

## The Pleasure of Walking



THE HISTORY OF WALKING as an aesthetic and recreational practice has been the focus of recent work by Robin Jarvis, Anne Wallace, Celeste Langan and others.<sup>1</sup> Their ideas can be fruitfully applied to the colonial and early twentieth-century landscapes of New Zealand, especially with regard to the question of how cultural and class difference was articulated through attitudes to walking in the colonial environment, and what this meant for the configuration of walking as pleasure.<sup>2</sup>

The Milford Track is the premier case study for a discussion of the history of recreational walking in New Zealand, not only because it was the first officially promoted local walking track, but also because there are many accounts of walking the Milford Track published by visitors to New Zealand which provide a view of responses to the experience and the conventions which came into play as they walked Milford. This article uses track narratives as documentary texts to explore the cultural attitudes brought to walking in the colonial environment.

Prior to the late 1880s establishment of the track, a palette of attitudes to walking can be found in historical accounts. These attitudes had their origins in European Romanticism and were connected to nineteenth-century landscape aesthetics, a topic which has been discussed in the New Zealand context by Giselle Byrnes, Peter Gibbons, Francis Pound and Geoff Park.<sup>3</sup> European Romantic conventions of spectatorship and contemplation helped to naturalize a landscape which was forbiddingly unpopulated, difficult to access and innocent of the pleasing contrasts between sublime wildness and picturesque human habitation that structured landscape taste in Great Britain. Recreational walking, and to a large extent landscape appreciation, were, of course, side shoots of the technological advances of the Industrial Revolution, so their transference to New Zealand provided a cultural overlay which to some extent rendered the environment as already known. Giselle Byrnes has pointed out how surveyors' representations of landscapes were informed by the artistic fashions of the day as much as by accuracy.<sup>4</sup> It is not fanciful to claim that the European colonization of New Zealand was carried out by Romantic poets and eighteenth-century visual theorists like Uvedale Price or Reverend William Gilpin as much as by actual settlers. Integral to this practise of landscape aesthetics was a shift to pedestrianism and recreational walking, which led in time to the establishment of grand walking tracks like the Milford.

Scholars concerned with nineteenth-century Romanticism, pedestrianism and culture have shown that the transport revolution of the first decade of the nineteenth century prepared the ground so that walking could be redefined as voluntary travel.<sup>5</sup> Rather than something the working class did from necessity, walking became associated with sensibility and taste, an activity of choice for the middle and upper classes, as evidenced in the novels of Jane Austen. As early as 1712 Joseph Addison had proposed in the *Spectator* that it was not the possession of broad acres that set one apart from the vulgar multitude, but

the consumption of landscape as an aesthetic object.<sup>6</sup> The Romantic poets, especially Wordsworth, were important in this realignment of walking as a cultural activity. Wordsworth represented himself as a walking thinker, an image that was enormously influential on the formation of taste. The *Monthly Magazine* for 1798 commented that: ‘to walk, is, beyond all comparison, the most independent and advantageous mode of travelling: Smelfungus and Mundungus may pursue their journey as they please; but it grieves me to see a man of taste at the mercy of a postilion.’<sup>7</sup>

As a leisure activity, especially as mediated through literature, walking gave rise to a field of meanings from political freedom to the literary/philosophical nexus which has come to stand for Romanticism. The literature of Romanticism portrays walking as the mode in which nature is best perceived, and also where the work of reflection and representation could bridge physical, emotional and textual experience. As John Ruskin wrote in his essay ‘The Moral of Landscape’: ‘every fancy that I had about nature was put into my head by some book’.<sup>8</sup>

Colonization added its own potent variations to the representational practices of walking. Often driven by necessity, colonial pedestrianism differed in mode and signification from the European cult of pedestrian travel established by Rousseau and Wordsworth. But even when walking was an obligatory mode, it was still inflected with what Pierre Bourdieu calls the ‘ascetic dispositions of upwardly mobile individuals who are prepared to find satisfaction in effort itself’.<sup>9</sup> Walking in a colonial landscape was both a demonstration of the power of presence — the colonizer’s freedom to come and go — and was inflected with culture- and class-derived habits of discrimination and pleasure. Sketchbooks were carried, vistas described, travel accounts written in a Romantic mode, and feats of endurance disingenuously dismissed as the natural legacy of public school education and evidence of superiority.<sup>10</sup>

Arduous, effortful and long walking, through dense bush in unpredictable weather with an unreliable and scanty food supply, was the standard means of getting around New Zealand for Maori and Pakeha in the first half of the nineteenth century. Missionaries, particularly William Colenso, Henry and William Williams, and Bishop Selwyn, were renowned for their physical stamina and enormous pedestrian journeys. All of them walked the length of the North Island, changing their Maori guides as they walked through different territories. Maori found this European compulsion to long distance ambulation puzzling and kept their own expense of energy to necessity.<sup>11</sup> But though European walking in New Zealand at this time was inevitable, it always displayed aspects of excursive and recreational practices deriving from Romantic ideas of walking as a cultural activity. These were walkers who treated the journey as an excursion, an occasion to display taste and sensibility. When, for example, Colenso reached Te Reinga, a tiny Maori settlement beside a waterfall on the way to Waikaremoana in 1842, he spent the afternoon with his sketchbook at the foot of the falls, an activity deeply inflected with Romantic ideas about the role of the traveller. That he wrote a description of the waterfall as part of his account of his journey, and sent it to William Hooker in London for publication, suggests he was aware of this role. As Samuel Monk pointed out, the ‘picturesque traveller in search of Claudian beauty . . . is busy *seeing*’.<sup>12</sup> What Colenso described himself seeing

was like a landscape composition, with scale, drama and implicit emotion: ‘the waters fell from rock to rock . . . several times, ere they were swallowed up in the dark eddying gulph below. The deep gloom of the river in the gorge beneath, the different hues of the dense masses of foliage on either side, the sunbeams peering downwards.’<sup>13</sup> Denis B. Walker has pointed out that this scene resembles a famous description of a waterfall in James Thomson’s *The Seasons*, and is ‘poetic’ in a self-conscious way — Colenso looked for, and found, ‘an enchanting and indescribable scene, possessing powerful effect’.<sup>14</sup>

Maori certainly understood the many implications of exploratory and recreational walking undertaken by Europeans. In the 1830s a number of British visitors to New Zealand were interested in climbing Ruapehu, Ngauruhoe and Tongariro, the volcanoes of the central plateau. However this was a tapu activity expressly forbidden by Ngati Tuwharetoa, whose ownership of the land also carried sacral and custodial roles. One of the visitors was John Carne Bidwill, who was in New Zealand filling in time until land purchases in Sydney become available. In 1839 he ascended Tongariro, the first European to do so. Bidwill was guided by reluctant Maori, but they refused to advance beyond a certain point. Bidwill climbed on, ignoring an eruption which occurred on his way up, and later remarked that it was a ‘fitting scene for the wildest piece of diablerie that ever entered the brain of a German’.<sup>15</sup> On his descent he was confronted by angry chiefs who considered his breach of tapu a rebuttal of customary authority. In Bidwill’s account of the climb, described in his pamphlet as a ‘ramble’, he typically mixed arrogance and will-to-power with adventure and aesthetic excursion. Walking up Tongariro was a leisure activity, but it was also an assertion of the ‘freedom to come and go’ regarded as ‘natural’ by sportive colonizers, a version of the cultural temperament that conquers peaks because they are there.

In 1883 James Kerry-Nicholls walked into the King Country, an area which Maori still owned and famous as the home of resistance to British sovereignty, especially in the form of the Kingitanga movement. Kerry-Nicholls started out from the southern base of Ruapehu and after several days of hard slog, arrived at Ruakaka, populated by what he described as ‘veritable Hauhaus’. The chief, Te Pareoterangi, was sent for and arrived from a pig hunt ‘with half a dozen wild-looking natives’. Kerry-Nicholls described Te Pareoterangi as a man of ‘below medium height, but of singularly massive build’ with an ‘intelligent air’. Te Pareoterangi asked the travelling party what they had come for and was told they were travelling for pleasure: ‘a titter ran round the circle, for, if we did not look it, we felt half starved, we were drenched to the skin, and covered from head to foot with mud, and the chief, evidently realising all the unpleasant features of our position, naively remarked “How can the pakeha travel for pleasure through such a forest as you have come?”’<sup>16</sup> Te Pareoterangi’s question points to an important cultural difference. These Maori had no interest in traversing difficult terrain for its own sake. Their journeys displayed an obligation to mobility or travel by necessity. Kerry-Nicholls, a gentleman explorer, had a different set of objectives in view. Bloodymindedness drove him and his companions into the King country. They were determined to show their freedom to move in a part of the North Island that was ‘strictly tabooed to the European as a Mohammedan

mosque'.<sup>17</sup> Displaying his prowess as an adventurer, Kerry-Nicholls wished to add New Zealand to a long list of other countries he had already explored. But in another sense he was also travelling for pleasure. Kerry-Nicholls declared his travel was motivated by no 'other desire' than to advance New Zealand's interests by making it more fully known to the world.<sup>18</sup>

Pierre Bourdieu has drawn attention to the way distinctions are made in relation to twentieth-century sporting activities: 'those who seek to prove their excellence must . . . distance themselves from common amusements, the privileged once again need only let themselves be guided by the horror of vulgar crowds which always leads them elsewhere, higher, further, to new experiences and virgin spaces'.<sup>19</sup> Class difference also operated with force in the colonial practise and representation of walking. The mix of adventure, recreation, competition and exclusivity, a performance of excellence, which saturated the behaviour of colonial administrators, was perhaps nowhere more acute than in their demonstrations of mobility. Physical competitiveness was linked both to walking as a leisure activity and to class training. For example, Lieutenant Colonel Godfrey Mundy came to New Zealand from New South Wales in 1847 to inspect and report to London on the colony's military resources. Mundy spent an afternoon walking with Bishop Selwyn, who was famously fit and strong. While walking Selwyn disappeared down a ravine, with a 'rather wicked smile on his lips', challenging Mundy, who was wearing long spurs and white ducks, to follow him. Mundy was up to the challenge and noted: 'I hope I did not disgrace my Etonian training'.<sup>20</sup>

By the mid 1880s New Zealand was experiencing a tourist boom as administrators and missionaries were joined by tourists. To cater for tourists, particularly those interested in blood sports, large parts of New Zealand were transformed into a simulation of a British country estate, complete with recreational hunting and fishing.<sup>21</sup> Donna Landry suggests that landscape tourism in Britain came into being as an alternative to hunting and shooting, and that the long agricultural revolution produced uncultivated countryside as its timeless Other.<sup>22</sup> In New Zealand's compressed colonial history, the same cultural configurations took place. Moreover, as the agricultural landscape became a 'Neo-Europe' shaped by eco-imperialism, the preservation of indigenous flora and fauna, tracts of native bush and scenic areas became more urgent. In step with international environmental concerns, Europeans began to set their sights on the preservation of the wilderness. The forest was reinvented — in a kind of reverse appropriation — as original.<sup>23</sup> Landscape shrines to the sublime and the picturesque were anointed, and Milford took on a new importance.

By the late nineteenth century when boatloads of travellers, well schooled in landscape aesthetics, disembarked in New Zealand, many of them headed for Fiordland, particularly Milford Sound. Samuel H. Moreton, an English artist who came from Australia to 'add a valuable stock of sketches' to his portfolio, travelled into the Sound in the summer of 1881–1882 with the photographer William Hart. Moreton's narrative records considerable traffic in the area, even before an official walking track over the Mackinnon Pass was established. In addition to surveyors, prospectors, explorers and photographers who were living at and visiting the West Coast, Moreton recorded tourist vessels, including

the Royal Melbourne Yacht Club *Asteroid*, a ‘beautiful’ fore and aft schooner, ‘most exquisitely fitted up’, armed, and provided with a crew of ‘ten trained men of the Royal Naval Reserve’ which belonged to ‘one of three gentlemen from the old country’, and the *Rotomahana* from Melbourne, with ‘300 souls’ on board.<sup>24</sup> Moreton helped escort a party from the latter up the Cleddon to see the glacier. One of the tourists remarked that ‘Switzerland had nothing in her Canton to approach the scene’,<sup>25</sup> one of many such comparative remarks made in tourist narratives, demonstrating how aesthetic preconceptions and judgements were distributed around the world. The circulation of Moreton’s and Hart’s photographs and sketches helped establish Milford and the West Coast Sounds as a ‘principal point of sight’ for visitors to New Zealand.<sup>26</sup>

Through the 1880s, as regular steamer trips left from Bluff to tour the West Coast Sounds, pressure mounted for a track to be created from the fiords into the southern lakes area. This was partly because of the difficulties, as Moreton noted in his pamphlet, faced by the mountain traveller who had to carry all his

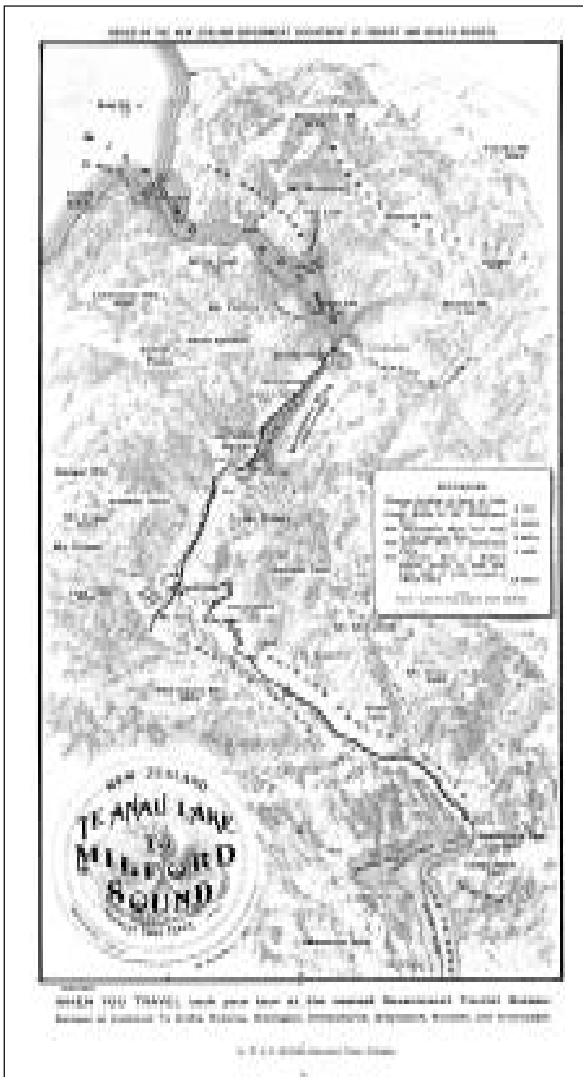


**Figure 1:** West Coast Steamer Party. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, Wellington, New Zealand, F-973331<sup>1/2</sup>.

provisions and bedding and all other necessaries (‘How different from luxurious Switzerland’),<sup>27</sup> and partly because the scenery so widely acknowledged as some of the ‘most glorious’ in the world resonated with tourist promise.<sup>28</sup> It took another six years to find a route from Milford Sound to Te Anau. C.W. Adams, chief surveyor of Otago, took a party of 11, including six photographers, on a reconnaissance survey of the Arthur River in September 1888. In the same month Ernest Mitchell and surveyor Quintin Mackinnon, who was known as ‘Rob Roy’, began cutting a track up the Clinton valley and eventually crossed the pass to join Adams’s party in the Arthur Valley, establishing the route to

Te Anau. Rugged conditions did not prevent a rapid influx of walking tourists, including the first woman who walked the track in 1890. In 1903 the Government Tourist Department took over the facilities, developing the huts and bridges and formalizing the Milford Track as an officially endorsed and supported tourist activity.

Milford's status as 'wilderness' and a site for walking-as-revelation was reinforced and reproduced in tourist narratives. Many track narratives displayed competitiveness or what might be called destination competition. Pleasure and competitive relish in the exertions and difficulties of walking the track was a register of effort, a kind of social capital, a display of superior fitness. But



**Figure 2:** Map of Milford Tack. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, MapColl 834.51cba [1924] 39741.

walking was also always a choice *against* the time and distance efficiencies of industrialized transport, it was a return to ‘nature’. So the walkers who recorded and published their journeys folded the stories of their prowess into another kind of capital, the walker’s consciousness, configured by cultural precedent and aesthetic tradition. They were witnessing ‘nature’, a consciousness enhanced by feelings of exclusivity, accomplishment and nostalgia. Milford Track narratives from the early part of the twentieth century highlight and cluster around these particular tropes.

Almost all track narratives focus on the primary combination of, to use Celeste Langan’s phrase, ‘transcendental surplus’ on the one hand, and ‘reduction to the body’ on the other. Transcendental surplus is a long recognized effect of witnessing the sublime — the grandeur of nature is beyond expression, a figure of speech with a long history of overuse. Most Milford Track accounts from the first half of the twentieth century allude in some way to the inadequacy of rhetoric and representational media to convey the natural environment. Ruskin attributed the indescribability of natural beauty to the feelings it arouses. He characterized this as ‘an instinctive awe mixed with delight’.<sup>29</sup> This does not mean the writer makes no attempt at description. Rather, writers typically preempt their descriptive efforts by reference to a powerful rhetorical convention, a convention in which inability to do justice to the scene can also become an expression of connoisseurship, alluding to a depth of aesthetic response or knowledge. *An Eastern Voyage*, a travel text by Count Fritz von Hochberg, featured the Milford Track as the culminating experience of New Zealand, an experience which justified ‘all seven weeks sea voyage’.<sup>30</sup> Just before Christmas 1907 Count von Hochberg set off to walk the Milford Track. A fit 39-year-old, he quickly outstripped his companion, an Englishman he had met on board called Healy. This added the pleasure of solitude to his intense enjoyment of the landscape, which he found so exquisitely beautiful: ‘I’ve never, not even in Japan, of which it somehow reminds me, seen its equal.’<sup>31</sup> His descriptions of fairy cathedrals, brilliant cascades and towering peaks are punctuated with assertions that words cannot do them justice: ‘it would be impossible for a pen to describe so much beauty, such exquisite colouring, such harmony, scenery, poetry’; only ‘some wildly fantastic artist’ could render so much beauty, and even then ‘most likely people wouldn’t believe it, but would say it was a fantastic, idealised landscape’.<sup>32</sup> In her 1931 account Marie Byles, an Australian climber and walker, wrote of ‘grandeur beyond words, beauty beyond telling’, and proceeded to amplify the rhetorical space of ‘beyond’ with references to a ‘fairy-glen’ country where ‘Peer Gynt met the daughter of the Troll King’.<sup>33</sup>

Reduction to the body was a layered and multiple experience for all track walkers. In Bourdieu’s words, reduction to the body is ‘the sense of simultaneously mastering one’s own body and a nature inaccessible to many’.<sup>34</sup> Reduction might not be the best way of describing this, since the bodily experience of the track also represented an expansion, an intense awareness of terrain through the medium of the body and the senses. Walkers reconstructed their social selves as they took to the track, returning to a Romantic simplicity, a pastoral, non-material world. Walking the track grounded various linked distinctions: adventure and its associated characteristics — courage, freedom, endurance; connoisseurship

linked to taste and class; and bodily simplicity, which in its acts of temporary and carnivalesque levelling (all walkers were the same when drying off in the huts) was nevertheless imbricated with class and culture. Only some people were able to indulge in recreational walking.

Count von Hochberg's heightened sensibility was displayed both in his deployment of figures of speech and in contemplation of the 'exquisitely beautiful scenery'.<sup>35</sup> But his response to the track was also connected to his ability to leave his party far behind on the first day and walk by himself, thus infuriating his English friend Healy. Repeated references to being by himself demonstrate the way in which solitude enhanced von Hochberg's aesthetic pleasure as a walker, carrying over a Romantic image of the lonely artist *and* confirming his general expression of superiority — he was physically able to outstrip the hapless, bleating Healy, who was reduced to complaining ('Are you going to run all the time like that?').<sup>36</sup> Von Hochberg's account of walking the track focused on a combination of speed and taste. More emphatically expressed than many track narratives, it nonetheless is still typical of the main trajectories of most track writings.

Walking allowed distinctions between metropolitan and colonial cultures to be drawn. For many early walkers the idea of the Milford track as a temple to nature, a landscape shrine, which was a direct legacy of Romanticism, was also compensation for ways in which the colony was culturally deficient. Von Hochberg found everything and everyone in New Zealand irredeemably vulgar until he got to Milford. Mary Hall, an Englishwoman who walked the track



**Figure 3:** Count von Hochberg in walking attire. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, C27308<sup>1/2</sup>.



sometime before 1914, asked ‘why should we linger regretting the absence of Cathedral naves, painted pictures of the accumulation of stuffed birds and animals when we can go to Nature, a far abler architect, zoologist and artist?’<sup>37</sup>

Track narratives also displayed a range of attitudes towards the promotion, marketing and commercial organization of the track. Tourist publicity for Milford could be a double-edged sword.<sup>38</sup> This was demonstrated by von Hochberg, who recoiled in frigid contempt when he was approached by an agent from Thomas Cook’s in the Te Anau hotel the night before leaving for the track. A man in a mackintosh appeared in the dining room, offering details about the trip to Milford Sound. Von Hochberg took him to be ‘the Government man who Mr Graichen had told me he had sent for’. When von Hochberg realized he was a Cook’s agent ‘I froze to a glacier at once of course’.<sup>39</sup> The hauteur produced by being mistaken for a Cook’s client was compounded by the agent’s reply to von Hochberg’s query about how much luggage he would need for the trip: “‘Luggage?’” he answered. “‘What do you want luggage for?’” “‘Well,’ I said “‘for five days one wants changes of linen anyhow doesn’t one?’” “‘Oh, no’” he smilingly and even patronisingly retorted. “‘You will want nothing. Men only take a *soft shirt, that lasts for five days*. There’s nobody there to dress for’”.<sup>40</sup> The ‘shirt that lasts for five days’ became a key referent for von Hochberg’s response to the social conditions of the track. He noted that the ten men he shared a hut with at Pompolona really did have only one shirt for five days and ‘[T]here was *one washing stand, one basin!*’.<sup>41</sup>

What for von Hochberg indicated a collapse of civility — the five-day shirt — was for many other walkers a sign of mental and physical toughness and a stripping back to essentials. Most track narratives repeatedly made distinctions, particularly in descriptions of the pace, speed, weather, hut life, food, pack weight, and risks achieved or experienced, which connected physical characteristics to social or cultural differences between walkers. Von Hochberg’s attention to aesthetics was calibrated by his other narrative which focused on feats of strength and the speed of his walking: both his fitness and his sensibility demonstrated his class. He indirectly reported the guide’s remark that he had ‘never heard of anyone walking it in one tour except the guides, it was quite a record’,<sup>42</sup> and gave a lengthy description of crossing the river by flying fox in ‘the most primitive . . . arrangement I had ever seen’.<sup>43</sup>

When Mary Hall described the scene in the Quintin Huts after a day walking in heavy rain she began with a naturalizing analogy; the mixed gender party shrouded in blankets as they waited for their clothes to dry were evidence of ‘local colour’ as ‘it was difficult to avoid a resemblance to the Maori costume’. Among these ‘Maori chiefs’ were ‘the distinguished editor of a well-known Auckland paper’ and the ‘youngest M.P. of the Dominion’.<sup>44</sup> Hall’s description recounted various kinds of unconventional behaviour, including a practical joke which subverted gender roles and did not amuse two ‘ladies — distinctly gentlewomen’ staying in the hut. This involved two women having to share a bunk. One of them darted out ‘arrayed in tweed knickers shirt and with her transformation front pulled down over her chin to resemble a beard . . . struck a mannish attitude with her hands in her pockets and exclaimed: “Who will share a bunk with me tonight?”’ It is possible that walking the track in 1914 had

some negative cultural and social weighting for women. There are a number of publicity photographs during the 1920s and 1930s featuring women on the track looking demure and well dressed,<sup>45</sup> and possibly the publicity targeted preconceptions about what was socially acceptable.

Despite distinctions between walkers, Hall's jocular narrative also rested on some primary assumptions of dominance. The perception that indigenous peoples had a more intimate and natural relationship to their land was a commonplace of colonialism. In Hall's account the jovial image of blanketed walkers as 'Maori chiefs' naturalized dispossession and suggested a comfortable replacement. The walkers' excursion into 'wilderness' and weather reconfigured them as native and affirmed both their physical possession of the country they walked through and the ideologies which allowed them to claim it as aesthetic and recreational



**Figure 4:** Women walking on the Milford Track. Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, Wellington, New Zealand, PA Coll-6203-24.

space. And by suggesting how these walkers were prepared to flout convention (however mildly), undergo difficulties (however managed these might be) and experience synergy between the body and the environment, Hall's narrative evoked powerful Romantic ideas about freedom and landscape which overrode other ways, both cultural and historical, of thinking about land. The walking party were placed at home, both in the hut and in the landscape.<sup>46</sup>

The Milford Track is still one of the top tourist attractions in New Zealand. Up to 14,000 people walk the 54 kilometres each year in guided or 'independent' walks, groups which are strictly segregated and stay at completely different huts. It is now possible to walk the track and pay to have your pack carried, your meals cooked and wine provided. The five-day shirt has been transformed into a broad distinction between 'independent' (self sufficient) walkers and

the deluxe version, a distinction that is essentially economic, though may still carry some cultural loading (the ‘independents’ are said to look down on the ‘guided’ walkers). But walking is still a scene of competitive display. The diary of a recent (Scandinavian) walker, published on Milford.Track.Net, reveals that like von Hochberg this person thought the walk could be accomplished in less time than the official itinerary.<sup>47</sup>

The Milford Track reveals tensions between mass tourism and exclusive space. Developed more or less contemporaneously with mass-transit technologies, organized tourism and a visual culture based on the camera,<sup>48</sup> the Milford Track has been promoted and reproduced as a scene of exceptional natural beauty available only to those prepared to expend effort and energy. In this way the track has a double focus — it is both a spectacle of the eye and a spectacle of the body. Kirstie Ross has pointed out that organized recreational walking, or tramping, made its debut in New Zealand soon after the First World War, and that tramping clubs were closely linked into the community.<sup>49</sup> The Milford Track was already well known internationally by the First World War, and track narratives reveal that considerable numbers of travellers regarded it as one of the reasons for coming to New Zealand. Recreational walking achieved its colonial apogee in the iconic Milford Track and in their accounts of how they found it, early walkers revealed the complex of cultural and social attitudes that shaped their experience of landscape, tourism and physical activity. These attitudes were integral to colonization and to the history of recreational walking in New Zealand, and continue to affect postcolonial perceptions of landscape.

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NOTES

1 Robin Jarvis, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel*, London, 1997; Anne D. Wallace, *Walking, Literature and English Culture: The Origins and Uses of the Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, 1993; Celeste Langan, *Romantic Vagrancy: Wordsworth and the Simulation of Freedom*, Cambridge, 1995.

2 Caroline Daley's recent book, *Leisure and Pleasure: Reshaping the New Zealand Body, 1900–1960*, Auckland, 2003, makes a valuable distinction between 'unsanctioned pleasure' and 'sanctioned leisure' (p.6). This essay uses the term 'pleasure' to describe the entanglement of physical and mental discipline with Romantic ideas about landscape and human interactions with it. Using 'pleasure' to describe what is a culturally sanctioned leisure activity, walking, blurs Daley's distinction, but can also usefully suggest the many layers of association between leisure and pleasure that have accreted around walking as recreation.

3 See, for example, Giselle Byrnes, *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand*, Wellington, 2001, and Peter Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', *New Zealand Journal of History* (NZJH), 36, 1 (2002), pp.5–15, on how migrants seek to transform the new world they enter into a simulacrum of the old. Francis Pound's *Frames on the Land: Early Landscape Painting in New Zealand*, Auckland, 1983, discusses the application of European landscape conventions to New Zealand, and Geoff Park's 'Going between goddesses' (in Klaus Neumann, Nicholas Thomas and Hilary Ericksen, eds, *Quicksands: Foundational Histories in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand*, Sydney, 1999, pp.176–97) draws attention to the ways in which landscape is mythologized as 'original' once the Maori were dispossessed.

4 Byrnes, *Boundary Markers*, pp.70–6.

5 See, for example, Jarvis, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel*; Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716–1818*, Cambridge, 1995; Langan, *Romantic Vagrancy*.

6 Cited in Donna Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside: Hunting, Walking and Ecology in English Literature, 1671–1831*, New York, 2001, p.15.

7 Quoted in Jarvis, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel*, p.12.

8 John Ruskin, 'The Moral of Landscape', in *Modern Painters*, New York, 1937, III, p.364.

9 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice, London, 1986, p.214.

10 See, for example, Godfrey Mundy's comment about their 'Etonian training' when taken cross country by Bishop Selwyn (*Our Antipodes: or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies*, London, 1852, I, p.82).

11 One example is the comment recorded by Kerry-Nicholls quoted later in this article, but Colenso's various accounts of his trips round the East Cape and across the Ruahines also mention Maori attitudes to European travel, often critically, as in his comments about the difficulties of persuading Maori to guide the party outside their own territory. See Lydia Wevers, *Country of Writing: Travel Writing and New Zealand 1809–1900*, Auckland, 2002, pp.50–2.

12 Samuel H. Monk, *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-Century England*, Ann Arbor, 1960, p.204.

13 William Colenso, 'Journal of a Naturalist in some little known parts of New Zealand in a letter to Sir W.J. Hooker', *Journal of Botany*, London, 1844, p.23. For a detailed description of how Romantic writing informed Colenso's idea of place see Denis B. Walker, 'At Home in the Wild: the Idea of Place and the Textualised Vision of William Colenso', *Australian Canadian Studies, The Idea of Place: New Zealand Issue*, 18, 1–2 (2000), pp.99–112.

14 Walker, 'At Home in the Wild', pp.104–5.

15 John Carne Bidwill, *Rambles in New Zealand*, London & Exeter, 1841, p.77.

16 J. Kerry-Nicholls, *The King Country: or, Explorations in New Zealand: A Narrative of 600 Miles of Travel through Maoriland*, London, 1884, p.272.

17 Kerry-Nicholls, *The King Country*, p.14.

18 Kerry-Nicholls noted that he had 'penetrated into some of the wildest parts of Australia, explored the principal islands of the Coral Sea, been into the interior of China and of Japan, crossed the United States, visited Mexico, travelled in Canada, voyaged up the Nile, camped with the Bedouins on the plains of Arabia and hunted in the forests of Ceylon' (Kerry-Nicholls, *The King Country*, p.132). His language makes it clear that he thought of New Zealand's King Country as another chapter in the adventure of his life.

19 Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p.215.

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20 Mundy, *Our Antipodes*, I, p.82.

21 The drive for recreational hunting and fishing contributed to long-term landscape modification, and what Donna Landry has referred to as the 'invention of the countryside'. Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, passim.

22 Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, p.2.

23 See Park, 'Going between goddesses', p.190. Ross Galbreath has shown that prior to 1900 Maori had been arguing for conservation of habitats for food supply, but from 1865 they had run across the Animals Protection Acts, which classified a number of native birds as game. With the growth of the conservation movement in America and Britain extending to New Zealand by the 1880s, Maori customary use of forests and birds became even more restricted. By 1907 28 native birds were placed on a 'protected' list: Ross Galbreath, 'Displacement, Conservation and Customary Use of Native Plants and Animals in New Zealand', NZJH, 36, 1 (2002), pp.42-4. As Geoff Park points out, attitudes to land and environment still sharply divide Maori and Pakeha. In a recent survey, over 80% of Maori were in favour of traditional harvesting in the conservation estate while 78% of Pakeha were opposed: 'Going between goddesses', pp.183-4.

24 Samuel H. Moreton, *Milford Sound and the Scenery of the West Coast of the Middle Island of New Zealand. With an appendix containing a list of pictures from sketches taken on the spot*, Invercargill, 1882, p.8.

25 *ibid.*

26 Moreton and Hart's photographs and sketches were reproduced in guidebooks and also sold at exhibitions that Moreton organized in Australia and New Zealand. An appendix of his pamphlets lists 32 sketches and views of Milford.

27 Moreton, *Milford Sound and the Scenery of the West Coast*, p.12.

28 Moreton repeatedly referred to flattering comparisons made by passengers on the Rotomahana between Milford Sound and Switzerland, such as that Milford and its neighbouring sounds 'far surpass' anything in Switzerland (p.13). Switzerland was the gold standard for Romantic landscapes.

29 Ruskin, 'The Moral of Landscape', p.365.

30 Count Fritz von Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage: A Journal of the Travels of Count Fritz von Hochberg through the British Empire in the East and Japan*, London, 1910, p.111.

31 *ibid.*, p.104.

32 *ibid.*, pp.103-4

33 Marie Byles, *By Cargo Boat and Mountain: The Unconventional Experiences of a Woman on Tramp Round the World*, London, 1931, p.252.

34 Bourdieu, *Distinctions*, p.219.

35 von Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.103.

36 *ibid.*, p.106.

37 Mary Hall, *A Woman in the Antipodes and in the Far East*, London, 1914, p.12.

38 As Bourdieu so persuasively argues in *Distinctions*, part of the value of social space is its exclusivity, an argument made particularly about sport, pp.208-25.

39 von Hochberg, *An Eastern Voyage*, p.100.

40 *ibid.* Emphasis in original.

41 *ibid.*, p.106. Emphasis in original.

42 *ibid.*, p.112.

43 *ibid.*, p.110.

44 Hall, *A Woman in the Antipodes*, p.26.

45 There are plenty of examples held in the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL) photography collections under place name and activity, and also in the New Zealand Free Lance Collection, ATL.

46 On this point and also for an account of the way tramping clubs romanticized bush walking and made an association between trampers and good citizens see Kirstie Ross, 'Schooled by Nature: Pakeha Tramping Between the Wars', NZJH, 36, 1 (2002), pp.51-65.

47 index" <http://www.doc.govt.nz/Explore/002~Tracks-and-Walks/Great-Walks/Milford-Track/index.asp>

48 Peter D. Osborne has written that the camera located identity in a 'world space, a system of places . . . regarded as extensions of [identity]', *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture*, Manchester and New York, 2000, p.13.

49 Ross, 'Schooled by Nature', passim.