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ONE TREE HILL/MAUNGAKIEKIE: CONTESTING THE ICONOGRAPHY OF AN AUCKLAND LANDSCAPE

Introduction: One Hill, two places

> *The monument has increasingly become the site of contested and competing meanings, more likely the site of cultural conflict than of shared national values and ideals (Young, 1999, 13)*

The ideas of 'race' and place are invariably intertwined, and at certain sites in the landscape they may come into conflict. In this paper, we explore issues of identity and sense of place invoked by One Tree Hill, a site that is both literally prominent in the Auckland landscape, and an important symbol in the collective imagination of Aucklanders. The material significance of this site derives from the fact that it a large, dormant volcanic cone occupying a central location within the urban area. With an

elevation of 183 metres, One Tree Hill offers spectacular views of the Auckland isthmus. Moreover, since the first decade of the twentieth century it has been accessible to members of the public as part of a large parkland. One Tree Hill's visibility is enhanced by its predominantly pastoral land-use and the distinctive pair of elements 'planted' on its summit: a solitary pine tree (*Pinus radiata*, a native of Monterey, California) planted in 1874, and a large obelisk commissioned by Sir John Logan Campbell, who gifted the land to the people of Auckland.

In combination, the hill, obelisk and tree form a monumental presence in Auckland, and one that is known, if not intermittently visited, by New Zealanders in general. One Tree Hill is a key element in the city's human geography – a site of considerable historical and archaeological significance by virtue of Maori occupation, a reference point for urban commuters, a site of political controversy, part of the archetypal tourist's image of the city (see Ley, 1983), and an icon brought to international attention by the U2 song "One Tree Hill", from their *Joshua Tree* album (1987). Our paper is concerned with the multiple meanings and interpretations attached to this site by virtue of the distinct, yet connected, experiences of Maori and European peoples within Aotearoa / New Zealand. We take our cue for this inquiry from the cultural geographer, Peter Jackson (1989, 191) who advocates that research '... should be addressed towards the identification of times and places that [are] critical in the production of race relations as a political issue ...too little [attention] has been paid to the questions of resistance in general and to the sites of struggle in particular in both the social and spatial sense.'

Although there has been a burgeoning of cultural-geographical work in New Zealand of late, there is a dearth of scholarship on 'the explicitly urban' (Berg & Kearns, 1997). We seek to contribute to filling this gap through our analysis of One Tree Hill, a prominent sight / site within New Zealand's largest city. It is visible throughout much of the Auckland urban area, contributing to the legibility and imageability of the city (Lynch, 1960), and to residents' sense of place. One Tree Hill is part of what makes Auckland distinctive and memorable. Further, it is both physically and metaphorically a multi-layered landscape which may be 'read' as a palimpsest (Crang, 1996) and part of the urban text (Short, 1996). In the paper, we argue that recent attempts by Maori protesters to fell the hill's lone pine tree have sharpened attention on a site that already had iconic status. In assaulting the tree, and precipitating debate about the species of its successor, Maori 'activists' have effectively re-placed the icon such that it now occupies a more prominent position within Aucklanders' collective consciousness.

Following Cosgrove (2000), we contend that icons are central to understanding sense of place, which in turn can be understood as the feelings of connection people have with specific locations. Landscapes – both on the ground and in their representation – may be regarded as repositories of cultural meaning (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988). The iconographic method that we adopt seeks to reveal alternative cultural meanings by describing their form and content, through "re-immersing landscapes in their social and historical contexts" (Cosgrove, 2000, 366). We

acknowledge that the term 'icon' has become trivialised, at least in the New Zealand vernacular, with everything from rugby players to meat pies being afforded the status of 'kiwi icons'. Implicitly contesting this process, the iconographic approach takes the idea of place seriously and "... accepts that landscape meanings are unstable over time and between different groups, always negotiated, and political in the broadest sense" (Cosgrove, 2000, 366). The debate currently surrounding One Tree Hill underscores this instability of meaning; it is an icon which points us towards a consideration of contested issues of 'race', identity and nationhood in Aotearoa / New Zealand.

The remainder of the paper is organised as follows. First, we reflect on the links between nation, nature and identity and consider ways in which they may be implicated in sense of place. Second, we sketch the history and character of One Tree Hill, commenting on its place within national and international trends in park development. Section three recounts the recent interest in the site by Maori 'activists' and the debate about the tree. A discussion section reflects on the narrative, aided by consideration of a painting by Auckland artist Nigel Brown as well as international scholarship on monuments.

Place, nation and identity

As geographers, our foundational interest is in the idea of place. Recent years have seen a revival of interest in this concept, with scholarship moving away from the uncritical 'humanistic' phase of the 1970s and towards formulations which consider the ways in which place is forged through intersections of local and global factors, individual agency and societal structures (Jackson and Penrose, 1993). Doreen Massey (1993) for instance, strives for a progressive and global sense of place that moves on from earlier preoccupations with the (lost) 'authenticity' of rural and pre-industrial places. In a particularly useful conceptualisation, John Eyles (1985) explores the inter-relations between place, identity and material life. He suggests that sense of place is constituted by two related experiences: that of actual, literal places, and that of 'place-in-the-world'. With the latter, he refers to the self-or socially-ascribed status that comes from association with, or occupation of, particular sites. Thus the urban resident may gain a sense of place through both the cumulative experience of urban space (such as his or her own neighbourhood) and the contingent feelings of esteem (or otherwise) that flow from that experience. This view is complemented by a later conceptualisation by Entrikin (1991) for whom place is both a context for action and a source of identity, thus poised between objective and subjective realities.

Our specific interest is in the way landscape can be read as 'text'. We follow Duncan and Duncan (1988, 117) in drawing on Barthes' attempt to transcend landscape description and to instead "show how meanings are always buried

beneath layers of ideological sediment". In the case of One Tree Hill, we note that meanings (in the form of archaeological remains of Maori occupation) are also *literally* buried beneath layers of *material* sediment. Our study can be placed within a corpus of geographical scholarship on monuments as places. This research has followed David Harvey's (1979) influential analysis of the ideological contests surrounding the building of the Sacre Couer Basilica in Paris (e.g. Atkinson and Cosgrove, 1998; Burk, 2000; Johnson, 1995; Withers, 1996).

We contend that monuments can act as dynamic sites of meaning, particularly in social contexts where issues of 'race', nation and identity are being actively debated. Most studies of the contested character of monuments have focussed on war memorials (e.g. Heffernan, 1995), but as Osborne argues, with respect to the George Etienne Cartier monument in Montreal, "...whatever their original rationale, symbolic spaces are not static but are dynamic sites of meaning and depositories for successive generations' ideological bric-a-brac" (1998, 453). One could add that even the 'original rationale' behind the creation of particular symbols and markers may be open to debate, contestation and multiple interpretation, as Burk's (2000) analysis of two recently-completed Vancouver monuments to the victims of violence reveals (see also Withers, 1996).

The existing literature invariably focusses on inanimate monuments lodged within the built environment, as opposed to living things surrounded by parkland. Single trees seldom take on particular symbolic importance, notwithstanding periodic public opposition to the felling of certain specimens.[1] The pine tree atop One Tree Hill is one obvious exception to this rule, as is *Tane Mahuta* ('King of the Forest'), the largest kauri tree (*Agathis australis*) in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Located in Northland's Waipoua Forest, it is at once a source of national pride, a sacred tree for Maori, and an object of the tourist gaze. While few living trees take on such monumental and iconic proportions, the generalised significance of plants may be seen in the way in which the maple leaf has taken has taken on accentuated symbolic properties since being appropriated as the centrepiece of the Canadian national flag in February 1965.

Our examination of One Tree Hill and the debates surrounding its meanings (past, present, and future) necessitates consideration of 'race' relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and in particular the vexed relationship between Maori and Pakeha (New Zealanders of European descent). Since the early 1990s the combined hill, tree and obelisk have periodically occupied centre stage in the 'race politics' of Auckland. This phenomenon cannot be understood without reference to Britain's comprehensive colonisation of Aotearoa/New Zealand, and historical and contemporary opposition to this process by some Maori. The meaning, intent and status of the Treaty of Waitangi – signed in 1840 between representatives of the British Crown and a number of Maori chiefs – are topics of ongoing social, political, legal and academic debate (see Belich, 1986; Nairn and McCreanor, 1991; Orange, 1987; Walker, 1990, 1992). The Treaty, and governmental actions seen to be in breach of it, form a backdrop for recent chainsaw attacks on One Tree Hill's solitary pine by Maori 'activists'.

In recent times, there has been a growing struggle for recognition of Maori rights. This struggle has been reflected in a resurgence of Maori cultural forms, and increasing calls for self-determination (Walker 1990). The state has responded with a number of concessions such as the creation of the Waitangi Tribunal, which investigates Maori grievances under the Treaty. These victories have, however, been tempered by the New Right monetarist policies implemented between 1984 to 1999 by a sequence of governments (Kelsey, 1997; Le Heron and Pawson, 1996).

Kearns and Berg (2000) caution that rather stark representations of the 'divide' between Maori and Pakeha must be tempered with a recognition of the hybridity and creolisation (Bhabha, 1994; Young, 1995) of these groups within Aotearoa/New Zealand (see also McClean, et al, 1997; Berg, 1998). This said, the socio-economic and cultural divides between Maori and Pakeha cannot be ignored (indeed, a major initiative being undertaken by the new Labour-Alliance (social-democratic) government recognises and seeks to ameliorate the 'gaps' between the groups in terms of health status, educational achievement, income levels, and rates of employment). Moreover, both epistemological spaces and material places have been conceptualised within an overriding binary discourse of 'Maori' and 'Pakeha' — a dualism which may be seen as a specific type of Orientalism accompanying British colonialism in Aotearoa/New Zealand (McClean, et al, 1997). Assimilationist and integrationist ideas have since the 1970s been joined by a discourse of bi-culturalism, which — as with 'multi-culturalism' in other national settings — has tended to reinforce the hierarchies of the colonial Maori/Pakeha binary (Kearns and Berg, 2000).

One Tree Hill: Auckland icon

The dual identity of our site is reflected in its alternative names: One Tree Hill and Maungakiekie. The latter translates as 'Hill of the kiekie vine', in reference to the native epiphytic climber that once flourished there. It is a scoria cone formed by eruptions which occurred approximately 20,000 years B.P., creating a lava field some 20 square kilometres in area (Cameron *et al.*, 1997). While One Tree Hill is in part a landscape at which significant *natural* elements (i.e., the cone and its craters) have been preserved, it is also a significant *archaeological* site. The terraces which may by readily observed beneath the pasture near the summit are the remains of a Maori *pa*, or fortification, and associated living areas, gardens and food-storage pits. These earthworks are the most extensive to be found on any of Auckland's 48 volcanic cones and are collectively described by Bulmer (1999: 1) as "one of the great cultural monuments of Aotearoa", remnants of "the largest and most complex of thirty terraced towns build on Taamaki's [Auckland's] volcanic cones, each of which was supported by stone walled gardens in the volcanic fields surrounding its cone".

Today One Tree Hill forms a large part of central Auckland's largest park, attracting more than 2.5 million visits per annum (Auckland Regional Council, 1998;

cited in Murdoch, 1998). It is the venue for a range of active and passive recreational pursuits (from walking and sight-seeing to jogging, archery, tennis, cricket and rugby), as well as a working farm. This form of land management, which evokes stereotypical images of New Zealand's pastoral economy and rural identity, offers visitors the highly unusual sight of sheep and cattle grazing against the background of a metropolitan skyline.

Auckland poet C.K. Stead counterposes the dual identities of One Tree Hill/ Maungakiekie with the following vignettes:

> and One Tree Hill
> *arcadia*
> white on green
> lambs and daisies in grass
> among lichened outcrops
> beyond the olive grove
> in sight of the sea
>
> ......
>
> and he saw fires on Maungakiekie
> and called his people within the palisades
> stomachs tight
> fear in the pits at sundown
> crouching behind the lashed stakes of manuka
> moon cold over the gulf
> and silence
> (Stead, 1982, 19 & 22)

These stanzas speak of a pastoral landscape that was forged in the early twentieth century, and which modified the existing farm (including its olive orchard) in light of park design trends then popular in North America (Murdoch, 1998). To some extent, this (re)creation of the landscape masked a different, pre-contact history.

The hill has had a distinctive tree, or trees, at its peak for hundreds of years. Indeed, in pre-European times, the landmark was called *Totara-i-ahu* ('the solitary totara'), named for the tree (*Podocarpus totara*) planted at the summit in the seventeenth century. The 'father' of this present-day park, John Logan Campbell, wrote on his first visit

> "...An hour's walk brought us to the base of a volcanic mount, some five hundred feet high, rising suddenly from the plain, the name of which Waipeha told us was Mungakiekie, but as it had one solitary large tree on its crater summit, we christened it 'One Tree Hill' which for ever obliterated the Maori name from Pakeha vocabulary" (cited in Barnett, 1981, 94).

Figure 1: One Tree Hill/Maungakiekie summit (photo R. A. Kearns)

Campbell's visit preceded his purchase of the hill and adjacent land in 1853. By this time the totara had already been felled, apparently by a party of disaffected workmen (Cornwall Park Trust Board, 1999). A tree-planting programme commenced on this property in the 1860, with a small group of exotic pines being established at the summit in 1874, purportedly to shelter native specimens. Two pine trees from this era survived until 1962, when one was destroyed by unknown assailants (Rudman, 2000).

In 1901, Campbell gifted a large parcel of land near the hill to the people of Auckland, naming it 'Cornwall Park' in honour of the visiting Duke and Duchess of Cornwall (Barnett, 1981). This naming may be viewed as a form of 'norming' (Berg and Kearns, 1996), in that it reinforced the dominance of Pakeha meanings and interpretations at a site of considerable historical and spiritual significance to local Maori. It is also consistent with Conway's (1991) observation that parks have often been sites for the commemoration of elite activities, including the visits of dignitaries, the achievements of industry, the efforts of elected representatives, and the generosity of benefactors. The parkland was expanded in 1908, when Campbell donated the volcanic cone itself, establishing 'One Tree Hill Domain'.

In his will Campbell provided for an obelisk to be built on the hill's summit as a memorial to the 'Great Maori Race'. He held the view, common at the time of his death in 1912, that the Maori were destined for extinction, an opinion supported by demographic trends as well as by prevalent Social Darwinist beliefs (Pool, 1991). The obelisk was built to Campbell's specifications, and was officially unveiled in 1948 by the Maori king, Koroki (Cameron et al, 1997).

With its obelisk, solitary pine tree and open grassed slopes One Tree Hill represents one outcome of settlers taming an exotic landscape. Yet, paradoxically, its development was strongly influenced by the 'picturesque' school of park design, championed by such influential figures as Frederick Law Olmsted, which sought to create 'natural' landscapes within urban confines (see Schuyler, 1988). In the United States in particular, many park designers from the early nineteenth century onwards were seeking to create 'the country in the city' by developing open spaces which featured trees, streams, rolling grassy lawns and other 'natural' elements. Their designs offered urban dwellers an escape from the stressful and unhealthy aspects of life in rapidly expanding and industrialising cities; indeed they sought to provide the 'antithesis' of the urban environment (Murdoch, 1998). This model stood in marked contrast to the formal parks of the 'gardenesque' school, which served primarily educational and associational purposes, and incorporated monuments, statuary, fountains and intricate gardens together with museums, art-galleries, libraries and other tributes to human accomplishment.

Murdoch (1998) notes that in the United States the debate between the 'picturesque' and 'gardenesque' schools was so fierce that park development was frequently stalled. They not only advocated radically different physical designs, their conceptions of the underlying purposes of open public space also diverged. While these opposing views (and indeed the very notion of parks) were brought to New Zealand with European settlers, the debate tended to be more amicable, and was often resolved through a blending of 'natural' and 'formal' elements. The Auckland Domain (another large inner-city park established on a dormant volcanic cone) is quite clearly a product of such 'hybridisation': statutes, reflecting pools, formal gardens and the Auckland War Memorial Museum are to be found amidst grassy fields and tree-clad slopes and gullies.

At One Tree Hill and Cornwall Park the 'picturesque' influence is particularly evident. Almost all of the land devoted to pasture, interspersed with groves of trees. Gardenesque elements are limited to the obelisk, an observatory, the occasional walkway and flower garden, and several sweeping, tree-lined avenues. This said, it is difficult indeed to see the landscape as somehow 'natural', especially in the New Zealand context. Cornwall Park's American designer, Austin Strong, incorporated many features found in large urban parks in the United States, while the overall impression is that the landscape is a conscious imitation the *English* countryside, complete with such icons as rows of oak trees and sheep grazing neat fields between stone walls.

This apparent parallel is not surprising, given early English settlers' well-documented desire to recreate 'home' in New Zealand, particularly through the introduction of exotic flora and fauna. While native tree species are also to be found in groves on the slopes of One Tree Hill, the underlying idea is quite clearly the maintenance of a *pastoral* landscape ('the country in the city') complete with allusions to rural England. While other parks in the Auckland region have witnessed the restoration of native forest, and now offer opportunities for wildlife management and the preservation of threatened and endangered indigenous species (Murdoch, 1998), our site has retained a distinctly colonial appearance.

Towards Maungakiekie: New roots for an old hill?

In the 1990s, One Tree Hill joined a series of sites of resistance and redefinition of race relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Wall, 1997). Mike Smith, a Maori 'activist' attacked the lone pine with a chainsaw in 1994, in what he claimed was a protest against the privatisation of state-owned assets and the National Government's proposed 'fiscal envelope'. The latter was a policy which sought to limit the amount of money available to settle all future Maori grievances under the Treaty of Waitangi. The damaged 125 year old pine was bandaged, supported with guy ropes, and given regular applications of nitrogen-based fertiliser (*Evening Post*, 3 September 1997: 8). In his defence, Smith asserted that he bore no 'personal animosity' towards the tree, but that it was a symbol of colonisation and the monocultural nature of New Zealand society. He was sentenced to six months' periodic detention. Quoted in *The Dominion*

some years later, Smith said "There is a saying around Auckland that things will not be well in this country vis-à-vis Maori and Pakeha until both trees – pine and totara – stand side by side on One Tree Hill. That would be an indication that this country could move ahead" (15 September 1999: 3). On another occasion, Smith commented that the tree was targeted "... as a warning against the perils of privatisation" (*Evening Post*, 3 April 2000: 14).

These chainsaw politics were revisited in September 1999 when four individuals reported to be relatives of Smith returned and 'allegedly tried to finish the job' (*Dominion*, 15 September 1999: 3). The tree was completely ring-barked and the alleged assailants from rural Northland were charged with a range of criminal offences. The motivations for this assault remain somewhat unclear, but appeared to centre on their frustrated attempts to highlight land grievances and spiritual issues during the APEC summit being held in Auckland at the time. As a result the tree was dealt a 'fatal blow', and is unlikely to survive for more than three years. Interestingly, not all Maori expressed support. Ngati Whatua *kaumatua* (elder) Sir Hugh Kawharu stated that the tribe "felt they were part of the tree and were sad to see the *taonga* (treasure) damaged" (Waikato Times 16 September, 1999, 3).

The second assault on the tree has provoked considerable debate about the species of its successor. Although the radiata pine is physically well-suited to the site, it is clear that the selection of another exotic tree for the summit of One Tree Hill would be unacceptable to many Maori, and out of step with New Zealanders' growing appreciation for native plant species. The search for a 'replacement' has therefore focussed on native species such as the totara, pohutakawa (*Metrosideros excelsa*), puriri (*Vitex lucens*), and kauri. The suitability of these alternatives has been a topic of considerable public debate in Auckland, with attention being devoted to their cultural and historic appropriateness, growth rates, aesthetic qualities, and ability to survive on an exposed, windswept hilltop. In an well-publicised arborist's report to the Auckland City Council it was claimed that the slow-growing totara had the strongest historical and cultural 'claim' to the site, while the pohutakawa stood a better chance of survival (*Evening Post*, 3 April 2000: 14). The pohutakawa, with its ability to survive in adverse conditions and distinctive red flower, appears to have emerged as the favoured replacement, and has received endorsements from both the Mayor of Auckland and the Prime Minister (*New Zealand Herald*, 3 April 2000). At the same time, the editorial pages of major newspapers have carried often indignant correspondence:

> *Yet again Auckland's symbol of rugged individuality, the lone pine on One Tree Hill, has been attacked for being (1) the wrong species – read race – and (2) a bizarre, literal demonstration of the famous tall poppy syndrome* (*Waikato Times*, 19 September, 1999: 10).

> *At times Western civilised culture suffers contempt and violent destruction worldwide. The abuse suffered by the One Tree Hill icon, along with other memorial desecrations, demonstrates similar malicious forces are active in New Zealand* (*Waikato Times*, 21 September, 1999: 6).

These contributors can be seen as privileging one set of (internationalised and colonising) cultural presuppositions over an alternative (indigenous) way of seeing. Cecilia Creeks, one of those accused of the 1999 attack, has contended that the tree is a symbol of New Zealand's 'cash crop culture' (*New Zealand Herald*, 16 September, 1999). Her claim points to the irony that pine trees are being continuously felled within the nation's extensive plantation forests – an activity generally viewed as beneficial (cf. Collins and Kearns, 1999) – while attempts to cut the single pine atop One Tree Hill are seen as actions out of place and transgressions of monumental proportions.

Discussion: A Hill in Search of a Nation

We can reflect on the 'story' of One Tree Hill with reference to both local commentators and international scholarship. An appreciation of the iconic nature of the site is recognised in the paintings of Nigel Brown, an Auckland artist whose "work has always been concerned with issues of identity and belonging, with the individual's search for a place and society's search for bearings against the unstable backdrop of history" (O'Brien, 1996, 78). Brown includes representations of One Tree Hill in a series called 'Small Icons' in which his stated purpose was to 'make sacred the ordinary' (O'Brien, 1991, 44). This series represents everyday landscapes, urging New Zealanders to strengthen their sense of place through a re-engagement with the land and its history. These are not intended to be passive paintings for casual appreciation. Rather they 'look outwards and confront the viewer' as 'a sign, a notation' (Brown, cited in O'Brien, 1991, 44). In 'Auckland Rider', O'Brien interprets the horse and rider in the foreground as emblematic of freedom, referring to both the *Blaue Reiter* group of artists and Brown's own experiences of horse-riding during holidays. Why, then is the One Tree Hill backdrop included? Perhaps we can see the foreground and background as related: to be free to have a robust sense of place in the Auckland landscape, we are called to embrace the ambivalence One Tree Hill / Maungakiekie.

This site is neither national monument nor an official icon, yet its significance speaks of nationhood and identity. Indeed, as Winter (1999, 7) claims, "shifting the scale of vision from the national and grandiose to the particular and ordinary might help transform our understanding of monuments ... [for] contemporary cultural history emphasises the mix of many voices". Drawing on Benedict Anderson's (1983) contention that nations are 'imagined communities', the case of One Tree Hill/ Maungakiekie illustrates the way in which public imagination is (re)shaped through a sense of 'stake' in the landscape. This 'stake' or interest is linked to an evolving (and

Figure 2: 'Small Icon: Auckland Rider' by Nigel Brown (1986)

contested) national identity. One Tree Hill's prominence is heightened by so-called Maori activism such that its iconic properties now reach out and speak to Aucklanders' sense of place (rather than merely providing a scenic backdrop). In this respect, it has become the 'Small Icon' of Nigel Brown's painting: only modest on the horizon for many, but looming large as a reminder that a singular and consensual nation can no longer be presumed.

A parallel can be drawn between the actions of the tree's attackers and those of the residents of Ben Bhraggie in Scotland who sought, through official channels, to remove an offensive statue of the Duke of Sutherland from their town. For these Scots, it was inappropriate for the traumatic memory of land clearances instigated under this individual's (mis)rule to be embodied monumentally; the Duke's 'presence' served largely to remind them of historical oppression and servitude (Withers, 1996). Similarly, some Maori have deemed Maungakiekie to be an oppressive landscape in that it is bereft of appropriate symbols of their historical presence and contemporary connection with the land. At least for certain 'activists', the pine tree and obelisk are monuments to colonialism and their own marginalisation and displacement within Aotearoa/New Zealand. Thus we can endorse Withers' observation of the complexity in the connections between memory, local action and the social practices of commemoration. In exploring One Tree Hill/Maungakiekie as a contested landscape we respond to Nuala Johnson's call for contributions to the "comparatively sparse literature on how landscape images are ... popularised, consumed, or resisted by groups within the state" (1995, 52)

Conclusion

Monuments occupy positions of prominence and contribute to the idea of place. Within colonised land such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand, such sites are frequently part of broader geographies of resistance (Pile and Keith, 1991). Through the actions of protesters preparing Maungakiekie for replanting, the site has begun to reflect more closely the intersecting worlds of Maori and European (Salmon, 1991, Pawson, 1992). Although archaeological evidence has always been clearly etched into this place, Crang's (1996) idea of landscape as palimpsest suggests the need to actively unravel the layers of history. Too easily, perhaps, pasture-covered fortifications and kumara (sweet-potato) pits can be walked over and sat upon by visitors who remain unaware of other histories and world views. Chainsaw politics have sharpened the outline of this place, reinforcing its status as a 'small icon' for Aucklanders. If naming is indeed norming (Berg and Kearns, 1996), then perhaps the changing face of the soon pine-less icon will hasten at least a symbolic shift in the cartographies of the city: from One Tree Hill to Maungakiekie.

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Captions for Figures:

Figure 1: One Tree Hill/Maungakiekie summit (photo R.A. Kearns)

Figure 2: 'Small Icon: Auckland Rider' by Nigel Brown (1986) (Reproduced with the artist's permission)

Notes

1 To provide two recent, if geographically disparate, examples of this phenomenon: public outcry surrounded both the felling of trees in Vancouver's Stanley Park to allow for highway-widening, and the removal of cherry trees, purportedly for 'safety reasons', from the main street of Pukekohe, a town south of Auckland.

JACK ROSS

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