

## Architectural style spreads its wings: New Zealand architecture in the 1880s

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The 1880s was a period in New Zealand of economic depression. It caused "unemployment, family distress, ragged children and exploited women workers, general business collapse, a crash in the property market, a ten-year banking crisis, bankruptcies and unstable ministries."<sup>1</sup> But despite this Hodgson identifies this period in New Zealand's architectural history as one when: "Architectural style ... started to spread its wings and this period contains some fine examples of building design which was definitely out of the mainstream."<sup>2</sup> Stacpoole and Beaven also identify style as important, but emphasise instead the gradual change culminating into:

a synthesis of the styles, [with architects] taking from each what they fancied most and combining the parts into one building. This was the process known as eclecticism and it led to combinations even more strange than were once practised in the Elizabethan period.<sup>3</sup>

They note, of the eclectic turns of the

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<sup>1</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 93.

<sup>2</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 32.

<sup>3</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 41.

Christchurch City Council Chambers, that Seager's:

turreted corner tower, great gable window, arches, and patterned brickwork, must surely have set Mountfort tut-tutting. They represent eclecticism in full play, wilful, unexpected, and provocative. His juxtapositions continued to provoke throughout his career.<sup>4</sup>

Shaw attributes such architectural playfulness to prosperous colonialists wanting to display their wealth and to "the tradition of the first colonial architects in adapting their European heritage to circumstances here."<sup>5</sup> In the early 1880s, at least, it seems that "heavy ornament was still a kind of status symbol to men who, if they had not read Ruskin, were at least aware of his more readily assimilable pronouncements."<sup>6</sup>

This of course seemingly contradicts the impacts of the post-1879 depression which: "brought about a serious loss of confidence in

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<sup>4</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 49.

<sup>5</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 36.

<sup>6</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 42.

all types of colonial investment,"<sup>7</sup> meant that most of the country experienced "a period of financial stringency ill suited to any great expenditure on building,"<sup>8</sup> and earned 1880s Oamaru the title of being "the best-built and most-mortgaged town in Australasia."<sup>9</sup> Auckland, feasting on the profits of Thames' gold mining, was an exception, continuing to "live on borrowed money until the middle of the decade. ... But even Auckland was compelled by 1885 to bow to economic circumstance."<sup>10</sup>

The depression came following Julius Vogel's extensive borrowing (£20,000,000) and associated building and immigration projects of the 1870s, which doubled the settler population, exacerbating "poverty, unemployment, impossibly high rents, child labour and sweating."<sup>11</sup> Investment in

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<sup>7</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 58.

<sup>8</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 41.

<sup>9</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 141.

<sup>10</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 41.

<sup>11</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p

architecture, such as hospitals, prisons and courthouses, reflected the levels of poverty and need for welfare in society. As Stacpoole and Beaven put it: "for a time there there was little under construction except gaols and psychiatric hospitals."<sup>12</sup> Smith describes the 1885 establishment of:

a national system of hospitals and charitable aid under local boards that created a pattern of local autonomy, mixed funding and discretionary assistance. Widows stood at the top and unmarried mothers at the bottom of the hierarchy of women who had lost a male breadwinner, while unemployed men without families, judged "undeserving," were expected to fend for themselves.<sup>13</sup>

Hodgson notes though that:

building for health was very much a lower priority for government and local council funding. Much health care was undertaken at home and the hospital was seen more as a charitable institution for the poor than as a necessity. However, the realities of epidemics and appalling sanitation in dense residential areas soon severely taxed the hospital buildings of earlier decades. In an effort to alleviate the suffering, many of the country's hospital boards embarked on a building

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32; also Stewart *The New Zealand Villa* pp 11, 13; Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 90.

<sup>12</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p. 41. See also Martin *Built for Us* p 39.

<sup>13</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 90.

programme.<sup>14</sup>

Despite this, the major architectural works the government undertook in the 1880s were in the area of health, specifically mental health: "Sunnyside, Seacliff, and the Whau, which was the name then commonly given to Oakley Mental Hospital."<sup>15</sup> Benjamin W Mountfort designed Sunnyside Asylum,<sup>16</sup> and Robert A. Lawson designed Seacliff,<sup>17</sup> the Resident Engineer, Middle Island, commenting "that Sunnyside and Seacliff were among the handsomest buildings in New Zealand."<sup>18</sup> Frederick Strouts also designed the Rhodes Convalescent Home (Cashmere, 1885-87).<sup>19</sup>

The Supreme Court in Wellington (1880) was another government project. It "accommodated a smaller chamber used continually as a bankruptcy court in the 1880s and 1890s when trade depression made

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<sup>14</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 21-22.

<sup>15</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 137.

<sup>16</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* pp 41, 49.

<sup>17</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 41; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 134.

<sup>18</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 138.

<sup>19</sup> NZHPT "Strouts, Frederick - Architect" n.p.

bankruptcy a prevalent feature of mercantile life."<sup>20</sup> It was also the first public building in Wellington that was built of fire-resisting materials,<sup>21</sup> and it was supported on:

hundreds of totara piles; these carry an overall concrete slab, four metres below ground level, which, in turn, carries extensive brick footings. Pumps operate at times of high tides to keep the old basement cells dry.<sup>22</sup>

Courthouses were also built in Warkworth (1880),<sup>23</sup> and Masterton (1884),<sup>24</sup> and Oamaru gained the Forrester & Lemon-designed neo-classical and limestone courthouse (1883).<sup>25</sup> The architectural energy expended in court architecture was in part limited, and Stacpoole speculates that:

Most of these would have been standard plans developed in the previous decade. ... They were times of great financial stringency and little public building was done or, if it was done, it was placed ... in the hands of

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<sup>20</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 21.

<sup>21</sup> Martin *Built for Us* p 36.

<sup>22</sup> Martin *Built for Us* p 36.

<sup>23</sup> Martin *Built for Us* p 38.

<sup>24</sup> Martin *Built for Us* p 40.

<sup>25</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 62; Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 26, 60; Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 21; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 142.

private architects.<sup>26</sup>

Other government buildings that were built in the 1880s included post offices such as: Forrester and Lemon's Thames St, Oamaru (1883),<sup>27</sup> Thomas Turnbull's Wellington Post Office (1883-84),<sup>28</sup> and Edward Booth's Ophir Post Office (1886).<sup>29</sup> Civic and cultural buildings were also invested in, and included: Lawson's Dunedin Town Hall (1876-1880),<sup>30</sup> Frederick Strouts' Lyttelton Harbour Board building (1880),<sup>31</sup> Forrester and Lemon's Athenaeum and Mechanics Institute (Oamaru, 1881-82),<sup>32</sup> Bartley's Opera House (cnr Wellesley and Elliot Streets, 1882),<sup>33</sup> Edward Mahoney's Customhouse (1882),<sup>34</sup> Forrester

<sup>26</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* pp 138-139.

<sup>27</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 27, 59; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 142.

<sup>28</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 19, 20-21; Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 27; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* pp 176, 208.

<sup>29</sup> Martin *Built for Us* p 41.

<sup>30</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 26, 27.

<sup>31</sup> NZHPT "Strouts, Frederick - Architect" n.p.

<sup>32</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 62; Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 60.

<sup>33</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 209.

<sup>34</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 44.

and Lemon's County Council Chambers (1883),<sup>35</sup> James Johnston's Waitaki County Council Chambers (1883),<sup>36</sup> Forrester and Lemon's Customs House (1884),<sup>37</sup> Samuel Hurst Seager's Christchurch City Council Chambers (1885-87),<sup>38</sup> and Thomas Turnbull's General Assembly Library (1887).<sup>39</sup>

Courts were also key to the government's mechanisms for managing land owned by Māori. Smith records that "[b]y the 1880s the effects of land purchase and prolonged land court sittings showed up in declining health status and higher mortality."<sup>40</sup> Land boundaries became iwi boundaries, communal land became vested in individual title. In the early 1880s Ngāti Maniapoto negotiated with John Bryce (Native Affairs Minister 1879-84), and his successor John Ballance,

to allow surveys for the main trunk railway through

<sup>35</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 142.

<sup>36</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 24, 59.

<sup>37</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 26, 48.

<sup>38</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 64-65; Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 26-28; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* pp 41, 49.

<sup>39</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 175.

<sup>40</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 78.

their territory. This also affected other tribes in the pan-tribal King movement because the surveys set the tribal boundaries of the five main Kingitanga iwi, including Ngāti Tuwharetoa on the volcanic plateau.<sup>41</sup>

Smith records the resulting protests because of "land agent deals with individuals that exacerbated the rivalries inherent in Maori society,"<sup>42</sup> and King Tāwhiao's petition to Queen Victoria, and others' calls for the Treaty to be honoured.

The first prisoners came to Mt Eden Prison in 1888. The building was "redesigned by PFM Burrows from plans obtained in England."<sup>43</sup> Stacpoole, elaborating, refers to the idea that the prison was based on one in Malta, but suggests instead that the plans "were an amalgam, like the New Plymouth prison, of ideas taken from the Blue Books which Clayton had received from England."<sup>44</sup> Martin notes that the English plan was adapted for 220 inmates and the Mt Eden site: "It is cruciform in plan, with its main axis nearly 120 metres long. Burrows saw its turrets as "relieving the sombre aspect of the

<sup>41</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 76.

<sup>42</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 76.

<sup>43</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* pp 41, 44.

<sup>44</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 139.

structural mass."<sup>45</sup> The prison was enclosed by a stone wall, built in 1876, and the Burrow's "dark and forbidding" design was begun in 1883.<sup>46</sup> That year Burrows "reported that he had supervised a large amount of work done at Mt Cook by prisoners and at Mt Eden stone had been quarried."<sup>47</sup> The defensive appearance of Mt Eden was matched by an increase in defence works, designed by army engineers, built in New Zealand in 1885-86. Stacpoole attributes the impetus for these works to the:

Russian scare when it was thought New Zealand might be attacked by a naval expedition, and [the] Government took matters so seriously - or public buildings so lightly - that they placed them under the control of the Defence Department. This arrangement lasted no more than a year and in 1890 John Campbell, who had worked under Burrows, was appointed Chief Government Architect. The concept of a Colonial Architect was no longer acceptable.<sup>48</sup>

Equally significant in New Zealand's prison history, was the government's imprisoning of 400 Parihaka protesters without trial, following the passive resistance of

<sup>45</sup> Martin *Built for Us* p 39.

<sup>46</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 139.

<sup>47</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 138.

<sup>48</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 139.

government surveys (1878-81).<sup>49</sup> The imprisonings were legitimised by the passing of John Bryce's *West Coast Peace Preservation Bill*.<sup>50</sup> The protesters were held for two years' hard labour in the South Island,<sup>51</sup> returning in 1881, as the government began auctioning off Parihaka. The success of Parihaka as community of "disaffected Māori"<sup>52</sup> resulted in John Bryce leading 1600-armed troupes (959 volunteers and 630 armed constabulary) to storm the settlement on the 5th November 1881.<sup>53</sup> According to Smith, "Bryce ordered the troops to sack Parihaka because its people refused to leave."<sup>54</sup> Brown records that:

1500 non-Taranaki people [were] removed and their homes destroyed so they could not return. Some of the meeting houses were pulled down with ropes, and others were burned.<sup>55</sup>

Te Whiti and Tohu Kākahi were arrested, imprisoned without trial, and "banished to the

<sup>49</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* p 71.

<sup>50</sup> Ross "Bryce, John" n.p.

<sup>51</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 75.

<sup>52</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* p 73.

<sup>53</sup> Ross "Bryce, John" n.p.

<sup>54</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 75; also Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 7; Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 72, 73.

<sup>55</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* p 73.

South Island until 1883."<sup>56</sup> During this time they were taken to various sites of Pākehā industry, including the Mosgiel woollen mills and Dunedin railway yard, in an attempt to "re-educate" them and "demonstrate that Māori separatism was a hopeless cause when compared to the benefits of Pākehā "civilisation."<sup>57</sup>

Brown's description of the adaption of Pākehā architecture and town planning by the people of Parihaka, refers to buildings oriented towards roads, and the construction of Miti-mai-te-arero: Te Whiti's residence (1881), and Nuku-tewhatewha: the community bank (c1881), in a colonial style.<sup>58</sup> Following Te Whiti and Tohu's "re-education" they rebuilt Parihaka (March 1883) and embraced Pākehā technology

completely on their own terms by further replacing Māori modes of living with Western-style architecture, urban planning and services. Financial assistance for the redevelopment programme came from supportive tribes

<sup>56</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 75; also Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 7; Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 72, 73.

<sup>57</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* p 74.

<sup>58</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 71, 72-73. She provides a translation of Miti-mai-te-arero as "The tongue lashes out towards me." Brown *Māori Architecture* p 72.

across the country.<sup>59</sup>

By 1885 Parihaka had gas and electric street-lighting - before Wellington did.<sup>60</sup> Later in the decade Rangī Kapua: Tohu's house (1888),<sup>61</sup> and Niho-o-Te-Ātiawa: a 100 seat dining hall (1889),<sup>62</sup> were built. Niho-o-Te-Ātiawa has been described as reminiscent of a Victorian teahouse.<sup>63</sup>

Smith identifies the political significance of education during the 1880s more broadly. The 1877 Education Act generated a proliferation of schools and school houses, as well as jobs for architects with the Education Boards.<sup>64</sup> Catholics, through the Sisters of St Joseph, "began a network of schools in New Zealand from 1883,"<sup>65</sup> the same year that a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to investigate 190 petitions arising from the 1877 Education Act, and Catholic and Anglican requests for grants in aid of their schools.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 74-75.

<sup>60</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* p 75.

<sup>61</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 75-76.

<sup>62</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 76, 77.

<sup>63</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* p 76.

<sup>64</sup> Thanks to Wendy Pettigrew for explicitly raising this. Pettigrew, Pers Comm (email) 22 October 2013.

<sup>65</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 87.

<sup>66</sup> Small "Religion and the Schools in New Zealand 1877-

New schools included Armson's Christchurch Girls' High School (1880),<sup>67</sup> Forrester and Lemon's Waitaki Boys' High School (1881-83),<sup>68</sup> Robert A. Lawson's Otago Boy's High School (1882-85),<sup>69</sup> and Mountfort's Christ's College new classrooms (1886).<sup>70</sup> The 1880s also saw the completion of Frederick Strouts' clock tower at Lincoln College. Catholics and Anglicans not only wanted schools, a number of churches and other religious buildings and structures were built in the 1880s. Shaw, for example, in his discussion of late nineteenth-century Māori churches, observes that: "There was a revival of such activity by the church after 1880 when James McDonald, an Irishman, was appointed to the Catholic Church's northern-most diocese."<sup>71</sup>

Some of the religious buildings built in the decade include: William Armson's St Mary's (Timaru, 1880),<sup>72</sup> Edward Bartley's St David's

1963" p 54.

<sup>67</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 165.

<sup>68</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 27, 69; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 142.

<sup>69</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 60; Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 23, 24; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 157.

<sup>70</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 170.

<sup>71</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 78.

<sup>72</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 158;

Church (Symonds St, 1880),<sup>73</sup> Bartley's St John's Church (Ponsonby, 1881),<sup>74</sup> Edward Mahoney's St Andrew's (Cambridge, 1881),<sup>75</sup> the nave and tower of Christchurch Cathedral (1881),<sup>76</sup> Matthew Henderson's tower and portico of St Andrew's (Symonds Street, Auckland, 1882),<sup>77</sup> Forrester and Lemon's St Columba (Oamaru 1881-83),<sup>78</sup> Mahoney's Holy Sepulchre (Khyber Pass, c1884),<sup>79</sup> Edmund Bell's Baptist Tabernacle (Auckland, 1884),<sup>80</sup> Benjamin Mountfort's Good Shepherd (Phillipstown, 1884),<sup>81</sup> Thomas Turnbull's St John's (cnr Willis and Dixon Sts, Wellington,

Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 28, 31.

<sup>73</sup> NZHPT "Bartley, Edward - Architect" n.p.

<sup>74</sup> NZHPT "Bartley, Edward - Architect" n.p.; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 209.

<sup>75</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 31.

<sup>76</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 31.

<sup>77</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* pp 41, 44, 45; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 209.

<sup>78</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 28-29, 77.

<sup>79</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* pp 202, 203.

<sup>80</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 28-32; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 41; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 210.

<sup>81</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 169.

1884),<sup>82</sup> Bartley's Old Synagogue (Princes St, Auckland, 1885),<sup>83</sup> Francis Petre's St Joseph's Cathedral (1878-86),<sup>84</sup> Bartley's Holy Trinity Church (Devonport, 1886),<sup>85</sup> Mountfort's reconstruction of Christ Church (Nelson, 1886),<sup>86</sup> and his Wellington Congregational Church (cnr The Terrace and Bowen St, 1886),<sup>87</sup> Waiapu cathedral (1886-88), and St Mary's Pro Cathedral (Auckland, 1888),<sup>88</sup> and Petre's St Patrick's (South Dunedin, 1879-94).<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 48; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 176.

<sup>83</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 63-64; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 41; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 209; NZHPT "Bartley, Edward - Architect" n.p.

<sup>84</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* pp 144-145; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 73; Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 30; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 42.

<sup>85</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 209; NZHPT "Bartley, Edward - Architect" n.p.

<sup>86</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 169.

<sup>87</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 28, 30; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 169.

<sup>88</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 169; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 31; Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 28; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 41; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* pp 210-213.

<sup>89</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 74.

While the more well-known of these buildings are praised by many historians, Stacpoole reserves, for Duval's chapel in the Convent of Mercy at Timaru, the instruction that this design "begs for analysis in any study of the 1880s."<sup>90</sup> Frederick de Jersey Clere was also responsible for many churches as Wellington Anglican Diocesan architect.<sup>91</sup>

The Ringatū religion was another important contributor to architecture in the 1880s. Founded by Te Kooti Arikirangi te Tūruki, the Ringatū faith required whareniui to accommodate "the monthly three-day hui called Tekau marua."<sup>92</sup> Rongopai (1883)<sup>93</sup> was built under the direction of Pa Ruru at Waituhi, Poverty Bay "in anticipation of Te Kooti's return to his people after he was pardoned by the Government. Te Kooti planned such a visit in 1887 to open the house" but he was re-arrested and imprisoned in Mt Eden.<sup>94</sup> Rongopai is well-known as a

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<sup>90</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 199.

<sup>91</sup> Maclean *Architect of the Angels* pp 35-51.

<sup>92</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 55; also Brown *Māori Architecture* p 59.

<sup>93</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 55.

<sup>94</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 55. Brown *Māori Architecture* p 60.

<sup>95</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 55. Brown notes that Te Kooti was pardoned in 1883. Brown *Māori*

painted house, its elaborate polychromatic and figurative painting being characteristics of Ringatū architecture.<sup>95</sup> Brown attributes the appeal of paint (rather than carving) as, made possible with European paints,<sup>96</sup> and, due to the desire of Ringatū followers "to complete their houses quickly, often in anticipation of Te Kooti's arrival in their district, and to communities who did not have a tohunga to oversee their projects."<sup>97</sup> She continues noting that:

The move from the abstract to the natural is a significant artistic change, temporally and spatially, as significant to Māori as the reverse modernist development - from naturalism to abstraction - was for Europeans at that time. These Ringatū painted motifs, scenes, plants and animals were often photorealistic, a concept influenced by the engravings and photographs that Māori observed in illustrated bibles, missionary periodicals and posters, and newspapers.<sup>98</sup>

Stacpoole designates this painting as folk art, making reference to "paintings of Jack and the

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*Architecture* p 59. Stacpoole states that the house was "decorated by the young people in preparation for a visit by Te Kooti in 1889." Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 197.

<sup>95</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* p 60; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 197.

<sup>96</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* p 60.

<sup>97</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* p 60.

<sup>98</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 60-61.

Beanstalk or a happy looking character in a bowler hat who had evidently had a successful day at the races,"<sup>99</sup> and an earlier painting by General Robley of "the Otumoetai Catholic Church in 1864-65,"<sup>100</sup> whereas Shaw notes:

the use of bright colours and the naturalistic depiction of ancestors in modern dress, flourishing weapons ... both subject matter and colour are strongly influenced by European notions of pictorial representation.<sup>101</sup>

The renovation of Te Tokanganui-a-Noho in 1883,<sup>102</sup> and the building of Eripitana (Te Whāiti, 1884)<sup>103</sup> are other examples of polychromy in Ringatū architecture.

Most housing was detached houses. Yet the increasing urban population resulted in "dense subdivision and rapid construction of houses in inner city suburbs."<sup>104</sup> Public spending by local and central government and large amounts of house building occurred in all of the main towns, but, for example: "in the

<sup>99</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 197.

<sup>100</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 197.

<sup>101</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 55.

<sup>102</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 59-64.

<sup>103</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* p 61.

<sup>104</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 32.

early 1880s Auckland enjoyed a suburban building boom but by 1886 had 2000 empty houses."<sup>105</sup> The implementation of urban horse-drawn tramways, beginning in 1878 in Wellington, which by 1884 were also operating in Dunedin Christchurch and Auckland, "sparked an early wave of speculative subdivision during the 1880s" - though Stewart observes that "suburban living was still generally confined to limited numbers of wealthy families while low-income families remained tied to the inner city."<sup>106</sup> She also refers to the poor quality of housing despite increased investment, stating that the impact of the depression was that "by the end of the decade worker housing still largely consisted of substandard small, poor, timber cottages."<sup>107</sup> Simple cottages had "little or no sanitation and crowded into urban pockets, soon degenerated into the slums that so offended Victorian sensibilities."<sup>108</sup>

The highest residential densities in 1881 were in "Auckland on the upper slopes of Freemans Bay and Grafton gully and in the adjacent

<sup>105</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 93.

<sup>106</sup> Stewart *The New Zealand Villa* pp 27-28.

<sup>107</sup> Stewart *The New Zealand Villa* p 14.

<sup>108</sup> Stewart *The New Zealand Villa* p 11.

areas of Ponsonby and Newton Gully."<sup>109</sup> Villas dominated,<sup>110</sup> and Salmond refers to the consistent construction of timber houses from the 1860s to the 1910s, and the increasingly use of factory-made components.<sup>111</sup> As Shaw puts it: "[b]y 1880 the days when simple cottages were laboriously constructed from timber shaped by hand were long past."<sup>112</sup> Steam-powered machines mass-produced components requiring "planing and moulding, turning and carving, mortising and tenoning, shaping balusters, grooving and dovetailing," that was previously only able to be done by hand.<sup>113</sup> Catalogues from timber companies, such as the Dunedin Iron and Woodware Company, included house plans as well as kitset parts for villas, including weatherboard profiles, mouldings and fretwork patterns.<sup>114</sup> Most Auckland houses were kauri, while rimu was used further south.<sup>115</sup> The depression took its toll on many timber mills, with the Kauri Timber Company

<sup>109</sup> Stewart *The New Zealand Villa* p 25.

<sup>110</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 50.

<sup>111</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 45; also Stewart *The New Zealand Villa* p 23.

<sup>112</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 38.

<sup>113</sup> Stewart *The New Zealand Villa* p 23.

<sup>114</sup> Stewart *The New Zealand Villa* pp 23-24.

<sup>115</sup> Stewart *The New Zealand Villa* p 36.

emerging as the main survivor,<sup>116</sup> though Salmond records that by 1883 "Guthrie and Larnach's Dunedin Iron and Woodware Company employed 700 men and brought two million feet of kauri from Auckland's west coast forests for their "manufactory of woodware replete with the most improved American machinery."<sup>117</sup>

Hodgson identifies the emergence of professionals and business proprietors, whose houses were more distinguished. He characterises their houses as: "comparatively substantial ... designed by architects ... [and called] gentlemen's residences, as opposed to mere villas, houses, dwellings or cottages."<sup>118</sup> Stacpoole and Beaven record the fashions for the Elizabethan, eclecticism, and the so-called Queen Anne,<sup>119</sup> and exterior painting, which:

became more adventurous in the 1870s and 1880s, employing pale slate greys, buffs or venetian reds, picked out with darker shades of the same colour and rarely lined with black on chamfers and other cut-work. A reversal of this use of black was often found inside,

<sup>116</sup> Stewart *The New Zealand Villa* p 22.

<sup>117</sup> Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses* p 92.

<sup>118</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 32.

<sup>119</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 41.

where chimney-pieces in particular, together with their overmantels, would be ebonised by painting with a black lacquer and the cut-work would be highlighted in gold. Cornices, varying in the complexity of their mouldings according to the importance of the room, were also highlighted on occasion in gold or had their shadow lines emphasised by a deepening of colour. Pink and soft-green cornices are sometimes associated with a rosy buff colour on boarded ceilings and these same pinks and greens were the accepted colours for the stencilled floral patterns which occasionally survive on wooden ceiling panels. Pressed *papier mâché* ceiling panels, dados and cornices were available to those wanting a richer effect than the use of timber mouldings could satisfy, and there were a few plasterers able to decorate a ceiling or an archway.<sup>120</sup>

Domestic interiors were influenced by Britain's Charles Eastlake's *Hints on Household Taste*, renowned for its suggested division of wall decoration into three: the dado, filling and frieze,<sup>121</sup> and also by the Aesthetic Movement, which, according to Stewart, generated the "picturesque" or "art" interior of the middle-class New Zealand villa. Telephones were increasingly apparent, with the first telephone list of 50 subscribers published in Auckland in 1881,<sup>122</sup> and gas cookers came on to the market in 1884, but these were "not generally accepted and many

<sup>120</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 185.

<sup>121</sup> Stewart *The New Zealand Villa* p 57.

<sup>122</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 200.

bay villas continued to be built with the coal range as the sole means of cooking until World War I."<sup>123</sup> Outside was no doubt impacted on by the flourishing of the gardening manual. Christchurch horticulturalist Michael Murphy's *Gardening in New Zealand Illustrated* was "first published in 1885 ... [and] acknowledged the influence that Loudon [author of *Encyclopedia of Architecture*] had had on the form of New Zealand gardens."<sup>124</sup>

Architect-designed houses included: Thomas Mahoney's Kilbryde (1881),<sup>125</sup> Fassifern (1882),<sup>126</sup> Waikonini (1882),<sup>127</sup> John Turnbull's Lenel (1882),<sup>128</sup> the Waitaki Master's residence (now the Rectory) (1883),<sup>129</sup> Toxward's Walter Buller House (1883),<sup>130</sup> Atkin and Clere's Overton (1884),<sup>131</sup> Collins and Harmans'

<sup>123</sup> Stewart *The New Zealand Villa* p 70.

<sup>124</sup> Stewart *The New Zealand Villa* p 56.

<sup>125</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* pp 202, 203.

<sup>126</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 32.

<sup>127</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 158.

<sup>128</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 152.

<sup>129</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 28, 69.

<sup>130</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 175.

<sup>131</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 178.

Thanks to Wendy Pettigrew for pointing out that this



Rangiruru (1885),<sup>132</sup> Cumbria (1885),<sup>133</sup> and Pen'y'bryn (1889).<sup>134</sup> The stone house at 512 George Street, Dunedin (1881), designed by Joseph Shaw, and built for Robert Wilson, had "elaborate cast-iron work verandahs of a type infrequently seen in New Zealand outside Dunedin, although they are common in both Sydney and Melbourne."<sup>135</sup> More usual was the fretwork or "French cuts" which formed the friezes and brackets of villas, and which Stacpoole and Beaven note were "a cheap copy of cast-iron decoration," as well as the illogical of the term "villa" to describe these houses.<sup>136</sup> They identify the villa's American

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was an Atkins and Clere design, rather than just Clere's work. She notes: "The RIBA file on Atkins, no 0687\_001 includes the papers supporting Alfred Atkins' 1888 application for associate membership with RIBA. Clere makes it clear (no pun intended...) in his proposer's supporting statement that he worked together with Atkins on this commission for Arkwright, and that Atkins' involvement was necessary because the builders had little experience in such a design. Atkins also says in his applicant's statement that the two men worked "conjointly" on Overton as well as a number of other commissions, especially during the period 1883-1886." Pettigrew, Pers Comm.

<sup>132</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 168.

<sup>133</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 29.

<sup>134</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 29, 64.

<sup>135</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 43.

<sup>136</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 43.

origins, and Elizabethan and French colonial influences.<sup>137</sup> Exceptions to the detached house included small-scale terrace housing in Dunedin, such as the Dundas Street Terrace Houses (c1880s),<sup>138</sup> Chapman's Terrace (1882),<sup>139</sup> and Lawson & Salmond's Stuart Street terrace house.<sup>140</sup> At the same time the Railway Department began to provide houses for its workers, after initial use of tents in the early 1880s.<sup>141</sup>

In 1881 Helen Connon graduated from Canterbury College - the first British woman to do so with honours in Latin and English,<sup>142</sup> and the Married Women's Property Act 1884 allowed married women to own property separate from their husbands.<sup>143</sup> The following year (1885) the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), strong advocates

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<sup>137</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 43.

<sup>138</sup> New Zealand Historic Places Trust "Dundas Street Terrace Houses" unpaginated; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 44.

<sup>139</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 44.

<sup>140</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 44.

<sup>141</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 48-49.

<sup>142</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 88.

<sup>143</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 90; Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 8.

of women's suffrage, was formed,<sup>144</sup> following the first "effective regulation of liquor sales" in 1881.<sup>145</sup> Hodgson notes the significance of hotels, both in terms of design flair and public need for:

an amenity ... for the travelling public and for a relatively numerous tourist trade. Hotels tended to be built in the commercial hearts of the cities with handy access to such travel terminuses as railway stations and steamer wharves.<sup>146</sup>

He highlights the opulent Grand designed by Louis Boldini (1883):

it had the advantage of a corner site to show its gently curved facade. The ground floor was supplied with shops and their expanses of plate glass added a lightness to the building's appearance. Inside the ground floor was contained a public bar, a private bar, a writing room, offices and a central hall. This was masterful. Its floor was laid in mosaic, it rose through two storeys, had a gallery, a fine domed ceiling and superbly executed plaster cornices and wall decoration. A grand staircase led to the first floor which boasted private suites, a dining room seating 100, a smoking room, and a large drawing room for all guests. The two upper floors contained the bulk of the bedrooms and the staff

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<sup>144</sup> Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 8.

<sup>145</sup> Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 7.

<sup>146</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 28.

quarters were put in the attic space.<sup>147</sup>

Other hotels built in the 1880s included: Forrester and Lemon's Northern Hotel (1880),<sup>148</sup> James Johnston's Globe Hotel (1881),<sup>149</sup> and Forrester and Lemon's Queen's Hotel (1881-82).<sup>150</sup>

Other "sins" and "Old World evils" of the 1880s, were, according to Reverend Rutherford Waddell, preaching in 1888 Dunedin, "The Sins of Cheapness." Waddell publicly attacked the sweat shop conditions of women and children working in the clothing industry.<sup>151</sup> Given such criticism of employment conditions, it is no surprise that the decade saw the growth of the industrial unions, and Jackson and McRobie note that "Trades and Labour Councils [were] established in [the] four main centres of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin."<sup>152</sup> Smith identifies "new unionism"

as occurring most notably in export-related industries: "among seamen, watersiders, shearers, coalminers, and tailoresses."<sup>153</sup> By the end of the decade (1889) a Royal Commission had been established "to investigate sweated industries," and reported to the government in 1890,<sup>154</sup> following the Trades and Labour Congress denouncing sweated labour, and calling for "stricter enforcement of [the] 1873 factory legislation" in 1885.<sup>155</sup> By 1890 there were 200 unions with 63,000 members.<sup>156</sup> They fought against "the market liberalism of the employers, who insisted on "freedom of contract.""<sup>157</sup>

New factories were opened, including the first New Zealand freezing works at Burnside, near Dunedin in 1881,<sup>158</sup> and, in the same year in Edendale, New Zealand's first dairy factory was established.<sup>159</sup> The development of

freezing works was indicative of a significant shift in New Zealand's primary production sector. 1883 was the peak year for wheat - known as a "bonanza," with decline in soil fertility reducing production forthwith.<sup>160</sup> The same year (1883) saw the introduction of the centrifugal separator and the mechanisation of the dairy industry,<sup>161</sup> and it seems that from this time wheat's decline was matched with agriculture's increase. Stacpoole is to the point in this matter, stating that: "[i]ronically it was the introduction of freezing works and refrigerated transport which killed wheat growing, for land previously used to grow grain was turned over to grazing."<sup>162</sup> Shaw similarly refers to "the rise of Oamaru's frozen meat shipping industry,"<sup>163</sup> noting the centrality of Totara Estate as "the centre of the highly innovative frozen meat exporting trade,"<sup>164</sup> while noting that grain declined to such a point that New Zealand had to begin to import wheat.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 28.

<sup>148</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 20, 57.

<sup>149</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 24-25.

<sup>150</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 142; Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 20.

<sup>151</sup> Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 8; also Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 93.

<sup>152</sup> Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New*

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*Zealand* p 7.

<sup>153</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 94.

<sup>154</sup> Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 8; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 93.

<sup>155</sup> Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 8.

<sup>156</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 94.

<sup>157</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 94.

<sup>158</sup> Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 7.

<sup>159</sup> Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New*

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*Zealand* p 7.

<sup>160</sup> Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 7.

<sup>161</sup> Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 8.

<sup>162</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 143.

<sup>163</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 50.

<sup>164</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 13.

<sup>165</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 24.

The freezing works pre-empted the first shipment of frozen meat leaving Port Chalmers on the 15th February 1882 for England, its frozen cargo originating from Totara Estate.<sup>166</sup> Oamaru also had freezing works, including a Forrester and Lemon design built in 1886.<sup>167</sup> Industrial architecture of the decade included: James Johnston's Smith's Grain Store (1881-82),<sup>168</sup> Morven Hills woolshed (early 1880s),<sup>169</sup> Forrester and Lemon's grain stores for: Connell and Clowes (1881),<sup>170</sup> the Neil Brothers (1882),<sup>171</sup> and for TH Brown (1882);<sup>172</sup> Dennison and Grant's Loan and Mercantile Grain Store (1882),<sup>173</sup> Mason & Wales' Sargood Son and Ewen warehouse (1882),<sup>174</sup> Meek's grain elevator (Oamaru, 1883),<sup>175</sup> William Sharp's

<sup>166</sup> Ministry for Culture and Heritage "1882 First shipment of frozen meat leaves NZ" n.p.; Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 7.

<sup>167</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 143.

<sup>168</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 25, 48.

<sup>169</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 159.

<sup>170</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 55.

<sup>171</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 50.

<sup>172</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 55.

<sup>173</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* pp 141-142.

<sup>174</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 207.

<sup>175</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 143; Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 23, 24, 53.

Invercargill water tower (1888),<sup>176</sup> and TC Dennison's Kuriheka stables (1889), which was "an unusual German Gothic design."<sup>177</sup> Meek's grain elevator is reputedly the "only American-type grain elevator in the southern hemisphere."<sup>178</sup> It was five storeys high, and contained 36 bins, each 16.2m deep.<sup>179</sup> Sharp's water tower was 43m high and held 300,000 litres of water "pumped from the foot of the tower, from concrete cisterns holding half a million gallons (two-and-a-quarter million litres)."<sup>180</sup> The decade also saw the first gold dredging boom (1889-91), credited to Sew Hoy's foundation of the Shotover Big Beach Gold Mining Company.<sup>181</sup> His dredge was the prototype "for the New Zealand bucket dredge."<sup>182</sup> He also represents the role of Chinese miners from Guangdong province in the Otago gold rush, who peaked in numbers at 4,000 in Otago and 5,000 in New Zealand.<sup>183</sup> They were subject to racism, which apparently grew as their numbers increased following

<sup>176</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* pp 152-154.

<sup>177</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 29, 66.

<sup>178</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 143.

<sup>179</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 143.

<sup>180</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 154.

<sup>181</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 82.

<sup>182</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 82.

<sup>183</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 82.

"anti-Chinese agitation in the Australian colonies in 1888, when Chinese refused entry to Australia were diverted to Greymouth and Dunedin."<sup>184</sup>

Tourism and significant moments in the history of landscape architecture permeate the decade. In 1880, for example, Lincoln Agricultural College was opened.<sup>185</sup> In 1887, Ngāti Tūwharetoa leader, Te Heuheu Tūkino IV, gifted Tongariro to the people of New Zealand, creating our first National Park.<sup>186</sup> Smith observes this act as both gracious and "expedient politically, since the volcanoes had less value for farming than for tourism."<sup>187</sup> She also notes the increasing appreciation of "New Zealand's beauty and to contemplate scenery preservation, if only in places less conducive to timber milling and sowing grass."<sup>188</sup> Rotorua was another key tourist spot, with William Fox advocating for the district to be made a national park à la Yellowstone.<sup>189</sup> Te Arawa proposed a

<sup>184</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 82.

<sup>185</sup> Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 7.

<sup>186</sup> Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 8; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 91.

<sup>187</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 91.

<sup>188</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 91.

<sup>189</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 90.

township to support a sanatorium for tourists, and in 1880 mana whenua agreed to allow the government "to auction 99-year leases on their behalf."<sup>190</sup> The Thermal Springs District Act (1881) instead gave the government a monopoly to purchase and lease hot spring areas, resulting in half the Rotorua blocks being sold by 1900.<sup>191</sup> Edward Mahoney and Son designed the first spa building in Rotorua, including "a bathing pavilion, a bath keeper's residence and a dispensary."<sup>192</sup> Stacpoole speculates that the promised boarding establishment, hospital and doctor's house were supervised by Arthur Washington Burrows (PFM Burrow's brother) in 1885.<sup>193</sup> The 1880s saw both government mismanagement, when lessees defaulted, and Australian tourists visiting Rotorua's "natural wonders."<sup>194</sup> In 1886 Tarawera erupted, destroying one of Rotorua's famous tourist attractions, the Pink and White Terraces.<sup>195</sup>

Architects also were also tourists. Hurst

<sup>190</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 90.

<sup>191</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 90.

<sup>192</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 210.

<sup>193</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 210.

<sup>194</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 91.

<sup>195</sup> Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 8; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 91.

Seager returned to Christchurch in 1884, after studying in London,<sup>196</sup> and Thomas Mahoney left New Zealand in 1884 for his "grand tour" to Europe and America.<sup>197</sup> Stacpoole states that:

[t]he architectural study tour soon became a commonplace ... and this development together with the promulgation of architect's drawings by professional journals using the new processes of photolithography, eventually put an end to all remaining vestiges of colonialism in architecture.<sup>198</sup>

He contrasts this generation of New Zealand-born architects and the overseas influences they brought back to New Zealand architecture with their "immigrant fathers": "Their attitudes were eclectic where their fathers' attitudes had been nostalgic."<sup>199</sup> Within New Zealand, architectural travelling was more mundane. Charles Tilleard Natusch left the practice he established in Wellington in 1886 to move "to Napier a few years

<sup>196</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 171; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 49.

<sup>197</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* pp 171, 203; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 53.

<sup>198</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 171.

<sup>199</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 172.

later."<sup>200</sup> Frederick de Clere moved from Wanganui to Wellington during the decade (c1886), and was "appointed Wellington Diocesan architect in 1883."<sup>201</sup>

On the 4th of February 1880, the *Oamaru Mail* observed that:

"The time is now past when wooden buildings found favour in the eyes of our businessmen, and in the place of unpretentious and plain-looking buildings that used to do duty for all kinds of businesses, Oamaru is now becoming famous for the large and handsome stone structures which are springing up in every street."<sup>202</sup>

Hodgson, provides a legislative reason for this change in his observation that "[t]he use of wood followed the prevailing fashion for public buildings in Wellington at this time; brick was not widely employed in the centre of town until the 1880s when it become required by law."<sup>203</sup> He continues noting the

<sup>200</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 43.

<sup>201</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 43; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 176. Wendy Pettigrew notes that the Atkins & Clere partnership lasted from 1883-86, with Clere opening their office in Wellington in 1886. Pettigrew, *Pers Comm*.

<sup>202</sup> *Oamaru Mail* quoted, Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 19.

<sup>203</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 18.

popularity of classicism for commercial premises:

It was synonymous with solid business, was widely accepted, formed the basis of architectural training and was almost ubiquitously demanded by the clients. Yet, like the use of Gothic styling for churches, it allowed for an extraordinary amount of variation and adaption and for some personal, architect-fuelled mannerism. Classical style could be used as restrained decorative touches, it could be used according to the exacting syntax laid down by 18th-century theorists, it could be piled onto a design with outrageous luxuriance; the only limit seemed to be expense. And it was not just the domain of stone or plastered brick construction; Wellington led the field in Classical styled premises built in wood.<sup>204</sup>

Stacpoole and Beaven broaden the stylistic scope of 1880s commercial and civic building appearing in New Zealand streetscapes, including also the neo-Renaissance, the Venetian Gothic, and the sixteenth-century French and Greek Revivals.<sup>205</sup> Grainger and D'Ebro's Auckland Public Library (now City Art Gallery) (1887)<sup>206</sup> is "roughly designated

<sup>204</sup> Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 26.

<sup>205</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 41.

<sup>206</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 63, 64; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 207; Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p. 27; Hodgson *Looking at the*

French Chateau, equivalent in time to English Elizabethan but more advanced in the acceptance of classical motifs."<sup>207</sup> Thomas Mahoney's Auckland Customhouse (1887-88)<sup>208</sup> is "much more Victorian in feeling than the Gallery, largely because it seems to be wearing fancy dress."<sup>209</sup> Other commercial buildings of the decade include: Armson's Fisher Building (Christchurch, 1880),<sup>210</sup> Armson's Anderson's Building (Christchurch, 1881),<sup>211</sup> Petre's Guardian Royal Exchange Assurance Building (Dunedin, 1881-82),<sup>212</sup> Dennison & Grant's NZ Loan and Merchantile's store (1882),<sup>213</sup> Armson's Bank of

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*Architecture of New Zealand* pp 28, 29; Stacpoole and Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* pp 41, 44, 52.

<sup>207</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 52.

<sup>208</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 64; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* pp 138-139, 208; Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* p 27; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 53.

<sup>209</sup> Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 52.

<sup>210</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 58.

<sup>211</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 58.

<sup>212</sup> NZHPT "Petre, Francis William - Architect" unpaginated; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 145.

<sup>213</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 24, 53.

New Zealand (Dunedin, 1879-83),<sup>214</sup> Alfred Smith's Victoria Arcade (1883),<sup>215</sup> David Ross' Harbour Board Offices (1883),<sup>216</sup> Armson's National Bank (Christchurch, 1883),<sup>217</sup> Lawson's Bank of New South Wales (1881-84),<sup>218</sup> Mason & Wales Sargood, Son & Ewen's offices (Victoria St West, Ak, 1883-84),<sup>219</sup> Forrester and Lemon's AMP building (Oamaru, 1885),<sup>220</sup> and Petre's Phoenix House (Dunedin, c1885).<sup>221</sup> Stacpoole notes that electric lifts began to appear in buildings not long after 1881.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 59; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* pp. 166, 209; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* p 42.

<sup>215</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 207; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* pp 41, 44.

<sup>216</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 207.

<sup>217</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* pp 165-166.

<sup>218</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp. 60, 61; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 141; Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 15, 24, 47 Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 26.

<sup>219</sup> Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 65.

<sup>220</sup> Shaw *Whitestone Oamaru* pp 23, 53.

<sup>221</sup> NZHPT "Petre, Francis William - Architect" n.p.; Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 145.

<sup>222</sup> Stacpoole *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* p 200.

The 1880s was an important decade politically for New Zealand. A Representative Committee was formed in 1887 to draw up the boundaries for electoral districts with 91 European and four Māori electorates being established,<sup>223</sup> and Smith states that "class and party politics had their beginnings in the late 1880s."<sup>224</sup> In 1884 and 1890 an independent Māori parliament met in Te Tiriti-o-Waitangi (II), Te Tii Marae, Waitangi, which was opened in 1881. Brown suggests that:

since the building supported the concept of a national "Māori" identity it required a different aesthetic that was distinct from tribally based arts, such as whakairo rākau, kōwhaiwhai painting and tukutuku," to explain that fact it was "a single-gable weatherboard building, without any customary embellishments or a recessed front porch."<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 8.

<sup>224</sup> Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 86.

<sup>225</sup> Brown *Māori Architecture* p 70.

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