

TURNING OVER OLD GROUND
INVESTIGATING GARDEN HERITAGE IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

By

Susette Goldsmith

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ABSTRACT

Aotearoa New Zealand began considering the preservation of some of its colonial buildings in the early twentieth century. Along with the buildings, and mostly by default, came their associated curtilage. This thesis asserts that the focus of heritage in this country has been on its buildings and that the curtilage—and in particular its gardens—has languished as a result. As an examination of garden heritage the study first explores the causes and consequences of this oversight. Secondly, it investigates the role that curtilage gardens can play in heritage and, finally, it considers how and why changes to heritage practice and management would better realise the potential of these gardens.

Little academic research has been carried out on garden heritage in this country and this study has therefore built on a multidisciplinary theoretical framework in order to fill this gap in the literature. The qualitative research undertaken includes a case study of Hurworth Cottage in Taranaki and has employed a mixed method approach that includes archival and documentary research and interviews.

In exploring the first research question, the study found that while some early attempts were made to protect garden heritage they were largely unsuccessful because they relied on the energies of individuals, failed to be adequately resourced and, to some extent, were outstripped by enthusiastic efforts to protect trees. The thesis does, however, cite examples where heritage agencies have been prompted to address wider issues of curtilage within the contemporary conservation plans of historic buildings. The case study addressed the second area of inquiry and established that curtilage gardens *can* act as powerful interpretive tools and, consequently, that no heritage building is best served by being considered in isolation. In examining contemporary heritage practice and management, the thesis broadens its focus to discuss overseas models of interpretive curtilage gardens and their relationships with their communities.

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INTRODUCTION

In 2011 Jennifer McLagan published *Odd Bits: How to Cook the Rest of the Animal*, a cookbook designed to encourage a nose-to-tail style of cooking and eating to a Western audience. Bellies, brains, trotters and tripe, she states, deserve the same respect as tenderloins, breasts and chops.¹ This thesis makes a similar claim by asserting that New Zealand has customarily filleted its historic heritage by according precedence to the built heritage and largely neglecting the associated curtilage, which is defined by the New Zealand Historic Places Trust Pouhere Taonga (NZHPT)² as:

... an area of land attached to a house and forming one enclosure with it. The curtilage of a historic building may, for example, include its garden forming a single unit with it, or its grounds having a related use or function with it, and may include ancillary buildings. Land title boundaries and curtilages may not coincide. Some buildings, particularly in densely developed urban contexts, do not have curtilages.³

By devoting the bulk of available resources to the conservation of this country's mission houses, settler homes, churches and monuments and largely overlooking, or sometimes inappropriately conserving or restoring, the environs on which these edifices stand, the early caretakers of historic heritage have wasted valuable heritage protein. The argument here is that the 'odd bits' of heritage—the curtilage—can play a significant role in any visitor experience of a historic heritage site. In particular, the curtilage garden, which mediates between visitors and the associated heritage building, can expand the interpretation of historic places, in diverse and innovative ways.

Heritage gardens in New Zealand come under various forms of stewardship including private, trust, local authority, regional authority, and national ownership. Most of these gardens are protected in association with buildings or monuments, and surprisingly few have been registered in their own right with the country's leading historic heritage agency, the NZHPT.

¹ Jennifer McLagan, *Odd Bits: How to Cook the Rest of the Animal* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2011).

² In April 2014, as this thesis was entering its final stages, the NZHPT adopted the trading name Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga ahead of anticipated legislative changes. The original name has been retained throughout to avoid confusion and to reflect the historic nature of events described here.

³ NZHPT, glossary to "Draft General Policy for the Management, Administration, Control and Use of all Historic Places Owned or Controlled by the NZHPT or Vested in it," *Heritage Destinations Strategy*, (2007).

Searching the NZHPT online register with the keyword ‘gardens’ yields only ten results, four of which refer to specific gardens which are all tied to historic buildings—Highwic in Auckland, and Kerikeri Mission Station, Te Waimate Mission and Pompallier Mission and Printery all in Northland. While this cannot be regarded as a definitive search of gardens registered with the NZHPT, it is an indication of the significance ascribed here to garden heritage and the identity challenges it faces. Where protection of scenic landscapes in New Zealand began in the early twentieth century, preservation of cultural sites has lagged behind. A perceived differentiation between nature and culture has meant that any gardens—which are effectively amalgams of nature *and* culture—that have come under protection have been included largely by default through their association with colonial buildings or monuments. These ‘curtilage gardens’ are the focus of this study.

This thesis concerns itself with three areas of inquiry. First, it explores the causes and consequences of New Zealand’s general indifference to garden heritage and curtilage gardens in particular. Next, it investigates the role that curtilage gardens can play in heritage, and finally it considers how and why changes to heritage practice and management would better realise the interpretive potential of these gardens. In answering the first inquiry a review of relevant literature and research in the archives establishes a theoretical and historical understanding of New Zealand’s garden heritage which forms the framework for a case-study analysis of the development of the curtilage garden of Hurworth Cottage in Taranaki, a Category I historic place owned by the NZHPT. In considering the second inquiry, and predicated on the findings of the field work, the thesis puts a case for the curtilage garden as an important gatekeeper (often literally) for visitors, and potentially as an effective tool for interpreting historic places. The discussion is intended as background information only and does not venture into professional recommendations. Finally, in addressing the third inquiry, this study explores ways in which heritage practice might best tap into the distinctive spirit of curtilage gardens to provide affective experiences for visitors to heritage places, and presents some English conceptual gardens as models for consideration. It concludes with an argument for reconsidering historic places under the more inclusive and expansive definition of ‘heritage landscapes’.

Although there is some writing on New Zealand's historic gardens, little academic research has been carried out on its garden heritage or the 'odd bits' that contribute to it. This study aims to help fill this gap in the literature and make a worthwhile contribution to both heritage studies and heritage practice by providing an understanding of the interpretive role that curtilage gardens can play. It also elevates the management of designed landscapes and gardens to their rightful place alongside those of heritage buildings and monuments in order to achieve an appreciation of heritage as an interconnected landscape rather than an isolated place.

Background

The following section draws on ideas from many different disciplines but is not intended to be a detailed study of garden history. Its purpose is to build a general understanding of, and provide background context for, gardens that highlights their poor representation in the heritage canon. As Laurajane Smith points out:

Understanding the discursive element of heritage—the way ideas about 'heritage' are constructed and legitimated—also facilitates the identification of the philosophical and conceptual barriers that may exist in either recognizing or in engaging with competing or excluded forms of 'heritage'.⁴

In tracing the evolution of New Zealand's gardens from pre-European Māori gardening, through nineteenth-century settler gardens to the twenty-first-century curtilage gardens of historic places, this section frames the review of the more academic literature on heritage that follows. More specific background information which sets the local and national scene for the case study examined in this thesis is contained in chapter one.

Garden Heritage of the New World

Much has been written about the original purposes of gardening and its importance to human history. Gardening history extends back to humankind's earliest attempts to exchange a nomadic life for one that required permanent residence for at least the length of a growing season. At once steeped in myth and politics, essential for economic survival and inextricably linked with ownership of land, environmental challenges and identity, gardens from the earliest times can be regarded as designed landscapes rich in cultural meanings. The activity

⁴ Laurajane Smith. *Uses of Heritage* (Oxford, New York: Routledge, 2006), 43.

of gardening has variously been attributed to such ambitions as the staving off of wilderness;⁵ establishment of civilisation;⁶ creation of an idealised order of nature and culture,⁷ and “barriers against the beastly”.⁸

Pre-European Māori introduced a rich agricultural tradition and tropical crops from East Polynesia to largely temperate New Zealand, and the subsequent colonisation of this country brought enormous change in the practice and the mythology of gardening in both the New and Old Worlds. On one hand, the rich, and seemingly available, soils of New World-New Zealand offered the Old World an opportunity to recover Eden in the South Seas; and on the other, the harnessing of new lands in the southern hemisphere and the importation of new plant types allowed Western society to create something of a new Eden in its own backyard. Environmental historian and philosopher Carolyn Merchant takes another tack in associating the colonisation of the New World with the recovery of Eden story. The control of the wild, she points out, represented the kind of state that Western societies could export throughout the world to colonised “other” lands.

That state was the ‘self’ of Western European countries, in particular, those that exported their science, technologies, and methods of controlling resources to the ‘others’. The others were the colonised indigenous people, immigrants, and people of colour who were outside the controlled, managed garden. Throughout the world, as land was transformed into ordered gardens, what lay beyond the periphery were wastelands and deserts, the place of outcasts, of waste, of people of colour, and of immigrants—in short, those colonised others not admitted into the enclosed space of the reinvented garden.⁹

The imposition of these Western values that accompanied colonisation, is a recurrent and significant issue for the contemporary interpretation of this country’s historic places. It is closely linked to the variation in meanings attached to land in New Zealand and is part of a continuing discussion in this thesis.

⁵ Jenny Uglow, *A Little History of British Gardening* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2004), 3.

⁶ Sheena Mackellar Goulty, *Heritage Gardens: Care, Conservation and Management* (London, New York: Routledge, 1993), 1.

⁷ Mark Francis and Randolph T. Hester Jr., eds, *The Meaning of Gardens* (Cambridge Massachusetts, London: MIT Press, 1995), 2.

⁸ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 7.

⁹ Carolyn Merchant, *Reinventing Eden: the Fate of Nature in Western Culture* (London, New York: Routledge, 2004), 163.

The Meanings and Politics of Land

Examinations of the purpose and activities of Māori gardening have relied largely on archaeological investigations, and describe issues of challenge and adaptation.¹⁰ On arrival in New Zealand, Māori gardeners were faced with different soils, climate and topography in their new home; later they adopted European plants and gardening systems. Archives, today, provide photographs, ephemera, letters and diaries that document the evolution of Pākehā gardening that began with the early missions, but little material evidence of the earliest Māori and Pākehā gardening activities remains. More important to this study, however, is an examination of the differing attitudes to land that might influence today's heritage values.

For both Māori and Pākehā, the land has special meanings, providing each people with a sense of belonging and a sense of place.¹¹ In Māori tradition, nature and the land are inextricably intertwined within a shared whakapapa, and heritage is stitched into the landscape and is part of everyday life. Pākehā, on the other hand, tend to tie heritage values to a particular cultural landscape and, Giselle Byrnes writes, have always held “ambivalent attitudes towards the land” taking great interest in preserving the natural environment, putting down roots and claiming indigenous status and, as well, expressing a strong urge to transform the land by means of “the progressive pioneer tradition”.¹² It is an imperative represented, in part, by gardens.

Interwoven with attitudes to land is a sense of place which, Geoff Park points out, is “the intuitive, human skill we depend on to interpret the landscape and differentiate one place from another”.¹³ He describes the mauri, or Māori “life force or spirit” of place, and refers to Gerard Manley Hopkins's concept of “inscape”, D. H. Lawrence's “great reality” and Alexander Pope's “genius of the place in all”. With such a potent mix of meanings, attitudes and sense of place, which ones float to the top in New Zealand? Alexander Trapeznik and Gavin McLean argue that the decision of whose sense of place and belonging prevails in this country's heritage is often determined by levels of wealth and education that privilege “the

¹⁰ Susan Bulmer, “Ngā Marā Traditional Māori Gardens,” in *A History of the Garden in New Zealand*, ed. Matthew Bradbury (Auckland: Viking, 1995); Helen Leach, *1000 Years of Gardening in New Zealand* (Wellington: Reed, 1984); James Belich, *Making Peoples: a History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Allen Lane, the Penguin Press, 1996).

¹¹ Giselle Byrnes, *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), 2.

¹² Byrnes, *Boundary Markers*, 2.

¹³ Geoff Park, *Ngā Uruora: the Groves of Life* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1995), 320–21.

vestiges of the rich”, and, celebrate “the relics of the élite”.¹⁴ New Zealand, therefore, seems to have been poorly served by the stewards of its heritage. The successful interpretation of any one part of this country’s landscape requires consideration of more than one culture and more than one set of values. The full expression of ‘the sense’ of any one historic place here calls for a deep understanding of all its inherent meanings.

One prevalent theory in New Zealand’s garden history literature centres on political power. Matt Morris notes that gardening in New Zealand, “as an engagement with, and utilisation of land, has always been essentially a political activity”.¹⁵ Writing primarily about Christchurch, he argues that gardening enabled settlers to depose Māori, and that gardens can be viewed as material representations of power. Philippa Mein Smith states that gardeners and farmers were specifically selected to be early settlers, and describes the New Zealand Company as, “a vast propaganda machine that set out to create towns and farms that would transplant civilisation to the New World and claim the wilderness as a garden”.¹⁶ Notwithstanding early New Zealand’s “frightful forests, savages and their sparse cultivations,” writes Park, there was:

the picturesque ready-made and waiting ... And between the grids of ...[the] settlement company’s dream city, ready to grab the best land while its guards slept—ready to go to war for it if need be—gardens are as prominent as fortresses. As advertisers use the tree to symbolise rootedness and stability, invaders use the garden to express their intentions and accomplishments.¹⁷

Nineteenth-century British settlers expected to civilise what they saw as New Zealand’s untamed lands by replicating and improving on the values, attitudes and aspirations of the Old World. In the process, it was hoped, “nature (and the natives) would eventually be displaced”.¹⁸ Gardening was seen to have a “civilizing and beneficial influence” on the land and its people and, as such, was a useful tool for colonisation.¹⁹ There is much to be learnt

¹⁴ Alexander Trapeznik and Gavin McLean. “Public History, Heritage and Place,” in *Common Ground? Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand*, ed. Alexander Trapeznik (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2000), 21.

¹⁵ Matt Morris, “A History of Christchurch Home Gardening from Colonisation to the Queen’s Visit” (PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, 2006), 16.

¹⁶ Philippa Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 54.

¹⁷ Park, *Ngā Uruora*, 324.

¹⁸ Byrnes, *Boundary Markers*, 15.

¹⁹ Jane Brown, *The Pursuit of Paradise: a Social History of Gardens and Gardening* (London: HarperCollins, 2000), 96.

about successive Western civilisations and their relations to nature, writes Evan Eisenberg, “by seeing how they created their ideal worlds, and what they chose to wall out”.²⁰ In New Zealand, the missionaries’ orderly garden beds and ubiquitous briar hedges and the settlers’ gorse hedges and paling fences, that protected the plants from ‘Home’²¹ and kept the forest at bay, illustrate the point.

But partitioning the land was not enough. The Arcadian vision of the yeoman settlers depended on land that they owned as well as gardened, and what Rollo Arnold describes as:

... being seen in possession of a fine saddle and harness horses; it was having grounds about one’s house, perhaps not just a garden, but also a drive and the beginnings of a park ... In broad terms, it was the way of life to which so many English tenant farmers had successfully aspired over the golden age, but with the added bonus of the sturdy independence of the freehold.²²

While New Zealand’s gardens have been built on a rich, global history, the issues that relate to the land on which they are situated are complex and idiomatic. How the country’s own garden history has evolved into its garden heritage is the subject of the next section.

The Emergence of New Zealand’s Gardens as Heritage

Scenic landscapes have been regarded as worthy of protection since the establishment of the New Zealand’s first national parks in 1887.²³ Legislation under the 1903 Scenery Preservation Act focused initially on largely unmanaged and visually impressive sites and archaeological pā sites, which had the effect of promoting, “the beautiful, awesome and sublime ... [and marginalising] *ordinary* nature, just as it made the sacred ancestral places left to nature’s forces into curiosities”.²⁴

²⁰ Evan Eisenberg, *The Ecology of Eden* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 170.

²¹ A term once commonly used by Pākehā, especially elite, New Zealanders to describe the United Kingdom.

²² Rollo Arnold, “British Settlers and the Land,” in *Te Whenua te Iwi: The Land and the People*, ed. Jock Phillips (Wellington: Allen and Unwin and Port Nicholson Press, 1987), 35.

²³ Gavin McLean, “Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze: A Brief History of New Zealand’s Heritage Movement 1890–2000,” in *Common Ground? Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand*, ed. Alexander Trapeznik (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2000), 27.

²⁴ Park, *Ngā Uruora*, 318.

The consideration of preserving some colonial buildings began in 1918 and with the building assemblages often came associated gardens. Acknowledgement of additional aspects of cultural heritage followed with the Historic Places Act of 1954 which introduced the NZHPT, loosely modelled on the United Kingdom's National Trust model, as the primary heritage advocate for both buildings and sites.²⁵ The desire to establish a national trust was part of "a wider Western post-war shift to advance protection of the historic landscape".²⁶ German bombing of Britain had necessitated a stock-take of buildings of historic and architectural merit and led to the formation of the Historic Buildings Council in that country in 1953. In New Zealand urban renewal and the post-war development boom spawned a heightened awareness of and an interest in preservation of this country's historic—and largely built—fabric. Jannelle Warren-Findley refers to a historic "buildings bias" in many urban areas of New Zealand which has led conservation efforts to focus on buildings that are architecturally or aesthetically interesting and often represent a limited snapshot of the community's past rather than an overview of the layers of history. This bias, she writes:

... skews the historical narrative presented by a community about itself, often at the expense of historically significant structures and cultural landscapes and the contextual information necessary to understand where the historic buildings and the site itself fit into a broad history of New Zealand.²⁷

When the NZHPT first acquired properties in the 1960s, its focus was on restoring buildings rather than gardens. Curtilage received various treatments the "most common being to keep the best of what remained (mostly mature trees) and to plant what was felt to be vaguely appropriate and attractive".²⁸ While the 1993 Historic Places Act charges the NZHPT with the establishment and maintenance of, "... a register of historic places, historic areas, waahi tapu and waahi tapu areas ..." by employing, "... aesthetic, archaeological, architectural, cultural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, technological, or traditional" values, few heritage gardens have made the cut.²⁹ In an email reply to the writer on 3 February 2012, the

²⁵ Gavin McLean, "Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze," 32.

²⁶ Kynan Harley Gentry, "Associations Make Identities: the Origins and Evolution of Historic Preservation in New Zealand, 1870-1954" (PhD thesis, The University of Melbourne, 2009), 309.

²⁷ Jannelle Warren-Findley, "Human Heritage Management in New Zealand in the Year 2000 and Beyond," 2001, 28.

²⁸ Jan Harris, foreword to *A History of the Garden in New Zealand*, ed. Matthew Bradbury (Auckland: Viking, 1995), 1.

²⁹ Historic Places Act 1993, part 2.

NZHPT Registrar, Rebecca O'Brien, directed the inquiry to the two Auckland historic places—Alberton and Ewelme—as worthy of further investigation and explained:

NZHPT owns and manages a number of heritage gardens as part of its property portfolio ... In addition, NZHPT has identified heritage gardens throughout New Zealand in the NZHPT Register. The majority of these gardens have been registered in association with heritage buildings. Note that registration does not mean that NZHPT necessarily owns or manages these gardens in any way.

These gardens tied to buildings have been described by the NZHPT gardens advisor, Susan Clunie, as having an “aesthetic role”:

... that is inherently educational in the broadest sense of raising awareness about heritage and the way it can be experienced. They contain elements that anyone can aspire to replicate, even if it's only a bed of annuals. This makes them one of the more accessible forms of tangible heritage.³⁰

Some other heritage gardens in New Zealand are in private ownership (for example, Larnach's Castle, Otago; the Jury Garden, Taranaki; and Gwavas, Hawke's Bay) or are under the stewardship of local authorities (Tūpare, Hollard Gardens and Pukeiti, all Taranaki) or administered by trusts (Eastwoodhill, Hawke's Bay; and Katherine Mansfield Birthplace, Wellington). In 2012 the New Zealand Gardens Trust listed thirteen “historic gardens” online which were reduced to two on its refreshed web site in 2014—privately-owned Carrington House Historical Garden in Carterton and publicly-owned Government Gardens in Rotorua. In its 2007 discussion paper on the sustainable management of historic heritage, specifically heritage landscape values, the NZHPT describes heritage gardens (distinct from parks, cemeteries, avenues and individual trees) as, “gardens that have historical, cultural or artistic values” and asserts, by quoting Sheena Mackellar Goulty, that gardens are, “a vital part of our national and international heritage, encompassing more facets of our cultural and social history than any other art form”.³¹ The Trust further defines gardens as “designed landscapes” or “places designed and created intentionally by people”—and as, (quoting Goulty again) “area[s] of ground designed or laid out primarily to be used for pleasure, where the growing of plants is, or was, an important element”.³²

³⁰ Sarah Beresford, “A Down-to-Earth Dilemma,” *Heritage New Zealand* (Winter 2010), 2.

³¹ Robert McClean, *Sustainable Management of Historic Heritage: Discussion Paper No. 3 Heritage Landscape Values*. (Wellington: NZHPT, 2007), 19.

³² *Ibid.*

The promotion by the NZHPT of Goulty's interpretation of heritage gardens as being "primarily used for pleasure" is worth noting. The term 'designed' in this context suggests artistic composition rather than utilitarian form, and the absence of any reference to vegetable gardens in the NZHPT's general discussion of registered heritage gardens—which are established not for pleasure but for sustenance—reinforces this impression. Jan Harris writes that the emphasis on research as an essential prerequisite to the NZHPT's contemporary work presents particular problems for garden conservation that can lead to compromises. She cites visitor expectations of "pretty" gardens; changes in surrounding landscapes; and choices of periods for presentation as typical challenges.³³ These are all issues that provoke further discussion in relation to the case study included in this thesis.

New Zealand's Garden Heritage in a Global Context

An online search of the government-sponsored Australian Heritage Places Inventory with the keyword 'garden' unearths 828 records. For purposes of comparison with New Zealand's garden heritage, an in-depth examination of both this inventory and the NZHPT register would be required. However, the fact that only two garden records were found in an equivalent search of the New Zealand register on the same day suggests that gardens do not rank highly on the NZHPT agenda. Britain's National Trust, established in 1895 is now one of its largest mass organisations and, according to its web site, cares for over 350 historic houses, gardens and ancient monuments—including 200 gardens registered in their own right. English Heritage (the government's adviser on the historic environment) identifies online over 1,600 registered parks and gardens assessed as nationally important.

It should be noted that the NZHPT guidelines for the selection and conservation of this country's heritage gardens rely largely on overseas expertise. Goulty is a Scot writing about heritage gardens in Britain, Europe and America. In its 2007 discussion paper the NZHPT offers guidance on identification and protection of designed landscapes from Heritage Victoria and the National Trust in Australia and a 1991 Australian Heritage Commission guideline which "while prepared for the Australian context, can be adapted for the New Zealand situation".³⁴ New Zealand anthropologist and food historian, Helen Leach, has questioned the appropriateness of these guidelines which rely on analysis of garden styles

³³ Harris, foreword, 3.

³⁴ McClean, *Sustainable Management of Historic Heritage*, 20.

which, in turn, rely on British and European traditions.³⁵ She advocates, instead, a consideration of New Zealand's garden tradition—of Oceanic and European sources—in order to provide a framework for New Zealand garden history in its widest social context.

Literature Review

This consideration of garden heritage has worked its way across various disciplines in examining such concepts as 'heritage', 'garden', 'nature', 'culture', 'wilderness', 'place', 'identity' and 'meaning'. As already noted, while there is a wealth of related literature to examine there is little theory specifically directed at New Zealand's garden heritage. There is, however, a rich resource of theory from heritage studies and other disciplines that contributes to an appropriate theoretical framework. Of particular relevance to this thesis are discussions of heritage as new rather than old, gardens as expressions of both nature and culture, landscape as dialogues between people and places, and gardens as rich repositories of meaning.

Gardens and Identity

A developing conversation within the studies of the various garden histories of the New World circles around the relationship between gardens and national identity. Australian researchers chart their country's gardening relationship with its native plants and their personal, cultural and political meanings, and suggest that the distinction made by many Australians between the garden and the native bush provided a way for white Australians to "negotiate their understanding of national identities".³⁶ While acknowledging that the challenges to gardening aspirations posed by the Australian and New Zealand natural environments are vastly different, it seems that early gardeners here also were toying with the notion of a national horticultural identity. The early nineteenth-century-garden of Reverend Maunsell and his family, on a Port Waikato site, was carved out of the New Zealand forest, with geometrical British-style flower beds in front and native flax and a cabbage tree to the side combining to present what might be thought of as a "bicultural design".³⁷ Notably, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in the Busby garden that has been described as being "neatly

³⁵ Helen Leach, "Analysing Change in the New Zealand Home Garden—by Style or Element?" *New Zealand Garden Journal* vol. 1 (2) (1996): 12–18.

³⁶ Katie Holmes, "Growing Australian Landscapes: the Use and Meanings of Native Plants in Gardens in Twentieth-Century Australia," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*, 31:2 (2011): 121.

³⁷ Katherine Raine, "1815-1840s The First European Gardens," in *A History of the Garden in New Zealand*, ed. Matthew Bradbury. (Auckland: Viking, 1995), 56.

planted with native and exotic shrubs, more pleasing to the eye from its strangeness and contrast with the brown fern mantle of the countryside”.³⁸ The Victorian passion for outdoor ferneries in New Zealand owed much to the existence of a wealth of native fern species, and native alpine species proved ideal for the rock gardens fashionable at the time.³⁹

Australian studies also point out that environmental literature and horticultural writing about that country’s native gardens deal with “difficult and complex concepts which are the heart of a national sense of place in the landscape, belonging and racial identity”.⁴⁰ Questions surrounding the cultivation of native or exotic plants continue to vex stewards of designed landscapes in New Zealand as issues of national identity align with biodiversity, sustainability and cultural identity.⁴¹ In the United States, the Natural Garden movement continues this discussion by promoting its own native planting, as in the flagship Lurie Garden, created in Chicago’s Millennium Park, which is almost entirely planted in North American perennials. Michael Pollan, writing in the *New York Times Magazine*, on 15 May 1994, bemoans what he sees as the movement’s “hard-line approach” which:

... has all but seized control of official garden taste in this country ... if we must have a national garden style, there’s no reason it has to be xenophobic, or founded on illusions of a lost American Eden. Wouldn’t a more cosmopolitan garden, one that borrowed freely from all the world’s styles and floras, that made something of history rather than trying to escape it—wouldn’t such a garden be more in keeping with the American experience?

Pollan’s notion of making “something of history rather than trying to escape it” begs the questions, ‘which history?’ and ‘whose history?’ both of which are pertinent to the consideration of heritage and New Zealand’s own experience. It also supports the proposition that gardens can act as effective interpretive tools and that, rather than escaping—or replicating—history, they can achieve something new.

³⁸ Bright quoted in Raine, “1815-1840s,” 61.

³⁹ Helen Leach, “Analysing Change,” 7, 10.

⁴⁰ Kylie Mirmohamadi, “Talking About Native Plants,” 2006, 99.

⁴¹ See, for example, Philip Smith, “Genius Loci: Identity and the New Zealand Garden,” *New Zealand Garden Journal* vol. 7 (1) (2004): 12–16; Joby Barham, “Cues to Care or Cues not to Complain? The Aesthetics of Waterway Naturalisation in Christchurch, New Zealand,” *New Zealand Garden Journal* vol. 9 (2) (2006): 7; Colin D. Meurk, “Cities are Cultural and Ecological Keys to Biodiversity Futures,” *New Zealand Garden Journal* vol. 6 (2) (2003): 3–10; Sue Scheele, “Cultural Uses of New Zealand Native Plants,” *New Zealand Garden Journal* vol. 10 (2) (2007): 10–16; Derrick Rooney “Last Word,” *New Zealand Garden Journal* vol. 6 (1) (2003): 23–24; and Rob Lucas “The New Zealand Garden,” (The 1999 Joseph Banks Memorial Lecture presented at the RNZIH conference, Wellington, 1–3 October 1999).

‘New’ Garden Heritage

While it may seem oxymoronic, heritage is new. It “not only gives buildings, precincts, and ways of life that are no longer viable, for one reason or another, a second life as exhibits of themselves. It also produces something new,” writes Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett.⁴² Furthermore, despite a discourse of reclamation and preservation, it is “a new mode of cultural production”.⁴³ Commenting on recent trends in Britain and New Zealand, Anne Else refers to “retrofitting” houses and gardens with selected aspects of the past, for example, “roses grown from those planted in the goldfields during the gold rush”.⁴⁴ The New Zealand Gardens Trust reports online that the garden at Waitangi Treaty House boasts “a small unidentified rose said to be grown from a cutting of the first rose bush to be planted in New Zealand”, white picket fences that “convey the impression of yesteryear” and “gravelled walks through regenerating bush planted during the last fifty years”.

One type of garden heritage that is particularly new and cultivates its own national identity is the Chinese-New Zealand garden—historic or contemporary: at home or abroad. Following the first recorded “ornamental” garden made by Chinese in 1866, in Wellington, and the first municipal Chinese garden in Hāwera created one hundred years later, nine substantial, traditional Chinese or Chinese-themed gardens have been constructed in New Zealand.⁴⁵ One New Zealand garden has been constructed in China as part of a sister-city association between New Plymouth and Kunming, and a traditional Chinese Scholar’s garden opened in Dunedin in 2008. Alongside the recent establishment of other new gardens at heritage sites, such as Larnach Castle in Dunedin and the Katherine Mansfield Birthplace in Wellington, this garden-making practice opens up a discussion on the contemporary creation of heritage gardens on new sites.

The Hamilton Gardens’ Te Parapara garden project which, as described in its 2014 brochure, demonstrates traditional Māori horticulture with particular reference to Waikato, is included

⁴² Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1998), 150.

⁴³ Ibid. David Lowenthal traces changing perceptions of the past in more detail in *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

⁴⁴ Anne Else, “History Lessons: the Public History You Get When You’re Not Getting Any Public History” in *Going Public: the Changing Face of New Zealand History*, ed. Bronwyn Dalley et al. (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001), 124.

⁴⁵ James Beattie, “Growing Chinese Influences in New Zealand: Chinese Gardens, Identity and Meaning,” *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* vol. 9 (1) (2007): 45.

in five, themed garden collections on the fifty-eight-hectare site that explore “the history, context and meaning of gardens”. Te Pūtake, the “first Māori garden to be created outside of New Zealand,” according to the French Embassy web site, was opened at the Conseil Général de la Moselle Fruit Gardens in Laquenexy in north-eastern France in May 2013. This Ngāi Tahu project is a permanent fixture in the French gardens and includes tōtara and kauri carvings, pounamu from Te Tai Poutini, West Coast, materials from a building destroyed in the Christchurch earthquake and a fifty thousand-year-old kauri stump from Te Tai Tokerau, Northland. These gardens created on non-heritage sites focus instead on the intangible heritage of garden-making.

The establishment of new gardens on heritage sites is another contemporary approach often prompted by issues of heritage management and economics. New York’s Highline garden, opened in 2009, is the result of the local community’s fight to transform and preserve the historic 1930s freight rail line elevated above the streets on Manhattan’s West Side. Stoke-on-Trent won a European Garden Award in 2010 for restoration in a contemporary style of an almost-lost heritage garden, designed by eighteenth-century landscape architect, Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown and revised by nineteenth-century architect Charles Barry, which is described on the award’s web site as the centrepiece of a project to develop a new leisure and tourism destination following industrial decline in the area.

The 1999/2000 Contemporary Heritage Garden Scheme implemented by English Heritage has built six new gardens in historic places in order to increase its audience. This project grew out of the success of a new garden opened three years previously at Walmer Castle in Kent where visitors to the English Heritage site increased by forty-seven per cent in the garden’s first two years. An advisory committee selected the six sites for the English Heritage scheme, which varied from historic places with existing gardens to places where there was no garden at all, and prepared the design briefs for each interpretive garden.⁴⁶ Landscape architects were invited to submit designs for a series of competitions and five of the six selected gardens now interpret the curtilage of castles, palaces and country estates conceptually.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ The six historic places selected were: Eltham Palace; Osborne Estate; Lincoln Medieval Bishop’s Palace; Richmond Castle; Portland Castle and Witley Court. These projects are discussed further in chapter four.

⁴⁷ Rather than establishing a conceptual garden, the project at Witley Court became a restoration of a wilderness area.

While the gardens' sites may be historic, their conceptual treatment is definitely new. On 11 April 2008, Garden writer, Tim Richardson, in a *Daily Telegraph* article entitled, "Conceptual Gardens: it's all in the mind", explained that conceptualism is where "a single idea or concept, is used to underpin everything ... the designer's central idea is very close to the surface, in that it is both 'readable' and specific to that particular place". The draft management plan on the Hamilton Gardens' web site describes the intent of the city's own New Zealand conceptual gardens as seeking to portray an idea or concept, rather than providing a landscape solution or plant collection.

Other concepts of 'newness' in relation to authenticity of garden heritage also warrant consideration. Curtilage gardens, for instance, are new in the sense that they are not necessarily intended to reflect their original form. The Katherine Mansfield Birthplace Garden in Wellington which is designed to express Mansfield's personality and writing through its choice of plants is one example. Some curtilage gardens at heritage sites include plantings representative of a nominated time but not always of the particular garden or its original purpose; "retrofitting", as described by Else; or simply an attractive context for the historic building or structure. All gardens, by their very nature, are new in the sense that they are dynamic entities subject to annual seasonal variation where the only constant feature of the main protagonists—the plants—lies in the fact that they are living—and therefore growing, maturing and dying. Taking all this into account, how could any heritage garden, in the interests of achieving a sense of place, hope to present even a semblance of authenticity? Does it matter? "The production of hereness, in the absence of actualities, depends increasingly on virtualities," writes Kirshenblatt-Gimblett.⁴⁸ Her notion of "rethinking authenticity, invention, and simulation", is especially apt when considering garden heritage, and particularly valuable for the discussions about new heritage which develop later in this thesis.⁴⁹

Nature and Culture

While heritage gardens qualify for membership in the NZHPT's comprehensive category of landscapes, albeit as 'designed' ones, literature that documents and examines them as sites of cultural heritage—other than proprietary visitor brochures—is scarce. Peter Howard offers

⁴⁸ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Theorizing Heritage," *Ethnomusicology* vol. 39 (3) (1995): 376.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 375.

one possible explanation for this. Despite their definition as ‘landscape’ and because of their often close association with the built environment, heritage gardens, he writes, are in danger of slipping between the ‘landscape’ group and the ‘monument’ group because they belong to both.⁵⁰ An example of this slippage is found in the two domestic, heritage gardens in Taranaki—Hollard Gardens, bequeathed in 1982 to the Queen Elizabeth II National Trust (QEII National Trust) and Tūpare sold to the same trust in 1985.⁵¹ The gardens, complete with their houses, strained the QEII National Trust’s mandate for the protection of “open space” and its tradition of covenanting wetlands, native forests and mountain lakes. The *Taranaki Daily News* reported on 3 December 1983 that the QEII National Trust ambitiously intended to build on its ownership of Hollard Gardens and promote Taranaki as the garden province of New Zealand by emulating a National Trust of Scotland scheme and providing gardening advice, training and educational facilities and showing public and private gardens. Under the 2001 Taranaki Regional Council Empowering Act, however, the QEII National Trust transferred both gardens to the stewardship of the council where they now sit more comfortably as regional reserves.⁵²

Because cultural heritage is traditionally the realm of the humanities and nature conservation has been almost exclusively the subject of scientists, anything that bridges both, Howard reasons, is in danger of missing out completely. Overriding the many problems of definition that fray the boundaries of heritage categories, he proposes a single field of enquiry that includes natural and cultural heritage, “if only to ensure that each group stops neglecting the other aspect”.⁵³ For better or worse, writes Eisenberg:

Our relation to nature can only be cultural. Nature is never just nature. A landscape—even a place that is utterly wild—is admired not only for itself but for its links to previous known experience.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Peter Howard, *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity* (London, New York: Continuum 2005), 55.

⁵¹ Hollard Gardens was vested in the QEII National Trust and supported by a cash endowment by Rose and Bernard Hollard. Tūpare was sold to the QEII National Trust by the Matthews family with a financial contribution from the Taranaki United Council.

⁵² The Taranaki Regional Council added Pukeiti to its regional gardens line-up in 2010.

⁵³ Howard, *Heritage*, 55.

⁵⁴ Eisenberg, *The Ecology of Eden*, 244.

Australian researchers also have observed that physical landscape studies have generally been more readily embraced than Australian garden history or heritage. This is, they write:

perhaps a reflection of the close relationship that has long been drawn between the Australian landscape and national identity ... landscape history has increasingly been attracting scholars interested in environmental history, and the productive intersections between garden, landscape and environmental history ... look set to develop.⁵⁵

New Zealand also shows signs of responding to Howard's call to action and, although they are not included, a heritage garden or two perhaps could have slipped between the covers of *Beyond the Scene: Landscape and Identity in Aotearoa New Zealand*, which encourages a new exploration of the term 'landscape' and "reveals the mutual dialogues that have occurred between people and place since our first arrivals on these shores".⁵⁶ Included in this diverse collection are essays about a privately-owned and -occupied home in the South Waikato; South Auckland suburbs and the Auckland urban landscape alongside discussions of the coastal Otago landscape and Mount Aspiring National Park. Understanding landscape simply as scenery, write Abbott, Ruru and Stephenson:

... implies a disconnection and a certain passivity between the viewer and the viewed: the landscape's role is limited to what can be beheld with the eye, while ours is limited to a single sense, sight. Is this really all that our landscapes mean to us? Might the landscapes that are most important to us be those with which we personally interact—those which are bound up in our personal and collective identities ... We believe that the interactions between people and place in Aotearoa New Zealand, and the landscapes that have resulted, are ultimately more fundamental to our individual and collective identities than the most pristine scene.⁵⁷

These two proposals of a conflation of nature and culture to form a single means of inquiry, and a reconsideration of landscape, highlight issues that worry at the interpretation of buildings and their gardens and complicate the advancement of garden heritage. They add further support to the proposition that gardens can be effective interpretive tools for historic heritage and underpin the field work described in chapter three and the ensuing discussion of contemporary heritage gardens in chapter four.

⁵⁵ John James Beattie and Katie Holmes, "Reflections on the History of Australasian Gardens and Landscapes," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 31:2 (2011): 78.

⁵⁶ Mick Abbott, Jacinta Ruru and Janet Stephenson. "Entering Landscape," in *Beyond the Scene: Landscape and Identity in Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. Janet Stephenson et al. (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2010), 14.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

Mutual Dialogues: from interpretation to meaning making

Engaging visitors with the mutual dialogues of heritage places and people is the job of interpretation, and any discussion of interpretation tends to begin with the seminal work of Freeman Tilden. Although Tilden's book was first published in 1957 the message of *Interpreting Our Heritage* remains fresh and relevant. Subsequent interpretation theory has developed Tilden's work, which was focused on conservation, to emphasise the need for another level of mutual dialogue—connecting visitors and sites through meanings.

As a journalist Tilden was well versed in the power of stories and their attractiveness to audiences, and he steered interpreters in the United States National Park Service away from an instructional style towards interpretation that was founded on “revelation based upon information”.⁵⁸ The chief aim of interpretation, Tilden wrote, “is not instruction, but provocation”.⁵⁹ At a time when the Park Service was working hard to persuade a sometimes sceptical public that the parks were worth conserving its mantra became ‘through interpretation, understanding; through understanding, appreciation; through appreciation, protection’. Interpretation theory has since built on Tilden's work, retaining the idea of revealing and provoking ideas, and broadening the rationale and motivation of interpretation beyond the single aspect of conservation to include thinking, values and feelings. As historic places have become more securely protected, interpretation has matured as a discipline, alternative information sources have proliferated and audience needs and attitudes have changed; so have the responsibilities of interpreters.

Warren-Findley, after studying New Zealand's heritage sites refers to the “so what?” questions that need to be answered: “Why is this an important place? What stories does it contain? Why do we or should we care about what happened here? Why do we single it out to honour it?”⁶⁰ In similar vein, though careful not to negate the importance of communicating information, Sam Ham describes the role of today's interpretation as “meaning making”:

... our most profound experiences at natural and cultural sites occur when we engage our minds and emotions with what we're seeing and doing ... developing a reverence for what's there or for what occurred there, for how it *really was* ... feeling connected to the place and perhaps to the people who've lived or died there ... in other words,

⁵⁸ Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage*. (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 9.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁶⁰ Warren-Findley, “Human Heritage Management,” 47.

empathy. ... At its best, interpretation of any place will be aimed at far more than giving fascinating facts about green and old stuff. It will be aimed at producing deep and enduring personal insights into things – both natural and historic – that have forever changed this world, regardless of how big or tiny they may be. That, I hope you agree, is far more than just learning cool facts about plants, animals, rocks and people.⁶¹

Tim Copeland reworks Ham's notion and champions a constructivist approach that "needs to be challenging and allow the visitor to make their own meanings,"⁶² and Suzannah Lipscomb proposes the establishment of "emotional and intellectual meanings and connections between the audience and the building, collection, or content."⁶³ Catherine M. Cameron and John B. Gatewood, in their study of the historic downtown of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, describe a "numen impulse" that enables visitors to connect with the "spirit" of the times or persons associated with the history of a place, and "is not necessarily exclusive of other motives, such as information seeking and entertainment, but it is distinguishable."⁶⁴ The taxonomy employed in the Bethlehem study is used in chapter four of this thesis to gauge the intention of Hurworth Cottage's visitors to connect with its 'spirit'.

The first international charter for standards in public interpretation of cultural heritage sites was drafted by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in 2008 at the medieval town of Ename. The ENAME Charter lists seven principles on its web site to organise presentation of sites: access and understanding; information sources; attention to setting and context; preservation of authenticity; planning for sustainability; concern for inclusiveness; and importance of research, training and evaluation. Of particular interest to this discussion is the first principle which expands to the first two statements that: "effective interpretation and presentation should enhance personal experience, increase public respect and understanding, and communicate the importance of cultural heritage sites" and "interpretation and presentation should encourage individuals and communities to reflect on their own perceptions of a site and assist them in establishing a meaningful connection to it. The aim should be to stimulate further interest, learning, experience and exploration".

⁶¹ Sam H. Ham, "Meaning-Making: the Premise and Promise of Interpretation," (keynote presentation at Scotland's First National Conference on Interpretation, Royal Botanic Gardens, Edinburgh, 4 April, 2002), 17.

⁶² Tim Copeland, "Constructing Pasts: Interpreting the Historic Environment," in *Heritage Interpretation*, ed. Alison Hems and Marion Blockley (Oxford, New York: Routledge, 2006), 86.

⁶³ Suzannah Lipscomb, "Historical Authenticity and Interpretative Strategy at Hampton Court Palace," *The Public Historian* vol. 32 (3) (Summer 2010): 100.

⁶⁴ Catherine M. Cameron and John B. Gatewood, "Excursions into the Un-Remembered Past: what people want from visits to historical sites," *The Public Historian* vol. 22 (3) (Summer 2000), 110.

Taking all this into account, what conclusions can be reached about interpretation of curtilage gardens? Although Tilden's work was tied more tightly to environmental conservation than to heritage conservation, the application of the Parks Services' mantra has some relevance. The mandate of the NZHPT, as stated on its web site is "to identify, protect and promote heritage". If protection relies on appreciation which in turn relies on understanding which is reliant on interpretation, as Tilden claims, then there is good cause to consider how effective the NZHPT's interpretation of its heritage places is. The more recent commentaries on interpretation, cited above, refer to "meaning making"⁶⁵, the audience's "own meanings"⁶⁶ and "emotional and intellectual meanings"⁶⁷. Warren-Findley writes, "answers to the 'so what' question provide the context of meaning that makes sense of the material culture that we care for as heritage stewards"⁶⁸ and the ENAME Charter advocates interpretation and communication that establishes "meaningful" connections. The concept of 'meaning', therefore, is regarded as an important aspect of today's practice of interpretation. How does one communicate meaning in a garden? Rather than being interpreted only as a passive entity by means of, for example, information panels, guides, brochures and plant labels, can gardens be active agents of interpretation themselves? Can a garden, as John Dixon Hunt argues, be "a conceptual metaphor rather than, if at all, a formal design model"?⁶⁹ In other words, can gardens themselves have meaning?

The Meanings of Gardens

Mark Francis and Randolph Hester describe gardens as powerful settings for human life, transcending time, place and culture.

Gardens are mirrors of ourselves, reflections of sensual and personal experience. By making gardens, using or admiring them, and dreaming of them, we create our own idealized order of nature and culture ... Our view is that meanings of the garden (as well as of the larger landscape of which gardens are a part) can only be understood today as a whole, as an ecology of interrelated and connected thoughts, spaces, activities and symbols.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Ham, "Meaning Making," 17.

⁶⁶ Copeland, "Constructing Pasts," 86.

⁶⁷ Lipscomb, "Historical Authenticity and Interpretative Strategy," 100

⁶⁸ Warren-Findley, "Human Heritage Management," 31.

⁶⁹ John Dixon Hunt, "Approaches (New and Old) to Garden History," *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, ed. Michael Conan, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (1999), 90.

⁷⁰ Francis and Hester, *The Meaning of Gardens*, 2.

Stephanie Ross writes that gardens are “simultaneously physical and virtual worlds and, unlike buildings that enclose us, they make us think about the wilderness, other species, interdependence, the passage of time, the limits of control”.⁷¹ Jane Gillette in her essay “Can Gardens Mean?” puts an opposing view that “real gardens are by definition incapable of meaning anything, or anything much, and that the strength of a garden—its ability to provide beauty and delight—lies in this very incapacity”.⁷² The one essential function of the garden, she writes, is to “give pleasure of a certain mindless sort,” and much of what passes for meaning in the garden “is really distraction from meaning—distraction, more specifically, from the conscious experience of ourselves as separate from what we call nature.”⁷³ Gillette’s very Western-oriented argument, as Susan Herrington points out in her response, “Gardens Can Mean”, is based largely on “a notion of meaning that is received optically and intelligently interpreted”.⁷⁴ Herrington argues that sense experiences, in addition to sight, “are an important source for our conceptual knowledge and the foundations of meaning”.⁷⁵

Gardens *can* mean because designers can shape and compose their materials to communicate to those using them. Gardens can even offer complex meaning because they are experienced with the body, and they occupy specific contexts that directly connect to their message. Interpretations of gardens by users and designers can be different. Yet, a perfect communication is not always the sole aim of the design, nor in other works, not even great literature. In fact, differences in interpretation can enable us to see the world anew.⁷⁶

This mix of visible and invisible qualities that make up the meaning of a place combine in Richardson’s concept of psychotopia which he defines as place understood in terms not just of location, but also of meaning and includes:

... its history, use, ecology, appearance, status, reputation, the people who interact with it, its potential future. It refers to the actual life of the place as it is experienced by those who visit it, and therefore also encapsulates the psychic impact and assimilation of human consciousness. It does not only describe ‘the atmosphere of a place’ as apprehended by the human mind; the landscape is not passive in that sense: psychotopia addresses the dynamic manner in which the atmosphere of places works on us, and—more controversially—how, in turn, our minds and experiences act on and influence places. Psychotopia is place seen anew, supercharged with meaning and

⁷¹ Stephanie Ross, *What Gardens Mean* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 186–87.

⁷² Jane Gillette, “Can Gardens Mean?” *Landscape Journal* 24:1 (2005): 85.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 86, 95.

⁷⁴ Susan Herrington, “Gardens Can Mean.” *Landscape Journal* 26:2 (2007): 314.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 314–5.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 315.

life ... It is generally accepted that landscapes and gardens are imbued with meanings that are derived from how and why we know them, and who we are.⁷⁷

These discussions on meaning give rise to further questions. Can the concept of psychotopia be applied to curtilage gardens? In what ways can they become more than just the ‘odd bits’ of heritage and be “supercharged with meaning and life?”⁷⁸ How can they make valuable contributions to the interpretation of historic places? New Zealand’s garden heritage, as described above, has grown out of a comprehensive history of gardens and gardening worldwide. The nuanced meanings attached to the land, and the politics and events that have shaped it, however, have meant that this country’s own garden heritage has evolved into something particular to the place. How important these meanings are to historic places, how they can best be interpreted through gardens and what benefit a reconsideration of the concept of landscape might bring underpins the discussion in later chapters.

Conclusion: Theoretical Framework

The literature of museum and heritage studies provides key concepts which can be drawn together to analyse the questions which this thesis addresses. Sharon Macdonald’s espousal of a fresh look at the familiar in order to see or frame it in new ways is particularly apt for garden heritage which is an intrinsic part of our everyday surroundings and way of life, and as such, runs the risk of being neglected.⁷⁹ Her point that non-humans as well as humans can be actors and exercise agency is also relevant to this study of a heritage experience where physical spaces, structures and plants play major roles. Laurajane Smith’s debunking of “Western elite cultural values”⁸⁰ is a breath of fresh air in this area of study which at times seems buried in hagiography with gardens of the rich or famous, collections of the oldest, largest, most fashionable and/or impressive artefacts; and in hegemonic expertise with gardens as collections of the most unusual, most rare and/or most difficult to cultivate plants.

Of interest here also is the idea that heritage is much more than artefacts and their aesthetic arrangement, as heritage engages in, to borrow once more from Smith, a “social and cultural

⁷⁷ Tim Richardson, *Avant Gardeners: Fifty Visionaries of the Contemporary Landscape* (New York, London: Thames and Hudson, 2008), 306–7.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 306.

⁷⁹ Sharon Macdonald, *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum* (Oxford: Berg, 2002).

⁸⁰ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 11.

practice ... of meaning and identity making”.⁸¹ In this regard, what is missed out of this country’s received garden heritage and why and how this has come about are questions of equal relevance in this thesis as what is included. Also of significance to the theoretical framework for this thesis are Francis and Hester’s notion that meanings of a garden can be understood only as an “ecology of interrelated and connected thoughts, spaces, activities and symbols,” Richardson’s concept of psychotopia and Stephenson et al.’s reconsideration of landscape, all of which contribute to a broader approach to the second and third areas of inquiry—the role of curtilage gardens and means of realising their interpretive potential.

Research Design

The original proposal for this thesis focused on an investigation of ‘heritage gardens’ in New Zealand. Subsequent research led to a readjustment of the title to substitute the term ‘garden heritage’. This semantic change enabled the study to broaden beyond the customary perception that the term ‘heritage gardens’ equates only to *premier* gardens, and to focus instead on curtilage gardens at historic places. The amendment also facilitated a consideration of the question of why and how this country’s garden heritage has been largely neglected and allowed a case to be put for curtilage gardens as interpretive tools.

In order to address the three areas of inquiry outlined above, the research took a qualitative approach. Archival research, data collection and analysis were carried out simultaneously following Kathryn Rountree and Tricia Lang’s advice that the data collection process itself would assist in progressively focusing the research aims more tightly.⁸² To ensure effective data triangulation for the study, Robert K. Yin advises the use of many sources of evidence.⁸³ To this end, the following main sources were employed:

1. Archival—NZHPT, Wellington and RNZIH, Lincoln archives
2. Documentary—Taranaki branch committee of NZHPT, New Plymouth records
3. Interview—informal discussions with key informants and a visitor survey as part of qualitative field work at Hurworth Cottage, New Plymouth.

⁸¹ Ibid., 13.

⁸² Kathryn Rountree and Tricia Laing, *Writing by Degrees: a Practical Guide to Writing Theses and Research Papers* (Auckland: Longman, 1996), 98–99.

⁸³ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (London, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 1994), 92.

Permission to access the QEII National Trust archives in Wellington was denied due to pressure on staff time and resources, and several newspaper clippings were emailed instead. The research proposal originally included a second case study of the curtilage garden at the Katherine Mansfield Birthplace in Wellington as a contrasting inner-city, private trust-administered conceptual garden on a historic site. Partial restrictions placed on the Birthplace archives held at the Alexander Turnbull Library and the Birthplace trust board's refusal to allow access to the minute books led to this plan being abandoned. As it turned out, concentrating on one research subject resulted in a much richer case study of Hurworth Cottage than would otherwise have been possible within the thesis timeline.

The visitor survey was designed for a sample of fifty visitors to Hurworth Cottage during the Taranaki garden festival between 1 November and 10 November 2013. Ethics approval for the survey was sought and granted by Victoria University of Wellington and permission to survey visitors was sought and granted by NZHPT and the festival organisers, Taranaki Arts Festival Trust. The survey participants were chosen at random and their selection was driven largely by the length of the preceding interviews which varied from several minutes to between twenty and thirty minutes depending on the interest shown by the interviewee. The intention of the interview was explained to each participant and a copy of an interview participants' information sheet was available for each person to read. The interviews were recorded in shorthand and care was taken to reflect the responses to the participants to ensure accuracy. Of the fifty garden visitors who were invited when they arrived at the garden to take part in a survey at the conclusion of their visit, forty-four returned.

The research pattern outlined by Martin Tolich and Carl Davidson of data collection, data reduction, data organisation and data interpretation was followed during all phases of the study.⁸⁴ After the first day of interviews it became apparent that many of the visitors had little idea of how Hurworth might have looked in the nineteenth century but were interested to find out.⁸⁵ For the remainder of the survey period a photograph from c 1894 was produced when appropriate to stimulate conversation about the heritage aspects of Hurworth (see Appendix, fig. 1.). Answers to the open-ended questions were initially coded then sorted and grouped

⁸⁴ Martin Tolich and Carl Davidson, *Starting Fieldwork: an Introduction to Qualitative Research in New Zealand* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1999), 8.

⁸⁵ Early photographs of Hurworth were displayed inside the cottage but some survey participants confined their visit to the garden.

under headings as broad, first-level classifications then, where appropriate, under sub-headings according to common concepts. Entries in Hurworth Cottage's visitor book were added to the survey responses and all the data was analysed.

It is significant that the Hurworth Cottage field work was carried out during the 2013 Taranaki garden festival. Although such a survey might be seen to be skewed, because all the questions related to the garden and all the visitors were taking part in a garden festival, the timing had practical advantages, as did the participants' profile. Hurworth Cottage annually receives between 600 and 1,000 visitors and most of them visit during the ten-day festival.⁸⁶ The organisers of the 2013 festival recorded 5,240 visitors⁸⁷ to all the gardens and Hurworth registered 607 visitors during the ten days.⁸⁸ While the survey sample is relatively small, achieving these numbers outside the festival period would have entailed a time-consuming and haphazard process.

The survey sample, however, has proved to be more representative of a general historic-places-visiting public than might be assumed from the garden festival timing. From general conversation with participants and from their responses to survey questions it can be deduced that most of the visitors were taking the opportunity to have a sociable day out visiting gardens and that few of the visitors, although relatively knowledgeable about plants, would describe themselves as 'serious' gardeners. Therefore, it might be assumed that the sample was representative more of heritage garden visitors than of garden experts. As visitors to Taranaki in 2013 could choose from forty-six festival gardens as well as the fifty-nine gardens and attractions opened as part of a fringe garden festival during the same period, their presence at Hurworth suggests that they had selected it especially as a place worth seeing.

Thesis Structure

This study is presented in four chapters. Chapter one addresses the first research question—the causes and consequences of indifference to curtilage gardens. It documents the development of interest in New Zealand's garden history and heritage shown by individuals, groups and institutions and examines some of the attempts made to promote garden heritage. Chapter two continues the discussion of curtilage gardens through a chronological account of

⁸⁶ Personal conversation with Amy Hobbs, 14 September 2012.

⁸⁷ Berl Economics, *Powerco Taranaki Garden Spectacular 2013 Economic Impact Assessment* (2013), 3.

⁸⁸ Personal conversation with Hobbs 24 February 2014.

the development, over almost fifty years, of Hurworth Cottage as a Category I historic place. Chapter three investigates the second area of inquiry—the role curtilage gardens can play in heritage—through the findings of the field work at Hurworth Cottage. The final chapter, through a closer analysis of the survey data and the presentation of conceptual garden models designed to interpret historic places, addresses the third area of inquiry—how and why changes to heritage practice and management would better realise the interpretive potential of curtilage gardens.

CHAPTER ONE: THE ODD BITS OF NEW ZEALAND'S HERITAGE

Introduction

This chapter examines, in a series of chronological overview sections, why and how the early caretakers of New Zealand's historic heritage came to overlook the curtilage of their historic places and what effects this has had. While curtilage—particularly curtilage gardens—is the focus here, this thesis does not promote its independent consideration within heritage management. On the contrary, it presents a case for the adoption of a holistic heritage management practice that includes curtilage as an inherent and valued part of a heritage landscape.

The first section, Presenting and Interpreting, documents early attitudes towards the curtilage of historic heritage sites and outlines one short-lived attempt by the NZHPT in the 1980s to address the interpretation opportunities that curtilage and garden heritage might provide. The second section, Towards a 'Man-Land Relationship', traces developing interest in garden history by individuals and groups, including the RNZIH, the NZHPT and the Department of Conservation (DOC). The third section, Determining Responsibilities, shows how confusion surrounding cultural and physical heritage, and persistent re-purposing of the NZHPT has prevented the Trust from addressing the potential of curtilage at its heritage sites. Growing a New Garden Heritage follows the RNZIH's efforts to preserve garden history which have culminated in the establishment of its Gardens Trust. A fifth section, Natural Monuments, demonstrates how the campaign to protect and register historic trees has in some respects replaced the protection of garden heritage, and the final section, Beginning Curtilage Recognition, describes the 1990s development of conservation plans for two historic places—Pompallier and Fyffe House.

Presenting and Interpreting

Despite the fact that New Zealand's premier guardian of the country's heritage is named the New Zealand Historic *Places* Trust Board and regardless of the broad purpose of the original Historic Places Act, little early attention was paid to many of the actual sites where the

historic places were located. At the first meeting of the National Historic Places Trust Board¹ on 20 September 1955, Minister of Internal Affairs S. W. Smith, told board members that the purpose of the 1954 Historic Places Act was “to arouse and maintain healthy public interest in historic places and things; and to mark, record and preserve things of historic and other interest”.² He stressed the need for a complete survey of the nature of historic places requiring protection, for the “determination of priorities” with regard to historic importance, and the “urgency of research”. Seizing the opportunity of assistance from the new national body, the Geraldine County Council approached the NZHPT for advice on its historic trees. It was early days in the Trust board’s history and at its third meeting in February 1956, rather than deal with the issue itself, the board referred the Geraldine inquiry to the Department of Lands. At its next meeting in the same year, however, board members discussed a list presented as part of an Analysis of Index and Guiding Principles, presumably in response to Smith’s “complete survey” and “determination of priorities”. The topics for consideration were: cave drawings and paintings; fortifications; landing places; memorials; churches; mission houses; birthplaces; public buildings; mills; volcanic cones; mines, bridges and trees.³ The omission of any specific reference to gardens in this list is perhaps surprising given that the NZHPT was loosely modelled on the National Trust Act 1907 which reincorporated the English National Trust (National Trust).⁴ The inclusion of trees on the list indicates a change of heart by the NZHPT towards natural heritage and foreshadows a predilection for trees which in some ways hampered the recognition of garden heritage, as described later in this chapter.

The NZHPT began to acquire properties in the 1960s as a tactical means of preserving them, an action which, by default, enhanced its own profile through wider public awareness of its more visible activities.⁵ Its energies were first focused on researching, restoring and furnishing the buildings and Smith’s “urgency of research” was applied predominantly to the built structures themselves. In general, the associated curtilage was regarded as ‘grounds’ that were to be maintained and kept tidy. When Kerikeri man Norman Saunders took on the

¹ The National Historic Places Trust was renamed the New Zealand Historic Places Trust in 1963.

² NZHPT Board Agendas, Minutes 16001-009, vol. 1.

³ Ibid.

⁴ In the mid-twentieth century the National Trust focused its work on country houses and gardens. Parnell MP Duncan Rae who championed the National Historic Places Bill cited the 1907 National Trust Act during the bill’s second reading. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 299, April 8–September 9 1953, 723.

⁵ Gavin McLean, “Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze”, 36.

temporary position as caretaker of the newly acquired Waimate North Vicarage, now known as Te Waimate Mission House, in 1960 he lived in the mission house rent free and was instructed to “clean up the grounds generally”.⁶ In 1962 the Trust bought another half-acre on the eastern boundary, erected boundary fencing and bought a self-propelling Hayter motor mower to keep it all in order. Eight years later Saunders was instructed to plant in the east paddock a Norfolk pine, an English oak, a *Magnolia grandiflora* (southern magnolia) and *Eucalyptus leucoxylon rosea* (flowering gum) for quick shelter. What was considered as the best of what remained in the gardens of historic places—in particular mature trees—was retained, but without extensive research into the entire curtilage important features were being lost.

In general the curtilage surrounding the historic buildings noted by the Trust as worthy of preservation was regarded as an adjunct—often inconvenient and always costly—to the main event. Plants were most often added that were considered appropriate and attractive by the curators of individual properties who were relied upon to encourage visitors and to care for the day-to-day upkeep of the sites, often with the assistance of volunteers. When the Auckland colonial mansion Alberton was bequeathed to the Trust in 1972 by the Taylor family, for example, the Mt Albert Borough Council, which hitherto had maintained the gardens and the nineteenth-century trees, withdrew its services. The Trust expressed its disappointment to the council and invited the Auckland Regional Authority to take on the work.⁷

In 1979 the NZHPT turned twenty-five years old. At a special meeting with Sir Neil Begg in the chair, board members resolved that its sites required more visitors; increased advertising and publicity; better interpretation and information for visitors; a greater emphasis on educational use; consultants who would work from a detailed brief provided by the Trust; more on-site staff; and a visitor survey. In the late 1970s and early 1980s New Zealand was not alone in wrestling with the need to improve the experience of visitors to its heritage sites. Over the Tasman the National Trust of Australia (NSW) was also introducing interpretation of its properties, beginning with Australia’s oldest, surviving, public building Old

⁶ NZHPT Board Agendas, Minutes 16001-009, vol. 3.

⁷ The Category I registration is confined to the building. The online register, however, notes that Alberton is “strongly linked with the development of the surrounding landscape ... and is important for its associated gardens”.

Government House at Parramatta. The Australian trust's magazine of April 1980 informed its subscribers that there was an increasing need for interpretive services:

Ten years ago a house museum was, of itself, a novelty to be visited. Now the community is looking for more. It wants information, easily accessible, to answer such questions as: Why is the house designed the way it is? What was Parramatta like when the house was built? Who lived in the house? What sort of people were they? Which pieces of furniture were made in the Colony? What do they tell us about the way of life in the Colony at the time?⁸

As a first move, the Australian trust's newly-appointed schools officer and the new Schools Committee had developed an educational kit for use as a teaching aid.

In order to help define its new responsibility, the NZHPT turned to England for advice, and in response, a letter from the English National Trust's Director of Public Relations E. C. Fawcett in 1980 advised his antipodean colleague to ensure the basics of interpretation were correct before venturing into anything "elaborate".⁹ Fawcett explained to NZHPT Director, John Daniels, that the English trust provided basic visitor information sheets along with "scholarly guides" and illustrated souvenir guides. Where high demand required timed ticket arrangements for entry to houses, he advised, an "alternative attraction" could be provided for waiting visitors.

If there is a garden, that is already provided, otherwise we find it useful to have an interpretation centre for which we sometimes charge an additional price which will give people a well thought out introduction to the property.¹⁰

In the context of this thesis, and because both examples were presented to the NZHPT board in support of an argument for its own development of interpretation, these two responses deserve some consideration. The positivist approach to interpretation, taken by both the Australian and the English trusts at the time, provided visitors with only one view on issues relating to the heritage site—that of the 'expert' interpreter. Rather than inviting visitors to draw their own conclusions from reflecting on the site, its artefacts and the ideas of others, this approach implied that there was only one conclusion to be drawn. Interpretation as applied here equated to information.

⁸ Quoted in NZHPT Paper HP 124/1980, "Presentation and Interpretation of Trust Properties", 1.

⁹ Ibid., 2.

¹⁰ Ibid.

The reference to the garden in association with the historic house as an “alternative attraction” in the manner of a conveniently provided, and free-of-charge, visitor centre, and the Australian trust’s focus on its historic house alone reflect a hierarchy of historic heritage value of the time that is of particular interest to this study of curtilage.

On the recommendation of Daniels, the NZHPT board resolved to set up a new committee in 1980 to oversee and control all aspects of interpretation and information services with an emphasis on properties. The committee was authorised to engage consultants, requested to give priority to information centres at Highwic and Antrim House and revision of the displays at the Melanesian Mission, and instructed to present an overall strategy to the board for the development of interpretation and information services.¹¹ Along with the supporting documents from the Australian and English trusts, Daniels had presented a paper written by Ken Gorbey, the ministerial representative on the board. While the strength of the Trust, Gorbey wrote, was its understanding of the historic places significant in New Zealand’s history, it had some work to do.¹² An orientation towards academic understanding, he pointed out, did not mean, however:

... that we can automatically involve the uncommitted visitor to a Trust property in the interest and even excitement we might feel for these places. In general our historic places are brilliantly restored and furnished but are passive to the point where only the initiated are aware of the true significance of the whole presentation.¹³

At the inaugural meeting of the Presentation and Interpretation Committee on 12 August 1980 Gorbey was elected chairman, and at the Trust’s Wellington conference the same month he laid out his game plan. What each of the Trust’s historic sites required, he pointed out, was a development plan which was:

A statement of intent that can be used to guide, in a logical, efficient, and most importantly of all, historically truthful manner, the Trust’s development of an historical site.¹⁴

¹¹ Highwic and the Melanesian Mission are both in Auckland. Antrim House is the Wellington headquarters of the NZHPT.

¹² Ken Gorbey, “The Presentation and Interpretation of Trust Properties,” 1980.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ken Gorbey, “The Presentation and Interpretation of Trust Properties,” in *The Trust in the Eighties: Papers Presented at the Trust Conference, Wellington, August 1981*, (Wellington: NZHPT, 1982), 33.

Gorbey's development plan began with existing or new research on the property, followed by a statement of philosophy to guide the site's development and interpretation and to keep all the work "in line". Rising from the statement of philosophy, he pointed out, should be a series of objectives stating how various components of the sites would be developed and covering landscape, immediate environs, structures, interpretive matters and other objectives deemed necessary. The objectives would suggest a list of aims and strategies—all of which would combine to provide a working document compiled by both Trust staff and out-of-house service providers. A list of detailed Aims and Strategies, Gorbey wrote:

... is the comprehensive document, the forward plan, that will guide future work on the historical site. It will be detailed, suggesting what must happen to secure the surrounding landscape (town or country planning procedures, purchases etc.) to develop the garden and farm (right down to garden layout and species of plants and animals) and how individual rooms are to be utilised. It will include a detailed statement on the property in the short and long term and ways in which interpretation activity might grow (interpretation centres, demonstrations, special development projects, sales etc.). It will also suggest future research to attempt to fill gaps in present day knowledge.¹⁵

Gorbey's holistic approach to the historic site was innovative. His inclusion (in fact precedence in this instance) of wider landscape and curtilage and his proposed attention to detail in gardens and farms—rather than just buildings—in plants and animals—rather than just furniture and furnishings—was an attempt to broaden the Trust's focus from only its buildings to include their wider physical context—the odd bits of heritage—as an intrinsic part of historic heritage.

At the Presentation and Interpretation Committee meeting on 7 April 1983, Gorbey presented committee members with a checklist of elements to be included in the development plans which were imminent.¹⁶ Some of the plans, he had written, would recommend significant changes in the status of some Trust holdings so it was important each plan considered all the matters thoroughly. The checklist was a refined and more detailed version of the earlier conference paper. Broad Objectives would govern the approach to property elements varying from large-scale environment and panoramas to specialist elements within the immediate site including: gardens, wells, driveways, ditches and banks, pits and yards, and encompassing

¹⁵ Ibid., 33–34.

¹⁶ NZHPT Paper HP 59/1983, "Development Plans—Nature and Content".

interpretive tools from plaques to additional buildings. The Statement and Programme of Detailed Development was designed to be a comprehensive, site-specific, two-to-three-year, dynamic working document and described as, “the hard, real and costly work”.¹⁷ These two final sections of Gorbey’s checklist hinged on the outcome of section four, Future Control, and in particular, a fifth sub-section, Statement of Trust’s Intent on the Future Control and Operation of the Property. The original development plans had now taken on an additional role of assessment.

It is useful to consider this checklist in the context of other Trust activities of the time. The Buildings and Classification Committee, responsible for providing a legal register of historic places following the 1980 Historic Places Act, was becoming overwhelmed by the job.¹⁸ Cash-strapped and faced with an enormous, detailed and time-consuming task of formally classifying the buildings already identified, it might legitimately have resented the assessment of its classifications by another party.

The Presentation and Interpretation Committee must have felt similarly frustrated by the Trust board’s moves to introduce new priorities and methods of assessment when the ones it had were not yet fully operational and still not properly resourced. In November 1982, five months before Gorbey had presented his checklist, the board had held another special meeting at which Chairman Begg had announced that the Trust was “at a crossroads, making it an opportune time to discuss new directions and new policies”.¹⁹ The board came up with a new approach. Regional committees were now to be entrusted with identifying important themes in their areas, formulating views on their regional histories and listing people who could provide research material on the identified themes. This thematic approach, it was assumed, would assist the Buildings Classification Committee in its work. Themes could help to assess property holdings and to set priorities for the Trust.²⁰

¹⁷ Ibid., 4–5.

¹⁸ Rebecca O’Brien, *New Zealand Historic Places Trust Buildings Classification Committee: Guide to Records Held by the Central Region Office* (Wellington: NZHPT, 2005), 6.

¹⁹ NZHPT Board Agendas, Minutes, 16001-009 vol. 11.

²⁰ The 1956 Analysis of Index and Guiding Principles could largely be shoe-horned into the twenty-five new themes with the notable exception of ‘landing places’, ‘volcanic cones’ and ‘trees’ (unless “notable in Maori history and myth”).

At the 15 November 1983 meeting of the Presentation and Interpretation Committee, among more prosaic minutes such as an update on the painting of Antrim House and agreement on the design of Trust letterhead stationery, the committee noted that further progress on property development plans still awaited the appointment of the Trust property development officer.²¹ There was, however, the first of the property development plans to consider—the Bedggood site at Waimate North. The Committee considered the proposals in detail, stressing that as it was the first plan it entailed something of a learning process and that the Bedggood site was only one element in a whole complex, and referred the plans back to their authors for consideration of the Waimate village as a whole.²²

At the April 1984 meeting of the Trust board, Gorbey retired and the Presentation and Interpretation Committee retired with him. The Trust's committees were now, Buildings Classification, Archaeology, Maori Advisory, Publications (soon re-named Education), Properties, and Finance and Standing. In its four years, the Presentation and Interpretation Committee had introduced a way of thinking that went beyond the Trust's former "buildings bias" and invested agency in the curtilage of those same buildings to present, what Jannelle Warren-Findley terms, a "landscape-based narrative".²³ Curtilage had taken on the role as an interpretive mediator between visitors and the associated structure and as a gatekeeper between the contemporary everyday world and the contemporary heritage world. By extending Gorbey's "aims and strategies" for each property to secure the surrounding landscape and developing the gardens and farm "right down to garden layout and species of plants and animals and how individual rooms are to be utilised" the Presentation and Interpretation Committee had prised apart the nature/culture divide and acknowledged that no building should be considered in isolation.

Towards a 'Man-Land Relationship'

Between 1985 and 1989, many instances of enthusiasm were shown for garden heritage by both individuals and groups. Enthusiasm, however, was not enough. Plans to establish interpretive gardens, garden history groups and a pilot project for the protection of historic gardens at this time, though pursued vigorously, were thwarted by lack of both financial and

²¹ In 1981, Gorbey had proposed the establishment of this position but, although supported by Daniels, it was slow to be established.

²² NZHPT Board Agendas, Minutes, 16001-009 vol. 11.

²³ Warren-Findley, "Human Heritage Management," 15.

political support—an ongoing theme of this study. New Zealand, it seems, was not yet ready to think in new ways about engaging with visitors to its historic places.

A spike of appreciation of curtilage began with an approach to relevant industries, and local and national government agencies, including the NZHPT, by Te Kauwhata nurseryman Ken Nobbs in 1985. His proposal to establish a memorial garden celebrating the founders of New Zealand's primary industries was planned for a site adjoining the mission house at Te Waimate and would ideally include: a pre-European Māori garden featuring traditional crops and plant resources; historical plants and trees, propagated from surviving specimens; earliest varieties of potatoes, maize and Bay of Islands' plant introductions; and heritage roses.²⁴ This interpretation project, he enthused, would greatly enhance the tourist potential of the Bay of Islands. Nobbs's proposal, however, was rebuffed by the Trust which informed him that a moratorium had been placed on acquiring any more land at Te Waimate until 1989.²⁵

Also in 1985 the RNZIH, identifying a gap in the country's historic heritage, founded its own Garden History Group, following the formation of the similar Australian Garden History Group in 1980. A small working committee was charged with promoting the study of the history of gardening and horticulture and encouraging "the recognition, appreciation, protection and restoration of historic gardens, landscapes, and important horticultural material" by working with the NZHPT, the Institute of Landscape Architects and various horticultural societies.²⁶ In its draft proposal, which was submitted to the Institute's national executive and received full support, the Garden History Group noted that its aim was to bring together in New Zealand all those interested in garden history and its various aspects:

... garden and landscape design and its relation to architecture, art, literature, philosophy and society including that of pre-European settlement of New Zealand; plant introductions to New Zealand; propagation and taxonomy; planning, maintenance and conservation of gardens, farm stations, estates and native bush remnants; other related subjects.²⁷

²⁴ NZHPT Gardens-General, 22007-001, vol. 2.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ "RNZIH Garden History Group, Draft Proposal," 23 April 1986, RNZIH National Executive Minutes.

While the NZHPT had made some of its own moves towards recognising garden heritage, in 1985 its responsibilities were still ill-defined.²⁸ The 1980 Historic Places Act had contained no mention of historic gardens and no specific guidance was given for their protection, listing or classification, despite the detailed treatment of other categories of historic places. In a reply to a query from a Canadian PhD geography student whose dissertation compared heritage movements around the world and different methods of preserving and managing historic gardens, Research Officer, Patricia Adams, explained that while the Trust's powers to negotiate heritage covenants, give grants or loans to owners of historic sites, request registration by territorial authorities, promote public interest and support relevant publications had been exercised in respect of historic trees, no such actions had been applied to historic gardens.²⁹ Trees, she wrote, required little maintenance whereas "preserving a garden raises the bugbear of continual funding".³⁰ Lack of finance, she added, had further compromised the development of the curtilage gardens of the twelve Trust-owned buildings.

... these are in general informal gardens which have evolved over the years. No extreme measures have been taken to change them from what they were when they came into our hands—we avoid obvious anachronisms like the use of recently imported plants or recently popularised trends and try to incorporate some old plants, such as old roses, where appropriate—but we do not try to go back to the style of garden obtaining [sic] when the building was erected. This is partly because our knowledge of the original style of gardens is very incomplete but cost is also a factor.³¹

In May 1986 the Garden History Group organised a seminar held in conjunction with the institute's annual conference and annual general meeting in Dunedin. Winsome Shepherd, a prime mover behind the group, wrote to RNZIH Secretary, Dave Cameron:

... surely this must tell RNZIH National Executive something. Historic & Notable Trees and Garden History are tapping at government and major department level but our general membership and even National Executive participation on the part of individual exertion and help has not yet caught up".³²

²⁸ Relevant trust activities of the time include the circulation of a paper by Ruth Ross "Old Roses for Waimate" in 1967; the 1979 employment of Winsome Shepherd to research plants used in New Zealand gardens 1840–1900; preparation in 1980 by D. M. Luke of a list of plants identified from photographs c 1907 of Antrim House; and the 1985 board support of an amendment to existing legislation to include the protection of historic trees.

²⁹ Adams to Neil Kellock, 22 October 1985, NZHPT General File Gardens, 22007-001, vol. 2.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Shepherd to Cameron, 25 April 1986, RNZIH National Executive Minutes.

However, while conference attendees were enthusiastic about launching the new group, they agreed that individual work commitments precluded anything more than informal activities. Dunedin Garden History Group member, Robin Bagley, while firmly supporting the notion of encouraging the preservation of historic gardens in New Zealand as a “worthwhile aim”, included in her report to the national executive a request for clarification on two points: “what is the meaning of preservation in the historic garden context?” and “how can a positive approach to historic garden maintenance be achieved when no public or endowment funds are likely to be available?”³³

Adams returned from the conference, “convinced that the NZHPT should concern itself with historic gardens”.³⁴ She obtained support from Daniels, enlisted Shepherd and proposed a historic gardens pilot project for the Wairarapa.³⁵ The enterprise aimed to compile a list of “possibly historic gardens”, engage a qualified person to survey them, and work out methods of recording gardens in New Zealand. The ultimate object of such work would be:

... as stated in the second paragraph of the introduction to the English Heritage register—‘to draw attention to important historic gardens and parks as an essential part of the nation’s heritage’ —and to see that they are not unnecessarily destroyed or curtailed, for example, by intrusive work schemes.³⁶

At the second meeting of the Garden History Group, which was held in conjunction with the RNZIH’s annual conference and annual general meeting in May 1987, members agreed that its first priority was to undertake a national survey of garden heritage. This, they reported to the national executive, would be dependent on the availability of members’ time and on financial support from the NZHPT. Three months later, however, there was little to report to the national executive from the Garden History Group and after a further twelve months, the group’s reports were conspicuously absent from national executive minutes.

At the same time, the NZHPT’s Wairarapa historic gardens pilot project was struggling to make progress. The task of compiling a list of potential gardens had been passed from Ralph Hopkins, secretary of the Wairarapa regional committee, to Fay Evans and on to the regional

³³ Bagley to National Executive, 4 December 1986, RNZIH National Executive Minutes.

³⁴ Patricia Adams memo 1 April 1987, NZHPT Gardens-General, 22007-001 vol. 2.

³⁵ NZHPT “Wairarapa Gardens Pilot Project,” Gardens-General 22007-001 vol. 1.

³⁶ Patricia Adams to the Secretary of the Wairarapa Regional Committee, Ralph Hopkins, 12 November 1986, Wairarapa Gardens Pilot Project file.

committee's appointed researcher, David Bilborough, and, despite several letters from Adams requesting feedback, no results were forthcoming. In July 1990 when still no report had been received from Bilborough, the task of listing and surveying Wairarapa gardens was abandoned and the file was closed.

In 1988 Adams reported on the historical significance of the Wadestown garden belonging to Mary Seddon and former Member of Parliament, T. E. Y. Seddon, pointing out that as the Trust did not list or classify historic gardens, she could only express a personal opinion on what constituted a historic garden. Garden history, she wrote, was a "comparatively recent interest within the international conservation movement" and in New Zealand no agreed criteria for assessing gardens has been arrived at. Interest in garden history, however, appeared to be quickening. In the same year, the NZHPT and the QEII National Trust jointly financed an Auckland workshop that explored "the conservation of historic landscapes and gardens and its practical application in planning and management" with keynote speaker John Sales, Chief Gardens Advisor to the British National Trust.³⁷ In the following year, the RNZIH offered its full support to senior lecturer at Lincoln College, Rupert Tipples, who proposed to draw up a list of historic New Zealand gardens and had applied, via the Institute, to the Lotteries Board for financial support to carry out the work.

Another event which stimulated further discussion on the significance of New Zealand's garden heritage was the compilation of a report jointly written by Philip Simpson, Geoff Park and Bev James of the Science and Research Directorate at DOC which found its way in 1989 to Aidan Challis, the Trust's Northland Regional Property Officer, and channelled Nobbs's proposal of four years earlier.³⁸ The report was prepared following a request from DOC's Assistant Director-General, Alan Edmonds, for comments on the significance of Okiato in the Bay of Islands, from a Māori perspective, and ideas for "acknowledging nationhood in 1990".³⁹ Taking the opportunity to put into practice two of the young department's guiding principles of building conservation practice from a bi-cultural base, under the provisions of

³⁷ Sarah de Renzy, "Garden History Workshop," Wellington: QE II National Trust, 1988.

³⁸ Philip Simpson, Geoff Park and Bev James, "Okiato: a Shadow of Lasting Title," Wellington: DOC, 1989. NZHPT was now under the umbrella of the Department of Conservation which was formed in 1987.

³⁹ Ibid., 2. Okiato was New Zealand's first capital in 1840 to 1841. In 1989, the historic area of Okiato (2,680 square metres) was placed under the care of DOC. In 1990, New Zealand celebrated its sesquicentennial—150 years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

the Treaty of Waitangi, and embracing the conservation of natural and cultural/historical features, the authors pressed for an innovative proposal:

If we are to integrate nature and culture on one hand, Maori and Pakeha perspectives of land, people and conservation on the other, this is too good an opportunity to miss. Let's not just put up another Pakeha plaque in the landscape: 'This is the site of the first Government House'.⁴⁰

The proposal included a display board and a symbolic garden in three parts: native plants that drew early economic interest in New Zealand from Europeans; early weeds that preceded crop plants; and early pasture, garden and fruit crops. The relatively small and bare Okiato site, bounded by a subdivision and remote from the accepted tourist trails, had proved inadequate, so the authors had set their sights on the largely Trust-administered Kerikeri Basin which was registered by the NZHPT as a historic area in 1980.

Challis softened his reply by reiterating the reasons the Trust had turned down Nobbs's earlier proposal, but the message was to-the-point: the Trust had insufficient money and staff; gardens were labour intensive and required specialised care, equipment and materials which could not be paid for by the income generated by admission charges at Bay of Islands properties; and the Trust, in recent years, had consistently tried to reduce garden maintenance requirements rather than increase them and struggled to provide interpretation. Interpretation worthy of the name, he wrote:

... has not been carried out at any Historic Places Trust sites or buildings in Northland. Had we the staffing and funding resources to do this, Te Waimate, Kerikeri (Kemp House and the Stone Store) and Mangungu Mission House would surely be directed to focus on what geographers used to call the man-land relationship—the impact of culture on landscape—and equally on the Maori-Pakeha relationship—the impact of culture on culture. We do not need to seek properties which demonstrate these themes. We already have them. We require resources, resources left over after unavoidable first aid maintenance, for interpretation.⁴¹

The references by Simpson, Park and James to integrating nature and culture, and to Māori and Pākehā perspectives, and by Challis, to a focus on the “man-land relationship” are particularly noteworthy. They move the garden heritage conversation away from one simply

⁴⁰ Ibid., 7.

⁴¹ Challis to Simpson and Park, 19 October 1989, NZHPT Gardens-General, 22007-001 vol. 3.

of display to the beginnings of a concept of heritage landscapes which was earlier conceived by Gorbey and is examined more closely in later chapters.

Determining Responsibilities

Challis's response to the DOC proposal for Okiato in 1989 reveals the confusion of responsibilities that faced the NZHPT and the lack of resources that hindered any attempts it might make to interpret the odd bits of its heritage estate. Because DOC also had historic places to care for, the Trust now faced potential invasion of its position as premier caretaker of the historic heritage of the country amidst a muddle of who was responsible for what. The threat of incursion, however, was nothing new for the Trust.

As early as 1956, at the time it was setting up its first regional committees, the NZHPT board had discussed the implications of district schemes responsible for the preservation of objects and places of historical interest under the Town and Country Planning Act of 1953.⁴² The establishment of the QEII National Trust in 1976, seen to be "cutting across the Trust's terms of reference", spawned a report from the director on how to strengthen the NZHPT and led to a swift dismissal of a suggestion from the Otago regional committee that the two trusts merge.⁴³ In 1979, as the Historic Places Act was under revision once again, the Trust chair and director led an objection to the National Development Bill because of the "cavalier manner in which the Trust is treated".⁴⁴ Furthermore, in 1985 while proposing a new government department—Heritage New Zealand—Minister of Internal Affairs, Peter Tapsell, asked the Trust to consider whether it best fitted with other cultural organisations or land-based organisations. A delegation from the NZHPT ensued and the Trust employed public relations consultants to help clearly identify its role.

In 1986, Director General of Conservation, Ken Piddington, reported that the Trust would soon be "transplanted" from the Department of Internal Affairs to the new Department of Conservation which cared for historic resources on its own estate.⁴⁵ While the responsibilities and the authorities of the Trust's board and staff would remain essentially the same, the relationship between its archaeology section and a new science division needed to be defined.

⁴² NZHPT Board Agendas, Minutes 16001-009 vol. 1.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol. 9.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 11.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 12.

The passing of the Resource Management Act (RMA) in 1991 increased the role of local authorities in heritage protection.⁴⁶

On 28 June 1996, Paul Blaschke, Team Leader at the Parliamentary Commission for the Environment, reported on the progress of an investigation into historic and cultural heritage management. He told the Trust and its associated Māori Heritage Council that there had been a lack of vision for cultural heritage in New Zealand and there was, therefore, an opportunity for the Trust to assert itself.⁴⁷ The intention of the legislation was clear: the RMA was the umbrella legislation, and the Historic Places Act was the specialist Act. However, there were inconsistencies in the treatment of Māori values, he pointed out, and his team felt that authorities to modify archaeological sites would be better placed in the RMA because they were part of a consent process not a protection process. The investigating group believed that DOC's Historic Resources strategy was inconsistent with the department's work in natural heritage protection and removed the possibility of integrated coverage of heritage issues. Resources for heritage conservation, the group reported, were insufficient at all levels and there was a need for a dedicated acquisition fund for nationally significant heritage places and for incentives at all levels.⁴⁸

The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, Helen Hughes, explained that the report recommended a new portfolio for heritage, not a new ministry: as policy advice on historical and cultural heritage management was required by government, a new government unit based on the Trust's existing heritage conservation division would be necessary. She suggested that government departments that might take over such a portfolio included DOC, the Department of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Arts and Culture. The properties unit of the Trust would become a separate body and, though it might have statutory backing in much the same ways as the QEII National Trust, such a body would be expected to have a more direct relationship to the membership.⁴⁹ Reports touching on the future of historic heritage protection followed including, notably, a 1998 Minister of Conservation review that essentially reprised the Parliamentary Commission for the Environment report of 1996, and a

⁴⁶ The RMA replaced the Town and Country Planning Act 1977.

⁴⁷ The Māori Heritage Council was established in 1993.

⁴⁸ NZHPT Board Agendas, Minutes 16001-009 vol. 17.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

Te Puni Kōkiri review of Māori cultural and heritage requirements and restructuring of the NZHPT.

Much of this re-purposing of the NZHPT in the 1980s and 1990s took place in a climate of radical and far-reaching change as New Zealand adjusted to a neo-liberal shift in political philosophy and policy development. Most pertinent to NZHPT activities during this period was the general downsizing of the public sector as successive governments pursued an agenda of privatisation, and funding changes from block votes to purchasing services and outputs.⁵⁰

On 1 September 1999, the new Ministry for Culture and Heritage took over the NZHPT from DOC. The ongoing lack of resources referred to in the previous section had its roots in the NZHPT's traditional reliance on Lotteries funding along with government payments and self-generated income. The 2000 budget largely restored the funding taken away the previous year, which significantly boosted its financial support for registration and properties upgrades and for expanding its Māori heritage services.⁵¹ NZHPT became an autonomous Crown entity under the 2004 Crown Entities Act and in 2011 disestablished the branch committees. The future of NZHPT is currently being considered under the Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Bill which had its second reading on 5 December 2013. The NZHPT assumed its new name 'Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga', in advance of the Act, on 14 April 2014 in an interesting reprising of the 1985 name proposal by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Growing a New Garden Heritage

In 1990 the RNZIH also was struggling with the challenges of preserving garden history, and Bagley reported to the national executive that there did not seem to be members with the interest, expertise and particularly time to work on necessities such as means to identify heritage trees and plants, systems of garden history indexing and guidelines for garden restoration. "Talk without committed effort by more people is useless", she wrote.⁵² Three months later, the national executive agreed that the Garden History Group should be given encouragement and financial support, John Adam was asked to act as an advisor on matters

⁵⁰ Personal conversation with Gavin McLean, 7 April 2014.

⁵¹ Gavin McLean, "Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze," 43–44.

⁵² Bagley to RNZIH National Executive, 22 February 1990, RNZIH National Executive Minutes.

concerning garden history and plans for a simple garden history indexing system at the Otago Early Settlers' Museum got under way.⁵³

At the same time, but at the other end of the country, a concept plan was being drawn up for the establishment of a national ethno-botanical garden at Mangere, Auckland. Te Wao Nui A Tane was proposed by Dell Wihongi (Te Rarawa) and Murray Parsons from DSIR Land Resources, as a garden of New Zealand native plants used by Māori both before and after European occupation.⁵⁴ The project planned to grow plants for practical use, such as selected weaving varieties of *Phormium tenax* (flax), on land provided by the Auckland Regional Council. The concept was enthusiastically endorsed by the RNZIH who offered horticultural expertise in support.⁵⁵

The RNZIH also wrote to the NZHPT, following the passing of the revised Historic Places Act in 1993, citing its own mission “to encourage and improve horticulture in New Zealand by promoting the understanding, appreciation and conservation of plants”, and offering its encouragement and support for the Trust’s new responsibility to list and preserve historical landscapes and adding some instruction in what it might mean.⁵⁶

Such landscapes may be either “designed” or “vernacular” in nature. Designed landscapes are generally taken as those that were consciously designed or laid out in a recognised style or tradition, they are those which would usually be called parks or gardens; vernacular landscapes are those that have evolved through use by people and can include battlefields, industrial landscapes and agricultural landscapes.

... we would strongly support any move by the Trust to prepare a comprehensive inventory of historical landscapes. Perhaps even more important is the scholarly research required for the identification of landscapes worthy of registration and for the formulation of plans allowing for the proper conservation and restoration of such sites. Appropriate methods have been developed in New Zealand for the conservation and restoration of buildings, but the conservation of the surrounding gardens or landscapes has lagged well behind. Some of the Trust’s own properties could be considerably enhanced by historically more appropriate plantings.⁵⁷

⁵³ RNZIH National Executive Minutes, 4 May 1990; RNZIH National Executive Minutes, 10 April 1991.

⁵⁴ Dell Wihongi represented six claimant iwi who lodged the Wai 262 claim with the Waitangi Tribunal in 1991 to protect and preserve indigenous flora and fauna and associated cultural and intellectual heritage.

⁵⁵ RNZIH National Executive Minutes, August 1990.

⁵⁶ Mike Oates to Tim Beaglehole, 3 May 1994, RNZIH National Executive Minutes.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

In September 1995 at gardens in Auckland and Akaroa the RNZIH launched its Open Garden Scheme organised by the Development Officer, Dennis Wall. Private and public gardens were signed up and regional coordinators appointed. It was an ill-fated project opening in a wet weekend, plagued by high costs, disappointing visitor numbers and unwieldy administration and it was abandoned the next year. While the scheme was not focused on historic gardens they were included as part of the general scheme. In 2001 another attempt was begun by the RNZIH to establish a national garden register—again not focused on historic gardens but once more including them in the mix. The plan was to appoint assessors who were qualified to judge the fitness of gardens open for visiting. In 2002 the RNZIH's New Zealand Garden Trust was launched.

The 1994 reference by Oates to “designed” and “vernacular” landscapes under an umbrella term of “historical landscapes” is an important one. Along with the comparison of the Trust's conservation and restoration of buildings with its neglect of their surrounding gardens or landscapes, it echoes the growing awareness of the curtilage of historic places described in the previous section. The suggested “historically more appropriate plantings” also hints at possibilities beyond mere replication. Oates's comments preface the Trust's own moves to address the importance of curtilage within its conservation plans described in a later section of this chapter. While the Gardens Trust does not focus strongly on garden heritage today, it does include new ‘historic’ gardens, such as Dunedin's Chinese Scholar's Garden, an innovation which offers, in part, a pragmatic solution to the challenges it has faced in promoting garden heritage.

Natural Monuments

Attempts to protect New Zealand's historic trees began in earnest with a remit forwarded by the RNZIH's Canterbury district council for discussion at the trust's 1938 annual conference. The steps that followed and culminated in the establishment of the Notable Trees Trust in 2008 reveal a confusion of institutional responsibilities similar to those faced by actions to protect garden heritage described in previous sections. The successful campaign to register and protect historic trees, however, has in some ways contributed to the neglect of their curtilage.

The Canterbury remit urged the RNZIH to approach the government, “with a view to preserving the trees planted by our pioneers on estates throughout the Dominion”.⁵⁸ It was duly discussed and amended to read, “that the Government be approached with a view to preserving the trees planted by our pioneers, or other historic trees”, and it was agreed that the institute’s honorary botanist, H. H. Allan, should gather information in support. At a meeting of the RNZIH’s executive council in 1940, the President of the Forest and Bird Protection Society, Captain Sanderson, announced that a similar scheme was being sponsored by the Commissioner of Forests, and that Forest and Bird had passed a resolution that the two schemes should be amalgamated and “all natural monuments, such as those of an ethnological, geological or biological nature, should be included”.⁵⁹ The RNZIH executive council agreed along with the proviso that it would retain the right of first publication.

Allan issued a circular throughout the country asking for details of historic trees and published a list of one hundred and twenty-two native and exotic trees in the RNZIH’s *Journal*. Under the multi-layered headline ‘Historic Trees: Preservation sought by horticulturists, silent witnesses of past events’ *The Dominion*, on 23 July 1940, published some of the results stimulating a flurry of articles in other newspapers discussing the need to preserve historic trees. The cause was taken up by Internal Affairs Under-Secretary, Joe Heenan, who wrote to Allan suggesting the publication of a “handsome illustrated volume of the more historically important and beautiful trees in the Dominion” and promising to recommend financial support from the Ministry.⁶⁰ Allan got to work and, in 1943, Heenan assured him he would pass his manuscript to Dr J. C. Beaglehole and follow up with a discussion on the details for publication which, however, would be postponed because of the wartime paper shortage.⁶¹ Allan’s manuscript, which grouped his list of trees according to eleven districts, was, however, turned down by the Ministry who told him it was “not exactly what we had in mind”.⁶²

The idea of a major work on the historic trees of New Zealand was not so easily dismissed but it was readily diffused, and by 1960 there were six publication proposals by different

⁵⁸ H. H. Allan, “Historic Trees in New Zealand” *RNZIH Journal* (1940): 19.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Heenan to Allan, 23 July 1940, NZHPT General-Trees 22004-001 vol. 2.

⁶¹ Heenan to Allan, 4 November 1943, NZHPT General-Trees 22004-001 vol. 2. Beaglehole, a historian, also advised Heenan’s centennial programme on book design and typography.

⁶² Harper to Allan, 13 August 1947, NZHPT General-Trees 22004-001 vol. 1.

authors jockeying for position: RNZIH (continuing Allan's work of 1940); A. J. Healy, Botany Division Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, Christchurch; Head Office of the New Zealand Forest Service; Dr Millner, Botany Division, Auckland University; Richard St Barbe Baker, an English author living in New Zealand; and Bernard Teague, Hawke's Bay.

Healy's work was confined to the trees of Canterbury and was part of an RNZIH scheme to catalogue the country's historic trees through the efforts of its district councils. In an article in the *Christchurch Press* on 2 June 1959, Healy solicited nominations. Once again, news stories were written and letters to editors, often highly emotional, poured into news offices. "Old Oak is almost Family Member", headed one article in the *Nelson Evening Mail* on 4 June 1966. The *Christchurch Press* article took the attention of A. G. Bagnall of the National Library Service who wrote to Healy, copying to NZHPT Secretary, John Pascoe, and Secretary of the Canterbury Regional Committee, H. Hall, that there was "considerable overlapping of effort by different organisations and agencies" in tracking down the country's historic trees, and inviting him to meet and discuss the issue in Wellington:

The National Historic Places Trust has a file of records about historic trees going back several decades. The Trust has already had some experience of the issues involved. The New Zealand Forest Service has given some of its officers special assignments to study historic trees. The Trust has made its information available to these research workers. Dr Millner of the Botany Department, Auckland University, has appealed in the Auckland Botanical Society newsletter for information about historic trees. The Department of Lands and Survey also has valuable records about historic trees.⁶³

In the end, it was the Forest Service that won the honour of producing the most comprehensive list of New Zealand's distinctive trees. In 1967 the RNZIH and S. W. Burstall of the Forest Research Institute shared their lists, and in 1971 Burstall produced his unpublished report "Historic and Notable Trees of New Zealand: Northland and Auckland" which was promptly distributed by the NZHPT to its curators at Te Waimate, Kemp House, Pompallier and Clendon. The comprehensive "handsome illustrated volume of the more historically important and beautiful trees in the Dominion" that Joe Heenan had been seeking in 1940 had to wait to finally appear as *Great Trees of New Zealand* in 1984, co-authored by Burstall and E. V. Sale and co-published by Reed and the New Zealand Forest Service.

⁶³ Bagnall to Healy, 8 June 1959, NZHPT General-Trees 22004-001 vol. 3.

In 1977, the RNZIH set up the Notable and Historic Trees Committee, chaired by Shepherd, to stimulate public awareness, prepare a national tree register and develop a method of labelling trees. In a letter, the following year, in reply to an inquiry from Massey University student, D. Raethel, about the NZHPT's role in protecting and maintaining historic and notable trees, D. M. Luke, explained the Trust's own challenges:

Although the preservation of trees is not specifically mentioned in the mandate from Parliament as recorded in s.8 and s.9 of the Historic Places Act 1954, the nature of the wording of those two sections would not preclude the Trust from becoming responsible for the care and maintenance of a specific tree or group of trees. However, the Trust has tended to concentrate its limited resources in the preservation of buildings and sites. Organisations such as the New Zealand Forest Service and the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society do have a special role in this sphere of conservation and for the Trust itself to become directly involved in the preservation of any particular tree or forest area would be duplicating work already being done by other national organisations.⁶⁴

Town and country planning legislation was generally "a more satisfactory medium for protecting trees" through registration within district schemes, Luke explained. However, where various properties had been vested in the Trust:

It is our responsibility to preserve the building as well as the messuage and, to this end, considerable thought has had to be given not only to the buildings themselves but to the trees growing on the property.⁶⁵ You will therefore appreciate that the Trust is vitally concerned with the future of established trees. It therefore takes appropriate steps not only in this direction, but in the planting of additional ones.⁶⁶

Despite its avowed caution towards "duplicating work already being done by other national organisations," the NZHPT elected in 1985 to declare Oak Avenue in Hastings a historic area (arborous) within the meaning of section 49 of the Historic Places Act 1980. In addition the NZHPT board recommended that the Hawke's Bay County Council list Oak Avenue in its district scheme register of buildings, places and trees having special value and extend the listing fifteen metres into adjoining properties on both sides of the road, consider rates concessions for the affected property owners and ensure that maintenance of the trees be carried out at the recommendation of the RNZIH. Later in the same year, the NZHPT board

⁶⁴ Luke to Raethel, 30 August 1978, NZHPT General-Trees 22004-001 vol. 4.

⁶⁵ The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'messuage' as "a dwelling house with outbuildings and land assigned to its use". Luke appears to be referring here to curtilage.

⁶⁶ Luke to Raethel, 30 August 1978.

resolved to support an amendment to existing legislation to include the protection of historic trees.

On 20 March 1985, following the previous Year for Urban Trees, an RNZIH-led seminar on notable and historic trees was held at Turnbull House in Wellington. On the table for discussion were: a proposal to set up a government-approved notable and historic trees board; the establishment of the RNZIH Notable and Historic Trees Register as the country's national register; the legislative and planning requirements of such a scheme, including a tree survey; and the employment of a tree administration officer and secretarial services to administer and operate the scheme. A working party was set up to consider the challenges and reported to the Minister for the Environment in December the same year.

This work, plus all the effort expended by the RNZIH and other agencies since 1938 culminated in the launch of the Notable Trees Trust in early 2008. Technology has now replaced the circulars and newspaper pleas for information, and the Notable Trees Trust's web site boasts a public, online, searchable database that encourages interested people to submit information to the New Zealand Tree Register and allows regular updating of material. The purpose of the register, according to the web site, is to raise the profile of significant community trees, foster the exchange of information and encourage more people to submit their trees for registration.

The persistent enthusiasm demonstrated by various agencies since the 1930s for the official cataloguing and preserving of New Zealand's arboreal heritage brings a fresh perspective to the 'clean-up-the-grounds-but-save-the-trees' attitudes of New Zealand's heritage stewards of the 1960s. The filleting of historic places in favour of both buildings and trees is shown here to have contributed to the indifference shown to their curtilage, and efforts to protect trees are seen to have distracted from any more comprehensive protection of historic places and, to some extent, to replace it. As long as the very visible historic heritage protein—buildings and trees—had been conserved then the job was considered to be done.

The terms, 'natural monuments' and 'almost family member,' referred to in this section, which invest historic trees with both physical and cultural heritage qualities, further elevate them individually beyond their curtilage to the role of living sign posts of historic places, and

what Tim Low describes as “windows onto landscapes we will never see”.⁶⁷ Historic trees are cheaper to maintain than gardens. They are generally bigger and older than their supporters and therefore attract respect. Garden intention and design, view shafts and ambience—frequently the sum of heritage remnants—are less obvious and less well understood. Where historic places are in the business of encouraging visitors, trees have become useful site markers and promoters of consideration and conservation of natural heritage.

Beginning Curtilage Recognition

After the NZHPT and DOC had formed a partnership in 1987, their respective staff members underwent a series of historic resources training sessions to achieve a common conservation ethic and to adopt common conservation practices. DOC retained responsibility for historic resources on its own estate and the Trust continued to deal with historic places on both the public and private estate. The Trust had imposed a moratorium on acquiring any further properties—except in unforeseen or exceptional circumstances including gifts—and was developing a de-accessioning policy. Most important to this discussion is the fact that in 1990, the Trust had two draft conservation plans for consideration which in very different ways have played significant roles in encouraging the recognition of curtilage as an important part of historic heritage.

Conservation plans were relatively new to New Zealand. Based on Australian thinking, they provided for an (ideally) multidisciplinary approach to identifying and rating the cultural heritage significance of a historic place and its elements, based on the fullest possible research, before making recommendations for the conservation of the fabric of the place.

“Pompallier Project Russell: a plan for conservation, 1990” compiled by Salmond Architects was the most ambitious conservation plan the Trust had undertaken in the past fifteen years and proposed a return of the Bay of Islands building to its form as a Catholic mission printing house while conserving layers of later domestic occupancy. The structural integrity of the original building form had been compromised by later alterations but sufficient physical evidence and original fabric had survived to enable a return to the building in its earliest

⁶⁷ Tim Low, *The New Nature*, (Camberwell, Australia: Viking, 2002), 306.

form. This was not simply a plan for a building but also for a historically very significant piece of land.

Salmond Architects' plan recognised that the site on which the building sat was worthy of consideration of its own. In line with thinking on heritage value of the time it had been accorded significance as the first parcel of land to be sold in Kororāreka (now Russell) and only the second in New Zealand sold by Māori to a Pākehā who was not a missionary. The land had changed hands several times and part was divided off in 1839 and sold to French Catholic Bishop Pompallier to use as his colonial mission headquarters. When the mission disestablished, it became the home of tanner James Callaghan, then, in 1877, the Greenway family who added the neighbouring property and laid out a garden. The Stephenson family who took over in 1905 further developed the garden and grounds.

The New Zealand government acquired the property in 1943, placed the hillside section under Lands and Survey Department management, set aside the Pompallier section for historic purposes in 1967 under the Reserves and Domains Act 1953 and appointed NZHPT to manage it. A new Bay of Islands Maritime and Historic Park reserve was established in 1978 and the NZHPT lost the right to control and manage part of the hillside which changed from historic reserve to recreation reserve. In 1983 the reserve was reclassified under the Reserves Act 1977 as a historic reserve, and the next year became the Pompallier House Historic Reserve and returned to NZHPT control and management.⁶⁸

The 1990 Salmond Architects' report recommended that the Pompallier garden and landscape should be presented as a late Victorian-Edwardian garden on the basis of surviving evidence.⁶⁹ The board adopted the draft the next year noting that "evidence of post-Marist occupancies is likely to be interpreted principally through the garden and print material". The Pompallier House Historic Reserve is a flagship property for the NZHPT with considerable historical significance as a place of early Māori occupation, Bishop Pompallier's Catholic mission, the only surviving colonial printery and tannery; its role in the Treaty story, and its archaeological and collection holdings.

⁶⁸ In 1994 the hillside titles changed from recreation reserve to historic reserve and were added to the Pompallier House Historic Reserve. The reserve is owned by the Crown and administered by the Minister of Conservation with control and management vested in the NZHPT.

⁶⁹ NZHPT, "Pompallier: Draft Conservation Plan".

Of particular importance to this thesis is the earlier addition of Clendon Cottage, one of only a few mid-nineteenth-century buildings to have survived in Kororareka, to the reserve in 1976. The land on which Clendon Cottage sits was sold by Patukeha chief Rewa in 1833 and most probably became the site of an early store and dwelling in the same year before a cottage was built on the site for merchant, Resident Magistrate and United States Consul, James Reddy Clendon that later became a boarding house then a motel. Pompallier Lodge's application for consent to build a large apartment block on the site in 1971 roused the people of Russell to protest in order to protect the heritage and character of the area.

As a result of the public outcry, the government applied the Public Works Act 1928 to make a compulsory purchase of the property in order to protect the setting and historic heritage values of Pompallier next door. The acquisition was a direct result of the actions of the people of Russell and led to national changes in perceptions and management of heritage, including New Zealand's first by-laws to create a heritage precinct and changes in the Historic Places Act 1980 to include heritage areas.⁷⁰ It was a rear-guard action that cleared the way for the broadest application of curtilage. As a historic reserve it comes under section 18 of the Reserves Act 1977 which protects and preserves in perpetuity places, objects and natural features of historic, archaeological, cultural, educational and other special interest. Under the Act, the Minister of Conservation has vested the reserve in the NZHPT to control and manage.

Several plans have been compiled for the Pompallier House Historic Reserve culminating in a ten-year reserve management plan in 2013 as required by the Reserves Act. The plan's physical description of the reserve notes, along with its buildings, the fully restored Greenway/Stephenson, late nineteenth-/early twentieth-century garden; hedges; trees; an orchard; a flagpole; archaeological remains or buildings; picket fences, the Stephenson and Clendon hillsides; the remains of Te Keemua pā site and the Marist quarry site.⁷¹

The second conservation plan before the NZHPT board in 1990 was for the Trust's historic survivor of Kaikoura's whaling past, Fyffe House. As for the Pompallier plan, this included both a draft plan for the building itself and an acknowledgment of the building's physical

⁷⁰ Elizabeth Cox, "Pompallier House Historic Reserve: Reserve Management Plan, 2013", Bay Heritage Consultants, 2013, 11.

⁷¹ Ibid., 8, 9.

context. The Trust's property management committee had considered the future management of Fyffe House in 1989 and agreed to a proposal for the building to be conserved and open to the public as a house museum with provision for a live-in curator. The board adopted the conservation plan and an appended design report in August 1990 and commissioned conservation architect, Chris Cochran, and landscape architect, Ron Flook, to supervise the implementation of the various parts.

Kaikoura was first occupied by Māori during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries followed by Pākehā whalers settling on the coast in the early 1840s. Robert Fyffe established the first shore-based whaling station there in 1842 and the following year deployed four whale boats and employed forty men for the whaling season. The first stage of Fyffe House, which was built for Fyffe's cooper Thomas Howell in the mid-1840s, rests on whalebone piles. Additions were made to the house by various owners before it was bequeathed to the NZHPT, by George Low, who repaired it, repainted the exterior in its original pink colour and sold the surrounding sections of land.

The singular challenge facing Fyffe House, Ron Flook concluded, was to save the visual ambience of the landscape setting which had already been eroded by new houses on the north-western boundary of the historic place including one house on the roadside adjacent to the Fyffe House property boundary. His landscape concept proposed an interpretation of the Spartan lifestyle of the whalers on the bleak headland. To that end he recommended the formation of a grassy four-metre-high mound of stones and fill to screen the visual intrusion of present and future neighbouring houses and a gate and a one-metre high bund as a barrier to vehicles on the roadside boundary. Five months later, a proposal by Canterbury Museum staff members, Michael Trotter and Beverley McCulloch, expressed its authors' concern at:

... recent and planned developments which, in their view, detract from, obscure, fail to make the best use of, and in some cases destroy, the historic features which relate to centuries of Maori and European occupation. There is currently a tendency to emphasise the presentation of the Fyffe House with little regard to its setting or to the much wider area of deep historical interest.⁷²

⁷² Michael M. Trotter and Beverley McCulloch, "The Fyffe Historic Precinct, Kaikoura", Christchurch: Canterbury Museum, January 1991, 1.

The report listed, along with Fyffe House itself, extant features in the Fyffe historic precinct which, the authors pointed out, were unrecognised by visitors and warranted further research, recording and preservation.

At their meeting on 21 March 1991, the NZHPT board reviewed their earlier approval of mounding at Fyffe House and approved the preparation of a simplified landscape scheme. The Fyffe Historic Area was registered by NZHPT on 30 June 1998 as an area, according to the online register, that is, “rich in both historic and pre-historic features which demonstrate the nature of successive human occupation and use” and includes: three archaeological sites; Fyffe House itself; garden posts in the Fyffe House grounds; whalebone posts; wharf store foundations; the Pier Hotel foundations; sea wall remains; the bonded warehouse fireplace; the old wharf; Beacon Hill; graves; woolshed foundations and urupa; historic fence lines and the post marking the salt-water bath.

In 1995, the NZHPT added the Mary Williams Garden in Paihia to the register. While the move might appear to suggest the Trust’s increased interest in garden heritage, the registration had been initiated by outside interests rather than by internal motive. Mary Williams had earlier sold the property, which has associations with notable Northland missionary figures and settlers, to the Far North District Council with the condition that she could live there for the rest of her life. Following her death in 1993 the Council planned to lease the property to the Mission Heritage Trust which proposed to develop the Williams Memorial Centre on the site. Draft plans for the community centre indicated that there would be substantial modification of the garden and extension and refurbishment of the Williams house.

While the Trust was concerned at the potential loss of the garden it still did not have tools to specifically protect garden heritage. Commenting on the historical significance of the garden and criteria for registration, Harris, now NZHPT Historian, wrote:

One problem may be that we have no guidelines specifically for gardens—at least I am not aware of any. As far as many of the categories are concerned, for example “historic”, I would assume that the same criteria as apply to buildings or other objects would suffice. That is, the criteria in s.23 of the Act.⁷³

⁷³ Harris to O’Keeffe, 24 August 1994, NZHPT Board Agendas, Minutes 16001-009 vol. 16.

More encouragingly, interest in the curtilage of historic places seemed to be increasing, as demonstrated by the separate headings ‘gardens’ or ‘grounds’ that began to appear regularly in regional round-ups provided by senior curators and included within the director’s report to the NZHPT board. By 1997, Clunie, as Senior Curator and Gardens Adviser, was researching the curtilage garden of Kemp House, recommending research and plantings for Hurworth Cottage and making routine visits to Te Waimate and Pompallier to monitor garden maintenance.⁷⁴

Interpretation, too, was increasingly being acknowledged as an important part of the presentation of historic places. Challis, now Senior Policy Adviser, told the Trust board in August 2002 that the funding of its properties “should be used not just for maintenance but for interpretation”.⁷⁵ In 2007 the Trust noted that the government and Trust board expected that the newly formed Heritage Destinations team would lead a national network of visible heritage properties that “are well-conserved, interpreted, accessible and of importance to national identity”; to conserve and interpret selected properties “to exemplary standards”; and to manage and maintain other Trust properties “to defined standards”.⁷⁶

Following the Canterbury earthquakes, the NZHPT revised its programme in 2012 for heritage appreciation and development with overarching objectives to, “improve engagement with some of New Zealand’s most significant stories” aimed at New Zealanders and inbound tourists, and to make money.⁷⁷ Top of the list for achieving this at every NZHPT-staffed property was the provision of, “world-class interpretation—for different ages, nationalities and learning styles” and at un-staffed properties, “some form of interpretation—signage, digital downloads and/or brochures”.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ The Trust’s Category I registration of Te Waimate Mission House today includes both land and buildings. The Trust’s register acknowledges the historic heritage value of the curtilage by describing the historic place as “nationally and internationally important as part of an early attempt to create an English-style landscape in New Zealand [and] ... part of an extensive historic landscape, which includes buried archaeological deposits, other standing structures and natural features such as the oldest oak tree (c 1824) in the country”.

⁷⁵ NZHPT Board Agendas, Minutes 16001-009 vol. 20.

⁷⁶ NZHPT “Draft Heritage Destinations Strategy 2007–2010,” *Heritage Destinations Strategy* 13002-122 vol. 1, 2007.

⁷⁷ NZHPT “Heritage Destinations Future Planning Update,” *Heritage Destinations Strategy* 13002-122 vol. 1, 2012.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

Conclusion

Several issues have emerged from this analysis of why and how the curtilage of New Zealand's historic places has come to be overlooked. The 'clean-up-the-grounds-but-save-the-trees' attitude generally applied by the early stewards of historic places, and the preference for trees as venerable sign-posts of heritage have both contributed to this oversight. The reliance on the enthusiasm and energy of individuals for negotiating the protection and promotion of garden heritage, demonstrated by the various attempts described here, has increased its vulnerability as its champions have moved in and out of heritage agencies or failed to be heard. The NZHPT, at the mercy of one government department or another, is found here to have faced continual change and under-resourcing which, along with the Trust's remit to privilege the built fabric, has meant little long-term commitment has been made to its broader responsibilities including curtilage.

Not all is lost, however. The description of comprehensive conservation plans for Fyffe House and Pompallier—albeit at the instigation of individuals other than their owners—and increased recognition of curtilage gardens and interpretation, have concluded this chapter on a note of cautious optimism. Fyffe House and Pompallier are historic places on well-travelled tourist routes and as such can be expected to be well presented and interpreted to attract and cater for large numbers of visitors. The case study of restored Hurworth Cottage, in the next chapter, deals with a very different proposition in out-of-the-way rural Taranaki. The NZHPT's 2012 revised heritage appreciation and development programme included a list of major themes or nationally significant stories—pre-European Māori history; early contact between Māori and Pākehā; European settlement; the New Zealand Wars; and technology/use of natural resources/economic development—which its historic places might tap into. How effectively Hurworth interprets—or might interpret—these themes, is explored in the following chapters.

CHAPTER TWO: HURWORTH COTTAGE CASE STUDY

Introduction

This chapter first outlines the history of Hurworth Cottage as background to its registration as a Category I historic place, then examines the conservation of Hurworth Cottage as historic heritage with particular attention to its curtilage. It addresses the issues of garden heritage in relation to the restoration of the cottage itself, and traces the history of the garden up to the completion of its 2008 conservation plan. As a representation of colonial, rural, war-torn Taranaki in the mid-nineteenth century, Hurworth Cottage is well placed to engage its visitors with the conversations about the recovery of Eden, the meanings and politics of land, and gardens and identity outlined in the introduction to this thesis. The development of Hurworth's contemporary presentation and interpretation is examined here with these in mind.

Hurworth Cottage

Hurworth Cottage, in rural north Taranaki, is owned by the NZHPT and is registered as Category A by the New Plymouth District Council (see Appendix figs. 5 and 6). The cottage was built during 1855 and 1856, famously, by young pioneer farmer Harry Atkinson from timber he had pit-sawn himself.¹ Atkinson became New Zealand's premier four times between 1876 and 1891, was knighted in 1888 and died in 1892. Details of Atkinson's life are included here as background to Hurworth's claim to historic significance.

The property at 906 Carrington Road was once part of a settlement also called 'Hurworth', after the village where Atkinson grew up. The eponymous settlement was founded by the English Hursthouse, Richmond and Atkinson families who had immigrated to New Plymouth in the mid-nineteenth century. Harry Atkinson and his brother, Arthur arrived in 1853 and each purchased 200-acre (80-hectare) blocks of land. Atkinson openly supported plans to suppress Māori by intimidation or war and to take over and farm land in a European manner.² At the outbreak of the First Taranaki War in 1860, he was appointed captain of No. 2 Company of the Taranaki Rifle Volunteers and, as a man of his time, wrote that year, "I find

¹ NZHPT, *Hurworth Cottage and Garden Conservation Management Plan*, 13.

² Ibid., 10.

one lies in wait to shoot Maories without any approach to an angry feeling—it is a sort of scientific duty”.³

The Hurworth families abandoned their properties and sheltered in New Plymouth until a truce was negotiated in 1861. They returned to find that all the houses except two, which had been used by Māori for shelter during the fighting, had been destroyed and the farms had been taken over by thistles.⁴ When fighting began again in 1863 Atkinson organised an irregular force of ‘bushrangers’ and became a firm advocate of the detention of prisoners from Parihaka without trial, but with the provision of reserves for Te Whiti and his people, as a show of force in Taranaki.⁵ During his political career and between his military exploits, Atkinson repaired and made frequent and extensive changes to the cottage and restored the property to a working farm. He liked to describe himself as a “country settler” who represented ‘the bush’ in parliament, and he is regarded as an exemplar of colonial rural virtues.⁶

Hurworth Cottage remained in Atkinson ownership until around 1896 when Joseph Crockett occupied the house. William and Annie Brydon then owned Hurworth until it was bought by William and Lily Adlam in 1920 and farmed by them before being purchased in 1965 by Robert and Francis Brown who gave the building to the NZHPT. Hurworth Cottage is now situated on a half-hectare of land purchased from the Browns by the NZHPT and is accessed by a right-of-way to Carrington Road shared with the adjoining farm (see Appendix, fig. 6.). Behind the cottage, which is surrounded by garden borders, is a narrow strip of lawn and a ridge of regenerating native forest. To the north is a rural view across a lawn, edged with garden borders, to what would have been the original Atkinson farm. A new building, originally intended to house Hurworth’s curator, but currently let to a tenant, is situated to the west of the cottage.

³ Ibid., 11.

⁴ Along with Hurworth Cottage, the Richmonds’ house was still standing but was accidentally destroyed by fire in 1865.

⁵ Judith Bassett. “Atkinson, Harry Albert,” *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara—the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

⁶ Ibid.

Hurworth Cottage as Historic Heritage

Four days after the New Zealand Historic Places Trust accepted in principle the offer of Hurworth Cottage by Robert and Francis Brown in May 1965, the Trust instructed its Taranaki Branch Committee's (TBC) secretary to authorise architect and committee member, John Bowering, to produce specifications, organise a builder and carry out up to £200 worth of "first-aid repairs" on the building⁷. Bowering was also entrusted with providing:

... as full a photographic record of the house as possible ... because his professional appreciation will lead him to features that others might ignore. We consider that every wall, ceiling, door, window, and passageway should be photographed and then annotated to provide certain identification.⁸

No such provisions are evident for a photographic recording of the curtilage. Robert Brown, who was a partner in an Inglewood timber merchant firm, carried out the repairs, under Bowering's supervision, then moved in to the house with his family. Under a memorandum of agreement, the Brown family were to live at Hurworth rent free for up to five years having undertaken to "refrain from any alterations without the approval of the Trust and to accept liability for maintenance other than that concerned with the fabric of the building".⁹

Furthermore, the Browns agreed to:

Clear and keep cleared the said land of gorse, broom and all noxious weeds, plants, shrubs and rabbits and other vermin and ... [to] duly and fully comply with the Noxious Weeds Act 1950 and the Rabbits Act 1955 and ... [to] at all times keep the said land in a clean and tidy condition.¹⁰

The Browns and the Trust agreed that "neither party hereto will, without the prior written consent of the other party cut down, mutilate or injure any of the major trees within the immediate environment of the said dwelling".¹¹ A 1966 valuation by the Department of Lands and Survey noted that the Hurworth property at that time included up to twenty fruit trees—apple, peach, nectarine, guavas, tree tomato-hedges, ornamental shrubs, lawn and paths, and half an acre of native bush which was not valued.

⁷ Burnett to Mullan, 17 May 1965, NZHPT TBC Minutes, Hurworth 56.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Draft Memorandum of Agreement, 6 September 1966, NZHPT TBC Minutes, Hurworth 56.

¹⁰ Memorandum of Agreement, 19 October 1966, NZHPT TBC Minutes, Hurworth 56.

¹¹ Ibid.

To assist with his research of Hurworth in the Richmond-Atkinson Papers, Trust Research Officer Dallas Moore wrote to New Plymouth nurseryman Victor Davies for advice on trees.

In my research on Hurworth I have encountered several references to exotic trees, walnuts in 1859, European Ash in 1879, Acacias in 1887, and of fruit trees apples, peaches, plums and pears. Can you tell me please what exotics are there now, and if any of the ones I have listed are represented, is it possible that they are the original trees? Are there any other species I should particularly look for in the Richmond-Atkinson Papers?¹²

Trees noted in Davies's letter of reply include *Castanea sativa* (sweet chestnuts); a *Pinus radiata* (pine); *Vitex lucens* (pūriri); a *Magnolia soulangeana* (saucer magnolia); an *Elaeocarpus dentatus* (hinau); six or seven *Cornus capitata* (dogwoods); an *Araucaria excelsa* (Norfolk Island pine) and a *Quercus robur* (English oak).

At its meeting on 22 June 1967, the branch committee authorised Davies to supervise a working bee at Hurworth and to plant trees. Davies reported back that "a general clean-up" would take about half a day with five or six men equipped with slashers, spades, shovels, saws, staple pullers and hammers.¹³ He recommended planting two *Podocarpus totara aurea* (golden tōtara) on each side of the entrance with stock protection donated by chair of the branch committee R. Syme, and 16 staked and wire-wrapped *Paulownia imperialis* (empress trees), which would be donated by Duncan and Davies Ltd, along one side of the driveway. Trust Secretary, R. I. M. Burnett, thanked the committee for the Davies donations and inquired how much the tree protection would cost and whether the Trust would have to pay wages for planting, and warned it to keep costs minimal.¹⁴

We assume of course that the recommended working and clearing party will be another unpaid community service, and that virtue will again be its only reward. We make these inquiries merely to warn you that financially we are in a very anaemic condition and cannot meet any substantial account for wages. In fact our circumstances are almost critical and we have to retreat from a host of undertakings. So we would be relieved if during this programme of planting and tidying up you could remember to exercise your usual restraint and persuade your team of workers that the policy of curtailment has already and quite severely visited the Trust.¹⁵

¹² Moore to Davies, 1 May 1967, NZHPT 12013-119, Hurworth General vol. 1.

¹³ Davies to NZHPT Taranaki Branch Committee, 5 July 1967, NZHPT 12013-119, Hurworth General vol. 1.

¹⁴ Burnett to Mullon, 11 August 1967, NZHPT TBC Minutes, Hurworth 56.

¹⁵ Ibid.

The report was passed on to Moore who wrote to Davies:

It struck me that until the Trust has settled whether it will preserve or restore Hurworth—and if it be restored, to which period—it may be a little tricky knowing what to plant. For should the Trust decide to restore to the period 1856-1860, for example, any trees we add to the property must, I suppose, be species available, and if possible fashionable, among substantial settlers of the time. Though you will know much better than I what is appropriate I would suggest that at this stage no tree be planted on the Hurworth property which the Atkinsons could not themselves have planted before 1860.¹⁶

In a further report to the branch committee the next year, Davies suggested planting *Magnolia campbellii* (Campbell's magnolia) on either side of the driveway despite his admission that “the variety campbellii came to New Zealand somewhere about 1870”.¹⁷ At its July meeting, the committee received and accepted the report, and in October Davies reported that Duncan and Davies had donated seven *Magnolia campbellii* which he and Burford Norman had planted on one side of the driveway.¹⁸ The report enclosed an account for wire netting and stakes of £30.10.

Restoration and Conservation

The question of restoration versus conservation of the Hurworth historic place continued to vex the Trust. While the Brown family had right of occupancy until 1971 offers of display items and furnishings were already being received by Audrey Gale on behalf of the branch committee which was informed by Burnett:

You will know that the Trust has not yet recommended for your consideration any final use for “Hurworth”. It has not decided whether it should restore the house to any particular period—our documentary evidence for any one period certainly does not equip us yet to do this—or hold it as it is in case later generations want to see the structural evidence that might otherwise be sacrificed in a programme of restoration. We are quite sensitive to the obligation we owe to those who may follow us.¹⁹

A report commissioned in 1972 by the Trust from New Plymouth architect, Terry Boon, who had replaced Bowering as supervisor of repairs, noted that the structure included a series of lean-tos dating to the 1900s on the north-west side and a school on the south-east side, and

¹⁶ Moore to Davies, 13 July 1967, NZHPT 12013-119, Hurworth General vol. 1.

¹⁷ Davies to Taranaki Branch Committee, 1 July 1968, NZHPT 12013-119, Hurworth General vol. 2.

¹⁸ Davies to Mullon, 30 October 1968, NZHPT 12013-119, Hurworth General vol. 2.

¹⁹ Burnett to Mullon, 13 March 1968, NZHPT TBC Minutes, Hurworth 56.

recommended a first stage programme that would preserve the existing structure, restore only the porch extension on the north-east corner, erect a picket fence as shown on old photographs, plant suitably and remove overhead wires.²⁰ Essential for any progress, Boon pointed out, was, “positive direction ... as to how far restoration or preservation or a mixture of both is undertaken”.²¹ The branch committee, perhaps anticipating obligations beyond their resources and more familiar than the staff at Antrim House with the jungle-like growth rate of vegetation in Taranaki’s warm, damp climate and fecund, volcanic soil, followed up with a recommendation that “trees and shrubbery of the period would serve a better purpose than a garden requiring upkeep”.²²

The decision was finally made by the Trust to restore the cottage to, what the online register describes as, “an approximation of its state as built by Harry Atkinson in 1856” and to build a neighbouring curator’s cottage, and in 1973 the Trust allocated \$13,800 of a Golden Kiwi lottery grant for the work. Not everyone was happy with the decision to restore the building to cottage-like dimensions and, in the process, destroying its many layers of history (See Appendix figs. 1 and 2). ‘One of Many Adlams’ wrote to the *Taranaki Herald* on 7 August 1975:

The original building was rather large and could never be termed a cottage. Servants’ quarters were removed by the present owners. Has anyone thought to preserve the shed which was placed by a group of macrocarpa trees not far from the house? This was the old schoolroom and was originally closer, or attached, to the house. If the building is nearing completion, it is in no way authentic and is nothing remotely approaching its original appearance.

Another member of the Adlam family, Nona Cook, described Hurworth of the 1930s and 40s as a large, rambling five-bedroom house with servants’ quarters “set in beautiful park-like grounds with many mature trees both native and English”.²³

Unimpressed with the Trust’s general care of Hurworth in 1974, the branch committee expressed its “deepest concern ... over the deplorable state of the building and its surrounds” and pointed out:

²⁰ Boon to Daniels, 3 August 1972, NZHPT TBC Minutes, Hurworth 56.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Moorhead to Daniels, 20 September 1972, NZHPT 12013-119, Hurworth General vol. 2.

²³ Quoted in NZHPT *Hurworth Cottage and Garden Conservation Management Plan*, April 2008, 16–17.

at the end of last summer a New Plymouth service club [Round Table] was very generous in offering the services of some of its members and put in a full day's work in clearing and cleaning up the grounds at Hurworth. The grounds have since reverted to a wild and unkempt state which serves to emphasise the equally unkempt appearance of the house itself.²⁴

At the time, the branch committee and the Trust were embroiled in a disagreement over roofing materials—the committee wanted shingles: the Trust favoured iron—and over a now free-standing chimney—the committee claimed it was dangerous and unlikely to be part of the original building: the Trust, somewhat ironically, viewed the chimney as giving “some indication of part of the later additions which were important parts of the house as it finally developed”.²⁵ The next year, a gang of periodic detainees was deployed to achieve “a much more respectable appearance of the place”²⁶. The Trust announced its decision that shingling the roof was “regretfully ... declined on grounds of cost”²⁷ and deferred its decision on the chimney which was part of the original kitchen in a small, detached building.²⁸ As there was no information on its design, the Trust decided that the building would not be reconstructed.²⁹

Moore's original 1967 research into Hurworth, which was revised in 1969, had gleaned a twenty-nine-page list of references to the Atkinson House from the Richmond-Atkinson Papers (bound) and the Richmond Papers (unbound) at the General Assembly Library, and a twenty-page list of references taken from diaries, letters and papers held in the Turnbull Library manuscripts.³⁰ Drawing on these resources he had written a comprehensive summary of references to the Hurworth garden and constructed a diagram entitled ‘The Plants in H. A. Atkinson's Garden’.³¹ The left-hand column in the diagram indicates potential years of restoration from 1856 to 1887. Three further columns record: “Plants which were almost certainly there”; Plants which were probably there”; and “Plants which were unlikely to be there”. The list includes flowers, vegetables, herbs, fruit trees, nut trees and bushes, hedge

²⁴ Moorhead to Daniels, 25 October 1974, NZHPT TBC Minutes, Hurworth 56.

²⁵ Daniels to Moorhead, 16 July 1975, NZHPT TBC Minutes, Hurworth 56.

²⁶ Moorhead to Director, Periodic Detention Work Centre, New Plymouth, 21 February 1975, NZHPT TBC Minutes, Hurworth 56.

²⁷ Daniels to Moorhead, 16 July 1975, NZHPT TBC Minutes, Hurworth 56.

²⁸ The chimney was demolished in 1975 during the restoration leaving the cottage without any kitchen, a fact that has bemused visitors ever since.

²⁹ NZHPT “The Restoration of Hurworth at New Plymouth” undated, NZHPT TBC Minutes, Hurworth 56.

³⁰ These sources were: A. S. Atkinson, *Diary 1865-66*; A. H. Gibson, *Long Ago*; A. H. Gibson, *Autobiography*; George Jupp, *Diary 1851-79*; H. A. Atkinson, *Address in Reply Speech* 12/6/1884; Hugh Ronalds, *Letters 1853-60*; *The Taranaki Holiday Guidebook*, 1890; D. McLean, *Papers*; and H. A. Atkinson, *Papers*.

³¹ Dallas Moore, “The Plants in H. A. Atkinson's Garden,” Wellington: NZHPT, 1969.

plants, pasture and lawn grasses and weeds. The accompanying account records, amongst other events, damage by cows, pigs and cotton blight, the invasion of Scotch thistles, the sowing of a cricket ground and the planting of white violets and primroses at Jane Atkinson's grave.

In 1976, however, with the building restoration almost complete and the opening of Hurworth Cottage imminent, there was little time to consider the niceties of authentic landscaping. A letter from the Trust issued the branch committee secretary with a task list for the "grounds":

... to be graded off along present general slope; all existing trees and shrubs to be retained; vegetable garden to be created in general NW area, exact position to be decided; lawns to be sown asap; picket fence suggested along correct north boundary to be erected by Round Table. Since visit Mr Stacpoole³² and I favour post and rail. Pickets could look too fussy and suburban for a farm homestead, Post and rail would be cheaper in materials, labour and paint; Mr Boon to prepare plan for grounds as basis for further detailed planning; Mr Thornton advises MOW&D [Ministry of Works and Development] labour available. Trust would have to pay and expert direction required. Round Table may also be available to help tidy up; NPCC [New Plymouth City Council] to be approached re direction of cleaning up and planting. Some payment required.³³

Enthusiastic home gardeners, Lionel and Ruth Somerville, were installed in the curator's house in January 1976 and the newly restored Hurworth Cottage was opened to the public by Prime Minister, Robert Muldoon, on 29 May the same year. The following August, the Trust submitted Hurworth Cottage in the Tourism Design Awards Scheme initiated by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department. The submission stated:

[The] grounds have been restored and planted and the large area of bush, which has some particularly fine flowering trees, has been tidied. Flowers and shrubs and trees which, from research we know were planted at Hurworth, will also be planted in future years.³⁴

The judges were persuaded and Hurworth received a merit award. In the December/January 1976/77 issue of *Designscape* magazine they announced:

³² Ministry of Works and Development Architect, John Stacpoole, supervised the restoration with Boon.

³³ Daniels to Moorhead, 25 March 1976, NZHPT TBC Minutes, Hurworth 56.

³⁴ NZHPT 12013-119, Hurworth General vol. 4.

The New Zealand Historic Places Trust, in its restoration of Hurworth, has demonstrated the qualities and simplicity of New Zealand's early colonial and pioneering period. Extensive research and meticulous design and execution have achieved excellent results. Equally high standards have been adopted in providing an appropriately-styled cottage for a caretaker. Planting is being carried out with suitable species in the style of the period and will complete a notable project.

A More Wholesome Former Way of Life

In discussing the values that guide institutions in deciding what is heritage, what they wish to conserve, and represent as heritage, and how these values have evolved over time, Jorge Otero-Pailos, Jason Gaiger and Susie West point out:

The history of conservation attests to the fact that modern western society has always invested itself unevenly in the past. That is to say, for every generation one period of the past has seemed to tower above all others as an emblem of wholesomeness and perfection.³⁵

This, they write, consists primarily in the investment in an aesthetic ideal derived from the past “and in the Romantic belief that its poetics can reconnect contemporary life with a more wholesome former way of life”.³⁶ The “more wholesome former way of life” to be represented at Hurworth—at least by the building—was 1856. In the 2008 conservation management plan for Hurworth, New Plymouth historian, Ron Lambert, drily comments:

The restoration of Hurworth was completed under the principles and philosophies operating in the 1960s and 70s. These owed much to concepts pioneered by such projects as Colonial Williamsburg and even the US obsession with presidential homes and the reconstruction of the presidential ‘childhoods’. This process, which saw the stripping away of later additions to attain the ‘original’ building, was soon to be replaced by codes that viewed the entire history of a building and all its add-ons—and demolitions—as relevant to its history. As such, Hurworth in its present form might, therefore, be considered as much an artefact of the 1970s as of the 1850s.³⁷

Where did the decision to restore the building to “an approximation of its state as built by Harry Atkinson in 1856” leave the curtilage garden at Hurworth? Coupled with a restored building and subject to the same “clean up the grounds generally” treatment that had been applied to Te Waimate in 1960; and labouring under the privileging of built fabric over

³⁵ Jorge Otero-Pailos, Jason Gaiger and Susie West, “Heritage Values,” in *Understanding Heritage in Practice*, ed. Susie West (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 68.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ NZHPT, *Hurworth Cottage and Garden Conservation Management Plan*, 2008, 17–18.

curtilage—visitors routinely pay to enter the building but can view the garden free as is the case in many other New Zealand historic places—Hurworth’s ‘grounds’ offered a clean slate for heritage creation. The Tourism Design Awards Scheme recognised abstract values inherent in Hurworth as “the qualities and simplicity of New Zealand’s early colonial and pioneering period”. In its stripped down form, Hurworth Cottage could be revered, as the NZHPT online register explains, for its:

Architectural significance as it retains many features characteristic of its Colonial construction period. It is also of special social and historical significance as the sole survivor of the Hurworth pioneer settlement, and the hand-built home of a young man who would go on to have a distinguished political career and become the leader of New Zealand four times.

By association with the building, therefore, the garden at Hurworth could be snap-frozen in time well before, what Otero-Pailos et al. describe as “the process of understanding heritage as inclusive, relevant and responsive could begin”.³⁸ It remained in, what Jeremy Salmond refers to as, “the termination of the history or—at least a state of stasis or ‘suspended animation’”.³⁹

Gardens, however, are never completely static. They grow—particularly quickly in Taranaki—and they die from disease, age, wind and insect damage, so attempting to freeze them in time entails much hard work and sturdy application of what Christopher Lloyd calls, “the dead hand of tradition” which, as he points out, can stifle inspiration, rule out quirkiness and individuality and prevent great gardens from developing.⁴⁰ Then there’s the question of which history is to be terminated?

In 1856 Hurworth was only the beginnings of a rude working farm, newly carved from the native forest and set amid tree stumps and freshly sown, grass seed. Harry Atkinson’s primary occupation in that year was felling trees on the property and hauling timber for the construction of a stockade on Marsland Hill near New Plymouth. Moore’s comprehensive research records that in January 1857 Atkinson possessed sugar cane seed, in spring the same year he planted potatoes, carrots and turnips, and by December he had gooseberries and a

³⁸ Otero-Pailos et al., “Heritage Values,” 68.

³⁹ Jeremy Salmond, “From Dead Ducks to Historic Buildings,” in *Common Ground? Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand*, ed. Alexander Trapeznik, (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2000), 49.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Uglow, *A Little History of British Gardening*, 302.

garden fence which blew over in the same month. In January 1858 he planted some unnamed flowers, mended the fence and attempted to eradicate the Scotch thistles, in February he cut grass seed, and in April the cows broke the garden fence. Moore wrote that by May 1858:

... it can be said that he grew potatoes, carrots and turnips, and possibly cabbages and peas though these are not mentioned by him. He had some flowers, but they are not named, and while he may have had gooseberries, it is unlikely that he had cape gooseberries, raspberries or strawberries. There may have been some Chinese sugar cane. The grass may have been the same mixture as Arthur's there is no special mention of it. There may have been mint and there were probably Scotch thistles.⁴¹

Two years later, fighting broke out over the very soil that Atkinson had been tending and the family abandoned the farm. Any thoughts of recovering Eden were temporarily subsumed by the realities of how different the meanings and politics of land could be. Taranaki was at war.

As the curtilage of a historic place in the 1970s, the Hurworth garden had begun to manufacture an idiosyncratic charm at odds with the era the building now represented. While the restored cottage might depict the NZHPT online register's vision of "the hand-built home of a young man", the poetics of the garden now symbolised Arnold's Arcadian vision of the yeoman.⁴² In their four years caring for Hurworth, Lionel and Ruth Somerville told the *Taranaki Daily News*, on 17 March 1980, they had established a garden with an "authentic nineteenth-century atmosphere ... the cottage is surrounded by beds of flowers and shrubs, and the house itself is covered with climbing roses and other creepers". The next curators, Mavis and Douglas Willis, reported in 1981 that, "this place is so different when the summer comes. Beds that are empty now are just full of all sorts of perennials and the roses really make the place look like an old English Cottage".⁴³

What had been a very spare mid-nineteenth-century settlers' garden, with a fence to keep out the stock, a rough cricket pitch and, presumably, a vegetable garden and rudimentary orchard, a well and a long-drop and somewhere to hang out washing, had been restored as a twentieth-century expression of English national identity which is best achieved, according to Chris

⁴¹ Moore, "The Plants in H. A. Atkinson's Garden," 45.

⁴² Arnold, "British Settlers and the Land," 35.

⁴³ NZHPT 12013-119, Hurworth General vol. 5.

Tilley, by the cottage garden, defined as, “a rural garden with a profusion of different kinds of plants all mixed together, roses around the door, a little untidy, a bit improvised”.⁴⁴

Hurworth Under Threat

In 1983 it was becoming evident that a tourism design-award-winning cottage and a pretty, flowery garden might not be enough to secure Hurworth’s future. Once more the Trust faced a shortage of funds and, following an investigation by the State Services Commission, was advised to reconsider retaining its less frequently visited historic places including Hurworth. Lambert, now Taranaki branch committee chair, told the *Taranaki Herald*, on 29 October 1983, that Hurworth’s situation was complicated because visitor numbers had reduced with the closure of upper Carrington Road during the replacement of a bridge. Attendance, he said was expected to pick up. Following a special meeting, the committee sent an urgent submission to Antrim House pointing out:

New Zealand’s historic houses cannot be looked at in financial terms and cannot be expected to return a profit any more than such institutions as the Turnbull Library. Both types of institutions serve the same basic function—to preserve our past.⁴⁵

In an attempt to provide an alternative source of income to entry fees, the garden was now being promoted by the branch committee as a wedding venue. However, fashioning the “ideal venue for intimate Garden and Marquee Weddings, with picturesque grounds providing a romantic backdrop for stunning wedding photography”—as promoted in the current NZHPT brochure—rather than the “trees and shrubbery of the period” initially advised by the branch committee, requires intensive labour. Successive curators came and went and reported to Antrim House wearily, “it’s been a lot of hard work” (Ruth Somerville, 1980); “it’s a continual job cleaning and tidying” (Mavis Willis, 1981); “the garden is a full-time job” (Chris Pitceathley, 1983); and “I get quite weighed down with the amount of gardening always to be done” (Jillian Fleet, 1987).⁴⁶ In February 1994, after two and a half years of trapping possums, mowing, planting and dead-heading, incumbent curator, Wendy Morgan, questioned the authenticity of the garden she cared for, writing in her property review:

⁴⁴ Chris Tilley, “What Gardens Mean,” in *Material Culture and Technology in Everyday Life: Ethnographic Approaches*, ed. Phillip Vannini, (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2009), 188.

⁴⁵ Taranaki Branch Committee to NZHPT, 3 November 1983, NZHPT TBC Minutes, Hurworth 56.

⁴⁶ NZHPT 12013-119, Hurworth General vols. 4 and 5.

In 1976 when the NZHPT was given the ‘cottage’ they bought land surrounding the house which was then grassed and planted to complement the cottage. In the 1850s there was no garden as it is now there was just a strip in front of the cottage. (Harry and his brother Arthur put in a cricket pitch!!!) Is what we have dishonest? Is it necessary?⁴⁷

Morgan left Hurworth in 1995 and temporary curator, David McCallum, took over and planted “a considerable number of annual bedding plants throughout the gardens” and “a rhododendron tree in an effort to bring a little more colour to the gardens”.⁴⁸ A keen organic gardener, Claire Evans, was appointed in 1996 and an inspection of the garden the next year was planned for Clunie, then the Trust’s Gardens Adviser.

The issues at Hurworth Cottage, David Reynolds, Senior Curator, Northern, told Clunie, prior to her visit to Taranaki, included the “static nature of the property since it opened” and “the Trust’s lack of marketing focus for Hurworth and the result that Hurworth is just like every other colonial cottage museum”.⁴⁹ Clunie wrote following her inspection:

The Trust strives to present authentic heritage, it is one of the core attributes our visitors expect ... Article 9 of the Florence Charter states that a garden’s authenticity depends as much on the design and scale of its various parts as on decorative features and choice of plants. In practice this means, for example, unless research shows that the Atkinsons grew vines over their cottage these will be removed. Likewise the liquidamber is not only a threat to the cottage but is also out of scale and period.⁵⁰

Among instructions for improving driveway drainage and lawn mowing, the report provides a list of sixteen plants, drawn from the original research by Dallas Moore, for planting in the gardens adjacent to the cottage, and adds, “if there is insufficient time to do the other gardens these should be put back into lawn or planted with currants and gooseberries or a broom hedge.”⁵¹

⁴⁷ Ibid., vol. 7.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Reynolds to Clunie, 6 May 1997, NZHPT 12013-119, Hurworth General vol. 7.

⁵⁰ NZHPT 12013-119, Hurworth General vol. 7.

⁵¹ Ibid.

In 1998, after Evans had resigned and following a site visit with contract archaeologist, Simon Best, in June, Reynolds reported that the condition of the gardens was “poor” with “little evidence of any applied effort”.⁵²

Given the spurious nature of the extensive mixed border that surrounds the site, consideration should be given to reducing these high maintenance gardens and drawing back to the essential historic garden that was located close to the house. Early historic photos show the cottage dominating a huge lawn, against a backdrop of tall middle-aged pines and macrocarpas. Further research and photographic analysis is needed to establish locations of the orchard and vegetable gardens and provide for a more accurate and comprehensive interpretation of the place.⁵³

The following year, Hurworth was closed during the winter months and, on June 30 1999, David Watt, the Trust’s Regional Advocate, told the *Taranaki Daily News* that while Hurworth was not for sale yet, it was a possible last resort. Spokesperson for the New Plymouth Heritage Protection Group, Karen Johns, added, “... if Hurworth Cottage is not safe then nothing is safe”. Hurworth struggled on with a relief curator available to open the cottage if required and a contractor to tidy the gardens. For the next few years, volunteers helped out during the annual Taranaki garden festival and the branch committee paid for the curator, festival advertising, space in a newspaper wedding supplement, a vacuum cleaner and repairs for a fence.

Hurworth Conservation Plan

In 2008, Trust Chief Executive, Elizabeth Kerr, delivered the news to the branch committee, via Watt, that a draft conservation plan for Hurworth was almost completed, that the committee would be invited to comment as part of public consultation and, “we are working on plans for a possible resurrection of the heritage garden at Hurworth as a tourist attraction but it still needs a lot more planning”.⁵⁴ The resultant plan, produced in April that year, includes an eight-page Hurworth Cottage Grounds Management Report by New Plymouth horticulturist, Alan Jellyman, that begins with a brief interpretation of plants listed in the Moore report confined to the period 1857–1885 but including plants noted as being grown within the whole Hurworth settlement.

⁵² Ibid., vol. 9.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ NZHPT TBC Minutes, Hurworth 56.

From these details [it] is possible to identify a number of species of plants that could be featured in the cottage garden as part of the interpretation and information for visitors, without compromising the necessity of keeping the plantings, in a way that ensures a cost effective means of general maintenance. Possibilities include ash, walnut, heritage apples, plums and pears, quince (which was likely to be included in the garden), heritage roses, Jerusalem artichoke, fuchsias, belladonna lilies, Easter lilies, heritage sweet peas and mignonette.⁵⁵

Also recommended for replication were, “the typical mortised post and four-rail fence and the paling fence that features in the 1894 photograph”.⁵⁶ As there were no specific plans available that show either the outline or the contents of the garden and the current boundaries of the property appeared to have no specific relevance, Jellyman wrote, “the only viable policy for the future management of the grounds would be to endeavour to furnish the garden with species and varieties that would reflect the style of the Atkinson era”.⁵⁷ Among general instructions for the removal of some plants and the introduction of others, Jellyman advised that, “the Trust negotiates with the adjoining neighbour to ensure that the view from the house to the north is not impeded” and “consideration be given to creating an elevated viewing point that would enable the extent of the original northern boundary of the Atkinson land”.⁵⁸

Conclusion

Since its opening to the public in 1976, Hurworth has communicated a confusion of heritage messages. While the building has been restored to its spare 1856 form, the curtilage has been presented as a small section of regenerating bush and a pretty cottage garden which is promoted as a venue for weddings and is largely focused on the annual Taranaki garden festival for most of its visitors. Hurworth’s history links it firmly to several of the NZHPT’s 2012 major themes or nationally significant stories described in the previous chapter—European settlement (since 1856); the New Zealand Wars (the Taranaki Wars); and technology/use of natural resources/economic development (the pit-sawn and hand-built cottage and European farming practices). The field study undertaken at Hurworth in 2013 and described in the next chapter considers the role its curtilage garden might take in its interpretation.

⁵⁵ NZHPT, *Hurworth Cottage and Garden Conservation Management Plan*, 2008, 50.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 53.

CHAPTER THREE: HURWORTH COTTAGE FIELD STUDY

Introduction

This chapter records the findings of a qualitative field study, comprising a visitor survey and personal observations, carried out at Hurworth Cottage on 1–10 November 2013. It first places Hurworth in the context of the regional garden festival held at the time of the field study then describes a profile of the survey participants, a record of their responses and a summary of the interviews. The Hurworth Cottage building has always been the principal focus of the property's existence as a historic place. The annual garden festival presented an opportunity to survey a particular segment of Hurworth's visitors in order to examine the interpretation potential of its curtilage.

Hurworth as a Festival Garden

Hurworth Cottage was number forty-two in the 2013 garden festival programme (see Appendix, fig. 7). The programme entry read:

Hurworth Cottage built by Sir Harry Atkinson in 1856 is surrounded by a charming and peaceful garden, steeped in history. The garden, quaint in its simplicity, is undergoing redevelopment. An ideal place to visit and explore. Picnickers welcome.

Unlike the other forty-five entries, all of which focus on the gardens themselves, the Hurworth entry begins with a reference to its building. Three other festival gardens located on Carrington Road were included in the 2013 festival: The privately-owned Yews (number forty) "... a formal garden, inspired by traditional English style, to complement the relocated grand old villa from the turn of the last century"; privately-owned Ratanui (forty-one) "a park-like garden. Historically renowned as a navigation point for local Maori, protected trees date back to the 1880s when part of the grounds were [sic] planted as a nursery"; and Pukeiti (forty-four) "[that] houses a world-class rhododendron collection uniquely nestled in Taranaki rainforest".

The other three gardens were open during the festival from 9.00/9.30 am until 5/5.30 pm. Hurworth was open from 10 am until 4 pm. Entry to The Yews, Ratanui and Hurworth was

\$4 (with an additional gold coin donation requested for entry to Hurworth Cottage). At non-garden festival times, entry to Hurworth Cottage is \$5 for adults and \$10 for families and notably, in the context of this discussion, there is no charge for entry to the Hurworth garden. Entry to Pukeiti, one of the three regional gardens owned by the Taranaki Regional Council open daily 9 am to 5 pm, is always free. These figures are included here to provide a context for the decision-making process that visitors undertake when selecting festival gardens to visit.

As Hurworth is nine kilometres from New Plymouth city and twenty-one kilometres from Oakura, the nearest town, all the survey participants travelled by vehicle. On arrival in the car park, they were directed by a sign from the garden-entry archway to the verandah of the cottage where volunteers or the curator welcomed them, took their entry fees for the garden and their donations for entry to the cottage and answered any questions. A free information sheet describing the Atkinson family, the cottage and Harry Atkinson's political career was available if required.

Who Was There?

In order to build a demographic profile of survey participants their gender was recorded, their ages were estimated and their residences were established by question and answer. An analysis of responses in relation to residences, however, revealed no particular trends and, as a result, independent residence details are noted only where it is felt they are significant. Some of the participants volunteered their occupations in support of what they had to say and these are noted along with their responses where the ages are known and where the information appears to be relevant. Of the forty-four visitors who took part in the survey, nine (20%) were male and thirty-five (80%) were female. These results, when compared with figures for the overall festival (11% male and 89% female), represent a relatively high number of male visitors to Hurworth.¹

Although the two oldest interviewees volunteered their ages, this information was not routinely sought but was estimated within broad groupings. The forty-four participants were estimated to be: up to thirty years (2%); thirty to forty years (9%); forty to fifty years (9%); fifty to sixty years (16%); sixty to seventy years (45%); seventy to eighty years (14%); more

¹ Berl, *Economic Impact*, 7.

than eighty years (5%). These figures show that the majority of visitors to Hurworth over this period were estimated to be over fifty years old (80%) which reflects the figures recorded for the festival as a whole (69% over fifty-five years).²

The survey participants came predominantly from Taranaki (36%) followed by Auckland (11%); Australia (11%); Waikato (9%); Wellington (7%); Northland (7%); Bay of Plenty (7%); United Kingdom (5%); Manawatu-Whanganui (5%) and Canterbury (2%). Of the total visitors to Hurworth surveyed forty-eight per cent lived in another region (compared with fifty-two per cent overall)³ and sixteen per cent were from overseas, which was a significantly higher number of overseas visitors than the one per cent of overseas visitors recorded for the whole festival.⁴ Four of the Australian visitors (two females and two males) were included in a tour group: one of the Australian visitors was the tour group leader (female). The two participants from the United Kingdom (one female and one male) were visiting with a Taranaki friend (female). In addition one participant from Waikato had brought her friends from the United Kingdom (not participants and therefore not recorded). Most of the participants were visiting as part of a group of either friends or family or as a member of a tour party. Only four of the survey participants (all female) were visiting by themselves.

Why Did They Come?

With forty-six gardens in the main festival and fifty-nine gardens in the fringe festival to choose from and only ten days in which to view the gardens which are dispersed over an area of 7,258 square kilometres, garden visitors needed to plan their tours carefully. The first question asked of the survey participants ‘Why have you chosen to visit Hurworth?’ elicited a variety of reasons which have been grouped under seven headings. While some of the participants offered several reasons, only the most definitive was recorded for each participant.

The reasons given were: the historic character of the site (32%); inclusion as one of four festival gardens open on Carrington Road (18%); inclusion on the way to or from Pukeiti

² Ibid., 8.

³ Ibid., 7.

⁴ Ibid., 6.

(14%); inclusion in a guided tour itinerary en route to Pukeiti (14%); site of a musical event⁵ (11%); opportunity to visit the cottage (7%); and inclusion in a self-guided tour of all the festival gardens (4%). Of all the answers, only the historic character of the site, site of an event, and opportunity to visit the cottage demonstrate a strong and specific intention to visit Hurworth and together represent half of the participants.

Although they were not asked, many of the participants volunteered whether or not they had visited Hurworth before. One Taranaki visitor who was calling in to the other gardens in Carrington Road commented that she had “driven past here for years and never come in ... I didn’t realise this was open”. Of a group of four Taranaki friends, two remarked that they had never been before and the two others had visited “ages ago”. One visitor who went into the cottage before inspecting the garden commented, “it’s the same information I saw here twenty-seven years ago—the same photos and the same stuff”. Another visitor who had called in to Hurworth after visiting Pukeiti, said that despite growing up in Taranaki he had never visited Hurworth, although he “knew about it and its part in the Māori Wars”. A visitor, who was a member of the NZHPT, had been to the garden festival on two previous occasions but had “never had time” to visit Hurworth, although she had heard of it. She explained that she was interested in heritage gardens and wanted to see “what they do with their so-called cottage garden”. Another visitor had been to Hurworth “two or three times” and described it as “a nice treat”.

Of the three visitors who said the main reason for their visit was the opportunity to visit the cottage, one had recently shifted to Taranaki and the other two were her visitors from the United Kingdom. None of the three had visited Hurworth before and all three entered the house but spent no time in the garden. Of the five Taranaki visitors who were at Hurworth primarily to hear the musical event, one had come to hear her husband perform and had attended the same event at Hurworth during the previous year’s festival. Only one other of the five had been to Hurworth before, “fifteen years ago with a class of children”. Two of the fourteen visitors who cited the historic character of the site as the main reason for their visit mentioned that the story of the Atkinson family was a draw-card, and eight of these visitors described their interest in visiting heritage gardens, for example, “we always try to see

⁵ Orchestral ensembles performed in the Hurworth garden and provided morning and afternoon teas on both days of the first weekend of the festival.

heritage gardens when we are travelling”. Four of the ‘history’ visitors were drawn by the building itself and two within this group mentioned that they were members of the NZHPT.

What Were the Benefits?

The second question asked of the participants was ‘What have you gained from your experience visiting Hurworth Cottage’s garden?’ Although it was made clear when visitors were initially invited to be interviewed that the survey concerned the garden and not the building, the question seemed to take some participants by surprise. It appeared that they had not previously considered the garden as a discrete part of the experience—even though they were taking part in a garden festival—and their answers required some thought and a reassurance that they were not expected to exhibit horticultural expertise. Their responses have been collated and grouped here under six broad headings: history, ambience, vista, authenticity, nostalgia and inspiration. The responses of the participants invariably included references to more than one of the headings. The percentages noted beside the headings indicate how often the topics were mentioned and are not a measure of visitor satisfaction.

History (48%)

As noted above, thirty-two per cent of the survey participants cited the garden’s history as their prime reason for visiting Hurworth. Further discussion demonstrated that for many visitors the greatest historical significance derived from Hurworth’s association with the Taranaki Wars. “This place has a unique history,” one visitor commented. “This is a really important part of New Plymouth’s history,” another visitor pointed out. One visitor who had visited Hurworth several times previously, had brought her friends from Waikato because, “they don’t know much about New Zealand’s history—the pioneers and the original family and the building and the Māori Wars”.

Several visitors mentioned the importance of the physical context as the place where the events they knew of had actually happened, for example, “This place has history and is really interesting to us personally. We have an interest in history and the lives of people years back. I couldn’t understand how people could leave their homes in the Taranaki Wars. It [being here] gives you an understanding of how threatened they were—to be that threatened to leave their homes”. Several visitors expressed the importance they placed on visiting a historic place rather than a museum, and one volunteered that she, “firmly believed anything

historical should not be relocated”. For one visitor, the revelation, during general discussion, that the Treaty of Waitangi had been signed before the outbreak of the Taranaki Wars greatly increased his sense of place at Hurworth and the significance of the land he was standing on. “It’s quite remarkable that it has been preserved,” he said.

One visitor who planned to see all the festival gardens on Carrington Road shared his doubts about Hurworth’s future: “Do you think the younger generation in ten years’ time will be interested in this? Our kids are in their forties. I don’t think they would give you two shillings to go through this.” Several visitors saw the Hurworth garden as an archive for old-style plants. “It would be a shame if they all died out. It’s nice to see them again,” one remarked. Another visitor said she saw the garden as representing early settlers’ aspirations. “I think they tried to replicate what they had left behind in England. So, we never really leave where we grew up and this is part of it. I don’t know his [Harry Atkinson’s] history in the United Kingdom but this is expressive of what he may have known there.”

Ambience (45%)

Several of the visitors expressed their appreciation of Hurworth’s ambience as “relaxing”, “peaceful” and “pleasant”. One Auckland visitor described the “feel-good” atmosphere and said she appreciated the opportunity to “slow down” adding that she was “pleased there aren’t so many people here”. Another Auckland visitor described the garden itself as “calming” and remarked that some gardens are “far too staged” while a Taranaki visitor described it as an “easy-care, comfortable garden [that] you could achieve. Some gardens are so terrifically structured”. The design of the garden itself was regarded generally as an important contributor to the “relaxed” general ambience of Hurworth. Most visitors described it as a ‘cottage’ or ‘cottagey’ design defined variously as being a “jumble” and “a character garden” that has “familiar” and “a wide variety of” plants that are “not colour co-ordinated”, and (with a laugh) as “a garden with a cottage in it”.

One visitor described the garden as “very densely planted which I imagine is how older gardens used to be – given cuttings and going on and on”. Christine Dann refers to cottage gardening in New Zealand as “a co-operative form of gardening”, and the practice of women, in particular, sharing cuttings was referred to many times by survey participants and was seen

both as appropriate to a heritage garden and as contributing a “homely impression”.⁶ One visitor pointed out that “women would love to swap cuttings and seeds ... Over the years, people have added to it [the garden] like swapping recipes”.

Several visitors remarked on the sound of birds as an important ingredient in the rural Hurworth ambience and others pointed out the significant contribution made to it of native forest—not only behind the cottage on the Hurworth site itself as a “bush back-drop”, but also in reference to a bush remnant and original pūriri trees in the borrowed view further down Carrington Road.

Vista (43%)

The rural view to the north of Hurworth Cottage was regarded by many visitors as an extremely important part of Hurworth itself as it contributed, for example, a “peaceful and beautiful outlook”. One visitor commented that the vista “is absolutely part of the experience. It’s how it would have been to some extent. Some of the old places now are just so in-filled”. “The lovely rural view is very important. This is what it was,” commented another visitor. Several visitors mused on the possibility of land subdivision within the view to the north. One visitor said that it would be “a tragedy to lose the farm view. The house was part of the land” and another said it would be “a shame if it was gone”. Another visitor said that if the land had to be sub-divided she would prefer to see “life-style blocks”. The garden’s rural location made it harder to control its surroundings, one visitor remarked, “They could do anything over that fence. It’s too far out to be subdivided but councils change their minds all the time. That’s the trouble with them”. Another visitor said that it was “part of the charm that it [Hurworth] is in the country. Other old houses are in the middle of the town ... but this has a rural outlook”.

One visitor emphasised the importance of retaining a “heritage style in the landscape” beyond the garden. As “very important” features she cited boxthorn hedging and ditch-and-bank fencing, adding that “there are very few left”, and a distant sea view, “can you still see the sea? You would have been able to see the ships then”. Another visitor attributed the clear view of the landscape from the garden to a wise decision by the garden’s managers not to

⁶ Christine Dann, *Cottage Gardening in New Zealand*, Allen and Unwin in association with Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1990, reprinted by Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1991, vi.

“screen it out and feel closed in”, and to the apparent lack of a prevailing northerly wind. Early settlers, he added, had the first choice of a building site and chose “a view of the land because that is where their living came from”.

Authenticity (43%)

The issue of authenticity emerged largely from observations on specific plants and generated much thought and discussion. A garden feature was considered to be ‘authentic’ by participants if it was appropriate to nineteenth-century New Zealand, for example, “The plants are evocative of the times but they’re not authentic”; “It’s not very authentic. It would have been tree stumps and smoke back then”; “They wouldn’t have had much of this. It’s too labour intensive”; “The [white-painted] seat is too modern. It should be in untreated timber or trunks of trees”; “I can see a lot of plants that have been hybridised and bred in the modern era. What’s that Grecian urn doing there?”; “It’s an early New Zealand house but these are not the early plants,” and “I think this has been curated beautifully but I don’t imagine that they had a garden”.

Thoughts about authenticity raised further questions, for example, “What would have been here in that era? What would they have used? Did they have time for a garden?” and “Gardens change so much and this is such an old garden. I wouldn’t know how authentic it was for any stage of its history”.

The concept of a ‘cottage garden’ itself also came up for further discussion, for example, “This is a romantic idea of a cottage garden” and “They [the Atkinsons] didn’t have time to do all this. I think I was hoping to see something of the garden as it would have been in the 1880s—a much more functional garden with herbs, vegetables, fruit trees and some flowers. I doubt this range. It’s lovely, but it’s not how it would have been. The early New Zealand cottage garden is quite different from our modern concept. But then, how practical is it [to replicate]?” This comment echoes Dann’s assertion that New Zealand’s mid-twentieth-century cottage gardens aspired to being not only beautiful but useful as well, “the combination of beauty and utility is the essence of the cottage garden. Fruit, vegetables and herbs are essential”.⁷

⁷ Ibid., 2.

Many responses illustrated a general acceptance of inauthenticity founded on pragmatism, for example, “Lots of it is probably not authentic—the azaleas etcetera and the modern roses—but they are a lot less work”; “It’s pretty close to authentic—but some plants are recent like the hebes and modern foxgloves. In 1856 it would have been native forest but I think this is a good mix of old and new”; “It’s capturing a sense of history but also allowing people to enjoy a beautiful experience”; and “It probably doesn’t suit the purpose of the time. It’s very labour intensive. But we’re not disappointed. We’re realistic”. One visitor presented her idea of a balanced approach to exhibiting heritage, “If you’re telling a story you have to make it as true as possible. Intuitively I think this [the garden] is not true. But do you want to be stuck in the past? You have to make money out of it”. Another visitor said she considered that the garden could function as an interpretive tool on a broad time-scale and that she was looking for, “a cottage garden with time-depth from the simple-style to modern plants”. She commented on the inclusion of tobacco, poppies and datura plants in the Hurworth garden as evidence of plants with medicinal properties.

Nostalgia (41%)

One visitor pointed out that she was visiting Hurworth in order to capture a sense of “nostalgia”. Another visitor from Australia commented that she loved the familiarity of “cottage gardens” adding, notably, “I’ve always gardened so the plants are all familiar. This is exactly like my garden at home.” “It’s nice to see all the old plants we grew up with,” said one visitor. Another commented, “those little daisies and poppies were in my grandmother’s garden”. Rather than learning anything new from Hurworth’s garden, one visitor said, she was reminded of her first gardening experience in her great aunt’s garden in 1940. “I expected to see the old roses and daisy bushes and dianthus and the little and bigger fuchsias and geums.” Another visitor reported that the garden had brought back memories of Britain. “I spent my first fifty years in England and being here reminds me of family. My mother’s favourite flowers were lilac and the proper sweet Williams and these pinks and aquilegia and snapdragons. It’s very nostalgic.”

Other visitors commented that Hurworth was typical of gardens at historic places.

Predictability was tinged with resignation for several visitors, for example, “[It was] what I might have imagined”; “It’s lovely and for many people it will be their concept of a heritage garden”; “It’s beautiful and simple and what I expect from a heritage property”; and “In a

way this could be any heritage garden”. “There are probably five hundred cottages within five hundred miles that have all the same things,” said one visitor.

Inspiration (23%)

Six visitors reported that they were taking advantage of what Clunie has referred to as the NZHPT’s “aesthetic role” in providing garden elements that others can aspire to replicate.⁸ For example, “I have a cottagey garden at home and I’m looking for ideas”; “It’s good to get ideas about what you can mix and match”; “I’m looking for ideas and types of plants and what fits into my home”; and “I’m looking for new ideas and what goes with what colours”. One visitor said she was, “looking for inspiration” and another said, “I love that little corner. I might replicate that.” One visitor was taken with a built structure, “I like the octagonal seat around the tree. It’s given me an idea for a tree in Christchurch”.

Dann notes that cottage gardening is far more popular among women than men, “One female cottage gardener thought that cottage gardening suited women because they prefer ‘bitsier’ gardens; men, she said, have ‘tidier minds’!”.⁹ Nevertheless, of the six survey participants who were looking for ideas for their own gardens, two were male. One was a power station operator looking for “what you can mix and match” and the other was a scientist who was inspired by the octagonal seat.

What Would Enhance Their Visit?

Almost all the responses to the third question ‘What would enhance your visit?’ centred on gaining “more of a sense of how people lived”. Only one participant reported that there was nothing more required. Comments relating to the Atkinsons’ lives included: “How did they get water to the house?”; “Where was their wood-pile, what were their toilet facilities, did they have beehives?”; “This was a family home which is not evident from the garden, [nor is] some evidence of children living here. You would think you would find out how they provided for themselves—vegetables and fruit, red and black currants and gooseberries. Hurworth represents living history and that would be a good bit of living history”; “It needs real plants with practical application—like guavas and figs”.

⁸ Beresford, *A Down-to-Earth Dilemma*, 2.

⁹ Dann, *Cottage Gardening*, 36.

The addition of food plants was the most frequently mentioned suggestion in responses (59%): “I’d like to see a big vegetable garden with the old varieties. There must be people here who have old varieties of apples, for example”; “A vegetable garden—not a raised one—herbs mixed in and companion planting”; “I would have expected a vegetable garden. A vegetable garden made in the way it was would be cool to see—educational. It would be interesting to compare this with a more modern look”; “A vegetable garden would be fantastic—especially the types of vegetables they grew then”. Some visitors nominated the growing of vegetables as a feature that might distinguish Hurworth from other gardens, for example, “Where did they grow their vegetables? That is absolutely of interest to me. I love vegetable gardens. The practical things they could eat—potatoes, onions and things like that. Cape gooseberries, ordinary gooseberries, citrus, red currants in particular. I think a lot of gardens open to the public just show flowers and trees and don’t show how people live”; and “It’s like a lot of gardens [in the festival]—not very functional. They [the Atkinsons] would grow a garden to provide vegetables and herbs. I imagine there would be a vegetable garden at the back”.

Two visitors recommended a vegetable garden and an orchard as means of acknowledging the Atkinson women, “Women relate to the lady of the house as the gardener ... an orchard and a veg garden would add to this”; and “A productive vegetable garden—maybe it should be a point of difference from other Taranaki gardens—how women changed the landscape for their own benefit or to support the family. Visitors probably would come because you could market it as the real thing—how did that woman survive? A lot of history fed to us is from a male perspective. How many mouths did she have to feed?”

Large trees were frequently noted as being absent, for example, “Where are the old trees—walnuts, elms, lindens and oaks?” and “... it’s missing big trees—walnuts and fruit trees, plums, apples, quinces and pears”. The boundaries of the original Atkinson farm were also cited as a missing ingredient for a clear understanding of how the family had lived in the nineteenth century, for example, “I don’t have a sense here of where the farm was. The first thought in my head was ‘where was the farm?’”; “[The garden needs] old photographs and maps. I want to look on a Google map to orientate the land and feel the shape of it”; “I’m not aware of [the extent of] the farm. It was a lot of land for that time”; “There’s no sense of the farm—it’s just a little enclave”; “If it’s going to be authentic why not go the whole way and

show it so you can visualise what [the farm] would have been like—cocksfoot grass would be fantastic—what did they grow and what did people eat?”

Some visitors said they were confused by the cottage itself and its relationship with the garden and farm, for example, “How did all the people fit into that house? I imagine it was not like this. It would have been the garden of a farm—they couldn’t have brought up all those children in there. There must have been a lean-to kitchen because of the risk of fire”; “There’s no sense of the farm and no sense of the size of the [original] house. It would give a better understanding if it [the garden] had a footprint of the [developed] house. You think it’s a cute little cottage and could go away not understanding the history of the house”; “A model of what [the house] was would help to explain it. It needs a shed and the things you use on a farm”; and “I think it would be marvellous to see a photo [outside] of how the garden might have been or any idea of a plan or what might have been here”.

What Did They Write?

Inquiries into access to Hurworth visitors’ books during its forty-nine years as an NZHPT property unearthed only one book. Among its 791 entries from 3 November 2005 until 3 November 2013 the book included eleven entries that referred to the cottage’s surrounds. The comments referred to the ambience: “peaceful”, “restful”, “serene”; the view “wonderful”; the gardens “great too!” “beautiful, well-kept”, “beautiful”, “lovely”, “impressive” and “inspiring”. The visitors were from The Netherlands, Australia, United Kingdom, Auckland, Bay of Plenty and Taranaki. As the visitors’ book is kept in the entry to the cottage it is safe to assume that all the entries were written by people who had ventured inside.

Conclusion

Grouped together, these responses can be read as a hybrid concept of the curtilage at Hurworth as a both existing and potential cultural landscape expressing emotions, ideas and meanings. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, quoting Foucault, writes:

The gaze is ‘caught up in an endless reciprocity’. It is directed at what is visible, but in order to know what to observe, elements or factors must be recognised. But to

recognise something, it is necessary to have prior knowledge of it—thus observation depends on already knowing that for which one is searching.¹⁰

This “contradictory and complex situation” she argues, is at the heart of the museum experience.¹¹ It appears also to be for many visitors at the heart of experiencing garden heritage. The survey participants clearly appreciated that Hurworth generated sought-after impressions of peacefulness, homeliness, beauty and nostalgia, and that the garden was a source of inspiration for their own planting and design.

To what extent does the curtilage contribute to the NZHPT’s major themes or nationally significant stories highlighted in the previous chapter: European settlement; the New Zealand Wars; and technology/use of natural resources/economic development? For many of the survey participants Hurworth’s curtilage represented the very land that had been fought for in war, and standing on it contributed to a strong sense of the place. Despite the absence of any reference to the Taranaki Wars and although there was a predominance of colonial values inherent in the cottage garden and the building, many garden visitors were fully aware that Hurworth had associations with Māori but were unclear what that meant. They were eager to engage with the events and ideas that led to Hurworth’s part in the Taranaki Wars and, in this regard, to connect with the special spirit of the place.

They were also ready to grapple with contemporary heritage issues that might impinge on the successful interpretation of the themes including the importance of the borrowed view and the need to secure it; the relevance of Hurworth to future generations and the ‘authenticity’ of its presentation. Underneath all these responses, however, ran threads of resignation and pragmatism articulated by their observations that while Hurworth had a distinctive history its garden was typical of New Zealand’s heritage gardens for reasons of cost, practicality and visitor expectation.

When asked what would have enhanced their visit to Hurworth, the survey participants had many ideas directly related to the themes of European settlement and technology/use of natural resources/economic development. They wanted to know more about the day-to-day

¹⁰ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, Routledge, London: New York, 2000, 15.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

activities of nineteenth-century settlers as represented at Hurworth by the Atkinson family. They saw Hurworth as a prime candidate for this interpretive task because of its rural location and its accompanying appropriateness for presenting early New Zealand farming techniques; its largely unmodified views of the countryside; its association with the Taranaki Wars and the Atkinson family; its extant cottage; its potential as a heritage plant archive; the opportunity it presented to illustrate the influence of rural nineteenth-century women on the landscape and its address on Carrington Road with its proximity to the well known and frequently visited garden, Pukeiti.

CHAPTER FOUR: HURWORTH AS A CONTEMPORARY HERITAGE GARDEN

Introduction

This chapter draws further on the findings of the Hurworth visitor survey, and on theory surrounding meanings and politics of land, as discussed in the introduction to this thesis. It investigates the extent to which the survey participants were seeking the property's unique sense of place or spirit; the particular aspects of Hurworth which the participants aspired to experiencing; and the opportunities afforded by Hurworth to achieve these ambitions.

Following this discussion, the chapter considers the implications of these results for interpretation development of Hurworth's curtilage garden in relation to visitors' expectations. Any provision of landscape architectural solutions or operational recommendations is beyond the remit of this thesis. However, the Contemporary Heritage Gardens scheme implemented by English Heritage concludes this chapter as an appropriate example of a broad approach to curtilage gardens employed in interpreting historic places.

The Spirit of Hurworth

Interpretation of the 'unique spirit' of a historic place has been examined by many scholars from different theoretical standpoints. Ham has referred to the need for interpretation of natural or cultural heritage to establish "a sense of place and empathy for the people who lived in times past".¹ Lipscomb has described interpretation:

... that draws on the power of the real place, promotes a collective understanding of the past, engages visitors in creating unique experiences for themselves, tells stories and uses the senses ... visitors need to be able to glimpse, taste, and feel the past in experiences that work intellectually, emotionally and physically.²

In support of their argument that many visitors to historic places are seeking numinous experiences, Cameron and Gatewood have cited survey responses such as, "developing a feeling for"; "connecting with the past"; and "using the mind to experience" as examples of visitors' desire to "engage their minds and emotions with what they are viewing".³ In their

¹ Ham, "Meaning-Making," 1.

² Lipscomb, "Historical Authenticity and Interpretative Strategy," 111.

³ Cameron and Gatewood, "Excursions into the Un-Remembered Past," 126.

study of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, referred to in the introduction to this thesis, they grouped the responses of their survey question “What do you want to get out of your visits to historic sites or museums?” into three categories: “information, education”; “pleasure”; and “personal experience”. In order to examine the extent to which the participants in the Hurworth survey were searching for the sense of place at the property, the process undertaken in the Cameron and Gatewood study has been applied to the Hurworth survey results. Employing the Bethlehem taxonomy, the six groups of responses to the question “What have you gained from your experience visiting Hurworth Cottage’s garden?” can be listed as follows:

Bethlehem	Hurworth
Information, education	Vista, Inspiration, History, Authenticity
Pleasure	Vista, Ambience, Nostalgia
Personal experience	Vista, History, Nostalgia

Table one.

In the Bethlehem survey, the Personal experience category is further divided into “those who see historic site visits as a way to create memories” and “those who seek to make a personal connection with the place” (numen seekers). By eliminating the ‘memories’ category from the Hurworth survey—this includes all of Nostalgia—the most profitable sources for numen or empathy seekers can be defined, following the Cameron and Gatewood method, as Vista and History. Responses such as “... [the vista is] absolutely part of the experience. It’s how it would have been to some extent”; “... [it’s] very important. This is what it was”; and “[Being here] gives you an understanding of how threatened they were—to be that threatened to leave their homes”; and “I think they tried to replicate what they had left behind in England. So we never really leave where we grew up and this is part of it ...” are examples.

Answers to the second question in the Hurworth survey “What would enhance your visit?” more clearly demonstrate the extent to which participants were seeking an affective or emotional experience and indicate the particular aspects in which they wanted to immerse themselves. The sample expressed a strong desire to connect with the people associated with Hurworth through knowing more about their nineteenth-century life. These responses can be grouped into issues surrounding the Taranaki Wars; settler domestication; food provision; the role of settler women; family life and farming. Taking all these issues into account it appears

that the very place itself, the vista and the cottage garden at Hurworth, go some way towards satisfying numen seekers. The vista which, however, is not secure as long as it remains privately owned, currently provides visitors with a sense of the rural nature of Hurworth and hints at its former role as a farm. The cottage garden is seen by some visitors to represent the settlers' connection with 'Home' and a social, plant-swapping practice of settler women.

Visitor Expectations

Participants in the Hurworth survey were chosen randomly and as such are representative of the visitors to this particular historic place on 1–10 November 2013. As garden festival visitors equate to the majority of Hurworth's annual visitors, they can be regarded as representative of Hurworth visitors in general. The extent to which this sample can be generalised is unknown, however, beyond the observation that there was no significant difference in responses according to whether the respondents were local, national or international. For these findings to be applied to other curtilage gardens at historic places, further research would be required.

While visitors generally appreciated the "relaxed" atmosphere of Hurworth's curtilage garden, which they ascribed to qualities including relatively few visitors and lack of "staging", they demonstrated a general lack of connection with the people and the place. The participants who commented on nostalgia were also aware of its predictability, describing Hurworth as typical of gardens at other historic places. Rather than expressing this as criticism, however, the comment was made with forbearance. One participant pointed out that Hurworth was, "lovely and for many people it will be their concept of a heritage garden".

The visitors who noted the history of the place as their main reason for visiting Hurworth similarly might be expected to feel short-changed. One participant pointed out that there was no sense of "how women changed the landscape for their own benefit or to support the family" but was just more history "fed to us from a male perspective". Although survey participants emphasised the significance of being on the actual site of Hurworth as a historic place intimately connected with the Taranaki Wars, only one participant could articulate what that actually meant to him as "an understanding of how threatened they [nineteenth-century settlers] were". Notably absent in the visitors' responses was any sense of the presence of Māori as tangata whenua even though ownership of the land was the issue over which the

Taranaki Wars were fought. Any indication that the settlement of Hurworth has important social significance to Māori as a stop-off place between war zones was missing. Garden visitors seeking to connect with the people associated with Hurworth in the mid-nineteenth century could at best experience the place through a colonial lens.

Contemporary Heritage Gardens

As discussed earlier, heritage is new.⁴ Curtilage, as the mediator between audience and building of a historic place, is new also, as are its gardens whose plants constantly grow, change, die and are replaced. This section continues the discussion of new heritage, begun in the introduction to this study, by describing the twenty-first century scheme undertaken by English Heritage to revitalise its historic places by establishing new gardens. This thesis has developed an argument for the curtilage garden as an important gatekeeper for historic places, and as an effective tool for their interpretation for visitors. Interpretation, as described by the ENAME Charter, establishes meaningful connections. The discussion here is underpinned by the conclusion of the previous section that Hurworth is failing to meaningfully connect people and place.

In 2000, English Heritage opened the first two of six curtilage gardens at historic places included in its Contemporary Heritage Garden scheme.⁵ As a result of an earlier development at Walmer Castle, English Heritage had become newly perceived as “an organization that owned gardens and as one that was involved in the modern world and not just with ruined buildings from the distant past”.⁶ The scheme was founded also on statistics that demonstrated that more people visited its ‘stately homes’ to see their gardens than to see the house and its contents, and on English Heritage’s desire to draw visitors to its properties who might not be attracted by the medieval monasteries and Tudor castles in its portfolio.⁷ The English Heritage web site explains that the scheme aimed to create contemporary gardens appropriate to their historic settings; improve the presentation of properties to visitors for their knowledge and enjoyment; select designs on concepts and material appropriate to the site; set standards of design for future heritage; apply the best standards of finish and

⁴ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, 150.

⁵ All of the more than four hundred English Heritage sites were considered, a list of possible historic places was drawn up and new archaeology and research was carried out.

⁶ Gillian Mawrey and Linden Groves, *The Gardens of English Heritage*, (London: Frances Lincoln Limited, 2010), 200.

⁷ Ibid.

construction in the heritage sector; promote the best landscape designers and their profession; and increase visitor numbers and income fed back to the heritage sector.

The idea was to “mix the venerable with the contemporary” and “to respect the past, but not to copy it”.⁸ In answering this brief, five of the six selected gardens now interpret the curtilage of castles, palaces and country estates conceptually.⁹ The last of the six-garden-project plans were drawn up in 2002, and English Heritage moved on to create two new gardens with a more historical than contemporary emphasis. Twelve years on, English Heritage acknowledges online that all the new gardens have “resolved longstanding presentation problems at each site and have provided ... a valuable legacy of some of the best garden and landscape design”.

The Contemporary Heritage Gardens scheme is noted here as an example of how acknowledgement and development of the interpretation potential of these gardens can advance the cause of heritage, and to propose conceptualism as one possible interpretive tool to achieve an affective or emotional visitor experience. While further research would be required to establish whether or not more people visit New Zealand’s historic places to see their gardens than to see their buildings and contents, as discovered by English Heritage, the fact that most of Hurworth’s annual visitors are taking part in a garden festival suggests the possibility in this particular case.

Two recurrent themes in this study of garden heritage in New Zealand have been a failure to recognise the interpretive potential of heritage curtilage gardens and a lack of resources for heritage development. Not all of English Heritage’s new gardens are conceptual, nor is conceptualism proposed here as the definitive solution to interpreting Hurworth’s garden. However, while the time-scale of the English gardens differs significantly from Hurworth’s, the gardens do share some interpretive concerns.

At nine-hundred-year-old Richmond Castle, the imprisonment of sixteen First World War conscientious objectors is now represented by sixteen green and golden topiary yew trees.

⁸ Kirsty McLeod, Chair of English Heritage’s Historic Parks and Gardens Panel, quoted in Mawrey and Groves, *The Gardens of English Heritage*, 200.

⁹ Rather than establishing a conceptual garden, the sixth project, at Witley Court, became a restoration of a wilderness area.

English Heritage notes online that the decision was not without controversy. A public meeting in 2002 took place in the garden itself where local people debated for and against commemorating the ‘Richmond Sixteen’ in the garden. The case for the yew trees was won and landscape architect, Neil Swanson, commented, “It was striking to be present as issues of duty, personal courage and principle, and the relationship between individual and state were openly debated”. These political references achieved in the garden are worth noting in relation to the political issues that connect the Taranaki Wars with Hurworth.

A one-metre viewing platform installed to help visitors to understand the overall intention of the new garden and surrounds, at the Lincoln Bishop’s Palace, echoes the “elevated viewing point” recommended in Hurworth’s conservation plan for the interpretation of the boundaries of the Atkinson farm which were found missing also by survey participants.¹⁰ The acquisition of land to restore the Wilderness at Witley Court is reminiscent of Hurworth’s conservation plan recommendation to secure an unimpeded view to the north.

While English Heritage clearly has more money invested in its heritage gardens than the NZHPT, the English model has not relied solely on its own resources but has often entered into partnerships. One aim of the Richmond Castle project was to develop community involvement in the garden; the Portland Castle garden was part of a regional regeneration project after the Royal Navy and associated industry had withdrawn from the area; and the Lincoln Bishop’s Palace garden was part of a wider project to improve local visitor attractions in its neighbourhood.

A 2001 report, by the Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries, on the state of museums and galleries in regional England promotes a similar “philosophy of cooperation and dependency” to help realise plans.¹¹

Fragmentation has been recognised as a barrier to regional museums and galleries achieving their full potential, and has seriously hampered the achievement of even some basic objectives ... The museums and galleries community in the regions is a relatively small one. Historically, museums and galleries have come low down in public-spending priorities, and where they rely heavily on admissions income ... they

¹⁰ NZHPT, *Hurworth Cottage and Garden Conservation Management Plan*, 2008, 53.

¹¹ Council for Museums Archives and Libraries, “Renaissance in the Regions: a New Vision for England’s Museums,” 2001, 5.

find themselves in intense competition with other tourist attractions and other cultural organisations. There is a need to develop a supportive environment in which these fragile organisations can flourish. External assistance through grant programmes may obviously help. But a more sustainable approach is to encourage partnerships, collaboration and networking—both for the benefit of users and for the more efficient and effective use of public money.¹²

Continuing the parallel with Hurworth it is noteworthy that other organisations within the Taranaki region are investing in and promoting heritage gardens. The Taranaki Regional Council now acts as the steward of three heritage gardens and a tree trust; the region's tourism organisation promotes Taranaki in a brochure as the Garden of New Zealand with "prominence as a garden destination" and an "amazing range of gardens", and lists twenty-one parks and gardens but fails to mention Hurworth.¹³

Conclusion

Hurworth today is in a holding pattern. While the cottage has been maintained and the garden has "undergone a makeover" most of the recommendations of the 2008 conservation plan for the garden are yet to be implemented.¹⁴ Visitors are largely restricted to the ten annual garden festival days and Hurworth remains open for only eight hours each weekend during the rest of the year.

The NZHPT's 2012-2015 projection for Hurworth proposes a collection display and interpretation project for the cottage to replace the collection items on loan from Puke Ariki which has requested their return.¹⁵ The Trust hopes that its project will "significantly increase understanding of the history of Hurworth and surrounding area, will increase 'dwell time' which is currently very short", and will attract more than 3,000 visitors each year. Hurworth is far from secure. It is described as having "high regional significance" but "medium national significance", and the report notes that while closing the property is an option, the savings would be minimal as it is staffed only eight hours a week and would still require "maintenance and regular inspections".¹⁶ There is no specific mention of the garden and, by

¹² Ibid., 74.

¹³ Venture Taranaki, *Taranaki Parks and Gardens*, first edition, 1.

¹⁴ A sprinkler system was installed, earthquake reinforcement was carried out on the two fireplaces and the rotting verandah and piles were replaced in 2011.

¹⁵ NZHPT *Heritage Destinations Prioritised Heritage Appreciation and Development Projects 2012-2015*, 2012, 13002-122.

¹⁶ Ibid.

association, no recognition of its interpretation potential. Nor is there any mention of other heritage-focused institutions in the region—other than the necessity to return artefacts to Puke Ariki.

Until Hurworth—both building and curtilage—is considered as a whole, it will never realise its potential to connect people and place. Chapter three demonstrated clearly that the curtilage of Hurworth qualifies for its own spot within the themes noted in the NZHPT’s 2012 strategy and has significant potential for interpretation. While the pit-sawn, hand-built cottage represents European settlement, technology and use of natural resources, it is the curtilage—the land itself—that can provide visitors with a direct and tangible link to the mauri, the life force or spirit of the place; the lives and fortunes of the people; and the theme of war and all the meanings and politics that go with it. In implementing its Contemporary Heritage Garden scheme, English Heritage called on the various communities to make it happen. The list of Taranaki’s heritage garden-oriented organisations above suggests that the NZHPT might well be able to call on similar support.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has investigated why and how New Zealand has overlooked much of its garden heritage—particularly curtilage gardens—and the consequences of this action. It has considered the role that curtilage can play in heritage, and discussed modifications to heritage practice and management that would recognise the interpretive potential of curtilage gardens. In investigating the causes and effects of the oversight of garden heritage, research in literature and archives has established a theoretical and historical understanding of the curtilage gardens tied to historic places, their place in the heritage canon and the challenges they face. Building on this framework, the study has examined the development of the curtilage garden at Hurworth Cottage, carried out a visitor survey and offered fresh ideas on heritage interpretation management and practice as a base for further professional design and implementation.

Mining the archives of the NZHPT and RNZIH revealed that the early privileging of built heritage and a ‘clean-up-the-grounds-but-save-the-trees’ attitude began a practice in the mid-twentieth century that largely overlooked the merits of curtilage gardens which were consequently treated as the ‘odd bits’ of New Zealand’s cultural heritage. While some enthusiastic and thoughtful attempts were begun in the 1980s by many individuals and groups to remedy a general oversight of garden heritage by different means and through varying avenues, they failed in part because they relied heavily on the energy and resources of the individuals that promoted them, and they were generated during a general climate of uncertainty, change and resource shortages for heritage development. The study of the conservation and registration of New Zealand’s arboreal heritage, undertaken to contrast the progress made in tree protection with that of garden heritage protection, documented a long, but ultimately successful, campaign where actions to save trees were often taken instead of, rather than as part of, moves to conserve curtilage. This section of archival research concluded with descriptions of two significant projects that legitimise curtilage gardens as part of heritage fabric. The development of the NZHPT’s Pompallier Project Russell and the Fyffe House conservation plans in the 1990s introduced a note of optimism that curtilage—including gardens—has begun to receive due recognition. It needs to be recognised, however,

that both projects, along with the addition of the Mary Williams Garden to the NZHPT register, originated in heritage advocacy from outside the official protection agencies.

The documentary research into the development of Hurworth Cottage as a Category I historic place continued the investigation into the causes and consequences of the oversight of garden heritage and reflected the same early focus by the NZHPT on the building alone. The struggles of the Trust's Taranaki branch committee to keep Hurworth open to the public and to raise funds for its maintenance echo the financial constraints felt by the NZHPT in the 1980s and 1990s. Today, visitor numbers—recorded by the NZHPT as a yardstick of the success of a historic place—remain low at Hurworth, despite its 2008 conservation plan and the building conservation and garden development of 2012.

In considering the second area of inquiry into the role that curtilage can play at historic places, qualitative field work found clear evidence that Hurworth's curtilage was rich with meaning and could function as a powerful interpretive tool. The survey results supported the view that no heritage building is best served by considering it in isolation, and that its curtilage—especially its garden—can contribute meaningfully to the interpretation of a historic place. Responses to the survey show that Hurworth's garden visitors were eager to engage not only with the physical features but also with the emotions, ideas and meanings peculiar to the place. The observation by some participants that Hurworth was 'typical' of all New Zealand's heritage gardens contains stern messages for contemporary managers of garden heritage. The visitors articulated precise ideas about what they were looking for in the curtilage and what would improve their visit—empathy with the people who were associated with Hurworth and an insight into their day-to-day, mid-nineteenth-century lives.

Visitors showed considerable interest in Hurworth's association with the Taranaki Wars but their inability to describe what that connection was and what it might mean illustrated a significant gap in its interpretation. This was a worrying finding particularly in view of the fact that, while the NZHPT consistently refers in its brochure to the Atkinsons' abandonment of Hurworth under siege, the destruction of the Hurworth settlement during the Wars, and the family's return when the fighting abated, there was no obvious representation of Māori interests at Hurworth and no reference to the reasons for the Wars themselves. While visitors might be pleased to be able to stand on the very land that was fought for, abandoned and

reclaimed by the Atkinsons, there was little to help them to experience the spirit of the place or to understand the issues that surround it. Ken Gorbey has referred to “mature celebration” as a process of presenting both the good and the bad aspects of a historic place in a mix that enables a more informed understanding of New Zealand today.¹ Hurworth would benefit from such a process.

The third area of inquiry considered ways to increase the recognition of curtilage gardens and concluded that while the early filleting of historic heritage in this country which, undoubtedly, relegated a large proportion of invaluable odd bits of garden heritage to the scrap heap is a matter for regret it is not necessarily cause for despair. Instead, it calls for a rethinking of interpretation that focuses not on loss but on opportunity. Central to this fresh appraisal is Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s acknowledgment that heritage itself need not be mired in the past but, as an exhibit of historic artefacts, produces something new.²

It also requires a reconsideration of curtilage gardens that extends beyond the common perception of ornamental grounds to the more complex notion of designed landscapes that can represent ecologies of what Francis and Hester describe as, “interrelated and connected thoughts, spaces, activities and symbols”.³ As such, garden heritage, within the curtilage of historic places, offers significant scope for thoughtful interpretation, not just of the past, but of the present and the future as well. Continuing this argument, the research in this study broadened its focus to consider examples where the interpretive potential of curtilage gardens has been afforded serious consideration and resulted in innovative solutions. The success of the initiatives in the United Kingdom and the United States described in chapter four demonstrates how the production of new heritage can revitalise historic places by re-connecting people with places, and can increase the places’ prosperity in a variety of ways.

The term ‘landscape’ has woven through this study and links it to the growing body of literature that explores this concept afresh. The discussion in this thesis of the slippage of garden heritage between nature and culture, and the need to bridge this gap, is informed by this contemporary idea of landscape that moves beyond just landforms, fauna and flora to include, what Jacinta Ruru, Janet Stephenson and Mick Abbott describe as, “a richly woven

¹ Personal conversation with Ken Gorbey, 6 September 2013.

² Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture*, 150.

³ Francis and Hester, *The Meanings of Gardens*, 2.

human ecology of people, activities, ideas and cultures”.⁴ Landscape in this new guise gathers together all of these parts and has the capacity to generate qualities of “identity, localness, belonging and community”.⁵

The *designed* landscapes of heritage, given the opportunity, might achieve the same. First, however, they need to be unpacked from the current official definition with its whiff of their former 1980 designation—‘alternative attractions’. “Designed landscapes and historic gardens surrounding a building” are listed, along with “view shafts of a prominent historic building or site” and “green space around a historic battle site”, as “surroundings associated with any historic heritage” in the NZHPT’s *Suggested Historic Heritage Framework*, and are described as being “essential for retaining and interpreting the places’ heritage significance”.⁶ By this definition, the “essential” designed landscapes and historic gardens are not considered to be part of the ecologies of the places themselves but merely “associated” with them. This is much more than an issue of semantics. As Smith argues:

... the definitions of heritage that we adopt, and the language we use to frame conservation, preservation, interpretation and other management practices have consequences—they matter in terms of practice.⁷

A redefinition of ‘historic places’ as overarching ‘heritage landscapes’ that consider both buildings and curtilage would more truly “retain and interpret” heritage significance.

This study took its cue from an observation that recognition of garden heritage in New Zealand was in short supply. The comprehensive literature review, archival and documentary research and case study field work contribute to heritage studies an understanding of the causes and consequences of this heritage gap. Building on this information it makes a further contribution to heritage management practice through its promotion of a nose-to-tail approach to heritage. This proposal to redefine historic heritage as ‘heritage landscapes’, rather than building-focused ‘historic places’, closes the nature-culture divide and opens up

⁴ Jacinta Ruru, Janet Stephenson and Mick Abbott, “Landscape’s Generosity,” in *Beyond the Scene*, ed. Janet Stephenson et al. (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2010) 201.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Robert McClean and Karen Greig, *Sustainable Management of Historic Heritage: Discussion Paper No. 1 Historic Heritage Principles and Issues* (Wellington: NZHPT, 2007), 14.

⁷ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 299.

conversations around different meanings of land, the politics of land and identities in relation to land.

Based as they are on a wide-ranging review of international literature and theory, the results of this study should not necessarily be seen to be confined to the local and national circumstances of New Zealand. The findings contained in this research suggest that by adopting this broader understanding of heritage as a series of landscapes and infusing this notion into heritage practice, a “richly woven human ecology of people, activities, ideas and cultures” might recognise the relationships of all the parts of *any* heritage site—including buildings and gardens— to their greater environment and to themselves, with universal benefit.⁸

⁸ Ruru et al., “Landscape’s Generosity,” 201.

APPENDIX

Illustrations



Fig. 1. Hurworth Cottage c 1894. Image courtesy of NZHPT.



Fig. 2. Hurworth Cottage restoration 11 May 1975. Image courtesy of NZHPT.



Fig. 3. Hurworth Cottage 24 September 2013. Susette Goldsmith



Fig. 4. Garden festival visitors at Hurworth Cottage, 3 November 2013.
Susette Goldsmith



Fig. 5. Map of New Zealand showing the Taranaki region. Wikipedia

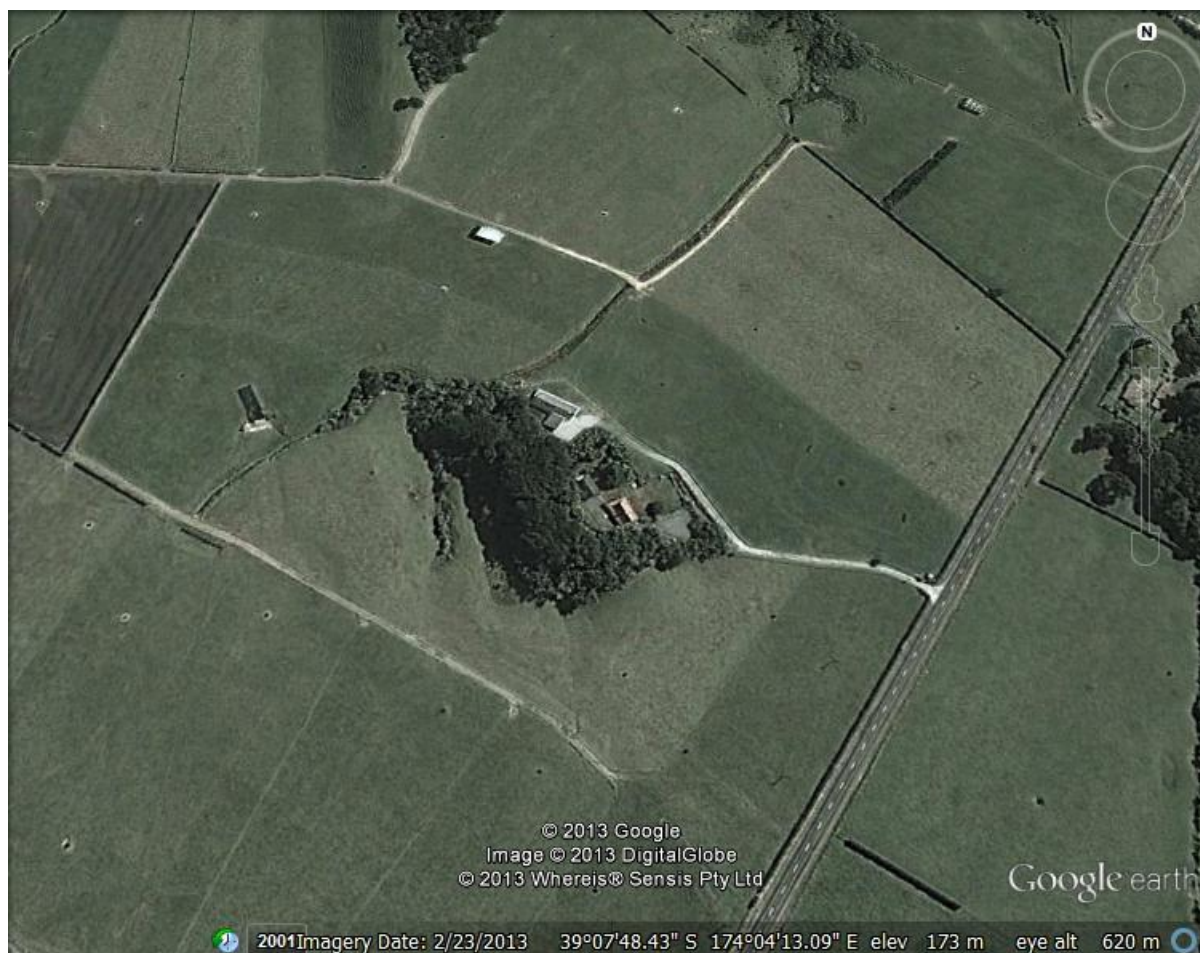


Fig. 6. Aerial view of Hurworth Cottage, 906 Carrington Road, and adjoining farm.
Google Images

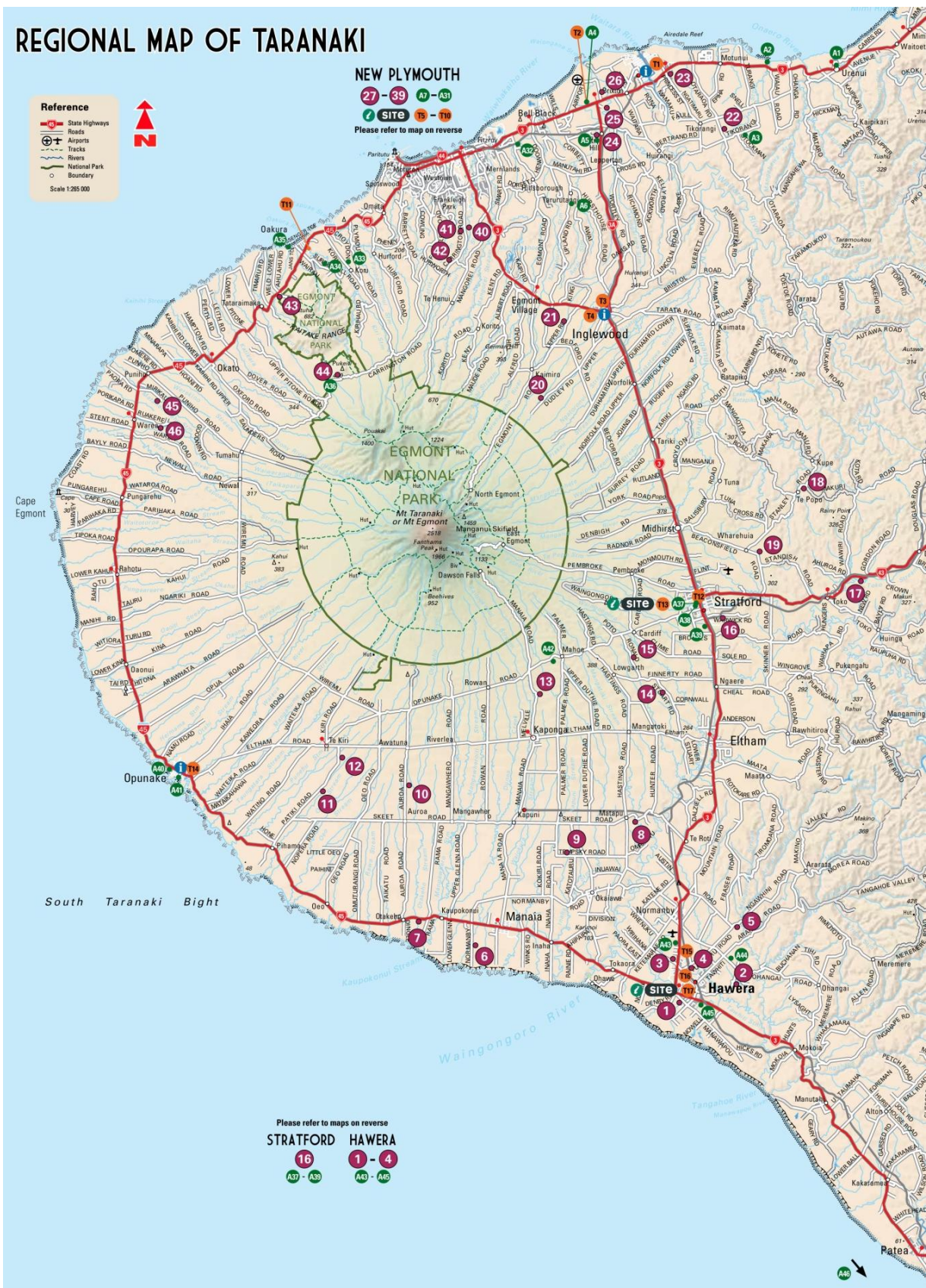


Fig. 7. Taranaki Garden Festival map (cropped) showing Hurworth Cottage, Garden 42.
 Courtesy of Taranaki Arts Festival Trust

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