

Dancing with Tane's Children

CAROLINE CAMPBELL

At an exhibition I once visited, I was confronted by a photograph of a colonial gentleman in top hat and frock coat standing next to a cabbage tree. As an illustrator my attention and curiosity were aroused not so much by the commanding size of the image but by the juxtaposition of the man and the tree. Which of the two, I wondered, was the more exotic? Which was the coloniser? Such questions arising from the correlation of image, text, and format are essential when considering the representation of identity at any given moment. While this might appear more relevant today, given the global propensity for the use of the image as a colonising device, it was no less instrumental in the late colonial and early modernist period, 1890-1920, of New Zealand. During this period, labelled occupational by Peter Gibbons (1998), New Zealand's print culture and literature, sought to give expression to an identity that was becoming unbound from its European and settler origins.¹ In this cultural endeavour, the developments occurring in illustrated junior fiction were no less significant in creating a new world for its readers. Such a world is captured in Kate McCosh Clark's picture book for children, *A Southern Cross Fairy Tale*, published in 1891, the key text for this discussion. Of its illustrations five have been selected which articulate this world and its newness through the discourse of visual language.

According to Denoon, Mein-Smith, and Wyndham (2000) "New Zealand was a country of the imagination long before (and perhaps more intensely than) it became a political entity with the sinew of a state."² For the immigrant and native born inhabiting this vision, the itch to create an identity became an imperative actively pursued through print culture as a container for its expression, consumption and ongoing manifestation. Commenting on this, Gibbons (1998) divides the "discourse of colonization, the textual production of 'New Zealand'" into five sequential stages, each with its own specific focus.³ It is the third stage, the occupational period, which witnessed the creative instigation in constructing an identity that is of significance in the context of this paper. According to Gibbons (1998) it was during this time that "writers incorporated local phenomena in their texts, in an attempt to make themselves indigenous writers by concentrating on indigenous subjects."⁴ Junior fiction employed this colonising strategy embellishing fact with fantasy to create a sense of familiarity and belonging.

This vision was institutionally consolidated in the creation of the *School Journal* in 1907, to meet the "demand by primary teachers for the inclusion of New

Script & Print: Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia & New Zealand
29 (2005): 18-29

Zealand subjects in parts of the curriculum, and for 'readers' and other textbooks to contain some local materials."⁵ In addition to emphasising the paternal relationship with the Empire this publication introduced Maori myths and legends along with instructions on conservation practice, advice on the virtues of temperance, physical and dental hygiene, and homilies on the exploits and lives of the rulers of the Empire.⁶ But pre-empting this ministerial initiative were illustrated books, albeit a few, encapsulating the civilising vision of the colonising dream. The key text by the socialite Kate McCosh Clark (1847-1926) is one such example. *A Southern Cross Fairy Tale*, published in 1891, is one such example. Partially illustrated by the author and featuring the finely engraved illustrations of Robert Atkinson, it is part fantasy, part tourism brochure, and part didactic tool through which a late colonial identity emerged. While it was produced for the New Zealand market the author also intended it to appeal to readers back home thus, in effect, continuing the colonising practice of promoting the colony through print. Moreover, its message of the scenic and the wonderful, resided in the visual appeal of its images.

Kate McCosh Clark (1847-1926)

The creator of this work appears to have been a woman of some substance and having prominent social standing. Janet McCallum (1996) claims that although the full details of the early life and education in England of the immigrant Kate McCosh Clark are scant, it is known that she became employed as a researcher "often in the British Museum" for other writers.⁷ Regarded in the colony as an accomplished musician and painter she promoted music and the arts opening her home, the Towers in the privileged Auckland suburb of Remuera, as a venue for women to engage in artistic, literary and dramatic pursuits (McCallum 1996). Both she and her influential husband, James (who was to serve a three-year tenure as Mayor of Auckland) assisted in reforming the Auckland Society of Artists as the Auckland Society of Arts in 1880 where she exhibited in addition to functioning as a committee member. According to McCallum, they were also founding members of the Auckland Art Gallery. Working, exhibiting members that is, included the English born Robert Atkinson (1863-1896) who was to become Clark's friend and illustrator of her works for children. Given these social and artistic connections it is not unlikely to assume that Clark would have come into contact with the exhibiting topographical and picturesque painters of the period, such as the Auckland based Charles Blomfield (1848-1926) who was nationally known for his scenic interpretations of the New Zealand landscape. As with any other prominent socialite her services to the community were not unnoticed by the contemporary press inspiring the following accolade by 'Esmond':

At the late Exhibition of paintings and works of art, in the Choral Hall, the Mayoress took a prominent part, both in active work and in exhibiting. She may be considered as the patroness of the aesthetic art in Auckland; and as there is but little to love, and little taste for these things in this Colony — devoted almost to mammon — we may well make much of so warm a friend, especially when she sits in high places.⁸

McCallum states that Clark was not solely a promoter of the arts but was active in the establishment of charitable organizations and the International Council of Women. She took part in climbing expeditions and engaged in outdoor pursuits. Financial ruin came in the 1880s with her husband's failed speculation and they subsequently returned to England. Prior to this she had completed *A Southern Cross Fairy Tale*, which was illustrated by Atkinson and published in London. Her last work, *Maori Tales and Legends*, also illustrated by Atkinson and published in 1896, was designed to inform its readers about New Zealand and Maori culture (McCallum 1996). Similarly to its predecessor, *A Southern Cross Fairy Tale*, it contains notes referring to "such sources as Edward Tregear, John White, F. D. Fenton, George Grey [to whom her husband was strongly opposed] and Tawhiao, the Maori King."⁹ In keeping with the didactic imperative instituted during the period, it was to later appear in serial form in the *School Journal* for junior readers commencing in Part 1, 1909. McCallum notes that in addition to her writing for junior fiction, Clark's output included newspaper articles and short stories for magazines as well as *Persephone and other poems*, a collection of verse. On the death of her husband Clark returned to New Zealand to take up residence in 1900.

A Southern Cross Fairy Tale

At the heart of *A Southern Cross Fairy Tale* lies the representation of difference. It is through this lens that the author announces the severance with traditional cultural norms and endeavours to capture a sense of uniqueness, portrayed through the synthesis of fact and fantasy. Set within Christmas Eve, a time denoting longing and wish fulfilment, the plot centres on a brother and sister, nine-to-ten year old Hal and seven-year old Cis. Their father is absent, presumed drowned on the return voyage to visit a "sick relative in a distant land."¹⁰ This paternal absence (insecurity) is filled with the presence of Santa Claus who comes not in the form of Thomas Nast's rotund and ruddy ideal of the 1860s but as a young man endowed with knowledge and light (security).

And there, where the moonbeams fell upon the floor, stood a lad with a smiling face, and on his head was a crown of twinkling stars, and beneath the stars these words shone, "I bring good gifts to all." A robe of deepest blue hung down in

soft shimmering folds near to his feet, and in his hand was a wand, on the tip of which shone the evening star.¹¹

The gift that he bestows on the children, writes Clark "is the gift that makes you know and understand Nature's many voices."¹² Their impoverishment performs a metonymic function on two levels. Firstly it symbolises the Imperialist view of the colony, by its own standards, as having nothing of note, sophistication, or, most damning of all, cultural originality. Secondly, it signifies the fragile status of the first generation 'native born' for whom identity was just gaining a foothold. Security, for Clark, is knowledge and the sites, scenic wonders, and the strange fauna and flora with which the children become acquainted are emblematic of that currency. Neatly concealed within the acquisitive acts of seeing and naming is the privilege of ownership and uniqueness. This quality is not due to the things in themselves, as David Novitz (1989) contends in his commentary on cultural origin, but is woven into the relationship, the dance of encounter and engagement.¹³ It is a rite of passage encompassing both North and South Islands where the children, led by elemental guides in the form of fairies and gnomes, stereotyped as Scotsmen, encounter the exotic and elements of the scenic picturesque. However, not all encounters are embraced and those tending to ambivalence, such as the confrontation with the 'Maories' are selectively left un-illustrated.

Suddenly a miserable little cur ran out of the bushes, barking, and amidst the manuka and cabbage-trees they saw a raupo whare. Grotesque heads carved upon the gable and on the corner post of the low roof grinned hideously at Hal and Cis, and they were very startled when some dark figure, wrapped in loose mats, ran out hastily, looking big and weird in the dim and uncertain lights.¹⁴

At the conclusion of their journey Santa Claus, erased by a snowball, returns to the old world, and the children awake to their bedroom and Christmas presents. Cis receives a doll, doll's furniture, and a "book with pictures of all kinds of birds and insects." Hal's "treasures" are "rare bird's eggs in little glass-covered boxes, precious bits of many-coloured ores; and from the Terraces, about which his mother had often told him, were specimens of white encrusted sticks and delicate ferns. How he longed to put them in his cabinet with his other treasures!"¹⁵ But the gift surmounting all others is their father, returned alive from the sea with his tales of shipwreck and survival.

Thus are woven into the structure of the narrative the themes: sickness, arduous and long journeys, physical isolation, death by drowning, and resurrection or restoration described by Betty Gilderdale (1982) as fundamental in the junior fiction of the late colonial period. Although Clark's narrative sets these parameters the fine black and white illustrations flesh out the nuances of the text in a way that

words cannot. Constructed around light, and the shadowy qualities existing within the tonal extremes, Atkinson's illustrations depict New Zealand's iconic physicality and presence. Skilfully interpreted through the hand of the engraver, W. E. Chambers, this contained visual expression creates a picturesque world for a dance with Tane's children.

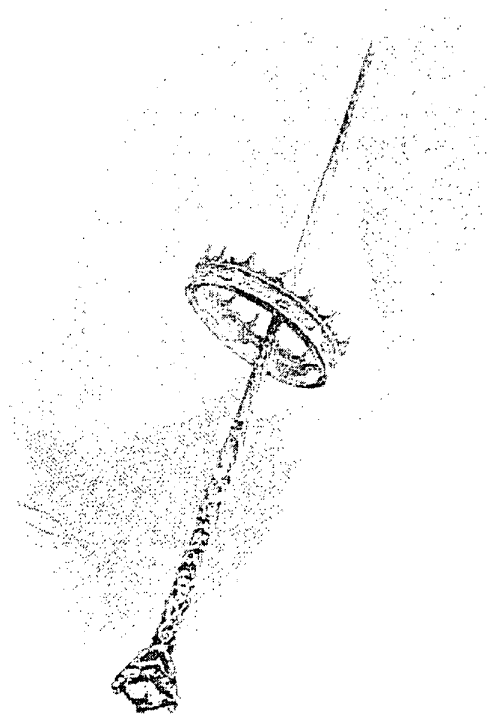


Fig 1. Title page illustration by Robert Atkinson, engraved by W.E. Chambers, 7.2cm x 11cm. K. McCosh Clark, A Southern Cross Fairy Tale (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington Ltd., 1981). (Courtesy Dorothy Neale White Collection, the National Library of New Zealand)

The dance of encounter with difference begins with a deceptively simple title page illustration (see Figure 1) featuring two emblems of dual authority in a compelling visual synopsis. Perhaps no other image is as successful in denoting the tension existing between the coloniser and the indigenous. For the 'native born' audience it is latent with meaning but that meaning may remain impervious to the readers 'back home' who, distantly removed, might be unaware of the significance of its symbolism. Visually contained in the iconography of this image, social interactions, denoted by constitutional and institutional power, are enacted through social relations with the indigenous, the colonised. Here, text based systems versus oral traditions, and institutional versus tribal authority. Interpreted this way the crown, an icon commonly used in conjunction with power, dominion and rulership assumes a maternal, protective and all embracing function. The ideology alluded by this symbolism is that of paternalism. This restrictive system was based on the principle that it enacted policies in the best interests of dependents, in this case the indigene, impinging on their freedom and self-determination. An example of this belief is contained in the words of Reeves (1898) who held that the "native race" had benefited and been preserved by hard work and good governance.¹⁶ A determinist reading such as this would conform to the late colonial perception of the Crown in the role of native protector whose governing agency was the Department of Native Affairs. However, this interpretation is contradicted by an alternative reading. This subversive message is generated by the iconic ambiguity inherent in the image itself, which is far from passive. Here, the penetrating wand, metonymic of the *tangata whenua* (the people of the land) and tribal and kinship society, intersects colonial authority and governance. Moreover, the phallic wand is most significant in this context. Illustrated as carved with Maori motifs (the most dominant of which is a *tiki*) it does not so much symbolise a traditional tool of magic, a wand, but resembles a *tokotoko*, the walking stick or genealogical staff used by male orators in Maori culture and originally handed down. Consequently the depiction of the wand is more than just a decorative token, reduced in meaning and adorning the white space of the page. Like the crown it is equally synonymous in connoting rulership, authority, knowledge and cultural value. In addition it pierces the oval opening of the settling crown with a dynamism equating with generational ascendancy. As a lineal tool transmitting oral knowledge and power it is a potent symbol. Traditionally associated with indigenous culture it signifies acculturation through the encounter with difference rather than assimilation, which might be the obvious inference. This visual interpretation has its historical origins in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi with all the consequent implications for Maori and Pakeha relationships. "And the face of New Zealand would from that time on be a Janus one, representing at least two cultures and two heritages, very often looking in two

different directions."¹⁷ The four subsequent illustrations develop this encounter further through New Zealand's scenic wonderland: the bush, the clearing, the thermal region, and the volcano and Pink and White terraces.

The first full size illustration (Plate 1) is set between the bewitching hours of midnight when all is silent and still. Illuminated by a full moon Cis and her brother, Hal, are led from the safety of civilisation, the house festooned with scarlet passionflowers, its garden of roses and adjacent meadows into the wonderland whose gateway is symbolised by the untamed and impenetrable bush. The ubiquitous and iconic ponga (tree fern), the vines of the supple jack, symbolically sinuous and exotic, and the ghostly trees signify the demarcation of the known and the unknown, the tamed and the wild, the cultivated and uncultivated and "the nooks of the garden ... left half wild ..."¹⁸ In this hybrid state the transformation, or perhaps transmogrification in identity from the conventions of one world (England) to the other (the Antipodes down under) is connoted not only by the ordered divergence between the garden and the bush but by a surprisingly different Santa Claus. When asked why his appearance is such he replies that in the old world he is an old man but when in the "New World" he assumes an appropriately youthful aspect. His other signifying trademarks, the reindeer, sleigh, "snow and frost," have been left behind as symbolic of the traditions of the past. Instead in the new world of Christmas summer and "long soft shadows" his bare-foot presence is that of emergent youth, crowned with stars and bearing a wand.¹⁹

Along with the literal adherence to the figurative description given in the text the stylistic convention that best conveys this alterity or otherness, is the frame or border surrounding the illustration. Interpreted as a frame it localises a specific view but as a border it symbolically embodies a field that can be penetrated and transgressed, as indeed is the case in this illustration where the new world leaks out of the upper and lower edges. Far from providing a decorative function this border further performs an optical illusion by flipping from a flat shape, in this case a frame, to present itself as a three point perspectival space in which a rabbit (reminiscent of Alice in Wonderland) bounces in vertiginous abandon. Santa Claus emerges from this visual conundrum to pass the wand to Hal who holds the central axis in this rush of pictorial activity. "'Take that,' said Santa Claus; 'it will give you light in the darkest places.'"²⁰ Like an *x* that marks the spot it alludes to the stellar navigational constellation of the Southern Cross. As a metaphorical as well as astronomical pointer it is denotative of place, thereby reinforcing for the New Zealand reader a sense of belonging and importance. The youthful Santa Claus is the agent of transmission whereby local phenomena, no longer perceived as 'alien,' have become transposed into normalcy. As previously discussed the wand is the symbol of acculturation through its association with and appropriation of indigenous cultural language. A case in point being the name Aotearoa, the Long

White Cloud, ascribed to New Zealand by Reeves, which also functions as the metaphorical vehicle of conveyance enabling Cis and Hal to cross the Cook Strait. It thus confirms to Gibbons' (1998) view of the 1890s as informed by occupation and possession. The identification with place as home, rather than exile, is further reinforced through the design of the composition where the children, organically framed by the dense and embracing bush, face outward to the reader. Thus, the image that they reflect back to the 'native born' reader, as well as the audience 'back home,' is an identity depicted as now having national integrity and roots. At the same time Santa Claus enters, as from a door, on a diagonal trajectory to the border, taking him away from the past and into the central site of the present moment.

This severance with the past is made even more complete, by an element whose semiotic significance as a sign could be disregarded by the reader as a mere decorative feature. This is the supple jack vine abutting from the right hand side of the composition. Without its contrasting diagonal emphasis, scale, linear movement and visual weight, the unfolding scene would contain little in the way of psychological tension. As a compositional framing device it is not the stylistic art nouveau type that is found bordering the illustrations of Edith Howes' *Maoriland Fairy Tales*, published in 1913. Here, the organic vine, symbolising the indigenous culture as against imposed and imported culture, is not confined but, ambiguously, provides the mechanism of confinement and constraint.²¹ Perhaps it might even be savage. Recognisably less culturally ubiquitous than the friendlier heraldic icon of the ponga, the tree fern with which New Zealand became conflated, it none the less signifies the indigenous as demarcator. This view of demarcation, proposed by Hughes-D'Aeth (2001), contends the notion that indigenous people were placed (cut out and pasted) as markers of progress and as decorative items in the landscape of colonisation (the collage). "Although pictorially marginalised, Aboriginal people were crucial to colonial space precisely because they formed its margins."²² It might be deduced, from a literal reading of Atkinson's image, that the indigene is presumed absent, and therefore silent. This would conform to the then contemporary European belief that New Zealand was a splendid but desolate wilderness. The suggestion made in the analysis of the title page illustration is that this is not the case. Instead the bush, the creatures, the mountains and the lakes, belonging to the domain of the Maori God, *Tane Mahuta*, assume the metonymic role not as silent witness but as active participants.

The linear perspective in this and the following illustrations is virtually non-existent compared with the representation of space in Australian junior fiction. Here, there is little horizon to speak of and the logic by which linear perspective is constructed is confounded by a landscape that is filled up with organic things. Instead the convention of atmospheric perspective is used to measure the visual

qualities of space, its depth and distance. Rather than employing a fixed viewpoint the distinctions between foreground, mid-ground and background are created through the subtle application of scale and tone. The resulting effect is as much a reality as an imaginary space outside of which the border/frame folds and unfolds in a constant state of negotiation.

This otherworldliness is continued in the next illustration (see Plate 2), which depicts the clearing to which the children have been guided and where a dance is taking place. In keeping with its pulsing momentum the composition expands to fill the entire dimension of the image area. Again the perspective employed is atmospheric, suggesting through this treatment the claustrophobic nature of the bush where long views and distant horizons, such as the sea, are hinted at but sealed from view. Overseen by Santa Claus who holds court at the base of a tree fern surrounded by a ferment of curiously shaped fairies Cis and Hal join in this heterogenous dance, which has no taxonomic order — excepting perhaps for the portrayal of the key avian icons, the Kiwi and the Tui. While everybody, including the introduced rabbit (and possibly the frog) dances with everybody, a large and slightly intoxicated looking Kiwi is in the embrace of Cis and a formal Tui (known to the colonists as the Parson bird) partners Hal. Huhu beetles beetle after caterpillars, Kakapo dance with Weka, and Tuatara survey the goings on with the mature solemnity that, according to the author, befits the historical longevity of their species. What better way to become familiar with the 'alien' and the exotic than through the cultural experiences of a dance? As a cultural experience ritualised performances, including dances, were integral to Polynesian society and figured in indigenous encounter and negotiation since the early days of exploration.²³ By taking full advantage of fantasy Atkinson has imbued the scene with a delightful sense of whimsy (and possible subversiveness) managing to evade the stiffer didactic elements contained in the text and the author's accompanying avian portraits. Although contained by a centripetal force of which Santa Claus is the focal point the whole dance threatens to become unstuck and wobble out of control into the surrounding white space of the page. This scenic thrill is what awaits the reader in the next two images.

In contrast to the previous bush scenes, the third and fourth large illustrations, which will be dealt with separately, pinpoint New Zealand as a site of tourism spectacle. In each of these Atkinson has used a framing device rather than a border, which consequently results in quite a different reading. As employed in the first illustration (see Plate 1) the border is fluid and malleable suggesting flux, movement, change and instability. Here, the image (see Plate 3) is compressed into a dark, thin frame in contra-distinction to the preceding illustration where it was possible for the reader to imagine herself within the composition. Furthermore Santa Claus, again seated, is less an icon than an indexical sign. With his

back turned to the reader he faces into the scene directing the viewer's gaze to an exultant, and savage looking Hal. Cis, in the protective embrace of Santa Claus, is being kept from harm and possibly from contamination. Depth has been replaced by shallowness, heightened by the extreme flattening out of space where shapes exist but there appears to be no fixed reference point for their existence. Hence, they float in space. In this marginal space, dominated by the geyser and its discharged gnomes, the eerie forest looming in the background appears primeval and European existence superfluous. Here the indigenous, restricted and sealed in by the frame, dominates the image, and poster-like, advertises the geothermal region of New Zealand to the reader. Reeves would describe the plateau as a "health resort," a "wonderland" with geysers equalling "those of Iceland and the Yellowstone. Seen in the clear, sunny air, these columns of water and white foam, mounting, swaying, blown by the wind into silver spray, and with attendant rainbows glittering in the light, are lights which silence even the chattering tourist for a while."²⁴ Situated in the central North Island and incorporating Wairakei Valley (included in the author's notes) this was, until 1894, the tribal land of the Ngati Tuwharetoa.²⁵ This image, however, presents a peculiarly framed, as in selected vision, which might find a home in some equally dark album. Rather than a stock in trade representation of the picturesque with its light and sunny skies, or even the broodily romantic, the dankness and darkness of this illustration seems to suggest a whiff of Edgar Allan Poe — an early vision of New Zealand gothic perhaps?

From the dark uneasiness of the preceding illustration, the following image (see Plate 4) emerges to again combine fantasy and fact in a visual memorial. Represented in this simulacrum Cis and Hal flee the scene, barefoot, led along the unstable ground by the head gnome, Red Cap, their small elemental guide. Pictured consuming the entire image area is the destruction of the Pink and White Terraces in the pyroclastic flows emanating from one of New Zealand's most symbolic volcanoes, Mount Tarawera, an event which occurred just five years prior to publication.²⁶ In this unusual composite image the children are secondary to the iconic hierarchy of the landscape. Here they, the 'native born' are squashed into a vertical space which almost erases them, as in reality it destroyed three Maori villages. This squeeze is due to the framed and inserted vignette of the selected view of the Terraces, Lake Rotomohana and Mount Tarawera that horizontally thrusts its way into the children. Its graphic imperative is to immortalise this once unique scene, as a picturesquely packaged and freeze-framed memento to one of the internationally renowned tourism destinations of the period. Sealed within the depiction of its destruction, and reminiscent of the scenic postcards produced by such printer/publishers as A. D. Willis, for the market 'back home,' it

lives on commemorated through print culture as a unique loss. Captured in this way, its mythology serves as an essential feature in the fabric of national identity and its representation.

These five illustrations by Atkinson consecutively depict an identity in the process of becoming. As the title, *A Southern Cross Fairy Tale*, implies its genre specific characters, the fairies and gnomes, are agents in this process. However, as catalysts of change and transformation their influence is subsidiary to the iconic metaphor identified as the Southern Cross. This constellation illuminates the presence of the indigenous: the bush and its creatures, the mountains, lakes and geysers, and their graphic dominance in reinforcing identity. As Nigel Clark (2004) suggests it is through our 'situatedness,' our experience and interaction with the events, things, people and place that a sense of belonging is created. For the European/Pakeha of the late colonial period of the 1890s, neither settler nor nationalist; a hybrid mix of immigrant and 'native born,' the dance of encounter in New Zealand as different and unique, was explored and contained in the artefacts of print culture. As examples of that, these illustrations exemplify that exploration distilled through one of the dominant discourses of colonialism, namely visual representation.

So how does print capture, colonise and create new worlds? In my introduction I questioned whether a man, marked by the conventions of European dress and appearance was in effect different from the tree that he was standing next to. As a coloniser the man arrived to see and name and the tree, the indigenous other, was purportedly seen, named and thereby colonised. However, the simplicity of this definition constructed on a subject/object relationship is continually undermined by the influence of cultural osmosis whereby the presence of one informs the other. As a seminal text in the print culture of New Zealand *A Southern Cross Fairy Tale*, a cultural possession, a picture book, provides evidence of this. In creating a new world for its audiences through the capture of the indigenous it also colonised the reader through the association of image, text and format. Enabled by the institution of education and the publishing industry the genre of illustrated junior fiction became a colonising device to promote and endorse the notion of belonging — as indeed it still does.

Endnotes

- ¹ Gibbons, Peter. "Non-fiction," In *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, rev. ed., edited by Terry Sturm, 31-118 (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- ² Denoon, Donald, Philippa Mein-Smith, and Marivic Wyndham, *A History of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 9.
- ³ Gibbons, 33.
- ⁴ Gibbons, 33.
- ⁵ Gibbons, 55.
- ⁶ *School Journal* Vol. 1. — No. 1 May 1907 to Vol. V111. — No. 5 June 1914.
- ⁷ "Clark, Kate McCosh," *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol. 2. 87-88.
- ⁸ Esmond, Leaders Section of Society, *Observer*, May 14, 1881.
- ⁹ *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. s. v. "Clark, Kate McCosh"
- ¹⁰ Kate McCosh Clark, *A Southern Cross Fairy Tale* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington Ltd., 1891), 4.
- ¹¹ Kate McCosh Clark, 7.
- ¹² Kate McCosh Clark, 11.
- ¹³ Novitz, David. "On Culture and Cultural Identity," In *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, edited by David Novitz and Bill Willmott, 277-286 (Wellington: Government Print Books, 1989).
- ¹⁴ Kate McCosh Clark, 26.
- ¹⁵ Kate McCosh Clark, 51.
- ¹⁶ William Pember Reeves, *The Land of the Long White Cloud — Ao Tea Roa* (London: Horace Marshall and Son, 1898), 2.
- ¹⁷ Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books, 2003), 176.
- ¹⁸ Kate McCosh Clark, 2.
- ¹⁹ Kate McCosh Clark, 1 and 7.
- ²⁰ Kate McCosh Clark, 5.
- ²¹ In *The Piano* film director, Jane Campion employed the constricting and unyielding supple jack vines as a symbolic device to enhance the psychological tension within the filmic drama. The inclusion of the vine, as other, had the visual effect of underscoring the sense of entrapment experienced by the heroine as the outcome of cultural convention.
- ²² Tony Hughes-D'Aeth, *Paper Nation: The Story of the Picturesque Atlas of Australasia 1886-1888* (Australia: Melbourne University Press, 2001), 42.
- ²³ Anne Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: Captain Cook in the South Seas* (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 2003), 104.
- ²⁴ William Pember Reeves, 21-22.
- ²⁵ In 1894 Horonuku Te Heuheu Tukino, chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa gifted the land and the mountains, in what is commonly known as the desert plateau, to the people of New Zealand. This gift became Tongariro National Park and was one of the foremost parks established internationally.
- ²⁶ The night of 10 June 1886 will go down in New Zealand history as the night that the fabled Pink and White terraces (regarded as one of the scenic wonders of the world) were destroyed. Their surreal physicality provided much in the way of subject matter for the landscape painters and equalled the representations of the South Island sublime such as Milford Sound and the district of Lake Whakatipu. With the eruption of Mount Tarawera, at least 147 Maori and six Pakeha died and the villages of Te Wairoa, Moura and Te Ariki were buried. Today evidence of them is in the tourist destination, the Buried Village.