

Rising Sulphur and Raising Sheep

Landscape, Identity and Amateur Film
in New Zealand c.1923-1939

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Abstract

Looking at early examples of amateur filmmaking from the period 1923-1939, which have been deposited in New Zealand's national film archive, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision, this thesis considers how amateur practice both relates to and deviates from other contemporary forms of visual culture such as professional cinema. Internationally, scholars and archivists have recently begun to examine ways that amateur films or home movies, which document personal, local and everyday experience, supplement other sources of visual history. There have, however, been few studies to date of this aspect of New Zealand's film history. While the idiosyncratic language of films intended for private use complicates their interpretation in an archive, it is argued that home movies display a 'referential coherence' in relation to other media, which offers a way of understanding amateur films as historical documents in the public domain. This relationship is explored looking at holiday films recorded at a popular sightseeing destination and films depicting working life on sheep farms. Portrayed as an exotic wonderland with spectacular geothermal activity and authentic Māori culture on display, Rotorua, as seen in promotional media, exemplified the widespread representation of New Zealand as a scenic playground. Amateur films offer a more ambivalent view of the tourist locality's geography and inhabitants. Made by outsiders familiar with popular representations, amateur tourist films resemble the imagery of professional media in many respects, however, they do so largely without articulating the simplistic narratives of publicity material. Picturesque images depicting rural New Zealand as an idyllic pastoral paradise have a long history across a wide range of media. While idealised scenic views of the countryside, which consistently ignored the social realities of rural existence, appear to presuppose the unfamiliar gaze of an (urban) outsider, rural residents recorded their own impressions of their surroundings on film. Less concerned with scenery than with the scene of daily life, amateur farming films document specific concrete experiences in a particular time and place, yet simultaneously appear to share, if not so much the iconography or aesthetics of professional media, at least some of the wider aspirations of cultural discourses in circulation. It may be concluded therefore that the study of amateur media production contributes to an understanding of how individuals and groups internalise and reproduce, or alternatively disregard, prevailing social ideologies.

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Note: for copyright reasons no images are reproduced in this thesis. Public viewing copies of all films cited are available at Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision, Wellington.

Introduction

Remembering the Face of New Zealand

I knew about your mountains and glaciers, your tree ferns
and your sheep country... I knew you had a lot of Maoris
who staged shows for rich tourists, and that you had mud
that bubbled, and hot water on tap from out of the earth.
I also knew that Taupo trout were the biggest in the
world; but nobody had shown me so that I would
remember it the face of a New Zealander.¹

— John Grierson

This remark from British documentary-maker John Grierson during his visit to the country in 1940 – much quoted in the history of New Zealand cinema – provides a point of departure for the investigation of a hitherto little studied aspect of our nation's moving image history: amateur filmmaking. Grierson was unimpressed with the “very pleasant scenic pictures” that the New Zealand Government had funded during the 1920s and 1930s, which he believed failed to capture the more human “heart” of the nation. It is the purpose of this thesis to examine whether amateur films offer an alternative, and perhaps more informative, view of New Zealand and its inhabitants than that recorded in the professionally made cinema of the era.

The recommendations of Grierson's report were never implemented in detail. Nonetheless, Government filmmaking was reorganised, resulting in the establishment of the National Film Unit in 1941,² with the directive that films should include what people actually do in New

1 John Grierson, 'The Face of a New Zealander', in *The Tin Shed: Origins of the National Film Unit*, (New Zealand Film Archive: Wellington, 1981), 22.

2 Clive Sowry, 'Non-fiction Films Between the Wars', in Diane Pivac et al. (ed), *New Zealand Film: An Illustrated History*, (Te Papa Press: Wellington, 2011), 101; Jonathan Dennis (ed), Introduction to *The Tin Shed*, 5.

Zealand rather than focusing almost exclusively on picturesque scenery. Prior to this date, the Government Publicity Office (and its subsequent incarnations)³ had sought to promote tourism and the consolidation of a national identity largely through the cinematic representation of the New Zealand landscape as a scenic playground. In this idyllic vision the pleasures of a modern civilised nation appear to be the legacy of pioneer labour accomplished in the previous century. Grierson's directives were, however, quite explicit when dispatching films overseas to "never send merely the scenic ones. Put in something about *the real things you do...* Above all your country must send us films about people".⁴ Evidently, Grierson's interest lay not in the purely scenic face of the New Zealand landscape, but in the nation's "human factor". Recording both human faces and the kinds of activities in which the nation's people participated would enable New Zealand to be seen and remembered as a 'real place' with 'its own spirit' or sense of identity, he believed, rather than merely imagined as an exotic tourist resort and rural paradise.⁵

During this same period amateur filmmakers, who were far more numerous than their professional counterparts, began to record their own personalised visions of the New Zealand landscape in images of everyday lived experiences. Although sometimes influenced by the pictorial aesthetics of professional cinema, unlike publicity films, amateur films documented extensively the experiences of day-to-day life in New Zealand. Had Grierson been invited to compile a report not on Government filmmaking but on the activities of the country's burgeoning ranks of amateur ciné enthusiasts, we might speculate how his view of the national film culture may have differed. From the early 1920s onwards, amateur filmmakers recorded their communities, interests, work and leisure activities, their perceptions and projections of themselves and of others. It could be asked therefore if amateur film production would have offered Grierson more fruitful territory than professional cinema in his quest for the face of a New Zealander so that he would remember it.

The comparison of amateur filmmaking with professional practice is not an arbitrary one. Although amateurs produced their films in very different circumstances to those of

3 Although Government filmmaking was subject to some degree of restructuring with the introduction of sound, no significant ideological shift occurred prior to the establishment of the National Film Unit in 1941. Sowry provides a concise history of the silent period of the Government Publicity Office and the subsequent shift to sound films under the auspices of the Publicity Department, Filmcraft and the Government Film Studios. See Dennis for a complete filmography of Government films, 23-31.

4 Grierson, 22 (emphasis mine).

5 Ibid., 22-3.

professional filmmakers, their activities did not take place within an historical vacuum. Private participation in media production was marked by wider cultural influences circulating within the social context in which filmmaking took place. Resemblances in style, content and ideology should not therefore be read as simply fortuitous. The tourist and rural locations seen in Government and amateur films alike represent the New Zealand landscape in (albeit sometimes divergent) ways that engage with discourses about the identity of the nation and its people. By chance, the introduction of 16mm safety reversal film stock for amateur use coincided with the commencement of regular film production by the Government Publicity Office in 1923. The timeframe of this study therefore spans from the early 1920s to approximately 1939, after which time Government filmmaking was restructured and amateur production was to some extent disrupted by social and economic changes following the outbreak of World War II. In drawing a comparison with professional filmmaking, it should be noted that the Government was not the only producer of commercial or theatrical film in New Zealand at the time. A number of independent filmmakers made both dramatic and non-fiction films during the interwar period, which in some respects shared the aesthetic and ideological terrain of Government filmmaking. As it is beyond the scope of the present study to survey professional filmmaking in any detail however, the significant body of non-fiction or actuality films made by the Government's publicity sections prior to 1940 will provide the main point of comparison with amateur filmmaking. Both Government and amateur filmmaking shared a common interest in representing an actual rather than a fictional world,⁶ and in depicting the New Zealand landscape in ways that (consciously or unconsciously) contributed to and reflected upon notions about the identity of its inhabitants.

Despite the emphasis on non-fictional filmmaking in the professional sphere, the actuality of life in New Zealand as seen on film was far from being unambiguously 'real'. The Publicity Office was primarily concerned with fostering a sense of national identity and increasing tourist numbers, both internal and international. In order to construct unequivocal official narratives for promotional purposes, Government films sought to downplay the more heterogeneous or controversial aspects of the national culture. Instead, the country was marketed through largely empty idyllic landscapes. As picturesque scenery, New Zealand was supposedly accessible to all, at least in imagination. The Government's film production may

⁶ It should be noted that amateur filmmakers did produce fictional dramas and other types of films, however, the present study focuses on the predominant non-fictional mode of amateur practice commonly referred to as 'home movies'. This distinction is discussed further in chapter one.

therefore be regarded as offering a unified national mythology for collective identity formation. How amateur filmmakers participated in or deviated from these established discourses of the nation forms a central question in this thesis. That is, in what ways do amateur films parallel the officially sanctioned image of New Zealand? How did amateur filmmakers replicate, adapt, or alternatively, disregard the style and content of professional cinema in order to create personalised depictions of themselves and those around them? The similarities and differences between amateur film and professional visual culture offer a significant insight into how social discourses of the latter may have shaped the interests and values of individuals and communities who engaged in private media production.

Looking at the relationship between amateur and professional practice, images of daily life recorded in a domestic context almost inevitably appear more connected with everyday reality than films featuring idealised landscapes. The veracity of amateur images as a more realistic representation of life in New Zealand in comparison with the mythologising paradigm of Government filmmaking must, however, be subjected to close examination. Although the absence of commercial imperatives left amateurs supposedly freer to record what was of personal interest, resulting in a more heterogeneous landscape than that seen in professional filmmaking, in practice the reality of the world depicted in amateur films is also questionable. Certainly amateur filmmaking was concerned with specific 'real' places and events, rather than generic or idealised scenery, but the nature of 'the real' in amateur film is ambiguous, producing a much more complex rendering of the nation than that seen in professional cinema. In the first instance, amateur filmmaking was expensive. A 16mm camera cost up to 33 pounds in 1930,⁷ at a time when annual income was less than 320 pounds for the majority of wage earners⁸ and unemployment was high. Amateur filmmakers were therefore usually affluent members of society with the economic resources and leisure time to pursue an expensive personal interest. Produced by a privileged minority, amateur film cannot be read as visual representations likely to correspond with the experiences of the majority of the New Zealand population. Secondly, filming was significantly circumscribed by practical and social restrictions with regard to subject material. Due to the difficulty of recording clear images indoors and social taboos surrounding the filming of anything too intimate or unpleasant,

7 Jane Paul, 'Visual Histories: Amateur Film in New Zealand c.1923-1970', (MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2013), 22.

8 Statistics New Zealand, 'Official Yearbooks', http://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1931/NZOYB_%201931.html#idsect1_1_293903 (accessed 3 April 2014).

amateur films are a highly selective view of the environment that they depict. Thirdly, with the entry of amateur films into public archival collections, changes in the context of viewing have inscribed personal cinematic records with further layers of ambiguity in terms of their meanings and value as historical representations.

The complexities associated with reading amateur films as historical documents in the context of an archive are explored in chapter one, which introduces some of the specific difficulties arising from using amateur film as a text. Beginning with a consideration of how amateur film has been defined and its (potential) place within film histories and national cinema traditions, the chapter reviews some of the prevalent modes of discourse that have been used to theorise amateur film. This survey leads into a closer examination of the specific language of amateur film that complicates their interpretation as documents. The relocation from domestic screening space to archival context alters the relationship between film and spectator as images associated with private memories are transformed into public history. The fragmented structure and repetitious, yet subtly varied subject matter of amateur films may initially appear incoherent when removed from a setting within the home, no longer able to be interpreted via the recollections of original participants. The second half of the chapter investigates different reading strategies that address this shift in status of the amateur film when it becomes an historical document. Looking at two collections from Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision (formerly the New Zealand Film Archive, NTSV hereafter), the intersection between amateur production and wider visual culture is explored. Drawing on different types of personal and cultural knowledge, it will be argued, enables the viewer to construct a 'meaningful' response to archival films that display a referential relationship with professional media. Government films and other visual culture of the era were inscribed with aesthetic conventions recognisable to audiences, both then and now. The ways in which amateur films share or subvert the visual codes of other media offer contemporary spectators a method of understanding private films as historical documents in the public domain.

The intersection of public and private is examined further in chapter two, which looks at tourist films of Rotorua, a popular sightseeing destination. As noted in the opening quotation, bubbling mud was a common feature seen in Government films, which, like other tourist publicity material, routinely portrayed Rotorua's landscape as an exotic wonderland with

geothermal activity and authentic Māori culture on display. This imagery was widely circulated so that amateur filmmakers arrived in the tourist location with particular expectations about what they would find. Their films record an outsider's gaze upon encounters that were likely to have been pre-informed by popular representations rather than by personal experience of cultural differences. Gazing upon the visual spectacle of difference is an integral aspect of the tourist encounter, which has the effect of positioning the familiar as normal and the unfamiliar as exotic. Viewed as an exotic attraction, people of other cultures have a tendency to merge with the landscape as picturesque scenery. Thus, Rotorua's Māori population were typically represented as an exotic spectacle comparable to the spectacular topography in wider visual culture. The extent to which the gaze of amateur films, which combined personal encounter with knowledge of other media, mirror professionally produced representations of Rotorua is explored through close readings of several recordings made by wealthy holiday-makers in the late 1920s and 1930s.

While not filmed as often as leisure activities or holiday excursions, work was another subject that interested many amateur filmmakers. Chapter three examines how amateurs recorded life on sheep farms during the interwar years. In Government films, as well as a wide range of other media, the rural landscape was typically portrayed as an idyllic pastoral paradise, productive seemingly without human effort or even the presence of a local community. Rural New Zealand was seldom depicted as a contemporary place of work involving manual labour or technological innovation. Nor did professional images of the countryside usually allude to the destruction of native habitat that was necessary to create pasturelands or to the displacement of local iwi. Consequently, the rural landscape could readily be imagined as a picturesque hinterland, at least by those who did not inhabit it. As will be seen, amateur filmmaking supports a rather different and more varied view of the agricultural economy. In comparison with other visual culture, a distinguishing feature of amateur films is their embodiment of 'real' rural spaces located within a specific time and place, made by and for members of actual rural communities, unlike the more timeless or dreamlike spaces of imagery intended to excite the imagination of the spectator-cum-tourist. Yet for all their attention to the daily rhythms, seasonal cycles and lived experiences of rural existence, amateur farming films, like scenics and tourist films, nevertheless remain highly selective in their representation of the nation and its inhabitants.

The comparative approach taken in this thesis is not intended to imply that amateur filmmakers were necessarily familiar with the particular examples of Government filmmaking or other visual culture cited. Instead, Government films, along with other professional media, provide evidence of a widely circulated style of imagery representing a collective national mythology in visual form. While anyone able to afford the price of a cinema ticket could enjoy a virtual trip through the New Zealand countryside, it is noteworthy that the primary audiences targeted by publicity material were potential tourists: a wealthy elite who could afford holidays, travel and the opportunity to view the landscape for themselves, possibly even to document the experience on film. This is underlined in Government films by the occasional onscreen appearance of tourists, usually the only Pākehā seen in publicity films. Due to their socio-economic position, amateur filmmakers were among those expected to identify with the officially promoted vision of the nation. Correlations between amateur and professional media may therefore suggest the latter's influence upon an audience it specifically sought to engage. The relational (rather than oppositional) dimension of amateur film to professional cinema and other visual media, which is explored in this thesis, is yet to be widely studied. There appears to be increasing recognition, however, in countries with historically small-scale professional production of a “need to save [their] cinematic heritage in whatever forms it can be found”,⁹ thereby opening the possibility of incorporating amateur film within the national cinema tradition. In this respect it is notable that with around 14,000 amateur titles, NTSV may hold the most substantial amateur collection in a national film repository anywhere in the world.¹⁰

It will be argued throughout this thesis that while amateur films incorporate cinematic conventions and wider cultural references, thereby displaying many similarities with other filmmaking practices and visual media such as photography, they also represent the specific interests, social environments and values of individuals and localised communities. With its capacity to preserve the ordinary or ephemeral, film is able to attune perception to focus on everyday occurrences that might otherwise be overlooked. The silence and idiosyncratic, 'incomplete' language of the home movie invites the contemporary viewer to speculate upon

9 Liz Czach, 'The Catherine Films: rethinking our national Cinema from an amateur perspective', *Take 1* 11:38 (July-August 2002), 18.

10 By comparison, for example, the British Film Institute online catalogue lists only 2,260 amateur titles; see Paul, 3. There are a considerable number of regional film archives internationally that have significant amateur collections however.

the possible meanings of amateur film as historical documents that complicate the simplistic narratives of tourist promotion and nation-building seen in Government filmmaking. Given the significant absences within our professionally produced national cinema both in terms of diversity and quantity of surviving prints, amateur films offer an alternative cinematic view of New Zealand in the early twentieth century, one that might well be regarded as equally valuable.

1

The Space of Ordinary Spectacle

Amateur film has often been defined negatively in relation to professional cinema and omitted from film histories. Relocating amateur practice from the margins of a traditional canon to a more central place within wider film culture is, however, far from straightforward. Theorists of amateur film have employed various analytical approaches to address the form and content of films that do not fit comfortably within the conventional categories of film analysis. Starting from this previous work on amateur film, this chapter investigates the specific language of home movies and how interpretation is affected by the relocation from a private to a public screening context. The silent, fragmented and repetitive qualities that can make archival viewing of amateur works both baffling and frustrating simultaneously have the potential to stimulate a wide range of critical and imaginative, even fanciful, responses from the spectator. This latent capacity of amateur film, which enables the viewer to 'personalise' someone else's home movies, is explored using an example from the NTSV collection, the films recorded by M. Eastwood in the late 1920s, and drawing upon the author's own experiences. Expanding upon this interpretative strategy, influences of the broader social and cultural context in which amateurs produced their films are then addressed in the reading of a second collection of films recorded around the same time by Ernest Adams. Given this referential mode of analysis, the visual representation of a collective national mythology, which was exemplified by the Government's interwar filmmaking efforts, is then considered as a cultural backdrop framing the amateur practice elaborated in the case studies of chapters two and three.

Definitions: what's an amateur film?

The term *amateur* is derived from the Latin word *amare*, meaning *to love*. An amateur is therefore, according to Maya Deren, "one who does something for the love of the thing rather than for economic reasons or necessity."¹¹ In her monograph, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film* (1995), Patricia Zimmermann traces amateurism back to the separation of

¹¹ Maya Deren, 'Professional Versus Amateur', *Film Culture* 39 (1965), 45.

public and private spheres during the nineteenth century. Rationalisation of the labour economy, which included the stratification of workers on the basis of technical skills and the authority of experts, led to an increasingly professionalised public sphere. Aided by the expansion of middle-class leisure time, amateurism emerged as the “cultural inversion” of professionalism, connoting practices with which one engages for personal interest rather than for financial remuneration, with the accompanying associations of autonomy, freedom and heterogeneity.¹² Deren enthusiastically suggested, for example, that “the amateur film-maker can devote himself to capturing the poetry and beauty of places and events... [and] explore the vast world of the beauty of movement.”¹³ In the context of American film history, the division between public and private was cemented with the establishment of the Hollywood studio system resulting in the specialisation of labour within the film industry, narrative-based aesthetic paradigms and commercialised control over production and distribution. In the early years of cinema a wide variety of film formats were manufactured and utilised. With the standardisation of 35mm for commercial use and the development of cheaper, lower resolution 16mm safety reversal film stock in 1923, followed by 8mm in the early 1930s, the smaller gauges marketed to the home user, the distinction between 'professional' and 'amateur' filmmaker was further demarcated.

Amateur film is therefore usually defined through a set of binary oppositional characteristics including the filmmaker (professional versus amateur), the mode of production (industrial or domestic), economic remuneration (paid or unpaid), format (35mm or small gauge), aesthetic (clear, well-lit and framed images versus grainy, poorly-lit, shaky images), subject (fictional narrative or daily life), screening venue (theatrical or home), division of labour (specialisation versus undesignated roles) and nature of occupation (work or leisure).¹⁴ This hierarchy of divisions, however, has never been entirely discrete: film gauge, subject, aesthetic or screening venue are not necessarily indicative of amateur practice. Professionals experimented with 16mm or made films in their leisure time, industrial footage was shot by employees not otherwise engaged in remunerative filmmaking, many types of amateur films were screened in a variety of situations outside the home and industrialised filmmaking might be carried out

12 Patricia Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film*, (Indiana University Press: Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1995), 1-12.

13 Deren, 45.

14 Eva Hielscher, 'Towards a Definition of Amateur Film: Amateur Film, Benjamin's Aura and the Archive', (MA thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2007), 1-2.

under conditions that would hardly be described as 'professional'.¹⁵ Zimmermann therefore simply defines amateur film as that which “includes any work that operates outside of exchange values and is not produced to function as an exchange commodity”.¹⁶ Within this definition *amateur film* encompasses a wide range of modes of production and genres, including home movies or family films, travelogues, fictional drama, instructional, educational, industrial, religious, ethnographic, scientific, local topical, experimental or avant-garde works, which were made by individuals, families, artists, professionals in other fields, ciné-clubs or other collectives, and screened in houses, club rooms, classrooms, parish or community halls, galleries, on lecture tours and at amateur film festivals or other non-theatrical venues.

While home movies have probably received more interest than other types of amateur film, they also present perhaps the greatest difficulty with regard to delimitation. Home movies are somewhat of a misnomer, particularly in the first decades of amateur filmmaking, when filming usually took place outside the home, with the back lawn, driveway or veranda becoming a proxy for the usually unfilmed interior: arrivals and departures, children in party hats or fancy dress, provide an index of social gatherings that took place largely within the walls of the household. The French term *film de famille* or 'family film' is no less problematic: many scenes or even entire collections by amateur filmmakers neither feature family members nor are centred around domestic situations. Common subjects include leisure excursions (often all-male hunting, tramping or fishing parties), local events (public parades, equestrian events, agricultural and pastoral shows), street scenes, occupational and travel activities, none of which take place in or around the home. Amateur films often document the intersection between private life and public space. Entries (within the broader category of moving image) in the NTSV catalogue designate these vernacular ciné-chronicles of daily life simply as *personal records*: films made for private usage, which in most instances probably screened within the home to audiences composed of friends and relatives. For the purposes of this study, which utilises examples from the NTSV collection, the terms *amateur film* or *home movie* will be used largely interchangeably (unless otherwise made explicit) to refer to this particular range of filmmaking practices.

15 See Cyril Morton for a description of the 'primitive' conditions at the Government Photography Office in the early 1920s; 'Our Ancestor the Tin Shed', in *The Tin Shed*, 11-13.

16 Zimmermann, Introduction to *Mining the Home Movie: Excavations in Histories and Memories*, (University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2008[a]), 9.

Amateur filmmaking and the traditional film canon

Traditional film histories, which emphasise industrialised production, originality, creative individuals, and narrative and art cinema, have a tendency to overlook material that does not fit within a linear model of technological and aesthetic innovation.¹⁷ Situated within a paradigm in which classical cinema represents the pinnacle of development, “other films can only be conceived through the relation of deviance from the norm.”¹⁸ Often regarded as an inferior mode of production, amateur films, according to Zimmermann, have been “defined by negation: noncommercial, nonprofessional, unnecessary”.¹⁹ The specific characteristics of amateur filmmaking practices have been neglected, overshadowed by unfavourable comparisons with mainstream narrative cinema in which the home movie is seen as an “inadequate imitation”.²⁰

Recently however, a range of cinematic practices formerly marginalised within film discourse, including industrial, religious and educational films as well as home movies and amateur drama, have been addressed in anthologies such as *Mining the Home Movie* (2008), *Movies on Home Ground* (2009) and *Useful Cinema* (2011). These studies have tended to identify amateur practice as a distinct object of historical importance, evidence of localised or minority experience, everyday life and history 'from below', which may supplement other sources of historical information.²¹ However, as Geoffrey Batchen has pointed out, isolating vernacular forms of photography as an autonomous object of study inadvertently has the effect of reinforcing the distinction between margin and centre of a traditional canon, rather than deconstructing the system of values and priorities that has relegated certain cultural practices, such as those that are considered domestic, non-professional, vernacular or amateur, to a status of inferiority. As a possible alternative category of analysis, he proposes a notion of the vernacular that includes all types of a medium specific to a particular regional culture: professional, artistic or amateur.²² Such a framework is useful as it provides a basis for a comparative focus between texts of different kinds originating within a specific geographical culture, whereby the concept of a *national cinema* might be expanded to include all types of

17 Czach, 'Careless Rapture: Artifacts and Archives of the Home Movie', PhD thesis, (University of Rochester, NY, 2008), 4-5.

18 Tom Gunning, 'Non-Continuity, Continuity, Discontinuity: A Theory of Genres in Early Films', in T. Elsaesser (ed), *Early Cinema: Space Frame Narrative*, (British Film Institute: London, 1990[b]), 86.

19 Zimmermann, 2008[a], 1.

20 Czach, 2008, 2.

21 See Zimmermann, 2008[a] and Heather Norris Nicholson, 'In Amateur hands: Framing Time and Space in Home Movies', *History Workshop Journal* 43 (1997), 207, for further discussion of amateur film's value as historical evidence.

22 Geoffrey Batchen, 'Vernacular Photographies', *History of Photography* 24:3 (autumn 2000), 286.

film made within one nation. In many countries, including New Zealand, where historically professional film production has been conducted on a relatively small scale, amateur film as the numerically prevalent mode of filmmaking is often the only cinematic record of many aspects of both local and national history.²³ It is perhaps surprising that scholars interested in justifying the inclusion of amateur filmmaking within film histories have tended to focus on its distinctive features as a form and practice, or the value of its content as historical evidence, rather than considering the more interrelated aspects of amateur and professional media production.

Prevalent modes of discourse on amateur film

In his 2008 article 'Theorizing Amateur Cinema: Limitations and Possibilities' Ryan Shand identifies three main trends within scholarship on amateur film, which he names the *domestic*, the *oppositional* and the *evidential*, that have been utilised as tools for understanding what amateur cinema is, how it functions as a mode of cultural production and to support its legitimisation as an area of academic interest. In the *domestic* or *home mode*, film acts as a form of communication used to strengthen existing social relationships within domestic production and exhibition spaces in order to create a stable symbolic world of culturally expected and approved behaviours. The main innovation of this approach, initiated by Richard Chalfen, is recognition of the specific practices acceptable within home mode communication, otherwise seen as 'poor technique' within formal aesthetics.²⁴ The *oppositional mode* considers how amateur film practice challenges or democratises cinema. This includes how the freedom for artistic innovation or social criticism enables amateur film to act as a potential site of resistance to mainstream media production. Analysis in this mode, as exemplified by Zimmermann's *Reel Families*, often focuses on prevailing discourses within literature such as magazines on amateur filmmaking, which invoke the blurring of boundaries between professional and amateur through the simplification of technology so that the ordinary user might achieve "professional results with amateur ease".²⁵ However, as most films were actually made in the home mode, not as radical interventions into a wider cultural sphere, Zimmermann concludes

²³ Czach, 2002, 18.

²⁴ Ryan Shand, 'Theorising Amateur Cinema: Limitations and Possibilities', *The Moving Image: The Journal of the Association of Moving Image Archivists* 8:2 (fall 2008), 38-40.

²⁵ See also Zimmermann, 'Professional Results with Amateur Ease: The Formation of Amateur Filmmaking Aesthetics 1923-1940', *Film History* 2 (1998); David Buckingham, Maria Pini and Rebecca Willett note a continuation of this emphasis in contemporary publications extolling the democratic and artistic potential of home video equipment, 'Take Back the Tube!: The discursive construction of amateur film and video making', *Journal of Media Practice* 8:2 (September 2007).

amateur film discourse increasingly located production “within a romanticized vision of the bourgeois nuclear family”, thereby stifling critical potential, although she does so largely without reference to actual film texts.²⁶ The *evidential* perspective favoured by archivists, social historians and human geographers, whose interest in amateur film relates primarily to its illustrative function, tends to look through the image for what it contains rather than at the image itself, which can result in material being used without respect for the specific qualities of the film or, in some instances, the context of production. Often based on criteria such as the typical or unique attributes of films as historical representations, the collecting priorities of archives, which may be linked to the 'use value' of footage by commercial production companies for television documentaries or compilation programmes, determine the parameters of the evidential spectrum.²⁷

Some of the limitations that Shand identifies within this range of approaches include a myopic focus on the domestic mode of production and its construction of family ideology at the expense of other community-oriented forms of amateur practice, the predominance of research conducted with reference to non-filmic sources rather than actual films made despite the recent expansion of archival collections, and the indiscriminate use of amateur film to illustrate historical narratives without respect to the specificities of individual texts. He suggests that the divide between empirical research and theoretical critique has impoverished the understanding of amateur film, noting that as a “hugely *under-theorized* domain” work on amateur film has tended to borrow analytical approaches from neighbouring disciplines rather than generating perspectives from within film and media studies.²⁸ Film theorists have displayed a general reluctance to apply traditional methodological approaches to films that often appear largely unconcerned with technical, narrative, artistic or formal considerations, and therefore resist being easily read via the codes of authorship, genre or narrative-based analyses.²⁹ Interestingly, given this criticism, Shand does not refer to some of the studies more obviously grounded within academic film practice, such as French film theorist Roger Odin's semio-pragmatic

26 Shand, 2008, 44; Czach (2008) does include of a limited range of examples of amateur film to illustrate a comparison between the literature she terms the “discourse of amelioration”, favouring Hollywood-style narrative and pictorial aesthetics as a remedy to the perceived failings of home movies, and the “careless rapture” amateur filmmakers characteristically displayed towards their subjects. She does not, however, include any consideration of the actual readers of such publications.

27 See also Ian Goode for a discussion of the archival use of amateur film, 'Locating the Family Film: the Critics, the Competition and the Archive', in *Movies on Home Ground*, 200-3.

28 Shand, 2008, 37-8 (emphasis original).

29 Shand cites Mark Neumann's psychoanalytic method exploring dimensions of amateur texts beyond what might be described as their historical or archival value as an exception, 2008, 55-6.

studies of family films³⁰ or the textual analyses of amateur travelogues by Alexandra Schneider, possibly because much of this material has not been translated into the English language. Schneider, in particular, has favoured an analytical approach examining amateur film as a cinematic practice “taking place within a specific media environment and producing specific cultural meanings”.³¹ Viewed “as artifacts produced using knowledge of cinematic and other conventionalised forms of representation”, home movies may be read in terms of how amateur filmmakers inserted themselves into systems of relations arising within specific social, historical and cultural contexts. This approach, which interprets amateur films as aesthetic products with a referential coherence, will be the most significant within the present study.³²

In the New Zealand context literature on amateur filmmaking has been very sparse indeed. The only extended work devoted to the subject is Jane Paul's unpublished thesis 'Visual Histories' (2013). Published articles and sidebars include those by Kathy Dudding (2007, 2011) and Virginia Callanan (2008, 2011). Aside from Dudding's analysis of the 'unintentional' experimental qualities of films made by T.K.S. Sidey and Ethel Garden during the 1930s,³³ the focus of writing on amateur production in New Zealand has been predominantly concerned with its historical existence as an alternative form of filmmaking practice to dominant cinema, rather than the analysis of particular film texts.

Amateur films as (counter) documents: private viewings and archival readings

As indicated in Shand's article, the textual analysis of amateur film presents a number of issues from the perspective of film theory. As texts, home movies usually appear 'disorganised', lacking internal coherence or a recognisable structure. Even the basic unit of amateur production is problematic: should the shot, sequence, reel or an entire collection attributed to one individual or family be recognised as *the film text*? In the absence of conventional cinematic structure, focusing on peripheral details that are not necessarily the intentional subject of images, such as the appearances of people and places or technological progress over time, may seem a more straightforward way of utilising amateur films as documents.³⁴ Looking through the film image as a transparent window providing evidence of a pre-filmic reality,

30 Roger Odin, 'Reflections on the Home Movie as Document: a Semio-pragmatic Approach', in *Mining the Home Movie*.

31 Alexandra Schneider, 'Home Movie-Making and Swiss Expatriate Identities in the 1920s and 1930s', *Film History* 15:2 (2003), 168-9.

32 Ibid., 175.

33 Kathy Dudding, 'Leaving Home: From the Lounge Room to the Cine Lounge', *Illusions* 39 (winter 2007), 4-8.

34 Odin, 263-4; Nico de Klerk, 'Home Away from Home: Private Films from the Dutch East Indies', in *Mining the Home Movie*, 150.

however, ignores the construction of the film text *in itself* and fails to acknowledge that filmmaking is a contingent and interactive process involving culturally informed ways of looking.³⁵ Unlike a written diary or chronicle, which involves conscious reflection upon an event that has already transpired, film may record “whatever unfolds before the camera's lens”.³⁶ As most amateur films were edited in-camera only, unintentional 'mistakes' are usually included.³⁷ Home movies also often display an intimate and reflexive relationship between filmmaker and subject. Perhaps most importantly however, filmmaking was influenced by the social and cultural context of production. Viewed as historical documents, amateur films do not in this respect offer objective evidence of the past.

Furthermore, reading an amateur film as a document involves using it for something that was not its intended purpose. Within the context of the family, Odin argues that a home movie functions as a *counter-document*; the collective interactions during filming or viewing, or the individual dialogues prompted by the images are more important than the images themselves.³⁸ When amateur films are deposited in an archive they become historical documents in the public domain, consequently private values connected with family and personal reminiscences are usually lost. The researcher then has the choice of reading a film with respect to what the filmmaker may have intended, or alternatively, *in spite* of the filmmaker's intentions. While it is not necessary to analyse a text specifically from one position or the other, an issue that arises in an archival context is the frequent absence of background information about amateur films, without which it may be difficult to reconstruct the historical conditions of production. As few amateurs created written documents about their work, details of the original contexts of filming and screening, or the conscious intentions of the filmmaker, remain largely a matter of speculation on the part of contemporary viewers.³⁹ Given the visual language of amateur film is typically idiosyncratic and linked to private reading practices concerned with individual and collective memory, how might an amateur film be read as a document in an archive?

35 Batchen, *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography*, (MIT Press: Cambridge, MA, 1997), esp. 194-9; 2000, 263; Norris Nicholson, 'Sites of Meaning: Gallipoli and other Mediterranean landscapes in amateur films (c.1928-1960)', in Martin Lefebvre (ed), *Landscape and Film*, (Routledge: London, New York, 2006), 169.

36 Péter Forgács, 'Wittgenstein Tractatus: Personal Reflections on Home Movies', in *Mining the Home Movie*, 50.

37 Schneider, 'Homemade Travelogues: *Autosonntag* – A Film Safari in the Swiss Alps', in Jeffrey Ruoff (ed), *Virtual Voyages: Cinema and Travel*, (Duke University Press: Durham and London, 2006), 160.

38 Odin, 261.

39 Ibid., 263; also Batchen, 2000, 268.

*“To be the same but (ever so slightly) different”*⁴⁰

Perhaps the most significant difficulty that arises when looking at someone else's home movie relates to its particularity. While it may bear much resemblance to other home movies, each film is also in some respects unique. Home movies rarely display an autonomous aesthetic. In order to appear more than a succession of images selected at random, the home movie requires some frame of reference.⁴¹ According to Odin, in their original setting, individual and family history provides the point of reference for understanding home movies. At domestic screenings spectators, who were often also participants in the making of the film, usually provided oral commentary to negotiate the lack of continuity between images that functioned as an index of past events which might be recalled.⁴² The fragmented nature of home-made cinema is therefore unproblematic. It may even be an asset to those watching, if the home movie, as Odin suggests, functions “not *in spite of* being badly made (*mal fait*) from a professional point of view, but rather *because* it is badly made”, the unfinished quality enabling individual viewers to complete images subjectively without contradicting their memory of the experiences referenced by the film.⁴³

In the absence of recollection however, that is, “when images cannot be made to represent, when they refuse to connect to memory, they float loose from history”.⁴⁴ These 'detached' images become what Deleuze refers to as *hallucinations*: images that unsettle both private memory and official history, which is revealed to be either false or incomplete.⁴⁵ Without a verbalised script to relay and anchor meanings, film images offer excessive and indeterminate visual information with a tendency towards disorder.⁴⁶ Nico de Klerk notes that once home movies leave their intended settings, even “original participants tend to become spectators”. This does not mean, however, that amateur films necessarily become unintelligible.⁴⁷ Home movies, although a private mode of media production, are nevertheless situated within wider

40 Batchen, 'Snapshots', *Photographies* 1:2 (2008), 133. Batchen is actually referring to domestic snapshot photography, but the description seems equally applicable to home movies.

41 Michael S. Roth, 'Ordinary Film: Péter Forgács's *The Maelstrom*', in *Mining the Home Movie*, 65-6.

42 Odin, 259-60; also Schneider, 2003, 172.

43 Odin in Schneider, 2006, 159.

44 Laura Marks, *The Skin of the Film: Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment, and the Senses*, (Duke University Press: Durham, NC and London, 2000), 51.

45 Ibid.; Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image*, Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta (trans), (Minnesota University Press: Minneapolis, 1989), 113.

46 Roland Barthes, 'The Rhetoric of the Image' (1977), reprinted in Liz Wells (ed), *The Photography Reader*, (Routledge: New York, 2003), 117-8; Paula Amad, *Counter-Archive: Film, the Everyday, and Albert Kahn's Archives de la Planète*, (Columbia University Press: New York, 2010), 290-5.

47 de Klerk, 148-9.

contexts of cultural practices and therefore refer to other discourses in circulation.⁴⁸ The personal film that chronicles family events involves two *regimes of knowledge*: private knowledge of individual and family history operates inside a larger realm of social and cultural understandings.⁴⁹ Reading an amateur film therefore involves relating elements of the text to the viewer's own knowledge of cultural codes, what has “already been read, seen, done, lived”. To this extent, “a text's unity lies not in its origin *but in its destination*.”⁵⁰

For the viewer attempting to articulate the meaning of an amateur text in the present time, the repetitive and stereotypical nature of home movies can be discouraging.⁵¹ The disregard of conventional montage, absence of establishing shots and the predominant use of medium length takes filmed in medium or wide shot that are commonly seen in amateur films result in a lack of differentiation between images. This absence of emphasis, combined with an often limited range of subject material, creates an undistinguished series of sequences displaying a “determined banality”.⁵² Faced with this paucity of visual intonation, the spectator may become weary.⁵³ One method of circumventing 'viewing fatigue' for those studying amateur works is the selection of a few interesting or exceptional examples. This approach can, however, result in the reading of an 'avant-garde sensibility' onto seemingly inventive vernacular images, whilst disregarding the vast majority of amateur works, which are not particularly innovative.⁵⁴ More typical amateur footage, once removed from its original social context and separated from any connection with personal memory, can be unappealing in both its mundane familiarity and individual distinctness.⁵⁵ Yet it is precisely this visual economy of “the same but different”⁵⁶ that gives amateur media the power of *representability*: one image coalesces with thousands of others whilst displaying subtle differences.⁵⁷ Furthermore, it is perhaps the space

48 Zimmermann, 2008[a], 4; Schneider, 2006, 155-8; Grace Elizabeth Hale and Beth Loffreda, 'Clock for Seeing: Technologies of Memory, Popular Aesthetics, and the Home Movies', *Radical History Review* 66 (winter 1997), 164.

49 I borrow the term “regimes of knowledge” from Laura Marks's definition of “intercultural cinema”, 1.

50 Barthes in Jonathan Culler, *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism*, (Routledge: London, 1983), 33 (emphasis mine).

51 Odin, 261; Batchen, 2008, considers this issue in relation to snapshot photography.

52 Batchen, 2008, 124.

53 Odin, 261.

54 Batchen, 2008, 131-2. Charles Tepperman's (2011) analysis of award-winning amateur films as well as Mark Neumann's (2002) and Zimmermann's (2008[b]) psychoanalytic studies, which appear to favour the unusual, suggest Batchen's assessment of a number of published snapshot collections as revealing a propensity to include the exceptional rather than the mundane, may be indicative of a trend in amateur film studies. Selection is of course also limited in the first instance by archival collection policies, which may prioritise criteria such as rarity, historical significance or evidential use value rather than representability; see Shand, 2008, 48-9. Interestingly, in the New Zealand context Dudding (2007) self-consciously reads an “avant-garde sensibility” in amateur films she describes as “unintentional experiments”.

55 Batchen, 2008, 132.

56 Ibid., 125.

57 Odin, 261.

where interest leading to insight may arise. If a film image displays sufficient resemblance, it may be placed in relation to other films or cultural artefacts. Contrasted against similar images, the distinctive features of a film are more noticeable, thereby transformed into a focal point of interest.

While comparison of amateur film with the formal traits of early cinema is not unproblematic,⁵⁸ it is worth noting certain aspects of similarity. Cinema in its first decade focused primarily upon display rather than narrative, with actualities and trick films the most common genres.⁵⁹ In this 'cinema of attractions' the presentation of spectacle took precedence; the curiosity of the (frequently acknowledged) spectator is aroused through the pleasure supplied by an event *of interest in itself*.⁶⁰ Amateur film, as with later classical cinema, combines spectacle (the spectacle of seeing oneself on film) with narrative (the recounting of personal and family history), thereby additionally soliciting the emotional engagement of the spectator. In this sense the home movie might be regarded as a hybrid cinema of both attractions *and* emotions. In the archival context, without the accompanying oral narrative, the spectacle of unknown persons in commonplace situations may appear singularly unspectacular, yet freed from the intimacy of private reading practices, voyeuristic speculation can potentially make "even the most formulaic image a thing of fascination".⁶¹ Shifting the frame of reference from the personal to the cultural or historical may render what initially appeared mundane and familiar considerably less so.⁶² In this way the amateur film may become an attraction delivering the pleasure of a spectacle *of interest in itself*.

If, as Deleuze claims, the less we recognise the better we see, de-framing the familiar can enable the viewer to see through social habits of perception, which always involve acts of selection with the retention of only those aspects that interest the perceiver.⁶³ Critical thought therefore occurs out of necessity when we encounter what we do not know. Film images can record

58 For example, the implication that the language of amateur film results from an unsophisticated mode of production rather than one that adequately fulfils the requirements of the participants. See Zimmermann, 'Morphing History into Histories: From Amateur Film to the Archive of the Future', in *Mining the Home Movie*, 2008[b], 277, 287.

59 While actualities are the most common form of domestic production, some amateur filmmakers, such as T.K.S. Sidey, also displayed an interest in photographic tricks. See Dudding, 2007.

60 Gunning, 'The Cinema of Attractions: Early Cinema, its Spectator, and the Avant-Garde', in *Early Cinema: Space Frame Narrative*, 1990[a], 57-9.

61 Batchen, 2008, 132.

62 Odin, 262.

63 Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image*, Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (trans), (Minnesota University Press: Minneapolis, 1986), 63-4.

information in excess of that usually registered by the human gaze.⁶⁴ The sequence shot or extended take, which is a common aesthetic choice in amateur film, offers an apprehension of a reality that is conspicuously fragmented and lacking in pre-established meaning.⁶⁵ Images that require the viewer to complete with reference to his or her own subjective experience have the potential to make the subject *visible*, unlike more conventional images in which the subject is naturalised (and therefore hidden) within the clichés of familiar discursive codes. The absence of conventional cinematic codes may therefore engage an active, participatory response from the spectator. The images of small gauge film, which are often scratchy, grainy or overexposed, particularly in surviving early amateur footage, have a thin, ethereal quality evoking mental images without concrete form, those of memories, fantasy, dreams or a general sense of the past.⁶⁶ This ghostly aura may make the visual qualities of an image an attraction in itself. Alternatively, when the familiar is rendered less familiar, the viewer may become more greatly attuned to the subtle variations of incidental details seen in the fragments of everyday life recorded on film. For Bazin this was the specific value of cinematic realism: that “it should ultimately be life itself that becomes spectacle”.⁶⁷ As destination for the film text, the spectator has a repertoire of potential modes of assimilation, including affective, critical or imaginative responses. We may be enchanted by the singular beauty of an image, have our curiosity aroused by the depiction of a way of life in a time and place far removed from our own, or feel a strong connection through the recollection of our own past experiences. Odin suggests that the most insightful responses may be those that integrate multiple frames of reference, addressing the contradictions inherent in the private film as public document.⁶⁸

An image of one's own private history: a personalised response to amateur film

Some modes of reference, which accommodate the familiarity and lack of intelligibility of amateur films, may favour *using* a film more than *interpreting* it as a text. Excessive creativity when watching someone else's film, for example, can result in a palimpsest of readings, largely erasing connection with the original context of the work.⁶⁹ This is especially true in relation to the use of personal frames of reference that may impede a critical relationship if the spectator

64 Paola Marrati, *Gilles Deleuze: Cinema and Philosophy*, Alisa Hartz (trans), (John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 2008), 3.

65 Ibid., 57.

66 Marks, 43-7, 50.

67 André Bazin, *What is Cinema 2?* Hugh Gray (trans), (University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971), 82.

68 Odin, 265-6.

69 Artists have of course recycled found footage in exactly this way, with complete disregard to the particulars of the historical moment of production, “banking on the aesthetic force of the images”, Odin, 266.

projects his or her own sensibilities and recollections onto an image, disregarding historical specificities. Such imaginative personal digressions on the part of the spectator whilst viewing do nonetheless respect the formal qualities of the home movie, utilising it as an *aide-memoire* rather than as an historical document. Personalising a film reanimates it in a way that maintains its connection with the ordinary; it remains what it is – a private record of mostly unremarkable occurrences – rather than being transformed into something less quotidian.

Records of domestic situations and familiar everyday events in particular are readily enlivened by the personal reactions of individual spectators, something of which I became aware whilst viewing a collection of 16mm films at NTSV comprising scenes of family activities and farm life in the Wairarapa recorded by M. Eastwood during the late 1920s.⁷⁰ Initially, what I noticed was the many typical home movie traits of the films. The photography is often shaky, the images grainy and sometimes under or overexposed, pans are frequent, excessively fast, jerky and often at variance with the direction of the subject's movement. These unintentional mishaps, testimony of human fallibility in the mechanical process, allude to the contingent nature of the recorded images. They also underline the evidential qualities of amateur film: mistakes are unplanned and unrehearsed. Péter Forgács calls them “the perfection of imperfection”.⁷¹ They suggest both authenticity and intimacy.

The frequent ambivalence shown toward the aesthetics of conventional cinematic *mise-en-scène* in the Eastwood films underscores the priority given to their intimate social function as private family records.⁷² Like many home movies, a reflexive relationship is often apparent between the filmmaker and his subjects. People wave at or walk toward the camera, often in formation. The latter action is performed with such ubiquitous repetition that it becomes an acknowledged cliché on the part of the family, who in a short sequence apparently filmed at a much later date – one of only two instances of colour footage in the collection – self-consciously arrange themselves in order to replicate this familiar gesture seemingly as a commemorative ritual of an earlier time. While I do not know these people personally, their

70 Dates of amateur films may be exact (e.g. determined via intertitles or recognisable public events such as the Centenary Exhibition of 1940, or supporting documentation), or approximate (estimated from the film stock production date; see Paul, 52). The NTSV catalogue does specify whether dates provided in personal record entries have been estimated or positively identified. The films of the Eastwood collection are dated from 1926 to 1929 according to catalogue entries, however, they do not contain material that can positively verify that these years are accurate.

71 Forgács, 51; Bazin also notes that amateur film's faults are “witness to its authenticity” in *What is Cinema?* Hugh Gray (trans), (University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), 162.

72 This is a common feature of home movies according to Schneider, 2006, 160.

wistful display of affection for the past seems to give material expression to a quality often associated with home movie footage more generally, that is, the propensity to provoke feelings of nostalgia.⁷³ My own family did not possess a film camera, consequently, there are no moving images of my childhood to which I can refer. I cannot formulate a nostalgic response to home movie images through direct personal associations. The Eastwood films were created for people other than me to look back upon, yet the intimacy of their content and aesthetics seems to make them, like many home movies, somehow available to an unrelated viewer almost as “an image of one's *own* private history”. While the home movie “fails to narrate”, it nevertheless “intimates all sorts of narratives”.⁷⁴ Drawing on childhood memories, it becomes readily apparent watching these films how easily I can connect such images to personal history in order to construct a fragmentary narrative of my own whilst viewing, one that corresponds with the images onscreen but not with their specific context of production.

My grandfather was a sheep farmer. The Eastwood films therefore perhaps depict experiences similar to those he may have had. A portion of my childhood was spent on my grandparents' farm, where my grandmother and mother had grown up and where I in turn played as a child. These recollections of rural summers also represent the happiest memories of my childhood, an idyllic retreat from a grey and depressing (as I remember) cityscape. The Eastwood images of children's lawn games, biking, swimming, rowing boats and riding ponies equate with my memories of childhood. Images of sheep yards and wool sheds are equally familiar; however, I register certain aspects of farming practices have altered in the sixty years between Eastwood's filmic record and the period of my memories: the method of sheep dipping, the design of agricultural equipment, the disappearance of draft horses. I recall only the detritus of these activities of a bygone era: a disused pool turned to sludge, an abandoned harrow rusting in a paddock, cracked leather harnesses discarded in the stable loft, the building itself transformed into a repository for antiquated tractors, bearing witness to the continual unfolding of technological innovation (like the films themselves). My intuitive response to these films therefore reflects an oscillation between historical curiosity and personal identifications, betraying a propensity toward nostalgic reflection. The image of a truculent long-suffering pony expected to carry a succession of assembled children on its back in particular conjures a momentary digression, recalling specific incidents when my own mischievous mount was

73 Roth, 70, and Patricia Erens, 'Home Movies in Commercial Narrative Film', *The Journal of Film and Video* 38:3/4 (summer-fall 1986[b]), 100, both discuss the propensity of home movie footage to provoke feelings of nostalgia.

74 Hale and Loffreda, 167 (emphasis original).

asked to provide an inexperienced passenger with a tour of the paddock.

Even whilst constraining critical awareness, this approximation of a private mode of reading an amateur film integrates the functionality of its characteristic imagery in a way that a more distanced analytical approach does not. My recollections enliven the films in a manner that mirrors their original social function: pleasures associated with individual (and collective) acts of remembering. These images make a particular kind of 'sense' to me; I apprehend them in a way that offers a level of closure with narratives from my own history. In doing this, I risk recovering my own past at the expense of learning something about the films themselves as historical documents. The pleasurable digressions or moments of *jouissance*⁷⁵ prompted by certain images have, however, noticeably been intercut with intermittent curiosity regarding wider historical details, extending outwards from a purely personal response. As a spectacle of the ordinary, the Eastwood films offer both attractions and emotional connections, so that the cinematic image is of interest in itself and of interest subjectively to me. Yet my fascination with these particular home movies is not irreducible to either my purely subjective (mis)appropriations or their more general historical content.

The Eastwood films are not dissimilar to a great many other amateur films in terms of the selection of subject material and photographic technique, yet there is something about these films that delineates them in my mind from a hundred or so others I have watched. What is it about the Eastwood films that *strikes* me in particular? What makes these films *ever so slightly* different? The films are noticeably eventful. The ability to capture the dramatic effectively is perhaps what distinguishes these films. Combined with the focus on the physical architecture of the farm-scape and surrounds (demonstrated by repeated panning shots of farm buildings), this creates a palpable sense of 'being there'. The generally well-framed images draw the viewer into the physicality of a scrum in a school boy rugby match or a bull fight during a muster intercepted by a rider, the exuberance of children running across the lawn, the frenetic activity of the wool shed, the danger of a horse bucking to dislodge its rider while being 'broken in' or a man narrowly dodging a kick whilst wrestling a calf to the ground. These sequences are mostly filmed with tight, well-controlled shots quite unlike the unpolished erratic pans frequently employed to record static landscapes, almost as if the camera is engaged in a

⁷⁵ Barthes, *Pleasures of the Text*, Richard Miller (trans), (Jonathan Cape: London, 1976), 14.

constant search for (or seeking to create) drama where none existed.⁷⁶

This attentiveness to *mise-en-scène* is not witnessed in the recording of quieter moments in these films. It is also unexpected in a collection that is otherwise dominated by the idiosyncratic photography commonly seen in amateur footage. The intermittent use of more conventional cinematic language has interesting implications therefore. The nature of amateur film as a text is altered by virtue of the spectator's reading strategy. In this case, the pleasure of private digressions is disrupted when the filming technique approaches the cinematic conventions of drama, provoking pleasure of a different kind. The recognition of familiar dramatic codes invites a more “*comfortable* practice” of viewing (*plaisir* in Barthes's terminology) than the creative response of *jouissance*.⁷⁷ Looking at the Eastwood images, what becomes apparent, however, is that neither response is fixed or determined solely by the film text itself. I have never played rugby, nor attempted to ride an untrained horse. These images might prompt personal reminiscences for people who have, but as they do not correlate directly with my own experiences, I refer to other forms of knowledge in order to enjoy them. Having grown up in New Zealand though, a school rugby match *is* a familiar sight. Furthermore, it occurs to me that even the trained horses I have ridden were often far from docile. My cultural understanding folds back onto further individual recollections in a circular pattern of shifting points of reference. What emerges then from a close reading of these films is their latent indeterminacy as texts. Their form and content invite multiple and often inseparably intertwined modes of interpretative response. The meaning of the images is thus unstable, subjective, fluid.

Unlike most cinema, home movies do not usually contain an inherent narrative or other form of structural coherence. In this sense images are seldom autonomous: narrative or meaning is something the viewer adds to them, drawing upon knowledge external to the images themselves. Individual recollections offer the viewer opportunities to assign meanings to amateur images subjectively or to assimilate sequences or films within a personal regime of knowledge. The disjointed language of home movies allows spectators at archival screenings to enter into their original domestic role on some proxy level. This kind of reading is attentive to

⁷⁶ According to Schneider, this is not unusual. In home movies “stationary subjects are often filmed with a moving camera and, moving objects with a stationary camera. Where there is no movement in the image, the camera creates it.” 2003, 170.

⁷⁷ Barthes, 1976, 14 (emphasis original).

the specific functionality of amateur form, but might seem to inhibit critical analysis of the film as a text. However, it has become clear that in practice the content and *mise-en-scène* of a collection such as the Eastwood films also encourage recourse to other regimes of knowledge during viewing, including social history and even the conventions of narrative cinema. The engagement of personal and cultural knowledge likewise occurred at the moment of filming. Even when filmmaking was undertaken individually and centred on personal connections or interests, amateur media production was nevertheless always situated within a wider historical context.

The borrowed visual vocabulary of the personal lens

The reading of an amateur film might be initiated with reference to sources other than personal identifications. Examining traces of the social and cultural context in which amateurs produced their films offers another method of understanding home movies as texts with a referential form of coherence. While the selection of subject material and attention (or lack of) to photographic technique indicate a certain amount about the specific interests and activities of a particular filmmaker, what amateurs recorded also reflected both socially acceptable and logistically filmable choices, such as family holidays and outdoor leisure activities. The congenial view of middle-class life that typically emanates from home movies is sometimes interpreted as an indication of the filtering of domestic reality through a lens.⁷⁸ We might wonder, for example, if the smiling Eastwood children arrange themselves before the camera for the pleasure of subsequently seeing themselves on film, or if they march in formation to appease the sense of order of the paterfamilias behind the camera. As filming was also often communal in nature, the camera might be passed between family members or friends, thereby capturing a collective rather than a specifically individual vision.⁷⁹ Social values infiltrated the gaze of amateur film in various ways.

The expression of social or cultural values was not limited to the choice of subject matter seen in amateur films. In the Eastwood films two distinct visual styles are identifiable in different moments: the idiosyncratic technique commonly associated with home movies and the more

⁷⁸ Many authors have discussed aspects of this issue, including Richard Chalfen (see Shand, 2008, 39-40); Michelle Citron, *Home Movies and Other Necessary Fictions*, (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis and London, 1998), 11-9; Erens, 'The Galler Home Movies: A Case Study', *The Journal of Film and Video* 38:3/4 (summer-fall 1986[a]), 22; Odin, 262. Schneider describes this as "a view of certain privileged moments and situations", 2003, 169.

⁷⁹ Schneider, 2006, 166-7, de Klerk, 155, and Odin, 257, all refer to this practice. See also footnote 265, chapter 3 of this thesis.

refined camerawork referencing professional cinema. The use of “a borrowed visual vocabulary” that replicated the style of familiar forms of imagery, both vernacular and professional, lent amateur filmmakers the ability to attach socially recognisable meanings to places and construct both self-identity and that of others.⁸⁰ This can be clearly seen in another collection of amateur films that were made by Ernest Adams, a successful businessman and enthusiastic amateur photographer, over a series of years. In October 1927 Adams, accompanied by his wife and their two small children, filmed his impressions of Queenstown and its surrounding area. A series of predominantly static views filmed with the camera placed on a tripod depict a picturesque landscape with lake, mountains and trees gently blowing in the breeze. Only occasionally animated by human presence, the images have the quality of 'extended snapshots', emphasising the harmonious composition and atmospheric perspective of pictorial art photography, landscape painting and picture postcards.

The following and two subsequent years, Adams took his camera with him on deer stalking excursions. Although these films also feature numerous landscape views, the camera is much more mobile, often panning across the mountain ranges, or placed on a moving vehicle, such as a boat or cart. Adams maintains his photographic interest in the effects of light, recording a gleam of sun on the horizon, low-lying mist on the hills, the glint of rippling water in a riverbed. He also includes small artistic touches, such as using an iris pull to reveal a view of the stalkers' campsite and cutting a point of view shot scanning the horizon together with an image of two men looking through binoculars, as well as adding intertitles identifying dates and locations. Unlike Adams's wife who poses gracefully upon a rock for a portrait shot with one of her children in a family film, the members of the shooting parties are active subjects engaging with both their surrounds and the camera. The men smile and load guns in front of the camera, pose with antler trophies and a large fish, build a campfire and boil their billy. Whilst there is a sense of jovial camaraderie amongst the hunters during moments of relaxation, on the move, filmed in wide shot against the rugged hillsides, they acquire the appearance of intrepid European explorers setting out well-equipped and provisioned to encounter the wild landscape that dwarfs them. Although Adams included low angle shots with the party dramatically ascending the steep terrain filmed in silhouette against the sky and the hunters confidently firing shots into the air – visual proclamation of physical ascendancy over the natural world – an extreme wide shot depicting a line of pack horses slipping and

80 Norris Nicholson, 1997, 208; Schneider, 2006, 157-9.

sliding across an unstable hillside encapsulates the impression of a more fragile relationship between human and nature.

Adams's films engage with a number of intersecting discourses regarding the aesthetics of landscape, its relationship with colonial expansionist ideologies, European adventurism and gender stereotyping. They are also an extremely beautiful and individual cinematic record, imbuing particular locations with meanings in relation to individual experience. The gaze of Adams's camera frames the natural topography so that land is transformed into landscape, a cultured view in which space may be either spectacle in itself or a setting for the narrative of human adventure. This distinction is determined by the gaze of either the filmmaker, the camera, a human presence within the frame (engaged in the act of looking for example), or the spectator, and may alternate during viewing, with the effect of codifying elements within the image.⁸¹ A flock of sheep, for example, may be viewed as one visual element within a panoramic rural landscape, or alternatively, as autonomous agents with the capacity for independent action. Perceptions of visual organisation were influenced by cultural understandings of land.

The Pākehā relationship with land is a common theme within New Zealand cinema. In both fictional and non-fictional films alike the frontier character of the colonial past has been invoked in order to establish both a distinctive sense of national identity and to legitimate Pākehā ownership of land through pioneer ancestry.⁸² The films of Ernest Adams therefore contribute a private expression to the continuum of a much wider cinematic narrative. While the deer stalkers display a robust determination to 'conquer' the wilderness, a more affirmative articulation of the success of European endeavour to bring civilisation to the landscape is perhaps the image of the young members of the Adams family playing contentedly, artfully framed by a tranquil scenic backdrop. While an intention to portray European settlement in a favourable light seems less evident in the latter scene, the film very elegantly captures a particular view of the landscape, which is culturally informed by representations seen in other visual media, both contemporary and historical. This referential quality of amateur film is extremely powerful. While depicting unique personal experiences in particular locations, amateur films simultaneously engage more universal understandings about the meaning of

81 Martin Lefebvre, Introduction and 'Between setting and landscape in the cinema', in *Landscape and Film*, 2008, xv, 27-9.

82 See Reid Perkins for a good overview of these tropes in New Zealand cinema, 'Imag(in)ing our past: colonial New Zealand on film from the birth of New Zealand to *The Piano*', pt.1, *Illusions* 25 (winter 1996), 4-10.

landscape and collective perceptions of identity.

The two examples of amateur filmmaking discussed here engage a number of tropes that recur in different guises in a variety of representations of New Zealand's landscape and the identity of its people within both professional and amateur media. The Eastwood films give priority to chronicling the lives of their human subjects, so that the landscape is principally a setting for the work and leisure activities of the family and farm workers rather than being of aesthetic interest in itself. The photographic technique is marked by inconsistency: sometimes fairly refined and focused, at other times erratic, even clumsy. The camera therefore appears employed first and foremost in its capacity to document family and farm history rather than to record the visual qualities of people and places. The films are busy, attuned to movement and action, so that the onscreen identities of the subjects emerge from their involvement in particular activities, either work or play. To some extent this is also true of Ernest Adams's films in which the onscreen personas of the stalkers are primarily identifiable with their occupation as huntsmen. Their presence within the landscape is, however, recognisably framed by the conventions of European art traditions. Whilst the camera authenticates the exploits of its human subjects in specific locales, the evidential value of the films is often overshadowed by the sheer beauty of their photography, so that at times the deer stalkers are almost lost in the vastness of otherwise empty landscapes. Conquest of the wilderness appears more visual than physical, accomplished by the camera's gaze rather than by the hunters alone. Adams's drama is one of sublime grandeur. Safely distanced from material discomforts the stalkers may have endured during the expeditions, the spectator can enjoy their adventures vicariously as a cinematic spectacle with easily decipherable codes concerned as much with surface details as narrative motion.⁸³

Recorded almost concurrently, together the collections illustrate two different dimensions of the Pākehā relationship with land: physical colonisation through occupation, cultivation, work or leisure activity, and aesthetic colonisation through the use of European representational conventions. Both collections might also be viewed simply in terms of their historical information about recreational pastimes, the use of technology, or the appearances of people and places in the late 1920s. The Eastwood films, which seem firmly based in the modern

⁸³ According to Edmund Burke, viewing from a "safe distance" enables sensations, which might otherwise be unpleasant, to become thrilling or sublime. See Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, *Nineteenth-Century European Art*, (Prentice-Hall and Abrams Publishers: London, 2003), 71-3.

vernacular use of photography as a private record-keeping medium, also lend themselves very readily to being read via personal frames of reference. The Adams collection might likewise stimulate personal identifications from individual viewers, especially those who are experienced deer stalkers, trampers or otherwise familiar with the locations. However, the cinematic landscapes, framed as much by culture as by nature, supply spectators with ample other means of interpretation. It is this referential coherence that gives the films their appeal, even to those unable to assimilate them on a more personal level. Looking backwards to older artistic traditions of the romantic and the sublime associated with European landscape painting during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the films engage a particular historical-cultural regime of knowledge, both at the moment of filming and subsequently during viewing. Furthermore, the dramatic emptiness of Adams's landscapes were echoed in other visual culture of the time, albeit frequently in a tamer picturesque form, such as the idyllic scenery that was used to portray New Zealand in professionally made scenic films and other tourist media.

The national panorama of scenic gems

The films made by the New Zealand Government during the interwar period exemplify in many ways the sources of visual reference available to amateurs that might inform their view of the nation. The Government Publicity Office began regular film production in 1923 with an agenda of promoting tourism and settlement, and consolidating a distinctive national identity. The Government's filmmaking scheme was prolific: by 1940, the year of Grierson's visit, 350 films had been made, most of which were scenics or travelogues.⁸⁴ Curiously, given the Government's objectives, it was deemed largely unnecessary to depict the nation's population in its publicity films. A directive to exclude people from images in order to prevent films being "dated by changes of fashion"⁸⁵ left the viewer to imagine the existence of a national community beyond the presence of an occasional tourist onscreen. Instead, spectacular landscapes became a metonym for the nation in scenic films that presented a series of largely depopulated picturesque views of mountains, lakes, fjords and 'verdant valleys'. This empty scenery afforded spectators a pleasurable journey through the New Zealand countryside, which was made virtually and physically accessible through the assistance of the technologies of industrial progress. The feature-length travelogue *Romantic New Zealand* (1934), for example,

84 Of which only about 80 are known to have extant prints; Dennis, 1981, 5.

85 Dennis, 'Restoring History', *Film History* 6:1 (spring 1994), 118.

is populated predominantly not by actual people but modes of transport – stagecoaches, boats, trains, cars, aeroplanes – which appear in almost every shot.⁸⁶ The surviving fragment of the earlier feature *Glorious New Zealand* also presents a “never ending panorama of scenic gems” to tourists travelling in comfort by boat along the country's waterways, demonstrating that the cinematic iconography was well established even by 1925. The overarching themes of natural resources and modernity seen in Government films portray New Zealand as an ideal tourist destination or place of settlement, simultaneously timeless scenic wonderland and contemporary civilised nation.

Tom Gunning has suggested that film linked with travel and fantasy has the ability to “render every distant thing somehow available to us”.⁸⁷ In this respect the national mythology promoted in publicity films was probably most readily available to those physically distant from the exotic paradise it purported to represent. Unoccupied idyllic scenery favoured the unfamiliar gaze of international (or even national) audiences seeking an exotic unhindered by the complexities or contradictions of localised cultures.⁸⁸ Local amateur filmmakers like Ernest Adams did, however, integrate aspects of this mythologising paradigm into films grounded in personal experience. The vision of a leisured white community descended from “those hardy pioneers” who laid the foundations of the country's prosperity⁸⁹ is given concrete form in the images of family holidays and hunting parties in Adams's films. By contrast, the irregular appearance in Government travelogues of affluent European holiday-makers, who nevertheless appear constitutive of the nation, provide a much more abstract representation of Pākehā New Zealand. Even further removed from the material everyday world, 'Maoriland', a timeless space in which Māori led an unchanging existence, forms a distinct segregated sphere in many of these films. As 'exotic' local people Māori feature as attractions more readily identifiable with the scenic environment than with the national community, whose curiosity might be piqued by this living museum display of 'primitive' human specimens. Such imagery extended well beyond the realm of Government filmmaking, reiterated in commercial photography, postcards, magazines, advertising material and other professional cinema. The title of a 1933 independently produced scenic, *White Man's Paradise*, announced without subtlety who was

86 For a more extended discussion of these aspects of Government scenics see Alfio Leotta, 'Romantic New Zealand: 1920s and 1930s New Zealand Government Publicity Office Travelogues', in James E. Bennett et al. (ed), *Making Film and Television Histories: Australia and New Zealand*, (I.B. Tauris: London and New York, 2011[b]), 97-8.

87 Gunning, 'The Whole World within Reach: Travel Images without Borders', in *Virtual Voyages*, 28; see also Guiliana Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture, and Film*, (Verso: New York, 2002), 76-83.

88 Shand, 'Amateur Cinema Re-located: Localism in Fact and Fiction', in *Movies on Home Ground*, 165.

89 Intertitle, *Glorious New Zealand* (1925).

presumed to participate in this imagining of the nation. While arguably a more heavy-handed appraisal than many Government scenics of the time, the film similarly emphasised the country's twin virtues of scenery and modernity, featuring sheep grazing on lush pasturelands and a Maoriland filled with “picturesque people” in a linear narrative that identifies the history of Pākehā settlement with industrial and social development. This simple national story, which overlooked differences and contradictions in order to manufacture a coherent unified image of the country, satisfied the requirements of the Publicity Office and other promoters of New Zealand tourism.

The following chapter examines the extent to which this national narrative and its iconography infiltrated the amateur gaze in recordings of Rotorua, a popular tourist and filming location. Commonly identified with Maoriland in professional scenic films, Rotorua's spectacular geothermal terrain and local iwi furnished visitors with abundant opportunities to film sights that were at once exotic and familiar through widely circulated media representations. Negotiating national mythology via personal encounter, amateur filmmakers added their own private impressions to an extensive cinematic record of the location that the narrator of *White Man's Paradise* declares to be a “picturesque symbol of all New Zealand”.

2

The Space of Exotic Spectacle

A central feature of New Zealand's scenic wonderland image, Rotorua was a popular holiday destination for international and domestic tourists alike. Many of those who travelled to the central North Island town captured their experiences on film, so that there is a substantial cinematic record of how amateur filmmakers viewed Rotorua's geological and anthropological sights. Visitors arrived already 'well-informed' about what they could expect to find in the country's thermal region. Scenic films, posters, guidebooks and other advertising material provided potential travellers with abundant illustrations of the geothermal activity and Māori culture on display in Rotorua's unique landscape. The repetitious nature of such tourist media reinforced the exotic playground status of the location, emphasising its combined assets of natural and cultural scenery. Tea rooms, gardens, public baths and other recreational facilities added a touch of modern sophistication to Rotorua's scenic appeal. Promotional imagery therefore encapsulated within a single location the wider view of New Zealand as a picturesque nation that was simultaneously exotic and civilised. This chapter examines the ways in which amateur filmmakers reframed the national vision of the tourist destination through actual encounter with Rotorua's people and topography.

During the interwar period the majority of Māori and Pākehā, despite a relatively high incidence of intermarriage for a colonial population, continued to live in largely separate communities.⁹⁰ However, Rotorua and the nearby Māori village at Whakarewarewa created a 'contact zone' between the two cultures.⁹¹ Māori subjects appear more often in amateur recordings of Rotorua than in films made in any other context, demonstrating the significance of the area as a zone of cultural contact.⁹² The images of these films illustrate how amateur

90 Michael King, *Māori: A Photographic and Social History*, (Heinemann Publishers: Auckland, 1983), 3, 21.

91 See Mary Louise Pratt for a discussion of the term 'contact zone', *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (Routledge: London and New York, 1992), 6-7.

92 While Māori do appear in other contexts in amateur films of this period, due to the often grainy image quality and prevailing fashion for brimmed hats, it is in many instances difficult to determine with any degree of certainty the ethnicity of those filmed.

filmmakers as tourists gazed upon a culture different from their own. Images have become an integral element of the tourist experience: they supply both a stimulant for and evidence of travel.⁹³ Furthermore, the act of filming creates a way of mediating an encounter with the unfamiliar. Consequently, the production of images may contribute to the production of the tourist experience itself. Knowledge of cinematic and other visual conventions therefore influenced not only how amateur filmmakers viewed tourist sights, but also the ways in which they interacted with the subjects they chose to record.⁹⁴

An important aspect of tourist culture is the pleasure of visual spectacle. Difference plays a significant role in the construction of spectacle, alterity enabling tourists to gaze upon sights that are perceived to be exotic or other-worldly on account of originating in an environment socially and materially distinct from their own. Gazed at through a camera's viewfinder, people, places or artefacts are framed as objects of visual interest, which form a record of the tourist's presence in a particular location. Tourist filmmakers recorded differences between themselves and cultural Others using a conjunction of visual codes borrowed from professional media and the specific aesthetics of amateur filmmaking. Common amateur *mise-en-scène* such as the tableau or shared shot featuring tourist and tourist attraction, for example, enabled filmmakers to insert themselves or members of their own travel party into an established tourist iconography of European norms and exotic difference. This, and other ways in which the cinematic gaze constructed difference, spectacle and exoticism in a tourist space will be explored within the work of four amateur filmmakers – three men and one woman – in this chapter. While the majority of amateur filmmakers were Pākehā males,⁹⁵ the inclusion of one woman in the selection of filmmakers provides an opportunity to question Zimmermann's assertion that “when gender enters into travel films” the relationship between camera, filmed subject and location “shifts into a different terrain”.⁹⁶ Like their male counterparts, female filmmakers were by necessity economically privileged, particularly in comparison with their human subjects in tourist locations such as Rotorua. Zimmermann suggests, however, that in

93 Gunning, 2006, 27-29.

94 Schneider, 2006, 158, 169; 2003, 169-171; see also Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, (Farrar, Straus and Giroux: New York, 1977), and Zimmermann, 1996, 93.

95 The NTSV catalogue lists 62 amateur films containing footage of Rotorua for the period 1923-1939; of these half are attributed to men, three to women, two to a man and a woman, while the rest are not specified (i.e. entry does not include the filmmaker's name or identified by initials only). Films of Whakarewarewa reveal a higher ratio of five female to 25 male filmmakers (out of a total of 46). Noticeably most articles referenced in this thesis that discuss specific examples of home movies, including those by Schneider, Norris Nicholson, Odin, Erens, Ruoff and Forgács, refer to films made by men only, Zimmermann's articles being an exception.

96 Zimmermann, 'Geographies of Desire: Cartographies of Gender, Race Nation and Empire in Amateur Film', *Film History* 8:1 (1996), 93.

women's films "[c]lass domesticates difference"⁹⁷ (presumably as opposed to rendering it exotic) by focusing on the details of everyday life. Whether the cinematic gaze of the female tourist can be distinguished in any way from that of the male is examined later in the chapter, as well as the effect such a differentiation might produce in terms of the 'sincerity' displayed between filmmaker and filmed subject. In particular, the guided tour, often seen in amateur films, created a space in which a degree of reciprocal exchange might occur between tourist and local resident. A disparate form of (non)interaction between filmmaker and subject, the staged event, which presupposed the desire of tourists to gaze upon the spectacle of Others, provided very different filming opportunities. Performance, when viewed as a panoramic display, has a tendency to focus attention on surface attributes: colours, costumes, bodies, movement. The visual appeal of such an attraction emphasises the aesthetic elements rather than the cultural context or meaning of a performance. One of the most frequently filmed aspects of Māori culture, kapa haka will be examined as an event re-contextualised as a tourist spectacle.

Amateur tourist films both replicated in certain respects and departed from the representations of Māori and Pākehā identity seen in Government films and other publicity material. Filming at Rotorua, Pākehā filmmakers delineated their own identities from those of their Māori subjects in various ways. The amateur's use of a referential visual vocabulary could be reinforced by the spontaneous 'realism' of personal filmmaking, in some instances complemented by the proficiency of the filmmaker, authenticating both the tourist subject and the tourist encounter. Like professional media, amateur films have a propensity to position Māori culture as static, scenic or historical, so that Pākehā tourists appear modern and mobile by comparison. As tourist-filmmakers, amateurs were able to combine the physical mobility of travel with the virtual mobility of cinema. In this respect the amateur filmmaker's gaze might be regarded as specifically modern: a roaming, technologically mediated view of the world interweaving the pleasures of motion and visual perception. The term *transito* which, according to Giuliana Bruno, expresses "a neglected source of cinematic pleasure" that liberates individual subjectivity seems appropriate in the context of amateur travel films. Filmmaking offered individuals the pleasure of inscribing records of travel in unfamiliar places with a personal perspective. Bruno suggests *transito* connotes desire that includes "both physical and mental movement" experienced through "passages, traversing, transitions, transitory states, and

⁹⁷ Ibid.

erotic circulation”.⁹⁸ The nomadic gaze of the traveller or cinema spectator takes pleasure in the physical or virtual journey through space, which in the case of the amateur tourist film conflate at the moment of filming. This idealistic potential of personalised filmmaking did, however, have a considerably less utopian side. In the context of tourism, the freedom of amateur filmmakers to express their own sense of mobility and identity was not usually shared by their human subjects of other cultures. In this respect, the pleasures of the cinematic gaze would appear to belong exclusively to filmmakers with the power to enjoy virtual possession of cultural Others through images. The relationship between filmmaker and filmed subject might nevertheless be understood in more complex terms than a simple division of active and passive roles. Amateur film's ability to realise subjective experience, its *transito*, will be revisited at the end of the chapter.

The mobile gaze and the pleasure of viewing Others

Both film and tourism developed alongside colonial expansion, with technology making the so-called primitive world less frightening and more available to Western spectators. Modern transport and the law-enforcement agencies of colonial governments assured travellers safe and comfortable passage, while “recording devices captured, duplicated, and miniaturized chunks of distant locales and their inhabitants for the viewing pleasure of Western citizens”.⁹⁹ Photography as “the dominant mode of touristic perception”¹⁰⁰ played a significant role in the commodification of the less industrialised world as visual pleasure for the gratification of the Western gaze, both virtual and physical.¹⁰¹ Images, with the ability to decontextualise, fragment or scrutinise subjects, created and conveyed knowledge of other people and places;¹⁰² “[t]he possession of technology thus helped distinguish the civilized from the primitive, the leisured tourist from the commodified Other, the spectator from the object of the sight-seeing gaze.”¹⁰³ The stimulating capacity of cinema to capture movement and space defined the mobility and modernity of Western travellers against the alterity of Others. The technologically mediated encounter had the power to fix the identities of Others within the confines of primitivist imagery, transforming people into an exotic spectacle that was

98 Bruno in Gunning, 2006, 39; Bruno derives the term *transito* from the philosophy of Mario Perniola. According to Bruno, *transito* is not translatable to any single word equivalent in the English language; see Bruno, 60, 76.

99 Ellen Strain, 'Exotic Bodies, Distant Landscapes: Touristic Viewing and Popularized Anthropology in the Nineteenth Century', *Wide Angle* 18:2 (1996), 75.

100 Edward Bruner in Joyce D. Hammond, 'Photography, Tourism and the Kodak Hula Show', *Visual Anthropology* 14 (2001), 24-5.

101 Strain, 76.

102 Hammond, 4-5.

103 Strain, 96.

historically static, passive and supposedly 'authentic'.

New Zealand, a colonial settler society with a largely displaced indigenous population by the early twentieth century, created its own tourist spaces that allowed Western tourists to fulfil the desire to gaze upon the (perceived) exoticism of Others. As the indigenous people of the land, Māori were of course not exotic in the sense of originating from a distant or less developed part of the globe for the many local tourists who were New Zealand residents. Pākehā representations of Māori readily overcame proximity, however, by emphasising cultural difference that contrasted Māori 'primitiveness' with Pākehā modernity. If the indigenous population could not be portrayed as foreign, they could at least be depicted as other-worldly, inhabiting a static primordial past located in a romanticised, mythical space identifiable as 'Maoriland', which by the interwar period appeared to denote "a long lost world of legend"¹⁰⁴ rather than acting as a synonym for contemporary New Zealand. What *was* foreign, however, were many aspects of these representations to the realities of actual Māori life, which was often depicted in ways that were not only fallacious but even culturally offensive.¹⁰⁵ Displayed as passive objects of curiosity, human beings were reduced to colourful scenery devoid of historical development, so that Māori culture became almost synonymous with the natural environment, 'authentic' like the landscape itself. As a contact zone between Māori and Pākehā, Rotorua offered an ideal setting for professional and amateur alike to consume and (re)produce cultural difference through image production via the tourist encounter. Due to the plenitude of surviving visual representations, Rotorua therefore provides an excellent case study for considering how Māori and Pākehā identity was constructed within imagery underscored by touristic and colonialist discourses in early twentieth century New Zealand.

Nature's authentic wonderland

Rotorua, the only state-owned and managed town in New Zealand,¹⁰⁶ offered the tourist a

¹⁰⁴ According to Martin Blythe, 'Maoriland' was used from the late 19th century mainly as "an exotic and utopian synonym for New Zealand", appearing in the titles of numerous literary publications and periodicals, and even the cable address of the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts. Subsequently, Maoriland came to refer more exclusively to a fictionalised world of 'noble savages' and (semi)historical Māori figures; see *Naming the Other: Images of the Maori in New Zealand Film and Television*, (Scarecrow Press: Metuchen, NJ, 1994), 16-7.

¹⁰⁵ Mark Derby, 'Selling Maoriland: Māori at the Centre of Tourism Publicity', in Peter Alsop et al. (ed), *Selling the Dream: The Art of Early New Zealand Tourism*, (Craig Potton Publishing: Nelson, 2012), 50.

¹⁰⁶ The Rotorua Township Act 1900 gave Government officials the majority of seats on the Town Council; the subsequent Rotorua Town Act 1907 shifted administrative control to the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, which also became the overseer of the Māori Councils responsible for improving the villages. PM Joseph Ward claimed the "Government virtually owned the place entirely." See Margaret Werry, *The Tourist State: Performing Leisure, Liberalism and Race in New Zealand*, (Quadrant: Minneapolis, 2011), 33, 48-9. Tourism remains an important part of Rotorua's economy. Tourist providers now run private enterprises, such as Māori owned and operated Tāmaki Māori Village; see

substantial range of geothermal scenic attractions, mineral water spa resorts, landscaped gardens, Māori villages and modern accommodation. With its geysers, bubbling mud, boiling hot pools and sulphurous steam rising from cracks in the earth's surface, Rotorua's volatile topography could be depicted as both threatening and fascinating. This characterisation of the landscape was often mirrored in representations of the local Māori population.¹⁰⁷ The conflation of Māori people with the natural environment was repeated with alacrity within the images of an expansive array of tourist promotional media, including postcards, travel guides, railway posters and scenic films.¹⁰⁸

In Government publicity films such as *Whakarewarewa* (1927) and *Holiday Haunts* (1935), in which Pākehā tourists observe various aspects of Māori life, including weaving, steam cooking and laundering in hot pools before returning to the hotel or golf course of a modern day New Zealand, Māori appear solely within the confines of a preserved 'traditional' or primitive other-world. Although often described as ahistorical or eternal, Maoriland, most frequently identified with Rotorua's thermal region, in fact appears to be located specifically in a supposedly pre-European contact phase of (under)development. The interpretation of this space as *timeless* refers to both its idealisation and the belief that Europeans conferred on Māori a measure of time which they were previously lacking, with European arrival the signifying event in an otherwise undistinguished continuum of primordial existence. Contemporary (Pākehā) New Zealand therefore acts as the central term of this discourse. As former pioneers transfigured into pleasure-seeking tourists, Pākehā reap the benefits of progress in a racial and cultural hierarchy in which the identity of Others is constructed in relation to Western modernity as the pinnacle of human evolution.¹⁰⁹ Ellen Strain notes that Darwinised anthropology created a tendency to define space *as* time, with travel to peripheral localities seen as equivalent to travelling in time,¹¹⁰ thereby “help[ing] carve out a place for touristic pleasure by rationalizing the tourist's superiority over the toured.”¹¹¹ The spatial and (virtual)

Tourism New Zealand, 'Media Resources', http://www.newzealand.com/travel/media/features/maori-culture/maori-culture_tourism.cfm (accessed 3 July 2014).

107 Werry, 1, 17.

108 For specific examples see Derby, 48-55; Alsop et al., esp.202-39.

109 Strain, 79-80; for discussion of Pākehā representation as pioneers/tourists in Government films, see Minette Hillyer, 'We calmly and adventurously go travelling: New Zealand film, 1925-35', (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1997), 18; Leotta, *Touring the Screen: Tourism and New Zealand Film Geographies*, (Intellect: Bristol and Chicago, 2011[a]), 21.

110 Strain, 89; Blythe contends that Maoriland is *spatially* rather than temporally separate from Pākehā New Zealand, although he also refers to tourists taking a “jump back in history” and stepping out of history into the “timeless eternal” of a primitive past, 62-3, 66.

111 Strain, 80.

temporal distance of presumed primitive cultures not only manufactured the desire for the visual spectacle of difference, it also supported narratives of authenticity which, as with all historicising narratives, were constructed backwards from present to past in the direction of an origin. Distance therefore had a particular expediency within the commodification of authenticity. The tourist spectacle was most likely to be perceived as 'authentic' if it appeared to preserve the general characteristics of an exotic culture's origin located in a (typically ill-defined) distant time period predating written historical records; authenticity was less easily refutable when presented as sites, objects, people or images positioned as signifiers of an otherwise irretrievably lost past.¹¹²

As Jennifer Peterson notes, “landscapes and scenery seem unassailably authentic” so that travelogues “are able to mask their mythologizing. Armed with documentary authenticity, travel films are marketed as actuality, and national myth becomes naturalized as truth.”¹¹³ Images of 'authentic' natives within the scenic environment therefore emphasise a connection between a primal, static and picturesque state of humanity and of nature, primitive people being “semantically equated with the landscape”.¹¹⁴ Rotorua's spectacular topography provided the spectator or sightseer with an exotic wonderland peopled with wonderfully exotic humanity, an eminently suitable realm for a mythologised past and a contemporary playground to coexist within the visualising of the national imaginary, both virtually and materially. Exoticism is not of course a pre-existing condition. It is located in the eye/I of the beholder that contrasts difference with notions of selfhood in order to render alterity exotic.¹¹⁵ Tourist images promoted and reified an ideological view of New Zealand's geography and indigenous inhabitants in which progress, rationality and modernity triumphed over the traditional, primitive or natural. Although symbolic in form, tourist imagery as “part of a larger project in hegemony” contributed to the production and justification of colonial power.¹¹⁶ The virtual world of tourism, according to Strain, therefore “brought spectators not necessarily closer to the experience of the Other but more aligned with the conquering spirit of

112 John Patrick Taylor, *Consuming Identity: Modernity and Tourism in New Zealand*, (University of Auckland: Auckland, 1998), 33-4.

113 Jennifer Lynn Peterson, "'The Nation's First Playground': Travel Films and the American West, 1895-1920", in *Virtual Voyages*, 86.

114 Ibid., 93.

115 Schneider, 2003, 169; 2006, 169; Taylor, 1-2, 34; John Durham Peters, 'Exile, nomadism, and diaspora: the stakes of mobility in the western canon', *Home, Exile, Homeland: Film, Media, and the Politics of Place*, (Routledge: New York and London, 1999), 37.

116 Taylor, 2.

European explorers and soldiers.”¹¹⁷

Cultural representation and the expediency of reference without referent

In New Zealand, forms of cultural representation were in many respects imported from those already in circulation in other Western contexts and adapted to local circumstances. As discussed in the previous chapter, the framing of people and landscapes in the films of Ernest Adams is influenced by knowledge of European art traditions, so that the wilderness appears more effectively colonised by the gaze of the camera than by the presence of a Pākehā hunting party within it. Similarly in Government films, the New Zealand landscape is aestheticised as picturesque scenery, the form of which would have been familiar even to audiences not otherwise acquainted with the actual locations depicted. The use of recognisable visual codes made unfamiliar places seem both accessible and natural. Spectators were encouraged to immerse themselves in the pleasure of a virtual journey rather than question the veracity of images onscreen.

The implied realism of travelogues could be further enhanced by adding a degree of local specificity, which was 'grafted' onto conventional modes of representation and existing stereotypes. There is a significant correlation, for example, between geographic and ethnographic representations of New Zealand and the depiction of the American West in early travelogues. In both instances, the landscape is presented as a tamed wilderness suitable for exploration by white middle-class tourists, with native people “valued only as decorations aiding the agenda of the national scenery.”¹¹⁸ While unique practices of Māori culture such as haka, poi dances or weaving piupiu are frequently depicted in scenic films, Māori people, portrayed without tribal specificity or contemporary reality, have a tendency to merge with the landscape as an additional feature of the local topography. Likewise, in American films native people typically appear as generic primitive types frozen in an idealised form located in tranquil settings.¹¹⁹ Pākehā New Zealanders would have been well-accustomed to stereotypical views of the indigenous peoples of other countries from the distribution of international films and other forms of culture. Representative conventions transplanted to a New Zealand context were therefore easily assimilated by audiences, especially with the inclusion of a local element of surface detail. Consequently, Pākehā New Zealanders 'knew' Māori via representations that

¹¹⁷ Strain, 95.

¹¹⁸ Peterson, 82; for comparison of early American and New Zealand travelogues, see Leotta, 2011[a], 26-7.

¹¹⁹ Peterson, 92-3.

denoted not an actual referent but forms of reference originating elsewhere. In a time period when the majority of Pākehā had little contact with actual Māori people in their daily lives, images promoting limited or prejudicial stereotypes had the opportunity to flourish in a vacuum of ignorance.¹²⁰

Not only were stereotyped representations likely to be effective, they also had a rational expediency within the nation's imagining of itself. Scenic films of New Zealand identified Māori with the country's ancient past, whilst modernity was associated with Pākehā settlement. The trope of the 'dying native' (soon to be) extinct in the modern world, which was also seen in American travelogues, vindicated the possession of once-tribal lands by a European population. The cultural authenticity of native peoples was safely preserved in isolated pockets supposedly untouched by civilisation, thereby masking national guilt, even whilst borrowing the uniqueness of indigenous traits in pursuit of 'scenic nationalism'.¹²¹ The economic interests of tourism and the promotion of a unified national identity were well served therefore by a racialised historical-spatial division that upheld cultural authenticity and justified colonial authority. In New Zealand, the repetitive ubiquity of simplistic or inaccurate representations of Māori (and Pākehā) society, not only in films but also across a wide range of other media, effectively naturalised conventions. Moreover, the absence of alternative representations of Māori encouraged Pākehā audiences to equate image with reality.

The Māori as (s)he was imag(in)ed

Māori culture was depicted in a variety of literary and visual texts that were available to Pākehā New Zealanders.¹²² The scope of such representations was, however, narrow and repetitive. In visual culture a common set of representative conventions can be distinguished that were reiterated across different media. Commercial photography such as postcards, which were extremely popular in the early twentieth century, offer a good example of the standard range of imagery. Probably more widely consumed than film, the analysis of such images offers a way of understanding the wider cultural context in which filmmakers, both professional and amateur,

120 King, 3; Jacqui Beets, 'Images of Maori Women in New Zealand Postcards after 1900', *Women's Studies Journal* 13:2 (spring 1997), 22.

121 Strain, 92; Ward Churchill, 'Fantasies of the Master Race: Categories of Stereotyping of American Indians in Film', in Robert Stam et al. (ed), *Film and Theory: an Anthology*, (Blackwell Publishers: Malden, MA, 2000), 698-703; Peterson, 82-95; Peters, 34-5; and in a New Zealand context, see Blythe, 50-61; Hana O'Regan, *Ko Tahu, ko Au: Kāi Tahu Tribal Identity*, (Horomaka Publishing: Christchurch, 2001), 129.

122 See Peter Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonisation and National Identity', *New Zealand Journal of History* 36:1 (2002), esp. 9-15, for discussion of Pākehā 'textualisation' of Māori in printed culture, and Alsop et al. for examples in visual culture.

produced their work.

The most ubiquitous mode of portraying Māori subjects was as an exotic feature of New Zealand. Widely disseminated representations included nostalgic images of 'old-time' Māori such as warriors, tohunga or kaumātua (influenced by artists such as Goldie or Lindauer), re-enactments of pre-European scenes in allegedly period costume and idyllic country views casting Māori as peasantry (exemplified by the pictorial art photography of Frank Denton).¹²³ Women were often depicted in madonna-like images or as alluring maidens, while men might be cast as erotic but innocent 'noble savages'. Cute children and 'coon humour' portraying Māori as backward simpletons perplexed by Western modernity were also not uncommon.¹²⁴ Whether principally sentimental, sexualising, comical or explicitly derogatory, all these representations were illustrative of European attitudes toward rather than inherent features of Māori life.¹²⁵

The “cheap pseudo-knowledge” propagated through such imagery “created under the veil of aesthetic or ethnographic representation”,¹²⁶ perpetuated a view of Māori as either exotic and erotic, or awkward and homely. According to Jacqui Beets, images of Māori women, or wāhine, were particularly appealing to a (male) European audience. Pictured as idealised beauties largely conforming to Western standards of feminine desirability, women were often posed against a background of native vegetation or holding weapons, such as patu or taiaha, in order to imply a natural or untamed sensuality. Alternatively, women were sometimes presented 'humorously' as “clumsy and coarse”. Both instances typically alluded to a tension between the wahine's presumed innocence and the assumed sexual availability of indigenous women.¹²⁷ Aspects of these stereotypes of women, and of Māori more generally, are also discernible in professional films of the era, which had the opportunity to enhance sensual or comical images through the added dimensions of movement and narration. The use of such stereotypes in Government publicity films, however, appears to have been complicated by the need to promote a more favourable or wholesome view of Māori subjects than that found in some commercial images.

¹²³ David Eggleton, *Into the Light: A History of New Zealand Photography*, (Craig Potton Publishing: Nelson, 2006), 48.

¹²⁴ King, 2-3, 12-24; Beets, 7-8, 18-9.

¹²⁵ King, 2.

¹²⁶ Beets, 7.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 7-15.

While Government filmmaking presumably sought to avoid imagery that was overtly derogatory or sexualised in its representation of Māori, the 'positive' image projected in many films is at best a highly ambivalent one. *Holiday Haunts*, for example, features a teenage Māori girl posing naked (albeit demurely) beside a hot pool, while “smiling children playing cute for the camera,” according to Martin Blythe, “distantly echo the “coon humor” of the time.”¹²⁸ The film's male narrator also makes a desirable object of the beautiful Māori guide. Interestingly, the objectification of Māori is offset by the representation of Pākehā in the film. The narrator, for example, also draws attention to the attractive appearance of young Pākehā women in their bathing suits. Both Māori *and* Pākehā women would therefore appear to be positioned as the pleasurable objects of a (male) spectator's gaze. *Holiday Haunts* also includes a golfing scene that seems intended to portray European customs as quaintly comical, particularly transposed to Rotorua's landscape with its thermal hazards. Consequently, Blythe concludes that the film is “equally droll” toward the Pākehā tourists as to its Māori subjects.¹²⁹

Even where Pākehā are absent as an onscreen counterbalance to the droll humour directed at Māori, the effect tends to be no less ambiguous. Bathie Stuart, who wished to utilise the Government's films to promote Māori dance performances in the US, repeatedly complained that Government photographers seemed “to delight in taking the fattest and homeliest women”.¹³⁰ Certainly fewer idealised Māori maidens feature in the five-part series *The Maori as He Was* (1928); the generally older or larger women who appear onscreen presumably exemplify the body types Stuart regarded as inappropriate for the American market. While these women are portrayed as highly-skilled rather than clumsy or awkward, the “lugubrious humor”¹³¹ of the intertitles would, however, seem to imply a lack of social refinement amongst women whose “nimble tongues vie with nimble fingers.” Interestingly, Stuart also derided the appearance of Pākehā women in the bathing scenes of certain films – although not those seen in *Holiday Haunts* – which again apparently failed to conform to idealised Western standards of beauty.¹³²

128 Blythe, 66.

129 Ibid.

130 Bathie Stuart in Margaret McClure, *The Wonder Country: Making New Zealand Tourism*, (Auckland University Press: Auckland, 2004), 119-20. Stuart's letters to the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts date from 1930-31. As *Holiday Haunts* (1935) was made after this date, it might be speculated that the Department belatedly took notice of Stuart's opinion.

131 Blythe, 70.

132 McClure, 2004, 120-1.

A number of the representative conventions seen in commercial photography would therefore appear to be reiterated within the Government filmmaking of the twenties and thirties, albeit arguably with greater subtlety and in some instances offset by comical or objectifying images of Pākehā. Like commercial photography, the films of course represent a Eurocentric point of view, which is expressed through a frequently paternalistic style of narration. Combined with stereotypical images, such as those of women described above, the effect is often facetious or objectifying, yet these films in general convey an overall impression that the Māori way of life – at least as seen at Rotorua – was relaxed and carefree, even desirable. The films appear to suggest that the Pākehā holiday-maker would do well, like local Māori, to enjoy the material comforts on offer in the country's thermal regions.¹³³ In the service of tourism it would seem that familiar stereotypes, not just of 'happy Maoris' but also of leisured Pākehā, provided an extremely useful shorthand in the construction of a cinematic wonderland, which was at once exotic and civilised. Although the Government appears to have avoided the most prejudicial or fanciful representations seen in some commercial photography, the films nevertheless essentially remain situated in the separate space of Maoriland. Māori residents of contemporary New Zealand are usually nowhere to be seen.

Amateur filmmakers, most (if not all) of whom were Pākehā New Zealanders, were both members of the intended audience for tourist images and the beneficiaries of colonialist practices and discourses. A sightseeing trip to Rotorua provided filmmakers with the opportunity to create their own visual representations of both themselves as tourists and of Māori as toured subjects. Their films were not of course required by economic necessity to project a saleable image of the New Zealand landscape so that, as Heather Norris Nicholson writes, “in many ways, amateurs had an enviable autonomy compared with their professional counterparts and could indulge their costly hobby for personal interest.”¹³⁴ How then did amateurs choose to exercise this “enviable autonomy”?

An amateur's point of view: personalising cultural discourse

The R.F. Eady collection at NTSV offers an interesting example for examining how the mobility of the amateur gaze registers difference between self and Others, constructing a space in which movement, adventure and modernity contrasts with the largely static markers of

¹³³ Blythe, 65.

¹³⁴ Norris Nicholson, 1997, 202.

'traditional' culture that authenticate the tourist experience. The collection consists of mostly black-and-white 16mm films largely dating from the 1930s, four of which include scenes of Rotorua.¹³⁵ The Eady collection are very much travel films; there are few scenes of everyday life. In fact, it is difficult for the spectator to determine which, if any, of the houses and gardens briefly glimpsed might be the filmmaker's own. Instead, the films record a series of picnics, bush walks, camping and road trips, fishing, swimming and boating excursions, as well as a number of other special events, including school athletics, dancing, elephant and fairground rides. A focus on the private experience of public space is a common feature of family films of this period, of which the Eady collection are in many ways typical, the technical limitations of amateur gauge formats making activities that occurred in exterior, and therefore (semi) public spaces, the most practical to record.¹³⁶

It is interesting to note a number of parallels between the Eady films and Government travelogues. Both emphasise leisure and mobility, and more indirectly – through the technologies of transport and moving image – modernity. The Eadys' series of increasingly modern cars in fact becomes a method of approximating the chronology of the films. Panoramic point of view shots are frequent, usually of surrounding hills or bodies of water. Filmed from a roadside lookout, they often include a parked vehicle, a peripheral human presence, or both. In many instances the viewer's gaze is directed by someone onscreen pointing towards a feature in the landscape. While intertitles are not included in the majority of the Eady films, road or other types of signage form a recurring motif, again often emphasised by a pointing finger. Although many of the reels are scratchy and show significant deterioration, the images are generally well-framed and focused, employing either static shots or relatively steady pans.

The mode of travel receives greater prominence within the films than the actual destination. The travelling shot is ubiquitous: there are numerous wide shots of a car travelling through a landscape, driving towards or away from the camera. Alternatively, some shots are filmed from inside the car itself over the bonnet showing the road ahead or the blurred landscape of the

¹³⁵ Also included in the collection are several professionally made films.

¹³⁶ Adam Capitanio argues that "contemporary shifts [facilitated by digital media] in the nature of the public/private divide have historical roots in the aesthetics and style found in home movies", specifically within representations of family life recorded in "communal and liminal spaces" (ii), including gardens and holiday destinations, 'The Electrical Transformation of the Public Sphere: Home Video, the Family, and the Limits of Privacy in the Digital Age', (PhD thesis, Michigan State University, 2012), 22-8, 52-4.

passing roadside, accentuating the perception of the speed of movement. Shots of or from boats also foreground the mobility of the traveller's gaze. An interest in atypical moments is epitomised in the view of an ocean liner bedecked with streamers leaving a wharf with no less than five elephants aboard. Throughout the films a sense of adventure is evoked: an intertitle informs "wee Morris [Minor] leads a duck's life" fording numerous riverbeds; signage forewarning the hazardous incline of a hill road, "military area: no admittance" and "danger" is included, and the details of cooking over a campfire and filling the hot water califont¹³⁷ fitted to the car are observed. At the same time the travellers are usually conspicuously well-dressed, the women negotiating bush tracks and streams in skirts and heeled shoes. A sequence entitled 'Tramps on Wheels' opens with an intertitle announcing "The heart of Ureweras, last stronghold of a noble race, brimming with Maori legend and romance, enthrals with its beauty". Interestingly, the noble race is never actually sighted. The women have, however, seen fit to don overalls on this particular occasion. As in the Government travelogues, the general impression is a vision of civilised nature, wild but not too wild for suitably-equipped modern explorers, which the Eadys undoubtedly are, armed with their califont, tea leaves and film camera.

Footage of Rotorua and its environs is largely typical of amateur travel films of the era as well as showing a number of commonalities with Government scenics. There are numerous wide shots of the thermal landscape, rising steam and geysers, many of which also feature either members of the Eadys' travel party or an assembled crowd of sightseers, intercut with close ups of bubbling mud. Shots of civic buildings, the Bath House, Government Gardens, lawn bowls and trout at Fairy Springs are also included, although these are less prominent within the films than the more 'exotic' features of Rotorua's landscape. While there are a number of shots of Māori subjects, including a 'snapshot' of a pātaka, a couple looking at carvings and a wide shot of a local guide showing tourists around the model pā at Whakarewarewa, several images in particular may be singled out within the Rotorua sequences as being in some way indicative of cross-cultural encounters. Two sequences contain images of Eady's companions posing with a carved figure. In one instance a man stands concealed behind the carving and flaps his hands outstretched on either side in a birdlike manner. In another shot two women examine a figure; one woman points to the mouth then hastily retracts her hand as if to indicate having been

¹³⁷ [a gas water heater (from a New Zealand trade name) – *Collins English Dictionary*]. The Eadys' portable car-mounted version in fact appears to be coal-powered.

bitten.¹³⁸ Given the figures are presumably taonga, neither encounter could be described as demonstrating respect for another's culture, yet to contemporary eyes it is the tourists themselves who appear risible, not the object of their actions.¹³⁹ Their gestures are certainly facetious, but it is difficult to gauge the extent to which their intent may have been consciously demeaning, or if the actions were simply due to prevailing cultural ignorance.

In a tableau shot, a group comprising two young Pākehā women and Māori children of various ages arrange themselves before a meeting house. Framed on either side by an older Pākehā woman waving her arms excitedly and a barking dog, the children are encouraged to perform a 'penny haka', however, the assembly appears to lack either the requisite knowledge or enthusiasm and the prompting is quickly abandoned. Eady did not record any images of the official kapa haka performances for tourists; in fact the Māori presence at Rotorua is more symbolic and historical than human in the films with a focus on art and architecture. There are two occasions, however, in the Rotorua sequences in which individual Māori appear and engage with the camera. In a wide shot of the thermal area a pair of young Māori women carrying kete are caught perhaps incidentally on film; one woman noticing the camera, acknowledges the filmmaker's presence by performing pūkana and whētero. A very different interaction occurs in a sequence filmed at Tikitere or 'Hell's Gate', one of the most active geothermal areas of Rotorua. A wide shot captures a young Māori woman gazing at the steaming landscape. In the following shot, she and a young Pākehā man, taking care where they place their feet, arrange themselves for a 'snapshot' before a geyser. The woman laughs and smiles, and is then seen sitting casually on a rock. In the next shot, she runs obligingly away from the camera in order to pose in the distance by a waterfall. As the young woman is visibly well-dressed in a shirt and tie, it is reasonable to assume that she is acting in a professional capacity, especially given the scene was recorded at a popular tourist spot. However, she is not seen pointing to features in the landscape, nor undertaking any other action that might indicate her status as a guide. The interaction between those onscreen actually appears quite informal, particularly in the final shot of the sequence in which an older man puts his arm around the young woman's shoulders, a gesture that would seem rather casual or intimate if she were in fact at work. Consequently, the exact nature of the encounter

138 The attribution of a life force to taonga is in fact consistent with Māori spiritual beliefs; the woman's animist humour would, however, seem inappropriate.

139 Schneider likewise notes that amateur travel films produced in colonialist contexts may document "an amateur's *failure* to achieve control through the cinematic gaze", 2003, 174.

remains ambiguous.

With the historical hindsight of over eighty years, how might these holiday recordings of affluent Pākehā vacationers and their series of encounters with the New Zealand landscape, Māori people and cultural artefacts be interpreted? Within their films the Eadys appear to align themselves visually with the spirit of Western modernity as leisured travellers taking possession of space and time through their capacity for mobility and image-making. Visual references to the hazards of adventurism – steep terrain, deep rivers, isolation, even potential encounter with an unseen military or taiaha-wielding contingent – are offset by evidence of European transformation of the landscape, such as construction work on the Arapuni hydroelectric dam. Like the Pākehā tourists of Government films, the Eadys enjoy New Zealand's abundant natural scenery aided by the comforts of modern technology, travelling through a landscape that is both wild and civilised.

Within these films cinematic *mise-en-scène* has an important function in the framing of cultural difference, through which the Eadys visually distinguish themselves as adventurous modern travellers with the power not just to preserve but also to mediate their interactions with unfamiliar spaces and people through a camera lens. The tableau or shared shot of tourist and tourist attraction is a dominant compositional device of the amateur travelogue, attesting to the authenticity of the traveller's experience as well as creating a 'trophy'.¹⁴⁰ The images of the carved figures with which the tourists pose function in this way, providing visual testimony of their one-time presence together. The production of a filmic record also delineates the tourist's right to take visual possession of the carvings as symbols of Māoridom. The determining role of image production within the tourist encounter is also observable within the *mise-en-scène* of the abortive penny haka that is arranged specifically as a frontal tableau in order to be filmed with the wharehau as an authenticating backdrop, the staging of a scene for the camera providing justification for the tourists' intervention into the pre-filmic world. Whether photographed with Māori carvings or children, the presence within the same shot of the visiting tourists, who appear elsewhere in the films, serves to differentiate what is 'normal' and what is 'exotic'.¹⁴¹ Of course when the visitors returned home and viewed the images, it

140 Both Zimmermann (1996, 91) and Schneider (2006, 161-2) draw a comparison between tourist photography and big game hunting safari, the goal of both being to 'shoot a trophy'. In amateur films, including those of Ernest Adams, people often do indeed pose with hunting trophies, such as fish or antlers, combining both senses of a 'trophy shot'.

141 Schneider, 2006, 162-7; 2003, 169-71; Devin Orgeron, 'Mobile Home Movies: Travel and "le Politique des Amateurs"', *The Moving Image* 6:2 (fall 2006), 91-5.

would have been precisely within a setting in which they represented the social norm, despite their status as outsiders in Rotorua's landscape. The shot of the young woman posing in the distance at Tikitere demonstrates a variation of the shared shot in which the filmmaker is an 'absent presence' directing from behind the camera.¹⁴² Sporting a fashionably bobbed haircut, the woman appears 'Western' in every way aside from her darker complexion. Filmed standing beside features of the landscape in much the same manner as the filmmaker's companions, she appears to be posing *with* the exotic scenery – as if she herself were a tourist – rather than *being part of* it. This is an important distinction. By replicating the common tourist *mise-en-scène* of the shared shot seen elsewhere in the collection, the filmmaker visually positions his female subject like members of his own party, with the effect of neutralising not only difference but also the perception of exoticism.

As discussed later in the chapter, Māori guides were generally well-respected. If, however, the scene recorded at Tikitere does indeed show a professional tourist-guide interaction, it seems curiously informal. 'Hybrid Maoris', who adopted Western attire and lifestyles, were in fact often viewed by tourists in a derogatory light in the early twentieth century, not as successfully integrated citizens of the nation but as comic Others who failed to meet the traveller's desire for 'authentic natives', the Other appearing “dangerously close to becoming the Same”.¹⁴³ Consequently, the filmmaker's choice of cinematic framing, like the older man's apparent (over)familiarity, might be read in a less innocent light. By echoing shots of his own company, the filmmaker's gaze could be construed as underlining the Māori woman's difference, despite her sophisticated appearance, from 'real' (white) tourists.

The lack of visual distinction between Māori and Pākehā in the scene is, however, somewhat unusual in an amateur recording of Rotorua, making it difficult to place in relation to other films. Government films of the era, which of necessity were required to support (or at least not discredit) the view that Māori were integrating successfully,¹⁴⁴ usually sidestep the issue altogether, only depicting Māori within a romanticised vision of the past, two contemporary “cowboy Māori” fishing in *Romantic New Zealand* being a notable exception. With their oversized hats, their brief appearance is portrayed in a lightly humorous vein generally in

¹⁴² Schneider, 2006, 163.

¹⁴³ For excerpts from letters written by travellers disappointed to find that Māori had adopted Western attire in everyday life, see Taylor, 24.

¹⁴⁴ Blythe, 63.

keeping with the overarching spirit of the film's jovial narration. Similarly, Māori appear most often in early amateur footage filmed in locations that Pākehā tourists visited to view 'traditional' Māori culture, rather than to learn about their modern way of life. However, amateur films tend to display a more realist than romantic aesthetic and generally lack the flimsy humour of Government filmmaking. Consequently, the subjective qualities of films such as those of the Eady collection are in many ways less readily apparent than in professional cinema. Even when the filmmaker has obviously directed his subjects where to stand, as in the shots recorded at Tikitere, the camera can appear to gaze quite innocently upon whatever is before it: in this particular instance, a seemingly good-natured exchange between Māori and Pākehā people at a tourist site. Perhaps the tour guide and her party particularly enjoyed each other's company, something the filmmaker wished to memorialise. Alternatively, the filmmaker, his companions and the young Māori woman could have already been acquainted in some other capacity, which might explain the friendly, relaxed tone of their onscreen gestures. In this very innocuous interpretation of the scene, cultural differences between the filmmaker and his subject may be largely irrelevant to the framing of images. Viewed in relation to other images from the collection, it becomes almost unavoidable to recognise, however, that within the context of these films to be Pākehā is normal, while to be Māori is (at least slightly) different.

Whatever interpretation of this scene the viewer finds most convincing, the realist aesthetics and accomplished technique of an amateur collection like the Eady films affect the reading of images. Even where shots have obviously been carefully arranged, amateur films often convey a sense that the subjects themselves remain spontaneously natural. Realism is an ideologically powerful aesthetic, which can impart an impression that the camera has simply 'found' its subject without transforming it in any manner. The cinematic image appears first and foremost to indicate how a subject looked, rather than how a filmmaker *looked at* a subject. In general, the Eady films have a more realist quality if compared with the picturesque landscapes of Ernest Adams. The romance of the Ureweras seems more presumed than experienced, referencing the prevailing style of dramatic hyperbole seen in professional cinema intertitles, rather than the subsequent onscreen images. Only the shot of a well-dressed Pākehā couple in a Rotorua sequence framed in silhouette pointing to the impressive geyser beyond seems to allude to a specifically romanticised view of tourism. The few appearances Māori make

elsewhere in the Eady films – a man with his horse chats to the filmmaker, a woman on the seashore holds a large fish, a man chops wood – certainly have the *outward appearance* of being incidental encounters inflected more by spontaneity than preconceived ways of looking. The competence with which these images are recorded lends the observing gaze of the amateur camera a certain authority, imparting the right to look, have knowledge of and make a possession of another's experience.¹⁴⁵ Aesthetics and technique therefore had a considerable impact upon how landscapes and people were recorded in tourist films.

Topography, ethnography and the techniques of the tourist gaze

The films of Maurice Barton from the late 1920s, like those of the Eady collection, focus primarily on travel and special events, such as the Ellerslie Cup horse races and a visit to Auckland Zoo, although occasionally more mundane family moments – feeding swans at the park, a group portrait on the veranda, children tumbling on the lawn – are also included. Also like the Eady collection, the images are generally well-filmed and often include panoramic views from lookout points and people strolling in the landscape, although Barton's films demonstrate a more particular interest in pictorial effects, such as the reflective qualities of still water. As with the films of Ernest Adams, there is a tension displayed between the aesthetics of the picturesque and an apparent desire for action or adventure. The recording of an expedition to Franz Josef Glacier, for example, features snowy mountain peaks and figures observing scenic vistas, as well as well-laden vehicles fording what in some instances appear to be perilously deep rivers.

Scenes of Rotorua are included twice, mostly depicting geothermal activity, although there are also a number of brief images of Māori. These include a group of women washing clothes in hot pools, a series of close ups of a small child, a camera-shy or coy young woman and an elderly kuia who gestures to the camera with seemingly good-humoured pūkana, children diving and a portrait shot of another young woman identified as Guide Ruth. Barton's companions also appear in a few shots; a young woman with a parasol poses beside a geyser and drinks tea on a balcony dressed casually in a robe, but there is no indication otherwise of tourist activity. Instead, Barton meticulously documented the geothermal permutations of the area, demonstrating a particular fascination with the subtle distinctions between bubbling pools of mud, the varied patterns of trickling water from hot springs, tiny droplets of mud and

¹⁴⁵ Odin, 257-9; Jeffrey Ruoff, Introduction to *Virtual Voyages*, 7.

clear pools, rising steam and numerous geysers. Extensive use of intertitles identify specific locations and even individual geysers, such as “Waikiti Geyser in action”, the mutability of the landscape contrasting with the relative stillness of the films' human subjects. A parallel might be drawn between this 'symphony of sulphur' and Barton's record of Christchurch city in 1927, in which he attentively filmed the bustle of urban streets crowded with trams, motor cars, bicycles, scurrying pedestrians and even a hansom cab, interspersed with images capturing the tranquility of strolling the city's gardens and along the banks of the Avon River. Barton, who joined the American Amateur Cinema League,¹⁴⁶ was probably familiar with aesthetic trends in photography and may also have been aware of the international documentary city symphony films of the late silent era, which his scenes of Christchurch appear to reflect. Furthermore, Barton's films might be read collectively as containing another type of parallel with professional cinema in the segregation of the subtle motions of geological and ethnographic time(lessness) from contemporary (urban) time witnessed in the constant flux of the modern city.

How might we account for the allocation of screen time in the Rotorua sequences to the geological against the human? Did Barton place a higher priority on recording the unique topography, or does the young woman's somewhat bashful smile before the camera betray the greater difficulty of filming human subjects? The tightly-framed, predominantly close up shots Barton favoured required his subject's cooperation. Most of the images of Māori are of not more than a few seconds duration. Perhaps the filmmaker was consciously aware of his intrusion upon the privacy of those he filmed. The women laundering appear ambivalent toward the presence of the camera, while the child stares with uncertainty; only the kuia and Guide Ruth seem to display ostensible acceptance, no doubt well-accustomed to the photographic ritual. An interesting contrast with this restrained view of life at Rotorua is provided by Barton's footage of Fiji, in which an assembled group of village women and children pose for the camera, children perform action songs or run about naked and a toddler's bath in a tin wash tub is witnessed, preceded by the intertitle “washing day”. In this much more foreign setting Barton's cinematography is clearly touristic in orientation with the local Fijians, (arguably) unlike the residents of Rotorua, appearing simply as objects of scrutiny before the camera's gaze.

¹⁴⁶ The Christchurch film includes an end-title bearing the membership logo of the Amateur Cinema League. Members received a subscription to the League's magazine *Movie Makers* and *The Home Movie Scenario Book*; see Paul, 82.

It has been noted that little clear demarcation exists between “the spectatorial pleasures of the touristic” and the photographic practices of ethnography.¹⁴⁷ Publicity films tend to combine elements of both ethnographic and tourist genres.¹⁴⁸ This contradiction is abundantly in evidence, for example, in *The Maori as He Was*. More ethnographic in orientation than travelogues such as *Whakarewarewa* and *Holiday Haunts*, the series depicts various aspects of Māori culture, including weaving, dyeing, carving, tattooing and dance. Although the camera is never acknowledged, the scenes are obviously staged and as in other publicity films, seem located in a non-specific time-space, now past. Pākehā appear nowhere in the films, although their presence is signalled (presumably unintentionally) through traces of cultural contact such as European-style blankets and in one close up a woman's wedding ring is visible. The intertitles are also ambiguously inconsistent, ranging from respectful recognition of Māori skill and ingenuity to poetic romanticisation (“the rustling raupo cut whilst the song of the swamp breeze still quivered in its swaying stem”) or the sentimental mythologising of “warrior braves” keeping “Maori blood at fighting heat”.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, the intertitles contribute significantly, despite the assiduous documenting of detail, to an overall impression of stereotypically 'happy Maoris' living in a picturesque world where women work cheerfully, while men (mostly) look on.

The melding of the ethnographic and touristic can be seen in equal measure in scenes of Rotorua filmed by Rex Marshall in 1935. Like most amateurs, Marshall recorded numerous images of mud and geysers, tourists surveying the thermal area, the model pā, women washing and cooking, children swimming, as well as his female companions with a local guide outside the meeting house. In a series of wide shots intercut with close ups he also documented the techniques of carving, venturing inside a workshop, and the process of weaving from the cutting of flax, stripping and rolling the fibres for a piupiu to the finished garment being modelled by the weaver, the presence of two children in some shots adding an incidental quality to the images.

Ten years later Marshall recorded another visit to Rotorua. In the second film the typical shots of the thermal area seen in the previous recording are largely replaced with those focusing on

147 Strain, 85-7, also 80, 97; and Leotta, 2011[a], 22; Blythe, 52.

148 Leotta, 2011[a], 22.

149 Blythe, 69-70.

the ethnographic. With his visit coinciding with that of a Government film crew,¹⁵⁰ Marshall took the opportunity to record the dances staged for the professional filmmakers, usually from an oblique angle. His emphasis, perhaps out of necessity, highlights the 'in-between' moments rather than the official routines. The awaiting performers in very mixed attire, some with jackets over their concert dress, sit in groups around the pā, or rehearse poi dances and stick games, in one instance a bystander being struck by a stray baton when a young man decides to enliven the game with some wild throwing. A comparison might be drawn with the scenes of Māori life filmed by James McDonald for the Dominion Museum between 1919 and 1923. Unlike later Government films, they contain no narrative structure, with various aspects of traditional and contemporary Māori life staged for the camera which, like home movies, include much laughter, mishaps and interaction between those on and offscreen. Like the McDonald films, Marshall's images are both well-filmed and intimate, as well as lacking any descriptive intertitles.¹⁵¹ Norris Nicholson argues that amateur travel films resemble ethnographic films in that "[l]ike their professionally made equivalents, they were produced by outsiders who presumed they could document the experiences of others through images", demonstrating similar limitations and distinguished primarily by their purpose as a holiday activity.¹⁵² In a series of portraits of young women posing for Marshall's camera, sometimes somewhat bashfully, the image of the exotic/erotic Māori maiden conforming to Western standards of beauty is subtly evoked. The inclusion of the accoutrements of a contemporary woman's life, such as parasols, knitting and cigarettes, also references fashion and snapshot photography. Ethnography, art, popular and vernacular culture intertwine.

Sincerity and the intersections of class, race and gender

While there are far fewer amateur films of Rotorua made by women, it is interesting to consider Zimmermann's assertion that women's films offer a differentiated gaze in relation to ethnographic representation, albeit one intersecting with class privilege.¹⁵³ Ngaire Cooper recorded her visit to Rotorua in the mid-1930s. Not a technically proficient photographer, Cooper's films are full of unsteady shots, erratic pans, poor exposures and other 'mistakes'. Her favoured subjects were travel, both in New Zealand and the Pacific, public and religious

150 A 35mm camera, tripod and film signage appear on the edge of some shots. According to the NTSV catalogue description (F11330), director Cyril Morton can also be seen onscreen briefly.

151 The McDonald films were restored and assembled for public screenings between 1981 and 1985 with intertitles added based on McDonald's original notes; see Blythe, 55.

152 Norris Nicholson, 1997, 204; see also Peters, 35.

153 Zimmermann, 1996, 93-7.

events, and domestic scenes of mostly women and children. Unmarried herself, she acted as her mother's companion for much of her life. She had connections with the Australian 'Grail Film Group', part of a 1930s lay movement of young Catholic women who advocated a more dynamic role for women in the community,¹⁵⁴ women's social gatherings being a prominent feature of Cooper's films. Her footage of Rotorua, much of which is in colour, whilst including the usual images of geysers and kapa haka performed for tourists (filmed over the heads of an assembled crowd) is much more attentive to the day-to-day activities of women and children. Images of Pākehā friends and relatives in Cooper's films tend to be brief 'snapshots' simply memorialising the moment, her subjects often engaging with the camera. Filming at Whakarewarewa however, in a less familiar space, Cooper recorded much longer takes of women weaving, cooking and laundering, and children swimming and playing, as well as tourists being guided around the village. Ostensibly similar in terms of subject material to many publicity travelogues, Cooper's films are distinguished, like most amateur films of Rotorua, by their unstructured, seemingly incidental nature and the unpolished quality of the images. Women can be seen smoking cigarettes whilst weaving, tourists or cab drivers wander casually through the background, the camera pans wildly and registers another camera on a tripod, thereby drawing attention to the ubiquitous connection between photography and tourism.

While Cooper's films certainly display a discernible interest in the activities of Māori women, it would be difficult to justify from the images themselves a proposition that Pākehā women identified in any specific way with Māori women on the basis of gender commonality.¹⁵⁵ Cinematic records like Cooper's could just as easily be read as embodying stereotypes of Māori women as poor, consigned to physical labour and living in primitive conditions, or possibly even as demonstrating the paternalistic belief that Māori women were well-suited to employment in domestic service.¹⁵⁶ In focusing on predominantly female subjects with many

¹⁵⁴ Dudding, 'Tracing the Flaneuse: on early women amateur cinematographers', (paper presented to the Film and History Association Conference of Australia and New Zealand, 2008), (no page number); Mardie O'Sullivan, 'Discovering fragments of our past... The Grail Film Group: Amateur Australian Women Film-makers of the 1930s and 1940s', *Metro Magazine: Media and Education Magazine* 123 (2000), 20-4.

¹⁵⁵ Clare Midgley notes that some feminist scholarship has argued that European women produced representations of colonised women that were different and "often less denigrating" than those of men, sometimes highlighting similarities rather than differences between themselves and non-Western women; see Introduction to *Gender and Imperialism*, (Manchester University Press: New York, 1998), 10.

¹⁵⁶ Some Pākehā women's groups advocated domestic service as a solution to the perceived 'problem' of Māori women and their employment; see Barbara Brookes and Margaret Tennant, 'Maori and Pakeha Women: Many Histories, Divergent Pasts?', in Barbara Brookes et al. (ed), *Women in History* 2, (Bridget Williams Books Ltd: Wellington, 1992), 35-7; also Beets, 19-20. A man seen steam cooking fish in *Romantic New Zealand* makes an interesting comparison in that this appears to reference the ingenuity associated with a 'make-do in the outdoors' attitude to cooking over a campfire or even

shots including both visitors and residents of Rotorua, to some extent the filmmaker simply underscores the economic divide between the affluence visibly displayed in the tourists' attire and the comparative deprivation of local iwi. The privilege of image-makers to construct their own identities, in this particular instance as leisured women of financial means, signifies class-based differentiation, visually aligned as much, or perhaps more so, with wealth as with a racial hierarchy.

Both Schneider and Norris Nicholson note that the amateur 'cinematic safari' or expedition film need not venture overseas in search of alien humanity, nor involve intercultural encounters with a local ethnic minority; the social distance provided by a rural backwater or a working-class suburb can equally be represented as strange or exotic, utilising the visual techniques of documentary realism and ethnographic film.¹⁵⁷ One of the more intriguing images in the Eady collection is that of a group of Māori playing a ball and stick game in a village street, possibly at Whakarewarewa, although only European-style houses are visible. Frustratingly the shot is too brief – not more than a few seconds in duration – to offer more than a tantalising glimpse of the world it depicts (begging the question as to why the filmmaker stopped recording: did the camera run out of film?). Even within the space of this fleeting vision, however, there exists a tension between the apparent realism of the scene and its alterity positioned within a cinematic series of moments in which the presence of white upper-middle-class travellers define the norm. The gathering of men and children, some with their backs turned to the camera, seem either oblivious to or unconcerned by the filmmaker's presence, with the wooden cottages lining the street much like those of any working-class neighbourhood in appearance. Preserved as a fragment of local time and space – that which was once *here and now* – the game seems to exist independently, without need or intervention of the tourist-spectator, yet even these extremely 'real' people nevertheless remain Other for the gaze of the Pākehā camera. In comparison with the Eadys who can afford cars, camera and travel, these people are poor: they play in the street.¹⁵⁸ The Eadys might eat ice creams in the street, reclining against the boot of their car, but they are playful only on sunny beaches or in secluded riverbeds. Turning one's back on the camera may deny the representation of racialised

a barbecue.

157 Schneider, 2006, 163-70; Norris Nicholson, 1997, 205-7; also Werry, 25; for discussion of expedition films for wider distribution, see Amy J. Staples, 'Safari adventure: forgotten cinematic journeys in Africa', *Film History* 18 (2006).

158 Interestingly, there is a not dissimilar scene of a group of mostly adults skipping in the street in James McDonald's recording of life on the Whanganui River, however, as Māori define the norm in the film, they do not appear noticeably poor in comparison with Pākehā New Zealand, which is represented only occasionally onscreen by the presence of the filmmakers themselves.

difference or denigrated 'hybridity', but dressed in workman's clothing surrounded by rough architecture, the men and barefooted children are visually aligned with the common mass of humanity, nameless individuals who led mostly undistinguished and unrecorded lives, captured here ever so briefly as a crowd seen in wide shot.¹⁵⁹

As Māori do not usually appear in a contemporary guise in publicity films, while the few Pākehā who do are almost exclusively depicted as wealthy tourists, New Zealand society as promoted by the Government, unlike that witnessed occasionally in amateur films, might be interpreted as essentially devoid of class (or ethnic) division in an obviously idealised projection of the nation. The image of Māori as contemporary or proletarian served no purpose in tourist rhetoric preoccupied with exoticism and authenticity that was (a)historically-defined. As demonstrated in the village scene described above, amateur films created a space (albeit infrequently) in which Māori were represented as people leading a contemporary rather than a primitive or traditional existence. Filmmakers also recorded intercultural encounters that arguably were not negatively racialised *per se*, even if this involved representing Māori as resembling Pākehā in some manner. The films of Ngaire Cooper, like the Eady street scene in relation to the collection in which it is situated, are dominated by class-based distinctions, however, in which tourists are affluent visitors and Māori, due to their appearance and activities, are positioned as socially Other than the filmmaker. While a racialised economic hierarchy is largely neutralised in Government films by having Māori and Pākehā occupy separate time-spaces, as contemporaries, prosperity and poverty are less easily denied representation as social dominance and its negative Other.

The relationship between class and race finds a rather more nuanced expression in amateur recordings of interactions between tourists and Māori guides. Women acting as guides appear in all of the collections containing footage of Rotorua discussed in this chapter. Usually seen in wide shot leading a party of tourists, guides are distinguished less often by their appearance than through their gesture of pointing to salient features in the landscape, easily decoded as indicative of being in possession of local knowledge. These women acted as bilingual intermediaries between Māori and Pākehā cultures. Respected and influential in both communities, guides were usually named as individuals on postcards (as well as in Barton's

¹⁵⁹ Schneider also notes that local people in amateur tourist films, when they appear at all, tend to be seen as a crowd in the street, rather than as individuals, 2003, 174.

film). The more popular guides, such as Makereti Papakura (known as Guide Maggie) and Rangitīaria Ratema (Guide Rangi), having achieved celebrity status, became attractions in themselves. Although subject to the romantic sexualisation of tourist imagery, as demonstrated in *Holiday Haunts* when the jocular male narrator projects spectatorial desire onto the image of a Māori maiden, announcing “who wouldn't with a guide like this?”, female guides were also able to actively negotiate their own identities and position within the tourist commodity system.¹⁶⁰

The hospitality of guides was, however, typically interpreted as a sign of the civilising influence of European culture or indicative of the superior pedigree of high-ranking Māori, rather than as *manaakitanga* endemic to Māori culture, in a rhetoric linking racial mobility (or transcendence) with class identifications. Werry argues Makereti Papakura, for example, utilised manners and deportment to good effect, insisting upon a respectful reciprocity when engaging with her visitors, who frequently commented that she possessed the charm of the English aristocracy into which she subsequently married.¹⁶¹ Moreover, respect and reciprocity are prerequisites to the notion of sincerity, which within intercultural tourist encounters denotes the sharing of experience between participants, placing importance upon interaction and localised identity rather than spectacle or an essentialised authenticity.¹⁶² Although guide-tourist interactions were invariably recorded in wide shot by amateur filmmakers, perhaps in order to locate the tour within the landscape being viewed, making it difficult to speculate about the extent of any sincerity involved, the attentive demeanour of visitors and indicative gestures of guides visually positions these encounters as less defined by differences of race and class than by curiosity and expertise. However, it is likely that the participants of guided tours were usually aware of the camera. While exchanges between guides and their visitors had the potential to be more sincere than superficial, the act of filming may have influenced how people conducted themselves.

As noted earlier, filmmaking provides a method of negotiating the tourist encounter. Susan Sontag has in fact argued that photography defers or inhibits experience, transforming it into the souvenir of an event imag(in)ed rather than lived. It might therefore be reasoned that the

¹⁶⁰ Blythe, 65; Taylor, 23.

¹⁶¹ Werry, 44-89.

¹⁶² Taylor, 37.

photographic mediation of an interaction may limit its potential for sincerity.¹⁶³ Barton's close up of Guide Ruth, for example, although conferring upon her individual identity, also makes her a largely passive object of the camera's gaze in a recorded moment that is more static than interactive. Marshall's female companions and the guide with whom they converse, the tourists' more luxurious-looking coats aside, appear relatively equal and engaged participants in an encounter, which although perhaps deliberately arranged before the wharehau, seems otherwise undirected by the filmmaker, who in this instance remains external to the onscreen space. Although Marshall clearly requested some of his subjects to pose or demonstrate activities for the camera, where his companions appear in shot, they, not the camera or its operator, become the point of contact. The Māori man who is seen briefly with his horse in the Eady collection, engaging in an exchange with the filmmaker, provides an example of the active involvement of both subject and filmmaker in an encounter evidently mediated by the production of an image, although filmed in close up, it also highlights differences of class and race.

Not too far down the road from Rotorua, the W.A. Greer collection captures a very different image of intercultural relations. During the 1930s the filmmaker recorded a series of boating trips on Lake Taupo, always in the company of a middle-aged Māori man, with a young Māori woman also included in the usually all male parties on one occasion. Whilst the filmmaker's Māori companion may conceivably be the owner of the boat (since he and the boat appear together each time), he is not *only* the proprietor, being evidently as much a member of the fishing parties as the Pākehā men present, participating in the relaxed camaraderie and light-hearted fooling around in front of the camera, and partaking in an onshore picnic and siesta on the beach. There is no distinguishable social hierarchy and all the men are dressed and filmed similarly. Here the visual codes of male 'mateship' transcend those of class division (if any) and ethnic difference. It is tempting to speculate that the dominant position of Pākehā men within New Zealand society granted the individual male relatively greater freedom not only to define and confer alterity, but also to ignore differences, in comparison with Pākehā women, themselves another kind of Other, whose lives remained in many ways socially more restricted than those of men. It might of course be noted that as more men than women were in possession of film cameras, they also had the greater potential to record the variety of human experience; from this instance it could also be deduced that the nature of the tourist

¹⁶³ Sontag, 9.

encounter itself determined the limit of that experience rather more than the production of images per se. In tourist films, while Māori-Pākehā onscreen relations usually appear cordial, perhaps even sincere, interactions visibly displaying the degree of relaxed informality witnessed in Eady's recording at Tikitere, for example, are rare. This aside, the Tikitere sequence is limited to filming stereotypical tourist activity, with the participants posing beside geological sights.

The tourist gaze upon the 'pseudo-event'

A very different aspect of tourist culture from the guided tour, events performed specifically for an assembled audience created opportunities for viewing and filming that clearly foregrounded visual spectacle rather than (inter)active participation by visitors. The picturesque appeal of staged attractions took precedence over their cultural context or meaning, with the effect of positioning performers as animated scenery. Furthermore, this form of display found a parallel at Rotorua in the wider environs that favoured acts of looking over interactive encounters. The landscape itself is both spectacular and inhospitable; a warning sign projecting from a boiling mud pool seen in the Eady collection forewarns the dangers of straying from a designated path. Human activity that transpires within such an environment consequently revolves around the spectatorial more than the participatory. In this respect, it is notable that the principal role undertaken by guides was to direct and inform the tourist gaze, witnessed in the images of both amateur and publicity films of Rotorua alike. Amateur films reveal a complex relationship between tourist and toured in which spectacle and exoticism are not reducible to perceptions of racial difference but are layered by socio-economic disparities as well as socially prescribed gender roles. Female guides were to some extent able to transcend or negotiate these differences. Nonetheless, as Māori women, they were also subject to the objectifying commodification of visual attractions inherent to the sightseeing emphasis of tourist culture. The epitome of attractions marketable as a tourist commodity, however, was the cultural performance staged in an exotic or picturesque landscape. Such events were a particularly effective method of merging the ethnographic and geographic as a scenic spectacle for the purposes of touristic pleasure.

Within the space of a tourist locality, the staged attraction or 'pseudo-event' as Daniel J. Boorstin has termed it, which presupposes the tourist desire to gaze upon Others, offers a

readily imageable spectacle.¹⁶⁴ In the context of Rotorua this was exemplified by the performance of kapa haka, which usually included poi and action songs as well as haka. It is noteworthy that the scenes shot at Whakarewarewa in *Romantic New Zealand* that include kapa haka are one of only two colour sequences in the feature film. Chromatic representation, along with synchronised sound, added a new dimension to imaging the tourist attraction, one that offered “unprecedented aestheticizing of exotic difference” with colour film mobilised to enhance the pleasures of visual spectacle, particularly the vibrancy of costume and performance.¹⁶⁵ If the guided tour would seem to offer the greatest possibilities for reciprocal exchange within the tourist space, albeit usually characterised with a certain ambivalence in amateur films, the staged event, typically presented as a panoramic display paraded before the spectator, might readily be assumed to provide the least opportunity for 'sincere' contact. *Romantic New Zealand* attempts to combine aspects of spectacle and sincerity by having Guide Rangi narrate the Whakarewarewa sequence and negotiate a performance for the purpose of being filmed, although the dialogue sounds stilted with the leader of the haka gesticulating excessively as if directed to 'act primitive' for the camera. Moreover, it has been argued that the staged event, while inviting formerly colonised peoples to 'act-primitive-for-others', provides employment, the opportunity to practice indigenous arts and crafts, and the ability to determine which aspects of a culture are to be publicly displayed and photographed.¹⁶⁶

In what ways are such staged performances represented in amateur films? Eady, Marshall and Cooper all recorded images of kapa haka performances, while the gesture of the elderly kuia in Barton's film makes reference to those of action dances. The decontextualised nature of the event staged for an audience of tourists or cinema goers (who were also potential tourists) is foregrounded in Marshall's film as it focuses on the rehearsals, directions and other offscreen moments of a professionally made film, which attain a reflexive quality captured as the onscreen moments of a home movie. Ngaire Cooper filmed both black-and-white and colour sequences of Rotorua, utilising the recently released Kodachrome film stock. Interestingly, the poi dances performed for a large gathering of tourists are shot predominantly in black-and-white, whilst the majority of scenes recording more informal proceedings are in colour. Perhaps not a conscious choice on the part of the filmmaker, this would seem to be a reversal

164 Daniel J. Boorstin in Hammond, 4-5.

165 Staples, 405-6.

166 Dean MacCannell in Taylor, 34-5; Hammond, 17-8, 26; also Peters, 37.

of the visual coding of colour as “the vehicle of spectacle”,¹⁶⁷ documentary realism typically being associated with monochrome photography. Although this idiosyncrasy may be simply the result of the order in which the film was loaded into the camera, Cooper recorded considerably more footage of domestic activities at Whakarewarewa, so it might be assumed that this presented greater appeal than the staged performances that she could film only from a distance over the heads of assembled onlookers. She also recorded a 'penny haka' performed by a group of children. This scene is much more intimate as well as in colour, although still filmed in wide shot in order to keep all the group in frame. The apparent interest of a Pākehā woman visible in the background suggests the children have been encouraged to stage their performance for the camera, possibly in exchange for money, a common practice that, as Beets notes, was greatly derided by many Pākehā as demonstrative of the deplorable eagerness of Māori children to sell their cultural heritage (or a parody thereof) for a ridiculously scant sum.¹⁶⁸ While there is nothing specifically comical or derogatory about this particular scene in Cooper's film – unlike those of Eady's film, here the children appear both willing and sufficiently knowledgeable – it does, almost unavoidably, recall stereotyped imagery of ill-dressed little brown urchins supposedly prepared to perform for a penny.

There is a significant parallel between the display of exotic bodies as tourist attraction and the history of the freak show, circus performance and the exhibition of zoo animals, the latter frequently providing an alternative form of the exotic in home movies. The connection is sometimes emphasised inadvertently by the amateur's propensity to edit in-camera only. Scenes of Māori performing for tourists at Rotorua immediately succeeded by those of caged animals recorded during a subsequent outing produce an unfortunate (though presumably unintended) effect through montage. This is seen in a film recorded by Gil Dech, for example, which cuts from two young women demonstrating poi for the camera to the image of bears begging to zoo visitors.¹⁶⁹ Interestingly, the show ground itself formed a very different arena in which amateurs sometimes recorded kapa haka performances, usually presented as one spectacle amongst many. Typically filmed in extreme wide shot from a grandstand, such images tend to foreground the visual pleasures of choreographed formations displayed in the routines of marching teams, pipe bands or school girl troupes demonstrating physical exercises,

¹⁶⁷ Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins in Hammond, 5.

¹⁶⁸ Beets, 19; Pākehā were of course not only the critics but also the consumers of this practice.

¹⁶⁹ A film in the Eady collection that includes images of Māori (albeit not performing) is also followed by zoo bears begging. See also Strain, 86; Peters, 35; Norris Nicholson, 'Framing the View: Holiday Recording and Britain's Amateur Film Movement, 1925-1950', in *Movies on Home Ground*, 107, for further discussion.

arguably with the effect of normalising (or appropriating) the haka as yet another type of fairground attraction, exoticism somewhat diminished through spectatorial distance and the familiar setting of a local show ground. Further removed from its ritual social function within Māori culture, the haka performed as mere (filmed) spectacle in an otherwise entirely Western context encapsulates the representation of the staged event through which humanity is transformed into vibrant scenery. The variety show by its very nature, however, underlines that other groups of people – young women, those of Scottish heritage – may also be aestheticised in such a manner.

Few amateur films include images of occasions on marae outside Rotorua. Consequently, it is rare for kapa haka to be represented as a 'real' event. John Chisnall Routley, a farmer from Taheke in Northland, recorded a haka performed by a group of young people at a hui in the late 1930s. As with Marshall's films, Routley's camera appears to have captured a spontaneous 'in-between' moment as the somewhat disorderly performance includes a young man wearing a kitchen apron over his suit whose uninhibited enthusiasm manifests in highly expressive gestures. Routley's cinematography is extremely well-controlled and focuses on the individual performers, filming each in a series of close ups, some of whom engage with the camera. The unusual individualisation of members of the haka produces an extremely striking but ambiguous effect that might be interpreted as either respectful or irreverent, perhaps even (unintentionally) parodic given the exaggeratedly boisterous staging, although it is the vitality of the young people's apparent pleasure in this quite possibly impromptu performance that is the most resonate feature of the recording. Seemingly the only Pākehā in attendance, Routley would appear to be an outsider, albeit presumably an invited one in this setting. His film is significant, however, in that it provides a rare view of this most frequently represented aspect of Māori culture, which while staged with an obvious awareness of the camera, does not appear to presuppose a touristic gaze.¹⁷⁰

Lines of flight: the amateur filmmaker, the returned gaze and the autonomous spectator

The touristic gaze, according to John Urry, requires a basic binary division of the ordinary or

¹⁷⁰ Routley also filmed a Rātana wedding in the Waima Valley in the 1930s. The Routley family owned a projector and hired films from Wellington for regular film screenings, inviting locals from around the district (personal correspondence with Kiri Griffin, New Zealand Film Archive, 15 March 2013). Routley may therefore have been invited to the wedding and hui in the capacity of cinematographer. Jane Paul notes that James Osler, whose bakery catered to the community in the district of Wairoa, also filmed at hui, weddings and tangi, either through invitation or opportunities provided through professional contact with local iwi, 54-9.

everyday, and the extraordinary. This may take the form of a unique locality or otherwise mundane aspects of social life transpiring within an unusual or historical setting.¹⁷¹ Washing and cooking in hot pools is thus represented as a curiosity in both amateur and publicity films of Rotorua, as is the location itself with its distinctive geothermal terrain. In the visual archive, as individuals slip from personal memory, transformed into the categories of collective history, persons and events become understandable as (stereo)types,¹⁷² this effect of the historicising gaze as true for Pākehā tourists as for Māori subjects, or perhaps more so. Men dressed in suits and trilbies, women in long skirts and heeled shoes clambering over rocks, for example, appear awkward and inappropriately attired to contemporary eyes, whereas representation of exotic spectacle has been characterised by a pervasive continuity within tourist practices. The visual distinction that formerly symbolised the tourist's identification with a leisured class of persons makes an historical curiosity of those who once represented the norm in the cinematic records of wealthy vacationers. Furthermore, tourist photography has developed connotations of vulgarity, with tourists stereotyped as “voyeurs fixing their gazes with their cameras”.¹⁷³ The amusement of spectators at the sight of other tourists engaging in stereotypical behaviour may be considered a form of 'post-tourism',¹⁷⁴ yet any claim to 'post-voyeurism' would be rather more contentiously made. Even while modifying colonial valuations of non-Western cultures, tourism may perpetuate inequalities between economically powerful guests and their formally colonised hosts, continuing the appropriation of Others and their resources through the objectifying use of images.¹⁷⁵ In this sense contemporary viewers of visual archives have the potential simply to engage in another round of scopophilic satisfaction.

Returning to the notion of *transito* with which this chapter began, as a description of cinema's utopian capacity to release individual subjectivities, the term may appear ostensibly better suited to the manifestation of the physical or virtual mobilities of the filmmaker or spectator rather than that of the filmed subject. The films discussed above suggest individual interests as expressed through differing emphases with regard to subject and varied attention to cinematographic technique. It is also possible to read these films as constructions (conscious or otherwise) of the ways in which filmmakers viewed themselves as part of a specific social milieu, concrete filmed instances of life connoting the independence, mobility and freedom to

171 John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, (Sage Publications: London, 1990), 12-23.

172 Capitanio, 33.

173 Hammond, 25.

174 Ibid.

175 Ibid., 4.

indulge in recreational pursuits that affluence permitted. Recurring images of scenic views and European technological achievement, including modes of transport, are almost as ubiquitous in amateur travel films as in publicity travelogues. Shots of the Arapuni Dam, for example, feature in all of the collections discussed in detail. Marshall's scenes of biplanes at an airfield and especially his aerial footage of Rotorua seem to encapsulate the more utopian possibilities of cinema, specifically as combined with modern physical mobility and the *transito* of the amateur filmmaker in particular.

Interwoven with the tourist-filmmaker's ability to construct aspects of their own identity on film was the equally subjective, yet far from utopian, capacity to determine the identities of Others. There is no cinematic record from this period of how Māori at Rotorua wished to be represented nor how they viewed their visitors. The absence of historical records depicting the perspectives of colonised peoples has resulted, however, in interest through the intersection of film and post-colonial studies in the 'returned gaze' of those filmed.¹⁷⁶ The return-of-the-gaze refers to a look directed at the camera by the filmed subject, and by implication at the filmmaker or spectator. This phenomenon, which Paula Amad describes as “a privileged figure of representational disruption”, is often interpreted as a riposte to the technologically mediated objectification of cultural Others through Western structures of looking, the analysis of which aims to restore some level of agency to those “nameless masses trapped like insects within modernity's visual archive.”¹⁷⁷ The returned gaze of Māori discussed in this chapter takes a number of forms. These include shy or coy glances at the camera, or more confidently sustained looks (as seen in Barton's and Marshall's films), engagement with the filmmaker and whētero in acknowledgement of the camera (as witnessed in Barton's and Eady's films). These acknowledgements of the camera might be read variably as expressions of unease, exhibitionism, communion or defiance. Whatever emotions such glances are presumed to contain, there are a number of potential ways in which the returned gaze might be interpreted.

The fetishisation of what are in fact often fleetingly ephemeral glances at the camera has been interpreted as the post-colonial invention of “a textual compensation” for the absence of photographic records produced by indigenous peoples, or as an attempt to neutralise the historical usage of film as a representational medium of oppression. Glances at the camera have

176 See Amad, 'Visual Riposte: Looking Back at the Return of the Gaze as Postcolonial Theory's Gift to Film Studies', *Cinema Journal* 52:3 (spring 2013) for an excellent overview of scholarship and theorising of the returned gaze.

177 Ibid., 53-6, 64.

also been read as a mode of exchange via a 'virtual contact zone' that encompasses not just the actual encounter between filmed subject and filmmaker at the moment of filming but also the (imagined) encounter of filmed subject and spectator in which "returned gazes seem to stare down the present".¹⁷⁸ This latter encounter, which releases the filmed subject from the oblivion of historical forgetfulness, enables amateur films to be understood as taonga to those whose tūpuna appear in them. This opens opportunities, as home movies are increasingly relocated from family archives to public heritage collections with viewing access no longer confined to those with direct links to the filmmaker, to connect those imaged with the communities of descendants.¹⁷⁹ Another possibility that Gunning sees within early travelogues "not only to trace the routes of power and appropriation but also to describe a line of escape and flight" appears equally applicable to examples drawn from amateur travel films. Marshall's collection contains a shot of a large crowd of Māori children gathered on a bridge. Pushing each other in front of the camera, laughing, they return its gaze. Having thus deliberately made a spectacle of themselves, they run on by, fleeing away into unfilmed space, a movement that Gunning refers to as *pure transito*: the escape of the camera's subject.¹⁸⁰

Criticism that Māori form a human equivalent to the natural scenery in publicity films, or that as indigenous people are simply to be viewed as landscape, is predicated upon representation of Māori subjects as passive and their value as mere spectacle, rather than as autonomous individuals with a narrative unfolding within a setting. Although there is no clear division between the dyads of passive object/landscape as spectacle and active subject/landscape as narrative space, in practice this is resolved through spectatorial perception.¹⁸¹ In Government films intertitles or a narrator anchor this perception; the viewing position of amateur films, however, is usually much more ambivalent. As seen in the films discussed, *mise-en-scène*, alterity, visual reference and reflexivity are the basic repertoire of positioning devices of amateur film but these are seldom unambiguously provided. Taking an example concerned with all of these modes, we might ask if the kuia who appears in Barton's film does so as an active subject or as a passive spectacle? While the close up shot invites scrutiny, it also empowers the subject with affective potential. The more universal gesture of poking one's tongue at the camera in order to register objection or undermine the photographic act as it

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 54, 64.

¹⁷⁹ See Dennis, 1994, for discussion of screening archival films, including those shot by James McDonald, in the tribal areas in which they were recorded, 121-6.

¹⁸⁰ Gunning, 2006, 39-40.

¹⁸¹ Lefebvre, xv, 27-9.

pertains to some serious intent renders an analogy, however, pūkana and whētero, which have specific significance in Māori culture emphasising certain words and gestures of action songs, represent a complex return-of-the-gaze. An intertitle of *The Maori as He Was* assimilates this action with the facetiousness characteristic of Government films as “putting the grim into grimace”. In Barton's film, however, the kuia's self-conscious play of *nouveau savage* of the cinematic age has more something of a 'voila' quality to it: 'I hereby present myself as star of your film'.¹⁸² As with Marshall's image of children on a bridge, to play the role of spectacle for the camera's gaze paradoxically induces an active response. Moreover, it should be recognised that Māori communities benefitted, albeit unevenly, from the wealth brought to Rotorua by tourists, Te Arawa enjoying a degree of relative prosperity in comparison with many iwi.¹⁸³ The economic expediency of participating in the promotion of the image of an exotic and ancient race was a compelling one for Māori.¹⁸⁴ While their photographic activities may often have been perceived as intrusive, tourists themselves were not unwelcome. Even if the kuia's reaction is viewed in terms of strategic acquiescence, her apparent amusement at finding herself caught on camera may nonetheless be genuine. Certainly, her playful return-of-the-gaze seems to imply that the filmmaker's presence is not objectionable.

The films discussed in this chapter are for the most part largely typical of the variety of amateur travel filmmaking efforts of the twenties and thirties: demonstrative of an outsider's gaze, idiosyncratic in form, derivative in aesthetic, difficult to read as containing any consistent ideological positioning. The films of Eady, Barton, Marshall and Cooper are distinguished from the vast majority of holiday films of the period only through a subtle degree of focus witnessed in their extensive recordings of Rotorua's geographical and ethnographic attractions in comparison with the more commonly employed brief 'snapshot' approach to the tourist locality. While a record of concrete, individualised and particular instances of experience, amateur films nevertheless display significant parallels with professional travelogues. As tourists travel to visit locations and sights already familiar via a range of available texts and images, creating personalised yet referential documents as testimony of their travels, inserting themselves into the existing discourses of visual tourist culture, it is unsurprising that amateur

¹⁸² Schneider, 2006, 166; Amad, 2013, 54.

¹⁸³ Taylor, 23.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 35-6, for further discussion of 'acting-primitive-for-others' as an indigenous adaptation to modern existence. Similar imagery continues to be exploited by Māori tourism operators of the present day. See Tamaki Maori Village Rotorua, <http://www.maoriculture.co.nz/> (accessed 27 May 2014) for a contemporary example.

films resemble in many ways the imagery of publicity films and other tourist media.¹⁸⁵ The silence and fragmentation of amateur films, however, denies the discourses of scenic nationalism unequivocal articulation. Consequently, it would seem that the “enviable autonomy” of the amateur filmmaker is transferred to that of the spectator, particularly the historically distanced archival viewer with the freedom to assign reading strategies according to personal inclination, contemporary discourses or individual flights of fancy. Although an often stark record of the considerable divide between the racial and class privileges of filmmakers and Māori subjects, without audible “master narratives of empire and nation”¹⁸⁶ or the jovial punning narrators of Government travelogues, amateur tourist films maintain a quiet ambivalence by virtue of their fragmented aesthetic form. In this latter sense, as well as in those moments such as tourist-guide interactions when a racial-economic hierarchy is less readily apparent, they appear much closer to the James McDonald films in their unedited form of which Martin Blythe has commented, “it is precisely in their ambiguously “silent” status that their appeal resides.”¹⁸⁷

185 Schneider, 2003, 171.

186 Blythe, 57.

187 Ibid.

3

The Space of Idyllic Spectacle?

Studying the tourist gaze, Urry suggests, “is a good way of getting at just what is going on in 'normal society'.”¹⁸⁸ The previous chapter explored how amateur filmmakers chose to gaze upon natural and human sights/sites at a popular tourist destination. This chapter examines how filmmakers sought to represent an aspect of 'normal society' that tourism specifically seeks to escape: organised work. Unlike holiday activity, work may not seem an obvious subject for amateur film, which is more usually thought of as a leisure pursuit. Amateur tourist films do of course include cooking and laundering performed by Māori women at Whakarewarewa, the 'real lives' of Others presenting an object of interest to the outsider's gaze.¹⁸⁹ Some filmmakers, however, also chose to record work activity that was a familiar part of their own everyday lives or those around them. While holiday films typically depict the New Zealand way of life as a continual series of vacations and outdoor recreational pursuits, 'work films' appear to reference other aspects of the national culture. This chapter considers the sense of identity that emerges within amateur films of sheep farming – an important and iconic New Zealand industry intrinsically connected with idyllic pastoral representations of the landscape – that were recorded in different regions around the country during the late 1920s and 1930s.

An important distinguishing feature of amateur farming films is that, unlike many other images of rural space, home movies were made both by and for rural inhabitants, and would therefore appear to represent an insider's view of the agricultural world. As will be seen, amateur recordings of the rural milieu are often significantly at variance with professionally produced images intended for other (non-rural) audiences. This differentiation might be conceptualised as reflecting a concern with specific places rather than 'universal' or imaginary space. The almost ubiquitous representation of the New Zealand countryside as an idyllic pastoral paradise, seen not only within Government films but also, as will be discussed, in a surprisingly wide range of other visual media, may be interpreted as an outsider's point of view

¹⁸⁸ Urry, 2.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 9.

that presupposed an urban tourist-spectator whose gaze could be made complicit in rendering rural locations exotic, nostalgic or quaint. As noted in the previous chapter, no clear division exists between the spectatorial gaze of ethnographic and tourist photography, resulting in a number of similarities between professional and amateur images in which difference is equated with exoticism. Rural amateur filmmakers might, however, be regarded as 'auto-ethnographers' whose interest was directed at producing a cinematic record of their own immediate physical and social surroundings rather than presuming to capture someone else's experience. Viewed through the lens of the rural gaze, the countryside is not exotic or different, but 'normal' – at least for those who are its inhabitants.

Work, paid or unpaid, is a part of 'normal life' – one that features perhaps surprisingly often in home movies. In an NTSV catalogue search of 22 selected subjects in amateur films, Jane Paul identifies 'holiday' and 'work' as the fourth and fifth most numerically significant categories respectively. While over twice as many films include holiday footage as work-related activity in this search, evidently work was also a subject favoured by filmmakers, something that has perhaps been underestimated within the study of amateur film, particularly as it relates to domestic-centred production.¹⁹⁰ The public and private domain is seldom clearly segregated in a farming situation, which represents a continuum of professional and domestic spaces. Indeed, within the collections discussed in this chapter, footage of farm work is typically interspersed with scenes of children, leisure activities or holidays, which often take up the greater proportion of recorded screen time. It is difficult therefore to gauge the extent to which the interest of filmmakers lay specifically in recording work *per se*, or whether the rhythms of daily life more generally which happened to take place on the farm and *included* work were the primary attraction. Interestingly, as will be addressed later in the chapter, a correlation appears to exist between the types of work most frequently filmed and the person who performed it, perhaps suggesting that work was considered a more intrinsic dimension of the identity of some people on a farm than others. The emphasis on images of men performing outdoor farm work, for example, could be construed in a number of ways. If read as the reflection of a continuing valorisation of masculinity expressed through manual labour, such images might be

190 That is, 'holiday': 2871 films, 'work': 1159 films respectively; this search was based on NTSV catalogue listings of 'Personal Record' films for the period 1920-1970 and does not include material that has not been catalogued to-date. 'Work' includes both the workplace and work as an activity (not necessarily paid employment). Focus on the domestic side of amateur film has in some instances obscured recognition of interest in work; Richard Chalfen, for example, does not include work in his categorisation of home movie subjects; see Paul, 9-10, for further discussion. Norris Nicholson, "As if by Magic": Authority, Aesthetics and Visions of the Workplace in Home Movies, circa 1931-1949', in *Mining the Home Movie*, is one of the few articles that specifically looks at amateur films focused on the workplace.

interpreted, in conjunction with the dearth of corresponding footage of female work-related occupations, as evidence of the replication of stereotypical gender ideologies in amateur films.

Associations between outdoor work and notions of masculinity have a long lineage in New Zealand, originating in the pioneering phase of European settlement during the nineteenth century. By the early twentieth century the achievements of pioneers in the previous century had evolved from mere history into a national mythology that preserved the ideals (albeit not always in practice) of a self-reliant, masculine-oriented culture with a respect for manual work and outdoor living.¹⁹¹ The human effort required to transform natural habitat into productive pastureland is often cited as central to the formation of European settler or Pākehā identity,¹⁹² yet visual representations dating from the interwar period are often ambivalent and contradictory, including only elliptical references to the physical labour and technological encroachments of modernity that brought about topographical changes within the rural landscape. Well-established within the visual iconography of the nation's imag(in)ing of itself, the widely disseminated image of New Zealand as a rustic paradise may in fact imply the portrayal of "the rural for urban consumption".¹⁹³ In often stark contrast, amateur filmmakers foregrounded labour, transformation and technology, giving them tangible visible form in images that included rural workers undertaking the physical activity required to cultivate the landscape.

Rural communities are very visible in amateur films. The empty landscapes seen in other visual media, which act as a kind of uninhabited 'no-man's land' available to any spectator, avoid questions of labour relations, ownership or entitlement to land, constructing universal space with an ambiguously egalitarian quality. Farming films typically encompass the local communities of rural workers, their families and extended social networks. Unlike tourist films of Rotorua in which there is a clearly differentiated sense of 'us' and 'them', rural films do not usually incorporate direct reference to onscreen Others (at least of the human kind). A sense of

191 See Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country?: The Image of the Pakeha Male, A History*, (Penguin Books: Auckland, 1987), for probably the most comprehensive study of this theme to date.

192 James Cowan, for example, writing during the interwar period, talked of Pākehā forging both a new country and new identity "breaking in and building up" the land; see Perkins, 4-5. For further discussion of colonialism, landscape and Pākehā identity, see Giselle Byrnes, 'Surveying Space: Constructing the Colonial Landscape', in B. Dalley et al. (ed), *Fragments: New Zealand Social and Cultural History*, (Auckland University Press: Auckland, 2000); Katherine Raine, 'Domesticating the Land: Colonial Women's Gardening', in *Fragments*; Francis Pound, *The Invention of New Zealand: Art and National Identity 1930-1970*, (Auckland University Press: Auckland, 2009); Perkins examines this theme in a national cinema context.

193 Pound, 200.

'us' is therefore largely dependent upon the representation of an 'us together', a group with social, professional and familial connections in a particular locality – a household, a backyard, a farm, a local township or district – who are seen to share these cinematic spaces, engaging in mutual activities and interests. One might ask if the collective experience witnessed in rural home movies masks a social hierarchy with the national spirit of egalitarianism, or if those not sharing the intimacy (and equality) of the filmmaker's immediate circle were simply excluded from the cinematic record.

The animals that feature in farming films, as will be seen, have a somewhat ambiguous relationship to the human community. Faced with a mob of (ciné) sheep for example, one is confronted by their alterity (they are not human), familiarity (New Zealand has a lot of sheep), sameness (most sheep are white and woolly) and individuality (upon closer inspection no two sheep look exactly alike). As cultural signifiers they appear largely devoid of positive connotations, being variously employed to reference (sheep-like) conformity, (sheepish) embarrassment, sleep-inducing boredom ('counting sheep'), dreamy absentmindedness ('wool-gathering'), muddled or 'woolly' thinking.¹⁹⁴ Yet portrayed on postage stamps and in advertising material, or seen grazing on hills in the distant landscape, sheep appear to have a pleasing familiarity, an attractive aesthetic quality easily incorporated into images of a romanticised rustic New Zealand, eliding the darker side of industrialised meat production and the destruction of native habitat necessary for the creation of pasturelands.¹⁹⁵ As noted in the previous chapter, Pākehā New Zealand knew Māori textually. The New Zealand population as a whole it would seem knew sheep linguistically and aesthetically (as well as gastronomically). The extent to which the popular aestheticisation of sheep parallels the ways that rural filmmakers, whose daily lives were intimately connected with actual rather than cultural sheep, depicted their woolly charges on film is investigated later in the chapter.

Lastly, having explored various elements of the representation seen in amateur films of the rural landscape and its inhabitants both human and non-human (as well as absent), we might consider the effect of the cinematic gaze upon the landscape in itself. Physical forms of possession, such as the occupation, reshaping and cultivation of land, are not the only means

¹⁹⁴ See Deb Verhoeven, *Sheep and the Australian Cinema*, (Melbourne University Press: Melbourne, 2006), 11-5 and Philip Armstrong, *A New Zealand Book of Beasts: Animals in our Culture, History and Everyday Life*, (Auckland University Press: Auckland, 2013), 35-44, for further discussion of the cultural connotations of sheep.

¹⁹⁵ Armstrong, 40.

of expressing ownership of space. Framing space enables land to be interpreted as landscape with particular social and cultural associations. In New Zealand images of productive farmland have a specific connection with the history of European settlement, land clearance and colonisation that subjected territory formerly belonging to Māori tribes to a system of individual private ownership. In conclusion therefore, we might ask if the personal cinematic records produced by affluent, white rural New Zealanders of the early twentieth century construct a view of the countryside that extends a 'colonising gaze' over the landscape, one that perhaps subsumes or excludes the experience of Others within it.

The rural as Other space or own place

In the previous chapter, it was noted that amateur films of Rotorua share a number of similarities with representations seen in professionally produced tourist media. What these films also share is the common position of image-makers as outsiders in a tourist locality already familiar through widely circulated visual culture. Amateur farming films recorded 'at home' might therefore be expected to display a rather different intersection with popular imagery, one that incorporates an insider's response to space that was familiar both through sustained physical exposure and wider cultural knowledge. What kinds of images were available to inform rural filmmakers how they should gaze upon their own land, and what relationship appears to exist between amateur film and professional cinema's intervention into the nation's imag(in)ing of the rural landscape?

The filming of rural locations might be divided into two general approaches, which appear to have a marked (though not entirely consistent) relationship with the position of the filmmaker and spectator. The more common cinematic mode of representing the countryside and, according to Catherine Fowler and Gillian Helfield, the theorising of its representation follows a convention that the normative position of both filmmaker and spectator is urban, with the rural contrasted as an exotic Other.¹⁹⁶ In New Zealand this approach to rural space is exemplified by the Government scenics of the twenties and thirties, which feature predominantly empty landscapes intended to invite the tourist to escape into an exotic and picturesque 'universal space'.¹⁹⁷ This form of imagining the rural was not limited to cinema,

196 Catherine Fowler and Gillian Helfield, Introduction to *Representing the Rural: Space, Place, and Identity in Films about the Land*, (Wayne State University Press: Detroit, 2006), 2.

197 See Fowler for further discussion of the concept of 'universal space', 'Symphonie paysanne: An Embodied and Embedded Picturing of the Land', in *Representing the Rural*, 135.

but was in fact consistent with representations across a much wider range of visual media. Cinematic views of depopulated rural landscapes are echoed in the images of professional photography, advertising material and even paintings by artists who were presumably freer to create views of the countryside not necessarily aligned with commercial imperatives such as tourism. Landscape painting of the period, like that of Rita Angus for example, routinely “makes absent precisely those for whom it is a lived experience.”¹⁹⁸ The omission of a rural population, especially the invisibility of rural workers, in film and other types of imagery could be read in terms of a discursive (rather than an actual physical) terrain that appears to presuppose the desire of an urban spectator for unimpeded access to an imaginary rural paradise which is essentially nostalgic in character.¹⁹⁹ Conversely, such idealised panoramic views of rural space may “be said not to take us *toward* but rather to take us *away* from the land”, severing any connection with ‘real’ soil in favour of layers of cultural imaginings.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, this cultured view of rural landscape is not confined to the imaginary spaces of professionally made images. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Norris Nicholson and Schneider have noted a similar propensity of amateur filmmakers in European settings to render rural subjects quaint, primitive or backward when filming excursions to the countryside. Urban sightseers could construct a nostalgic view of rural locations by contrasting the supposedly traditional ways of country life with their own more sophisticated modernity.²⁰¹ Consequently, the countryside appears to be a preserved enclave of a nation’s past. By filming only those subjects that reinforced a sentimental or Arcadian image, urban filmmakers imposed preconceived perceptions of the rural upon actual physical encounters, attentively recording indicators of the backwardness they had presumably expected to find in the countryside.

A second and very different approach to filming rural space is one broadly concerned with addressing the actualities of rural experience. This might include (although certainly is not limited to) the perspectives of rural inhabitants, but is perhaps most clearly delineated by the depiction of a *specific place* located, unlike universal space, within a particular historical and geographical context.²⁰² Ethnographic and social realist documentaries depicting activities in

198 Pound, 199.

199 See Fowler and Helfield, 7, for the discursive nature of rural landscape; on the accessibility of a rural paradise, see Pound, 200, and Eggleton, 48-9, 64-5.

200 Fowler and Helfield, 9-10 (emphasis original).

201 Norris Nicholson, 1997, 207, 209; Schneider, 2006, 163-70.

202 Fowler, 135-6.

rural locations, while sometimes nostalgic or 'salvage' orientated, could be included in this categorisation. In New Zealand the major example of professional ethnographic filmmaking of the interwar period are the scenes of Māori life recorded by James McDonald. While not specifically focused upon agricultural methods used by Māori, filming largely took place within a rural milieu and details such as the harvesting of kūmara on the East Coast, for example, are included. Arguably, some of the industrial films made by the Government could also be classified as featuring actual places, or at least 'real' activities that occurred within them.²⁰³ These often focus on secondary industries rather than primary production however, and briefly glimpsed images of farmland tend to recall generic rural scenery. Moreover, all these films were made by urban-based Government filmmakers and therefore constitute an urban reflection upon non-urban spaces, albeit a more particularised one. What is less apparent, particularly in the case of the McDonald films, is the intended audience for these films.²⁰⁴ Amateur industrials advertising farm machinery, such as *MacEwans Manure Remover and Distributor* (1930), which may have screened at agricultural and pastoral shows, clearly assumed a rural viewer – one who might want to purchase the product on display²⁰⁵ – but were not otherwise concerned with documenting rural existence. It is the home movies of amateur filmmakers produced in rural settings and intended for a rural audience that provide the most extensive cinematic record of farming practices and rural experience in specific localities from this time period.

Very little has been written about this form of 'auto-ethnography' by amateur filmmakers in rural contexts. In one of the few studies inclusive of amateur films made by those directly involved in agricultural production, Adam Capitanio notes that Maryland tobacco farmers in the 1950s and 1960s repeatedly chronicled the annual cyclical changes in the landscape, weather patterns and seasonal work, which he concludes demonstrates an attentive appreciation of the passage of time, resulting from a specifically rural perspective.²⁰⁶ In these films produced by rural inhabitants “the relationship between land and one who “pictures” the land is real, intimate, and attentive,”²⁰⁷ concerned with a specific place and time, rather than

203 *The Golden Fleece* (1935), for example, was filmed at Roslyn Mill, Dunedin.

204 The audience addressed in *Golden Fleece*, for example, initially appears to include farmers 'who might get a higher price for their wool' with improved quality control, then seems to shift more towards those not otherwise acquainted with woollen garment manufacture in New Zealand. Presumably this might include spectators in urban centres. *From Meadow to Market* (1936) seems more obviously targeted at potential consumers of New Zealand lamb, the majority of whom were likely to be local or overseas urban residents without a ready supply of meat grown in their own fields.

205 Paul, 77.

206 Capitanio, 54-7.

207 Fowler, 135.

with universalised space or a nostalgic desire for a vanishing national past.

In New Zealand many amateur filmmakers were themselves intimately connected with the rural world, involved directly in agricultural production or as other members of small town communities.²⁰⁸ During the interwar years approximately half of New Zealand's population lived either on the land or in settlements of fewer than 5000 inhabitants.²⁰⁹ Perhaps due to the fewer alternative forms of entertainment available in rural districts, amateur filmmaking was popular amongst rural New Zealanders, the NTSV collection containing a substantial number of films featuring farming-related subjects dating from the years prior to World War II. Rather than the sentimental or nostalgic images of rural life filmed by urban sightseers or the picturesque scenery deemed favourable to the international tourist market, home movies offer an insight into the perspectives of those who lived and worked in rural areas of New Zealand or, in some instances perhaps, the gaze of visiting friends or family members who maintained connections with the agricultural world.

Normal working life in perspective

'Normal' life can be difficult to define, or even identify, due to its pervasive presence and relativity. It is perhaps most clearly distinguished, however, when contrasted with alterity. Appearances, places, events, practices or customs that are at variance with those encountered in day-to-day life may seem novel, or even exotic, simply because they are unfamiliar. Juxtaposed against the exotic or different, it becomes clear normal life includes that which is familiar, routine, daily, mundane, repetitive or work-like. It is also highly subjectivised: washing in hot pools was normal for some Māori residents of Whakarewarewa, for most other people it was (and is) not. Physical labour undertaken in open spaces is a very different form of employment to that performed by an urban office worker, for example. Many features of rural life that appear in amateur films, such as tending animals in fields, may have an unusual, possibly even exotic, quality to urban eyes more accustomed to enclosed spaces. Viewed from a rural perspective, however, the same activities are simply part of the normal routine of everyday life.

The aspect of normal life that is of principal concern here is work. As the professional and

208 See Paul (esp. chapters one and two) for discussion of amateur filmmaking in a small town New Zealand context.

209 Statistics New Zealand, 'Official Yearbooks',

http://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1939/NZOYP_1939.html#idsect2_1_21073 (accessed 16 February 2014). Urban drift was fairly low, so that the urban-rural population ratio remained relatively stable throughout the period.

domestic are in many respects interwoven in the agricultural world, there is a collapsing of public-private space and associated activities, so that work and leisure may transpire within the same recognisable locations. The intimacy of this kind of setting creates an element of ambiguity with regard to whose individual point of view is represented on film. Amateur filmmakers were not autobiographers in the narrowest sense: they did not usually (with some exceptions)²¹⁰ turn the camera on themselves so much as record the architecture of their surrounds and those who shared these spaces. In an archival context at least, without the spoken narration that may have accompanied home screenings, the filmmaker's self-inscription is primarily as the origin of the gaze, the seer rather than the seen (or heard).²¹¹ Yet there appears to be some degree of interchangeability between camera operator and filmed subject at play in farming films, especially perhaps in the recording of work activities. Filming work that was an intrinsic aspect of the filmmaker's own daily routine required him or her to be an observer rather than a participant,²¹² a point that raises an intriguing question: who was free to watch work without actually taking part?

In the Eastwood films, which record many aspects of the working life of a sheep farm in the Wairarapa in the late 1920s, most work depicted is performed communally. It is not difficult therefore to envisage that someone present was able to spend a few minutes on any given occasion recording footage, perhaps before returning to the task at hand. Activities involving only one person working alone were recorded less frequently, perhaps because solitary tasks were less likely to be witnessed, or because collective occupations, such as shearing or haymaking, offered a more dramatic spectacle for the camera, a striking feature of the Eastwood collection being well-filmed moments of drama. In fact, it is not at all unusual for bystanders to be captured on film in these or other amateur films, suggesting that it was not uncommon for friends, relatives or perhaps those with professional connections, to be present and to take an active interest in whatever work was taking place on a farm, without necessarily being directly involved in the process of labour. In this sense amateur films appear to construct

210 Catherine Russell writes, "Subjectivity cannot be denoted as simply in film as with the written 'I' ... The image of the filmmaker, when it appears in a diary film, refers to another cameraperson, or to a tripod that denotes an empty, technologized gaze", *Experimental Ethnography: The Work of Film in the Age of Video*, (Duke University Press: Durham and London, 1999), 280. This latter option is possibly glimpsed in a film by John Routley (see footnote 265). The expense and single exposure capacity of film would, however, seem to discourage filmmakers from attempting to operate and appear on-camera simultaneously. Video, which is re-recordable and easily used in conjunction with an external monitor or reversible built-in screen, would appear a more suitable medium for self-recording.

211 Ibid., 277.

212 Work is perhaps a stronger example than tourist activity of Sontag's argument that photography prohibits or reduces participatory experience (Sontag, 9). While a filmmaker could not usually participate actively in the work being filmed, he or she might of course interact in other ways with those in front of the camera.

as cinematic spectacle not simply the work itself, but also the people engaged in viewing it. It is also worthy of note that the activities most frequently filmed involving livestock were sheep dipping and drafting, which typically took place in sheep yards near or attached to farm buildings, a place where people might readily congregate, as well as a situation in which a camera might easily be fetched from storage. Other significant events in the seasonal cycle of farm life went noticeably unrecorded. Lambing, one of the most important events in the farm calendar, was apparently not filmed, perhaps because it took place in paddocks away from the central buildings, was not undertaken collectively or was a situation in which superfluous human presence might be considered disruptive.²¹³

The relationship between labour collectivity and filming appears to be a significant feature of these films, one that invites the possibility of multiple camera operators. While sharing of the camera is in many instances difficult to discern, it can be clearly registered, for example, in Lucy Wills's films of Tekapo Station (subsequently discussed in more detail) in which the camera is obviously passed between those present, enabling Lucy herself at times to appear onscreen engaged in work including sheep dipping, shearing, milking or driving a tractor. In this instance, work and filming appear to be activities that were interchangeable between members of the household or farm community. The filmmaker herself gazes both through and back at the camera lens, giving her films a measure of "intersubjective reciprocity".²¹⁴

It is also quite logical, given the presence of bystanders in many films, to envisage that the camera may on occasion have been passed to one of these onlookers. In the event they were not immediate members of the farm community this could engage the gaze of an outsider. It is perhaps more likely though that a visitor would be someone with an 'in-between' position, connected with as well as detached from the farm space or rural milieu.²¹⁵ The films made by Lucy Wills, an immigrant not previously involved in sheep farming,²¹⁶ might also be considered 'in-between', representing an outsider's 'inside' perspective on high country life. As will be seen, her films do indeed appear to display a somewhat different sensibility in certain

213 While such footage may indeed exist, an extensive survey based on a catalogue search of the subject 'sheep' and subsequent viewing has not revealed any films depicting lambing specifically in the NTSV collection for the period 1923-1939. In New Zealand the term *paddock* is typically used to describe a field for animals or crops of any kind.

214 Michael Renov describes the "shared camera" as "endemic to domestic ethnography", creating a measure of intersubjective reciprocity, *The Subject of Documentary*, (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis and London, 2004), 219, 224. Given the blurring of boundaries between professional/domestic in farming films, 'domestic ethnography' seems an adequate description.

215 Fowler and Helfield, 2.

216 Dudding, 2008 (no page number).

respects from the other films discussed in this chapter. Another example may be the films of the W.A. Greer collection, which include a wide variety of subjects: leisure activities (fishing, sport), farming (sheep, cropping) and other work-related or industrial subjects (forestry, car sales). While the filmmaker may have had close ties with all of these subjects, it seems unlikely he was normally an active participant in the entire range of activities filmed.

Interestingly, a rather curious and not particularly successful attempt to suggest an intermediate subject position is seen in the Government film *Broad Acres* (1939), which utilises the narrative device of a daughter returning home to the family farm accompanied by a female friend in order to structure its depiction of various aspects of life on a sheep station. Despite the unusual decision to include a cast of named characters in the film, the picturesque imagery bathed in glowing sunlight and orchestral soundtrack present an extremely sentimentalised view of farming, more consistent with picturing the rural as an exotic tourist locality than a specific embodied place. As the major surviving example of the Government's representation of sheep farming,²¹⁷ the film exemplifies many facets of the idyllic rural landscape of popular imagination. Framed against the prevalent image of a pastoral paradise, how do amateur films of the era present a more nuanced view of the countryside?

Rural New Zealand: a resplendent pastoral paradise?

Amateur farming films tend to display a divergent, though not entirely consistent, view of the New Zealand countryside in comparison with that of Government films and other visual media of the interwar period. The most common mode of representation seen in the latter, witnessed in scenics, photography, commercial art and landscape painting alike, was of an idyllic pastoral paradise, largely uninhabited. The National Publicity Studios and Auckland's *Weekly News* in particular generated a proliferation of "superficially beautiful" photographs of the New Zealand countryside that ignored the social realities of labour in favour of images suggesting "that the sun shone continuously in Aotearoa."²¹⁸ High country mustering on horseback, often depicting riders pausing to survey panoramic landscapes, was an especially popular image, reiterated in advertising posters and other print material,²¹⁹ linking

217 There are no known extant prints (partial or complete) of approximately three-quarters of Government made films dating from the period 1922-1941; Dennis, 1981, 5.

218 William Main and John B. Turner, *New Zealand Photography from the 1840s to the Present*, (PhotoForum Inc: Auckland, 1993), 45; also Bronwyn Dalley, *Living in the Twentieth Century: New Zealand History in Photographs 1900-1980*, (Bridget Williams Books Ltd. and Craig Potton Publishing Ltd., Wellington and Nelson, 2000), 31; Eggleton, 64-5.

219 Alsop et al., 366-81; for advertising material promoting New Zealand produce to the British market, see Felicity Barnes, *New Zealand's London: A Colony and its Metropolis*, (Auckland University Press: Auckland, 2012), 132-3, 178-86.

contemporary life with a pioneering past. This picturesque aestheticisation of pastoral scenes is also seen in landscape painting of the era in which the countryside often appears productive “of its own volition”,²²⁰ the members of rural communities so seldom shown that one observer commented in 1937 that in looking at any local art exhibition, the viewer “would probably wonder if anyone in New Zealand was doing any work.”²²¹

Anyone pondering this question would be unlikely to find an answer in Government scenics which, aside from the occasional reference to national industries, seldom depicted work.²²² As with other visual culture of the era, the aspirations of these films appear to be the construction of a sentimentalised and essentially timeless countryside. However, the inclusion of trains and other modes of transport intended to foreground the accessibility of the otherwise pristine rural landscape, adds a degree of ambivalence to a view that is principally nostalgic. In somewhat contradictory fashion, industrials such as *Rug Making* (1929) and *Golden Fleece* (1935)²²³ document in elaborate detail the highly mechanised processes of manufacturing woollen rugs and garments. The focus is very much upon the machines rather than their human operators, close ups of whirring mechanisms serving to emphasise the modernity and efficiency of New Zealand's secondary industries whilst downplaying their human aspect, the occasional face of a New Zealander appearing largely incidental to the overall ambition of these films. Images of rural scenery illustrating where wool was grown, however, mirror those elsewhere: picturesque, unpopulated, seemingly devoid of human modification.

A rather different view of the rural landscape transpires in a series of amateur films recording ploughing competitions and demonstrations of the 1930s made by Bill Cameron. Cutting between extreme wide shots of a paddock with furrows extending in a straight line into the distance and tighter shots filmed predominantly from behind a tractor, Cameron captured both the action of turning the earth and its reconfiguration of the landscape into an almost geometrical composition of light and dark accentuated by the monochrome cinematography. On another occasion Cameron filmed a competition pitting machine against draft horse. That this demonstration is primarily about spectacle is made abundantly clear by the polished show

²²⁰ James Shelley quoted in Pound, 199.

²²¹ Pound, 199.

²²² Apple growing, for example, features in the surviving fragment of *Glorious New Zealand* (1925) and sheep farming is mentioned in *Romantic New Zealand* (1934).

²²³ There is also surviving footage from an earlier film of the same title (1930) focusing on shearing. The wool grader is the only identified individual; images of other workers in the shed are mostly fragmented, showing limbs frantically operating equipment.

harness of the Clydesdale horse teams and the assembled gathering of onlookers. Contributing greatly to the tangible dramatic presence of his depiction of the rural landscape, Cameron demonstrates a basic knowledge in these films of the *mise-en-scène* of storytelling, providing establishing shots of swampy pastureland prior to ploughing and the occasional variation of angle. Some startled cattle visible in the background incidentally serve to underline the newness of the technology on display. In some shots a group of men follow closely behind the tractor and plough inspecting the furrow, however the conquering of nature is not entirely plain sailing: in one instance vegetation becomes entangled in the blades of the plough and a man is forced to clear them with a spade. The most dramatic of Cameron's films opens with a panoramic view of wet pastureland dotted with clumps of reeds and swampy marshes. A caterpillar tractor with a swamp plough attached then proceeds to make light work of the vegetation, initially demonstrating the tractor's ability to negotiate the heavy waterlogged soil, before demolishing in turn reeds, flax bushes and finally, most spectacularly, cutting a swathe of devastation through standing mānuka scrub, accomplished simply by driving over the trees with the plough blade. This awe-inspiring (or alternatively mortifying) display of the destruction of native vegetation offers a vision of the combined power of machinery and human involvement to transfigure the landscape, and is perhaps, given Cameron's repeated attention to the subject and the evident interest of onlookers, indicative of the pride taken in Pākehā ability to remodel and make productive the natural habitat.

This representation of the New Zealand countryside is very different from that seen in professionally made films, photographs or paintings such as those of Rita Angus or Rata Lovell-Smith, in which the natural features of the landscape appear to co-exist harmoniously with its pastoral usage with “seldom anything to suggest one might encroach on the other.”²²⁴ Cameron's films by contrast foreground the capacity of technology to transform the rural landscape as gazed upon with apparent satisfaction by a local community of bystanders. His cinematic view also reiterates aspects of Pākehā colonisation seen in other amateur films such as those of the Eastwood collection: a focus upon the productive use of land, the presence of a rural population, the manual work involved in cultivation or pasturage, all of which might be read in terms of the ownership of land.

Cameron's fascination with machinery's capacity to magnify human efficacy and efficiency

²²⁴ Pound, 199.

whilst reducing physical labour is not in any way exceptional. If anything, the caterpillar tractor and swamp plough might be considered emblematic of New Zealand's interwar countryside, appearing with remarkable regularity in amateur films, signalling a landscape not yet completely won by human endeavour. The transformation of the landscape is also recorded in various ways in the W.A. Greer collection. The films contain footage of tree-felling, work at a sawmill and extensive shots of bulldozing earth and vegetation, again noticeably witnessed on the edge of frame by assembled onlookers. There are also a number of colour films featuring tractors using various farm implements, such as a grass cutter, rake and harvester. Although shot on Kodachrome stock, the colour is unfortunately extremely faded in many of these films, but even the dull flaxen hue of the crops being harvested combined with the visible gleam of the drivers' tanned skin and the printed cotton dress of a woman assisting with some tasks, conjures a warm summery flavour quite different to the effect of monochrome film, suggesting that the work involved was hot and perhaps arduous. The varied colours of the tractor and implements also perhaps serve to emphasise the modernity of scenes, not only visually delineating the motor-powered equipment from the surrounding landscape, but from a retrospective viewing position evoking cultural memory associating colour imagery with more recent history than the predominantly black-and-white or sepia-tinted photographic record of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The occasional deployment of colour film stock also lends a particular quality to the films of Lucy Wills. Born profoundly deaf, Wills immigrated to New Zealand from England with a female companion who was paid a stipend. With no prior experience of sheep farming, she bought Tekapo Station in the Mackenzie Basin, where she lived from 1929 to 1946.²²⁵ While her mostly black-and-white 16mm films of this period in the NTSV collection focus predominantly upon recreational activities with friends and relations both in New Zealand and overseas, including swimming, fishing, tramping and gliding in summer, and winter pursuits such as skiing, ice skating and hockey, there is also footage depicting Lucy, her companion and other people working on the sheep station.

Landscapes in Lucy Wills's films are very much places in which to work and play; she seldom recorded scenery devoid of human activity, and her films, although generally well-framed with

²²⁵ Dudding (no page number); Environment Canterbury Regional Council, 'About Lake Tekapo Regional Park', <http://ecan.govt.nz/advice/recreation-and-parks/lake-tekapo/pages/tekapo-regional-park.aspx> (updated 22 November 2012).

correct exposure and steady camera movement following that of the subject, demonstrate no particular interest in pictorial aesthetics. While there are some scenic views recorded during a South Island tramping trip and scenery shot from a moving train on vacation in North America, two sequences filmed in colour are the most exceptional in terms of aesthetic interest. Extensive aerial footage filmed from a glider over the southern lakes reduces the landscape far below to semi-abstract patterns of swirling blue-green and fawn. On the ground, there are several well-composed panoramic shots showing Lake Tekapo with the station homestead nestled amongst trees on the lakeside, both in snow and displaying the amber colours of late summer. The vivid yellow hue of spring bulbs in the garden are especially unusual in a collection largely devoted to recording the life of the landscape's inhabitants rather than its picturesque qualities and seasonal transformations, suggesting the filmmaker may have been inspired by the possibilities that colour film offered for registering the annual cycle of change. Rather than choosing to film gardening activity, she focused instead on the radiant lustre of the flowers themselves.

The caterpillar tractor is, however, a far more characteristic subject of the Tekapo films. In a surprisingly long sequence a man drives a tractor dragging a single-bladed hand plough steadied by a second man up a tussock-covered hillside. The purpose of this rather curious and protracted undertaking, initially obscure, is eventually revealed to be in service of moving a large boulder, the furrow perhaps intended to ease its path down the hillside. The principal subject of the sequence, however, is really the tractor itself. Interestingly, like the Government films and many paintings of the era, and unlike the films of Cameron and Greer, humanity and nature generally seem to exist in Wills's films in a relatively congruous relationship. The landscape provides grazing, firewood, fishing and various seasonal entertainments; when the lake rises and the homestead appears stranded on an island, the residents seem quite content to row ashore or simply paddle through the water in waders. Even work to some extent seems a pleasure at Tekapo, the New Zealand landscape offering an idyllic playground to the English immigrants, or at least the cinematic appearance of one. This rather rose-tinted view of rural existence is not of course entirely unique; home movies seldom show more unpleasant aspects of life, however work activity as it is depicted in the films of Cameron, Greer and Eastwood has a noticeably serious demeanour, undertaken with rather more solemn diligence, and particularly in the Eastwood films, a certain element of danger in comparison with the

lighthearted enthusiasm displayed by Wills and her companion, whether dipping sheep, driving a tractor or even hanging out the washing. Whether or not the buoyant tone of the films is representative of the greater part of life at Tekapo Station, the cinematic image of it seems determined to reify the paradisaal playground that was so assiduously marketed by the Government of the time to potential tourists and settlers, particularly those of the British Isles.

In general however, the New Zealand landscape as seen in home movies of the interwar period is a pastoral paradise principally to the younger members of rural communities. The Wairarapa farmland of the Eastwood films in particular offers a playground of diverse outdoor attractions. The Eastwood children appear frequently in the films, swimming, boating, riding bicycles, playing games on the back lawn or, as they are perhaps most often filmed, with their ponies. The filmmaker appears to have had a particular fondness for filming horses. He recorded extensive footage of horses being trained, competing at local equestrian events, or simply as a herd cantering across a hillside. Horses roaming the landscape and children's summer games add an aesthetic and nostalgic quality to these films, otherwise largely concerned with the serious business of farm work. It would seem therefore that the image of a rural paradise is neither wholly absent from amateur films nor, given the unsentimental focus on technology's power to reconfigure the landscape, attentively reinforced. Furthermore, the presence of a visible human community with strong connections to the land very clearly distinguishes amateur films from many other representations of the rural, locating cinematic space in a time and place that is specific, not imaginary. Before considering this aspect of farming films in more detail, however, the presence of a different type of community within the rural landscape will be examined, that is, the animals that formed the basis of the farm economy of which sheep are the most prominent. Although well represented in wider visual culture, sheep are in fact curiously sparse within the national cinema, which has shown remarkably little interest in sustaining a 'zoological' gaze.

Counting sheep: scenery or sentient beings?

The zoological gaze, unlike the ethnographic, is not returned, or at least not in a way that is recognisably 'human'. Looking at images of animals, according to Catherine Russell, "[w]e cannot know what they are thinking, if they are thinking; the eye becomes a mask."²²⁶ Philip Armstrong concurs that due to their "absence of facial expression" sheep in particular become

²²⁶ Russell, 119-20.

“blank slates for the inscription of human meanings.”²²⁷ This sheepish blankness is perhaps one reason Deb Verhoeven writes in *Sheep and the Australian Cinema* that the challenge presented by ciné-sheep is to think of them ambivalently, that is, to think precisely 'nothing' of them so that “sheep might just be sheep”, whose signifying presence may be regarded as “less than significant”.²²⁸ Making only sporadic and usually peripheral appearances within New Zealand films, sheep seem to be underrepresented in the cinematic landscape of the period in comparison with the actual landscape.²²⁹ Consequently, it might be deduced that the country's professional filmmakers have not considered sheep to be inherently meaningful, or at least not worthy of attention. Yet in amateur films sheep appear regularly, occupying a position that is both distant (as part of the landscape) and near (in sheep yards, wool sheds and even gardens). Unlike the human Others of tourist films, theirs is an alterity that is not exotic but familiar – for those who inhabit the rural milieu at least – and yet it remains distinctly Other-than-human.

Large sheep farms in New Zealand may run flocks of hundreds or even thousands of animals. Given this, those who work with sheep cannot possibly recognise them as individual animals in the manner one may know, for example, a farm horse or dog, perhaps even a dairy cow. A horse or dog may assist with accomplishing work; sheep are a source of work. There is also considerable disincentive to know sheep individually: most breeds are farmed for meat as well as wool. However, there are many aspects of sheep farming including shearing, crutching, dipping and sometimes lambing that require workers to attend to each animal on an individual basis. Even moving a sizeable flock through a narrow gateway can make one aware of sheep as discrete (and sometimes uncooperative) beings, rather than as an indistinct woolly mass. It is interesting therefore to consider how the members of farming communities looked upon the animals that represented their livelihood as producers of wool and meat. Knowledge of sheep was acquired through day-to-day exposure working with animals both individually and collectively. Unlike the gaze of professional image-makers that was informed primarily by cultural perceptions of sheep, the perspective of rural amateur filmmakers was shaped by daily contact with actual living creatures. Like images of the landscape itself, it might be expected that the rural view of ciné-sheep can be differentiated from the unfamiliar gaze of an urban

²²⁷ Armstrong, 37.

²²⁸ Verhoeven, 9-10.

²²⁹ This remains true of more recent cinema; notable exceptions of the past 30 years of filmmaking in New Zealand are *Vigil* (1984), *Ngati* (1987) and *Black Sheep* (2006).

outsider. From an urban point of view, sheep may represent the origin of dinner or woolly jumpers. Sheep farming is an integral aspect of New Zealand's pastoral image and has made a significant contribution to national revenue.²³⁰ These aesthetic and utilitarian values are largely disconnected with the practical everyday maintenance of sheep carried out by farm workers. Consequently, it would seem unnecessary for those not involved in farming to apprehend sheep other than *en masse* or as picturesque scenery, ways in which individual animals are well segregated from a butcher's shop window display or meat served on the dinner table.²³¹ Surprisingly, this division was frequently not maintained in promotional media during the interwar years. A tension exists therefore between the idyllic and darker sides of bucolic representations of sheep, New Zealand pasturelands and farm work.²³²

Today meat is seldom marketed with images associating the product destined for human consumption with the live animal whence it came.²³³ Consequently, from the perspective of contemporary sensibilities, the Government's lamb marketing strategy of 1936 apparent in *From Meadow to Market* appears particularly curious in its depiction of sheep. The opening images include a child clutching a lamb pet and a woman playing with young animals, followed by tranquil scenes of lambs gambolling in a paddock. These same lambs (or others like them) are subsequently transported by 'modern lorry' to an abattoir. While there is a narrational ellipsis between a wide shot of sheep held in stockyards at their destination and an interior view of a neat row of carcasses on meathooks ready for inspection, there is no attempt to elide the fact that the somewhat sentimentalised lambs living a carefree existence in New Zealand's idyllic countryside at the start of the film are destined for slaughter. Rather the message seems to be that one should eat these tender young creatures because they have absorbed the wholesome goodness of nature's bounty, whilst modern processing techniques ensure they remain just as succulent frozen and shipped half way around the globe to the British homeland as on the local New Zealand dinner table.²³⁴

230 Wool was in fact the country's most valuable export for the majority of years from the mid-nineteenth century till the late 1960s. The first shipment of frozen meat was sent from New Zealand to England in 1882, refrigerated shipping thereafter adding considerably to the profitability of sheep farming. See Hugh Sringelman and Robert Peden, 'Sheep farming – Importance of the sheep industry', Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/sheep-farming/page-1> (updated 13 July 2012).

231 The demarcation of animal and meat is also well served in the English language by the linguistic distance of terms such as *hogget* and *mutton*. This is of course true not only of sheep, but also cattle (beef) and pigs (pork, ham, bacon).

232 Paul Thompson, *New Zealand: A Century of Images*, (Te Papa Press: Wellington, 1998), 28-9.

233 Annie Potts discusses the evolution of the separation of meat from animal in *A New Zealand Book of Beasts*, 229-30.

234 The association of pastoral scenery, live sheep and carcasses was also common in other promotional material of the time, such as that of the Empire Marketing Board and displays in butchers' shop windows or the London Exhibition. See Barnes, 144, 158-68, 178-9.

It may be recognised, however, that sheep are also individual animals that are sentient beings. The narrator of a Movietone newsreel of 1935 depicting a muster along Wellington's coastline, for example, assures the audience that while "sheep country is steep country" sheep are in fact sufficiently intelligent to negotiate precarious terrain.²³⁵ He even rather endearingly appeals directly to the animals themselves, entreating the sheep not to stray into the water's edge as they make their way along the beach to the shearing shed (not the freezing works) for "the world wants your wool!"

Sheep appear in a variety of manifestations in amateur films: often simply as indistinct elements of the landscape, or a temporary disruption during a car journey as a flock is driven along a public highway, archival images of this once common practice now imbued with a nostalgic tone. The depiction of sheep is typically less sentimental in films made by those directly involved in farming. Yet there is also noticeable variation amongst amateur ciné-sheep, particularly with respect to their collective or individual identity, something that may have a relationship with both the viewing position of the filmmaker and the final destiny of the animals themselves.

Some degree of individualisation is seen in films of the W.A. Greer collection. On two separate occasions the filmmaker recorded sheep running in a steady stream along a fence line. In the first instance the sheep are an indistinct blur crossing the frame from left to right, but in the second the filmmaker appears to have altered the camera's frame rate in order that they become discernible as individuals passing rather elegantly in slow motion. As there are shots in the Greer collection of members of Napier Ciné Club, the filmmaker himself may have been a member, so it is reasonable to assume he took a serious interest in the aesthetics of photography. However, as an extensive amount of footage is devoted to recording images of sheep, it would seem he also had a considerable interest in filming animals, or at least farming methods.

In a sequence depicting drafting, sheep are seen in wide shot approaching the camera down a

²³⁵ Scientific studies have concluded that sheep possess extensive spatial memories, the ability to identify and remember individuals by face (both sheep and human) and the capacity to learn from experience, while New Zealand pastoralist and nature writer H. Guthrie-Smith characterised sheep individually and collectively as wilful, determined and stubborn among other traits. See Armstrong for further discussion, 52, 56.

race, each animal coming into focus in close up for a moment of screen time in the foreground of the shot. While this effect of individualisation might easily be perceived as peripheral to the overall intention of the shot's composition in which the lines created by the layout of the yards are the determining feature, the filmmaker repeatedly seems to have attempted to portray sheep as discrete animals rather than as an indeterminate multitude. In another shot the filmmaker, presumably in a crouching position, captured a ewe with her three lambs walking forwards to 'pose' momentarily before the camera. Again it is conceivable that the compositional elements of the image may have presented greater interest to the filmmaker than the specific traits of the animals themselves, yet as a mare and foal appear in a separate shot utilising very similar framing, this might be interpreted as a discerning choice on the part of the filmmaker, intended to document animals in such a way as to capture something of their individual demeanour. Even when filmed in continuous series being herded into awaiting trucks, sheep are not seen to follow each other with 'sheep-like' conformity up a loading ramp, some more reluctant animals requiring pushing from behind or even attempting to turn around in the race. The individuality of animals in these films may, however, not represent the perspective of a person directly involved in farming, but rather someone with other connections to the rural world. Sheep in the Eastwood films by contrast are never really depicted as individual animals, seen only as a flock in the paddock or yards, animals whose maintenance is part of the routine of farm work, or simply as amorphous white blobs punctuating the landscape. The children are not seen feeding or playing with pet lambs, although there is extensive footage of the ponies they ride. Unlike the washed and prepared carcasses seen in the Government film, butchering an animal is a messy business, taking place outdoors on the Eastwood property with pork and beef (though not sheep) carcasses shown hanging from trees with flowing offal and body parts strewn over the grass.

A very different sensibility emerges in the films of Lucy Wills in which animals seem almost an extension of the human community. The back garden of the Tekapo homestead is host to not just members of the family: puppies and kittens tumble across the lawn, a pet lamb runs through the midst of children's games, even the farm dogs tussle with the household rugs. The milking cow is caught on camera licking a lamb in her paddock, and while not individualised, even a flock of chickens demonstrate an excitable temperament, a wide shot showing Lucy making a hasty dash with feed buckets to the coop hotly pursued by a veritable stampede of

hungry hens.

As the basis of the station's economy, sheep unsurprisingly make numerous onscreen appearances, seen both as a flock and as individual animals. The rams are seen rutting each other as well as challenging the dogs. An individual ram is filmed in the sheep yards in a series of close ups; a pair of hands offering food can be glimpsed on the very edge of frame in one shot. Lucy and her companion are also seen feeding sheep sitting quietly in a paddock, perhaps sick, from a bottle, supplemented with handfuls of grass. Concluding the shot, Lucy gives one animal an endearing pat. In another shot Lucy rubs a sheep's nose before trimming the wool from around its eyes. Smiling, she then snaps the hand shears in the air before the camera, while her companion presents a newly 'bespectacled' ram to the camera in order to have his 'portrait' taken. Even though these sheep appear to be simply members of the general flock, as with the other animals at Tekapo, there is a sense in these films of their being also akin to family pets, a common subject for home movies.²³⁶

Wool is also highlighted in these films. Tight close ups of a sheep's fleece with the wool parted are recorded on a number of occasions, drawing attention to the importance of the fleece as the product for which sheep are farmed. Even the main shearing at Tekapo appeared to be carried out with hand shears, lack of mechanisation perhaps indicating a modest-sized flock.²³⁷ There are no images associating sheep with the consumption of meat, perhaps because the station appears to run predominantly merinos, a lean breed of sheep farmed in New Zealand primarily for its fine quality fleece. The cinematic emphasis accorded to aspects of the production of wool including shearing, sorting, loading wool bales out of the shed onto an awaiting truck, and what appears to be the washing, drying and 'tossing' of skirtings or dags in an adjoining paddock, offers an insightful record of the principal business in the working life of a high country sheep station in the 1930s.

While gazed upon in ways that are complex and varied, in some instances attentive, others with greater ambivalence perhaps stemming from excessive daily familiarity, it appears

236 The recent New Zealand Film Archive exhibition, PET (Wellington, 14 February -12 April 2014), curated by Gareth Watkins, focused on the enduring popularity of pets as home movie subjects.

237 Electricity connections did not reach some parts of rural New Zealand until the mid-twentieth century, although kerosene was used in some instances to power shearing equipment. Some shearers preferred to use blade shears on fine woolled merino sheep. Hand shears do not cut as closely as powered shears, leaving more wool on the animal, which may be preferable in a harsher climate. See Dalley, 36.

nevertheless that amateur filmmakers were disposed to think *something* of their sheep. The films observe both the labour involved in sheep farming and the aesthetic qualities of sheep. The filmmaker's direct involvement in meat production, or lack thereof, may have had some impact upon the way in which animals were viewed. The degree to which sheep are individualised or even 'humanised', and are seen to be the recipients of human empathy, varies considerably between the examples discussed. At Tekapo in particular sheep appear not simply 'sheep-like' but also discrete and sometimes independent creatures for whom their female attendants seem to display a certain affection. A kind of 'unmasking' appears to take place in these films in which animals are not so much blank as at times demonstrably wilful. As mentioned earlier, Wills's films may represent an outsider's 'inside' gaze upon rural life. Here it might also be asked if this view of farming expresses a specifically female perspective.

The cinematic landscape: a man's country?

Jock Phillips writes in his seminal study *A Man's Country?* that “[t]he most striking fact about nineteenth century New Zealand was how long it remained a frontier world.”²³⁸ As males significantly outnumbered females amongst the Pākehā population, many men spent most of their time in exclusively male company, something which Phillips has suggested resulted in a specifically masculinist culture with values and institutions reflecting the needs of the population, especially in rural districts.²³⁹ While the itinerant labour of pioneering circumstances ceased to play a significant role in the national economy by the early twentieth century, with the majority of men during the interwar period being married with family by their mid-thirties, Phillips concludes that “nostalgia and a search for national identity raised the pioneer image into a legend.”²⁴⁰ Work, especially manual labour, was seen as a source of masculine pride and respectability.²⁴¹ As female wages were very low in comparison with those of men, most women married and worked at home, men's incomes being sufficient to support a family.²⁴²

Evidence of women's work in rural communities is much less well documented on film than that of men. Many of the household tasks that were undertaken by women were performed

²³⁸ Phillips, 11.

²³⁹ Ibid., 6-11.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 39, 225-6.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 16; also McClure, 'Body and Soul: Heroic Visions of Work in the Late Nineteenth Century', in *Fragments*, 100-4.

²⁴² Rob Steven, 'Land and White Settler Colonialism: The Case of Aotearoa', in David Novitz et al. (ed), *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, (GP Books: Wellington, 1989), 32.

indoors. Consequently, the range of activities in which women typically participated that could easily be filmed were more circumscribed than those of men, however amateur films often provide brief or incidental indications of women's roles in the rural labour economy. The washing line for example, as glimpsed in the Eastwood garden, may be read as a common metonym for the heavy and time-consuming labour associated with laundering prior to the widespread use of automatic washing machines. The actual washing and mangling was seldom filmed, perhaps because it was likely to be performed in poorly-lit outhouses. In an unusual sequence, Wills's companion is seen doing hand washing in a tub placed in a doorway, perhaps arranged specifically in order to take advantage of the natural light that made 16mm filming more feasible (as well as the effective removal of stains from garments more readily determined). She then carries the wet laundry in a basket poised on her head to the washing line on which she proceeds to hang the household's sheets. This added dramatic touch suggests the scene may have been staged with the camera in mind; certainly the presence of the camera is acknowledged. Alternatively, this very ordinary activity may have been filmed because it happened on this particular occasion to be performed in a situation in which it could be shot as a sequence in its entirety, rather than merely recording the final stage of hanging the laundry out to dry, or simply as washing seen on a line in the background of a shot focused on some other activity altogether, a rather more common occurrence in amateur films. It is reasonable of course to suppose that Lucy, who does not appear in shot, was operating the camera herself, and that this therefore represents a female gaze upon what was usually regarded as a female occupation.

The back garden provided the usual realm of women's work as captured by amateur filmmakers. Women, or even children, are often seen mowing lawns in amateur films. Whether this should be read as indicative that lawn mowing was an activity commonly delegated to female or junior members of the household is questionable, however, as home movies frequently record the atypical rather than the more mundane and accepted aspects of daily life. The male head of a household may have viewed another member of the family operating the mower as a novelty if he normally undertook this task himself. Similarly, John Routley filmed one of his children as a toddler carefully washing dishes in a sink conveniently well-lit by a window, surely not an everyday chore for such a small child. Both children and women, including the filmmaker's elderly mother, are seen attending to the garden and

mowing the lawn in Ngaire Cooper's films, however the Cooper household presumably lacked the contribution of an adult male member. In home movies women are seen undertaking a wide range of gardening activities including weeding, hoeing the vegetable patch, sweeping, or attending flower beds in the often large gardens surrounding farm houses, such as that on the Eastwood property. In some instances these activities are the principal subject of interest; at other times women are glimpsed at work in the background when the filmmaker's attention was drawn to some other activity, very often children playing on the lawn. Gardening, which provided colonial women with a creative opportunity to remodel the landscape according to their own personal tastes, may also have been a source of pride to many as a "physically invigorating, mentally wholesome and even spiritually uplifting activity",²⁴³ one that perhaps contributed to a sense of cultural identity as a complementary form of domestication or 'taming' the landscape to that which was primarily performed by men in the adjoining fields.²⁴⁴ In this way the lawn mower, particularly the motor-mower, might even be read within rural cinematic iconography as a more domesticated equivalent to the tractor and swamp plough that cleared and broke in the land ready for cultivation. The gardens, which form the incidental backdrop of many home movie sequences, may therefore offer indications of women's labour and individual preferences. Gardens also provided women with semi-private spaces in which they could enjoy time spent with female friends and relatives in the outdoors, as witnessed for example in Cooper's films of women's gatherings.

As most amateur filmmakers were male, it is tempting to speculate that women's occupations, which have traditionally been accorded lower status as work, held limited appeal as subjects to film, or simply escaped the cinematic attention of the majority of filmmakers, domestic tasks being such an integral and largely unchanging aspect of the routine of daily life, which would often have been performed in the absence of male members of the household. By comparison farm work was both visually more dramatic and characterised by greater seasonal variation. Even the disadvantages of poor lighting might be overlooked. Shearing, which, like housework, was usually performed in darkened interiors, was recorded surprisingly often by amateur filmmakers. The Eastwood, Greer and Wills collections all include scenes inside a wool shed, as do a great many other amateur films, yet very rarely did filmmakers harness the limited natural light available effectively. The Greer collection contains several moderately well-

²⁴³ Raine, 78.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 78-9.

lit images of crutching with blade shears, however these are unusual. Murky images capturing little more than the reflection of light upon the sheep's wool and the glint of blades, or the general movement of workers in the shed, are more characteristic of the majority of such footage. Many filmmakers however evidently regarded shearing as an event specifically worthy of record, regardless of the grainy poor quality images likely to be attained. It may be discerned therefore that low light levels were not considered a significant deterrent by many amateur filmmakers wishing to record important aspects of seasonal farm work. Activities that took place daily in dimly-lit interiors such as kitchens or other domestic spaces, were however almost never filmed.

It might be surmised therefore that there are a number of reasons, both practical and ideological, that women were far less likely than men to be seen at work in amateur farming films. Whether women would have specifically wished to be filmed undertaking household chores, many of which were hot, tedious or dirty, is questionable. It might also be argued that unremunerated household tasks were less likely to be *seen* as work, should work *per se* represent a specific cinematic interest. Moreover, within a farm economy the division between public and private, professional and domestic has always remained much less distinct than between housework and paid employment undertaken in a separate sphere away from the home. Evidence of this merging of domestic and professional can be glimpsed, for example, in the occasional appearance in farming films of women dispensing refreshments, presumably prepared in the farmhouse and consumed by workers in the field during *smoko*.²⁴⁵ Women are also seen, albeit infrequently, participating in other types of farm work. In the Greer collection, for example, a woman drives a team of draft horses alongside a man operating a tractor, however, outdoor work performed away from the house and garden as depicted in amateur films was predominantly a male preserve.

Unsurprisingly, women are seen far more often in home movies in moments of mutual leisure time when men, women and children shared each other's company in the back garden, at the beach or during other social gatherings, such as group outings or picnics. Patricia Erens has argued that home movies tend to reflect an ideology "in which women were expected to be attractive and passive, while men were expected to be active", noting that women often pose elegantly for the camera in a manner demonstrating the influence of fashion photography and

²⁴⁵ As seen for example in a personal record by W.R. Hopcroft (F48154).

Hollywood cinema, while men are likely to busy themselves or perform for the camera when conscious of being filmed.²⁴⁶ Men, as the usual family cinematographers, were of course most likely to be the orchestrators of what was selected to be filmed and how shots were arranged. As discussed in chapter one, the Eastwood films are filled with dramatic, active images, often of men at work. However, even posing specifically for the camera may be an active rather than a purely passive response to being filmed, as demonstrated by the Eastwood children frequently 'striding a pose' by marching in formation toward the camera, sometimes joined onscreen by their mother.

Amongst amateur films of the period, those of Lucy Wills are notably striking for their many active images of women, whether at work on the farm, skiing down a snow-covered hillside or performing pirouettes skating on a frozen lake. Later, when her companion married and began a family, children became the principal subject of the camera's gaze and the back garden the primary territory for filming. This later footage is marked by a degree of posing for close up portrait shots, often of women with young children. However, as it is common for both men and women to pose for the camera in home movies, particularly in assembled group 'snapshots' in which the participants are essentially passive, it is difficult to substantiate that a specific gendering of ways of looking and responding to being looked at is a consistent feature of amateur production.

Differences between the style and content of amateur films in terms of the imaging of gender are perhaps more readily discernible in footage of single sex gatherings, such as farm work or all-male fishing and hunting expeditions (such as those of the Greer and Adams collections discussed earlier), or women's garden parties, like those in Cooper's films. On such occasions gender exclusivity may have altered codes of behaviour, thereby offering different types of opportunities for filming in comparison with mixed gatherings. Two pairs of contrasting examples will serve to illustrate this point.

In the Greer collection two middle-aged women are seen in wide shot strolling 'ladylike' on the lawn of a large country estate house, accompanied by a bevy of small dogs. In this gentrified setting the women, who are noticeably well-dressed, appear dignified and decorative within a shot that might seem to demonstrate fairly well Erens's assertion that men typically

²⁴⁶ Erens, 1986[a], 21-2.

chose to film women in images that rendered them essentially passive and ornamental. The women at a garden party recorded by Ngaire Cooper seem equally concerned to appear 'well-to-do', however, they are also more active than decorative, filmed roaming the bush paths of a hillside garden and running enthusiastically down the sloping lawn towards the camera, almost as if a certain degree of ladylike decorum has been dropped in the absence of male observers.

Fishing and hunting, which feature reasonably often in amateur films, are usually all-male affairs not directly observed by women (although it is reasonable to assume female members of a family were likely to be present subsequently at screenings). Phillips describes hunting as an "important source of male identity and pride".²⁴⁷ As discussed in chapter one, Ernest Adams filmed members of his stalking parties posing with large fish and deer antlers, trophies providing evidence of their prowess as accomplished anglers and huntsmen. Wills's films also include numerous images of fishing. On one occasion Lucy poses in close up with fish from the lake, but as they are still wriggling she appears (much to her own amusement) almost in danger of dropping them, so that the recorded image seems more like a parody of a game-hunter's 'trophy shot' than an expression of pride in her catch. Within the above examples men are seen recording men as (having been) active and women as largely passive, while in the images filmed by women (Wills's female companion being the most likely operator of the camera) there is a subtle subversion of stereotypical male and female gender ideologies. These are however specifically isolated examples, which could no doubt be juxtaposed against innumerable images in other collections, or even from within the same collections, supporting a view of home movies as either reproducing and perpetuating, or alternatively contradicting, gender stereotypes. Likewise, the images discussed might also be subjected to differing interpretations.

What is more readily apparent within these two sets of examples is the difference between the appearances of those onscreen. In the first pair of films, it is evident from their clothing and congenial surroundings that the women are members of an affluent sector of society. Given their recreational pursuits (including filmmaking itself), those who feature in the second pair of examples share a common level of prosperity, however, this is not directly discernible from their appearances alone. Obviously, the dress codes of participants are related to the types of activities in which they were involved. As the events have been recorded with their subjects'

²⁴⁷ Phillips, 33.

cooperation, the films also indicate how people wished to be seen: as fashionable members of society, or as adventurous and self-reliant, perhaps identifying with the national spirit of egalitarianism.

Rural New Zealand and the image of an egalitarian society

The notion that individual effort combined with equal opportunities made success possible for everyone in the colonial nation was an attractive prospect for potential settlers to New Zealand, particularly those wishing to escape the poor living conditions of industrialised Britain in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²⁴⁸ Belief in the egalitarian nature of New Zealand society, whether or not borne out by lived reality for the majority, has therefore been regarded as influential in the shaping of national identity. Reallocation of land, progressive labour laws, high wages, social welfare initiatives and a universal franchise made New Zealand favourable to immigrants²⁴⁹ as a country represented not merely as a rural paradise but also a workingman's paradise.²⁵⁰

Given New Zealand's supposedly advantageous social and geographical climate for manual workers and rural existence, it is unsurprising that a certain valorisation of physical labour and self-reliance has been integrated into the national myth of identity. This was expressed both publicly and privately. Margaret McClure notes, for example, that the letters of immigrants frequently describe the enjoyment that many apparently felt working in the outdoors and the satisfaction taken in the accomplishment of physical tasks.²⁵¹ Private accounts mirrored public discourses on colonisation, which portrayed European immigrants as strong, active and heroic, descriptions that might be read as “a sign of a new identity in the new land.”²⁵² Along with an acceptance of hard work as bringing rewards, class origin was often ignored in frontier circumstances, so that “roughing it”, according to Phillips, was in fact a source of pride, indulged in even by well-off colonials, on camping trips for example.²⁵³ A legacy of this attitude is displayed – sometimes almost ostentatiously – in the films of the Eadys' camping holidays and Adams's deer stalking parties in remote valleys of Fiordland discussed in previous chapters, Adams being a wealthy businessman, while the Eadys' motor vehicles, and in some

248 Steven, 26.

249 Bob Consedine, 'Inequality and the Egalitarian Myth', in *Culture and Identity in New Zealand*, 174-5.

250 Keith Sinclair and Wendy Harrex, *Looking Back: A Photographic History of New Zealand*, (Oxford University Press: Wellington, 1978), 147; Consedine, 174; Barnes, 144.

251 McClure, 2000, 104.

252 Ibid., 101-2.

253 Phillips, 16, 24, 30.

instances their clothing, belie their pretensions to frontier adventure. Clothing is of course a significant demarcator of social status. In films of Rotorua, tourists and residents are for the most part readily identified simply by the differences in their clothing, distinguishable even in extreme wide shot in which other visual signifiers may become ambiguous. On holiday it is not unusual to dress either more formally or informally than in everyday life, according to personal inclination or leisure activities, perhaps even the expectation of appearing in shot alongside other well-dressed tourists. In amateur films recording farm work, which took place in more everyday spaces, the attire of participants and their respective social status might be presumed to have a somewhat different relationship, one that was not concerned with cultivating the appearance of a sophisticated, leisured or adventurous lifestyle.

Indications that work activity in rural home movies was specifically arranged in any way for the purposes of filming are usually few and brief, limited to quick glances at the camera, workers posing during a break in the sheep yards, or the occasional handshake acknowledging the presence of the camera, perhaps in order to signify the conclusion of some business conducted verbally. Although the participants of amateur films, who were probably often in a position to anticipate the possibility of being filmed, may on occasion have dressed with the camera in mind, or even changed specifically to appear in shot,²⁵⁴ it seems likely that 'dressing up' often created the impetus to film, rather than vice versa. Children, for example, appear not infrequently costumed in fancy dress, seen in the Eastwood garden or posing individually in close up before John Routley's camera. It seems unlikely that people recorded working on farms were overly mindful of their onscreen image, given the presence of the camera usually appears to be of secondary importance to the task at hand. Interestingly, there is a wide range of dress styles worn by farm workers in films dating from the interwar period, from the formality of brimmed hats, waistcoats and suit jackets through to shorts and singlets. Could this variation indicate a perceptible hierarchy between employers and hired labour?

In the Eastwood films, recorded on a large property in the Wairarapa, it is difficult to interpret the social hierarchy amongst the numerous members of the farm community. A man often seen operating a caterpillar tractor typically wears a full suit and brimmed hat, while another

²⁵⁴ When questioned about the often remarkably well-dressed appearance of himself and his companions during their 1927 road trip across America, amateur filmmaker Kiyooka Eiichi admitted, "Sometimes we were dressing for the films. We had the clothes with us and if we wanted to take a picture in which we would look well cared for, we might dress up a little." See Ruoff, 'Forty Days across America: Kiyooka Eiichi's 1927 Travelogues', *Film History* 4:3 (1991), 253.

for whom horse-training is an assigned task, usually appears in a singlet, but it is unclear from the footage alone if this denotes social status, income, individual preference or simply the most appropriate attire according to occupation and seasonal temperature at the time of filming. The tractor driver's performance of 'pirouettes' in a muddy yard might in fact be a better indication than his suit that he had the prerogative to engage in an activity that appears both spontaneous and frivolous, and to be recorded doing so. Lucy Wills, a wealthy landowner and English immigrant, most often clad in shorts and men's socks, overalls or waders, or occasionally a rather shapeless frock, with her stocky figure hardly presents an image of a sophisticated rural elite. Even seen on holiday in England she favours comfortable rather than fashionable clothes. On Tekapo Station, Lucy and the companion she paid a stipend are seen alongside others working on the estate, distinguished by their frequency and duration of screen time, rather than outward appearances, as the principal stars of their home movies.

What underscores these farming films then is a strong underlying sense of rural community, in which work – or at least the outdoor work usually performed by men – was undertaken collectively, without overt demonstration of social hierarchy. People assembled to work, or watch work, in sheep yards, hayfields or for ploughing demonstrations as part of a community of shared interests. Rural films are therefore marked by a cohesive onscreen togetherness. It must be remembered of course that filmmakers were themselves aware of the social relations of those filmed; consequently, home movies have no need to document the stratification of workers.²⁵⁵ This view of the New Zealand countryside, however, remains very different at least to that represented in landscape paintings of the interwar period, Government scenics and other tourist publicity material, which are frequently devoid of human inhabitants, and therefore connotations of work, employment relations or the ownership of land.²⁵⁶ Wool was in fact so profitable that landowners, especially large run-holders in areas such as Canterbury, Otago and the Hawkes Bay, by the late nineteenth century could afford reasonable wages compared with Britain.²⁵⁷ It has been argued, however, that the good conditions for workers fostered an ideology of New Zealand as a classless society in which 'mateship' or social camaraderie concealed real divisions of wealth.²⁵⁸ While farm labourers and employers may be

255 A comparison may be drawn with an amateur industrial such as J. Newburn's 'Through Westland's Coalfields' in which there is a very clear visual delineation between management, who pose formally in suits, and a crowd of miners returning grimy and exhausted from the coalface.

256 Pound, 184-5.

257 Steven, 28; Sinclair and Harrex, 147-9.

258 Steven, 31.

framed together in amateur films on relatively equal terms, it is perhaps more revealing, rather than scrutinising the appearances of those onscreen, to ask who in the rural community was not filmed, and why.

It may be noted that the content of this chapter has been very *white*, not simply because sheep are a central subject. Before the 1940s most of the Māori population lived in rural areas and the majority of those in employment worked either in agriculture or the timber industry.²⁵⁹ This social reality is certainly not visible in amateur films of the era. For the most part, the Pākehā farming communities represented in home movies appear largely to exclude Māori, who are glimpsed only occasionally in the gloom of wool sheds as members of shearing gangs,²⁶⁰ or doing other types of seasonal labour, such as harvesting root crops or cutting flax.²⁶¹ Most films discussed in this chapter, including those of the Eastwood, Wills and Greer collections, appear to have been recorded on large sheep stations. The number of workers and vehicles, the size of gardens and homesteads, or the types of leisure activities indulged in by the participants provide indications of the prosperity of landowners with substantial properties for whom wool production continued to offer adequate financial security during times of economic downturn. Indeed, evidence of the widespread poverty of the period that affected many small farmers and landless workers in rural communities almost never enters the cinematic frame.²⁶² In this respect the rural communities depicted in amateur films appear very insular, social enclaves whose members – and perhaps invited guests – worked or played together, but who were seldom disposed to turn the camera lens much further afield to document a world beyond the intimacy of their familiar realm.

From this perspective the collection of John Chisnall Routley stands apart. Routley was a prolific amateur filmmaker: NTSV holds 42 prints, dating from 1936 through to the 1970s.²⁶³

259 Dalley, 27; 8.6 percent of the Māori population lived in urban localities in 1926; see Sinclair and Harrex, 64.

260 Many Māori worked in often whānau-based shearing gangs (see Dalley, 23). Māori women can be seen handling fleeces in a personal record of the Mills family, for example, however as discussed above, images filmed inside a wool shed are seldom sufficiently clear to ascertain the ethnic identity of those at work.

261 As seen in a personal record by N.B. Gibbons (F34092), for example.

262 Many rural workers and small landowners, particularly those with mortgages, faced significant economic hardship or bankruptcy due to the fluctuating prices of primary produce from the early 1920s onwards, which left many farmers unable to service debts. Those owning large properties without mortgages probably fared better, although with significantly reduced profits as production costs did not decrease in proportion to the lowered value of primary products. See Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, (Penguin Books: Harmondsworth, England, 1969), esp. 252-7, 273-5; and Miles Fairburn, 'The Farmers Take Over (1912-1930)', in Keith Sinclair (ed), *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, (Oxford University Press: Auckland, 1996), for political and social histories of the rural sector during the 1920s and 1930s.

263 Kiri Griffin, New Zealand Film Archive, personal correspondence, 15 March 2013.

Although a farmer, Routley seldom recorded farm work, possibly indicating he usually worked alone; he filmed clearing land with a bulldozer, haymaking and a sheep drive in a riverbed, occasions when other people were present. Instead he recorded a variety of other subjects including local events, family outings, animals and landscapes, although children were his most frequent choice of subject. What is particularly noteworthy about this collection that might otherwise be described as fairly stereotypical home movies, is their rather more egalitarian flavour. Unlike the other collections discussed in this thesis, Routley shot on cheaper 8mm film stock. The family home in Northland appears relatively modest and Māori members of the community make occasional appearances onscreen. A young Māori woman, for example, appears on two occasions at social gatherings in a back garden, while a young Māori man is seen driving a team of horses and standing with a farm dog. Routley also filmed at a hui and a Rātana wedding in the Waima Valley, near to where the family owned a farm.²⁶⁴ On these occasions Routley appears to be the only Pākehā in attendance, perhaps indicating he was invited specifically to film the events. Although few within the entire collection, these images indicate the Routleys had some degree of social contact, or possibly working relations, with local Māori, and that the filmmaker regarded these associations as worthy of record.

Everyday encounters between Māori and Pākehā outside a tourist locality such as Rotorua are relatively infrequent in amateur films of the interwar period in any context, the fishing trips recorded on Lake Taupo in the Greer collection being another isolated example. This is unsurprising: most Māori and Pākehā had little personal contact with each other at this time. At the hui Routley recorded, a Pākehā man – presumably the filmmaker himself²⁶⁵ – is seen briefly together with a Māori man, posing with their arms around each other, signifying an outward display of 'mateship'. We cannot be sure that the familiarity the two men share onscreen extended beyond the moment of filming, however, it appears the filmmaker and his acquaintance considered it important in that instance of time to document an expression of friendship as such.

The panoptic gaze: colonising the landscape

The Routleys' property, like many Pākehā farms, may have been situated on land formerly

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ This man also appears in shot very occasionally elsewhere in the films, usually in moments where he appears to have exchanged on and offscreen roles with the woman who is presumably John Routley's wife Elizabeth, or on one occasion possibly placed the camera on a tripod in order for the couple to appear together, hence the conclusion he is most likely the filmmaker.

belonging to local iwi. Physical occupation is however only one method of colonising space; Barry Hancox claims that photography was “the primary instrument of artistic colonisation, describing, possessing and interpreting” space with the effect that many early scenic views remain so familiar as to “define our experience of landscape even now”.²⁶⁶ As image-making technologies photography and film share a “breathtaking fidelity” in terms of reproductive capability, yet land is nonetheless framed via established aesthetic and topographical ways of seeing.²⁶⁷ While most New Zealanders seldom saw landscape painting, photographic images of scenic views were widely circulated,²⁶⁸ so that picturesque and panoramic visions of the countryside formed a familiar iconography, placing “the spectator, as far as art can do, in the scene represented”.²⁶⁹ The panoptic gaze, which adopts the omniscient perspective of an all-seeing ‘I/eye’ extending unobstructed vision over the landscape, is a feature of the panoramic view. When including symbols of habitation, expressed in specifically European terms, such views may be interpreted not just as a way of knowing space but also of exerting its ownership. Understanding the meaning of landscape through its aesthetic and utilitarian value therefore serves a special function within the cultural colonisation of land.²⁷⁰ When land is framed by specific personal attachment, space becomes *place*, and possibly *territory* of one’s own. Given rural filmmakers regularly filmed familiar places in which they lived and worked, does the cinematic gaze upon the landscape seen in amateur films construct a view that is inherently aligned with an aesthetics of colonisation?

If conceptualised as a panoptic gaze, the I/eye of amateur film demonstrates a knowledge of landscape that differs from other panoramic visualisations of space in a number of respects. While including the occasional ‘pure’ landscape, rural films more often gaze upon a continual unfolding of events within it. What Fowler terms “embodied and embedded picturing” might aptly describe rural home movies, which would seem to capture “real earth rather than exotic earth.”²⁷¹ The relationship between land and filmmaker is real, intimate and specific, so that the images of home movies are *embedded* within a particular time-space context (rather than universal space) and *embodied* through the concrete experiences of rural inhabitants.²⁷² Motion serves an important function in the recording of events. Unlike still photography, moving

266 Barry Hancox, ‘Lasting images: Photography and Tourism Publicity’, in *Selling the Dream*, 77.

267 Ibid.

268 Ibid., 77-8.

269 Francis Pound in Hancox, 76.

270 See Byrnes for discussion of the panoptic gaze in relation to landscape and colonisation in New Zealand, esp. 54-5.

271 Fowler, 136.

272 Ibid.

images enabled amateurs to attend to the details of processes such as work activity utilising continuous extended takes, rather than merely recording a series of discontinuous moments or snapshots. Such movements are conspicuously prosaic in their daily or seasonal repetitiveness. Yet it is precisely this attentiveness to the minutiae of everyday events that imparts an impression of materiality – of life (having been) lived. This humdrum continuity of movement invites spectatorial identification not with the universal but with the specific intricacies of the onscreen world.

While this type of filmic documenting of procedure is not entirely dissimilar to that seen in the whirring mechanisms of industrials, amateur films usually also include a more human (and animal) side to working life. The extent to which humans and animals are particularised varies considerably between the films discussed. Lucy Wills has a perceptible onscreen persona, as do in some respects the other human and animal inhabitants of Tekapo Station. Watching these films, we cannot *know* her exactly, but are able to discern quite a bit about her lifestyle. In the Eastwood films the bevy of farm workers and children form a *dramatis personae*, no one of whom has an overriding individual presence, while animals appear essentially *en masse*. Regardless of degrees of individualisation, however, there remains a palpable human and animal presence in the rural landscapes of amateur films not visible in images of the countryside promoting the vision of a pastoral paradise. Despite the inclusion of moving vehicles, the dreamlike landscapes of scenic films have a static, almost painterly, abstracted quality that tends to eschew dynamic use of cinematic motion. These landscapes suggest spaces the immobile spectator may enter in imagination. Amateur films depict places where rural people actually moved in various ways: the landscape is a setting, rather than merely a view, within which humans, animals and events are visibly integrated. As a panoptic view of rural existence, the amateur gaze is particularly successful in terms of registering the subtle inflections of human presence within the landscape.

At the start of the chapter it was suggested that amateur filmmakers may be considered auto-ethnographers of the rural world. At this point it might be asked if amateur films therefore constitute a kind of *embodied knowledge*²⁷³ of rural experience. The autobiographical becomes ethnographic, according to Russell, when the filmmaker locates personal experience within a

273 The term *embodied knowledge* is derived from Bill Nichols; see Russell, 276.

wider context of social formations and historical processes.²⁷⁴ It is perhaps useful in this respect to consider the *intention* of rural films. Farming films usually include a certain amount of family documentation, however, as has been illustrated, they also extend well beyond the scope of a purely domestic mode of image-making. Recording professional occupations is not a socially pervasive practice in comparison with the production of family imagery, so what motivated rural people to film themselves not just at leisure but also at work?

It has been noted throughout the chapter that as a view of farming practices the amateur film is typically fragmented and selective, yet the processes of (male) labour, land development and cultivation are prominently recurring images. Breaking in the land is still very much actively taking place in rural films of the twenties and thirties, even with newly added zeal: the avid documenting of tractors, bulldozers and other earthmoving equipment testifies to the enthusiasm local residents felt for transforming land and making it productive. Does this desire to record changes in the landscape indicate recognition of local experience within a broader historical pattern? Rural residents of the interwar period witnessed the shift to extensively mechanised farming methods. Changes such as the replacement of draft horses with tractors provided a highly visible index of rural transformation. Furthermore, in the previous chapter it was noted that holiday films often include engineering projects such as hydroelectric construction work or scenes at airfields, footage that would appear to signal the appeal of twentieth century modernity for the filmmaker. To describe amateur filmmakers as historical chroniclers of their age may be to ascribe them retrospectively a level of intentionality they in fact lacked. Even if amateurs did not necessarily foresee the significance of their private records for posterity however, recurrent images of rural workers and onlookers gathering to observe the efficiency of technological innovations or the skill of machine operators document not just the work itself but the interest people displayed in it. Captured on film, these events perhaps signify a conscious value attached to the preservation of a localised experience of change and development, one that incorporates the attraction of the new as visual spectacle.

Returning to the link between the use of a panoptic gaze and the interpretation of landscape as colonised space or territory, if personal cinematic records offer a way of *knowing* rural places, can they also be read as an expression of *owning* spaces? Human presence within the landscape

²⁷⁴ Russell, 276.

is embodied via daily movements including the processes of work, other signs of habitation (farm buildings, equipment, livestock), and the repeated recording of land development. Activities that occurred within the landscape are more often the central subject of amateur films than the landscape itself, which usually forms a picturesque backdrop of lesser or greater aesthetic proportions. Focusing on the use of land, amateur films emphasise human narrative spaces over pure scenery. This 'knowing' of space is tied to a specificity of place and, as discussed earlier, a particular community within it. The social milieu seen in amateur films is not generally representative of the greater rural population, but is most often limited to an affluent white demographic. As embodied knowledge, amateur film therefore has a narrow spectrum. In particular, it is notable that while most of the Māori population lived and worked in rural areas during the first half of the twentieth century, there is little evidence of this in films made by Pākehā farming communities.

In privileging signs of Pākehā settlement in ways that are distinctly more substantial or embodied than the 'spontaneous abundance' of rural images detached from social reality, amateur films as a panoptic view of space are distinguished by their gaze upon not merely inhabited but visibly *peopled* places. The fact that Pākehā are so numerous in home movies incidentally reinforces the marginalised position of Māori within amateur records of social and spatial relations. Foregrounding human presence, agency and intervention in the landscape, amateur films have the potential to stimulate an engaged level of spectatorial response, perhaps resulting in a more effective and affecting colonising of the screen than Government filmmaking was ever able to achieve at the time with its empty picturesque scenery.

Both valorisation of the labour involved in the physical transformation of land and the representation of the New Zealand landscape through European aesthetic conventions and technologies (including film) have been interpreted as methods of legitimising the appropriation of land from Māori.²⁷⁵ Furthermore, Phillips has suggested that elevating the conquest of land in the national consciousness provided a way of avoiding thinking about the conquest of people.²⁷⁶ From this perspective the absence of Māori in most amateur films may be read in terms of Pākehā colonisation, social exclusivity betraying cultural separatism, with its accompanying ignorance or indifference to the poverty many Māori faced during the period

²⁷⁵ Byrnes, 54-6; 60-1; also see Phillips, 39-40; Hancox, 77-8; Perkins, 5.

²⁷⁶ Phillips, 39.

either as a landless rural labour force often dependent on irregular seasonal work, or as landowners with insufficient holdings to support an expanding population.²⁷⁷ Moreover, as noted earlier, amateur filmmakers seldom recorded scenes depicting rural poverty, whether that experienced by Māori or Pākehā.

The representation of landscape seen in amateur films is therefore circumscribed by the social milieu of their participants. If amateur footage features culturally mediated and preconceived ways of looking such as the emphasis on signifiers of cultivation and development, there is, however, only limited evidence of pre-planning, Cameron's films being the most coherently organised and focused of those discussed. The meanings people may have attached to landscape are therefore only indirectly decipherable in recordings that are filtered by individual perceptions of everyday patterns rather than systematic expressions of colonisation. In this sense the personal idiosyncrasies of amateur films are perhaps more easily read as articulations of an impulse towards home economy-building than cogent statements of colonialist nation-building. While symbols of private ownership and land cultivation were visible features of nationalistic visions of New Zealand that amateur films frequently share, rural home movies are very specific and localised in their trajectories. The generalised panoramic views of marketing material present a 'scenic nationalism' available to the spectator only in the most intangible forms. Less concerned with scenery than with the *scene* of daily life, the amateur gaze is attuned to a more concrete social reality in which work, for example, was most often simply work-like. In this respect the few Māori who do appear in rural films have an onscreen parity with Pākehā as 'real'/reel people going about their daily business or lingering momentarily in awareness of the camera's gaze. The filmic record of everyday intercultural encounters being so sparse however, even seemingly quite ordinary moments become a point of cinematic intrigue – one that hints at the camera's potential for intrusion – while the more unusual interpose the stability of the cultural homogeneity of the filmed landscape.

In a haunting scene recorded by one W.R. Hopcroft, the filmmaker encounters a group of young Māori on a lonely road surrounded by flat desolate countryside. The young people perform a haka, seemingly spontaneously before the camera. An attractive, albeit possibly fanciful, interpretation of this sequence, not more than a few seconds in duration, might be

²⁷⁷ According to Erik Olssen, for example, in comparison with unemployed Pākehā “Māori fared little better [however, most Pākehā believed that 'the communal method of living in pāhs' allowed the Māori to survive unemployment without much hardship.” See 'Depression and War (1931-49)', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, 212.

that this challenge addressed directly to the camera takes place on the performers' ancestral land and therefore may be read as an expression of their tūrangawaewae, the place a person has the right to stand. Without access to further information about the location and identities of those filmed, this interpretation remains no more than speculation on the part of the viewer, yet the very defiance of this return of the Pākehā camera's gaze produces a powerful momentary effect of de-colonising cinematic space. Scattered images like this one disrupt the consistency of visual colonisation of the landscape, intimating an ambivalence in outlook amongst amateur filmmakers. Furthermore, the difficulty in assigning a 'correct' interpretation or meaning to a sequence such as this underlines the ambiguously evidential condition of amateur film as an archival document and the corresponding potential for creative responses from the viewer.

4

Archiving the Everyday

“it should ultimately be life itself that becomes spectacle”²⁷⁸

It is fitting to conclude this study by returning to the question with which it began. That is, would John Grierson have found the face of a New Zealander in an amateur film so that he would remember it? Tentatively, we might say yes. Captured on film, the exuberance of young kapa haka performers in John Routley's recording of a Northland hui, Lucy Wills's infectious smile as she brandishes blade shears or wriggling fish before the camera, or the pūkana performed by the kuia starring in Maurice Barton's film of Rotorua, seem to embody the human spirit that Grierson wished to see on cinema screens. The faces of ordinary New Zealanders are memorable in these and other amateur images of people doing “real things”. Most likely Grierson would have regarded amateur recordings of daily life as raw documents, which lacked the more sophisticated “creative treatment of actuality” that attended documentary proper. However, he once likened the “fine careless rapture” displayed in the recording of workers leaving the Lumière factory in 1895 to the later efforts of amateur filmmakers.²⁷⁹ On the basis of this comparison, it is reasonable to envisage that he appreciated the focus of amateur filmmaking on subjects from everyday life, the privileging of content over formal technique, and most importantly, the inclusion of people.

As has been seen, one of the most significant differences between the films produced by the Government of the interwar years and amateur films of the time is that the latter is a profusely *peopled cinema* in which filmic spaces are consistently inhabited not merely by signifiers of modern civilisation but by an actual contemporary human population, usually very visible onscreen. The inclusion of the daily or occasional activities – both work and leisure-related – that people undertook in the course of their everyday lives furnishes amateur films with a

²⁷⁸ Bazin, 1971, 82.

²⁷⁹ Grierson in Czach, 2008, 1.

vision of the New Zealand landscape and its inhabitants that is in marked contrast to the many other types of images that ignored social realities in order to perpetuate an exotic or idyllic view of the nation. The people and places amateur films record are (more often than not) striking for their profound *ordinariness*, and to this extent we might reason that Grierson could have discovered what he found to be so conspicuously lacking within the nation's professional cinema.

There lies an obvious difficulty in attempting to draw definitive conclusions of any kind from the simultaneously disparate yet in many ways homogenous mass of visual data that comprises any amateur film record, including the small slice of the NTSV collection that has been examined in this thesis. Nonetheless, it is the intention in this final section to interweave a few loose threads that have surfaced throughout the discussion of these *determinedly indeterminate* texts of the archive. Three interrelated issues – the place of amateur film as national film history, the position of the everyday as cinematic spectacle and questions of subjectivity arising in the context of the archive – will form the nexus for a denouement. Lastly, tying these strands together, a brief conjecture about some implications of archiving personal visual records of everyday life will bring this study to a close.

Firstly, having proposed a nationally-oriented focus toward what is more often the province of regional repositories, to what extent may we consider the trajectory of amateur film as a cinematic practice to be within the domain of a *truly national* cinema tradition? As discussed, the home movie exhibits its own particularities in terms of the specificity of persons, places and events recorded, giving it in some respects a very localised or individualistic quality. What has become equally apparent, however, is that considerable continuity exists in the ways in which amateur filmmakers from around the country recorded both one specific location (Rotorua) and different localities used for a similar purpose (sheep farming). A recognisable tourist iconography is particularly evident in recordings made by visitors to Rotorua. Significant repetition also features in the rural landscapes of amateur farming films, especially as witnessed in the interest local residents displayed in recording agricultural and land developments. Consequently, it may be deduced that filmmakers felt a strong desire to participate, consciously or otherwise, in culturally normative discourses. The visual economy characterised in chapter one as 'the same but different'²⁸⁰ links films framed by personal and

²⁸⁰ See chapter one, 21.

local interests and experiences to a broader national culture, intimating the pervasive influence of popular media and other social discourses. The comparative approach this study has taken incorporating not just films recorded by different makers but also other types of visual media, has facilitated recognition of how amateur film relates to as well as differs from other modes of representation. Liberated from the confines of a “narrow visual version of local history”,²⁸¹ comparison renders individual films viewable as the *localised incidence* of cultural practices revealed to be far more widespread, a point that would seem to justify the inclusion of amateur film in the national archival collection (as undertaken at NTSV) as well as within the national film history, a programme that remains as yet largely unattended by film theorists and historians.

Secondly, implicit in the amateur-inclusive archive is a certain valorisation of the everyday, realising Bazin's proclamation that “it should ultimately be life itself that becomes spectacle”.²⁸² Indeed, quite ordinary moments, when captured as a series of infinitely variable attractions with a ghostly aura, transform the otherwise mundane into a cinematic event of interest in itself. Moreover, positioning the everyday alongside the not quite so everyday (such as travel and outings), it becomes clear that the camera's field of vision has the power to immortalise the fleetingly ephemeral, whilst overlooking many more regular and sustained occurrences, producing a highly selective perception of pre-filmic reality. Within this range of privileged attractions some events, particularly those 'pseudo-events' such as kapa haka performed for tourists, ploughing demonstrations, or even people deliberately soliciting the camera's attention, are more obviously constructed as spectacle of an intentional order. It is notable in these recordings that the camera often registers two levels of spectacle: the pre-filmic event (as gazed upon by onlookers) and the filmed event that becomes cinematic spectacle. The inclusion of spectators in shot may contribute a post-tourist (or even 'post-worker') subtext to the camera's gaze, but moreover draws attention to the act of looking, and (by implication) of being looked at. Furthermore, the rather less than spectacular – especially if it happens to be someone else's daily reality – may equally be transfigured by the camera, (and subsequently by history and the archive), into an object of interest. This voyeuristic aspect of cinema, most conspicuous within cross-cultural recordings of an Other's everyday, is magnified in some respects when the context of viewing shifts from private setting to public domain.

281 Norris Nicholson, 1997, 208.

282 Bazin, 1971, 82.

Thirdly, when private memory becomes public history the ensuing loss of connection with a film's context of origin has the potential to result in a palimpsest of readings in which meaning as constructed by the viewer is essentially speculative in nature. Whose point of view is being preserved in the archive therefore becomes decidedly questionable. With regard to the exact identities and relations of persons who appear in the visual fragments of events and the narratives that connected them with specific localities, certainly such a level of intelligibility is usually available only to original participants. However, as Geoffrey Batchen has noted, the analysis of vernacular photographic images should not aim "to uncover a secret or lost meaning but to articulate the intelligibility of these objects for our own time."²⁸³ The regime of intimate knowledge through which amateur images may be understood is thus replaced by other cultural-historical forms of knowledge.

Looking back over some of the images discussed, Pākehā women encouraging Māori children to perform haka, destruction of native vegetation, or the association of farm animals with meat for example, seem likely to inspire a different range of reactions from viewers today in comparison with those that the filmmakers' contemporaries may have experienced. Likewise, footage of women doing washing or men posing with hunting trophies refracted through the variously shaded ideological lenses of feminist, post-colonialist, environmentalist or animal welfare movements have the potential to generate multiple and complex intersections of interpretative responses. Even the same image or sequence interpreted via a specific theoretical framework may produce multiple readings, as demonstrated in chapter two (49-52) with the 'Tikitere scene' of the Eady collection. Clearly such reading strategies have the potential to effectively efface the identity of the filmmaker as an individual entity with conscious interests and values, so that the cinematic gaze becomes more readily identifiable with its intervention into cultural discourses than any authorial intent. Similarly, interpretation that understands those filmed as historical types has a propensity to reduce individuals to a parade of middle-class families, farm workers, holiday-makers, tourist guides and entertainers, affluent or poor, whose personal subjectivity is largely erased in favour of the spectator's. In this sense interpretation, like perception itself, is reductive, yet it is also additive. The films discussed in this study, while broadly representative of the scope and diversity typical of home movies of the era, are nevertheless distinguishable in some way from a great many others that could have

²⁸³ Batchen, 2000, 268.

been selected. When faced with potentially hundreds of very similar artefacts, the specific resonances that the individual researcher finds in (or adds to) any particular work may influence decisions of inclusion or omission. In this regard, the films here selected were those that appealed specifically to a thirty-five-year-old New Zealand-born vegetarian female of European descent whose childhood was divided between urban middle-class and rural milieux, the earliest identifiable recollection of which is that of a family holiday in Rotorua, and who has herself spent many hours contemplating domestic spaces and natural landscapes through a camera's viewfinder. Researchers with other backgrounds and interests could reasonably be assumed to select altogether dissimilar examples and employ divergent analytical approaches. Where then resides the status of the once private everyday reconfigured as a spectacle of national history, interpreted via the unrestrainedly subjective inclinations of individual viewers?

Susan Sontag has claimed that the ethical content of photography is “fragile” as time eventually positions the photographic image, even the most amateurish, at “the level of art” with interest shifting to the historical nature of the subject.²⁸⁴ A tension exists in the archiving of private life between the mere curiosity value of an historical image and its potential as a source of knowledge. Although the blurring of boundaries between public and private is often a feature of home movies themselves, as many record personal experiences of public space, the archival use of images not originally intended for non-domestic circulation weighs issues of individual privacy against the social or cultural value of disseminating representations of otherwise unrecorded aspects of national history.²⁸⁵ The concerns of donors or depositors are likely to determine conditions of access rather than those of subjects, whose consent to being filmed may have been compromised by unequal relations of power in the structures of looking and image-making. While this effect is more evident in cross-cultural recordings like those of Māori at Rotorua, even within the same culture or one particular family Nina Rao notes that “power is skewed by virtue of the fact that one person is holding the camera and one person is not”.²⁸⁶ Subsequently, in the archive one person (the viewer) holds the power to interpret an image and one person (the subject) does not.

The panoptic gaze of the camera that surveys space and scrutinises difference is, however, also

²⁸⁴ Sontag, 21.

²⁸⁵ Nina Rao, 'Representation and Ethics in Moving Image Archives', *The Moving Image* 10:2 (fall 2010), 106.

²⁸⁶ Rao, 108-9; see also Merata Mita in Dennis, 1994, 119.

one that preserves traces of the collective historical memory of individuals and communities (with or without their express permission). This intermeshing of voyeuristic and historicising functions is mirrored in the panoptic and archeological drives of the archive itself. Although the post-Foucauldian archive has been more strongly associated with the dystopian side of power-knowledge relations as manifested through surveillance or the (de)construction of historical narratives,²⁸⁷ there are alternative possibilities that the archive may enact including, as mentioned in chapter two, connecting those imaged with descendants in source communities.

Roger Odin sounds a cautionary note against euphoric enthusiasm for any democratising revolution that the recent accessibility of amateur film might seem to herald. The deployment of amateur production for the strengthening of localised identity or individualism, which might be read as a reaction to globalisation, engages forms of shared intimacy that may occasion the “replacement of communication by communion” whereby catharsis supplants critique.²⁸⁸ As discussed in chapter one, amateur film has a significant affective potential to inspire imaginative and nostalgic responses to its intimate aesthetics and fragmented structure. The latent indeterminacy of cinematic records of the everyday, the excessive visual information that disrupts definitive classificatory order, is what Paula Amad has described as the ‘counter-archival’ tendency of film in the context of the archive: that is, the plethora of filmed ‘facts’ so diffuse that it proliferates into disorder.²⁸⁹ Yet the desire to impose order and critically produce meaning may result in a propensity to overlook the specific and contingent nature of amateur images. Due to their indexical qualities, images that present concrete instances of life tend to invite speculation about what *was filmed*, rather than what was not, as the cinematic apparatus “reduces [lived] flux to discrete images”.²⁹⁰

Implicit within this study has been the assumption, discussed in chapter one, that film has the potential to (re)focus habits of perception in order that one may see the familiar anew,²⁹¹ thereby ‘revealing’ the everyday in some previously unrecognised manner. The examination of filmed moments of ordinary (and not quite so ordinary) life transformed into the spectacle of

287 Amad, 2010, 18-9.

288 Odin, 266-7. Odin cites in particular the optimistic declarations of Peter MacNamara’s article, ‘Amateur Film as Historical Record – A Democratic History?’, *Journal of Film Preservation* 25:53 (November 1996).

289 Amad, 2010, 21.

290 Ibid., 174. The notion is derived from Henri Bergson.

291 See chapter one, 22; Deleuze, 1986, 63-4.

cinematic attractions has identified localised and individualised versions of national history, which, whilst displaying commonalities with other visual culture, are neither specifically narrativising nor nationalist in orientation. The study of amateur media therefore contributes to an understanding of how individuals and groups internalise and reproduce social ideologies as well as ways in which they adapt or ignore the influences of their wider cultural surrounds. The counter-archival disorder of the cinematic everyday, however, resists more than partial and tentative conclusions.

The panoptic, historicising or more utopian trajectories of the film archive, particularly in relation to the everyday or amateur production, are yet to be subjected to the kind of theorising the written document or photographic archive has received.²⁹² The more democratic side to archiving amateur film, which seems implicit in anthologies devoted to the subject such as *Mining the Home Movie*, places a focus on the reading of individual texts or collections rather than the ontology of the visual archive itself that makes such analysis possible.²⁹³ As an introductory foray into New Zealand's early amateur filmmaking culture the present study has largely adhered to this conceptual model. The expansion of archival possibilities that digitisation has created, especially in conjunction with online platforms, enabling the widespread public dissemination of amateur media, would however seem to make a deeper appreciation of the functioning of the film archive's gaze and the place of personal cinematic records within it a discourse of some urgency.

292 Amad provides a brief overview of the contributions of various authors including Michel Foucault, Allan Sekula and Rosalind Krauss to the theorising of the document and photographic archive in relation to the moving image archive, 2010, 18-21; for a perspective on visual archives more specifically concerned with ethical dimensions, see Rao.

293 Zimmermann and Ishizuka (ed), *Mining the Home Movie: Excavations in Histories and Memories*, 2008.

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F7904 *Glorious New Zealand* (fragment) 1925

F877 *Whakarewarewa* 1927

F5002/4/5 *The Maori as He Was* (parts 2,4,5) 1928

F2480 *Rug Making* 1929

F14762 *The Golden Fleece* 1930

F31172 *White Man's Paradise* 1933
F2390 *Romantic New Zealand* 1934
F7926 *Golden Fleece* 1935
F6581 *Holiday Haunts* 1935
F7745 *From Meadow to Market* 1936
F9984 *Broad Acres* 1939

James McDonald

F2816 Scenes of Māori Life on the Whanganui River 1921
F2811 Scenes of Māori Life on the East Coast 1923

Newsreel

F5390 [Movietone News: sheep muster, Wellington coast] 1935

Amateur industrials

F16419 *JB MacEwan Presents: MacEwan's Manure Remover and Distributor* 1930
F11644 Newburn, J. [Through Westland's Coalfields] 1930

Amateur personal records

([content] and dates refer to those recorded in the NTSV catalogue and may be indicative only)

Adams, Ernest

F21379 [St. James Station] 1929
F21381 [holiday at Queenstown Oct. 1927] 1927
F21410 [deer stalking March 1928, the Stanley Hut] 1928
F21411 [shooting trips] 1939
F21413 [early shooting trips: trip to Dobson Valley 1930/deer stalking trip to Makaroa March 1935] 1930

Barton, Maurice

F33611 [Christchurch etc.] 1927
F33614 [Rotorua] 1927
F33634 [Ellerslie on cup day 1927, Auckland Zoo, Arapuni Dam, Rotorua] 1927
F33635 [Franz Josef trip] 1928
F33636 [romantic Hawaii, Honolulu, Fiji] 1927

Cameron, Bill

F40337 [ploughing demonstration] 1938
F40338 [N.I. Ploughing] 1938
F40339 [ploughing competition] 1930
F40341 [Mabins Massey, Patangata ploughing competition] 1929

Cooper, Ngaire

F3391 [the girls at Kath Wittich's] 1939
F15281 [Taupo, Turangi, Rotorua] 1935
F16293 [man and boy] 1943
F16314 [boy in garden] 1939

Dech, Gil

F58036 [Rotorua] 1936

Eady, R.F.

F20762 [school races] 1944
F20763 [Young baby on lawn] 1930
F20764 [man and dog cross bridge] 1930
F20765 [tramps on wheels] 1930
F20766 [thermal activity] 1927
F20767 [bee keeping] 1930
F20768 [Pekingese being dunked in bucket] 1944
F20771 [man and car] 1919 [sic]
F20772 [bush clad hills & coastline] 1935
F20773 [people swimming] 1929
F20774 [Tikitere the thermal wonderland] 1928
F20775 [car on steep bush road] 1925
F20776 [Piha] 1930
F20812 [morning tea] 1935

Eastwood, M.

F8379 [home movies] 1926
F19003 [farm scenes] 1928
F19004 [passenger liner] 1927
F19006 [horse breaking] 1927
F19007 [wool sorting] 1927
F19008 [sheep herding] 1927
F19009 [sheep mustering] 1927
F19010 [family at the beach] 1928
F19011 [playing with caterpillar tractor] 1927
F19012 [sheep shearing] 1926
F19013 [small caterpillar tractor] 1926
F19014 [kids on horse] 1929
F19015 [flooding and damage] 1928
F19017 [sheep in yards] 1927
F19018 [family at Paraparaumu] 1926
F19019 [Wairarapa farming scenes 1] 1927
F19020 [Wairarapa farming scenes 2] 1929

Gibbons, N.B.

F34092 [flax cutting and harvesting, ploughing, harvesting root vegetables] 1938

Greer, W.A.

F20927 [sheep dipping, penning & general farm life] 1936
F20928 [Allis-Charmers tractors] 1938
F20930 [fishing at Taupo, Pukahanui Falls & Whakatane Mills] 1945
F20935 [Wentworth Hotel & beach] 1936
F20954 [cattle droving, sheep penning] 1936
F20961 [fishing Lake Taupo] 1937

F20962 [Holden sheep & dogs] 1936
 F20963 [blade shearing] 1936
 F20964 [cricket match and Greer Motors Ltd Annual golf match Napier vs. Hastings] 1937
 F20965 [Napier Cine Club members]
 F20968 [Hawkes Bay floods] 1937
 F20972 [loading sheep into trucks] 1936
 F20973 [G. Holden socialising & fishing] 1936
 F20977 [Gardiner's sawmills & Clive Cassidy's sheep farm] 1937
 F21023 [Wellington Zoo, 3rd Springbok test, Wellington, loading car on ferry & West Coast trip] 1937

Hopcroft, W.R.

F48154 [Fitzherbert East School, family, farm, Centennial Exhibition] 1940
 F48204 [Ann Claire Joan Doris, family around farm] 1939

Marshall, Rex

F11330 [Māori scenes] 1945
 F11380 [Rotorua] 1935

Mills Family

F43788 [modern lorries doing their daily work] 1935

Routley, Elizabeth (photographer: John Chisnall Routley)

F28128 [family and friends, bulldozer, horse race] 1940
 F28131 [children, family, plane landing] 1943
 F28132 [horse race, Māori wedding, Waimate North Centennial] 1938
 F28135 [coastal scenes, horse racing] 1944
 F28139 [bulldozer clearing land] 1941
 F28142 [sheep dipping, train, contractors, hunting] 1935
 F28145 [haymaking, sheep through river ford, horses] 1936
 F28147 [family, Ngawha curative hot springs, beach] 1936

Sidey, T.K.S.

F36240 [experimental exercises, Corstorphine] 1933

Wills, Lucy

F14427 [family scenes] 1929
 F14434 [family and snow scenes] 1931
 F14435 [relations 1928] 1928
 F14436 [children playing tennis] 1935
 F14437 [boating] 1935
 F14438 [Brooklands Race track] 1935
 F14439 [sea voyage] 1935
 F14480 [arrival in Australia?] 1930
 F14481 [Tekapo, Ohua, Tin Hut Creek 1931] 1931
 F14482 [sheep] 1930
 F14483 [skating 1930-32] 1930

F14484 [hand shearing sheep] 1935
F14485 [bi-plane] 1935
F14486 [England 1933-34] 1933
F14487 [crossing the line] 1933
F14488 [baby and child with dogs] 1945
F14489 [1935 Tekapo Station] 1935
F14490 [gliding] 1935

Glossary of Māori words

Definitions relate primarily to how words are used in the context of *this* thesis. As many Māori words have complex or multiple meanings, readers are encouraged to refer to the source texts, *P. M. Ryan's Dictionary of Modern Māori* and *Māori Dictionary*, <http://m.maoridictionary.co.nz/>

| | |
|---------------|---|
| Aotearoa | North Island, now used as Māori name for New Zealand |
| haka | vigorous dance with actions and rhythmically shouted words |
| hui | gathering, meeting, assembly |
| iwi | extended kinship group, tribe, often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor |
| kapa haka | concert party, Māori performing group |
| kaumātua | adult, elder, elderly man, person of status within whānau |
| kete | basket, kit, bag |
| kuia | elderly woman, female elder, grandmother |
| kūmara | sweet potato |
| manaakitanga | hospitality, kindness, generosity, showing respect and care for others |
| Māori | indigenous person of Aotearoa/New Zealand |
| marae | courtyard, meeting space of whānau or iwi, central area of village buildings |
| pā | fortified village, fort, stockade |
| Pākehā | New Zealander of European descent, non-Māori |
| pātaka | larder, storehouse |
| patu | weapon, short club |
| piupiu | flax skirt used in modern times for kapa haka performances |
| poi | ball on string swung in various movements to accompany singing |
| pūkana | stare wildly, dilate the eyes, grimace |
| Rātana | religion of prophet Ratana, lantern |
| taiaha | long weapon of hard wood with carved end |
| tangi(hanga) | mourning, lamentation, rites for dead, funeral |
| taonga | treasure, possessions, valuable objects or ideas |
| tohunga | skilled person, expert, priest |
| tūpuna (pl.) | ancestors, grandparents |
| tūrangawaewae | domicile, place where one has the right to stand or reside through genealogy |
| wahine | woman, wife |
| whānau | extended family, family group |
| wharehau | meeting house, main building of marae where guests are accommodated |
| whētero | protrude, poke out tongue |