

Elegance and excesses: War, Gold and Borrowings: New Zealand Architecture in the 1860s

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The 1860s were an eventful time for architecture in New Zealand. On the eve of the decade, in 1859, William Mason became the first person to be a registered architect in New Zealand.¹ The scene was thus set for the English idea of architecture as a profession to more substantially impact on our land. From the decade's beginning were the start of civil wars and the discovery of gold, with New Zealand's first major gold rush in Otago.² It was war and gold which crudely distinguished the decade's histories of the North Island and South Islands. As Salmond notes:

It is no accident that the events which marked the beginning of this period in New Zealand were the gold rushes of the 1860s and the land wars. As Maoris [sic] became less willingly to sell their land, European settlers took large areas by occupation or by force, and in the towns traditional Maori houses were banned by law. Many of the settlers who arrived in the 1860s came in search of gold, and as the European population expanded (from 26,000 in 1850 to 80,000 in 1860, and 100,000 a year later), more houses were needed on more land, and more timber was needed for their

¹ Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* p 25.

² Keith & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 4.

construction.³

The population of New Zealand in 1858 was 115,461. By 1874 it was 344,985. The change in population was not only one of increase. This was the decade when the ratio of Māori:Pākehā population shifted such that Pākehā settlers outnumbered Māori⁴ and no doubt encouraged an increasing sense of Pākehā entitlement. This shift in population, added to the state of New Zealand's existing Pākehā architecture. One of the most important shifts in the decade though, must have been the shift of the colony's capital from Auckland to Wellington in 1865.⁵

The civil wars began in Taranaki,⁶ moved to the Waikato, and by mid-decade had spread to the East Coast. The concentration of war in the North Island was not a co-incidence. Smith describes settlement aspirations as

³ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 89. See also Brown *Māori Architecture* p 55.

⁴ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 70.

⁵ Keith & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 5.

⁶ McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 69.

important drivers:

By 1861 the government had purchased two-thirds of New Zealand, mainly in the South Island, where Grey acquired huge tracts such as by the Kemp purchase in 1848 ... By contrast the government had alienated less than a quarter of the North Island by 1861, thwarting government and settler aspirations. Frustrated, in 1860 Governor Thomas Gore Browne sent in imperial troops to enforce the claim to a disputed purchase of land at Waitara in Taranaki, long coveted by settlers. The claim contravened the rights of a majority of owners ... and in doing so fired the opening round in the New Zealand wars of the 1860s.⁷

The resulting loss of land for Māori caused Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi with others to move to Parihaka in c1866. As Brown describes it:

Here they established a self-sufficient religious community, which was purposefully isolated from Pākehā influence. The law of the Hebrews ... was evident in the community's architecture. Parihaka was confiscated land, and its settlement was seen as an act of defiance by the government. However, Te Whiti and Tohu believed that they had ancestral, political and Christian claims to this land. The consequential cross-cultural conflict that developed was expressed through Parihaka's architectural construction, destruction and

⁷ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 68.

revival.⁸

Gore Browne's "bungling" of this first Taranaki war resulted in the British government bringing George Grey from Cape Town to replace him.⁹ Grey was more aggressive and used more explicitly architectural means to support his attack, building the Great South Road to Hamilton to convey military troops.¹⁰ Architecture was not simply used asymmetrically in New Zealand's civil warfare. Māori revived and developed the modern pā, first designed and used in the 1840s by Te Ruki Kawiti at Ōhaeawai and Ruapekapeka.¹¹ The battle was fought on the land and over the land, in the legislative chamber, as much as in the battle landscape. The New Zealand Settlements Act 1863, for example, was passed. It allowed the government to confiscate 1.2 million acres from Kīngitanga for "public purposes," which effected the more colonial settlement in the North Island.¹² In 1865 the Native Land Court was established, renamed at the time the "land-taking court."¹³ It was not only land

⁸ Brown *Māori Architecture* p 71.

⁹ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 71.

¹⁰ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 71.

¹¹ "Ōhaeawai - Northern War" n.p.

¹² Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 72.

¹³ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 73.

which was confiscated, in 1867 Te-Hau-ki-Tūranga (1840s) was taken and now resides in the National Museum.¹⁴

The war moved to Tauranga and the wider East Coast, its most famous battle occurring at Gate Pā (Pukehinahina) in 1864, before moving back to Taranaki. This period of fighting involved the followers of Pai Mārire or Hauhau. As in other parts of the country the fighting significantly changed the socio-political landscape many Māori lived in. Architectural innovation operated in parallel to support change, most explicitly apparent in Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Tūruki's development of the whareniui, which Brown locates as continuing "a practice of building begun by other East Coast tohunga whakairo."¹⁵ Te Kooti, the founder of Ringatū, was exiled to the Chatham Islands in 1865, but he escaped, returning to mainland New Zealand in 1868, the year George Grey had been dismissed as Governor and retired to his Kawau Island mansion, which had been enlarged by designs by Frederick Thatcher.¹⁶ Over 40 Ringatū meeting houses were built between 1869-1908,

¹⁴ Brown *Māori Architecture* p 49.

¹⁵ Brown *Māori Architecture* p 58.

¹⁶ Keith & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 6; England "The Story of Mansion House" p 70.

which were "significantly greater than earlier Māori buildings and often equalled the proportions of Christian churches. Not only were the Ringatū meeting houses large enough to walk around inside, they were also able to accommodate Te Kooti's religious services, which were based on those performed by the Anglican Church."¹⁷ Roger Neich described the radical changes in meeting house size as follows:

The evidence collected here from Land Court records and from the histories of known houses demonstrates that major changes in house size, function and amount of ornamentation began around Rotoiti and Maketu during the 1860s. Possibly the years of wars, first with Ngapuhi, Waikato and Tauranga, and then the New Zealand Wars, inhibited the full development of the meeting house until this later date. All of the whare whakairo-type meeting houses constructed by Ngati Tarawhai date from after the later 1860s, with a major increase in the 1870s. This was the period when the wars were coming to a close, a period of intense political and religious activity and realignment. The new large meeting houses were built to accommodate meetings discussing land and land sales, political meetings, tribal committees of all sorts, religious meetings, and to provide sleeping accommodation for the guests who travelled to these meetings. The carved and decorated house simply known as Whare Manuhiri, built at Te Taheke in the 1860s by Ngati Hinerangi as an accommodation house for visitors, including travelling

¹⁷ Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 59-60.

Europeans, was probably an important development in the evolution of the modern meeting house in the Rotorua area. Thus the new meeting house incorporated the functions of the chief's house, the guest house and the church under one roof.¹⁸

Equally significant was the innovation of polychromatic carving and figurative painting characteristic of these houses.¹⁹

Meanwhile in the South Island Gabriel Read's discovery of gold at Waitehuna in 1861 initiated the Otago rush.²⁰ 1864 was the beginning of the discovery of gold in the West Coast.²¹ The migration of people from Otago, Canterbury and Australia to the West Coast inflated the urban scale of towns such as Hokitika and Greymouth. By 1865 more than 40,000 people lived on the West Coast.²² According to Hodgson, nearly half of Otago's population lived on the goldfields.²³ Many Chinese immigrated too, mainly from Canton.²⁴ Known as "Celestials," they were initially recruited by provincial governments

¹⁸ Neich *Carved Histories* p 174.

¹⁹ Brown, Deidre *Maori Architecture* p 58.

²⁰ McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* pp 70-71.

²¹ Keith & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 5.

²² Fowler & van de Voort *The New Zealand House* p 119.

²³ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 8.

²⁴ Fowler *Buildings of New Zealanders* p 10.

in the mid-1860s and they established several settlements, one of the best known being in Arrowtown.²⁵ Before the end of the decade oil would be discovered in Taranaki (in 1866), and gold in the Coromandel peninsular, a year later.²⁶

These events resulted in population movements across the country and influenced the architecture built at this time. They also drew commerce and money to specific colonial centres. The Otago gold rush brought money to Dunedin and the troops imported for the New Zealand wars brought money to Auckland. These two events caused, what Stacpoole and Beaven have described as, "the first real flowering of architecture in Auckland and Dunedin."²⁷ Stacpoole and Beaven were more explicit about the changing architectural cityscape when they noted that:

Auckland's early wooden buildings, dating from the 1840s, were badly in need of replacement by the mid-sixties when the town, deprived of its status as capital, yet enjoyed a building boom which was made possible by the influx of money brought by the Imperial troops engaged in fighting in the Waikato. To this period

²⁵ McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 83.

²⁶ Keith & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 5.

²⁷ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 11.

belong the Supreme Court ... by Edward Rumsey ... the coolly classical Bank of New Zealand ... and James Wrigley's Mental Hospital at Avondale ... There were also many hotels, commercial buildings, and private houses of considerable quality and substance.²⁸

Likewise, referring to the south of New Zealand, Knight and Wales note that: "The prosperity of the 1860s led to the appreciation of a quality of elegance that the pioneers of the previous decade had not been aware of."²⁹ Smaller towns also grew in their architectural pretensions. Peter Shaw refers to Shrimski and Moss' drapery as the first business premises in Oamaru in Oamaru stone. Built in 1863 it was described as: "the first building in the town with any pretension to architectural style."³⁰ Later that same year the William Mason-designed Traill and Roxby premises were also built in stone.³¹

Retail architecture appears to have flowered during the decade. In Dunedin, the Arcade, built in 1861 by Henry Farley, was "a popular shopping mall and later known as Broadway until demolished ... There were 40 shops in the

²⁸ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* pp 11-12.

²⁹ Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* p 35.

³⁰ Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 10.

³¹ Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 8-9.

Arcade in 1869."³² In the same city, an elegant corner shops on Manse and Princes Streets built in 1864, have been described by Stacpoole and Beaven as "a fine piece of cabinet-making ... built with the extreme delicacy characteristic of the early Victorian period."³³ Their architect is unknown.

In Invercargill Burgoyne and Sons General Merchant Iron Store was built in 1864, standing on the current site of the railway hotel.³⁴ Kirkcaldie and Stains was founded in 1864,³⁵ its Toxward-designed building dating from 1868,³⁶ and in 1867 Mary Jane and Charlotte Milne opened the millinery and drapery which would later become Milne & Choyce.³⁷ Less permanent structures though housed many other shops. Around Wansbeck Street in Oamaru: in "the main entry to the

town from the south, drapers, grocers, an ironmonger, tailor and clothier, all set up in 1863 premises constructed in the wood and iron of so many colonial towns."³⁸

From the gold rush emerged a larger banking sector. The Bank of New Zealand (BNZ) was founded in 1861, Post Office Savings Bank was formed in 1865, and the Government Life Insurance Office established in 1869.³⁹ Such financial infrastructure required to be housed and buildings to demonstrate the significance of these institutions in the colony. By 1862, the BNZ had 12 New Zealand branches and one in London.⁴⁰ Stone was a preferred material for banks, with Oamaru's Oamaru stone BNZ building dating from 1865,⁴¹ while Auckland's Queen Street branch used Tasmanian sandstone and dates from 1865-67 (designed by Melbourne architect Leonard Terry; supervised by Richard Keals).⁴² Bond

stores were also built, Edinburgh House designed by William Clayton, and built in 1864-65, was later known as McCallum, Neill and Company's Universal Bond.⁴³ Dunedin's post office (1864-67; now demolished), with "Italian and Grecian features"⁴⁴ was designed by William Mason "in the Palladian style,"⁴⁵ and constructed by Dalrymple & Co. of Melbourne,⁴⁶ and Oamaru's post office was designed by William Clayton (of Mason and Clayton) in 1864.⁴⁷ Dunedin's post office, which was the first large building built from the newly opened Oamaru quarries, would never be used as a post office. After "being used for a bazaar, a ball and a flower show,"⁴⁸ it started life as a museum, then the university and finally housed the Stock Exchange.⁴⁹ The establishment of the Post Office Savings Bank however coincided with the beginnings of a worldwide depression which would last until

³² Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* p 18.

³³ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 21, pl. 9.

³⁴ Dear *The Invercargill Book* p 52.

³⁵ Fowler *Buildings of New Zealanders* p 14.

³⁶ Kernohan *Wellington's Old Buildings* p 22.

³⁷ "Department stores and shopping malls: The rise of department stores" n.p.; These were followed the establishment of Dunstable House (now Ballantynes) (1854), and were prior to Smith and Caughey's (1880), DIC (the Drapery and General Importing Company of New Zealand Ltd) (1884), Arthur Barnett's (1903) and Laidlaw Leeds (now Farmers) (1909).

³⁸ Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 10.

³⁹ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 10; Keith & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* pp 5,6.

⁴⁰ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 10.

⁴¹ Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 10.

⁴² McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 80; Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 10; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 32, pl. 20; Shaw

New Zealand Architecture p 34; "Towering Inferno" pp 137-139.

⁴³ Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* p 101; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 11.

⁴⁴ Stacpoole *William Mason* p 85.

⁴⁵ Fowler *Buildings of New Zealanders* p 84.

⁴⁶ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 9.

⁴⁷ Martin *Built for Us* p 12; Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 11.

⁴⁸ Stacpoole *William Mason* p 85.

⁴⁹ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 26, pl 14.

the mid-1890s.⁵⁰

An emerging educational infrastructure was also evident. The University of New Zealand was founded in 1869, and first opened in Mason's Dunedin Post Office building in 1871.⁵¹ The first stage of Wellington College was built in 1868,⁵² and much of Ben Mountfort's design of Christ's College of 1857 came to fruition in the 1860s.⁵³ JE Fitzgerald's Big School (1863) and Robert Speechly's Chapel (1867), also buildings for Christ's College, were also built during the decade.⁵⁴ Dunedin 1862 saw progress being made in the building of the High School, North Dunedin School, and Green Island School.⁵⁵ In addition, "[d]esigns were made for a stone school at Caversham and a school master's house at North Dunedin."⁵⁶ Soon after (1864) Lawson designed Park's School in William St.⁵⁷ In 1865, the schoolroom which would

later become Matawhero Church (Presbyterian) in Gisborne, was built.⁵⁸

The increases in population no doubt also caused increases in the number of hotels in New Zealand. In 1866 there were 33 hostels in Lambton Quay.⁵⁹ The first Thistle Inn was built in 1866.⁶⁰ Further south, on the west coast (in Ōkārito) the Club Hotel was built (c1866) with now historic concrete foundations,⁶¹ in Oamaru RA Lawson designed the Star and Garter Hotel (Itchen Street, 1867),⁶² and in Dunedin the idiosyncratic Oriental Hotel was built in 1863; architect unknown.⁶³ In the gold fields Thomas Carter established the Acheron Accommodation House in 1863 on what was then the main route between Christchurch and Nelson.⁶⁴ Of the 83 breweries built in the 46 years from 1835-81, that Geoffrey Thornton records in his *New Zealand's Industrial Heritage*, a large proportion of them (32) were built in the 1860s. The 1966 *Encyclopaedia of*

New Zealand records that: "During the 1860s ... the widespread drunkenness, which was such a feature of pioneering life, found a response in the foundation of a large number of temperance societies. The New Zealand Independent Order of Rechabites, a total abstinence benefit society, and a Band of Hope Union were both founded in Auckland in 1863 ... [and d]uring the 1860s most provinces passed licensing ordinances."⁶⁵

The 1860s was a period of changing building technology, materials and other regulations. Fires in particular caused the introduction of new regulations by local councils. The first Thistle Inn, Thorndon, for example was burnt down the same year it was built (1866).⁶⁶ A Charles Tringham-designed church in Wellington (1868) was also destroyed by a fire in 1879.⁶⁷ There was a major fire in Wellington in 1868, which prompted the Wellington City Council to propose by-laws to limit fire-risk.⁶⁸ Buildings were made of a significant number of materials ranging from raupō⁶⁹ to masonry, flammable materials in

⁵⁰ Keith & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 5.

⁵¹ Keith & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 6; Fowler *Buildings of New Zealanders* p 63.

⁵² Kernohan *Wellington's Old Buildings* p 22.

⁵³ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 8.

⁵⁴ Fowler *Buildings of New Zealanders* p 57.

⁵⁵ Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* p 34.

⁵⁶ Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* p 34.

⁵⁷ Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* pp 127-129.

⁵⁸ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 40.

⁵⁹ Kernohan *Wellington's Old Buildings* p 70.

⁶⁰ Kernohan *Wellington's Old Buildings* p 55.

⁶¹ Thornton *Cast in Concrete* p 24.

⁶² Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 16,56-57.

⁶³ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 22, pl 10

⁶⁴ McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 72.

⁶⁵ "Prohibition: The Movement in New Zealand" n.p.

⁶⁶ Kernohan *Wellington's Old Buildings* p 55.

⁶⁷ Kernohan *Wellington's Old Buildings* pp 111-112.

⁶⁸ Kernohan *Wellington's Old Buildings* pp 68,70.

⁶⁹ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 15.

particular being targetted by regulation. Timber building was restricted in some town centres, and technological fashions phased out construction techniques such as wattle-and-daub. CE Dampier's Esk Head Homestead (1863) was built of a thick cob exterior walls, but the interior partitions were wattle-and-daub,⁷⁰ and the last known house made of wattle-and-daub dates from 1869 (Jenkin's Cottage, Ōtaki).⁷¹ Corrugated iron was first manufactured in New Zealand in Dunedin in 1869.⁷²

Masonry building appears to have been on the increase, with Knight and Wales noting an increase in the number of stonemasons from 1860-61,⁷³ and the discovery of Oamaru limestone as a material suitable for building in 1863.⁷⁴ The Auckland Supreme Court (1866) was an important masonry building of the period,⁷⁵ with its intricately carved gargoyles (by Anton Teunberg) depicting "heads of prominent Maori figures and Pakeha

politicians for the building."⁷⁶ The oldest extant concrete building also dates from the 1860s: the two storey house, built by John Gow in 1862 at Invermay, near Mosgiel,⁷⁷ and one of the first stone buildings in Dunedin, Kilgour's building, was put out to tender in February 1860.⁷⁸

Steam-driven machines were making T&G floorboards by the 1860s.⁷⁹ Christian Toxward reportedly introduced rusticated board to New Zealand in the 1860s.⁸⁰ The central internal gutter of the New Zealand villa also dates from this period,⁸¹ and timber was well established as the dominant building material for houses.⁸² According to Jeremy Salmond, "[b]y 1860 the small timber house had become established as the New Zealand vernacular dwelling, and from this little wooden cottage the forms of other ordinary New Zealand houses developed."⁸³ Several buildings were prefabricated, perhaps most famously houses

brought from England such as Hemming's Patent Improved Portable Houses of c1860,⁸⁴ as Salmond notes: "[t]he Victorian vernacular in New Zealand was founded on a kitset of wooden parts, mass-produced by steam-powered machines which began to arrive here in the late 1850s."⁸⁵ Other prefabs included Bill Clayton's Colonial Museum in Wellington, which was commissioned in 1865 and prefabricated in Dunedin.⁸⁶ Minniesdale Chapel in Wharehina, Port Albert was also constructed of prefabricated parts, in this case from England. It opened in 29 December 1867.⁸⁷

Cities were also subject to urban-scale technological advancements. New Zealand's first gasworks, the Dunedin Gaslight and Coke Company, was established in 1863,⁸⁸ and the following year, in 1864, "Princes Street [in Dunedin] had pavements, kerbs, and gas lamps."⁸⁹ Other cities followed, with coke gas being produced in "Christchurch in 1864,

⁷⁰ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 20.

⁷¹ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 36.

⁷² Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 66.

⁷³ Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* p 25.

⁷⁴ Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* p 17.

⁷⁵ Stacpoole *William Mason* p 85.

⁷⁶ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 33.

⁷⁷ Thornton *Cast in Concrete* pp 23,25.

⁷⁸ Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* p 26.

⁷⁹ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* pp 67, 89.

⁸⁰ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 115.

⁸¹ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 121.

⁸² Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 45.

⁸³ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 60. c.f. Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 45.

⁸⁴ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* pp 27, 29.

⁸⁵ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 90.

⁸⁶ Stacpoole *William Mason* p 87; Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* pp 97-98.

⁸⁷ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 16.

⁸⁸ Thornton *New Zealand's Industrial Heritage* p 180.

⁸⁹ Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* p 32.

Auckland in 1868, and Wellington in 1871."⁹⁰ New window types were added to residential buildings to both increase the amount of daylight inside, but to also take advantage of this new found nocturnal light source. Salmond also notes that: "'Sidelights" and "fanlights" were first added to the front door in the 1860s to brighten the hall, and to lend a little of the gaslight's glow to the street at night,"⁹¹ while Toomath records the new fashions for the Italianate style evident in window selection introduced in the 1860s: "round-arched window heads on double-hung sashes, often in pairs, beneath lowish, 30-degree gables with open eaves lines."⁹²

Toomath has comprehensively documented the significant American influence on New Zealand architecture, particularly in the domestic realm. Examples of this include plan book designs such as those of Downing and Davis.⁹³ Likewise Shaw notes the influence of American architect Andrew Jackson Downings' "Carpenter Gothic style, which reproduced Gothic stone tracery in wood, became popular in the USA during the

⁹⁰ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 148.

⁹¹ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 133.

⁹² Toomath *Built in New Zealand* p 94.

⁹³ Toomath *Built in New Zealand* p 62.

1850s and 1860s. It achieved popularity here too in the period when builders and their clients wished to move beyond the simple unadorned forms of the earliest colonial housing."⁹⁴ Similarly Charles Eastlake's 1868 *Hints in Household Taste* was a fashionable leader in decorative practices in New Zealand.⁹⁵ Many domestic buildings were designed during the period, many of which still survive. Examples include: Spinks Cottage, Wellington (William Spinks, 1954-63),⁹⁶ Choat House, Puketona (c1860),⁹⁷ Fyffe House, Kaikōura (c1860),⁹⁸ Te Wahapū, near Russell (c.1860),⁹⁹ Highwic, Epsom (1862),¹⁰⁰ Invermay, near Mosgiel (John Gow, 1862),¹⁰¹ Alberton, Mt Albert (Allan Taylor, 1862),¹⁰²

⁹⁴ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 39.

⁹⁵ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 178; Toomath *Built in New Zealand* p 136.

⁹⁶ Kernohan *Wellington's Old Buildings* p 104.

⁹⁷ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 84.

⁹⁸ Fowler & van de Voort *The New Zealand House* p 120.

⁹⁹ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 84.

¹⁰⁰ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 16-17; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 39-40; McCarthy "The Spirit of Christmas Past" pp 22-27; Toomath *Built in New Zealand* p 62; Stacpoole "Auckland Houses" pp 98-99,104.

¹⁰¹ Thornton *Cast in Concrete* pp 23,25; "Invermay Agriculture Research Centre" n.p.

¹⁰² Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 41; Fowler & van de Voort *The New Zealand House* p 26; Stacpoole "Auckland

Houses" pp 99-100,103.
Esk Head Homestead, Canterbury (Christopher Edward Dampier, 1863),¹⁰³ Highlawn, Dunedin (William Mason, 1863),¹⁰⁴ Ewelme Cottage, Parnell (1863-64),¹⁰⁵ Bishops court or Selwyn Court, Parnell (Thatcher, 1863-66),¹⁰⁶ Chew House (Millwood), Ngaio (John Chew c1865),¹⁰⁷ the Mt Peel homestead (Frederick Stouts, 1865, built by JBA Acland),¹⁰⁸ Dr Boor's house, 22 The Terrace, Wellington (Toxward, 1866),¹⁰⁹ Yule House, Invercargill (1866),¹¹⁰ Te Makiri, Helensville (1866),¹¹¹ Netherdale, Whanganui (1867),¹¹² Oneida, Fordell, near Whanganui

Houses" pp 99-100,103.

¹⁰³ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 20.

¹⁰⁴ Stacpoole *William Mason* p 77.

¹⁰⁵ Fowler & van de Voort *The New Zealand House* pp 132-133; Stacpoole "Anglican Parnell" pp 93,94,97.

¹⁰⁶ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 14-15; Fowler & van de Voort *The New Zealand House* pp 24-25; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 19, pl 7, 7A; Knight *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland* p 49; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 27.

¹⁰⁷ Fowler & van de Voort *The New Zealand House* p 100; "Chew House" n.p.

¹⁰⁸ Fowler & van de Voort *The New Zealand House* p 152.

¹⁰⁹ Kernohan *Wellington's Old Buildings* p 210; Arthur "The Fine Art of Housing Craft" pp 114-119.

¹¹⁰ Dear *The Invercargill Book* p 59.

¹¹¹ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 84; Toomath *Built in New Zealand* p 62.

¹¹² Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 84.

(George Frederick Allen, 1867-69),¹¹³ Fernhill, Dunedin (David Ross, 1867),¹¹⁴ Clendon House, Rawene (1868),¹¹⁵ and Jenkin's cottage, Ōtaki (1869).¹¹⁶

More significantly though, reflected in the huge number of publications in the area, was the building of religious buildings. Māori and the Anglican church collaborated in the building of several buildings with plain gothic exteriors and rich whakairo inside, perhaps culminating in the Manutuke church (1863).¹¹⁷ The development of the Te Kooti whareniui as Ringatū religious buildings, and Frederick Thatcher's collaboration with Bishop Selwyn were significant developments in New Zealand religious architecture. Selwyn churches built at this time, many designed or influenced by Thatcher, included: St Bride's, Mauku (Arthur Guyon Purchase, 1860),¹¹⁸ St

¹¹³ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 40-41; Fowler & van de Voort *The New Zealand House* p 84; Toomath *Built in New Zealand* pp 63-64.

¹¹⁴ Fowler & van de Voort *The New Zealand House* p 163; "Dunedin Club" n.p.; Stacpoole *William Mason* p 77.

¹¹⁵ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 84.

¹¹⁶ Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 36.

¹¹⁷ Brown *Maori Architecture* p 48.

¹¹⁸ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 27; Knight *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland* pp 68-70; Stacpoole, John *William Mason* p 49.

John the Baptist, Northcote (1860),¹¹⁹ St Mark's, Remuera (1860),¹²⁰ St Mary's, Parnell (1860),¹²¹ St John's Drury (1861),¹²² Wairoa Episcopalian Church, Clevedon (1861),¹²³ Christ Church, Papakura (1862),¹²⁴ Holy Trinity, Ōtāhuhu, (1863),¹²⁵ St Sepulchre's, Symonds Street (1865-91),¹²⁶ St Andrew's, Epsom (Reader Wood and Edward Rumsey, 1867),¹²⁷ and St Peter's in the Forest, Bombay (Edward Rumsey, 1867).¹²⁸

Churches designed in the 1860s included a range from the monumental cathedral to the minute chapel, and across all denominational types: Christchurch Cathedral (Gilbert Scott, completed 1904)¹²⁹ - its concrete foundations

¹¹⁹ Knight *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland* pp 62-64.

¹²⁰ Knight *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland* p 38.

¹²¹ Knight *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland* p 46.

¹²² Knight *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland* pp 71-73,76-77.

¹²³ Knight *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland* pp 71-73,78-79; Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 21.

¹²⁴ Knight *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland* pp 73-75.

¹²⁵ Knight *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland* p 32.

¹²⁶ Knight *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland* pp 60-61.

¹²⁷ Knight *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland* pp 24,39-40.

¹²⁸ Knight *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland* pp 80-82.

¹²⁹ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 12-13; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 31; Fowler *Buildings of New Zealanders* p 185; Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 12.

used 2,000 barrels of cement,¹³⁰ Dunedin's First Church (Robert Lawson, opened 1873),¹³¹ Knox Church, Great King Street, Dunedin (William Langslands, 1859-60),¹³² St Augustine's, Clarkville (1860),¹³³ St Cuthbert's, Governors Bay (George Mallinson, 1860-c1862),¹³⁴ St Mary's Church (Parnell, 1860),¹³⁵ Oruaiti Octagonal Chapel, Mongōnui Harbour (1861),¹³⁶ All Saints, Howick (1847, 1862),¹³⁷ Wainui Early Settlers' Church (1862),¹³⁸ Wheriko Whare Karakia, Parewanui (1862),¹³⁹ Pukekohe East Presbyterian (1863),¹⁴⁰ St Anne's, Pleasant Valley (1863),¹⁴¹ St Mary's, Meeanee (1863),¹⁴² St Paul's Church, Octagon,

¹³⁰ Thornton *Cast in Concrete* p 24.

¹³¹ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 12-13; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* pp 11,28-29, pl 16,17; Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* pp 128-135; Fowler *Buildings of New Zealanders* p 185; Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 15-16.

¹³² Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* pp 124-125.

¹³³ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 82.

¹³⁴ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 83.

¹³⁵ Kernohan *Wellington's Old Buildings* pp 52-53.

¹³⁶ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 16.

¹³⁷ Fowler *Buildings of New Zealanders* p 182.

¹³⁸ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 18.

¹³⁹ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 69.

¹⁴⁰ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 22.

¹⁴¹ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 94.

¹⁴² Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 43.

Dunedin (Charles Abbott, 1863),¹⁴³ Wesleyan Church, Dunedin (George Greenfield, 1863),¹⁴⁴ Hiona/St Stephen the Martyr, Ōpōtiki (1864),¹⁴⁵ St Mary's, Palmerston (1864-72),¹⁴⁶ St Peter's, Caversham (1864),¹⁴⁷ All Saints Church, North Dunedin (Clayton and Mason, 1865),¹⁴⁸ Church of the Holy Trinity (1865),¹⁴⁹ St Luke's, Oamaru (Edward Rumsey, 1865-1912),¹⁵⁰ St Patrick's, Akaroa (Maxwell Bury, 1865),¹⁵¹ St Paul's Presbyterian Church, Oamaru (Mason and Clayton, 1865),¹⁵² St Andrew's Church, Lambton Quay, Wellington (Toxward, 1866),¹⁵³ St Peter's, Whanganui (1866),¹⁵⁴ St Michael's, Waimea West (Thomas Brunner, 1867),¹⁵⁵ Church of the Holy

Innocents, Mount Peel (1868-c1869),¹⁵⁶ Community Church, Pukehiki (Walter Riddell, 1868),¹⁵⁷ St Thomas', Maketu (1868),¹⁵⁸ East Tākaka Church (1868),¹⁵⁹ and St Mary's, Stirling, nr Balclutha (1869).¹⁶⁰

Less well documented are religious buildings from non-Christian religions. William Clayton's Moray Pl West Synagogue (1864-65)¹⁶¹ being one of the few.

The 1860s also saw the first daily newspaper founded - the *Otago Daily Times*. Less frequent newspapers had begun with the arrival of the New Zealand Company in the 1839. Other technologies of communication (the electric telegraph line in 1862, to support Grey's Waikato wars; the first railway line in 1863, from Christchurch to Ferrymead; and the laying of the Cook Strait submarine telegraph cable in 1865), followed.¹⁶² New Zealand's first railway station was built in

1864 - in Invercargill, with railway line between Lyttelton port and Christchurch, and between Invercargill and Bluff, both being constructed in 1867.¹⁶³ The Invercargill-Bluff line was built of wooden rails and reputedly bankrupted the Southland Province.¹⁶⁴

Provincial and Colonial government provided various instances of building, including: the Government wharf and bonded store, Wellington (1862-63),¹⁶⁵ Auckland Supreme Court (Edward Rumsey, 1864),¹⁶⁶ and the Dunedin Court House and Gaol, Bell Hill (1862).¹⁶⁷ While the provinces of New Zealand were first established in 1841, it was not until 1852 that the six most enduring provinces were established (those of: Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Otago). The creation of Hawke's Bay and Marlborough occurred in the 1850s, but the

¹⁴³ Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* pp 68-70.

¹⁴⁴ Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* p 112.

¹⁴⁵ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 34.

¹⁴⁶ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 100.

¹⁴⁷ Stacpoole, John *William Mason* p 86.

¹⁴⁸ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 35; Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* pp 97-99; Stacpoole, John *William Mason* p 86; Martin, Lewis *Built for Us* p 13.

¹⁴⁹ Knight *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland* p 62.

¹⁵⁰ Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 12, 75.

¹⁵¹ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 86-87.

¹⁵² Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 12; Stacpoole, John *William Mason* p 86.

¹⁵³ Kernohan *Wellington's Old Buildings* p 22.

¹⁵⁴ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 58.

¹⁵⁵ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 125.

¹⁵⁶ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 93.

¹⁵⁷ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 103.

¹⁵⁸ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 32.

¹⁵⁹ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 124.

¹⁶⁰ Donovan *Country Churches of New Zealand* p 106.

¹⁶¹ Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* pp 97-98; Stacpoole, John *William Mason* p 87.

¹⁶² Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 71; Keith & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 5.

¹⁶³ Dear *The Invercargill Book* p 54; Fowler *Buildings of New Zealanders* p 24; McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 79.

¹⁶⁴ Fowler *Buildings of New Zealanders* p 24.

¹⁶⁵ Kernohan *Wellington's Old Buildings* pp 160-161.

¹⁶⁶ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 10-11; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* pp 11,27, pl. 15,15A; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 32-33; Fowler *Buildings of New Zealanders* p 75; Evans "The Supreme Court House, Auckland" pp 106-111.

¹⁶⁷ Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* p 28.

1860s was the decade of the Province of Southland's existence (1861-69).¹⁶⁸ The decade was also a period when architectural infrastructure to support the Provinces. Mountfort designed the renowned Canterbury Provincial Council Chambers (1858-65),¹⁶⁹ and Max Bury the Elizabethan Nelson Provincial Building (1859-61).¹⁷⁰ Other architects also forged their career in this civil service. WB Armson was an assistant architect for the Otago Provincial Government (1862-65),¹⁷¹ while Charles Robert Swyer (Armson's boss) was the Provincial Engineer from 1862.¹⁷² In 1869 William H Clayton was appointed Colonial Architect.¹⁷³ His work included: the Colonial Museum (Clayton, 1865),¹⁷⁴ and Government House, Wellington

(Clayton, c1868-71).¹⁷⁵ The decade ended with Julius Vogel, the Colonial Treasurer, successfully proposing huge government debt to fund an extensive programme of public works.¹⁷⁶ For architecture, the 1860s ended on a high and on borrowed money.

¹⁶⁸ Keith & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* pp 4,6.

¹⁶⁹ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 4-5; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* pp 11,25, pl. 13; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 30; Fowler *Buildings of New Zealanders* p 104.

¹⁷⁰ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 36.

¹⁷¹ "A colonial architect rediscovered" pp 24-25; Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* p 34.

¹⁷² Knight & Wales *Buildings of Dunedin* p 34.

¹⁷³ Kernohan *Wellington's Old Buildings* p 22; Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 6; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 11; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 36; Martin *Built for Us* pp 10,14.

¹⁷⁴ Kernohan *Wellington's Old Buildings* p 22.

¹⁷⁵ Kernohan *Wellington's Old Buildings* p 22; Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 7; Martin *Built for Us* p 10.

¹⁷⁶ Keith & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 6.

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