on one mystery tramp.[72] The educative element may well have been intended to 'elevate' the event from a merely social and potentially destructive occasion to a chance for inculcating the 'right kind' of appreciation for the outdoors.

The collision between New Zealand Railways-inspired mystery tramping and club tramping was short-lived, and there are few references to mystery tramps after 1932. The number of images of trampers in the press dropped too. Tramping soon lost its title as 'the fashionable craze of the moment'. Those who had 'indulged' in it because it was 'the thing' turned their attention elsewhere. In 1934 *Alpinesport* reported that real trampers were relieved by the demise of this 'fashion'. Serious trampers had viewed the occupation of the countryside by bands who 'did not see or appreciate the wonders of nature' as a 'sacrilege'.[73] The New Zealand Railways' tramps had intruded commercial relations into the landscape and encroached on tramping clubs' moral and rational preoccupations. The failure of the mystery tramps to last for more than a few months confirmed that club tramping was a more authentic way to contemplate and interpret the landscape. From this perspective, the mystery tramps gave club trampers the chance to reflect upon how the image of tramping might best be represented, and to refine and settle their own non-commercial definitions of outdoor recreation.

While the new tramping clubs were establishing themselves — literally finding their feet — between the wars, greater numbers of paying visitors were beginning to fill the places that trampers and kindred recreationists assumed were theirs to occupy freely. Scenic leisure and pleasure (besides the mystery train tramps) was being sold by the New Zealand government and private businesses, and tourists were being welcomed into the landscape while recreationists, who had 'nobler' reasons for visiting nature, were being turned away because they refused to pay for what they did in their free time. At Mt Cook in 1926, climbers were asked to pay a fee by an entrepreneur who was leasing the 'national park' there from the government.[74] The individuals who were involved in the incident were indignant. It occurred to club trampers, climbers and skiers, that if they were to safeguard outdoor recreation and access to recreational areas where commercial relations were absent, they needed to speak with a united voice. A number of clubs combined to form the Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand in 1931.[75] This coalition of interests lobbied throughout the 1930s and into the early 1950s for inconsistent and disparate national park laws to be reviewed and streamlined.

By the 1950s, club trampers had occupied the landscape for more than a generation, so naturally, when the new system of national parks was established in 1952, they were eligible to participate in park administration.[76] Commercial interests had, of course, been banned from parks and even tourist-like descriptions of the areas were purged from promotional park literature.[77]

Trampers have been written into the histories of national park formation and conservation as part of a longer project of writing Pakeha New Zealanders into the landscape as natives. This explains why historians have written about Pakeha New Zealanders' changing experiences of nature and about the positive development of environmental ideas, to establish a narrative of conservation and 'land-learning', with indigenous species 'colonizing' the minds of settlers, or settlers learning to live with the land (like natives) rather than on the land. Such a perspective suggests that having a mature attitude to the landscape, the environment and native species validates Pakeha occupation. This view that becoming indigenous is a by-product of time effaces the colonial relationship, since it suggests that if they wait long enough, colonists cease to be colonists. The historians of conservation write about national parks, campers and trampers in ways that suggest that Pakeha have 'landed' and are settled. To demonstrate this landing, however, they overlook certain experiences. Culture is always provisional, open to revision according to contemporary, personal, social, political and economic needs, continually formed, reformed and contested through numerous overlapping practices and categories of experience and identity. Historians need to be cautious about 'settling' meanings that obscure flux and contingency, lest practices that are endless negotiations become homogenized and normalized. In this article, tramping has been re-represented as a contested and mutable practice and recontextualized within colonization.

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NOTES

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1 There are no statistics available so it is difficult to ascertain the exact rate at which clubs formed over this period. For an indication of numbers, see note 5 (below) and details of the clubs that were affiliated with the Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand in Ray Burrell, compiler, *Fifty Years of Mountain Federation 1931–1981*, Wellington, 1983, pp.16–18; 169–72.

2 B.D.A. Greig, ed., *Tararua Story: Published in Commemoration of the Silver Jubilee of the Tararua Tramping Mountain Club 1919–1944*, 2nd ed., Wellington, 1946.

3 F.L. Johnston, ed., *21 Years with Boot and Pack. 'Wanderlust' Birthday Issue. Issued in Celebration of the 21st Birthday of the Auckland Tramping Club (Inc.)*, Auckland, 1946.

4 A number of anniversary publications of clubs that formed between the wars appeared in the 1970s and 1980s. This extensive literature includes: Stan Forbes and Ian McNab, *Alpine Sports: 55 Years of an Auckland Mountain Club, 1929–1984*, Auckland 1986; Michael Brooklyn-Collins and Grahame Jones, eds, *1925–1975: 50 Years of Tramping. The Auckland Tramping Club*, Auckland, 1975; Linda Cook and Roy Stephens, eds, *Snow, Grass, and Scree 60th Jubilee Edition. 1932–1992, 60 Years of Tramping: The Marlborough Tramping Club Inc.*, Blenheim, [1992]; Stella Woodham, ed., *Christchurch Tramping Club Fiftieth Anniversary, 1932–1982: Published to Commemorate the Golden Jubilee of the Christchurch Tramping Club*, Christchurch, [1982]; Peter Aimer and Brian Davis, eds, *Auckland University Tramping Club Jubilee History 1932–1982*, [Auckland], 1982; *Levin-Waiopehu Tramping Club Inc.: Golden Jubilee 1927–1977*, Levin, [1977]; R. J. Keen, ed., *Outdoors: The Official Journal of the Otago Tramping and Mountaineering Club (Inc.) Dunedin, NZ. Fiftieth Anniversary Issue (1923–1973) with Supplement*, Dunedin, [1973]; *Heretaunga Tramping Club: Fiftieth Jubilee, Pohukura 1935–1985*, [Hastings, 1985]; *West Coast Alpine Club: Golden Jubilee, 1936–1986*, [Greymouth, 1986].

5 Miriam Stokdijk, 'Between Two Acts: An Investigation into the Attitudes and Lobbying in New Zealand's National Park Movement, 1928–1952', MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1988; David Thom, *Heritage: The Parks of the People*, Auckland, 1987; Jane Thomson, *The Origins of the National Parks Act*, Wellington, 1976. An exception to this approach is Chris Maclean, *Tararua: The Story of a Mountain Range*, Wellington, 1994. Maclean writes about how people have experienced the ranges, including the Tararua Tramping Club. Mountaineering and its development as a national sport is considered in Graham Langton, 'A History of Mountain Climbing in New Zealand to 1953', PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, 1996.

6 For examples, see Paul Star, 'New Zealand's Changing Natural History: Evidence from Dunedin, 1868–1875', *New Zealand Journal of History* (NZJH), 32, 1 (1998), pp.59–69; L.E. Lochhead, '"Preserving the Brownies' Portion": A History of Voluntary Conservation Organisations in New Zealand', PhD thesis, Lincoln University, 1994. Thomas Dunlap makes this generalization about settler populations in three other countries besides New Zealand: see Dunlap, *Nature and the English Diaspora: Environment and History in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand*, New York, 1999.

7 *Levin-Waiopehu Tramping Club Inc. Golden Jubilee 1927–1977*, p.5.

8 Some outdoor recreationists considered tramping to be a training activity for mountaineering and certain clubs were also devoted to winter sports. This accounts for so-called 'Alpine' clubs. Because a fairly equal emphasis was placed on tramping and winter sports, these hybrid clubs have been included in this discussion.

9 Johnston, ed., p.5; *West Coast Alpine Club Golden Jubilee, 1936–1986*, p.6.

10 The Auckland Tramping Club Photograph Collection, Auckland City Libraries' Special Collections (ACL), provides the basis for this observation.

11 The Auckland Tramping Club produced a map of the Waitakere Ranges in 1932 to facilitate their recreational use of the area, while Levin-Waiopehu club tramper Leslie Adkin named and mapped the Tararua ranges. See 'Map of the Waitakere Ranges', New Zealand Map 3398, ACL and Dreaver, pp.151–4.

12 On the nineteenth-century transformation of 'space' into 'place' carried out by colonial surveyors, see Giselle Byrnes, *Boundary Markers: Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand*, Wellington, 2001, ch.1.

13 See the editorial and a letter from 'Nature Lover', *Alpinesport*, 3, 3 (1932), pp.3,7.

14 *Alpinesport*, 5, 3 (1934), p.3. See also Kirstie Ross, 'Signs of Landing: Pakeha Outdoor Recreation and the Cultural Colonisation of New Zealand', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1999, pp.4–12. A speech given by W.E. Parry, Minister of Internal Affairs in 1937 is a clear example of this revision and the feelings of uneasiness some Pakeha had towards colonists' plunder of the land. *Report on the Bush Preservation and Amenity Planting Conference, Held in the Social Hall, Parliament House, Wellington, on Friday 2nd April, 1937*, [Wellington, 1937], p.5.

15 On this practice in non-fiction writing in New Zealand see Peter Gibbons, 'Non-fiction', in Terry Sturm, ed., *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, 2nd ed., Auckland, 1998, p.56.

16 Woodham, ed., p.10.

17 Johnston, ed., p.7.

18 Keen, ed., p.10.

19 ibid., p.11.

20 *Alpinesport*, 1, 7 (1930). For details of this tramp and how it colonized the landscape see Ross, pp.75–86.

21 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London and New York, 1992, pp.38–9. For comments on the colonizing function of natural history in a New Zealand context see Gibbons, p.64.

22 *Alpinesport*, 5, 6 (1934), p.3.

23 John T. Diamond, *Once — the Wilderness!*, Auckland, 1953. See also the announcement of the publication, *Wanderlust*, 19, 4 (1953), p.1.

24 Adkin's ethnological work is covered in Dreaver, ch.11. See also the bibliography of Adkin's work, pp.264–7 and Dreaver's assessment of Adkin's relations with Maori, p.254.

25 Johnston, ed., p.39.

26 *Alpinesport*, 3, 1 (1932,) p.3.

27 *Alpinesport*, 1, 2 (1930), p.4. See also 'Going for a Tramp', *New Zealand Life and Forest Magazine*, 1 August 1923, p.8.

28 Pascoe has a chapter devoted to this matter in *Unclimbed New Zealand: Alpine Travel in the Canterbury and Westland Ranges, Southern Alps*, London, 1939, ch.19.

29 Greig, ed., p.102.

30 Scott Gilkison, *Peaks, Packs and Mountain Tracks*, Auckland, [1940], p.115.

31 A useful overview of changes in twentieth-century leisure is provided by Bronwyn Dalley, *Living in the 20th Century: New Zealand History in Photographs 1900–1980*, Wellington, 2000, ch.2. Caroline Daley illustrates these changes (and continuities) in some detail in *Girls and Women, Men and Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886–1930*, Auckland, 1999, chs 6–8.

32 For details of music, movie and dance in Auckland see N.J. Elliott, 'Anzac, Hollywood and Home: Cinemas and Film-Going in Auckland 1909–1939', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1989; Bruce W. Hayward and Selwyn P. Hayward, *Cinemas of Auckland 1896–1979*, Auckland, 1979; Dennis O. Huggard, ed., *The Thoughts of Musician Desmond 'Spike' Donovan*, Auckland, 1998; Squire Speedy, *The Picturedrome Fun Merchant: Anecdotes of the Life and Times of the Picturedrome Cinema and Dancehall at Milford During the Era of L.L. Speedy 1922–1938*, Auckland, 1992.

33 *Alpinesport*, 1, 5 (1930), p.4.

34 *New Zealand Observer*, 27 August 1931, in Algie Scrapbook, p.62, Alpine Sports Club Records, MS 689 (ASC records), box 5, item 40, Auckland War Memorial Museum Library (AML). The same article was published in the *Auckland Star*, 29 September 1931, Algie Scrapbook, p.69, ASC records, AML.

35 Pascoe, pp.192–3.

36 Dreaver, ch.10; Maclean, pp.155–63. The need for better safety measures in the mountains is discussed in Margaret Johnston and Eric Pawson, 'Challenge and Danger in the Development of Mountain Recreation in New Zealand, 1890–1940', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 20, 2 (1994), pp.175–86.

37 Greig, ed., p.15.

38 Johnston, ed., pp.6, 18, 34. The quotation comes from p.34.

39 Keen, ed., p.9.

40 *New Zealand Railways Magazine* (NZRM), 1 September 1932, p.57.

41 Greig, ed., p.69.

42 Report of a Meeting of Leaders and Members Held 26 February 1932 on How to Improve Trips, Tararua Tramping Club MS Papers 1858 (TTC papers), folder 87, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (ATL).

43 The Hutt Valley Tramping Club had to scotch allegations of disreputable behaviour in the press. See 'Lady Tramper Throws Bombshell. Criticizes Cut of Girls' Shorts. Denies Suggestions of "Amorous Couples" on Tramping Trips', *New Zealand Truth*, 3 July 1935, p.16.

44 *Alpinesport*, 2, 6 (1931), p.5. See also *Alpinesport*, 3, 1 (1932), p.10; The Tararua Tramping Club used *New Zealand Life*, the periodical of the New Zealand Forestry League, to circulate information to members. See TTC papers, folder 132, ATL.

45 Greig, ed., p.102.

46 *Auckland Star*, 29 September 1931, in Algie Scrapbook, p.69, ASC records, AML.

47 *Alpinesport*, 3, 1 (1932), p.7

48 'The Value of Hiking', *New Zealand Home Pictorial*, 14 September 1932, p.5; NZRM, 1 October 1932, p.15.

49 *Alpinesport*, 1, 5 (1930), p.4. Some members also wanted to encourage engaged or married couples to join the club.

50 *Alpinesport*, 2, 9 (1931), p.5.

51 Report of a Meeting of Leaders and Members held 26 February 1932 on How to Improve Trips, TTC MS papers, folder 87, ATL. In the early days, the 'husky he-men' of the Auckland Tramping Club also predicted that too many social evening would attract members who were not interested in tramping, but were eventually proved wrong. See Johnston, ed., pp.14–15.

52 A report of an Alpine Sports Club social evening was placed on the *Auckland Star* column, 'Women's World and its Way'. The appearance of this report on a women's page suggests that, in the non-tramping world, the social and feminine side of tramping were linked. *Auckland Star*, 26 August 1932, p.9.

53 Committee Meeting, 12 May 1930, ASC records, box 1, item 1, AML. Other clubs confronted the issue of gender and membership with more explicit chauvinism: the Canterbury Mountaineering Club notoriously excluded women from their ranks. Tramping clubs that started as a men-only organization, such as the Marlborough Tramping Club, soon discarded their gender-exclusive policy. See Cook and Stephens, eds, p.2.

54 'Tiny Tunes for Tired Tramps', *New Zealand Life*, 1 December 1923, p.18.

55 *Auckland Star*, 11 July 1932, p.6.

56 This is not an exhaustive list of products. It is based on a reading of the *Auckland Star* and the *New Zealand Home Pictorial*, August–December 1932.

57 *New Zealand Herald* (NZH), 1 September 1932, p.14; *Auckland Star*, 24 September 1932, p.7.

58 Some observers, such as M.S. Swinton, advised the wearing of shorts only 'if nature had been kind'. See 'When You Go A-Tramping: A Few Hints for the Novice', *New Zealand Women's Weekly*, 28 December 1933, p.41.

59 *New Zealand Sporting and Dramatic Review*, 25 August 1932, p.27.

60 The NZH, NZRM, *New Zealand Sporting and Dramatic Review*, *Auckland Star*, *New Zealand Home Pictorial* all contained extensive coverage of the Auckland tramps. Scenes from tramps with cursory captions characterize this coverage. See *New Zealand Sporting and Dramatic Review*, 8 September 1932, pp.34–35. This was a collage of ten photographs taken at the first Auckland tramp.

61 The cartoon depicted two modern 'flappers' on their way to their mystery tramp destination discussing the likelihood of meeting again the 'divinely tall, strong, silent man, who didn't speak a word last time'. 'Overheard on the "Mystery Train"', NZRM, 1 October 1932, p.64.

62 Greig, ed., p.96. Apparently cupid was 'always busy' in the Auckland Tramping Club. *Wanderlust*, 12, 12 (1946), p.12.

63 Report of Third Annual General Meeting, *Alpinesport*, 3, 1 (1932), p.10.

64 A cartoon published in October 1932 in the NZRM, when the mystery tramps were in full swing, joked about the success of these 'invasions' of the countryside and the danger of displacing 'professional trampers' from their territory. NZRM, 1 October 1932, p.29.

65 *Christchurch Star*, 5 September 1932, in Algie Scrapbook, p.140, ASC records, AML.

66 *Alpinesport,* 1, 5 (1930), p.1; *Alpinesport,* 1, 6 (1930), p.4.

67 *Alpinesport,* 3, 6 (1932), p.5.

68 *Alpinesport,* 3, 7 (1932), p.5.

69 'A Most Important Matter. Thoughts for Mystery Hikers. Do Not Sacrifice Your Birthright', *Auckland Star Supplement,* 15 October 1932, p.2.

70 'Behaviour on Hiking Trains', *Auckland Star,* 25 October 1932, p.6.

71 Minutes from a Special General Meeting, 5 October 1932, ASC records, box 1, item 1, AML.

72 *Christchurch Star,* 5 September 1932, in Algie Scrapbook, p.140, ASC records, AML; George Jobberns, 'Geography and National Development', *New Zealand Geographer,* 1, 1 (1945), p.5.

73 'The Fashion Changes', *Alpinesport,* 4, 4 (1934), p.2.

74 Thom, pp.142–3; Burrell, p.145.

75 Burrell, pp.7–12

76 A member from the Federated Mountain Clubs sat on the National Park Authority, the administrative board that was set up by the National Parks Act (1952).

77 Ross, pp.102–3.