An ‘American Dream’ in the ‘England of the Pacific’:
American Influences on
New Zealand Architecture, 1840-1940

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the American influence upon New Zealand architecture between 1840 and 1940. Taking a thematic approach, it argues that architecture in New Zealand, as a case study of a broader historical discourse, reveals the significant impact of American styles, construction methods, publications and educational practices in the century prior to World War Two.

Chapter One canvases the general history of N.Z.-U.S. relations before 1940. Chapter Two reviews the same chronology to identify specific architecturally designed buildings that reveal an American influence upon New Zealand practitioners. Divided into two parts this extended discussion also explains why American architecture offered useful paradigms to designers in the South Pacific.

Chapter Three demonstrates how publications were the principal means by which American architectural ideas were communicated to architects and builders in New Zealand. In a similar vein Chapter Four examines the ways in which architectural education brought practitioners in the United States and New Zealand together in common cause. Chapters Three and Four address the 'how' of American architectural influence in New Zealand.

Chapter Five considers how New Zealand architects reacted to the presence of American influences within their local cultural domain. In addressing the question, why has greater attention not been paid to American architectural influences in New Zealand before now, it highlights a degree of resistance within the profession that was informed by both class sensitivities and imperial loyalties.

In the Conclusion it is argued that the perception of World War Two as a watershed in New Zealand's cultural and social history, during which New Zealanders became aware of the United States for the first time, is ignorant of the longstanding relationship between the two nations. The construct of New Zealand's cultural isolation in the century or more before World War Two can be dismantled in the course of examining New Zealand's architectural history.
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Introduction

Finding a Place for American Architecture in New Zealand's Architectural History

It is not too much to say, that New Zealand will become an exact copy of England. Churches, houses, roads, inns, hedges, trees, will be almost entirely English, and, to judge from the temper of the present inhabitants, the conservative principle is likely to be very strong there. T. Cholmondeley, *Ultima Thule; or, Thoughts Suggested by a Residence in New Zealand*, John Chapman, London, 1854, p. 325.

We know about the United States. Some of us have been there, most of us have read American books, all of us have seen American movies; our children learn about George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, and we listen to Franklin D. Roosevelt over the radio. *Meet New Zealand*, N.Z. Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1942, p. 1.

In August 1996, despite the best efforts of committed campaigners, the former Kaiapoi Woollen Manufacturing Company building (1907-9, fig. 30) in Christchurch was demolished. A three-storey building on the fringe of the central business district, the Kaiapoi building married utilitarian warehouse accommodation to a street frontage inspired by American commercial architecture. Many factors combined to prevent the preservation of this landmark building. Among them was the difficulty faced by conservationists in trying to convince the general public and local body politicians that this early twentieth-century factory possessed the qualities of age, social and architectural significance that deemed it worthy of heritage status and preservation. The high profile given to the city’s heritage of Gothic Revival buildings, which are the principal generator of Christchurch’s so-called English character, may have inadvertently made it more difficult to link the Kaiapoi building with other local structures that had been successfully conserved. Thirdly, the absence of a

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1 See Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion of the design of the Kaiapoi building.
broader historical discourse within which to assert the significance of the architects’ debt to American commercial design may have thwarted efforts to substantiate its national heritage status.³ In short, the demolition of the Kaiapoi building, like that of the T.J. Edmonds’ Factory (1920-3) in the same city six years earlier, indicated that a broader conception of New Zealand’s architectural history was required in order to secure the preservation of buildings that did not conform to a narrow, possibly elitist and Anglocentric, range of heritage values.⁴

This thesis constitutes one contribution to the process of widening the scope of architectural history in New Zealand. It represents an ongoing interest in American architectural influences abroad, first aroused by a study of the work of Alfred and Sidney Luttrell, the designers of the Kaiapoi building’s principal elevation.⁵ It also arises out of a belief that the history of New Zealand can and should support multiple readings that go beyond simple identity myths, such as that which surrounds Christchurch, to offer a richer and more complex narrative of who we are and where we have come from as a nation.

Modern architectural history in New Zealand spans less than 30 years. From John Stacpoole and Peter Beaven’s *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970*, published in 1972, to the second edition of Peter Shaw’s *History of New Zealand Architecture* (1997), the history of the built environment created by the country’s European settlers has been the domain of a small but enthusiastic group of independent historians, academics and their students.⁶ Stacpoole’s *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*, the two volume *Historic Buildings of New Zealand* sponsored by the N.Z. Historic Places Trust, Jeremy Salmond’s *Old New Zealand Houses* and books by Di

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3 The Kaiapoi building had a Category One listing under the terms of the 1993 Historic Places Act., meaning that it was deemed to have national heritage significance.
4 It should be acknowledged here that this discussion leaves to one side the financial ramifications of heritage conservation in New Zealand. See M. Hurrell, *The Architectural Heritage of Christchurch, 8. The Legacy of Thomas Edmonds*, Environmental Policy and Planning Unit, Christchurch City Council, 1993.
Stewart, Jeremy Ashford and William Toomath on particular aspects of the mass housing market have all made significant contributions to the historical record over the last quarter century. Since the early 1980s Geoffrey Thornton has made a substantial contribution to the literature in the field of industrial architecture. More recently the publication of academic studies about one of the leading disciples of the Gothic Revival movement and the local response to modernism indicate that the scope of architectural history in New Zealand is expanding further.

Although the general surveys of New Zealand architecture that have been written thus far are relatively few in number and largely descriptive and chronological in nature, the country's principal architects and the buildings they designed have been enumerated against a broad background of stylistic analysis and historical circumstance. When it came to writing his extensive survey of architecture in New Zealand, Shaw was clearly the beneficiary of the increasing volume of research available to scholars through the auspices of university graduate research, the work of the Historic Places Trust and conservation professionals and the publication of other more narrowly focused investigations of the built environment. Nevertheless his 1991 assertion, reiterated in 1997, that 'chance has played a significant role in determining the changing appearance of our buildings' was suggestive of how much work might still be done to produce a more comprehensive and substantive history of the nation's built environment, both architecturally-designed and vernacular. What may have appeared as fortuitous happenstance in 1991, Hawke's Bay architect Louis Hay's possession of Frank

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8 G. Thornton, New Zealand's Industrial Heritage, Reed, Wellington, 1982; The New Zealand Heritage of Farm Buildings, Reed Methuen, Auckland, 1986; Cast in Concrete: Concrete Construction in New Zealand 1850-1939, Reed Books, Auckland, 1996.


Lloyd Wright's Wasmuth Portfolios (1910, 1911), for example, can now be revisited in view of new research outputs, both overseas and local. William Toomath's study of American influences upon mass housing in New Zealand from the early nineteenth century to the outbreak of World War Two is highly significant in this regard. It offers new insights into the sources of domestic architecture and challenges the common perception that the nation's housing stock simply reflects a process of adaptation of British models to local conditions. Toomath's book is important evidence of the growing sophistication and maturity of New Zealand's architectural history. This thesis presents a wider context within which Toomath's more specific study can be located. It also surveys New Zealand architecture from c. 1860 to 1940 in a thematic, discursive manner that is intended to be complementary and supplementary to the approach taken by existing general survey texts.

Toomath's *Built in New Zealand* is thus far the only published consideration of the American influence upon New Zealand architecture. The literature concerning the wider social, political and economic relationship between the United States and New Zealand is a little more extensive. According to historian Jock Phillips it has 'become a cliché of New Zealand cultural history that while popular culture has been dominated by American influences, high culture has been British in orientation and critical of American work as tasteless and subversive of moral and aesthetic standards.' Whereas the impact of American popular culture in New Zealand has long been acknowledged, and, as Phillips suggests, sometimes lamented, the influence of other aspects of American material culture has not received the same attention. This thesis addresses this oversight and examines the validity of the British

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15 See Chapter 1 for a discussion about the concerns raised by American domination of the motion picture industry within the British Empire, including New Zealand.
high culture – American low culture cliché in the arena of the built environment.

In many ways M.P. Lissington’s *New Zealand and the United States, 1840-1940*, which was drafted in 1947 but not published until 1972, set the historical parameters of this study. Although this is a political history primarily concerned with N.Z.–U.S. relations during World War Two, Lissington’s book does provide a concise overview of the two countries’ association in the 150 years prior to the war. C.H. Grattan canvassed much the same material in his 1961 book *The United States and the Southwest Pacific* but, like Lissington, his principal focus was on the war years and beyond. In the 1980s the literature was augmented by considerations of American influences in the realms of popular culture and labour relations. At the same time a comparative history approach offered new ways of formulating the context within which such themes might be investigated.

This study is framed by two decades of American presence in New Zealand; the 1830s, by which time ‘New Zealand whaling had become almost an American monopoly’, and the early 1940s, when the influx of American servicemen into this country during World War Two initiated a new era in N.Z.–U.S. relations. The latter period has received considerable popular and scholarly attention in recent years as New Zealanders have sought to re-evaluate the impact of the war upon their social lives and cultural histories. As valuable as this activity has been, however, there is a danger that the 12 June 1942 arrival in Auckland of the first contingent of American Marines could become an unofficial start date for American

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17 Lissington, pp. 1-23.
21 Lissington, p. 5.
cultural influence in New Zealand. Taking the built environment as a case study of a wider cultural phenomenon, this thesis argues that the United States exerted a considerable influence upon New Zealand long before war brought the people of the two nations together in new and more personal ways. Following the direction offered by Lissington, Phillips and others, Chapter One therefore backgrounds the general history of N.Z.-U.S. relations in order to establish the extent and diversity of the relationship that has existed between the two from New Zealand’s European settlement to its appointment of an ambassador to Washington in 1941.23

The third corpus of secondary literature that has shaped not only the content but also the methodological approach of this thesis relates to the impact of American architecture abroad, which has been the subject of increasing scholarly attention over the last forty years. A number of key books and journal articles concerning the United States' contribution to world architecture have informed this study. Some were published many years ago but nevertheless they have contributed both valuable historical insights and a sense of the historiography of this area of inquiry. H.-R. Hitchcock's 1970 essay 'American Influence Abroad' in The Rise of an American Architecture, for example, was an important starting point for this research because it encompassed the contributions made by leading American designers and signalled the broader impact of building types as diverse as motels and penitentiaries.24 L.K. Eaton's American Architecture Comes of Age - European Reaction to H.H. Richardson and Louis Sullivan and Reyner Banham's A Concrete Atlantis - U.S. Industrial Building and European Modern Architecture 1900-1925 provided useful discussions about the reception of American architectural influence abroad, suggesting the features European architects found distinctive or suitable for appropriation.25 While some aspects of these accounts were not applicable to the New

23 Lissington, p. 36.
Zealand context, others offered useful grounds for comparison. Christian Norberg-Schulz's *New World Architecture* also provided insights into the character of American architecture as seen from abroad.26 The thematic approach taken here and in a number of other contemporary American publications inspired the structure of this thesis. Most recently Dell Upton's general survey of *Architecture in the United States* has confirmed the usefulness of such an approach in telling stories about the built environment that are inclusive and open-ended.27

Chapter Two draws upon this literature to background a discussion of the stylistic and technological impact American buildings had upon architectural design in New Zealand between 1870 and 1940. It is also indebted to the numerous publications of the late David Gebhard and to K.T. Gibbs' *Business Architectural Imagery in America, 1870-1930*.28 Both Gebhard and Gibbs were particularly helpful in their treatment of the associative meaning of American architectural style. Chapter Three's investigation of the role of pattern books and other similar publications in the dissemination of such influences especially draws on Dell Upton's 1984 article 'Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860',29 Chapter Four's account of local encounters with American educational experiences was informed by M. Crinson and J.

Lubbock's *Architecture - art or profession? Three hundred years of architectural education in Britain*. The ambivalence with which New Zealand architects approached American architecture during the period covered by this study is the focus of Chapter Five and is also a key theme in Rob Kroes' *If You've Seen One, You've Seen the Mall – Europeans and American Mass Culture*.

Individual examples of American architectural influence in New Zealand prior to the Second World War are more numerous than can possibly be accommodated within a study of this length. The *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* and *New Zealand Building Progress*, in particular, are mines of information concerning the American presence within the domain of New Zealand architecture, embracing everything from advertisements for malthoid roofing manufactured by the Paraffine Paint Company of San Francisco to architects' accounts of their visits to the United States. Descriptions of new buildings, reports of architects' training and travels, information about advances in building science, and editorial comments about the profession's attitude towards overseas buildings and their own activities, offer insights into the intellectual milieu of the period under study. Other primary sources are altogether more fragmentary and less easily interrogated. As will be seen in Chapter Three, the ephemeral nature of material that more often resided in an architect or builder's office than was deposited in a library poses problems for the historian wishing to understand the extent to which such sources were available and in use within day-to-day practice. The lack of a local architectural press until *Progress* was launched in November 1905 also exacerbates the greater difficulties encountered in trying to build up a picture of nineteenth century responses to American architecture.

33 See also *The New Zealand Architectural and Building Review* (July 1926-February 1928) & *Home & Building* (from October 1936).
As it was originally conceived, this thesis was to have established the influence of American architecture upon the built environment of New Zealand before 1940 simply by supplying the evidence necessary to substantiate this straightforward hypothesis. During the course of the research, however, it became clear that the key issues revolving around this general theme were those that related to the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of this instance of cultural interaction, rather than the ‘what’ of the physical evidence. Consequently this realisation determined both the structure of the thesis and guided the approach taken to the evidence presented here. This thesis presents for the first time a coherent and extensive body of research regarding American architectural influence in New Zealand. In doing so it is not the intention to suggest that New Zealand’s architectural history should merely transpose a narrative of British architectural influences for one of American sources. To exchange one simple binary narrative for another would be to distort the historical record and invalidate the efforts of New Zealand architects, builders and their clients to respond to the challenges and the possibilities of living in this country. Rather it is hoped that this account contributes to a much richer narrative of New Zealand architectural history, in which New Zealand buildings are valued in their own right, instead of being seen merely as second-rate copies of foreign paradigms. Rather than viewing the reception of foreign architectural influences by New Zealand architects as a passive and haphazard process, an examination of American architectural influences in New Zealand reveals the ways in which local architects have been actively and continuously engaged in an Anglo-American architectural discourse for at least 140 years. That this engagement shaped both the profession and its production in this country will be demonstrated in the following chapters.

Thomas Cholmondeley’s prophecy that New Zealand ‘will become an exact copy of England’ and ‘the very nature of the country will be found to be anti-American’ did not come to pass. By documenting local architects’ and builders’ use of American architectural

34 I am indebted to Abigail van Slyck, formerly at the University of Arizona, Tucson, for helping to clarify my thinking on this point. Correspondence with the author, 21 June 1995.
35 T. Cholmondeley, Ultima Thule; or, Thoughts Suggested by a Residence in New Zealand, John Chapman, London, 1854, p. 325.
paradigms where they were considered useful and appropriate, this thesis is offered as a case study of a wider cultural phenomenon; one that underscores the first century and a half of European settlement activity in Aotearoa. If Cholmondeley was at all prescient in his observations it was in his conviction ‘that society in such a colony as New Zealand must daily Americanise’ and that ‘the character which we sometimes extol, sometimes decry as the American, is really the character of the British colonist.’ In these comments can be found a sense of the ambivalence that underpins the narrative presented in the chapters that follow. What can also be detected is a grudging recognition that New Zealand would inevitably assume an independent identity, one that would be shaped by both the colonial experience and by the country’s proximity to ‘our American neighbours’.

36 Cholmondeley, pp. 323, 324.
37 Ibid., p. 218.
Chapter One
From Sealers to Servicemen -
A History of N.Z./U.S. Relations

The Fourth of July. - Yesterday being the anniversary of the declaration of the Independence of the United States, was observed as a holiday by all the American firms in town. *The Press* (Christchurch), 5 July 1865, p. 2.

You are going to meet people who, in many ways, are much like ourselves. For although New Zealand is on the other side of the world from us, its people are about midway between the British and ourselves in manner and culture. *A Short Guide to New Zealand*, War and Navy Departments, Washington, D.C., 1944, p. 1.

When the American Declaration of Independence was proclaimed in 1776, seven years had already passed since Captain James Cook circumnavigated New Zealand in the *Endeavour* (1769). As one colony was gaining independence from the British crown, another had only just been charted in the name of the same imperial power, although it would be another 64 years before British sovereignty over New Zealand was officially declared, with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 (fig. 1). As New Zealand came within the ambit of British colonial aspirations, it also began to establish a relationship with the United States of America; one which would in time impact upon every aspect of New Zealand society, be it political, economic, social or cultural. The American influence upon New Zealand architecture must necessarily be seen within a wider history of N.Z./U.S. relations.

The presence of American sealers on board the *Mercury*, which visited New Zealand in 1797, is one of the first documented contacts between this country and the United States.¹ The next 40 years of N.Z./U.S. relations largely arose out of the activities of the sealing and whaling industries in the South Pacific. Foveaux Strait between the South Island and
Stewart Island was discovered in 1804 by American sealer O.F. Smith, for example, and according to a number of histories ‘there were probably more Americans in New Zealand in the 1830s than for many decades after.’ By this time the New Zealand whaling industry was dominated by American ships, which were largely deep-sea, rather than shore-based, so that whalers usually went ashore solely for rest and refitting. Their principal ports of call in the Pacific were Tahiti and the Bay of Islands. The presence of whalers in the latter resulted in the development of Kororareka (Russell) as a trading post and it was here that Captain James Clendon, an English merchant and shipowner, was appointed New Zealand’s first Honorary U.S. Consul on 12 October 1838. In his role as Consul, Clendon recorded the arrival of 142 American ships in the Bay of Islands between 1839 and 1841.

At the opposite end of the country Lewis Acker (1813/1817-85), a whaler from New York State, arrived in New Zealand in 1831 and within three years he had settled in Halfmoon Bay on Stewart Island. Whereas most of the American men who crewed sealing and whaling vessels would have made no contribution to local building, Acker built a house in Halfmoon Bay (c.1844), ‘seemingly in imitation of his childhood home’. Still extant but in an altered state, Acker’s stone cottage is rectangular in plan with a gabled roof of corrugated iron, although it is thought that the roof was originally stone (fig. 2). Instead of being entered through a door set into one of the long sides of the house, as was customary for early colonial

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4 Grattan, pp. 85-6.
5 Ibid., p. 89.
housing in New Zealand, access to the Acker house may have been gained by an entry on the end wall; such a configuration being known as a gable-front house in the United States.

In addition to the American models on which Acker might have based the plan of his cottage it is also possible that he was influenced by local Maori buildings which would have had the same alignment for both functional and symbolic reasons. The early non-Maori residents of Stewart Island and Southland established close links with local Maori, Acker himself marrying a Maori woman, Mary Pi, in 1844, and this contact may have convinced Acker that a gable-fronted house was best suited to his needs.

Whether or not Lewis Acker was simply following the vernacular tradition of dwelling construction he found upon arriving in Stewart Island, the fact that he hailed from the United States was clearly regarded as pertinent to the design of his home by members of the community in which he settled. Although the cottage is a very rudimentary structure, built with function rather than aesthetics in mind, it therefore provides an early instance of the way in which an owner/builder might bring his or her previous experience of American architecture to bear on building in New Zealand or, at least, be seen to be doing so. In this

10 The N.Z. Historic Places Trust holds conflicting information as to the original appearance and layout of Acker's Cottage. The cottage was restored in 1987-88 in line with its mid-nineteenth century use as a smithy by James Harrold, a later owner of the property. Archaeological investigation of the site before restoration was only partial and points to the existence at various times of three external doors into the cottage. One of these was in the west end wall, but it is unclear as to whether this was the cottage's doorway when Acker built it. On the other hand, a drawing in Olga Sansom's 1970 book The Stewart Islanders (A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, p. 48) shows the cottage with three windows along the north wall, a door on the west wall and a slate roof. Restoration involved reinstatement of a door in the centre of the north wall flanked by two windows. If this was the original configuration of the house then it would appear that just the fact that the cottage was built of stone and that Acker was an American was sufficient for it to be likened to his childhood home in New York State. Building file HP 1201 3-003, N.Z. Historic Places Trust, Wellington.
11 Gable-fronted folk, or vernacular, housing had become increasingly common in the northeastern region of the United States since c.1825. Made fashionable by high-style Greek Revival domestic architecture, gable-fronted mass housing was particularly suited to narrow urban sites. It seems unlikely that the advantages of a narrow house would have concerned Acker, however, given the rural setting in which he chose to build. V. & L. McAlester, A Field Guide to American Houses, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1990, p. 78, 89. Salmond, pp. 17-24.
way, the visibility of one American-born immigrant in New Zealand in the early nineteenth century had a decided impact upon the way in which the building with which he is associated has come to be read within the context of pre-Treaty and early colonial architecture. The fact, or not, of American architectural influence therefore becomes conflated with the perception of its origins so that the 'truth' about Acker's dwelling cannot now be deciphered amidst this admixture of history and hearsay.13

Another American who settled in New Zealand in the pre-Treaty era was trader William Webster, who arrived in New Zealand in March 1835 and proceeded to set up a trading post on an island at the mouth of Coromandel Harbour.14 With the establishment of British sovereignty over New Zealand, however, Webster had cause to appeal to the American Consul in Sydney, as he was concerned that American title in New Zealand would not be upheld under the new regime. Similarly, it was noted by the American explorer Charles Wilkes, on his visit to the Bay of Islands in early 1840, that with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi the 'destructive effect' of legislation promulgated soon afterwards would be great for Americans, 'particularly as those engaged in mercantile pursuits find themselves called upon to pay heavy duties on their stocks.'15 Clendon's relinquishment of his post as Honorary Consul in 1841 was also, in part, a response to the changing political situation in which Americans and their agents now found themselves in New Zealand.16 For this reason, and also because of the concurrent decline of the sealing and whaling industries, there was a notable reduction in the level of American activity in New Zealand after 1840. Although this

12 Acker, pp. 2-3.
13 See Chapter 2 for a continuation of this line of enquiry.
16 J. Lee, 'James Reddy Clendon', The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography - Volume 1, 1769-1869, p. 84. Clendon's successor, the American-born merchant William Mayhew, also noted, in a report to the U.S. Secretary of State in February 1842, that the assumption of British sovereignty was having a detrimental effect on the 'commercial pursuits' of Americans in New Zealand. Historical Records of New Zealand, Volume II, pp. 620-21.
situation was not significantly reversed until the advent of World War Two, contact between
the two countries nevertheless persisted in the intervening period.

After 1840, the next significant point of contact between New Zealand and the United
States occurred under the auspices of gold rushes, which were experienced in both countries
within a relatively short timeframe and which greatly encouraged the development of trans-
Pacific links. Gold was discovered in California in January 1848, although it was not until the
end of that year that news of this find was published in Australian and New Zealand
newspapers. On 13 March 1849 the first New Zealand ship carrying passengers bound for
the Californian goldfields, the Deborah, sailed from Auckland to San Francisco. By year's end
13 ships had followed the same route, taking with them 311 New Zealanders from Auckland
alone; a figure representing 53% of all departures from the port of that city in 1849. In
1850 there were another 23 sailings to California from New Zealand ports and it is estimated
that of the 7-8000 people from Australia and New Zealand who went to San Francisco
seeking their fortune at this time approximately 500 were New Zealanders. Consequently
the domino effect created by gold rushes in California, Australia (1851), New Zealand (1861)
and the Yukon (1896) created the demand for, and gave rise to, an expanding infrastructure
of communication and transportation that could move men and technology around the
Pacific Rim. Gabriel Read, for example, whose discovery of gold in the Tuapeka district
launched the Otago rush, was an Australian who had prospected for gold in California before
coming to New Zealand.

18 Ibid., p. 105. Statistics of New Zealand for the Crown Colony period, 1840-1852, Department of Economics, Auckland University College, Auckland, 1954, p. 29. In 1850 300 people, or 57% of the total number of departures from the port of Auckland, left New Zealand for the United States although that figure dropped to 59 (9%) in the following year, suggesting the immediate and short-term impact the California gold rushes had on emigration from New Zealand at this time.
19 Bateson, pp. 113, 142.
People were not the only New Zealand export to the Californian goldfields and from as early as 1849 pre-cut houses, in addition to foodstuffs and building materials, were being shipped from Auckland to San Francisco. Along with flax, seal pelts and whale oil, timber had been harvested and exported from New Zealand to the United States since well before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. In the first years of the California rush Auckland merchants exported processed timber in an effort to meet the demand for miners’ housing in the state. Of the total value of New Zealand exports to the United States between 1841 and 1852 (inclusive) 87%, or £41,852 in value, were exported in the period 1849-51 (inclusive).

American exports to New Zealand peaked at the same time, but still accounted for only 42.5% (£22,615) of the total value of U.S. imports in the period 1841-52.

The nature of gold rush morphology was such that Australasian interest and participation in the northern California rush was largely stemmed by the Victorian gold rush of 1851 and when gold was discovered in Central Otago 10 years later it was New Zealand’s turn to welcome an influx of prospectors and merchants following in their wake. Some of the men attracted to New Zealand by the prospect of finding gold were American-born; among them Horatio Hartley who discovered the Dunstan gold field with Irishman Christopher Reilly in the winter of 1862. No doubt prompted by the arrival of expatriates such as Hartley at this time, a second American consulate was established in Dunedin in 1862. Official diplomatic relations between the United States and New Zealand were established after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840. The first officially credited U.S. Consul in New Zealand was appointed to the Bay of Islands in 1858. Between 1862 and 1874 U.S. consuls were also appointed in Christchurch, Wellington and Auckland.

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22 *New Zealand Historical Atlas Ko Papatuanuku e Takoto Nei*, plate 27.
25 The first officially credited U.S. Consul in New Zealand was appointed to the Bay of Islands in 1858. Between 1862 and 1874 U.S. consuls were also appointed in Christchurch, Wellington and Auckland.
ties between the two countries had to wait until after the American entry into World War Two.26

The American Civil War 'sharply diminished' trade between the US and the Southwest Pacific, but between 1870 and 1900 the value of New Zealand imports from and exports to the United States increased steadily, particularly as regards to imports.27 By 1900 10% of New Zealand's total imports came from the United States and in that year the value of those goods amounted to more than £1 million for the first time. Export figures were less consistent in their rise over the same time frame but nevertheless rose from 0.78% of New Zealand's total exports in 1870 to 3.5% at the turn of the century.28

American goods arriving in New Zealand in the late nineteenth century ranged from agricultural implements and books to doors and watches, and in return New Zealand exported to the United States a wide range of products, including kauri gum, sugar, specimens of natural history, flax and wine.29 Some corporate activity was also 'exported' as when the New Zealand Insurance Company established branches in Honolulu (1874) and San Francisco (1875).30 In addition to the general statistics presented each year to the House of Representatives which detail the value of New Zealand's international trade with the United

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26 Lissington, pp. 29, 36-7.
27 Grattan, p. 102.
30 The financial impact of the 1906 San Francisco earthquake upon NZI was considerable, but the company met its obligations and profited from that experience when it came to devising a conservative policy for earthquake cover. The latter was put to the test during the 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake, when it shielded the company from excessive claims. San Francisco - An Illustrated Review of its Progress and Importance, January 1887, Bay City Publishing Co., San Francisco, 1887, p. 82. See also The New Zealand South British Group Limited: a Joint History of The New Zealand Insurance and South British Insurance Companies, The New Zealand South British Group, Auckland, 1982, pp. 13, 15, 18. See chapter Two for an consideration of the architectural legacy of the San Francisco earthquake.
States, newspaper reports also give an indication of the nature of commerce between the two countries. The ship *Trumbull*, for example, berthed in Lyttelton Harbour on 19 September 1863 having sailed out of Boston.\(^{31}\) Its cargo, imported by Taylor & Co., included 400 kegs of nails, 200 barrels of cement, 218,000 shingles, 47,000 bricks, 80 doors, nine bundles of windows, 385,000 pieces of timber, and 367 cases of furniture.\(^{32}\) The same importers held a ‘Great Auction Sale of American Timber, at Christchurch Railway Station’ following the Lyttelton’s arrival in port in February 1865. Amongst the goods for auction on this occasion was a storehouse frame, plans of which could be viewed at the auctioneers who were acting on behalf of Taylor & Co.\(^{33}\)

In Christchurch too *The Press* reported the celebration of the Fourth of July in the city for the first time in 1865.\(^{34}\) In the same month an announcement appeared in the *Press* that the American Coach Factory, Shoeing Forge and Carriage Repository was now open in Cashel Street and its manager Mr. A.G. Howland was reported as saying that the ‘best materials (direct imported) [are] always on hand.’\(^{35}\) Howland, an American who had left the United States in the early 1860s, was also, ‘as usual’, the sponsor of Christchurch’s Fourth of July celebrations in 1884.\(^{36}\) Hence the presence of American expatriates and manufactured goods in one New Zealand city created the context in which an American national holiday was celebrated and granted recognition by the city’s residents (see fig. 24).\(^{37}\)

\(^{31}\) Five months later it was reported that it took 107 days for the *Lyttelton*, carrying another ‘valuable cargo of American goods for Taylor & Co.’, to reach Christchurch. *The Press*, 1 February 1864 p. 2.
\(^{32}\) *The Press*, 21 September 1863, p. 2.
\(^{33}\) Ibid., 25 February 1865, p. 3.
\(^{34}\) Ibid., 5 July 1865, p. 2.
\(^{35}\) Ibid., 6 July 1865, p. 1.
\(^{36}\) *Lyttelton Times*, 5 July 1884, p. 3.
Although the number of U.S. citizens to settle in New Zealand in the late nineteenth century was small, apparently less than 1% of the total population at any one time, travel between the two countries was becoming progressively easier and so helped to bring about closer economic and cultural ties. The completion of the transcontinental railroad across the United States in 1869 was one of the most significant projects undertaken at the conclusion of the American Civil War. When the last length of track was laid it not only brought the western frontier into much closer contact with the north-eastern states, but also opened up a faster route to Britain for people travelling from the South Pacific. New Zealanders travelling 'Home' to Britain then had the option of sailing to San Francisco, taking the railroad across the breadth of the United States and then sailing from an east coast port to England. Following the opening of the transcontinental railway the impetus was thus created to provide a regular shipping service between New Zealand and California and, following the precedent set during the gold rush era, such a service between Auckland and San Francisco was established in 1871 (see fig. 21).

Motivated by a desire to increase trade with the United States, the Colonial Treasurer and Postmaster General, Julius Vogel, was instrumental in promoting the new shipping service. In 1870 he had contracted with the American firm of Webb & Holliday for a subsidised steamship service between New Zealand ports, Honolulu and San Francisco. In January of the following year Vogel became 'the first New Zealand minister to make an official visit to

38 Statistics of New Zealand for the Crown Colony period 1840-1852, pp. 12, 29. Statistics of New Zealand for 1867: including the results of a census of the colony taken in December of that year, Government Printer, Wellington, 1896, p. ix. Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand for the Year 1891, Broadsheet, unpaginated. Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand for the Year 1900, p. 21. The way in which census results and statistics relating to the place of birth of New Zealand residents are presented in Statistics of New Zealand over the years make it difficult to be precise about the exact number of Americans living in New Zealand at any one time.

39 Grattan, p. 110

the United States', when he went to discuss tariffs, mail and steamer services between the two countries.41

Whilst in the United States Vogel was also 'a keen observer of the American railway system' which seemed to him 'to offer a better example for New Zealand and to provide some good ideas for reducing costs.' Vogel was evidently attracted to the model of the American railway system because the 'make-shift character of some American public works' offered a reassuring precedent for an economical approach to the same construction programme in New Zealand. The Colonial Architect, W.H. Clayton, was subsequently given the task of realising Vogel's ambitions. He did so by devising a series of standardised designs for railway stations, court houses and post offices which could be economically erected throughout the country and which also had the effect of establishing a corporate image for the colonial government.42

Despite Vogel's enthusiastic support for the San Francisco steamer service, however, demand for it was insufficient to be economic and the service faltered in 1873; subsequently to be superseded by the Pacific Mail Service in 1875 and the operations of the Union Steamship Company ten years later.43 Although it had a slightly erratic start the direct shipping link was nevertheless to play a significant role in increasing contact between New Zealand and the United States in a wide range of fields, including industry, religion, and tourism.

The introduction of American flora and fauna into New Zealand was one of the manifestations of the closer relationship with the United States that developed in the late nineteenth century. Radiata pines from California were first planted in any significant

41 Dalziel, pp. 115-16.
numbers in Canterbury in c.1871-2, and quinnat salmon (1875) and rainbow trout (1883) were later introduced from the same state for recreational use.

In return New Zealand sent exhibits of industrial and agricultural goods to the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876 and the Columbian World’s Fair in Chicago in 1893. William Wood displayed flour produced at his Christchurch mill at the Philadelphia exhibition, for example, where it was received with some acclaim. Four years later, and thanks in part to the greater ease of travel between New Zealand and the U.S. that was now possible, American developments in flourmill technology were to revolutionise the industry in New Zealand.

The Royal Flouring Mills’ flour mill in Timaru, designed by company founder James Bruce after he had visited the United States to buy mill machinery in 1881, was the first in the country to use steel rollers (fig. 15). After 1882, steel rollers quickly supplanted the use of traditional millstones, enabling greatly increased production of flour that was also of a much higher quality.

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44 T.E. Simpson, *Kauri to radiata; origin and expansion of the timber industry of New Zealand*, Hodder & Stoughton, Auckland, 1973, p. 310. Radiata pine was first introduced to New Zealand by J.B.A. Acland in 1859 but it was not until a decade later that significant quantities of seed were imported from California. R.D. Burdon, *Introduced forest trees in New Zealand: recognition, role, and seed source*, 12, *Radiata pine: Pinus radiata*, New Zealand Forest Research Institute, Rotorua, 1992, pp. 8-9.


46 According to a Special Correspondent writing about the Columbian exposition for the Christchurch Press in 1893, the ‘White City’, as it subsequently became known, was ‘beyond cavil or question the most magnificent architectural panorama that has ever been conceived by the brain and fashioned by the hand of man’. There was also a New Zealand presence, within the British pavilion, at the New York World’s Fair of 1939. Expatriate New Zealand actor and broadcaster Nola Luxford was appointed public relations officer for the duration of the fair and her duties included the production of a weekly broadcast that was aired in New Zealand on Saturday evenings. According to her biographer Carole van Grondelle, Luxford’s reports focused ‘human interest stories’ associated with the fair. *The Press*, 29 April 1893, p. 9. C. van Grondelle, *Angel of the ANZACS: The Life of Nola Luxford*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2000, p. 126, 134.


49 Thornton, p. 35.
higher quality.50 The financial success of Bruce's new mill encouraged other mill owners, including William Wood,51 to upgrade their plant and enlarge their premises, whether by adding extra floors to an existing mill or by building a new, larger mill.52 American milling technology not only greatly increased the potential volume of flour production in New Zealand in the 1880s and 1890s but it was also the catalyst for transforming the appearance of flour mills, which became much more prominent features upon the skyline of milling centres such as Timaru.53

In Auckland Josiah Firth's five-storey Eight-Hour Mill was opened in March 1888, following extensive travelling by Firth in the United States to study the most up-to-date mill technology.54 Twenty double steel rollers were installed in the mill under the supervision of an engineer sent out to New Zealand by the manufacturers, Nordyke, Marmon and Company of Indianapolis, Indiana.55 The mill also featured automatic water sprinklers, which were manufactured in England in accordance with the Grinnell system developed in the United States by Frederick Grinnell in 1882. This constituted the first use of such sprinklers in New Zealand.56

50 Crawford, p.116.
51 The millstones in Wood's Mill in Addington, Christchurch, were replaced by steel rollers after Henry Wood, son of William, visited the United States in 1885 to inspect modern mill machinery. Thornton, p. 38.
52 The change to roller milling was also allied to the use of steam motive power which gave the mill owners more flexibility with regard to siting their mills than if they were dependent on water power. This in turn meant that the mills could be located near railway lines for ease of distribution, as was the case with Wood's Mill when the company established a new mill in Wise Street, Addington in 1890. The new mill was designed by prominent local architect Joseph Maddison, who had to strengthen the structure so that it could withstand the weight and vibrations of the steel rollers. M.J. Wright, 'Changing Patterns of Flourmilling in the South Island, 1840-1973', M.A. thesis, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 1973, p. 48-9. J. May, "A Splendid Structure", New Zealand Historic Places, No. 52, March 1995, pp. 31-2.
53 The 1904 photograph of Timaru featured in The Past Today shows the skyline dominated by the imposing bulk of two brick flourmills. Crawford, p. 114.
54 D. Waterson, 'Josiah Clifton Firth', The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography - Volume 1, 1769-1869, p. 124.
56 Thornton, p. 28.
At the same time that Firth was building the mill, he was also spending 'thousands of pounds ... on the most up-to-date American agricultural machinery’ for use in developing his Matamata farmland on which grew the wheat to ‘feed’ the rollers.57 ‘An avowed Americophile, especially in the realms of mechanisation and labour relations,’ 58 Firth was therefore one of a number of late nineteenth century New Zealand industrialists who were keen to exploit American technological advances and did so having gained first hand experience of such innovations.59

Josiah Firth’s mill was the first business in New Zealand to operate on an eight-hour workday, hence its name.60 At the same time that it was in construction branches of the Knights of Labour, an American organisation which advocated the reduction of the working day amongst other labour reform ideas, were being established in New Zealand.61

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57 Agricultural machinery had been imported from the United States into New Zealand from the earliest days of European settlement. American and English reapers, based on that patented by Cyrus McCormick of Virginia and first used in 1831, arrived in New Zealand in the late 1850s and early 1860s. The local market in reapers and binders was henceforth dominated by the American firm McCormick-Deering and the Canadian company Massey-Harris. Disc harrows were imported from the United States in the 1870s, but were soon superseded by more effective locally-produced harrows. Modern hay-baling machinery was introduced to New Zealand during World War Two by the International Harvester Company, a branch of which had first been established in Christchurch in 1905. Most significant of all American agricultural inventions, however, was the tractor, which was first produced in Sterling, Illinois in 1889. Manufactured in Britain or the United States by companies such as International Harvester and Ford, the tractor was to have a profound effect on New Zealand agricultural production after World War One. B.L. Evans, A History of Farm Implements and Implement Firms in New Zealand, B.L. Evans, Fielding, 1984, pp. 12, 27-9, 39, 65, 67-75, 98-102. M. Hanrahan, ‘New Zealand Celebrates the Tractor's Centenary’, Historic Places in New Zealand, No. 23, December 1988, pp. 5-7. See also, New Zealand Department of Statistics, Agricultural and pastoral statistics of New Zealand, 1861-1954, Government Printer, Wellington, 1956, Table 27, p. A30.

58 Hodgeton, p. 104. Despite his forward-thinking practices, Firth was ultimately to lose all his assets, save for his Auckland house, following his declaration of bankruptcy in July 1889. Following this setback he rebuilt a second career for himself in the 1890s, during which time he travelled extensively in the United States, Australia and Great Britain and promoted reinforced concrete construction. The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography - Volume 1, 1769-1869, pp. 124-25.

59 In the cement industry, too, it is possible to chart the way in which lessons learnt from studying American industry revolutionised industrial practices in New Zealand. A visit by W.J. Wilson, of John Wilson and Company, for example, to the United States resulted in that cement company’s decision to import from America two rotary kilns for use in the manufacturing process. These kilns allowed the company to increase their cement production five-fold between 1897 and 1902. Thornton, p. 126. See also G. Wright, New Zealand's Engineering Heritage, 1870-2000, Reed, Auckland, 1999, p. 23.

60 Thornton, p. 28.

61 Lissington, p. 10.
30 years witnessed the rise of the New Zealand labour movement against a backdrop of American influence upon both ideology and industrial action.

As Bert Roth and Erik Olssen have both described, the Knights of Labour were extremely influential in New Zealand, as they offered a means by which unskilled workers might become organised and agitate for better working conditions as well as for the higher wages with which British-influenced craft unions were principally, and traditionally, concerned. Christchurch and Auckland branches of the Knights were founded in 1887 and 1889 respectively, and in 1890 the latter became formally affiliated to the American organisation which was headquartered in Philadelphia. In the same year W.W. Lyght, an American Knights' organiser, arrived in New Zealand and undertook a speaking tour of the country. In 1895, by which time the organisation had reached the peak of its influence in New Zealand, the Wellington assembly (branch) of the Knights of Labour was granted the status of a National Assembly by the Executive Board in Philadelphia. According to labour historian Bert Roth the 'Knights of Labour were the first nation-wide political organization in New Zealand.' In addition to putting forward their own views, the group also served as a conduit for the ideas of American reformers such as Henry George and Edward Bellamy in New Zealand.

Despite their success in gaining members and supporters, or perhaps because of it, the New Zealand Knights of Labour ceased to exist after 1898, by which time Seddon's Liberal government had already taken up many of their reformist ideas. After the turn of the century American unionists were prominent in the New Zealand Socialist Party and the New Zealand Labour Party.

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63 Roth, p. 413.
64 Ibid., p. 414.
Zealand Federation of Miners, established in 1908, which subsequently changed its name to the N.Z. Federation of Labour. At the urging of Patrick Hickey, a miner and unionist who had worked in Alaska and Utah, the Federation established close links with a publishing house in Chicago and soon ‘a steady stream of American socialist publications began to reach New Zealand.’

By the early 1910s branches of the Chicago-based Industrial Workers of the World organisation were also being established in New Zealand. Members of the revolutionary I.W.W., known as ‘Wobblies’, ‘had an impact out of all proportion to their numbers’, particularly in their advocacy of direct industrial action over conciliation and arbitration.

Their tactics did not sit well with everyone in the labour movement, however. One of their most prominent opponents, Walter Thomas Mills, was also an American who had arrived in New Zealand in June 1911. A moderate socialist, Mills toured the country in 1911-12 in an effort to elicit support for a united union movement and his work ‘in bringing together militants and moderates, and in committing the movement to evolutionary rather than revolutionary socialism, was crucial to its development as a political force.’

On the eve of World War One, Mills and some of the I.W.W.’s leaders left New Zealand for Australia or the United States, but a continued local interest in radical labour literature was fed during the war by books and pamphlets smuggled from the west coast of the U.S.A. After the war Soviet Russia became the focus for radical scrutiny but three decades of American influence could not be denied; nor could it be regarded as strictly a one-sided

65 Roth, p. 414.
66 Ibid., pp. 415-17.
67 Ibid., p. 416.
71 Roth, p. 419.
process. At the turn of the century Americans had been among the numerous foreign political
commentators and investigators who travelled to New Zealand to see for themselves 'the
social laboratory of the world'.

Henry Demarest Lloyd's books *Newest England, Notes of a Democratic Traveller in New Zealand* (1900) and *A Country Without Strikes* (1900, fig. 22) relayed the details of New Zealand's social and political reforms to an American audience with whom they 'carried much weight'. Lloyd was particularly impressed with New Zealand's system of compulsory industrial conciliation and arbitration and wrote that 'for New Zealand it may be claimed that its government and people are the "least bad" this side of Mars.' Other, more radical, American observers were less convinced that New Zealand had become a utopia for the working class; Robert Rives La Monte sent back articles to unionist publications in the United States in which he foresaw the breakdown of the industrial conciliation and arbitration process. At either end of the political spectrum, however, New Zealand was clearly regarded by those Americans who visited these shores as an interesting test case in industrial relations; one in which there was considerable informed interest back home.

American evangelism of another kind was well established in New Zealand by the beginning of World War One. The founding of religious sects, such as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), Seventh-Day Adventists, Theosophists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and the First Church of Christ, Scientist, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries constituted another means by which some New Zealanders came to know about one aspect of American life. Adherents of these groups had arrived in New Zealand as early as 1854 and quickly set about building both congregations and places of worship. Although they were to

72 Roth, p. 415.
74 Roth, p. 415.
75 Henry Demarest Lloyd in *Verdict on New Zealand*, p. 68. See also Olssen, 'American Influences on the New Zealand Labour Movement, 1885-1920', p. 29.
constitute a very small percentage of the population in terms of religious affiliation, their visibility within New Zealand society from the first days of missionary activity gave them a high profile within the communities in which they settled.77

The first Mormon missionary visit to New Zealand was in 1854, only 10 years after the death of the founder of the church, Joseph Smith.78 By 1891 there were 206 adherents in New Zealand, according to the census of that year,79 and at the turn of the century three Mormon elders visiting Christchurch made the claim that there were 4000 followers of the church throughout the country.80 These same elders were reportedly chased from Cathedral Square by a crowd of approximately 500 people when they tried to explain their church’s doctrines; such was public antagonism towards Mormon proselytising at this time.81 Nevertheless the church persisted in its efforts to become established and enjoyed some success amongst Maori in particular,82 although it was not until the 1950s that it was able to consolidate its presence in New Zealand with the construction of a temple on the outskirts of Hamilton.83

The Seventh-day Adventist church, which was founded in the United States in the mid-1840s, was introduced to New Zealand in 1886 and evangelical work by early Adventist missionaries attracted attention in some North Island centres because of the use of a ‘mission

76 Roth, pp. 415-16.
78 B.W. Hunt, Zion in New Zealand: a History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New Zealand, 1854-1977, Church College of New Zealand, Temple View, 1977, p. 4. See also, Religions of New Zealanders, p. 102.
79 Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand for the Year 1891, Broadsheet, unpaginated.
80 The Press, 29 April 1901, p. 5.
81 Ibid. In 1882 another Christchurch newspaper reported a visit to Ashburton by two Mormon elders and, apparently in reference to the sect's controversial views on polygamy, stated that 'Ashburton can spare no lasses at all just now for any stranger - least of all for strangers from Utah.' Lyttelton Times, 10 February 1882, p. 4.
82 Religions of New Zealanders, pp. 61, 123. See also Zion in New Zealand; Chapters 3-7.
tent' in which to hold services and meetings. American sect leader Arthur Bently Worthington established his presence in the city of Christchurch by constructing a boldly scaled classical church in Latimer Square. Worthington (1847-1917) was an American confidence trickster and bigamist who arrived in Christchurch in 1890 with his de facto wife, Mary Plunkett. Here he established the Students of Truth, following some involvement with the Christian Science church in New York, where he had met Plunkett, the organisation's international journal editor. The Christchurch sect was clearly a very successful venture for the couple as it allowed them to build a large timber church to the design of local architect William Clarkson in 1892 with a twelve-room house for themselves beside it (fig. 16). The Students of Truth also published a regular church journal and in 1893 established a branch of the sect in Auckland.

In spite of their success ‘the Worthingtons were regarded as having a deleterious effect on the moral atmosphere of Christchurch,’ because they were allegedly inciting couples to break

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The illustrious Maori leader Sir Maui Pomare received his medical training (1893-1900) in Battle Creek, Michigan and Chicago, Illinois in association with the Seventh-day Adventist church. Family tradition holds that Pomare’s beach house at Hongoeka Bay, Pimmerton, near Wellington, (c.1914) was designed by C.T. Natusch (1859-1951), who had also spent time in the United States as a young man (1882). Typical of the California bungalow style, the small, two-bedroom house is clad in creosoted weatherboards, has a low-pitched gabled roof, and a chimneybreast of beach stones. G. Butterworth, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography - Volume 3, 1901-1920*, pp. 405. No. 7177, Register of Historic Places, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington.

85 Worthington’s real name was Oakley Crawford, but it was as Arthur Bently Worthington that he was known in New Zealand. R.S. Hill, ‘Arthur Bently Worthington’, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography - Volume 2, 1870-1900*, Bridget Williams Books & Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp. 588-89.

86 Hill, p. 588.

87 Known later as Latimer Hall, the Temple of Truth was demolished in 1966. Its principal façade featured a hexastyle portico flanked by end bays with mansard roofs and lit by double-hung sash windows topped by segmental pediments. Cross gables on the side elevation were inset with round windows which were repeated at first floor level behind the portico. Two large windows on the side elevation further contributed to the classical appearance of the building by their allusion to the Palladian window motif. The two-storied house situated on the north side of the property, adjacent to the Temple’s entrance, was by contrast a simple Victorian ‘box’ with a hipped roof and first floor balcony, supported by large brackets, which overlooked the portico.

Inside the church was a basilican-plan auditorium with galleries over both aisles and the entrance vestibule. These were carried on full height Ionic columns, the same order as that used for the entrance portico. A pipe organ, donated by ‘a gentleman resident in America’ was a prominent feature of the east end of the church where a reading desk in the form of an Ionic column was also located. The auditorium floor was raked to provide good sightlines and individual chairs provided seating for one thousand worshippers. *The Press*, 5 August 1892, p. 6. See also 6 January 1892, p. 8.
their wedding vows. A.B. Worthington left New Zealand permanently in 1899, with a
different 'wife' from the one he had arrived with, and he subsequently died whilst under
police custody in the United States. In Christchurch his actions and teachings are said to have
made him 'one of the most loathed figures in a society trying to emerge from colonial rawness
to middle-class respectability'. It was no doubt some time before the city forgot this
American visitor who left behind him an architectural reminder of his presence in the city.

Like Worthington, members of the Theosophical Society, established by Madame Helena
Petrovna Blavatsky in New York in 1875, and the First Church of Christ, Scientist, founded
in Massachusetts by Mary Baker Eddy in 1879, also favoured the classical style for their New
Zealand buildings in the early years of the twentieth century. The local impact of American
religion was more fundamental than that represented simply by the physical presence of sects
which had originated in the U.S.A., however. American revivalism and fundamentalism
influenced mainstream Christian churches in New Zealand from the earliest days of colonial
settlement and so established a long-standing tradition with which the post-World War Two
revival meetings of American evangelists such as Billy Graham may be compared. In the early
1850s, for example, the Anglican Church of New Zealand considered the model of the
Episcopal Church in the United States in preparing its constitution. At this time John
Robert Godley in particular praised the self-governance of the American church in contrast

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88 Hill p. 589.
89 Ibid., p. 589.
90 The Theosophical Society Hall in Queen Street, Auckland, for example, was erected in 1922 to a classical
design by H.F. Robinson, who was a member of the society. No. 2650, Register of Historic Places, N.Z.
Historic Places Trust, Wellington. The First Church of Christ, Scientist in Worcester Street, Christchurch (1929-
30, 1933-4) was designed by Roy Lovell-Smith and then substantially enlarged and given a new classical temple
front by Helmore and Cotterill three years later. The church was known as the Second Church of Christ,
Scientist until 1933 when it assumed the name by which all branches of the church are commonly known. It
has since been converted for use as a Chinese restaurant. The Press, 10 March 1930, p. 9. R. Esau, 'Helmore and
Cotterill plan holdings, numbers 1099-1103, Pictorial Archives Department, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch.
91 C. Brown, 'The American Connection: the United States of America and Churches in New Zealand, 1840-
to the hierarchy of the Church of England. The New Zealand constitution that was eventually adopted did not go as far as the American model in terms of independence from the Church of England. Nevertheless the American example had proved useful in offering a way to establish an autonomous outpost of the Church of England in New Zealand.

Preaching by American revivalists before 1914 also made an impression on some New Zealanders although, as Colin Brown and Peter Lineham have pointed out, such was the transatlantic nature of revivalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that 'separating out a distinctively American (or British) contribution is problematic.'

After 1860 revivalism became highly professionalised, and the teams of evangelists, of whom the foremost were Dwight L. Moody of Chicago and his song leader Ira D. Sankey, travelled throughout the English speaking world, and did much to create a pattern of interdenominational evangelical culture, congregations, and social and ecclesiastical attitudes.

Following Moody's lead, R.A Torrey was the 'first inter-denominational American evangelist' to visit New Zealand in 1901-2. He was accompanied by musician Charles Alexander, who returned with the preacher Wilbur Chapman to spend a month in Dunedin in 1912. In the 1920s Joseph Kemp, an Englishman who had graduated from the Moody-inspired Glasgow Bible Training Institute in 1895, introduced American fundamentalism to New Zealand during his pastorate at the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle (1920-33). Kemp had worked in

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92 Brown, p. 155. Godley does not appear to have been greatly impressed by American church architecture, however. Writing from New York during his travels in the United States in 1842 he noted that 'I have not yet seen one church in this country built in good ecclesiastical taste'. J.R. Godley, *Letters from America*, Vol. 1, John Murray, London, 1844, p. 23.

93 Brown, p. 156.

94 Ibid., p. 156-7. See also, P. Lineham, 'When the Rolled is Called up Yonder, Who'll be There? - An Analysis of Nineteenth Century Trans-Atlantic Revivalism in New Zealand and Canada', *Rescuing the Perishing*: *Comparative Perspectives on Evangelism and Revivalism*, D. Pratt, ed., College Communications, Auckland, 1989, pp. 1-22.

95 Lineham, p. 6.

96 Ibid., p. 8.

New York for five years prior to his arrival in New Zealand and was greatly influenced by his American experience. He found the religious climate of New Zealand to be much less aggressive than that in the United States and so his style of fundamentalist ministry was a little out of step with the local context in which he worked until his death in 1933. As founder of the New Zealand Bible Training Institute (1922), however, Kemp ensured that his ‘fundamentalist legacy’ would continue to this day.98

Just as the impact of American religion manifested itself both physically and philosophically in New Zealand, an American institution of another kind promoted closer architectural and intellectual links with New Zealand after 1900. The philanthropy of Andrew Carnegie, a Pittsburgh steel magnate with a passion for education, made possible the construction of 18 library buildings throughout New Zealand between 1901 and 1917 and gave a significant number of New Zealanders the opportunity to study in the United States after 1928. With a stated aim of promoting ‘the advancement of knowledge’ and relieving ‘the sense of isolation’ of Britain’s colonies and dominions, the Carnegie Corporation was to have a long-ranging impact on New Zealand’s intellectual growth and development.99

Research by Abigail van Slyck has revealed the process by which Carnegie grants made it possible for a number of communities, including Hokitika, Fairlie, Dannevirke and Hamilton, to build libraries early last century (see fig. 25).100 In fact more Carnegie libraries were

erected in New Zealand than in any other country outside North America.\textsuperscript{101} In contrast to the American libraries built with Carnegie funds, however, the New Zealand libraries were generally not free to subscribers and deviated from their American model in their compartmentalised planning, absence of central heating and relationship to the urban streetscape. These differences represented a fundamental divergence from Carnegie policy and were in fact indebted to British library practice. Carnegie libraries in New Zealand therefore represent another instance of a hybrid Anglo-American influence which, in this instance at least, was born out of a desire to reinforce common English-speaking culture around the world.\textsuperscript{102}

After 1911 the Carnegie Corporation provided 'Notes on the Erection of Carnegie Library Buildings' which were intended to establish the basic specifications for libraries financed by Carnegie funds. It would appear, however, that the corporation was always rather lenient with overseas communities when it came to fulfilling its terms and conditions. The Carnegie library erected at Fairlie, for example, provided accommodation for the librarian, which was in violation of the terms of Carnegie grants in the United States.\textsuperscript{103} Greymouth and Cambridge, on the other hand, housed their Carnegie libraries in extensions to existing council buildings. This would also not have been permitted in the United States where all Carnegie buildings had to be freestanding, single-purpose structures.\textsuperscript{104} The simple classical style common to Carnegie libraries in the United States and New Zealand is to some extent a shared trait in the development of this particular building type although, because the Carnegie

\textsuperscript{101} Van Slyck, August 1994. Carnegie libraries were also built in Onehunga, Thames, Westport, Cambridge, Timaru, Dunedin, Hastings, Greymouth, Gore, New Plymouth, Alexandra, Marton, Balclutha and Levin.
\textsuperscript{102} A. Van Slyck, 'A Credit to Mr Carnegie and an Ornament to Our Town', public lecture, National Library, Wellington, 30 November 1994. In her foreword to Maxine Rochester's study of the Carnegie influence upon New Zealand librarianship in the 1930s, Mary Ronnie writes: 'Broadly generalized, I have always thought that our respect for good book collection building came from Britain and our philosophies of service and management structures from America. The mix has been a productive one.' M.A. Ronnie, 'Foreword', M.K. Rochester, \textit{The Revolution in New Zealand Librarianship: American Influence as Facilitated by the Carnegie Corporation of New York in the 1930s}, School of Library and Information Studies, Dalhousie University, Halifax, 1990, p. iii.
\textsuperscript{103} The Carnegie library at Fairlie, designed by Timaru practitioners Hall & Marchant, was opened on 6 March 1914. Foundation stone, in situ. This building now functions as a café.
Corporation was, above all else, concerned with functional librarianship ahead of costly architectural ornament, external appearance was more the outcome of their advocacy of a symmetrical floor plan, than an end in itself.105

In addition to the design and construction of libraries, the Corporation was also interested in their practical operation and to this end gave grants to libraries in New Zealand to purchase books and to send their staff overseas to study in the United States.106 By the late 1920s New Zealand libraries had already adopted the Dewey decimal system of library classification, which had first been instituted at Amherst College, Massachusetts, and were familiar with the school library programme, devised in Buffalo, New York.107 In 1934 a comprehensive survey of New Zealand's library system was carried out by Ralph Munn, Director of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, in consultation with J. Barr, Auckland's Chief Librarian. Together they argued the case for free lending libraries in New Zealand.108 Three years later the Corporation funded the cost of a full-time officer to work for the New Zealand Library Association and sponsored the Association's annual conference.109 'The borrowing of ideas and techniques from American librarianship in the period 1932 to 1941 substantially changed New Zealand librarianship.' If there was occasionally 'hostility to American influence', local librarians 'sought precedents from Great Britain or Canada which

104 Van Slyck, November 1994.
105 Restrained classicism was common but not exclusive to Carnegie libraries in New Zealand, some of which were given more individualistic treatments. Fairlie, for example, is an English Free style building in exposed brick, whereas the Onehunga library is Edwardian Baroque in its exterior ornamentation.
106 See for example, The Press, 18 August 1931; p. 11, 1 September 1931; p. 6, 1 December 1931; p. 10 & 12 December 1931; p. 14, for reportage of the Carnegie Corporation's offer of grants and study scholarships to Canterbury College. See also M. Rochester, The Revolution in New Zealand Librarianship: American Influence as Facilitated by the Carnegie Corporation of New York in the 1930s. Carnegie grants were also made for the purchase of 12 church organs in New Zealand. Beeby, p. 39.
109 Beeby, pp. 46-7.
could be quoted in New Zealand'. The same resort to the authority of empire could be found in the architectural discourse of the day, despite the irrefutable fact of American influence and intervention.

New Zealand's connections with the Carnegie Corporation increased further and extended beyond the operation of libraries after 1928, in which year the Carnegie Corporation sent Dean James Russell, formerly of Columbia University, New York, to New Zealand to assess local needs on its behalf. C.E. Beeby, a former Director of Education in New Zealand (1940-1960) has written that in the 'early 1930s, the impact of the Carnegie Corporation on this intellectual backwater was out of all proportion to the resources the organisation brought.' Amongst the Corporation's most significant contributions to New Zealand's educational infrastructure were the grants it made to establish the New Zealand Council for Educational Research in 1934 and to initiate a professional education programme in New Zealand's principal museums (1936).

One of the most highly valued aspects of the relationship between New Zealand and the Carnegie Corporation was that its funds came without strings attached; that is, it did not fund institutions or organisations with the intention of directing or controlling their activities. In the years before World War Two the Carnegie Corporation also promoted adult and rural education in New Zealand and gave art and music sets to secondary and tertiary institutions. Study grants made it possible for educational leaders such as Professor James Shelley of Canterbury College to visit the United States, from whence Shelley brought back a knowledge of rural sociology which resulted in the publication by one of his students,

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110 Rochester, p. 111.
111 See Chapters Two & Five.
112 Beeby, p. 44.
113 Ibid., p. 40.
114 Ibid., pp. 41, 47. Renwick, pp. 21-2.
115 Beeby., p. 41.
H.C.D. Somerset, of Littledene; A New Zealand Rural Community, the first such study in New Zealand.\(^{116}\) The scope of the Carnegie Corporation's activities and influence in New Zealand was therefore considerable and the establishment of the Fulbright study programme after the war (1948) was in many ways simply a continuation of a relationship that had been in place for almost 50 years and had touched the lives of thousands of New Zealanders during that time.

The activities of the Carnegie Corporation in New Zealand challenge the British high culture-American popular culture cliché characterised by Jock Phillips; an echo of which can be heard in Geoff Lealand's 1988 observation that 'conventional wisdom has it that official New Zealand culture is still largely British culture'.\(^{117}\) Two further examples might be offered here to suggest the presence of an American influence within the high culture domain of art and letters. In the late nineteenth century Dunedin lawyer and amateur painter William Mathew Hodgkins was encouraged in his hopes for the future of New Zealand landscape painting by the work of American artists in this genre.\(^{118}\) In a lecture presented to the Otago Institute in 1880, Hodgkins drew upon articles published in Harper's New Monthly Magazine and The American Art Review to assert that "our cousins" are taking a very leading position in art and ... in some areas of art production were not 'one whit behind England'.\(^{119}\) According to Julie King, Hodgkins recognised the lack of tradition in painting and the distance from the great works of European art as a common bond between New Zealand and the United States.\(^{120}\) By using recent periodicals to establish the nature of that bond, W.M.


\(^{119}\) Ibid., p. 5. Hodgkins' lecture was published in the Otago Daily Times on 20 November 1880.

\(^{120}\) Ibid., pp. 5-6. Christchurch architect Samuel Hurst Seager made very similar observations about tradition and isolation in his 1900 assessment of New Zealand architecture, although he did not go as far as Hodgkins had in declaring that such conditions created a special connection between New Zealand and the United States.
Hodgkins not only located a source with which to validate his belief in the value of landscape painting in a colonial-settler society, but also found a model for his own practice as an artist.\textsuperscript{121} As will be seen in Chapter Three, American periodicals and books were being used within an architectural setting at the same time for very similar reasons.

In the development of New Zealand literature too the American example proved salient. A.R.D. [Rex] Fairburn, Eileen Duggan, and Frank Sargeson, amongst others, acknowledged their debt to American writing in the late 1930s; recognising in the work of writers such as Mark Twain, Ernest Hemingway and Sherwood Anderson a narrative voice that was familiar and useful within a colonial setting.\textsuperscript{122} Sargeson in particular, as Lawrence Jones relates, became an enthusiastic promoter of American writing, particularly for its use of vernacular speech and social realist approach.\textsuperscript{123} In the 1930s American realism in painting also served as a model for the local school of artists who became known as the Regionalists. James Shelley and Rex Fairburn established the critical climate in which Canterbury painters such as Rita Angus and Russell Clark looked at the landscape and the figure in a new, clear light; partly inspired and endorsed in this endeavour by the American regionalist works of Grant Wood and Thomas Hart Benton.\textsuperscript{124} That Shelley and Fairburn, two of the most distinguished figures in the cultural life of New Zealand after 1920, should have seen in American educational and artistic activity a means by which local cultural production could gain some independence from the Britain is highly significant and a direct repudiation of the 'conventional wisdom' of which Lealand has written.\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{121} King, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{123} Jones.
\textsuperscript{124} M. Dunn, A Concise History of New Zealand Painting, David Bateman, Auckland, 1991, pp. 81, 88.
Economically the first four decades of the twentieth century also witnessed the furtherance of a closer relationship with the United States. It has been suggested in fact that commerce was the principal link between New Zealand and the United States before 1939, although this might be disputed in view of the research presented here. 

Trade between the two nations encompassed a wide variety of primary and secondary produce and, although Britain was still unquestionably New Zealand's most significant trading partner at this time, there were some import/export categories in which the United States was a very important market. Sixty per cent of the kauri gum exported from New Zealand in 1900, for example, went to the United States, which was also the single largest supplier of agricultural machinery and implements to New Zealand in 1910, with a 42% market share. In 1920 almost 70% of the automobiles imported into New Zealand came from the United States, compared with less than 4% from the United Kingdom. In the same year American products accounted for 19% of the total imports into New Zealand and the value of exports to the United States reached a pre-war peak of over 16%.

Although the 1930s saw a decline in imports from the United States due to a high exchange rate and the impact of a preferential tariff designed to encourage British industry, export figures rallied slightly in the middle of that decade before dropping again in the run-up to World War Two. In 1940 American imports to New Zealand represented approximately 12% of the total, whilst New Zealand exports stood at just under 4%, although they doubled in value in the following year. By the time of America's entry into the war the economic

126 Lissington, p. 7.
130 Ibid., pp. 294, 312. Lissington, pp. 7-8.
131 Bloomfield., pp. 294, 312.
relationship between the two countries was a long-standing and significant one, for New Zealand at least, even if prone to fluctuations from one year to the next.

Strengthening economic ties with the United States did not develop entirely without misgivings on the part of some New Zealanders loyal to the British Empire. Some commentators evidently felt that American dominance of, most particularly, the domain of motion picture imports, was an undesirable fact likely to have a negative impact on the local variant of British culture. Behind the trade statistics then, was a social debate which would find its way to Parliament; eventually prompting New Zealand’s sole film critic to write that ‘four decades of motion-pictures ... have already carried the ‘Americanisation’ of New Zealand further than most of us realise, and than some of us would care to admit.’\(^{132}\)

Motion pictures were first exhibited in New Zealand in 1896 and by the end of World War One American ‘domination of the world’s movie screens’, including those in New Zealand, was absolute.\(^{133}\) Alongside the increasing popularity of American films, however, arose worries about the future of the British film industry and New Zealanders’ access to ‘Empire Films’.\(^{134}\) By the early 1920s this ‘Battle of the Films - English versus American’ had reached the New Zealand House of Representatives.\(^{135}\) Concern that American films were ‘beginning to have an effect detrimental to British sentiment and nationality’ prompted the suggestion in 1921 that a tariff bill then before Parliament should include a ‘licensing clause’ to ensure that

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134 *The Press*, 3 September 1926, p. 10.
135 Ibid., 22 September 1921, p. 6.
New Zealand cinemas would ‘show a certain percentage of British films.’ There the matter rested until, after a discussion of the issue at the Imperial Conference held in London in 1926, legislation was eventually passed to establish a quota system for British films and to set a preferential tax rate to encourage their exhibition. An editorial in the Christchurch Press in that year stated the case for imposing government tariffs on American films to support and protect the British film industry in New Zealand. ‘It is not good for young New Zealanders that they should be presented, night after night, “with ideals and viewpoints that are not British’,” the editor opined (see fig. 59). The introduction of the ‘talkies’ in 1929 was considered in some quarters to further exacerbate the threat posed by American movies because it was now possible to hear American speech in the cinema.

Despite high culture concerns about the negative impact Hollywood was having on the nation’s youth in particular, some commentators unreservedly rejected the assertion that the ‘Americanisation’ of the Dominion was being brought about by the overwhelming predominance of American movies on exhibition in New Zealand cinemas. New Zealand, one observer proclaimed in 1926, ‘is as thoroughly British in habit, thought and speech as the Homeland itself, and because it is British it goes on looking at American films, and being amused by “cheap and trashy” American melodrama, without ever losing its British point of

136 Ibid. In the context of contemporary discussions about American movies editorialists and politicians alike appear to have used the word ‘British’ as a synonym for ‘New Zealand’.
138 The Press, 3 September 1926, p. 10.
139 The coming of sound sharpened the issues of cultural identity raised by the international trade in moving pictures, and led producers, audiences and governments alike to reassess their relation to the medium and to the fact of American dominance.’ Maltby & Vasey, p. 68. Concern has also long been expressed in New Zealand about the incorporation of American words and their meanings into local speech. G. Gordon & T. Deverson, New Zealand English and English in New Zealand, New House Publishers, Auckland, 1998, pp. 111-17. See also B. Bryson, Made in America: An Informal History of the English Language in the United States, Secker and Warburg, London., 1994.
view.' Similar sentiments, which essentially conveyed the opinion that aspects of American society could be accommodated in New Zealand without compromising fundamental loyalty to Britain, were also expressed in the political arena during two key encounters which were to set the scene for war-time cooperation and the eventual signing of the ANZUS Pact in 1951.

The American Naval Fleet visit to New Zealand in August 1908 constitutes the 'first large scale personal interaction between New Zealanders and Americans' in New Zealand history. 141 15,000 naval personnel carried on 16 U.S. battleships arrived in Auckland for a weeklong visit on Sunday 9 August 1908 (see fig 29). 142 The Auckland stopover was part of an extended tour by the Great White Fleet, as it came to be known, which was largely intended to assert American military power in the Pacific following Japan's surprise victory over Russia in the war of 1904-5. It was not lost on New Zealand politicians that the visit was also an opportunity to foster a closer relationship with the United States; a relationship that might be needed if, at any time in the future, the British navy could not guarantee the security of the Pacific. 143 New Zealand had been granted Dominion status in the previous year, but nevertheless contemporary accounts of the American fleet's visit make it clear that imperial ties with Britain had not been greatly weakened by this event. 144

Some common territorial interests in the Pacific had been identified before the arrival of Great White Fleet but the American navy visit provided the first major occasion to explore what it might mean for New Zealand to establish closer military and political ties with the

140 The Press, 14 October 1926, p. 10.
144 See also R.R. Cunninghame, 'The Development of New Zealand's Foreign Policy and Political Alignments', New Zealand's External Relations, pp. 13-29.
Media coverage of the visit reported Sir Robert Stout, Chief Justice of New Zealand, as saying that New Zealand and the United States were both the daughters of 'Mother' Britain and that New Zealanders 'know the Americans better, and like them more than our British kin do.' The common language and British heritage of both nations was the focus of the extensive Fleet Week reportage, although politicians from both sides of the House expressed the belief that friendship with the United States did not indicate any weakening of allegiances to Britain. "There has been nothing sycophantic on either side," said Sir Joseph [Ward], "and, let me say, so far as New Zealand is concerned, that while we have a profound respect for our American cousins, we recognise our own Old Country as the 'right bower' for New Zealand." Ward, the Prime Minister of the day, also expressed his 'vast regret that those strong sons of England' who had settled the United States had gone on to 'wrest their freedom from the Motherland' in a souvenir book published to mark the visit of the Great White Fleet. Rear-Admiral Sperry and the men under his command certainly received a warm welcome as 'brothers, friends, and fellow sailors' during their week in Auckland, however the tenor of that welcome was such that Sperry could hardly have ignored the fact that he was in 'the Britain of the South'.

The ambivalence, which characterised the official response to the presence of the Great White Fleet in New Zealand waters, can also be detected in the newspaper accounts of the American naval fleet visit to New Zealand in August 1925. This time U.S. battleships carrying approximately 22,000 crew visited Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin.

during a two-week goodwill visit under the command of Admiral R.E. Coontz.\textsuperscript{150} By coincidence New Zealand was also playing host to the overseas delegates of the Empire Press Union who were on their way to attend a meeting in Melbourne. Viscount Burnham from England, who was to chair the Australian media conference, told local reporters that the 'delegates rejoiced to find themselves in what they know to be the most home-like of all the Dominions.'\textsuperscript{151} Thus while upwards of 50,000 Aucklanders flocked to the city's harbour to inspect the visiting American battleships, and Prime Minister Coates hosted a State Luncheon in honour of Commander Coontz, the \textit{Auckland Weekly News} addressed its most fulsome comments, about the importance of maintaining 'that British character which New Zealand rightly cherishes so dearly', to a small group of visiting British reporters.\textsuperscript{152}

The distinction drawn by some politicians and members of the press between affection for a highly regarded cousin, the United States, and intense loyalty to the Mother Country, Britain, was clearly apparent in the decades leading up to World War Two; even as New Zealand was drawing closer to the U.S.A. both culturally and economically. America's entry into the war was the catalyst for a refocussing of New Zealand's priorities in terms of defensive and political alliances. In April 1942 the first American Ambassador to New Zealand arrived in the country, ushering in a new era in N.Z./U.S political relations, of which the eventual outcome was the signing of the ANZUS Treaty in 1952.\textsuperscript{153} The presence of around 100,000 American army personnel in New Zealand between June 1942 and the end of the war was to bring ordinary New Zealanders into much closer contact with their American counterparts than ever before (see fig. 79). As has already been suggested, the wartime encounter between American military personnel and the New Zealand public has in recent years come to be

\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., Vol. 71, no. 3115, 20 August 1925, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., p. 55.
\textsuperscript{153} Lissington, pp. 29, 36. See also R.R. Cunninghame, pp. 21-6.
regarded as a watershed in the history of N.Z./U.S. relations. In many ways, however, the closer personal and political connections that were forged between the United States and New Zealand during the war had as their legacy the masking of the multi-layered relationship which had developed between the two nations over the preceding 150 years. That relationship, embracing the entire spectrum of cultural experience and yet regarded with ambivalence by some contemporary commentators, may also be told from the perspective of New Zealand’s architectural history between 1840 and 1940.

Chapter Two

Form and Function: American Influences on New Zealand Architecture

We have been accustomed to look to our American cousins for the last thing in concrete construction, both as to the results attained and the manner of their attainment. *Progress*, Vol. 6, No. 12, 2 October 1911, p. 846.

American Colonial architecture ... is of interest for its suggestive value for work in this country to-day. It offers us much inspiration here where our domestic architecture is still an architecture of wood, and where economy often forces upon us, even if our taste does not lie in that direction, the simple rectangular or box-like type of plans, of which the Colonial style is the exemplar par excellence. C.R. Ford, 'Some Architectural Notes', *The New Zealand Architectural and Building Review*, Vol. 1, No. 10, 30 April 1927, p.4.

In recent years a number of architectural historians have acknowledged that the American influence upon New Zealand society before 1940 is physically embodied in this country's architecture.\(^1\) Just as social, political, and economic relations between the two countries developed in the century or more before the American entry into World War Two, architectural links over the same timeframe gradually evolved, becoming more extensive and more visible within the streetscapes of New Zealand towns and cities. Countless buildings throughout New Zealand, both extant and those which no longer survive, attest to the impact of a particular style or method of construction that originated in the United States of America or was distilled there. The narrative of this process of influence, adoption and adaptation is of interest both for its own sake and for the further light it can shed on the wider history of N.Z./U.S. relations.

As has already been discussed, history records that the American William Acker built a house

on Stewart Island based upon the vernacular architecture of his homeland. Taking a wider perspective, Wellington architect Bill Toomath has written of the debt that New Zealand's nineteenth and early twentieth-century mass housing owes to American domestic architecture. Putting to one side the vernacular, however, it is in the arena of professional architectural design, where more extensive written documentation is available to augment the physical evidence provided by the buildings themselves, that it is possible to identify with greater confidence the underlying American influence upon a particular New Zealand building, be it domestic, institutional or commercial. At the risk of privileging high-style buildings over the majority of vernacular structures that constitute New Zealand's built environment, architecturally designed buildings will therefore be the focus of this chapter. In setting out to identify, describe and assess a wide selection of New Zealand buildings that owe some element of their design to American models the object is not merely to compile a catalogue raisonné of American-inspired buildings in New Zealand. Rather it is the intention of this study to offer an explanation as to why American architecture should appeal to local architects and their clients; especially in opposition to the British paradigm that, as history would have it, dominated architectural design in New Zealand in the century before 1940. Broadly speaking the grounds upon which American architecture made an appeal to New Zealand architects and their clients were twofold. Most visibly, American architectural styles signified a design influence that was both formal and symbolic, revealing the taste of domestic and commercial clients and the stylistic versatility of their designers. Secondly, the hidden lessons of American architecture lay in the structural and organisational solutions that were taken up by local architects who, like their American counterparts, were charged with building earthquake-resistant, functional and economic buildings for corporate and


2 See Chapter One.

3 The vernacular in domestic architecture is discussed in the next chapter in relation to the local use of American architectural publications.
government clients. Rather than following a chronological model, this chapter will therefore proceed to investigate the formal and, then, the functional aspects of American architecture as they were translated within a New Zealand setting to address both the expressive desires and the pragmatic requirements of individuals and institutions.

**American by Association**

As Anthony King sets out in the introduction to *Buildings and Society – Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment*, anthropologists, sociologists and geographers, as well as architectural historians, share a common interest in investigating the production of meaning within the built environment. A body of literature that intersects with all of these disciplines highlights the fact that, alongside their structural and stylistic qualities, buildings have symbolic or representational properties that convey to the viewer the individual taste, status and identity of their owner/occupier. While it is clearly not possible to reconstruct the motives of the men and women who called into being an American-style house or commercial building in New Zealand before 1940, it is necessary to put forward some suggestions as to what those motives might have been, based on the material and documentary evidence available to the historian. Whether for a domestic, educational or corporate client New Zealand architects could and did access American stylistic models and interpret them within a local context. The resulting structures are arguably some of the most

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6 The prospect of much work that might be done in the area of client or patronage studies in New Zealand is opened up by any consideration of the role of the commissioning individual or corporate entity within the design process. The material presented in this chapter was canvassed in part in the author’s conference presentation
distinctive within New Zealand’s built environment.

Before the casual onlooker apprehends the specific style of a building, a more generalised impression of the owner’s social status and cultural identity is perceived. Particularly in the realm of domestic architecture, wherein the wealth, class and personal taste of a private individual is displayed to the viewer, architecture is a form of consumption that is used 'as a tool for defining identity'. It has been said, however, that taste 'is not so much about what things look like, as about the ideas that gave rise to them'. In investigating the cultural significance of a building it is therefore necessary to take account of not only its visible architecture but also the invisible stories associated with it that also communicate some meaning to the external world. In some instances the image a building projects to the community in which it stands might bear little direct connection to its actual, stylistic appearance. That is to say, as with the history of William Acker's simple dwelling, an iconological reading of a building might convey to the viewer information about the distinctive identity of its owner even when the visual evidence to support such a reading is weak or, even, non-existent.

Whereas Acker's cottage is simply representative of his identity as an American in pre-Treaty New Zealand, there are other houses around the country whose cultural significance lies in their identification with exemplary American buildings, famous as much for their celebrated occupants as for their architectural style. In such cases the value and the appeal of American architecture lies in its association with individuals of status and prestige, which thereby confer an illustrious genealogy upon a New Zealand building. The Cambridge home of


8 Upton, p. 55. See also, Bayley, p. xviii.
Charles Channing Buckland, for example, is said to be based upon the design of Theodore Roosevelt’s Long Island summer house ‘Sagamore Hill’, even though the two buildings have very little in common in terms of either size or style.\textsuperscript{10}

The Buckland house is an early bungalow built to the design of local architect A.B. Herrold in 1911, whereas Sagamore Hill is a Queen Anne domestic revival building designed by Lamb and Rich of New York in 1886.\textsuperscript{11} The former bears a far closer resemblance to the California bungalows reproduced in publications such as \textit{Practical Bungalows of Southern California}, than it does to the three-storeyed residence of the 26\textsuperscript{th} President of the United States.\textsuperscript{12} Nevertheless, the Buckland family history recalls with pride the presidential connection that arises out of a visit to Sagamore Hill in c.1910 that Buckland is said to have made in order to discuss the acquisition of purebred sheep and cattle with Roosevelt. According to family lore Channing Buckland stayed one night at Sagamore Hill and ‘was so taken with Roosevelt’s mansion, that he asked permission of Teddy to acquire some of the plans to build a smaller version of the house at Monavale…. Teddy was glad to give Channing the permission.’\textsuperscript{13} On his return to New Zealand from his American buying trip Buckland then commissioned Arthur Herrold to design his family home and the ‘plumbing, electrical fixtures, kitchen equipment, and other hardware were all imported from America to get the most modern available.’\textsuperscript{14}

Buckland’s house was to have been an amalgam of American presidential style and domestic

\textsuperscript{9} Bayley, p. xviii.
\textsuperscript{10} J.A.C. Buckland & M.R. Buckland, \textit{The Bucklands of the Waikato}, published by the authors, 1992, pp. 37, 39.
\textsuperscript{11} Little-known architect Arthur Bibra Herrold also designed the town halls of Cambridge (1909) and Taihape (1912). The former was built during the mayoralty of William Francis (Frank) Buckland, father of Charles Channing. Buckland & Buckland, p. 30.
\textsuperscript{12} See, for example, Plate 210A, W.F. Gates, ed., \textit{Practical Bungalows of Southern California Built at Moderate Cost}, Los Angeles Investment Company, Los Angeles, 1910, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{13} Buckland & Buckland, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., p. 39.
technology. According to the Museum Services Division of the Sagamore Hill Historic Site, however, C.C. Buckland's name does not appear in the Visitors' Book of the relevant period. Indeed Buckland would have been lucky to find Roosevelt in residence given the former president's schedule in the period 1909-11 after his term of office ended in March 1909. Sagamore Hill records cannot establish definitively that Buckland did not visit the Roosevelt summer home, but even if he did so the very great stylistic differences between the two houses certainly calls into question the story of the Buckland homestead's origins. That story does, however, confer status upon the Buckland family by associating their home with that of an American president and it also dovetails with Charles Channing Buckland's links with North America, which date from when he first left Cambridge to 'look for his fortune' in Canada in 1904. In the Buckland house fact and fiction are intertwined to create the narrative which is still abroad in Cambridge today; a narrative that seeks to explain the visible architecture in terms of an invisible association with a country and a well-known figure with whom the Buckland family clearly felt some affinity.

Another New Zealand house with American presidential connections is Mount Vernon homestead, which was built for John Harding (1819-99) and his family on the outskirts of Waipukurau in 1882-3. Harding had purchased the Hawke's Bay property in 1853. From that time on both the farm and homestead were known as Mount Vernon, presumably as an act of homage to George Washington whose plantation home of the same name in Virginia

16 Buckland & Buckland, p. 34.
17 J. Gainsford, student research project, 0209.331 Architectural History and the Heritage Debate, Department of History, University of Waikato, September 1999.
18 In their history of the Buckland family, John and Miram Buckland also draw a parallel between the pioneering efforts of an earlier generation of Bucklands with those of the early American settlers who traded with native Americans in much the same way as Charles Channing's grandfather William worked with local Maori. Buckland & Buckland, p. 13.
was built, and then extended, between 1754 and Washington's death in 1799. Unlike the Buckland homestead this house does resemble its American namesake, and contemporary American houses in general, in several key aspects.

Like the American Mount Vernon, Harding's house stands on an elevated site within an extensive landscape setting. It was designed by Benjamin Smith (1827-83); a little-known architect who practised in Wellington and Hawke's Bay in the 1870s and may have previously worked in Dunedin. The homestead is the third to stand on the site and originally both its exterior and interior were sheathed in lath and plaster over a brick masonry structure. Principal among the architectural connections between the two Mount Vernons is the style and composition of the east elevation of Harding's house (fig. 11), which may be compared with the same elevation of Washington's home (fig. 13). Whilst it is not an exact replica of the American model, this elevation of Harding's house shares the same classical styling and balustraded verandah, carried on simple posts and running the full length of the façade, onto which French doors open. Whereas the verandah of the American building is double-height, it is reduced to a single storey at Waipukurau so that its upper surface may be used as a balcony off the principal first floor rooms. The windows at this level on the east elevation are shuttered, as are the windows of the American Mount Vernon. In the Waipukurau house they are also emphasised by pediments above the cornice line of the

21 Index of New Zealand Architects, School of Fine Arts Reference Room, University of Canterbury, Christchurch. J. Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1976, p. 182. See also, H. Knight & N. Wales, *Buildings of Dunedin, An Illustrated Architectural Guide to New Zealand's Victorian City*, John McIndoe Ltd., Dunedin, 1988, p. 226. The latter states that Benjamin Smith was an architect and surveyor in Dunedin in the early 1860s where he also ran the Octagon Timber Yard. Mount Vernon is the only building known to have been designed by Smith at this time.
22 After it was severely damaged in the 1931 Napier earthquake the exterior of the house was reclad in lapped weatherboards. No. 174, Register of Historic Places, N.Z. Historic Places Trust, Wellington.
building which thus serve as distant echoes of the dormer windows which enliven the rooftop of the house in Virginia.

The second aspect of the Harding house that is derived from American domestic architecture is also visible on the east elevation. Here the French doors opening on to the verandah are not hinged but instead can be slid back into recesses within the door jambs. This type of door mechanism, which has been identified as an American innovation, greatly contributes to the openness and flexibility of planning that is characteristic of American domestic architecture.24 Purau homestead on Banks’ Peninsula, which dates from 1853,25 also features recessed sliding doors, which suggests that such doors were a reasonably common American import. 26

The treatment of the entrance hall at Harding’s Mount Vernon not only echoes that of the presidential dwelling but also illustrates the greater refinement of design that is evident in the New Zealand building (fig. 12). In both houses the staircase ascends to the first floor at the rear of a spacious entrance hall, which runs the width of the building from one entrance to another. In the New Zealand house, however, the staircase is more graceful than its American counterpart because it is unsupported and rises without intermediary landings (fig. 14). Harding and his architect may have looked to Mount Vernon, Virginia for stylistic and iconographic inspiration, but in comparison with the first president’s amateur design efforts their collaboration was altogether more successful in aesthetic terms.27

23 The balustrade surmounting the double-height verandah at Mount Vernon, Virginia survived until the building was ‘restored’ by the Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association who purchased the house in 1858.
26 See Chapter One.
If, as one writer has put it, the ‘homestead proved to Harding’s neighbours that he had arrived socially and economically’ it is significant in the context of this discussion that Harding chose to signal his wealth and status by using the language of American neoclassical colonial architecture, both literally and figuratively. Whereas in one sense Mount Vernon, Waipukurau and Mount Vernon, Virginia, are linked by the most tenuous of associations, that of their naming, the physical appearance of the former suggests that John Harding was wanted to express - in three dimensions - an association he had already made in words 30 years before the third Mount Vernon homestead was built. Although the circumstances surrounding the design of the Waipukurau house remain elusive, the Harding family are known to have had American connections, through both John’s son Josiah and his nephew Robert Coupland Harding, which may have resulted in reproductions of Washington’s Mount Vernon finding their way to Waipukurau. The increasing popularity of colonial architecture in the United States in the late nineteenth century, particularly after the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876, may also have spurred John Harding’s apparent desire to link, by word and deed, the architecture of his rural residence with that of an American icon.

The houses of Charles Buckland and John Harding are unquestionably singular instances of a particular kind of American influence within the narrative of New Zealand’s architectural

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28 Evans, p. 215.
29 Josiah Harding (b.1846) became a civil engineer and worked in South America from whence he sent seeds for exotic trees back to his father in New Zealand. Evans, p. 215.
30 Robert Harding (1849-1916) is considered to have been New Zealand’s ‘first and most eminent typographer.’ In the 1860s he began to correspond with acclaimed printers of the day in both North America and Europe, and in 1876 he imported ‘the first parcel of American type brought into New Zealand’ from the Johnson foundry in Philadelphia. The same foundry published one of Harding’s book borders three years later. His work subsequently became internationally known and respected. D.F. McKenzie, ‘Robert Coupland Harding’, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography - Volume 2, 1870 - 1900*, Bridget Williams Books & Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1993, pp. 194-5.
history. For all their individuality, they do serve a useful purpose in illustrating the difference between iconography and style in the generation of architectural meaning. Of the two houses, Harding’s Mount Vernon comes closest to emulating its American prototype but it is still at some remove from a much larger collection of more stylistically authentic buildings, both domestic and non-domestic, which owe their design and appearance to more generic American models. What the Buckland and Harding houses may be said to have in common with this larger set, however, is that since the time of their construction they have represented, both imaginatively and visually, the notion of an American architecture to the communities in which they were built. More generally, they also point to the role of the client in generating the terms of an architectural commission and in using the resultant structure as a vehicle for the projection of their social identity.

Whereas the evidence of an American influence is largely circumstantial, and the results rather partial, in the case of the Buckland and Harding houses, a Victorian homestead near Wanganui establishes more conclusively the way in which a client might act as the conduit for the transmission of a more ‘authentic’ American architectural style. Trenton House, Oneida Station (1867-1870) was built for Joseph and Mary Ann Burnett, on No. 2 Line east of Wanganui, to a design that was ostensibly the work of George Allen, a local architect and surveyor (fig. 6). Both Allen (1837-1929) and his clients originally hailed from England, but whereas the architect immigrated directly to New Zealand in 1860, the Burnetts had lived in the United States prior to settling in this country.

Having accompanied his parents and five siblings when they emigrated from England to the

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32 See also in this context the discussion about the Sutton house in Christchurch presented in Chapter Three.
United States in 1830, Joseph Burnett met and married his cousin Mary Ann Burnett in New York in 1833. In the same year the couple moved to Utica in the eastern part of New York State, near Trenton where Joseph's uncle was already living. Both Utica and Trenton are located in Oneida County, New York State, hence the names given to the Burnett farm and homestead in New Zealand. Joseph and Mary Ann returned to England in 1842 but before immigrating to New Zealand in 1856 the family spent further time living in the United States, this time in Cincinnati, Ohio, where Joseph's parents had lived since c.1842. The Burnetts were therefore familiar with contemporary American housing by the time they came to New Zealand. From the design and style of Trenton House, now more commonly known as Oneida, it seems very likely that they brought with them not only visual memories but also a pattern book, or books, illustrating buildings in the Carpenter Gothic cottage style made fashionable by A.J. Downing and his followers.

Joseph Burnett established himself initially in Wanganui as a confectioner and baker, and it was some time before he could fulfil his ambition to become a farmer. Having purchased 170 hectares east of the township in 1860, Burnett was finally able to write to a friend in 1867 that he had 'got my friend Mr Allan [sic] to draw me a plan for our house.' He went on to say that 'I gave him an idea of what I thought I required and the style of the house and he sent me a plan for my approval...' 35 Two years later construction began and the Burnett family took up residence in July of 1870.

The house is of timber board-and-batten construction cast in a picturesque Gothic Revival

style that is clearly derived from American models.36 Two-and-a-half storeys in height, Oneida reveals the impact of Downing’s popular writings not only in the detailing of the bargeboards, hood moulds, latticework and dormer windows, but also in the general method of construction, planning and composition. The pronounced verticality of the exterior may be compared with that of American houses by A.J. Davis, such as his ‘Residence for H. Sheldon, Esq., near Tarrytown, N.Y.’, illustrated in Downing’s 1841 publication *A Treatise on the Theory and Practise of Landscape Gardening*.37 The Sheldon residence also has board-and-batten cladding that was subsequently recommended, in works such as Samuel Sloan’s *The Model Architect* of 1852, because of its appropriateness for timber construction.38

The principal feature of the interior of Oneida is the full height living hall around which a three-sided gallery at first floor level gives access to the bedrooms. The hall was used by the Burnett family as a dining room on special occasions, when perhaps Joseph or his son Cornelius, played the pipe organ that was housed in a loft off the stair landing.39 Used as such, the hall at Oneida is an example of the traditional English toplit hall with galleries, which quickly gained popularity in England and the United States from the 1850s.40

Communicating with the hall is the drawing room, which is terminated by a five-sided bay from which French doors open onto a verandah sheltered by a convex roof, carried on

39 Porter, p. 200. It is interesting to note here that possession of a pipe organ was regarded as a status symbol in the country houses of America’s social elite during the late nineteenth century. See Aslet. p. 97. [One wonders what the citizens of Wanganui made of the Burnetts’ organ.]
latticed posts (fig. 7). Allen added the verandah in 1880.41 This addition is entirely in character with the type of verandahs or piazzas that Downing insisted on so that a house could be integrated with its setting and be made responsive to the climate. It may well have been made to complete the house as it had appeared in the original drawing supplied by Burnett.42 Downing’s design for a ‘Gate Lodge’ published in The Architecture of Country Houses, for example, shows a similar treatment of the ‘parlor’.43

Although John Stacpoole contends that Allen ‘developed [his client’s sketch] into something far beyond [Burnett’s] original suggestion’, Oneida’s stylistic authenticity constitutes a very strong argument for Joseph and Mary Ann Burnett’s significant contribution to the design process.44 George Allen’s other major architectural work, St Stephen’s Anglican Church, Marton (1871-3) is similar to the homestead in its Gothic Revival style, exaggerated verticality and timber detailing; although it must be acknowledged that these same characteristics are also typical of contemporary English Ecclesiastical architecture.45 Because Allen was primarily a surveyor, teacher and tour guide during his residence in New Zealand it is not possible to compare Oneida and St Stephen’s with other structures built to his design in order to establish the nature of his personal architectural style more clearly. If the homestead was based upon an American design supplied by Joseph Burnett, the design of St. Stephen’s offers the possibility that Allen may have been sufficiently impressed by the

41 Porter, p. 200.
44 Stacpoole, p. 124. In light of the Burnetts’ American connections it is interesting to note that the entrance gates to their property were hung between large posts which were cut to resemble American Indian arrowheads. They were designed and built by Charles Ciochetto in 1882. Porter, p. 201.
45 See for example, Frederick Thatcher’s Selwyn Gothic St Stephen’s Anglican chapel, Auckland (1857) and old St Paul’s Anglican Church, Wellington (1865-6). A.J. Downing was familiar with A.W.N. Pugin’s writings and of the Anglican Gothic Revival and his popular writings served as a conduit for the dissemination of contemporary English architectural theory in the United States. F.R. Kowsky, ‘The Architectural Legacy of
model for Oneida to return to it in the design of an ecclesiastical building. In essence Oneida is just too convincing and too individual as an example of the American Gothic style in New Zealand to have been the work of an architect unaided by either a client who had lived in the United States during the seminal years of the style's development or by published examples of that style. Here style and iconography are united in one of New Zealand's most distinctive Victorian dwellings.

Downingesque Carpenter Gothic was at the height of its popularity during Joseph and Mary Ann Burnett's second period of residence in the United States. By the time their home was completed in 1880, however, the style that embodied their personal experience of residence in the United States was becoming outmoded. Timber continued to be the predominant building material for house construction but, in response to a new classicising trend within American domestic architecture, the Shingle style now arose. Frederick Strouts and Robert Ballantyne's house 'Otahuna' for Sir Robert Heaton Rhodes on the outskirts of Christchurch (Tai Tapu, 1895) and Auckland's Admiralty House (Charles Arnold, 1902, demolished, fig. 23) are comparable to American Shingle style houses in their use of wooden shingles and in the variety of surface textures and volumes created by the manipulation of a myriad of roof and window forms. At a time when the nation's most prominent families were conspicuously expending their wealth on the construction of very large town and country


homes, the Shingle style was fashionable and economic. Strouts and Ballantyne's Hyman Marks building at Christchurch Hospital (1895-6, demolished) and the Kincaid house (Christchurch, 1906), designed by Ballantyne in partnership with William Clarkson, also reveal a debt to American models such as McKim, Mead and White's Isaac Bell Jr. house (Newport, RI, 1883). In both of these New Zealand buildings, which combined timber detailing with brick construction, the kinship between the Shingle style and English Queen Anne architecture of the same period is readily apparent. Such an affinity appears to have smoothed the path for the adoption of not only the Shingle style in New Zealand, but also the Colonial Georgian Revival style that was to become popular amongst a later generation of the fashion-conscious upper class.

In the early twentieth century the architectural pretensions of New Zealand's well-to-do were satisfied by the adoption of the California bungalow and Colonial Georgian Revival styles, with both having a significant impact on the appearance of suburban streetscapes and country estates. In their enthusiastic adoption can be seen the synthesis of evocation and pragmatism that lies at the heart of many of the American influences upon New Zealand society in the pre-World War Two era.

The introduction of both the California bungalow and the Colonial Georgian Revival styles can be witnessed in the practice of a single architect. In 'designing' houses for two clients

52 John Cattell has described the Kincaid residence thus: It 'gives forth a robustness and strength that one associates with American Shingle Style architecture while working within a vocabulary ... that was traditionally English.' Cattell, p. 159. See also G. Stamp, The English House, 1860-1914 - The Flowering of English Domestic Architecture, Faber & Faber, London, 1986, p. 16.
53 As Anthony King relates in The Bungalow - The Production of a Global Culture the bungalow originated in India, was transplanted to England and then culminated in the California houses of architects such as Greene and Greene. The first phase of the bungalow's evolution in New Zealand was 'derived both from developments in English architecture and from the indigenous tradition of timber building.' The eight small Art and Crafts houses
with American connections, Christchurch architect J.S. Guthrie heralded a new era in domestic architecture in New Zealand; an era in which an increasing number of stylistic options became available to architects, many of them derived from American models.54

Photographs of Guthrie’s early residential work were reproduced in the September 1913 issue of Progress, New Zealand’s first journal of architecture and building that had begun publication in 1905.55 Among the Guthrie houses illustrated was ‘Los Angeles’,56 a spacious one and a half storey house in the California bungalow style, which had been erected on a prominent corner site within the prestige suburb of Fendalton earlier in the same year fig. 35).57 Built for Captain James McDonald, chief officer on the inter-island ferry SS Maori, ‘Los Angeles’ reveals its debt to American domestic architecture in its construction, planning, and style. As with Oneida, this may be due in part to the client’s involvement, although the extent of that contribution remains uncertain. Plans of the house, signed by Guthrie, are dated 1909,58 although the oral history of ‘Los Angeles’ records that McDonald obtained either plans and materials for his new home on a visit to California or an entire kitset house from the eponymous city.59 Pam Wilson has suggested that the truth probably lies somewhere

designed by Samuel Hurst Seager for The Spur development in Christchurch between 1902 and 1914 exemplify this pre-California bungalow stage in local domestic architecture. I.J. Lochhead, ‘The Architectural Art of Samuel Hurst Seager’, Art New Zealand, 44, Spring 1987, pp. 92-9. See also A.D. King, The Bungalow - The Production of a Global Culture, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1984. 54 ‘Today the architect, to suit varying conditions, designs different, and sometimes complicated, floor-plans and translates them into many different styles. Anything from Elizabethan, Spanish Mission, Colonial or Georgian to the latest functional designs may be required of him.’ Building Today, Vol. 1, No. 4, July - September 1937, p. 9. 55 Progress, Vol. 9, No. 1, September 1913, p. 653. 56 The other two Guthrie houses featured in Progress were a two-storey domestic revival house in Park Terrace and a single storey Arts and Crafts bungalow in Fendalton, which suggested the corner bay villa in its massing and vertical emphasis. 57 According to Anthony King American bungalows were typically one-and-a-half storeys in height from c.1880 on. King, The Bungalow - The Production of a Global Culture, p. 130. 58 No. 3680, Register of Historic Places, N.Z. Historic Places Trust, Wellington. 59 See for example the history of the house as told in Living with the Past – Historical Buildings of the Waimairi District, Waimairi District Council, Christchurch, [1984], p. 50. In Australia at about the same time a prefabricated Californian bungalow had been erected in Sydney and it was an important catalyst in the Australian adoption of this building style. In The Bungalow - The Production of a Global Culture [p. 239] Anthony King gives the year of the bungalow’s erection as 1912. J.M. Freeland, on the other hand, gives 1915 as the year in which the house, called ‘Redwood’, was built to launch a model subdivision. J.M. Freeland, Architecture in Australia: A
in the midst of these alternate scenarios.  

From her study of the building Wilson has concluded that McDonald very likely gave an American pattern book plan for a California bungalow to Guthrie in c.1909 and then, after the architect had made the design his own by adapting it to suit his client's needs, procured some of the building materials from the United States prior to construction beginning in early 1913. Thus the stylistic authenticity of the McDonald house can be reconciled with J.S. Guthrie's claim of authorship before his peers in the architectural press.

In common with many of the houses illustrated in the Los Angeles Investment Company's 1910 publication Practical Bungalows of Southern California Built at Moderate Cost, Captain McDonald's house was built from creosoted cedar weatherboards, split shingles and river boulders, in this case local greywacke stones. These materials were then combined to create a subdued, textural and handcrafted appearance in sympathy with the house's informal garden setting. Typical also of the California bungalow, wherein the emphasis was on a more open plan and a concomitant sense of greater informality, the main entrance door of 'Los Angeles' opens directly into the living room. The latter communicates with the dining room via a pair of panelled doors that slide back into wall recesses (fig 36). Also in keeping with the bungalow style, built-in furniture and ensuite bathrooms are key features on both levels of the house. The former is particularly in evidence in the dining room, living room and den where it contributes greatly to the integrity of the overall design.

The den, a room advocated by The Bungalow Book of 1907, which was also published in Los

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History, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1968, pp. 228-9. (Despite the discrepancy between the dates, both authors are clearly referring to the same house in their texts.)


61 Ibid.
Angeles, is particularly noteworthy as it is dominated by a large chimney-breast of river boulders rising the full height of this small room (see fig. 37). The dining room communicates with the kitchen via a servery provided with generous cupboard space, another aspect of the house's plan derived from American models. The exterior of the house is equally convincing stylistically in its horizontal emphasis, overhanging eaves, varied forms of fenestration picked out in white paint, and multiple low-pitched roof forms. The treatment of the boundary fence, gates, and outhouse all contribute to the unity of expression which signals a high level of awareness of the source buildings for this style of American architecture.

'Los Angeles' is arguably the earliest and most outstanding example of a California bungalow in New Zealand, but other architects also took up the style throughout the 1910s. Richard Atkinson Abbott made substantial alterations to an Auckland gardener's cottage in 1913 on behalf of Harry Kinder, nephew of one of the city's foremost colonists, the Rev. John Kinder. The house was clad in shingles and was given an emphatically horizontal appearance with a broad-hipped roof. In 1917 Dunedin architect Edmund Anscombe designed a bungalow style homestead near Balclutha for the Telford family. 'Clifton' has 30 rooms on a single level arranged around an internal courtyard. Crichton & McKay of Wellington designed Tahora homestead in the Wairarapa in 1919 for A.E. Pearce, using

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shingles and roughcast cladding to achieve the textured surface typical of many bungalows.67 In the same year Louis Hay of Napier remodelled and substantially enlarged an Edwardian villa south of Waipukurau owned by Percy and Gretchen Wall, giving it an appearance somewhat similar to Anscombe's Telford homestead.68

Nor was 'Los Angeles' the end point of J.S. Guthrie's usage of the California bungalow style. In 1917 he published two more bungalows in Modern Homes of New Zealand by Architects of Standing.69 Both houses are built on sloping hill sites with substantial foundations and extensive hipped roof forms. In the larger of the two houses the roof extends over a sleeping porch that was another common feature of California bungalows.70 In both houses the hall is a more dominant element within the floor plan than at 'Los Angeles', although entry is gained through either the hall or directly into the living room as at the Fendalton house. In each house both rooms open off a verandah that features characteristically solid balustrades with squat posts carrying the roof.71 A significant development within both bungalows is the omission of a separate dining room. Instead the living room is connected to the kitchen via a servery and so it becomes a multi-functional room, a further mark of the bungalow's modern planning and an indication that Guthrie's knowledge of the California bungalow went beyond external appearances.

The California bungalow introduced a greater degree of informality to New Zealand domestic

69 Modern Homes of New Zealand by Architects of Standing, Keyes, Mann & Co., Auckland, 1917, p. 93.
70 See 'A California Bungalow of Originality and Charm', The Craftsman, November 1911, reproduced in Craftsman Bungalows, p. 59. 'Another interesting feature of this house is the outdoor sleeping room.... These outdoor bedrooms have come to be as much a part of a Californian house plan as the kitchen, dining room or reception room, for whoever has once slept in the open air never willingly shuts himself up in the ordinary old-time bedroom again.' See also W.J. Rush's 'Home for a Simple Life', which was reproduced in Progress and the short-lived Havelock North magazine The Forerunner in 1910. Progress, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1 November 1910, p. 451. The Forerunner, No. 9, January 1910, pp. 260-1. E. Cumming & W. Kaplan, The Arts and Crafts Movement, Thames and Hudson, London, 1991, pp. 121-2.
architecture and made a virtue of simplicity and economy of design at a time when the Edwardian villa had reached its decorative extreme. In the Los Angeles suburb of Pasadena the Greene brothers established the high-water mark of the architecturally designed California bungalow in the decade or so before the onset of the First World War. The apogee of their work was the Gamble house of 1908 in which all the design elements later taken up by Guthrie in 'Los Angeles' may be seen, albeit on a more lavish scale. In common with the Greenes' 'ultimate bungalows', the provision of maid’s bedrooms in both of the Guthrie bungalows published in 1917 attests to the upper class appeal of this style, despite its image of relaxed and simple living.

In New Zealand, as in California, the bungalow was not destined to become the style of choice for the country’s wealthy elite between the wars, however. Despite the lead given by houses such as ‘Los Angeles’ and Anscombe’s Wall house ‘Hinerangi’, the client group who could afford the services of an architect when building activity revived after the war turned instead to more formal stylistic models. Simultaneous with a backlash against the California bungalow as the style of choice for the upper class, the bungalow emerged as ‘the dominant influence on the ordinary New Zealand house of the 1920s and 1930s’. New Zealand builders made the bungalow their own by adding bow and bay windows, casement-and-

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74 Cumming & Kaplan, p. 122.
75 *Modern Homes of New Zealand by Architects of Standing*, p. 93.
78 Salmond, p. 10. My italics. See Chapter Five for a discussion of the class tensions inherent in this divergence of style in domestic architecture.
fanlight windows, corrugated iron roofs and weatherboards to the Californian model and in doing so moved a step closer to developing an indigenous domestic style. Middle-class New Zealanders in their hundreds adopted the bungalow for its economy and evocation of a more relaxed Pacific Rim lifestyle, even as their social superiors turned away from what, in the hands of practitioners such as Guthrie and Anscombe, had been first introduced to New Zealand as a prestige style of domestic architecture.

Even before the war had ended, the same architect who had ushered in the California bungalow signaled this new direction in New Zealand domestic architecture. In 1917 J.S. Guthrie was granted a building permit for another house in Christchurch which introduced the American Colonial Georgian Revival idiom to New Zealand. Five years earlier, Dunedin architect Basil Hooper, in observing the increasing number of bungalows that were then being erected in New Zealand, had already foreseen the change to come when he wrote: ‘[u]ndoubtedly this style will in turn give place to the more severe Georgian architecture, which is gradually coming in again in England and America’.

Built to face the busy suburban thoroughfare of Papanui Road, Guthrie's 'Long Cottage' was commissioned by Washington Irving Carney, an American who wished to imitate, in his own home, the houses he had known in his youth (fig. 46). Carney, who hailed from Boston,
Massachusetts, worked as a wool buyer in Christchurch, where he married Muriel Allan, a
local, in 1913.84 The Carneys' house is typical of the Colonial Georgian Revival style in its
simple box-shape, lapped weatherboard cladding and chaste facade with shuttered windows
and a pedimented entry. Although the principal elevation is not symmetrical, its division into
four bays and the simplicity of the detailing is such that it conveys an appearance of classical
balance and elegance which is in contrast to the qualities of handcraft and rustic naturalism
embodied in the design of 'Los Angeles'.85

Inside 'Long Cottage' the detailing is also in keeping with the character of the American style
on which the house is based. Typically a spiral newel terminates the staircase in the centrally
located entrance hall and the principal living room has a classically detailed fireplace (fig.
47).86 Twin china cabinets in the same room have an identical profile to those illustrated in
The White Pine Series of Architectural Monographs, an important American periodical which New
Zealand architects are known to have owned.87

'Long Cottage' has sometimes been credited to the practice of another Christchurch firm,
which became well known for its Colonial Georgian Revival style houses in the late 1920s.88
Helmore and Cotterill's first essay in the style was the Pinckney house of 1924, designed four

which suggests that in this case Guthrie had not been given detailed drawings of American houses on which to
base his design. G. Sweely, 'An Architectural History of the Early Ashley County', Art History B.A.(Hons.)

84 Certificate of Title, Vol. 308, Folio 145, Lands and Deeds Office, Christchurch. Record of marriage between
Washington Irving Carney and Muriel Heatherbell Allan, 27 February 1913, at St. Mary's Anglican Church,
Merivale, Christchurch. Genealogical Index, New Zealand Room, Canterbury Public Library, Christchurch. Muriel
Allan was a cousin of local architect Cecil Wood and family history relates that the commission for 'Long
Cottage' would in fact have gone to Wood if he had not been overseas on war service in 1917. R.M. Helms,

85 Today Long Cottage is largely obscured from view by a residential development undertaken to the design of
Christchurch architect Peter Beaven, in 1993.


87 The 1926 issue of The White Pine Series of Architectural Monographs, which was once part of Christchurch
architect Cecil Wood's library, provided the elevation, section, plan and details of a china closet from the John
Bellows House, Walpole, New Hampshire. The White Pine Series of Architectural Monographs, Volume 12, No. 5,
1926, pp. 11-13. Helms, Vol. 1, p. 50. See also Chapter Three.
years after both men had visited Newport, Rhode Island and Yorktown, Virginia on route to England. In comparison with Guthrie's inaugural effort in the idiom, there is a greater sense of refinement in Heathcote Helmore and Guy Cotterill's approach to the Colonial Georgian, which is suggestive of a closer study of the source buildings. Helmore and Cotterill's 'Fernside' homestead in the Wairarapa (c.1924-6), Cecil Wood's Gambrill house, Gisborne (1930) and Richard Harman's Rose house (1933) in Christchurch, are indicative of the geographic spread of this style and of its appeal to both rural and urban clients. Throughout New Zealand a significant number of architects, including Jack Hollis (Christchurch), William Gray Young (Wellington), Brodrick & Royds (Invercargill), and Chilwell & Trevithick (Auckland) also designed Colonial Georgian houses for their upper-middle class.

90 Esau, pp. 42-5. T. Hodgson, The Big House, p. 68-9. In light of its American architectural styling it is interesting to note that 'Fernside' was owned by the U.S. government between 1949 and 1955 when it served as an ambassadorial retreat.
93 William Thomas, whose architectural education will be discussed in Chapter 5, designed numerous small Colonial Georgian houses, including his own, in Ashburton from the late 1920s. A 'good example of Colonial Georgian design' was how H.L. Massey's Milne house in Kohimarama, Auckland was described when it was published in Home & Building in 1940. See B. Lynn, Woodwork - My First Seventy Years, The Lynn Historical Woodworking Trust, Ashburton, 1992, pp. 9,11. Also, W. Thomas file, Ashburton District Museum. Home and Building, Vol. 5, No. 1, December 1940, pp. 10-11.
95 William Gray Young, whose Elliott house on Wellington's Kent Terrace dates from 1913-14, had brought the English Neo-Georgian style to New Zealand a decade before the Pinckney house was built. R.L.J. Vorstermans, 'William Gray Young, Architect, 1885-1962', B.Arch. research report, Victoria University of Wellington, 1982, p. 22.
clients New Zealand well into the 1940s.98

The American Colonial Georgian Revival style was based upon the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth century architecture of the former English colonies on the eastern seaboard of the United States.99 Whereas the English Neo-Georgian style, which also enjoyed considerable Anglo-American popularity between the world wars, was characterised by brick masonry construction, the houses of the American Colonial Revival were typically timber-framed and clad in weatherboards.100 The Colonial Revival, noted C.R. Ford in a 1927 issue of the *New Zealand Architectural and Building Review*, had the advantage of offering greater economy of construction over its English antecedent, as well as being more compatible with the local ‘architecture of wood’.101 That economics had a part to play in the selection of either the Colonial Revival or the Neo-Georgian style is suggested by R.L.J. Vorstermans’ observation that William Gray Young favoured the American timber style in the 1930s and early 1940s, having worked largely in the English brick style in the 1920s.102

Spurred on by an emergent nationalism, the architects of the Colonial Revival combined

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98 As late as 1945 a house designed by William Bloomfield was published in *Home & Building* under the banner ‘Colonial Style Always Popular’. The house, described as being ‘executed in the traditional style so popular in many parts of the United States’, was one-and-a-half storeys in height with a shed dormer and classical detailing inside and out. *Home & Building*, Vol. 8, No. 2, June 1945, p. 15. As it was constructed in Auckland the Bloomfield house would appear to be an exception to John Stacpoole’s observation that the Georgian Revival ‘was less apparent in Auckland than in Christchurch or Wellington’. J. Stacpoole, *The Houses of the Merchant Princes*, University of Auckland, Auckland, 1989, p. 10.


archaeological detailing with a romanticised view of the past to fulfil ‘three basic social functions: to help create an image of authority, to help create an image of successful landed-family founding, and to proclaim partnership in the British empire.’ Chief among the practitioners who led the way in this development were New York architects McKim, Mead and White. Their work was featured in a 1915 monograph that was owned by both Cecil Wood and William Gummer.

Given its iconography, Colonial Revival architecture made an appeal to the wealthy elite of the United States between the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries that was based upon a resort to tradition and classical formality. As Professor Cyril Knight described it, the chief visual appeal of the style was that it belonged to ‘that large family of semi-formal buildings found in all parts of the world, stiff enough to keep you on your best behaviour, yet friendly enough to make you feel at ease.’ That the terms ‘quaint’ and ‘charming’ were used by Dunedin architect Basil Hooper in 1934, and also employed in a 1943 description of an Auckland house designed by Cecil Trevithick, suggests that the appeal of the American style over its English precursor in New Zealand was due in part to its greater informality, which may have been thought more suited to a New Zealand way of life.

105 Upton, p 81. Gowans, p. 146.
107 ‘A great deal of the best modern American domestic work is designed in the Georgian manner, combined with a certain amount of their own “Colonial Style”…. One of the quaint features seen on some of these old houses consists of trellis porches.’ B. Hooper, ‘Georgian Architecture’, Journal of the N.Z.I.A., Vol. 13, No. 3, August 1934; p. 39. (My italics.)
108 ‘This is a typical example of the charming American Colonial style with its lattice porch and double hung windows and shutters, pitched roofs and dormers.’ A Fine Example of Colonial Architecture in Victoria Avenue, Auckland’, Home & Building, September 1943, p. 29. (My italics.)
In examining the simultaneous popularity of the California bungalow and Colonial Revival styles during the 1920s and beyond, 'one [American] study found that higher-income professionals tended to acquire houses with a traditional appearance expressing values of stability, status quo, and social position, whereas the bungalow appealed to younger couples with a certain sense of adventure, upward social mobility, and lower income.'\textsuperscript{109} Within a local context, sociologist Bill Willmott has argued that New Zealand’s upper classes have sometimes sought to emphasise class differences culturally where it has not been possible to do so economically given the nature of our settler society.\textsuperscript{110} Willmott offers examples of speech and education to substantiate his thesis, but he might also have used inter-war domestic architecture to make the same point. According to Ruth Helms’ examination of the social standing of Cecil Wood’s clients, a wealthy suburban elite was drawn to the Colonial Georgian style for the same reasons as their American counterparts.\textsuperscript{111} In the mass housing market, by contrast, the bungalow reigned supreme. Architects themselves were not immune to this desire for class distinction, as evidenced by the house C.R. Ford built for himself in Remuera, Auckland in 1926 and Heathcote Helmore’s Christchurch house of 1945; both designed in the Colonial Revival style.\textsuperscript{112}

The California bungalow and Colonial Revival styles appealed to different social classes between the wars but the fact that both were timber architectural styles facilitated their use within a New Zealand setting. In the United States both were also regional styles, although their impact upon domestic architecture was not confined to the geographic regions from which they had originated. Similarly the California Spanish Mission and Spanish Colonial

Revival styles were both regional and national in their scope within the U.S.A. In the first half of the twentieth century, these styles also enjoyed some popularity in New Zealand, capturing the imagination of a group of architects and their clients, either because they were evocative of a desirable lifestyle or were associated with certain building types.

Edmund Anscombe’s Washpool homestead, built in 1934 near Maraekakaho in Hawke’s Bay, is the most significant domestic example of the Spanish Colonial Revival style in New Zealand (fig. 67). This style had become ‘the architecture of Southern California’ by the late 1920s, having arisen in both California and Florida in response to the historic architecture of those states. Promoted as an alternative to the Colonial Revival of the American eastern seaboard, Spanish Colonial architecture was introduced to a national audience at the 1915 Panama-California Exposition in San Diego. Built to the design of Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue and Carleton M. Winslow, the exhibition buildings created a mythical architectural past in which Mexican, Spanish and Hispanic Californian sources were combined to produce a new regionalism. Illustrated articles that appeared in The Architectural Forum in the early 1920s and publications such as R.W. Sexton’s Spanish Influence on American Architecture and Decoration of 1927 fuelled the popularity of this style and

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facilitated its growing influence beyond its states of origin.\textsuperscript{119}

With its barley-twist columns, white planar walls, moulded detailing, arched loggias, decorative wrought iron work and clay tiled roof treatment, Washpool homestead strongly suggests that Edmund Anscombe (1873-1948) had made a careful study of the Spanish Colonial style during his several visits to the United States.\textsuperscript{120} Given his very great interest in exhibitions it is almost certain that Anscombe would have been aware of the buildings of the Panama-California Exposition, even though he was not in the United States at the time of the exhibition.\textsuperscript{121} Anscombe's clients, Howard and Esme Glazebrook, would also have been well acquainted with the Spanish Colonial style given its use for a large number of commercial and public buildings in Hastings and Napier after the Hawke's Bay earthquake of 1931. Washpool repeats, for example, many of the motifs used by Anscombe for Hastings' Westerman & Company building of 1932.\textsuperscript{122} Furthermore Peter Shaw has noted that Esme Glazebrook had attended Iona College, the Spanish Mission style independent girls' school in Havelock North designed by W.J. Rush (1913-14),\textsuperscript{123} and that she would also have been aware of a group of local houses designed by William Gummer for members of the Chambers family, which incorporate some elements taken from contemporary Californian domestic

\textsuperscript{122} Vestiges of the same style, incorporating some Stripped Classical elements, may also be seen in Anscombe's Rotorua Municipal building of 1939.
\textsuperscript{123} Shaw & Hallett, \textit{Spanish Mission Hastings - Styles of Five Decades}, p. 29. Anscombe restored Iona College after the 1931 earthquake.
Thus it seems reasonable to suggest that the Glazebrooks selected their architect and the style in which their house would be designed in order to express both their awareness of current fashion and their desire to rival their social peers in architectural display. Like the patrons of the Spanish Colonial style in California or Florida, the Glazebrooks may have also wished to associate themselves with the ‘easy-going, relaxed, fun-loving life-style of a semi-tropical people’ that was the image conjured by American real estate promoters between the wars. If, as one local feature writer has stated, Washpool homestead ‘evokes Beverley Hills as much as it does Hawkes [sic] Bay’, then Edmund Anscombe and the Glazebrooks succeeded in creating an architectural outpost of California in the New Zealand of the 1930s.

The Spanish Colonial style was, however, the second phase of a development in American architecture that had begun in the late nineteenth century and was introduced to New Zealand two decades before the Hawke’s Bay earthquake and the construction of Washpool. The Mission Revival style looked, as its name suggests, to the architecture of the Catholic missions built by the Spanish in the south-western states of the U.S.A. from the late seventeenth through to the early nineteenth centuries. Secularised in the 1830s and thereafter largely left to fall into disrepair, the California missions were rediscovered in the mid-1880s when their picturesque style and nostalgic appeal became an important regional source for new building in the state.

By 1893, when A. Page Brown designed the California pavilion for Chicago’s Columbian Exposition, the Mission style was considered to be ‘characteristic of

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127 Restoration of the missions, which in some cases involved significant reconstruction, also began in the late nineteenth century and was particularly intensive in the 1930s.
the State'. By the turn of the century it was a popular choice for the design of houses and public buildings associated with California's growing tourist industry. Whitewashed stuccoed walls, scalloped gable ends, patios (internal courtyards), bell towers, clay tile roofs, arcades, and quatrefoil windows were the principal motifs of a style which at once conferred upon California a sense of history and a tool for marketing the state's modern attractions.

In the early twentieth century the Mission Revival style also 'eclipsed all other styles as the one most appropriate for both Northern and Southern California's elementary, secondary, and advanced educational facilities'. Sumner P. Hunt's Froebel Institute (Los Angeles) of 1894 was 'likely the first mission-style school' in California. Between 1900 and 1915 an increasing number of Mission style schools were built throughout the state, particularly after the State Government gave the style its official sanction in the Department of Instruction's 1909 publication *School Architecture*. There were pragmatic as well as aesthetic reasons for the adoption of the Mission Revival style for educational buildings. The interconnection between interior and exterior space was thought to facilitate learning, and the stuccoed masonry construction of such buildings was well suited to the local climate and the need for earthquake resistance.

Richard Atkinson Abbott (1883-1954) and Charles Le Neve Arnold's (b.1855) Auckland Boys' Grammar School (1913-16) forged the same link between style and building type in New Zealand in the second decade of the twentieth century (fig. 40). Arnold and Abbott

129 Weitze, pp. 12-13, 45, 68.
130 Weitze, p. 96.
131 Ibid., p. 70.
132 Ibid., p. 102.
won an international design competition for the new school building in 1913.\textsuperscript{134} Abbott has generally been credited with its design but the contract documents show that Arnold had a major influence upon the detailing of the building.\textsuperscript{135} In keeping with the typical appearance of the California Mission style school, Auckland Grammar features a central gabled entry within a centre and ends composition emphasised by four roof-top bell towers.\textsuperscript{136} The latter are comparable to those on California missions such as the Santa Barbara Mission (est. 1786, present church dedicated in 1820) and the Mission San Buenaventura, (est. 1782).\textsuperscript{137} Auckland Grammar may also be compared with Page Brown's California pavilion in the disposition of the main elements within the façade and the expression of its multiple storeys. Although the planning is in the axial Beaux-Arts manner,\textsuperscript{138} rather than the less formal Mission style that commonly featured a central patio for circulation and access, the school's centrally located hall does to some extent take over the circulation function of the patio. As well as its stylistic innovation Auckland Grammar School was also technically advanced at the time of its construction in its ventilation and rubbish collection systems.\textsuperscript{139}

Dunedin architect P.Y. Wales and Wellington practitioner William Crichton were the judges of the Auckland Grammar School design competition. They awarded second prize to Hoggard, Prouse & Gummer's neoclassical scheme and third placed entry was the Collegiate

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\textsuperscript{134} Notice of competition; \textit{Progress}, Vol. 8, No. 4, December 1912, p. 220.
\textsuperscript{136} Weitze, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{137} Paul Tritenbach has written that Arnold and Abbott 'had just returned from a tour of Southern California' when they won the Auckland Grammar School design competition. No primary evidence is supplied to substantiate this point, however, and no other source has brought this point to light. P. Tritenbach, \textit{Auckland's Historic Schools}, Auckland's Historic Schools Press, Auckland, 1984, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{138} In his 1979 architectural thesis D. Starey stated that R.A. Abbott had studied at the École des Beaux-Arts at some time before World War One. D. Starey, 'Auckland Architecture in the Twenties', B.Arch. sub-thesis, University of Auckland, 1979, p. 44.
\textsuperscript{139} Salmond Architects, p. 8.
\end{footnotesize}
Gothic design of H.C. Grierson.\textsuperscript{140} The buildings R.A. Abbott designed for King's College, Auckland later in his career were also in the Collegiate Gothic style, which enjoyed considerable popularity for educational buildings in the United States in the early twentieth century.\textsuperscript{141} Collegiate Gothic conferred upon American college campuses the authority of English precedent and the instant appearance of 'age and permanence' thought desirable by the deans of institutions of higher learning looking enviously across the Atlantic at the medieval colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.\textsuperscript{142} Its appeal was thus akin to that of the Colonial Revival style within the realm of domestic architecture. New Zealand architects were similarly drawn to the Collegiate Gothic style for both its culturally resonant historicism and its ability to meet the demands of modern campus planning.\textsuperscript{143}

In the 1910s and 1920s the Mission Revival style enjoyed some popularity for educational buildings in the upper North Island, where the climate was more akin to that of California than in regions further south. William Rush's Iona College, Havelock North, which is contemporary with Auckland Grammar, was designed in a more restrained California Craftsman variant of the style, to which Edmund Anscombe added a Spanish Colonial twist.


\textsuperscript{142} Turner, p. 116.

\textsuperscript{143} See Chapter Five for a discussion of Roy Lippincott's Art Building for Auckland University College and the controversy that surrounded this Collegiate Gothic Prairie style design.
when he reinstated the main building after the 1931 earthquake (fig. 41). A central entrance tower, orange clay tile roofs, cream stuccoed walls, bracketed eaves and arched loggias are the key elements used by Rush at Iona. The school is therefore easily distinguished from the domestic Tudor Revival style buildings of Woodford House, the nearby Anglican girls’ school that he had designed two years earlier, in 1911. If the Anglican school was to look to a venerable English past, then Rush chose to evoke the progressivism of present-day California in his design for the Presbyterian church.

Although Iona was built to serve the Presbyterian community, the Mission Revival style found even greater favour, understandably enough given its Hispanic origins, with the builders of Roman Catholic schools. The Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart built St Francis’s School, Thames in 1922 and St Michael’s School, Rotorua in 1924, both in a simplified Mission style. The former is almost identical to St Joseph’s Convent School, Te Aroha, which was built by Sisters of Mercy in 1930. All three single-storey buildings were symmetrical in elevation with central entries marked by cross gables. Of the three the Rotorua school was the most distinctly Spanish Mission revival in style, with its clay tile roof and scalloped entrance gable. By the time St Joseph’s in Te Aroha had been built, however, the Mission revival style had become outmoded in both the United States and New Zealand. As previously noted, it was superseded by the more eclectic and decorative Spanish Colonial style, whose most notable use for educational architecture in New Zealand

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144 The barley-twist columns on the first floor above the library’s bay window signal the extra floor added to this wing by Anscombe. A drawing of the main elevation of Iona College was published in Progress, April 1913, Vol. 8, No. 8, p. 407. See also, Iona College A Chronicle of 75 Years, ed. by G. Main, Havelock North, 1989.


146 G. Burmeister was the architect of St Joseph’s School, Te Aroha. The Month, Vol. 12, No. 140, 18 February 1930, p. 15. Te Aroha Convent 75th Jubilee 1903-78, Jubilee Committee, Te Aroha, 1978, cover.

147 The shift in popularity from Mission Revival to Spanish Colonial might be judged from the titles published by Californian architect Rexford Newcomb over a 20 year period. The Franciscan Mission Architecture of Alta California (1916, reprinted by Dover Publications in 1973) was followed by Mediterranean domestic architecture in the United States (1928, held by Architecture Library, University of Auckland), and Spanish-colonial architecture in
may be seen at St Mary’s College in Ponsonby, Auckland, built for the Sisters of Mercy.

Erected on a sloping site on the opposite side of New Street from Bishop’s House, St Mary’s College was designed by the local architectural partnership of Tole & Massey (1929-30, fig. 61). The college buildings reveal the influence of Goodhue’s San Diego Exposition buildings, the architecture of Santa Barbara and the work of Southern Californian architects such as George Washington Smith. Typical of the stylistic versatility characteristic of most New Zealand architects during the interwar period George Tole had previously designed St Patrick’s School, Freeman’s Bay (1927) for the Sisters of Mercy using the Georgian Revival mode.

St Mary’s College invokes the Spanish Colonial style in its tiled roofs, arched loggias, prominent bell tower, decorative ironwork, barley-twist columns and corbel tabled eaves. Ornamental ironwork and painted ceiling beams within the college’s principal rooms also demonstrated the architects’ debt to, and knowledge of, contemporary American Spanish style.


148 The dormitory block and a section of the classroom wing are no longer extant, having been demolished in the 1970s.

149 Gracious is the Time Centenary of the Sisters of Mercy, Auckland, New Zealand 1850-1950, Sisters of Mercy, Auckland, 1952, p. 80. St Patrick’s is now the Gary Lloyd Training Centre, having been refurbished by Jasmax Architects on behalf of the McDonald’s Corporation in 1992.

In 1933 Tole & Massey were awarded the N.Z.I.A.’s gold medal for their design of St Michael’s Catholic Church, Remuera (1930) in the Italian Romanesque style. Horace Massey was also the recipient of gold medal awards in 1937 (Cintra Flats, Auckland), 1938 (Whangarei Public Library, with A.P. Morgan) and 1940 (Wellington Provincial Centennial Memorial, Petone), working in a less historicist fashion but nevertheless revealing the underlying classicism of his approach to design and composition. See Lochhead, ‘New Zealand Architecture in the Thirties: The Impact of Modernism’, pp. 466-81. V.L. Beckett, ‘Horace L. Massey – Good Design is Always Good’, Home & Building, Vol. 31, No. 11, 1 April 1969, p. 8. See also ‘25 Years of New Zealand Architecture and Building’, Home & Building, 1 April 1962, pp. 57, 72, 73.

Colonial architecture. According to the Auckland diocesan publication, *The Month*, the architects 'chose the Spanish style of architecture for the whole design, as being in conformity with many other educational buildings of the Sisters of Mercy in the older lands, as well as being admirably suited to the climate and sun-washed vistas beneath the blue skies of New Zealand.' Making the same connection between architectural style and suitability to climate Massey told a reporter for the Christchurch *Press* upon his return from the United States in 1922 that, in view of the 'similarity in climate', California 'is likely to have a growing influence upon the architecture of New Zealand homes.' After five months study in California, Massey also noted that the schools of that state were 'considered to be the best type yet evolved' and in *The Month's* assertion that '[t]he College block has all the conveniences of a modern home and up-to-date hotel combined' might be heard an echo of Massey's praise for the 'comfort and convenience' of California's 'hotels, public buildings and schools'. Thus were Californian architectural style and typology combined in Tole & Massey's work for the Sisters of Mercy, just as the architects of Auckland Grammar School had arrived at a similar design solution some 15 years earlier.

At the time of the official opening of St Mary's College it was intended that the adjacent convent would eventually be replaced by a group of buildings designed in 'harmony with the present College'. Funding to complete this extensive building project did not become available, however, so today the Spanish Colonial college building stands in contrast to the

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153 *The Press*, 20 September 1922, p. 4. In a similar vein Christchurch architect Paul Pascoe wrote in 1940 that '[t]he Spanish Mission of California, another American revival that has become popular, is particularly suited to the climate of northern New Zealand.' P. Pascoe, 'Houses', *Making New Zealand – Pictorial Surveys of a Century*, Vol. 2, No. 20, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1940, p. 18.
154 *The Press*, 20 September 1922, p. 4.
156 *The Press*, 20 September 1922, p. 4.
Gothic Revival convent chapel, designed by Edward Mahoney in 1866, and a modern convent building. Jack Chitty's Convent for the Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions in Hamilton East (1939) offers some suggestion as to what the St Mary's convent might have looked like had Tole & Massey's scheme been completed. Three storeys in height, symmetrical about a central entry flanked by arched loggias, the convent has corbel-tabled eaves and a tile roof. The convents built by the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart in Grey Lynn (1921-2), Gisborne (1930) and Thames (1938) constitute further instances of the common linkage between Catholic religious orders and the Spanish Colonial style in New Zealand during the 1920s and 1930s. Not far from Chitty's convent building in Hamilton, Edgecombe & White's dining hall (1938) for the Anglican Diocesan School for Girls in River Road provides additional evidence of the ecumenical popularity of this American style for religious educational buildings in the late 1930s.

As with church schools, a group of New Zealand churches built during the same period also owe their stylistic inspiration to American models. Frederick de Jersey Clere's St Mary the Virgin Anglican Church in Karori, Wellington of 1911, for example, may be compared with Rush's Iona College in its reference to Californian Mission architecture (fig. 34). Although it was described by Progress as being in the 'medieval Italian' style, St Mary's clearly reveals its debt to the Mission Revival in its roughcast reinforced concrete walls, bracketed overhanging eaves, tile roof and timber-framed campanile.

160 Heritage Inventory Record Form, Hamilton City Council District Plan, July 1997.
162 Progress, 1 May 1911, Vol. 6, No. 7, p. 665. G. Thornton, Cast in Concrete: Concrete Construction in New Zealand 1850-1939, Reed Books, Auckland, 1996, pp. 128-9. Subsequent additions and alterations to St Mary's,
Clere’s Karori church represents a notable departure from the architect’s habitual use of the Gothic Revival style in his ecclesiastical work.\textsuperscript{163} According to Charles Fearnley the Karori parish would have preferred their new church to be built of brick, but that material was rejected because of its perceived vulnerability to damage by earthquake.\textsuperscript{164} By approving the choice of concrete and Clere’s California-inspired design, the parish vestry of St Mary’s signalled instead its willingness to embrace a modern method of construction and a novel style of ecclesiastical architecture. The connection between the Mission Revival and concrete construction, which had been firmly established in the United States by about 1905, was thus reiterated in Wellington, New Zealand only a few years later.\textsuperscript{165}

At the time of its construction St Mary’s was ‘expected to mark a new era in church building, as it is commodious, picturesque, and inexpensive.’\textsuperscript{166} It did not, however, inspire any major imitators. Clere himself looked to English Norman precedents for his parish churches of the 1920s and Our Lady of Peace Roman Catholic Church in Roxburgh (1918-19) and Wanganui’s Anglican Christ Church, (1920) are much more modest, altogether less accomplished essays in the Mission Revival style.\textsuperscript{167} Just as had occurred in the educational arena, this style seems to have lost favour as the 1910s progressed, and the American-
influenced churches of the 1920s and early 1930s are considerably more decorative in their external treatment.

Unlike the church schools of the inter-war period, however, the Mission Revival was supplanted, not by the Spanish Colonial, but by the Italian Romanesque in church design. The American Romanesque Revival of the late nineteenth century is now inescapably linked with the figure of Henry Hobson Richardson, the first American architect to achieve international recognition. Richardson's Trinity Church in Boston's Copley Square (1872-7) was described in 1927 by architect and historian Thomas Tallmadge as 'probably America's most famous church.' There is no evidence, however, that Richardson's interpretation of the Romanesque idiom exerted an influence upon New Zealand churches. Instead, after the first wave of French-inspired Richardsonian Romanesque had passed, a more refined variant of the style, based upon the medieval architecture of Lombardy, enjoyed some popularity in the early twentieth century for church design, both locally and in the United States.

J.T. Mair, about whom more will be said in Chapter Five, first introduced this style with his 1909 design for First Presbyterian Church, Invercargill (fig. 31). First Church was Mair's

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170 Tallmadge, p.192.

171 S. Falconer, 'Invercargill's First Presbyterian Church, 1915, by J.T. Mair', Art History essay, Sheppard Collection, School of Architecture Library, University of Auckland, 1986.
first major commission immediately following his return from the United States where he had studied in Philadelphia and worked in New York.\textsuperscript{172} Completed in 1915, and described by contemporary commentators as 'Italo-Byzantine' in style, First Church, with its central plan, decorative brickwork, and prominent campanile, represented a significant break from the conventional Gothic Revival and classicist modes of church design used up until that time in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{173} Horace Sellers' 1908 additions to St Clement's Episcopal Church in downtown Philadelphia could have provided Mair with one easily accessible model upon which to base his First Church design, but members of the church community may also have had some input into the design process. The Rev. John Ferguson, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Australasia and former minister of First Church (1880-94), was reported by the \textit{Southland Times} in 1910 as saying that he had seen the plans of the new church and that 'if the church was built as Mr. Mair had planned it, it would be the most compact and perfectly designed Presbyterian Church he knew of outside of America.'\textsuperscript{174}

Photographs of First Church were reproduced in \textit{Progress} in May 1916 and Grierson and Aimer's St Paul's Presbyterian Church in Devonport, Auckland (1915-16) may owe something to the Mair design in its brickwork and round-arched fenestration.\textsuperscript{175} William Fielding's Seatoun Presbyterian Church, Wellington, (1932) also features the round arched windows, as well as the corbel tabled eaves and squat proportions, of the Italian Romanesque.\textsuperscript{176} The December 1930 issue of the relatively shortlived \textit{Art in New Zealand} included an article by Fielding in which he described his recent tour of the United States and


In it he noted the fine churches he had seen on a trip that included visits to Chicago and Beverley Hills. Not surprisingly then, in its tile roof and cement rendered walls, the Seatoun church approaches the Spanish Colonial idiom, whereas Fielding’s 1925 Methodist Church in Lower Hutt is a more monumental interpretation of the Romanesque in exposed brick.

With the exception of St Paul’s and the Seatoun church, however, the Italian Romanesque failed to become established as the style of choice in the Presbyterian Church, where generally the Gothic Revival prevailed. Roman Catholic congregations, on the other hand, built two significant churches in the style in the early 1930s. Ashburton’s Church of the Holy Name (1930-31) was designed by Christchurch architect H. St. A. Murray and, as noted previously, St Michael’s Church in Remuera, Auckland was the work of Tole and Massey. As Peter Shaw has already noted Ralph Adams Cram’s 1923 *American Church Building of Today*, a copy of which once belonged to Horace Massey, offered one possible source of inspiration for local architects working in the Italian Romanesque style. Major building projects such as Chicago’s D.L. Moody Memorial Church of 1924 also attest to the continued currency of this style within an American context during the 1920s.

Brickmaking was an important industry in Ashburton and so it is not surprising that Holy

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178 Ibid., p. 144.
179 Fearnley, pp. 206-11.
182 Tallmadge, p. 193.
Name church should have been constructed in that material.\textsuperscript{183} The economics of building such monumental structures may also have made brick construction more attractive than stone masonry; both Holy Name and St Michael’s were designed in the late 1920s but constructed in the early years of the Depression. That being the case, contemporary American churches in the Italian Romanesque revival style offered one possible solution to the challenge of marrying structure and style in the design of inter-war churches. As with the New Zealand adoption of the Colonial Georgian Revival style, the Romanesque Revival may have been ultimately derived from European sources but it was its use by American architects that provided the lead for local architects such as Murray, Massey and Tole.

Just one major ecclesiastical building would, if it had been built as planned, have signalled the apogee of the Spanish Colonial style in New Zealand church architecture in the late 1930s. Following an overseas study tour, which included a visit to the United States, Wood prepared plans for the new St Paul’s Cathedral for the Anglican Diocese of Wellington. They were unveiled in 1938 (see fig. 76 for Wood’s 1941 rendering of the Hill Street elevation).\textsuperscript{184} The exterior treatment of St Paul’s owes much to northern European buildings, including Stockholm’s Town Hall (Ragnar Ostberg, 1911-23), but it is evident that Wood also had Californian buildings in mind when he devised the fenestration and the tower. The work of Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, ‘for whom he [Wood] expressed great admiration’, suggests itself as an influence in the contrast between the cathedral’s planar wall surfaces and the decorative mouldings atop door and window openings.\textsuperscript{185} Wood owned a copy of C.H. Whitaker’s 1925 monograph on Goodhue. In the composition of the liturgical west end of

the cathedral, as it was published in 1940, may also be seen a faint echo of Goodhue's St Bartholomew's Episcopal Church, New York (1914-18).  

Although St Paul's was not completed to Cecil Wood's original design it is clear from the popular press that the American flavour of his scheme was recognised, if not appreciated, even some years after his death. A writer in the *New Zealand Truth* in 1956 had this to say about the cathedral and its architect.

He had, however, promised that the cathedral would be modern, so he gave his gothic church the most modern look he knew, the mark of big buildings in the '30s, the concrete cinemas in Spanish-American style as propagated by Hollywood. New St. Paul's is one glorious mongrel: gothic crossed with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.  

War, lengthy delays in construction, and alterations to the design as time passed and fashions and overseeing architects changed, meant that St Paul's Cathedral is not the building Wood envisaged. Enough remains of the original design, however, to argue that it represents the culmination of 30 years of American architectural influence upon New Zealand churches, both Protestant and Roman Catholic.

While St Paul's Cathedral and St Mary's College might evoke the building activity and evangelical purpose of the Spanish missions, the appeal of Spanish Colonial architecture also lay in its allusion to the romance of the past, its picturesque aesthetic, and its association with a relaxed lifestyle and the glamour of Hollywood. Consequently the designers of resort hotels and movie theatres in Florida, California, and in New Zealand, were particularly drawn to this style. J.T. Mair's additions to the 1908 Waitomo Tourist Hotel (1927-8),

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188 Gowans, pp. 108-10.
Helmore and Cotterill’s The Lodge, Hanmer of 1931-2, and J.S Guthrie’s Regent Theatre interior (Christchurch, 1929-30) all emphasise, once again, the linkage between building typology, architectural style and cultural allusion that repeatedly made American architecture appealing to New Zealand architects and their clients.

Wellington architect Henry Eli White (1877-1952) designed two buildings in the 1910s that encapsulate this aspect of the American influence upon New Zealand architecture. In 1917 *Building Progress* hailed White’s Midland Hotel as ‘an adaptation of Old Spanish Mission, which is new to Wellington and certainly picturesque’ (fig. 48). Three years earlier White had designed the Municipal Theatre in Hastings (1914-17). The Midland was demolished in 1980 but photographs show that the hotel and the theatre were very similar in terms of style and façade composition. Sculptural cornices, resting upon substantial brackets between flanking towers, dominated the symmetrical elevations of both buildings. The Midland was the more restrained of the two, the architect using window boxes and the decorative patterning of the fire escapes to enliven the principal elevations. At the Municipal Theatre identical window boxes were combined with deep-set windows and clay tiles atop the cornice and the hipped roofs of the corner towers. The three-dimensional quality of the theatre’s façade was further emphasised by the treatment of the central window above the suspended verandah, which referenced the rich surface decoration typical of the Churrigueresque style in Spanish American architecture. With greater refinement of detail than the either the California missions or New Zealand imitations such as Auckland Grammar School and St Mary’s Karori, White’s designs therefore anticipated the popularity of the Spanish Colonial style during the inter-war period.

190 The Midland stood on a corner site overlooking Wellington’s Lambton Quay and Johnston Street.
If hotels and theatres are designed with the intention of transporting the patron to a world beyond that of their usual experience, the Midland Hotel and the Municipal Theatre used the architecture of California to do just that. Although the interior of the Municipal Theatre is a convincing essay in Art Nouveau, the Midland Hotel was described in 1917 as having a Mission style interior. In keeping with that style the hotel vestibule featured mock beams and a roughcast ceiling, there was an open Mission fireplace in the skylit lounge and a Spanish pergola in the adjoining winter garden. All this must have been in stark contrast to the repetitive classicism of Wellington’s Victorian and Edwardian hotels. Given the Midland’s prominent location on the capital’s principal shopping thoroughfare, few of the city’s residents could have failed to notice the new architectural style in their midst.

Echoing the treatment of the Midland Hotel in its centre and ends composition Jack Chitty’s Frankton Hotel, Hamilton of 1929, which stands on a corner site in an urban setting, also looked to the Spanish Colonial style. In the 1920s and 1930s, however, the appeal of the style was even greater for the designers of resort hotels and the developers of holiday destinations. With the growing popularity of the Waitomo Caves as a tourist attraction, for example, the Government Architect J.T. Mair was charged with extending the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts’ hotel at Waitomo in 1927. Built in reinforced concrete, the new addition conformed to a simplified Spanish Colonial style and significantly increased the accommodation offered at Waitomo. Two storeyed, with a clay tile roof,

193 Named for José Benito de Churriguera (1665-1725), a Madrid architect who worked in a lavish, highly ornamental style during the late Baroque period in Spanish architecture.
196 No. 4211, Register of the N.Z. Historic Places Trust, Wellington.
197 Carrere and Hastings’ Hotel Ponce de Leon (1887-8) and the Alcazar (1887-8) in Saint Augustine, Florida constituted the ‘first appreciable exercise in American Hispanic regionalism’ and established the linkage between Spanish style and resort architecture at an early date. Arthur Benton’s Mission Inn (Riverside, Ca., 1902) is also important in this regard. Gebhard, The Elusive Image: Regionalism in Twentieth Century Architecture, pp. 12-13, 23.
ground floor loggia and first floor open pergolas above, the hotel is akin in style, if not entirely in use, to George B. Post's New Jersey State Tuberculosis Sanatorium (1905-7), which had not long been completed at the time of Mair's sojourn in Post's New York office.  

The Waitomo hotel is also similar in design to a privately owned resort hotel at Hanmer Springs, north of Christchurch, designed by Helmore and Cotterill. Built to accommodate visitors to another natural wonder, in this instance thermal bathing pools, The Lodge was completed in 1932. ‘Of Spanish design, fitted with every modern convenience’, the hotel was also constructed of reinforced concrete and was described a year after its completion as being ‘a great attraction’ to Hanmer Springs. Arched loggias, wrought iron decorative work, both internal and external, and shuttered windows are the principal features of the two-storeyed Lodge, which bears more than a passing resemblance to Mary Colter's La Posada Hotel in Winslow, Arizona (1929-30). Whether it was applied to a railway hotel in the American Southwest or a private hotel in the South Island’s premier spa town, the Spanish Colonial style enjoyed simultaneous popularity for resort architecture in both the United States and New Zealand. The architects of the Lodge and the Waitomo extension, as well as their clients, were clearly aware of this.

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200 The Lodge was rebuilt with Heathcote Helmore’s help after a fire in 1958. ‘Heathcote George Helmore’, Sheppard Collection, School of Architecture Library, University of Auckland.


203 Not long before the design of the Lodge, Helmore and Cotterill had already indicated their debt to the Spanish Colonial in the entrance hall of a Christchurch house built in 1929. Published in *Home & Building* in December 1940, the Hall house in Wroxton Terrace, Fendalton was described as being ‘designed in the English country style’ but its ‘large sitting-hall [was] decorated in a free version of the Californian Spanish style. A wide staircase with an interesting wrought iron balustrade and hooded open fireplace form the main features. The wrought iron light fittings and rough textured plaster walls are in keeping with the style.’ *Home & Building*, Vol. 5, No. 1, December 1940, pp. 6-7. The living room of the Hacienda de la Tordilla, near San Antonio, Texas,
The Lodge at Hanmer, as one writer has noted, is partly noteworthy because it was built in the early years of the Depression. Another thermal resort building that was erected at the same time and warrants discussion in this context is the Blue Baths, Rotorua (1931-3), which was also designed by J.T. Mair in his role as Government Architect (see fig. 65). The Blue Baths stand in Rotorua’s Government Gardens on an axis at right angles to Trigg, Corlett and Wrigley’s 1908 Tudor Revival Government Bathhouse. Once again the juxtaposition here is between an English past and an American present, the latter dressed in the Spanish Colonial style.

Reinforced concrete construction, a Marseilles tile roof and symmetrical plan, corbelled eaves, pergolas, blind arcades and barley-twist columns are the principal architectural features of the baths. The façade of the two-storeyed central pavilion, in particular, marshals the motifs of the Spanish Colonial style in a decorative and assured manner. In their styling and – still used as a baths) use the baths are representative of a shift in architectural taste and social custom from the European-inspired spas created at Rotorua and Te Aroha around the turn of the twentieth century towards a ‘Hollywood conception’ of mixed recreational bathing in the early 1930s. Contemporary advertising for the Government Baths at Rotorua traded on the new image of glamorous leisure portrayed by Mair’s Blue Baths. That the link between style and typology was well established amongst the architectural profession by the time the baths opened can be seen in contemporaneous designs by students at the Auckland School of Architecture for recreational buildings in the Spanish Colonial style.

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205 1936 *Rotorua Carnival* brochure reproduced in Rockel, p.11. The Blue Baths were closed in 1982 and reopened in 1999.
206 Rockel, colour plates op. pp. 90 & 91.
207 ‘First Year Degree Work – Elementary Design Problem by Mr. Clifford Sanderson – “A Loggia in a Public Park”’, School of Architecture Prospectus, Auckland University College, 1927, p. 11. ‘Second Year Degree –
Like the Lodge and the Blue Baths, the development of New Regent Street (1929-32) in Christchurch during the early years of the Depression can be viewed as an instance of the entrepreneurial bravado of the period, one which called for the festive associations of the Spanish Colonial style. Forty shops in two, two-storey terraces border a narrow thoroughfare on the northeastern fringe of the city’s central business district (fig. 64). Linked by continuous suspended verandahs, ‘in keeping with modern architecture’, each shop features one of three slightly different decorative treatments. Barley-twist columns, shaped gables, medallions, wrought iron balcony railings and awning brackets, were organised by local architect Francis Willis to create a varied but coherent composition above verandah level. The concept of an entire street made up of small speciality shops was a new one in New Zealand at this time, anticipating as it did the post-World War Two American-inspired shopping mall, whose local introduction falls outside the chronology of this study.

Towards the end of his career Willis said of New Regent Street that he was given ‘no instructions as to the style of the buildings, and the whole conception was mine’. In another interview he stated ‘I was interested in Spanish Mission architecture at the time and it was quite fashionable in New Zealand. The street is a replica of a Spanish street in fine detail.’ At the time of its opening New Regent Street was described as ‘quaint’, ‘novel’ and ‘romantic’ and these adjectives were positively associated with the ‘Spanish style of


208 Christchurch Times, 22 January 1932, p. 10.
architecture'. Before construction began the local news media had also noted the recent popularity of the style in Christchurch, mentioning both Willis’s Radiant Hall (1929-30, now Repertory Theatre) and the new Regent Theatre, which had resulted from the remodelling of the Royal Exchange building in Cathedral Square by Jack Guthrie. The latter was in the American atmospheric style, about which more will be said shortly. Although it was never built, Willis’s ambitious proposal for a four-storeyed hotel in the same style at Akaroa (1930) also points to the contemporary popularity of the Spanish Colonial and, more specifically, to Willis’s interest in it.

New Regent Street was one of the very few large-scale building projects undertaken in the South Island during the Depression. In the North Island, by contrast, the earthquake that hit the Hawke’s Bay region on 3 February 1931 was the catalyst for a major building programme. Spanish Colonial and Art Deco were predominantly the styles of reconstruction in Napier and Hastings, the principal towns of the district. Once again the connection between the Spanish Colonial style and the typology of the hotel was reinforced in several buildings in the seaside resort town of Napier. E.A. Williams’s Criterion Hotel (1932) and the Crown Hotel at Ahuriri (architect unknown, 1932) are two storeyed buildings which are relatively restrained in their decorative schemes. Finch & Westerholm’s Provincial Hotel (1932), a single-storey structure on a corner site, is considerably more ornamental but shares with the Criterion a parapet of cordova roof tiles that references the typical roofing material of the Spanish missions. None of these hotels are as large or as grand as Wellington’s Midland but they do represent a continuity of association between style and typology that locates the particularities of the Napier reconstruction effort within a wider context.

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212 Christchurch Times, 22 January 1932, p. 10; 10 March 1932, p. 11, 23 January 1932, p. 3.
longevity of this association can also be judged by comparing the Midland and Criterion Hotels with Greymouth’s Revington’s Hotel of 1938.\(^{217}\)

The Spanish Colonial style was not new to Napier at the time of the earthquake, however, as can be seen in E.A. Williams’s Harston’s building of 1930, which is still extant, and the Nurses’ Home at Napier Hospital, which opened in 1926 and killed seven nurses when it collapsed in 1931 (see fig. 62).\(^{218}\) W.J. Rush’s Iona College and house ‘Te Mata’ for Bernard Chambers (1920, demolished 1931) in Havelock North and Albert Garnett’s Fitzpatrick & Co. premises in Hastings (1924) are other significant instances of the pre-quake use of this style in the region.\(^{219}\) Nevertheless, in the aftermath of the earthquake, local interest in California’s Spanish revivalist architecture was certainly heightened by specific references to Santa Barbara, where an earthquake six years earlier had greatly spurred on the recasting of that seaside city as a ‘Spanish village’.\(^{220}\) By 1931 promoters of the Spanish Colonial style in Santa Barbara had witnessed its adoption as the ‘official style for the community’ and the city had taken on the ‘garb of Spain’.\(^{221}\) That New Zealanders were aware of the ‘creation of a New Spain in America’ in Santa Barbara can be seen from the following report published in Napier’s *Daily Telegraph* just days after the 1931 earthquake.\(^{222}\)

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\(^{218}\) Shaw & Hallett, *Art Deco Napier – Styles of the Thirties*, pp. 68-9. G. Conly, *A Case History: the Hawke’s Bay Hospital Board, 1876-1989*, Hawke’s Bay Area Health Board, Napier, 1992, pp. 91, 116-7. The *Christchurch Times* reported in 1933 that the new Nurses’ Home at Christchurch Hospital had been given a ‘Spanish appearance’ by architects Collins & West. The three-storey building, to which another three floors were added in 1941, featured a cement finish, balconies and a hollow tile roof. *Christchurch Times*, 9 February 1933, p. 3.

\(^{219}\) Shaw & Hallett, *Spanish Mission Hastings - Styles of Five Decades*, pp. 14, 22, 58, 67. Garnett’s building is similar in appearance to Chitty’s Frankton Hotel, discussed above.


The attractiveness of Santa Barbara, one of the youngest yet most beautiful cities of California, is behind the suggestion that all permanent buildings erected in Napier of the future should conform to a uniform style of architecture. A handful of enthusiasts are working unobtrusively in the advancement of the proposal and have already succeeded in exciting and encouraging interest among architects in the city who share the advocacy of the Spanish style of architecture, and which is favoured for its multifarious advantages, notably economy, simplicity and safety.223

Later in the year the national Director of Town Planning, J.W. Mawson, returned from three months abroad with first hand experience of recent Californian architecture. 'The primary object of his tour was to visit Santa Barbara and San Francisco to study rebuilding schemes there, and gain information which might be of use in rebuilding Napier and Hastings.'224 Such information was then passed on to the Rehabilitation Committee, which was charged with overseeing the reconstruction project.

As Charles H. Cheney, an associate with the eminent American landscaping firm of Olmsted and Olmsted, wrote in 1929, 'there is in Santa Barbara less of the usual jumble of styles and tastes in architecture than in other similar American communities.'225 The same degree of continuity and coherence that distinguished the townscape of Santa Barbara by the early 1930s was also desired by those promoting the redevelopment of Napier following the earthquake. However, as Peter Shaw has written, the Depression and the concomitant shortfall in government funding for the reconstruction prevented the realisation of the boldest plans for the new Napier.226 Rather, what occurred was the rebuilding of individual premises within the central business districts of Napier and, to a lesser extent, Hastings in the styles of the day - Spanish Colonial Revival and Art Deco. Edmund Anscombe's Westermans'
Building in Hastings (1932), for example, is comparable to New Regent Street in its Spanish Colonial detailing and in Napier Finch & Westerholm designed the Gaiety Deluxe (1932) and State (1933) cinemas in the same vein.\textsuperscript{227}

J.A. Louis Hay, who liaised between the local Reconstruction Committee and an association of Hawke’s Bay architects formed to promote their interests and share the large volume of work now available to them, pursued another variety of modern American architecture in his designs for Napier resort architecture in the early 1930s. His Albion Hotel project and a proposed entertainment centre on the Napier foreshore, both designed in 1933, were heavily indebted to the early work of Frank Lloyd Wright, which Hay knew from his copies of Wright’s Wasmuth folios of 1910 and 1911.\textsuperscript{228} As neither building was erected, however, the manifestation of Hay’s Wrightian influence was limited to domestic, commercial and civic structures that stood alongside Napier’s Spanish Colonial hotels and theatres; the latter conjuring up an image of leisure and entertainment that looked to Southern California for its substance. In domestic architecture too Anscombe’s Washpool, with its large phoenix palms and abundant garden setting designed by eminent Christchurch landscape gardener, Alfred Buxton, captured the ‘romantic historical luxuriance’ and ‘geometric simplicity’ of a style that reached the high point of its popularity in the United States at the same time as the reconstruction of the Hawke’s Bay was under way.\textsuperscript{229}

In nearby Rotorua Edmund Anscombe designed the Municipal Building and Civic Theatre (1939-40) in a stripped Spanish Colonial style, acknowledging the complex’s proximity to the

\begin{footnotes}
\item228 Shaw, \textit{Louis Hay – Architect}, pp. 47, 57-8, 67, 68. See Chapter Three for a discussion of Hay’s debt to Wright’s publications.
\end{footnotes}
Blue Baths, although by this date the style had almost run its course in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{230} Of greater endurance throughout the 1930s was the other style that is now even more closely linked with the Hawke's Bay region, Art Deco. Launched at the Exposition des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes in Paris in 1925, Art Deco was popularised by American designers in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Movie sets, exhibition buildings and Manhattan skyscrapers carried the characteristic chevron and sunburst motifs of the Art Deco style upon streamlined forms evocative of the ocean-going liner and high-speed train.\textsuperscript{231} Whereas California Spanish styles had looked to a romantic past, Art Deco embraced the excitement of the modern age. In New Zealand Art Deco appealed to local architects because it was 'modern without being revolutionary'.\textsuperscript{232} Popular for commercial and domestic buildings, it was also used for retail and transport buildings and, not surprisingly, in cinema design.

Art Deco was an international style between the wars but Manhattan and Hollywood were, to a large degree, its twin epicentres. Just as American music and motion pictures defined the era in terms of popular culture, American Art Deco architecture embodied the contemporary enthusiasm for modern materials and modern ways of urban living. B.J. Ager's 1928 garage for the Todd Motor Company in Christchurch (demolished 1993) and Miller and White's N.Z. Railways Road Services Passenger Station (1937-9) in Dunedin are two notable New Zealand instances of the common link between automotive travel and Art Deco styling made in the United States (and Britain) at this time.\textsuperscript{233} Michael Findlay has compared the Dunedin


bus station to Wallis, Gilbert & Partners' Victoria Coach Station, London of 1932.234 It could be argued, however, that the Greyhound Bus Company depots erected throughout the U.S. from the 1930s offered more applicable, low-rise models of the streamline variant of Art Deco than the London station's highrise structure.235 In Hastings the streamline curves and simplified detailing of the Ross, Dysart and McLean garage (1935) reiterated the connection between a contemporary style and a modern building type during the town's reconstruction.236

The apartment building was another modern urban type frequently clad in Art Deco forms during the 1930s.237 Napier's Ranui Flats on Marine Parade and Albert Garnett's Carlsson Flats in Hastings (1933) contributed to the up-to-date appearance of the rebuilt Hawke's Bay towns.238 In Auckland Horace Massey's Cintra Flats (1935-6) and Kenneth Aimer's Marino Gardens (1936) attracted considerable attention, and plaudits, from other members of the profession.239 Melville Lawry's West Avon Flats in Christchurch (1936) was to have been six storeys high but, as built, this rectilinear streamline Art Deco apartment block rose only two.240 In Wellington Edmund Anscombe designed several Art Deco apartment buildings, including one erected on Oriental Parade in which he took up residence, that are very similar

235 Bayer, pp. 167-8, 172.
237 Bayer, pp. 76-81.
to those built in Miami Beach during the same decade.\textsuperscript{241} Efforts to determine the overseas sources of such Art Deco designs in New Zealand are complicated by the fact that the term did not enter architectural currency until the mid-1960s and by the simultaneous popularity of the style in Great Britain and the United States.\textsuperscript{242} In the case of Anscombe, however, his debt to American Art Deco models can be more confidently asserted given his long enthusiasm for, and promotion of, American architectural styles. In his Post & Telegraph building on the Wellington waterfront (1939-40), Anscombe used the Art Deco style for a major government building; although at the time of its completion it was simply described as 'an excellent example of modern design applied to present-day construction.'\textsuperscript{243}

Edmund Anscombe's name has featured several times in the foregoing discussion and it is his most significant commission that brings to a close this account of American style and New Zealand architecture. In his designs for the Centennial Exhibition buildings, erected at Rongotai, Wellington to mark the 1940 anniversary of New Zealand's nationhood, Anscombe drew upon his extensive knowledge of American exhibitions for a design solution intended to visibly embody the achievements of modern New Zealand (see fig. 71). At the seminal moment of national image making the architectural expression of New Zealand identity was therefore American in character. Anscombe's exhibition buildings represent the culmination of a process of stylistic influence and adaptation that had spanned almost a century by 1940.

As an expert in the field of exhibition building design Anscombe had, from an early age, travelled exhaustively to visit exhibitions in Australia and the United States. Although he did


\textsuperscript{242} Bayer, p. 12.

\textsuperscript{243} Home & Building, Vol. 4, No. 2, March 1940, p. 21.
not see the greatest of the nineteenth-century American exhibitions, held at Chicago in 1893, he did attend exhibitions in St. Louis (1904), Chicago (1933-4), San Francisco (1939) and New York (1939-40) and also made comprehensive tours of the United States in 1922 and 1928. The New Zealand & South Seas International Exhibition held in Dunedin in 1925-6, of which Anscombe was both chief instigator and designer, might be considered a rehearsal for the centenary exhibition. Both exhibition concourses were axial in plan but by 1940 the somewhat unresolved classicism of the Dunedin exhibition had been supplanted by the clean lines of American Art Deco (see fig. 72).

Using ‘modern town planning methods in laying down his design’ Anscombe arranged the buildings of the Centennial Exhibition in a cruciform plan, focused upon a central fountain and overlooked by the Centennial Tower. Electric lighting and reflecting pools, which had also been major components of the Dunedin design, dramatised the architecture of the exhibition at night (see fig. 73). As the writer of the exhibition’s official history described it ‘[l]ight, colour and water all played their part in the great display that gave the buildings an appearance of glass palaces and stained the smooth waters of the lagoons with exotic hues.’ Seven years before these words were written Anscombe would have been able to observe the value of water and coloured artificial lighting as key design elements at the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago.

248 Ibid., p. 43.
In his use of banded lighting pylons the architect revealed his familiarity with another exhibition feature that seems to have become *de rigueur* at many of the international exhibitions in Europe and the United States held during the inter-war period. The lighting towers that framed Centennial Avenue from the entrance gates to the tower at the end of the main axis may be compared, for example, to those erected at Cleveland's Great Lakes Exposition of 1937. The order and symmetry of the Golden Gate International Exposition held at San Francisco in 1939 seems also to have exerted an influence upon Anscombe, just as the streamline Art Deco buildings built for the 1939 New York World's Fair find echoes in the geometric forms and decorative motifs of the sound shells and secondary entrances to the Wellington exhibition pavilion. Typical also of American exhibitions, including the Century of Progress, was the allegorical sculpture that adorned the major buildings and the central concourse.

Inside the exhibition halls the debt to contemporary American Art Deco architecture was also evident. The National Broadcasting Service exhibit, for example, had the curved walls, porthole window and decorative wave motif typical of Art Deco styling (fig. 74). Fully functional it was a miniature version of a modern broadcasting studio, comparable to Auckland's 1ZB Broadcasting House designed by Wade & Bartley in 1933 (demolished, fig. 75) and that built for NBC in Hollywood by the John C. Austin Co. in 1938-9. Elsewhere, in the Dominion Court, local architects Walker and Muston were responsible for the design of the 'largest diorama ever built in the world', which took the exhibition visitor on a virtual

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250 Bayer, p. 52.
tour of New Zealand. Like Anscombe, Ron Muston had travelled to the United States to attend the Golden Gate and World’s Fair exhibitions before commencing work on the centennial exhibition project. He went to America with the intention of securing the services of experts in the production of this type of diorama from Hollywood. He returned, however, without any staff from overseas, but, from the knowledge he had gained by his personal inspection of model-making methods in America, he was able to collect a staff of New Zealanders who produced work equally as good as that in America. Under Anscombe’s oversight therefore even the exhibits at the Centennial Exhibition were benchmarked against contemporary American exhibition practices.

According to Anscombe’s obituary, he had a plaque on the wall of his office that bore the following quotation.

Make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men’s blood, and probably themselves will not be realized (sic). Make big plans: aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble logical diagram once recorded will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting itself with growing intensity. Remember that our sons and grandsons are going to do things that would stagger us. Let your watchword be ‘Order’ and your beacon ‘Beauty’.

One of the most famous utterances in the history of American architecture, Daniel Burnham’s exhortation, and his contribution to exhibition design and town planning, clearly had a significant impact upon Edmund Anscombe. Reproduced beneath his photograph in the pictorial history of the Dunedin exhibition and on the wall opposite the main entrance to

254 Palethorpe, p. 98.
255 Home and Building, December -January 1948-49, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 13. Jack Sewell, who worked for Anscombe, also recalls that this quotation was displayed in the vestibule of the firm’s office. Correspondence with the author, 29 July 1994.
the assembly hall at the Centennial Exhibition, Burnham's advice appears to have been the touchstone of Anscombe's career.\textsuperscript{257} The New Zealander used this quotation both to rally support and enthusiasm for the exhibition projects that were so important to him and to construct his own identity as a visionary architect. That Burnham's remarks had some wider currency in New Zealand architectural circles can be seen from the April 1929 issue of the *Journal of the N.Z.I.A.* in which town planner J.W. Mawson is reported to have repeated them in a lecture earlier in the year.\textsuperscript{258}

Throughout his career, but most importantly in his buildings for the Centennial Exhibition of 1940, Edmund Anscombe designed structures clad in American styles to meet his clients' desires for architectural embodiments of a fashionable and up-to-date identity. As the climax of many years of study, the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition commission offered Anscombe an unrivalled opportunity to give visible expression to the country's sense of self. That the language of contemporary American architecture should have been used in this instance can, at one level, simply be explained by the facts of an individual architect's career and the history of twentieth-century exposition buildings generally. The symbolic meaning of the centenary exhibition buildings goes further, however, than that explanation would suggest. In his design for the Centennial Exhibition Anscombe made manifest New Zealand's desire to be seen as a modern, progressive democracy at a time when world events were rapidly overtaking such optimism in the future. In Anscombe's hands the style of modern American architecture became inextricably linked with the production of a modern New Zealand identity.

Practical Matters

In 1928 American architectural historian Fiske Kimball wrote of the early twentieth century that in 'the British colonies American influence was great: the architecture of Canada, Australia and New Zealand became predominantly American in its style. An urge to simplicity and clarity of form made itself felt all over the world.' Then, as now, New Zealand architects and architectural historians may have found Kimball's viewpoint rather overstated. Harder to deny, however, would have been the impact of American architectural technology, given the coverage accorded this subject in contemporary building journals. As Wellington architect William Fielding observed in 1930 'it will generally be conceded that in no part of the world has science been applied to the problems of building with greater success than in the United States'. Having canvassed the impact of American styles upon New Zealand architecture it is now time to examine the functional lessons that American architects had to offer their New Zealand colleagues, although, as will soon become apparent, style cannot be entirely forsaken in this narrative.

Henry-Russell Hitchcock wrote in 1970 that '[f]rom the first ... it would seem that the outside world has looked to the United States ... for architectural ideas that were organizational and technical'. In support of this contention he cited, amongst a number of other examples, the American hotel, which by the mid-nineteenth century was influential

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259 F. Kimball, American Architecture, Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis & New York, 1928, p. 186. A copy of this book was presented to Canterbury College by the Carnegie Corporation of New York on 20/10/1932. (The last digit on the date stamp in this book is not legible.)
260 See Chapter 5, 'Keeping America at Bay', for an account of New Zealand architects' responses to American architecture.
261 Fielding, p. 140.
abroad thanks to its typical large scale and generous provision of amenities. As has already been noted, the architecture of some New Zealand hotels, especially those built at resorts between the world wars, was predicated upon an American association between typology and style that was considered appealing, and therefore useful, to local architects and their clients. New Zealand interest in American hotels did not, however, stop at options for the ornamental treatment of the facade and the principal interior spaces. In planning and amenities too the American hotel, as can be said of a number of other building types, had a distinctive character that was recognised independently of stylistic considerations, both by New Zealand designers and the people for whom they worked.

In 1917 Progress observed of Wellington’s Midland Hotel that it ‘is in the living quarters upstairs where travellers will experience a touch of American luxury.’ By the 1910s, thanks to eyewitness accounts of travel in the United States, which were published in both the professional and popular press, many New Zealanders would have understood what the reporter meant by this remark. In the Christchurch Press, for example, readers were told in 1897 of George Stead’s travels through the United States on his way to Britain and of his experience of staying in Chicago’s Auditorium Hotel (Adler & Sullivan, 1886-90). Stead, who was the owner of the daily newspaper, described the Auditorium Hotel as ‘probably the most palatial in the world’ and explained to one of his reporters that the ‘American plan’ at such a hotel meant that the daily accommodation tariff included all meals, whether they were eaten or not. Similarly, William Crichton’s effusive praise for American architecture after

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his 1914 visit to the U.S.A. was particularly focused upon the hotels of that nation.\textsuperscript{267} Published in the N.Z.I.A.'s \textit{Journal of Proceedings}, Crichton's account noted that American 'hotels are remarkably fine and well-appointed.... Even in those of lesser importance, there are frequently to be found complete bedroom suites each with its separate bath and lavatories.'\textsuperscript{268}

American 'comfort and convenience' in hotel accommodation, Horace Massey informed the readers of the \textit{Press} in 1922, was defined by the provision of hot water, central heating, and private bathrooms and telephones in each guest bedroom.\textsuperscript{269} In Dunedin, almost 40 years earlier, Louis Boldini designed the Grand Hotel (1883) after one of its proprietors had travelled to the United States to inspect contemporary hotel design.\textsuperscript{270} Although individual guestrooms were not provided with private baths at the Grand, a 'powerful Otis elevator' was installed to give guests the choice of ascending to the upper floors by lift or by the 'fine stairway' provided.\textsuperscript{271} American inventor Elisha Graves Otis had exhibited the first modern safety elevator at the New York Crystal Palace Exposition of 1853 and the Otis Elevator Company that he founded went on to become world leaders in elevator engineering.\textsuperscript{272} The \textit{Otago Daily Times} reported that hundreds of people attended the opening of Boldini's hotel in October 1883 and were 'astonished at the magnificence and taste of the interior work and fittings.'\textsuperscript{273} Messrs. J. and J. Watson's efforts to create a first class establishment based on their experience of American models were thus suitably vindicated.

\textsuperscript{267} W. Crichton, 'Travelling Experiences', \textit{The N.Z.I.A. Journal of Proceedings}, Vol. 3, No. 6, July 1915, pp. 14-20. This article was based upon a paper presented by Crichton to the Wellington branch of the N.Z.I.A. on 26 February 1915.

\textsuperscript{268} Ibid., p. 14.

\textsuperscript{269} \textit{The Press}, 20 September 1922, p. 4.


\textsuperscript{271} \textit{The Cyclopedia of New Zealand - Volume 4, Otago and Southland Provincial Districts}, Cyclopedia Co. Ltd, Christchurch, 1905, p. 319.

\textsuperscript{272} According to Geoffrey Thornton the first electrical passenger lift was not installed in a New Zealand building until 1902. G. Thornton, \textit{New Zealand's Industrial Heritage}, Reed, Wellington, 1982, p. 95.
By 1930 Massey’s list of features common to ‘practically every hotel’ he encountered in the United States could be found in Wellington’s Hotel St George, which opened in that year.274 Designed by W.J. Prouse in the Art Deco style, Hotel St George was hailed as a ‘boon to the travelling public’ when it opened in December 1930 (see fig. 66). As the Dominion reported

[i]f it has been true in the past that New Zealand was behind the times in regard to hotel accommodation, it is a truth no longer, for the Hotel St George, it is claimed, vies with anything to be found in the Old Country, on the Continent of Europe, or in the United States. ... Every bedroom contains a combination boot cupboard and luggage rack, is equipped with a telephone, and has its own bathroom adjoining. ... There are over 100 bedrooms in all, commodious in size, ... each having its own tiled bathroom attached with hot and cold water, shower, etc. ... The whole of the building is warmed by central heating. ... On the opening day there were guests from Philadelphia and other parts of the United States, Australia, and from all quarters of the Dominion – full proof of the splendid accommodation and service which have been provided.275

If any of those guests had read the most recent issue of *Art in New Zealand* they would have been reminded again of the leading role American architects were taking in contemporary hotel design. In it William Fielding observed that ‘it is in the evolution of the modern hotels and apartment buildings that the American architects have risen to the demands made upon them’.276 Measured against Massey’s description, and Field’s experience, the Hotel St George was an American hotel built in New Zealand.

In other similar buildings, which like the hotel were semi-public in nature, American planning innovations were also adopted in New Zealand in the early twentieth century. In 1911 for example, *Progress* reported that Edmund Anscombe’s design for the lavatories at Otago Girls’ High School (1909-10) ‘are arranged on the American principle, a system entirely new

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274 *The Press*, 20 September 1922, p. 4.


276 Fielding, p. 143.
What that principal was, however, was not explained to the reader. In the same issue Anscombe's new YMCA in Dunedin was given slightly more extended coverage. 'In the plans many features are introduced that will be absolutely new so far as New Zealand is concerned, owing to the fact that Mr. Anscombe spent five years in the United States of America for the express purpose of studying American methods of building construction and planning.'

William Gummer’s Auckland YWCA building of 1917-18 (now demolished, fig. 49) featured an American self-service cafeteria. In the 1910s the management of the YWCA in Auckland closely followed that of its American sister organisation, with *The Handbook of the Young Women’s Christian Association Movement* (USA, 1914) becoming the template for the services offered by the association. Although the YWCA had been founded in Britain it was in the United States that the first professional training for management of the association was offered. As Sandra Coney relates in *Every Girl*, Elsie Griffin was appointed general secretary of the Auckland association in 1917 after two years of study in New York. Henceforth, hallowe’en parties and the self-service cafeteria became two of the most visible signs of the considerable impact the American YWCA had upon the Auckland organisation at this time. Coney suggests that the cafeteria may have been the first such lunchroom in the city. Just three years before the opening of the upper Queen Street building, William Crichton’s account of his ‘travelling experiences’ in the United States had included the following observation. ‘I was particularly struck by the Caffeteria [sic], of which there are several, as being a very up-to-date quick lunch institution, ... on the “self-help” principle.’ In 1917

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277 *Progress*, Vol. 6, No. 10, 1 August 1911, p. 774.
278 Ibid., p. 773.
281 Ibid., p. 92. Crichton, p. 15.
New Zealand architects would have been aware of the advent of the cafeteria, through the publication of such descriptions, although in the case of the Auckland YWCA it is the clients who must be credited with the introduction of this American innovation.

In church design too American buildings could offer a distinctive planning solution that was taken up by New Zealand architects to address the requirements of a specific client group. Such was the case with a church plan adopted by Church of Christ congregations in Christchurch and Wellington. The Akron plan originated in Akron, Ohio and was initially associated with Methodist church design. From the 1850s on, with the development of the Sunday school as an integral component of Protestant worship, American church plans had been progressively enlarged to accommodate classrooms. In the Akron plan, which dates from 1866, radial classrooms were arranged around a large school assembly room that communicated with them through glass folding doors. In this way the entire Sunday school could be brought together for lectures and then dispersed to individual rooms for group work. By the 1890s the Akron plan had become the standard design type for Methodist churches in the United States. At the same time it was also adopted by other Protestant denominations, which were affiliated with one another through the auspices of the International Sunday School Association. That association had been promoted by the evangelist Dwight L. Moody whose transatlantic mission activity was discussed in the previous chapter.

A New York architect, George Washington Kramer, has been credited with popularising the Akron plan, which he published in *The What, How and Why of Church Building* in 1897. Kramer also modified the plan for some of his clients, devising the ‘combination church’

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282 See Tallmadge, pp.192, 271.
wherein the Sunday school opened into the sanctuary of the church when the occasion demanded increased accommodation for either the adult congregation or the Sunday school. William Gray Young's Church of Christ in Wellington (1915, fig. 45) was 'planned in [sic] the American principle of the church and schoolroom connected so that for large meetings both rooms could be used together.'285 Dunedin architect C. Fleming MacDonald's church for the sect in Christchurch (1913, demolished) followed the same approach.286 Elements of the MacDonald church which were characteristic of the combination Akron plan include the raked floor, corner pulpit and curved pews.287 Stylistically both buildings might be loosely described as Romanesque Revival, which was the common style for many Akron plan churches in the United States.288 As Kramer was a member of the Disciples of Christ, later known as the Associated Churches of Christ, it naturally follows that the appearance of the Akron plan in New Zealand would be in association with this minor Protestant sect.289 Although the Akron plan was officially out of favour with the Protestant church in the United States by the 1910s, many churches following this plan were built up until c.1930 and so the New Zealand churches are not as retardataire as they might at first appear.290 Once again, as in the case of the YWCA in Auckland, the adoption of an American planning device was client driven.

The Church of Christ, like the YWCA and a number of other Protestant sects discussed in the previous chapter, was one outcome of nineteenth-century progressivism. Upon their

288 Tallmadge, p.193. MacDonald also designed the Church of Christ in Oamaru (1910) but here he used lancet windows and a crenellated tower. Knight, Church Building in Otago, pp. 219-20. The 1926 St Andrew Street Church of Christ in Dunedin, designed by local architect D.C. Mowat, was similar to the Christchurch church in its style and massing. C. Croft, Dunedin Churches – Past and Present, Otago Settlers Association, Dunedin, 1999, p. 97.
introduction to New Zealand new churches and new social movements that had originated or been vigorously developed in the United States brought with them architectural devices that created a link between the two nations that was simultaneously physical and cultural. In the same vein buildings for automobiles and the exhibition of motion pictures helped to create a built environment within New Zealand towns and cities that, in use and appearance, referenced American design solutions and social experiences.

It has been said that by 1920 every other car in the world was an American Model 'T' Ford (see fig. 54).291 ‘With Fords in the lead’, American cars dominated automobile imports into New Zealand less than a decade after the Ford Motor Company had been established (1903).292 At the same time the local industry that attended their production and consumption was also becoming increasingly indebted to American models. In 1913, for example, a new motor garage then being erected for the Dexter and Crozier Motor Importing Company in Christchurch was reported as having ‘two large turntables [for the movement of automobiles], built on the latest American principle’.293 Described as ‘the largest motor garage in New Zealand’, the Company's brick premises provided both garaging for cars and a showroom in which a Cadillac, amongst other makes, was on display.294 Company principal David Crozier had become the first foreign agent for the Cadillac Company after he had visited the United States in 1903 and the Dexter and Crozier Cadillac display was one of the motoring highlights at Christchurch’s International Exhibition of 1906-7.295

293 The Press, 31 March 1913, p. 10.
294 Ibid., p. 10.
295 MacLean & Joyce, pp. 54, 96-7.
Garages and other automobile related buildings proliferated as the car became a staple of New Zealand's inter-war economy.\textsuperscript{296} In addition to the countless service station buildings erected during this period,\textsuperscript{297} the dominance of American models within the local car market justified the construction of a manufacturing plant for the Ford Motor Company in New Zealand. Wellington firm King & Dawson were specialists in motor garage design and their long association with Ford in New Zealand commenced in 1915.\textsuperscript{298} In 1920 Joseph Dawson designed a building fronting Wellington's Courtenay Place for the Colonial Motor Company, holders of the national Ford franchise (fig. 53). Nine storeys in height the car assembly plant stood back from the street behind a pre-existing three-storey building (1913). Car assembly began at roof level and completed vehicles could be driven away from the ground floor. This procedure followed the progressive assembly model instituted and rapidly refined at the Highland Park plant built by Henry Ford at Dearborn, Michigan in 1910.\textsuperscript{299} In the early 1910s Ford's engineers devised 'a new architecture of production in which the imperatives of management were transmitted and enforced not merely by foremen but by the very architecture of the workplace whose interlocking mechanical processes dictated the pattern

\textsuperscript{296} In the late 1920s concern in Christchurch about the 'multiplication' of petrol service stations was such that the City Council commissioned its City Engineer to devise two standard plans for use throughout the city. The council was powerless, however, to insist that these designs be used. \textit{The Press}, 5 July 1927, p. 9. City Engineer's Department, Report on the Petrol Service Stations, Christchurch City Council, 26 June 1928, pp. 26-7. See also A.R. Galbraith, City of Christchurch City Engineer's Report on Petrol Filling Stations, 1 July 1927. Both reports held in Christchurch City Council archives.

\textsuperscript{297} That the petrol station had entered the lexicon of building types of interest to architects by the early 1930s may be seen from an N.Z.I.A. sponsored student competition published in the Institute's \textit{Journal} in April 1934. 'Competition No. 1 – A Petrol Station' was won by F.K. Malcolm of Napier. Stylistically Malcolm's design followed the Spanish Mission Revival, with corbelled eaves and clay tile roof. The drive-through pump area was treated as an open loggia. \textit{Journal of the N.Z.I.A.}, April 1934, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 14-15.


\textsuperscript{299} http://www.wcc.govt.nz/wellington/heritage/pg110.html P.J. Ling, \textit{America and the Automobile: Technology, Reform and Social change}, Manchester University Press, Manchester & New York, 1990, p. 141. Sidney and Alfred Luttrell's Nugget Polish Company building (Christchurch, 1923-4) was also designed so that the raw materials were brought together at one end of the factory and 'the finished article emerges near the entrance, and a minimum amount of time and labour is thus expended on the finished product.' \textit{The Press}, 29 November 1923, p. 4.
and pace of the work.\textsuperscript{300} With the construction of the Wellington assembly plant not only was a reliable and modestly priced American car made more accessible to the New Zealand public, but the Ford Company’s rationalised employment practices and the architectural envelope that contained them also became a highly visible part of the urban landscape in the capital city.\textsuperscript{301}

By 1920 the Ford Motor Company of Canada Ltd had been in existence for 16 years and it was this affiliate company that held the exclusive right to make and sell Ford vehicles in New Zealand, as well as in a number of other British colonies and dependencies. It was therefore Ford-Canada who commissioned King & Dawson to oversee the design the company’s new car factory at Lower Hutt in 1935. As the Canadian operation was largely owned by Ford-US, however, and the 1904 agreement between the two companies had specified that Henry Ford ‘would furnish [Ford-Canada] with patents, plans, drawings, and specifications needed to build Ford automobiles’, it can be said that the Lower Hutt plant was also American in design.\textsuperscript{302}

Plans for the factory arrived from North America with company representatives in October 1935. Shortly thereafter the prefabricated steel framework also arrived from Canada. King & Dawson were responsible for producing the detailed specifications and working drawings required before the contractors could erect Ford’s standardised design.\textsuperscript{303} Completed in stages over the next two years, the Lower Hutt plant, like that built for Ford in Wellington, was entirely focused upon the mass-production of standardised cars along a progressive assembly

\textsuperscript{300} Ling, p. 138.
\textsuperscript{301} Ibid., pp. 145-8.
\textsuperscript{302} M. Wilkins & F.E. Hill, \textit{America business abroad: Ford on six continents}, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1964, p. 18. As Wilkins and Hill relate the Canadian enterprise was particularly attractive to Ford as it was hoped that such an arrangement would allow the company to circumvent British imperial preferential tariffs. Op. cit., pp. 18-19.
\textsuperscript{303} Gatley, pp. 23-4.
line (fig. 70). Production began even before the plant was completed and reached a pre-war annual peak of 5,875 vehicles in 1938.304 ‘[P]ublic interest in the [new] building and its operations was such that two guided tours of about thirty to forty people were give daily’ in the late 1930s.305

According to Julia Gatley, the scale of the Ford factory’s glass curtain walls on the north, east and south elevations was unprecedented in New Zealand industrial architecture.306 That Lower Hutt should have been the location of such a pioneering building was no coincidence as local borough councils had been actively encouraging manufacturers to establish operations within the district since the 1920s.307 In this respect Lower Hutt had competition from nearby Petone, where two other major American manufacturing concerns, Colgate-Palmolive and General Motors, were based.308 The latter had begun assembling cars in New Zealand in 1926 and its Petone building was unique because ‘it was the first overseas plant to commence operations in Company-owned premises rather than in leased facilities.’309 The centenary history of the borough records that the factory represented ‘General Motors’ recognition of the potential market of the Dominion, now one of the world’s most highly motorised

304 This figure presented over 17% of Ford-Canada’s overseas sales. M. Wilkins & F.E. Hill, America business abroad: Ford on six continents, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1964, p. 442.


309 General Motors New Zealand Limited Celebrates Fifty Years of Progress, General Motors New Zealand Ltd, Upper Hutt, 1976, np.
countries.310

Considerably more utilitarian in appearance than Ford's Lower Hutt plant, the General Motors building was also planned to accommodate a progressive assembly line and featured large areas of glazing within a steel framework. When alterations and additions were made to the factory by Wellington architect Stanley Fearn in 1939, a mural by Marcus King in the entrance foyer depicted in silhouette the G.M. headquarters in the United States and the company's Petone buildings.311 Modernity of design was inextricably linked with modern processes of manufacturing and industrial management in plants such as these. They were highly visible, given the large scale of their operations, and economically and socially significant, due to their large workforces and the products they produced.312 That both Ford and General Motors dedicated their plants to war production as soon as New Zealand entered the war is one indication of the degree of integration possible between American corporations and their local host economies before 1940.313 Testimony to the adaptability of the modern American factory was that Bren gun carriers, mortar bombs and reconditioned vehicles could be produced in factories built to assemble Fords, Buicks and Chevrolets.314

More visible still than the American-built factory in New Zealand, both architecturally and in its geographic spread, the movie theatre represented a synthesis of American technical ingenuity and cultural production that was embraced by New Zealanders just as

310 Petone's First Hundred Years: A Historical Record of Petone's Progress from 1840 to 1940, Messrs L.T. Watkins for Petone Borough Council, Wellington, 1940, p. 166. See also 1926-1951: A Quarter Century of Achievement, General Motors New Zealand Limited, Petone, 1951, p. 3.
311 Home & Building, Vol. 3, No. 4, August 1939, pp. 27, 29.
313 Gatley, 'For(war)d Thinking: The Ford Building, Seaview', p.25. General Motors New Zealand Limited Celebrates Fifty Years of Progress, np.
enthusiastically as the automobile. Neither the car nor the motion picture was an American invention but in the United States both were given 'a special cultural form' that created narratives of travel and leisure that defined a way of life for the American middle class. Those same narratives were transmitted abroad, conveyed in part by the technology of building.

In 1975 Reyner Banham wrote that in Europe, during 'the first great craze for Americana in the nineteen twenties', the United States 'was exporting nothing architecturally' in the field of cinema design. Banham acknowledged, however, that the 'machinery to project the films, reproduce the sound, control the lighting, operate the mighty organ and air-condition the interior was nearly all of U.S. origin or based on American developments.' In 1945 local film critic Gordon Mirams counted 525 cinemas in New Zealand and calculated that there was one theatre seat for every six residents in a population of approximately 1.5 million. Second only to the Americans themselves in cinema patronage, New Zealanders had been flocking to the movies for almost 50 years by the time Mirams' book on film in New Zealand was published. Stylistically the cinemas built throughout the country may have ultimately owed their appearance to European models, but overwhelmingly they showed American films, distributed by American companies, on American equipment.

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318 Ibid., p. 70.
319 Mirams, p. 6.
320 Mirams, p. 5.
321 The Christchurch *Press* reported, somewhat breathlessly, in 1918 that the tower of the new Crystal Palace theatre would be 'illuminated at night by seven powerful X-ray floodlights similar to those used to light up the tower of jewels at the San Francisco exhibition.' The cinema's screen had been 'made especially to the company's order in America, and [was] the first of its kind in use in the Dominion' and the Spencer turbine vacuum cleaning plant had also been made to order 'from plans of the building furnished to the manufacturers in America'. After the 'talkies' were introduced to New Zealand in 1929 American firm Western Electric became the national supplier of cinema sound systems. *The Press*, 22 January 1918, p. 8. N.J. Elliott, 'ANZAC,
Occasionally those same films were viewed under a canopy of twinkling stars; pinpricks of electric light illusionistically arranged over the auditorium’s ceiling in what was known as an atmospheric theatre. First developed by John Eberson for the Majestic Theatre in Houston, Texas (1923), the atmospheric theatre sought to persuade the cinema-goer that they were in fact out of doors within a fantastic exotic setting. Wellington’s Regent (Cedric Ballantyne, 1926), Dunedin’s Empire (Edmund Anscombe, 1927-8), Auckland’s Civic (Bohringer, Taylor & Johnson, 1929, fig. 60) and Christchurch’s Regent (J.S. Guthrie, 1929-30) were all built as atmospheric theatres following Eberson’s lead.

Guthrie adopted the Spanish Colonial style for the interior of the new Regent Theatre in Christchurch’s Cathedral Square. The cinema’s projection room was patterned after those in the theatres of New York and the screen had been specially made in the United States. The validity of Banham’s thesis must thus be questioned in the New Zealand context. The atmospheric theatre was a distinctively American mode of cinema design and, it can be argued, Guthrie’s attempt ‘to recapture the grandeur and charm of old Spain’ did in fact reference contemporary American architectural style. Indeed Auckland architect Hugh Grierson had told the annual meeting of the N.Z.I.A. in 1923 that ‘America … leads the way in the moving picture development. … [It] has developed the picture theatre into a luxurious

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opera house and concert hall, with gorgeous stage settings and decorations combined with the best music, and even the sense of smell is pandered to by the induction of a scented atmosphere into the building.326 American movies, projected on to American screens, were shown within American-inspired architectural settings in New Zealand in the 1920s and 1930s. Just as New Zealanders got to know Americans, albeit superficially, through the medium of film, future research may also one day reveal the extent to which local knowledge of American architecture was conferred by the motion pictures themselves, as much as by the buildings in which they were shown.327

'Architectural influence is not exercised by moving ... architects about', wrote Reyner Banham in the same essay of 1975.328 One architect pertinent to this discussion of building technology did, however, make a significant contribution to the architecture of New Zealand having moved from Scotland to California and thence to Wellington in the late nineteenth century. Thomas Turnbull (1824-1907) began his career in the office of Her Majesty's Architect for Scotland. In 1851 he left Scotland and over the next twenty years practised in Melbourne (1851-61) and San Francisco (1861-71).329 In 1872 Turnbull settled in Wellington, where he established a highly successful practice. Based upon his professional experience and observations in San Francisco, particularly at the time of the 1868 earthquake, Turnbull claimed to be able to build earthquake-resistant brick buildings.330 His knowledge in this area finally enabled Wellington to acquire major public buildings constructed from permanent materials, as the risk of earthquakes had hitherto discouraged

327 See Albrecht, Designing Dreams.
328 Banham, p. 71.
architects from erecting masonry buildings.\textsuperscript{331} The former National Mutual Life Association building (1884) and the former Bank of New Zealand head office building (1899-1901, fig. 20) are representative of Turnbull's important contribution to the inner-city architecture of the capital as a result of his American experience.\textsuperscript{332}

Turnbull outlined his knowledge of earthquake-resistant construction before the Wellington Philosophical Society in 1888, in reply to society president W.M. Maskell, who had condemned the ability of Wellington's architecture to withstand a major earthquake.\textsuperscript{333} In a paper titled 'Earthquakes and Architecture' the architect recalled his experience of the San Francisco earthquake he had witnessed and asserted his confidence in brick construction in the capital provided it was carefully undertaken. Turnbull also rebutted Maskell's assertion that tall buildings were less safe in earthquakes than low ones, but did agree with him that city by-laws regarding construction methods needed to be made more explicit.\textsuperscript{334}

In the same paper Turnbull described his use of timber floating foundations beneath a masonry building for Messrs W. & G. Turnbull (1876, demolished) on Wellington's harbourside reclamation. He advocated this type of foundation on the basis that 'they were not costly, and had stood the earthquakes well in San Francisco'.\textsuperscript{335} At the same time, the architect reminded his audience that California and New Zealand shared similar building conditions, and described to them a method of mixing cement that he had learnt from two French architects in San Francisco.\textsuperscript{336} Thus Turnbull's expertise in the field of earthquake-
resistant construction was made available to his fellow architects in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{337} American building technology in use in California was shown to have special significance for architects in Wellington, who were at that time charged with generating an appropriate architectural image for the nation’s capital in buildings that acknowledged the constant threat of earthquakes to that city. Thomas Turnbull's high profile within the local architectural community, as well as the prestige commissions he successfully completed, would have further encouraged architects, and building contractors, to examine and adopt the techniques he promoted.\textsuperscript{338}

In addition to his exemplary contribution to local masonry construction practices, Thomas Turnbull has also been hailed as a pioneer in the use of American balloon framing in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{339} Diane Wynn-Williams cites both Turnbull and Dunedin architect F.W. Petre as employing this framing technique, independently of one another, in the early 1870s.\textsuperscript{340} Petre had likely ‘acquired his knowledge of the technique during his journey through the United States en route to New Zealand in 1872’.\textsuperscript{341} Colonial Architect William Clayton, for whom Turnbull had briefly worked in 1871, was also familiar with the balloon frame, proposing its use in the construction of the General Government Offices of 1873-6 (Wellington).\textsuperscript{342} As the Australian timber merchants contracted to this project were unable to supply framing of sufficient length, however, this component of the design had had to be abandoned.\textsuperscript{343}

\textsuperscript{338} Turnbull was elected President of the Wellington Association of Architects at its formation in 1892. Cochran, p. 553.
\textsuperscript{340} Balloon framing was first used in Chicago in the early 1830s. See P.E. Sprague, 'The Origin of Balloon Framing', \textit{Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians}, Vol. 40, No. 4, December 1981, pp. 311-19.
\textsuperscript{341} Wynn-Williams, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{342} According to Peter Richardson, Turnbull was 'almost certainly Clayton's informant about American architectural practice.' P.G. Richardson, 'Building the Dominion: Government Architecture in New Zealand, 1840-1922', PhD, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 1997, p. 227.
\textsuperscript{343} Richardson, p. 230.
Platform frames were used instead, with the studs for each floor were separated by the intervening floor joists, rather than extending through two storeys, as they would have done in a balloon-framed structure.\(^{344}\)

The balloon frame was a method of timber framing that was quick to erect and largely independent of the skilled carpenters required to assemble conventional framing (see fig. 10). J.M. Freeland credits its introduction in Australia to the Californian diggers who flocked to the goldfields of Ballarat and Bendigo during the 1850s.\(^ {345}\) The current implication that the balloon frame did not appear in this country until the early 1870s therefore seems remarkable given the network of people and resources created by the succession of nineteenth-century Pacific Rim gold rushes.\(^ {346}\) Until future research into the history of timber construction in New Zealand can be undertaken, however, the early history of the balloon frame in New Zealand, and the extent to which Turnbull and his contemporaries used this American framing method, will remain elusive.\(^ {347}\)

New Zealand architects' continued reliance upon their American peers in the field of earthquake-resistant construction is much easier to elucidate. In *Progress* and the Institute of Architects' *Journal*, American methods of earthquake resistant construction were constantly...

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\(^{345}\) Freeland, *Architecture in Australia*, p. 104.

\(^{346}\) See Chapter One. In *Built in New Zealand* William Toomath suggests that the balloon frame was 'likely to have come with the miners and their followers' during the 1860s and that by the 1880s the 'all-nailed “four by two”' frame had superseded the traditional mortise and tenon system as the standard method used in timber construction. Toomath, p. 88.

\(^{347}\) Such research could also offer a context within which to locate the N.Z. Railway Department's efforts in the early 1920s to increase production of workers' housing by establishing a house factory at Frankton, near Hamilton. To produce pre-cut houses, which could be assembled in about two weeks, 'special machinery [w]as imported from America – the home of the factory-house system'. The factory (1921-2) was designed by George Troup, Officer-in-Charge of the N.Z.R.'s Architectural Branch, who made official visits to the United States in 1908 and 1924. A few months after production at Frankton had begun *Progress* noted that factory had established a precedent that 'should have an important effect in securing the general adoption in New Zealand of
put before the profession throughout the early twentieth century. In reporting the occurrence
of a major earthquake in San Francisco in 1906 Progress admonished its readers that the
'calamity that has befallen San Francisco should not altogether pass unheeded by the
progressionists of New Zealand'. Subsequent issues provided progress reports on the
reconstruction of the Californian city and highlighted the construction methods best suited to
withstand both earthquakes and the fires that typically followed them. That an interest in,
and awareness of, American building technology in this domain was not restricted to the
profession can be seen from the events surrounding the design and construction of
Wellington's Public Trust building (1905-8, fig. 27).

As Peter Richardson relates, 'a design for the Public Trust Office by the San Francisco firm,
Reid Brothers, was registered by New Zealand's Public Works Department' in 1901. At
that time Chief Government Architect John Campbell (1857-1942) was just back from a visit
to the United States, which had included San Francisco in its itinerary. Thomas Turnbull,
Richardson suggests, may also have had some input into the decision to approach the Reids,
although the firm was not established until long after Turnbull had left California. It
would appear, however, that the key figure in this American commission was Prime Minister
Richard Seddon, at whose request the Reid brothers were engaged.

Despite government 'concerns about the ability of multi-storey masonry structures to


The Journal of the N.Z.I.A. was equally devoted to reporting discussions spurred by the 1925 Santa Barbara earthquake. Journal of the N.Z.I.A., Vol. 5, No. 4, September 1926, pp. 91-2. See also Chapter 5.

Richardson, p. 306.

Ibid. James and Merritt Reid established their practice in 1889 and specialised in commercial, church, residential and hotel designs. Biographical Collection, California Historical Society, San Francisco.
withstand earthquakes’, which were heightened by an earthquake that hit Wellington in August of 1904, the Reid design was rejected by Campbell’s office.\textsuperscript{353} The 1906 San Francisco earthquake had a more salutary affect upon the design process, prompting Seddon to insist once again upon the use of a steel frame for the building. In the design and tendering process that ensued the Reid proposal was dropped in favour of a Public Works-designed, riveted steel frame, said to be the first of its kind in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{354} Thus, although a California design was eventually passed over for a cheaper indigenous option, the terms of discussion were set, and the final design greatly influenced, by American experience and practice.\textsuperscript{355}

The steel frame of Wellington’s Public Trust Office was ‘calculated to prevent the separation of the walls of a building under the stress of earthquake shocks.’\textsuperscript{356} It was concealed behind a layer of brick and stone that suggested to the passer-by that this was in fact a masonry structure.\textsuperscript{357} As built the Public Trust Office, New Zealand’s most significant example of Edwardian Baroque architecture, is therefore a hybrid creation; marrying British imperial architectural imagery with American architectural technology.\textsuperscript{358} Furthermore, its design


\textsuperscript{353} Richardson, pp. 306, 308.

\textsuperscript{354} \textit{Progress}, Vol. 3, No. 10, 1 August 1908, p. 339.

\textsuperscript{355} It is interesting to note, however, that in profiling the Reid Brothers’ practice a 1911 California publication included mention of ‘their selection by the New Zealand Government for the building of a public trust department in Wellington.’ E.A. Davis, \textit{Davis’ Encyclopedia of the Pacific Southwest}, Berkeley, 1911, p. 209; Biographical Collection, California Historical Society, San Francisco.

\textsuperscript{356} \textit{Progress}, Vol. 3, No. 10, 1 August 1908, p. 339.

\textsuperscript{357} The office buildings erected for the Equitable Life Assurance Society of America in Sydney (1890-5) and Melbourne (1892-6) employed the same composite structure of a steel frame concealed behind massive, partially load-bearing masonry walls. Both were designed by the company’s own American architect, Edward Raht. Freeland, \textit{Architecture in Australia}, p. 249. See also Johnson, p. 14.

\textsuperscript{358} The same could be said of significant contemporary English buildings, such as Mewés and Davis’ Ritz Hotel (London, 1903-6) and Belcher and Joass’ Mappin House (London, 1906-8), in which steel frame structures were also concealed behind elaborate Edwardian façades. Leading American architect Daniel Burnham was retained as consultant for the design of Selfridge’s Department in London (1907-9, completed 1928). Behind the monumental classical façade is a steel frame designed by Albert Miller on Burnham’s behalf. A. Service, \textit{Edwardian Architecture – A Handbook to Building Design in Britain, 1890-1914}, Thames and Hudson, London,
history is illustrative of the ambivalent response to American architectural innovation sometimes made by local members of the profession. Rather than seeing this separation of form and function as a weakness of the design, however, the hybridity of the Public Trust Office might be viewed as a statement of architectural independence; the global language of British imperial style successfully reconciled with local concerns about safe construction under American auspices.

In the same decade as the Public Trust Office was erected New Zealand architects also began to give architectural expression to the steel frame, thereby adopting American structural and stylistic solutions to the problem of the multi-storey building. In 1908, for example, Hoggard and Prouse designed a four-storey building for Cadbury Bros. Ltd in Wellington that brought together steel frame construction with the rudiments of the Chicago skyscraper style.

Jack Hoggard had been in San Francisco at the time of the 1906 earthquake and it was reported soon after the completion of the Cadbury’s building that the firm had ‘made a special study in America’ of steel-framed structures and considered them to be ‘especially adapted for the conditions of Wellington which has experienced some tolerable “shakes” within the last fifty years.’ Plans for the building were approved by the parent company in England but the construction was ‘the latest American type of skeleton steel frame; that is the steel frame carries the entire weight of the walls and reinforced concrete floors, the brickwork being simply of sufficient thickness to make the walls weatherproof.’

359 See Chapter 5 for a continuation of this discussion.
361 Progress, Vol. 3, No. 12, 1 October 1908, p. 425; Vol. 4, No. 9, 1 July 1909, p. 316.
contemporary report in *Progress* went on to observe that it 'will be readily seen that this form of construction is of great advantage in Wellington, where the saving of wall space is a consideration, owing to the high price of land.' The risk of earthquakes was therefore no longer the only incentive local architects had in adopting American construction methods, as commercial imperatives began to exert a greater influence upon architectural design.

It has been said that 'whoever studies the skyscraper, studies America' because it has come to be regarded as 'America's most characteristic representative in the domain of architecture.' At four storeys high the Cadbury's building could scarcely be described as a skyscraper, either in American or even contemporary New Zealand terms. When Alfred and Sidney Luttrell designed two commercial buildings in the first decade of the twentieth century, however, the introduction of the skyscraper to New Zealand was unequivocal. In the skyscraper, American style and construction are indivisible. More than any other, this building type encapsulates both the formal and functional aspects of the American influence upon New Zealand architecture prior to the Second World War. The skyscraper therefore brings this chapter to a close, combining as it does the practical lessons and expressive modes of American architecture in a single edifice that transformed the real and virtual landscapes of New Zealand cities and their residents.

Tasmanian-born brothers Alfred and Sidney Luttrell established the presence of the Chicago

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364 In 1923 *Progress* reported that Wellington would soon have to consider revising its by-laws relating to the current 100 feet height limit to meet 'the growing demand for higher buildings on ... high-priced city sites'. Under the sub-heading 'Prospects of the “Sky-Scraper”' the unnamed author suggested that the setback skyscraper would likely be introduced to the city in response to this demand. *N.Z. Building Progress*, Vol. 19, No. 1, September 1923, p. 8.

skyscraper idiom with two landmark buildings for the New Zealand Express Company, one of the country’s largest carrying firms with offices throughout New Zealand. The company’s premises in Christchurch (1905-6) and Dunedin (1908-10, fig 28) combined, within the envelope of a multi-storey building, major advances in construction technology with a form of architectural expression that had originated in the United States during the 1880s and 1890s. At seven storeys high, the Express Company’s head office in Dunedin was described as ‘one of the most distinguished-looking buildings in the Dominion’ as it neared completion in October 1909. Two years earlier the company’s Christchurch branch office, which brought together all of the Express Company’s business in the city under one roof, had been hailed as the ‘tallest building in New Zealand’ (see fig. 32). At 130 feet (40 metres) from footpath to parapet, this building was christened ‘a New Zealand Skyscraper’, very likely the first edifice in the country to receive that appellation.

Erected on a corner site in the central city, the Express Company’s Christchurch office combined a reinforced concrete base of two storeys with a brick ‘shaft’ and crowning parapet. The architectural treatment of the two principal elevations, which are united by a corner tourelle, is characteristic of the Chicago School of commercial architecture in the use of subsuming arches and recessed spandrels between numerous large windows to emphasise the verticality of the building. In describing this new addition to the city skyline one reporter

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367 At a slightly earlier date the firm’s four-and-a-half storey building for the Lyttelton Times Company in Christchurch’s Cathedral Square (1902-3) had already signalled their awareness of the major stylistic elements of the Chicago style. McEwan, ‘Alfred and Sidney Luttrell - Early Commercial Architecture in Canterbury’, p. 95.
368 Progress, Vol. 4, No. 12, 1 October 1909, p. 424.
369 The Press, 21 March 1907, p. 7.
371 The parapet is no longer extant and the building is now crowned by a modern mansard roof, which is both unattractive and unsympathetic to the building’s original design.
stated that the architects were 'depending for their effect on the composition and imposing proportions rather than a lot of needless detail.'\textsuperscript{372} This was not to say that the Christchurch office building, or the models on which it was based, was devoid of ornamentation, but rather that the use of decorative motifs was regarded as being entirely subservient to the creation of a unified appearance for the building as a whole. The plainness of American commercial architecture was noted in 1909 by an unidentified New Zealand architect recently returned from the United States.\textsuperscript{373} In this characterisation, and its realisation in the Luttrell’s designs, can be heard an echo of Fiske Kimball’s 1928 assessment of the impact of American architecture abroad.\textsuperscript{374}

Structurally the Christchurch Express Company building was something of a hybrid, ‘being a compromise between the American steel frame and the ordinary colonial method.’\textsuperscript{375} According to contemporary reports, steel was freely used in its construction, but the legibility and primacy of the steel frame typical of the Chicago School was obscured here, with the steelwork either embedded in concrete or rendered secondary to masonry construction.\textsuperscript{376} Contemporary documentary evidence would suggest, however, that the local use of reinforced concrete as the medium for the construction of multi-storey American-influenced commercial buildings was born out of the need to protect the steel in the event of fire, while at the same time safeguarding the building from potential earthquake damage.\textsuperscript{377} Particularly

\textsuperscript{372} \textit{The Press}, 21 March 1907, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{374} In 1940 Paul Pascoe wrote in the issue of the Centennial publication dedicated to the nation’s public buildings: ‘After the Great War [1914-18] the majority of large office blocks were built in fire-resisting and earthquake-resisting material. The treatment of the exteriors of office buildings came more under the influence of American ideas, sometimes making for greater plainness and effects of height without elaboration of ornament.’ Pascoe, ‘Public Buildings’, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{375} \textit{The Press}, 21 June 1906, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{376} \textit{Progress}, Vol. 2, No. 3, 2 January 1907, pp. 87-8.
\textsuperscript{377} The seven-storey warehouse built for Messrs Yates & Co. in Auckland by T.W. May in 1910 used, ‘for the first time in Auckland’, steel frame construction ‘which is universal in America in erecting the famous skyscrapers’. The steel was ‘protected with concrete’. Cost may also have been a factor in the use of concrete for fireproofing, as this extract from a 1927 article by S.I. Crookes suggests. ‘To maintain that, any other than all
in the years following the 1906 San Francisco earthquake Progress carried numerous discussions and reports on this topic. The construction of Wellington firm Crichton and McKay's three storey building for the Royal Insurance Company, for example, was 'to be of concrete steel of the latest type – embodying improvements which the San Francisco earthquake showed to be necessary.' Thus the influence of Chicago commercial architecture, seen through the lens of the California experience of earthquakes, resulted in the construction of buildings that were simultaneously responsive to both American precedent and local conditions. Periodic shortages in the supply of imported steel, particularly after World War One, no doubt also contributed to the popularity of reinforced concrete over steel frame construction, although the latter was not unknown in New Zealand between the world wars.

The N.Z. Express Company's Dunedin building was built entirely from reinforced concrete. In its design the Luttrells used the stylistic language of the modern American skyscraper both to complement the innovative technology used in its construction and to establish a visual relationship between this building and the company's new office in reinforced concrete is the cheapest construction for fireproofing buildings of normal storey heights in New Zealand is simply arguing against the facts.' Weekly Press, 14 October 1910, p. 12. S.I. Crookes, 'Reinforced Concrete v. Steel Frame – Part 1 – Beam Systems', The New Zealand Architectural and Building Review, Vol. 2, No. 2, 31 August 1927, p. 13.


379 Progress, Vol. 5, No. 8, 1 June 1910, p. 281.


381 C. Fleming Macdonald, contractor for the Luttrells' Express Company building in Dunedin, was an enthusiastic proponent of reinforced concrete construction. In September 1908 he quoted P.J. Donohoe, 'architect and expert for the construction of the [San Francisco] Ferry Building' which had survived the 1906 earthquake, as saying that only reinforced concrete could solve the twin problems of fire- and earthquake-proof construction. Progress, Vol. 3, No. 11, 1 September 1908, pp.379-80; see also Vol. 3, No. 12, 1 October 1908, p. 423; Vol. 8, No. 8, April 1913, pp. 395, 397, 399, 401-3; Vol. 8, No. 9, May 1913, pp. 455-59; Vol. 8, No. 10, June 1913, pp. 511-14. Thornton, Cast in Concrete, p. 115.
Christchurch. The Express Company’s head office was the first building to be constructed in Dunedin using electricity to power the hoists and concrete mixers and it also introduced for the first time the use of precast reinforced concrete slabs manufactured off-site. The east and west elevations, given the same architectural treatment because of the building’s placement on a site bordered by two streets, each feature an arcade of subsuming arches which visually combine three floors of oriel windows between an emphatic base and a simple attic floor and cornice. The façades therefore have much in common with the external treatment of a building such as C.J. Warren’s Congress Hotel, Chicago (1892-3, with additions by Holabird & Roche, 1902, and 1907). The composition here is much bolder than that of the Christchurch building, and the overall impression is one of greater unity, but the stylistic details and their general arrangement are sufficiently similar in both buildings to establish their kinship. With these two building the Luttrells created for their clients an American-inspired corporate image by means of architectural style, building height and innovative construction methods. This image attracted considerable attention in both the popular and professional press of the day; garnering professional recognition for its designers, while at the same time highlighting the Express company’s nationwide service coverage and its commitment to the most modern office accommodation for the convenience of its customers and employees.


384 That the company was pleased with this image is further evidenced by their business premises in Wanganui, which were completed in 1914 to the design of C. Fleming McDonald. A reinforced concrete structure with steel frame windows set within a veneer of brick and cement trim, the building was three storeys in height at the front of the site and four storeys high at the rear. Its principal elevation repeated many of the compositional motifs used by the Luttrell Brothers for the Express Company’s Christchurch office, particularly at the second floor level. New Zealand Building Progress, Vol. 9, No. 10, June 1914, p. 1130. No. 989, Register of Historic Places, N.Z. Historic Places Trust, Wellington. This building is no longer extant.
Following on from their success in association with the New Zealand Express Company, Alfred and Sidney Luttrell received a commission from another major South Island business. The Kaiapoi Woollen Manufacturing Company's Christchurch office and warehouse (1907-9, demolished 1996) was designed by another prominent local architectural firm, the England Brothers. It was the Luttrells, however, who were responsible for the design of its façade, which was dominated by two boldly scaled arches which subsumed beneath them the first and second floor windows of this three-storey building. Here the Chicago skyscraper idiom was consciously used to give a comparatively low-rise elevation the visual impact of a much larger building. The resulting façade contributed an unexpected sense of monumentality to the inner-city streetscape.\footnote{Progress, Vol. 4, No. 7, 1 May 1909, pp. 224-6.} Once again the client was obviously well pleased with the Luttrells' work and in 1913, when the company erected a building in Wellesley Street, Auckland, they repeated the design formula. 'The building is to be somewhat similar to the Christchurch office, and will be of brick and concrete,' reported Progress at the time.\footnote{Ibid., Vol. 8, No. 5, January 1913, p. 273. The report does not name the architect concerned.}

In seeking to develop a recognisable and coherent architectural image, New Zealand companies such as New Zealand Express and Kaiapoi were following in the footsteps of American corporations, which had begun to appreciate the value of architecture as advertising in the late nineteenth century.\footnote{Ibid.} Company rivalry prompted the development of business architectural imagery and encouraged its dissemination beyond the central business districts of Chicago and New York, particularly as corporate branch offices proliferated throughout the United States. Architectural style, and the construction methods required to embody that style, thus became the medium by which commercial enterprises were visually distinguished from one another within the urban streetscape.
Insurance companies lead the field in applying this new use to the skyscraper. In *Business Architectural Imagery in America, 1870-1930* Kenneth Gibbs argues that such enterprises were particularly concerned with corporate architectural imagery because of a perceived need to engender public confidence and the real need such companies had to 'find outlets for their larger capital reserves'. In New Zealand insurance companies initiated major corporate building projects between the wars. Clere and Clere's Australian Mutual Provident Society's New Zealand head office (Wellington, completed 1928, fig. 57), for example, is a nine-storey steel frame building in the Italian Renaissance palazzo style. Like the former South British Insurance Company building (Auckland, 1927), designed by Grierson, Aimer and Draffin, the A.M.P. building uses the classical idiom to convey an impression of monumentality, tradition, strength and reliability. At the same time the building's bulk, quality stone cladding and prominent siting also established the image of the company as one enjoying considerable modern-day success. In the early twentieth century American business buildings were commonly classical in style because the language of classicism was considered flexible enough to accommodate the visual expression of both conservative business values and modern commercial practices. In using the palazzo style for their landmark building, the A.M.P. Society was also in keeping with the contemporary American trend of visually associating civic and business architecture in order to improve the public image of the latter.

Even during the Depression insurance companies in New Zealand continued to demonstrate

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392 Similarly indigenous motifs were used to heighten the identification between two financial institutions and the communities they wished to serve in the façade of Cecil Wood's Christchurch State Fire Insurance office of
their concern for the value of business architectural imagery. In Wellington two major Depression-era building projects were undertaken for the Prudential Assurance Company and the Colonial Mutual Life Company (fig. 68). Both were designed in 1933 by the Australian firm of Hennessy and Hennessy and were erected on prominent sites within the capital's central business district. Terence Hodgson has noted that C.M.L. had a deliberate policy of locating their company offices on corner lots, wherever possible, so that they could maximise their impact within the streetscape. Such corner sites also increased a building's exposure to direct sunlight, upon which skyscrapers were heavily reliant before the advent of fluorescent lighting after World War Two, thereby boosting its potential rental income from premium office space. The C.M.L. building was also typical of commercial buildings of this era in that it sought to enhance its civic character by the use of what Gibbs calls ‘waste’ space, that which is unsuitable for rental purposes, for ornamental effect. This device can best be seen in the mansard roof forms of the C.M.L. building which were complemented by sculptural motifs at the uppermost level. Such decorative effects were intended to signal to the viewer that the corporate client was concerned with creating an eye-catching edifice that would be an asset to the streetscape and thus to the citizenry at large. In the United States in the decades after 1900 this trend in commercial architecture was in response to an atmosphere of ‘intensified criticism of business’. In New Zealand corporate clients and their architects appear to have adopted the solution to this problem, even if the reason for its evolution was considerably weaker, or even non-existent.

Conclusion

As Thomas van Leeuwen has written, the skyscraper signified ‘an optimistic belief in the future’, particularly during times of economic depression. More than just a symbol of modern American business practice and the United States’ ‘great gift to the art of building’, the skyscraper had become an icon of modernity by the mid-1920s. When *Building Today*, soon to be renamed *Home & Building*, was launched at the end of 1936 its striking black, red and white cover featured a step-back skyscraper in profile. Thus New Zealand’s newest magazine, ‘devoted to the interests of all … who are interested in architecture and buildings’, began its efforts to promote the development of ‘a characteristic native architecture’ using the visual language of modern American building. Any possible irony in this juxtaposition appears to have escaped the notice of the journal’s editors. By 1936 the image of the skyscraper had been assimilated into the visual culture of New Zealand, just as the motion picture and the Chevrolet had become part of the lives of many thousands of New Zealanders. By the time the United States entered the war, and began stationing troops in New Zealand, the built environment of this country was as illustrative of N.Z.-U.S. relations as the annual import-export statistics or the history of religious adherence or labour relations.

American architecture offered a wide range of useful solutions to the challenges encountered by New Zealand architects and their clients. By 1940 the California bungalow and American Colonial Revival styles had been exerting a pre-dominant influence upon New Zealand domestic architecture for more than three decades. Their visual appeal lay in their evocation

398 Van Leeuwen, p. 36.
401 See Chapter One.
of two distinct ways of life, but their use by architects and builders also represented the pragmatic choice of two styles suited to local construction methods and materials. In domestic architecture a direct personal experience of American housing by the commissioning client could also be the catalyst for a particular design. On occasion, however, the resultant design might owe more to the power of words than architectural forms in asserting the linkage between an American model and its local interpretation.

In common with the Colonial Revival, styles such as the Spanish Mission Revival and Art Deco were derived from European models but they quickly became inextricably linked with American architectural design and way of life. 'Untrammelled by the past, but with every architectural tradition from which to borrow', architects in the U.S. and in New Zealand used such styles, often in association with particular building types, to embody ideas of leisure, progressivism, regionalism or modernity. Travel to the United States facilitated the adoption of American architectural styles by some New Zealand architects but, as will be seen in the next chapter, professional publications were also a potent source of inspiration and information in this respect.

A full appreciation of the impact of American construction methods upon local practices before 1940 awaits a full-length history of the New Zealand building industry. Some preliminary conclusions can, however, be reached from an examination of the architectural periodicals that commenced publication in the early twentieth century. The need to erect earthquake resistant buildings, for example, engendered a relationship with the western seaboard of the United States; one that went beyond structural solutions to take account of stylistic models when the reconstruction of Napier and Hastings took place in the early 1930s. Britain, on the other hand, noted S. Irwin Crookes, a lecturer in Building Construction
at Auckland University College, had little to offer New Zealand in the formulation of the building codes that were devised after the Hawke’s Bay earthquake (see fig. 63).403

American buildings that had withstood the impact of such major earthquakes were cited, from at least the time of Thomas Turnbull, in support of the contention that multi-storey buildings could be built in earthquake prone regions.404 The architectural development of New Zealand’s urban centres, Wellington in particular, can in part be attributed to the positive lessons offered by American commercial architecture.

American architects established certain norms in the planning of buildings that became the benchmark for design both at home and abroad. The luxury hotel, the Akron plan church and the atmospheric theatre offered Americans and New Zealanders alike a shared experience of specific architectural spaces. In the movie theatre, the car factory and the commercial high-rise too, social and economic life took place against a backdrop that owed much to the globalisation of American design solutions and business practices.

New Zealand’s leading architects, as well as those lesser figures engaged in provincial practice, adopted the formal and functional lessons of American architecture in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The greater volume of documentary evidence available to the historian in the period after 1905 would appear to offer evidence of an increase over time in the American influence upon New Zealand building. Any such suggestion needs to be carefully interrogated, however. In the next chapter the considerable contribution made by American pattern books to the field of domestic architecture will be examined to suggest the widespread use, and influence, of such publications in nineteenth-

century New Zealand. The focus will be largely upon the vernacular environment. Within the architectural domain it might be noted here that Benjamin Mountfort, the pre-eminent Gothic Revivalist of nineteenth-century Christchurch, and Wellington’s construction pioneer, Thomas Turnbull, were almost exact contemporaries. If architectural historians were to give equal weight to style and structure in a reading of their historical significance, the multifaceted, Anglo-American nature of New Zealand architectural practise in the late nineteenth century could be more readily appreciated. That the medieval internal buttressing of Mountfort’s Anglican Cathedral of St John the Evangelist (Napier, 1886-8) could not protect it from total collapse in the Hawke’s Bay earthquake of 1931 suggests that the Christchurch architect would have been better advised to look to Turnbull’s modern American construction methods and the mission architecture of California than to the churches of Spain and Italy that were intended to safeguard his design.

In February 1939 Home & Building included amongst its pages a photograph of the winning house from the 1937 Pittsburgh Glass Institute competition. The accompanying text read: ‘Although this house was built in America it could very easily be adapted to New Zealand needs’. This chapter has been concerned with enumerating the considerable number and variety of architecturally designed buildings in New Zealand that illustrate the ‘easy adaptation’ of American architectural models over the seventy years or more prior to World War Two. The purpose of the next two chapters will be to offer reasons as to ‘how’ this was accomplished.

404 See, for example, Progress, Vol. 1, No. 12, 1 October 1906, p. 352.
407 Lochhead, A Dream of Spires, pp. 165-73.
Chapter Three

Following the American Pattern:
American Architectural Publications in New Zealand

A large proportion of the country settlers of New Zealand are compelled, by the exigencies of their location, to become their own architects, or to appeal to some bush carpenter, who has no skill in the art of designing, though, perhaps, a good enough mechanic. T.W. Leys, ed., Brett's Colonists' Guide and Cyclopaedia of Useful Knowledge, H. Brett, Auckland, 1883, p. 723.

We owe much, however, to the originality of design shown in many small American houses, and it will be seen from these pages that the best points of American house architecture are well understood here. Dominion Homes, Supplement to "Progress", Wellington Edition, Harry H. Tombs Ltd., Wellington, 1915, p. 1.

The transmission of architectural principles and practices from one country to another is facilitated by a variety of means. Overseas travel exposes individual practitioners to the architecture of another country, whilst the importation of prefabricated buildings introduces a foreign mode of design and construction to a particular community. Architectural education, which will be discussed in the next chapter, creates an intellectual milieu in which a common discourse of practice and theory can be engendered. Arguably the most potent source of information about another country's architecture is the architectural publication.\(^1\) Whether popular or professional, architectural publications constitute one of the most tangible, albeit ephemeral sources with which the historian can investigate the formulation and communication of architectural knowledge. In colonial settler-societies, where the infrastructure of architecture is initially nonexistent or, at best, embryonic, such publications addressed a need that was to

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1 R. Banham, 'Mediated Environments or: You can't build that here', Superculture: American Popular Culture and Europe, C.W.E. Bigsby, ed., Paul Elek, London, 1975, p. 71. Here Banham argues that in architecture direct 'professional influence is exercised more than any other way via professional publications'.

persist into the early twentieth century. The scope of their influence upon the built environments of both New Zealand and the United States has been increasingly acknowledged and delineated over the last 20 years. In New Zealand there is plentiful evidence to establish that American publications not only influenced individual buildings but also provided a conduit for architectural ideas and designs that were both independent of, and yet compatible with, Britain's architectural legacy.

Architectural publications can be divided into two major categories, of which the first shall be given greater consideration in this chapter. Primarily concerned with domestic architecture, nineteenth and twentieth-century pattern books and plan books democratised contemporary architectural design. By addressing the practical needs and aesthetic pretensions of home-owners who could not afford the services of an architect, as well as aiding those who wished to instruct their architect in the use of a particular design, such publications communicated style and planning advice that could then be tailored to suit local needs. Joseph Burnet's probable use of a pattern book to direct George Allen's 'design' of Oneida in the 1860s is an instance of this process that has already been discussed.

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2 This assumes a rejection of, or indifference to, indigenous architectural practices by the colonists.


5 See Chapter Two.
Journals and books intended for a readership of architectural professionals also promoted styles of architecture and conveyed information about new construction methods. Members of the profession, however, made a distinction between these sources and pattern and plan books in an effort to assert their own status within the competitive environment of domestic architecture and to underline the gulf, as they saw it, between architectural creativity and the imitative use of generic designs. That New Zealand architects closely modelled house designs upon those reproduced in American pattern books, whilst at the same time bemoaning the impoverished built environment such publications allegedly induced, is indicative of the class tension that underpins much of the narrative of American influences upon New Zealand architecture. As shall become evident, professional pride and profit were both at stake when American publications found their way into the hands of New Zealand’s architects and builders in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.6

Pattern books evolved during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Britain and the United States to meet a growing demand for information about house styles, plans and methods of construction.7 Two factors in particular generated this demand. First, the extension of Anglo-American colonial activity created the necessity for new house construction in places where an architectural infrastructure had not yet developed. Information about the principles of good house design, which could be understood by the lay person, was needed in such settlements to compensate for the absence of an architect or master builder. Second, an expanding middle class, which was fundamental to the establishment of colonial towns and cities, had been educated to look upon architecture as a vehicle for the expression of cultural identity, in addition

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6 See Chapter Five.
to its function as shelter. Possessing the financial resources to build their own homes, this group of colonists used pattern books as an aid to the exercise of taste.

Making the production of moderately priced pattern books and plan books possible was a simultaneous revolution in the publishing industry, out of which arose faster and cheaper methods of production. Whereas pattern books offered model designs to educate clients and guide their builders, plan books illustrated plans that could be ordered from the architect/author for immediate use. In the twentieth century the production of mail-order houses, by companies such as Aladdin, Gordon-Van Tine and Sears, took this development in domestic architecture to its ultimate conclusion.8

Pattern and plan books offered attractive solutions, within a convenient, cheap and portable format, to the challenges encountered in regions of the United States where there were few professional architects and no established European architectural tradition. In New Zealand they met the same need, one which British architectural publications demonstrably did not satisfy. Although the United States had been colonised by the Spanish, Dutch and English in the seventeenth century, a second wave of colonisation of the American Mid-West and Pacific Coast territories occurred during the nineteenth century. Coincidental with this territorial expansion was the annexation of New Zealand by Great Britain. In 1850, 10 years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, California became a state in the American union. Parallels between the two countries, in terms of settlement and development, therefore established a contemporaneous need for buildings, appropriate to an immigrant population, that could be easily built while also providing a sense of continuity and place. The presence and influence of American architectural publications in New Zealand, including locally produced books inspired by such models, reveals
one mechanism by which American architecture could be introduced to, and popularised in, this country.

Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-52) is probably the best-known American architectural pattern book author. His mid-nineteenth century publications established the pattern book as an important popular vehicle for contemporary architectural theory and design. In them Downing used the work of contemporary American architects, as well as some of his own designs, to promulgate his views on domestic style, planning and landscaping. He was greatly influenced by English rural architecture and his publications, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1841), *Cottage Residences* (1842) and *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850) were substantially indebted to the work of J.C. Loudon (1783–1843). The latter's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture* was published in London in 1833. In effect A.J. Downing adapted, and then publicised, contemporary English architectural theory within the context of the United States' maturing building tradition. His usefulness to American architects and builders, as well as to their counterparts in New Zealand, lay partly in the fact that this recontextualisation of English models frequently amounted to little more than translating masonry designs into ones suitable for timber construction, a process with which American builders were already familiar. Downing promoted 'the English suburban villa as the ideal American dwelling' by successfully adapting the former to acknowledge the local climate and

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8 See Schweitzer & Davis, *America's Favorite Homes.*
lifestyle. The addition of a porch or verandah to a picturesque English house in one of Downing’s books transformed the dwelling’s plan and its relationship to its setting so that it might satisfy the American need for a greater engagement with nature. Downing’s ability to reconcile his ‘admiration for the English and the English way of life’, even as his ‘faith in America remained undiminished’, was to have considerable resonance within a colonial New Zealand environment.

The architect on whom Downing relied most heavily to translate his ideas and images into convincing form for publication was Alexander Jackson Davis (1803-92). Downing and Davis first met in 1838 and they subsequently became collaborators, although they never entered into a formal partnership. Unlike Downing, who visited England in 1850, Davis never travelled abroad but he was nevertheless indebted to the English theories of design he gleaned from contemporary publications. Like Downing, Davis then filtered these ideas through the lens of vernacular practice and an American aesthetic. The design of one of New Zealand’s best-known houses is indicative of the international dimension of A.J. Downing and A.J. Davis’s considerable influence upon nineteenth-century domestic architecture.

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16 Tatum, p. 25.
Begun in 1862, Highwic was the Auckland home of Alfred Buckland, his two wives and twenty-one children (fig. 3). Anne Neale, who has chronicled Highwic’s architectural history, points to two particular American designs which together form the basis of the first stage of Highwic. Highwic represents both the impact American pattern books had upon mid-nineteenth century architectural design in New Zealand and the concomitant contemporary vogue for the American Carpenter Gothic style. Downing and Davis were leading advocates of the Italianate style for American country houses, but it is to their work in the Gothic Revival style that Highwic owes its form and appearance.

The first American project that has been shown to influence Highwic’s designer is one by Davis for a gatehouse erected on the Blithewood Estate at Tarrytown, New York State, in 1836. Two years later the architect included this design in *Rural Residences*, his only publication. The book had a limited print run, however, and the gatehouse design received much wider circulation when it was featured in Downing’s *Treatise ... on Landscape Gardening* of 1841. The gatehouse is the most significant of Davis’s designs illustrated by Downing, for it has since been recognised as ‘the prototype of the American Gothic cottage’.

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21 Neale, p.5 Here the location of the Blithewood Estate is given as Barrytown, New York which must be a typographic error.


23 J.B. Davies, ‘Davis and Downing: Collaborators in the Picturesque’, *Prophet with Honor*, p. 82.
Davis's gatehouse and the first stage of Highwic are both one-and-a-half storey structures, clad in vertical board-and-batten siding, their T-shaped plans crowned by gabled roofs. A rustic portico, the upper surface of which doubles as a first floor balcony, shelters the principal entrance of each building. Decorative details are concentrated at the entrance, around the fenestration and on the bargeboards. In particular, the treatment of the bargeboards and finials is very similar in both instances. At Highwic the hood mouldings over the first floor triple windows also appear to be modifications of those used by Davis for the gatehouse.

A 'Symmetrical Cottage' published in Downing's *The Architecture of Country Houses* of 1850 is the second design that Neale offers up as the source of the first phase of building at Highwic (fig. 4). Particularly significant here is the close resemblance between the floor plans of the two houses, a fact that greatly strengthens Neale's claims to have isolated Highwic's sources. In plan the 1862 wing of Highwic borrows the terminal bay windows that light the dining room and parlour of Davis's gatehouse and adds them to the basic footprint of Downing's cottage, in which a living room and parlour are separated by a central entrance hall from which a staircase rises to the first floor. In common with Downing and Davis's cottage designs, stage one of Highwic is 'symmetrical in plan but irregular in outline'.

Buckland's house also borrows the form of its entrance porch and the use of gabled sunhoods over some ground floor windows from Downing's 'Symmetrical Cottage'. Downing's bargeboard pattern is used to enliven the balustrade over Highwic's entrance porch and in the form of a

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parapet over the bay windows. The other significant feature of Highwic, which may also be traced to American precedents, is its board-and-batten cladding. As Neale has observed, board-and-batten construction was quite commonly used in New Zealand for those colonial churches built under the influence of the English Ecclesiological movement. She suggests, however, that where a building had no link with the Church it is equally likely that American promoters of board-and-batten, such as Downing, were a more important source for the use of this technique.

Downing advocated board-and-batten siding for timber houses, in preference to horizontal weatherboarding, ‘not only because it is more durable, but because it has an expression of strength and truthfulness which the other has not.’ As this philosophy was completely in accordance with the architectural principles of the Ecclesiologists it would seem that there is a case for according the same significance to the American pattern books by Downing and his associates as to the English Ecclesiological movement in the history of New Zealand’s colonial architecture. In sympathy with this reading of Highwic, Peter Richardson has noted the way in which the Russell Custom House (William Clayton, Colonial Architect, 1869-70) references both


26 Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, pp. 50-3. Downing illustrates three batten profiles that may be used and discusses the prerequisites for sound vertical boarding.

27 According to J.B. Davies, Downing followed Davis’s example in the use of board-and-batten cladding. In this context it might also be noted that the New York Ecclesiological Society was established in 1848, from which year the *New York Ecclesiologist* was published until 1853. Neale, p. 6. Davies, ‘Davis and Downing: Collaborators in the Picturesque’, p. 88. A. Saint, *The Image of the Architect*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1983, p. 79.

28 Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, p. 51. Despite his advocacy of board-and-batten cladding, Downing was hardly unequivocal in his support for timber houses. In *Cottage Residences* he wrote that ‘wood is acknowledged by all architects to be the worst material for building, and should never be employed when it is in the power of the builder to use any other.’ A.J. Downing, *Victorian Cottage Residences*, p. 7.

'Selwyn Gothic' ecclesiastical style and the design for an 'English Rustic Cottage' reproduced in Gervase Wheeler's pattern book *Homes for the People*, published in New York in 1855.30

Beginning in 1873, major additions were made to Highwic to accommodate Buckland's expanding family.31 Generally the later additions respect the style, scale and construction of the original wing. Both in its original and completed states the house was scarcely a carbon copy of any single design by either Downing or Davis, however, nor can its published source designs be narrowed to just two. Pattern book authors frequently 'borrowed' decorative motifs or even entire house designs from one another, often without acknowledging the original source for a particular design. A design reproduced in Samuel Sloan's book *The Model Architect*, for example, could also have been the source for the parapet decoration at Highwic. Sloan's 'Gothic Villa' features the same quatrefoil motif published by Downing but here it is applied as a balcony and parapet decoration, as at Highwic, rather than as an ornament to the bargeboards.32 As Sloan provided a detail sheet with every house design he illustrated, *The Model Architect* probably constituted a more practicable source book than Downing's works, which provided fewer, smaller drawings of ornamental details.

Samuel Sloan's use of the quatrefoil motif as a decorative element demonstrates the extent to which mid-nineteenth century American pattern books shared a common vocabulary of

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ornament. Even in the home market for such publications very few houses were demonstrably copied in every detail from a single pattern book design, thanks to this commonality of style and the proliferation of pattern books that occurred at this time. Most commonly, according to Dell Upton, the pattern book user would merge common vernacular practice with one or more published designs.\textsuperscript{33} As a result the finished house, whilst it could not be matched precisely with any single model, would have the appearance of a generic pattern book building. In the design of Highwic this process of synthesis is clearly visible.

Having established the connection between Highwic and the published works of Downing, Davis and, possibly, Sloan, it is much more difficult to account for how this came about. The ‘designer’ of Highwic has not yet been identified, although Auckland architect Reader Wood is the most likely contender for that title. Wood (1821-95) assisted Frederick Thatcher in the design and construction of buildings at St. John’s College, Auckland in the late 1840s and 1850s and there absorbed the principles of the timber ‘Selwyn Gothic’ style.\textsuperscript{34} A tender notice appeared in the New Zealander on 1 January 1862 for ‘additions to Mr. Buckland’s house at Newmarket’ under the name of Wood and Baber. This may, however, have been for work to complete the house previously erected on the site by William Hay, a builder.\textsuperscript{35}

The client was a man who might also be expected to have had some interest in contemporary architectural matters. Alfred Buckland (1825-1903) was a significant figure in the commercial

\textsuperscript{33} Upton, ‘Pattern Books and Professionalism’, pp. 107, 141, 149-50. Upton writes: ‘It was not until complete plans and even fully prefabricated houses began to be sold in the late nineteenth century that it became possible to find many standing houses that looked just like published examples.’ Ibid., p. 150.


world of colonial Auckland. With numerous business concerns and an active interest in local dog and horse racing circles, as befitted a Victorian gentleman, Buckland was the ideal client for a country house in the Gothic style as championed by Downing and Davis. There is no mention in Buckland's biography of a direct connection with the United States, but as a wealthy businessman it is likely that he imported household goods, including books, and so may have acquired American pattern books in this manner. By the end of the American Civil War (1865) *The Architecture of Country Houses* had been through nine print runs with over 16,000 copies sold. A copy of the 1866 edition is in the University of Otago's collection and in the University of Auckland's architecture library may be found an 1873 edition of Downing's *Cottage Residences*. Thomas Adams of Greendale, Canterbury, one of New Zealand's pioneering farmers and foresters, once owned a copy of *The Fruits and Fruit Trees of America*, which was also by Downing (New York, 1869). New Zealanders were therefore in possession of copies of American architectural publications in the mid-nineteenth century, just as they had access to American home furnishings and fittings. Although any attempt to establish the American provenance of specific details of Highwic's style or planning is likely to be ultimately unrewarding, the effort to acknowledge this aspect of domestic architectural practice in nineteenth century New Zealand is productive in that it widens the scope of the investigation.

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37 Ibid., p. 52.
39 A bookplate inside the front cover of this volume states that it was presented by 'The Commissioners of the N.Z. Exhibition 1865'. Very likely the book was purchased with surplus funds after the exhibition and so was very recently published when it arrived in New Zealand. Rosie Ferris, Electronic Access Librarian, University of Otago, Dunedin, email correspondence with the author, 13 & 14 February 2001. Historical Collection, Architecture Library, University of Auckland.
into the design sources of local houses and reveals one of the key means by which American influences, in particular, were introduced.

American Gothic Revival style houses were built in New Zealand from the 1850s through to the early 1870s. 42 William Beatson’s ‘Woodstock’ for Captain W.R. Nicholson (Stoke, Nelson, c.1854/6), ‘The Grange’ built for William Barnard Rhodes in 1867 (Wadestown, Wellington, demolished 1929, fig. 5) and the Francis Mary Hart house in Dunedin’s Musselburgh Rise suburb, which dates from the 1870s, are all indicative of the ongoing popularity of the style and suggestive of the role American pattern books played in its promotion.43 In all three houses Downing’s stricture against ‘a long unbroken horizontal line of veranda’ across the front of a house, on the grounds that such a treatment undermines the vertical emphasis desirable in a Gothic style building, was observed.44 History does not record the names of the ‘architects’ of either the Rhodes or the Hart houses but the high social standing of the clients for whom substantial Carpenter Gothic style houses were built in New Zealand would point to the use of pattern books as a means of expressing contemporary fashion, rather than as a device for economising during the design process.45

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41 See Chapter One. In the Historical Collection of the Architecture Library at the University of Auckland are also an 1876 edition of William Woollett’s Villas and Cottages, or Homes For All (A.J. Bicknell & Co., New York) and Henry Hudson Holly’s Modern Dwellings in Town and Country of 1878 (Harper, New York).
44 Downing, Victorian Cottage Residences, p. 43.
45 ‘Purau’, the homestead built for Robert Rhodes, younger brother of W.B., on Banks’ Peninsula and attributed to Christchurch architect Samuel Farr, also comes to mind in this regard. See Chapter Two.
Superseding Carpenter Gothic in popularity in New Zealand in the 1870s was the Italian villa style, the other major domestic style with which Downing and Davis are associated. This style was at the height of its popularity in the United States during the 1850s and 1860s, having been introduced to that country by Downing. Its chief characteristics are a picturesque outline, the economical and reasonably informal use of classical ornament, and, frequently, the juxtaposition of two perpendicular wings united by an entrance tower. It is a commonplace of Australasian architectural history that Italianate towers on late nineteenth century homes in both Australia and New Zealand are derived from those on Osborne House, designed by Thomas Cubitt and Prince Albert for Queen Victoria (Isle of Wight, 1844-48). Nevertheless pattern books by Downing and other American architectural writers provided examples of Italianate houses which were much more amenable to local building practices and the needs of New Zealand clients than a hugely sprawling royal seaside residence constructed from brick and covered in stucco.

‘Westoe’, near Marton, has been compared with Osborne House despite the enormous differences in scale, material, composition and function that exist between the two buildings (fig. 8). Built for Sir William Fox to the ‘design’ of Wellington architect Charles Tringham in 1874, Westoe’s precedents may more convincingly be traced to the Italianate designs popularised by


Downing and Davis (see fig. 9).\textsuperscript{49} Fox travelled extensively in North America, as well as England, Europe and Australia, during his lifetime and so may have settled on the desired appearance of his country house whilst in the United States.\textsuperscript{50} Whereas the towers of Osborne House, one containing a clock and the other a water tower, are virtually freestanding terminations to the two principal wings of the royal residence, Westoe’s tower is an integral part of the composition and serves as a visual marker for the main entrance. Furthermore, the house is of timber construction with horizontal flush boarding cladding the exterior. Contemporary Italianate houses in New Zealand, including the second Government House in Wellington (William Clayton, 1868), ‘Ballymena’ in Dunedin (H.F. Hardy, 1870) and Auckland’s ‘The Pah’ (Edward Mahoney, 1878), also feature the same bracketed eaves, picturesque tower, and balustraded bay windows which may be seen in Downing’s ‘Villa in the Italian Style, Bracketed’ (Design 2, \textit{Cottage Residences}), his later ‘Villa in the Italian Style’ (Design 22, \textit{The Architecture of Country Houses}) and Sloan’s ‘Italian Villa’ (Design 6, \textit{The Model Architect}).\textsuperscript{51}

Similarly Benjamin Mountfort’s Christchurch Club (1859-62), a building which is semi-residential in function and has also been compared with Osborne House, suggests a degree of familiarity with American pattern books.\textsuperscript{52} Working, uncharacteristically, in a classical style, Mountfort probably based his design in part on Charles Barry’s London gentlemen’s clubs. For guidance on how to adjust such a model to timber construction, however, he may well have turned to contemporary American publications. Calvert Vaux’s \textit{Villas and Cottages}, for example,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{49} ‘House erected near Marton for the Honourable W. Fox, February 13, 1874’, builder H. Austin of Hakombe, Plans-80-2280, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
\item \textsuperscript{52} Mountfort opened a book and stationary shop in Lyttelton in 1856 and so would have been in an excellent position to acquire architectural publications for his own use. J. Stacpoole, \textit{Colonial Architecture in New Zealand}, A.H.
could have guided Mountfort in his first use of horizontal weatherboard construction. Although Vaux continued Downing’s work in America in many ways, he favoured horizontal weatherboards over board-and-batten siding for buildings other than barns or small structures. This because he felt board-and-batten siding was ‘apt to give a striped, liny appearance to a house that injures its broad, general effect, and to draw particular attention to the fact that it is built of wood.’ Ian Lochhead suggests that Mountfort may have met Vaux in London, before each man immigrated to different parts of the New World. This personal connection may have further encouraged the Christchurch architect’s use of the American Italianate villa style for a significant early commission that brought him into contact with many of the leading members of Canterbury’s colonial society.

All this is not to say that Osborne House cannot have been influential in New Zealand, nor that every Italianate house in the country was designed with a specific pattern book model in mind. A more compatible and modest source for the house style would surely have been more immediately useful to New Zealand designers, however, than the example of a large royal residence. While the identification of Osborne House as the model for nineteenth-century Italianate houses in New Zealand confers prestige upon such buildings, just as American presidential associations bestow a distinguished pedigree upon Mount Vernon and the Buckland

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53 A copy of the 1872 edition of Calvert Vaux’s Villas and Cottages, now in the possession of Dr. I.J. Lochhead, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, appears to have been acquired by Dr. W.G. Scott of Onehunga, Auckland in April 1875. In June of the same year it was apparently passed on to W.J.T. Henning of Christchurch. Henning carefully annotated the book, noting that a house in Madras Street, Christchurch had been built following Vaux’s recommendation to use bricks to line timber buildings. On 28 May 1880 Henning wrote, on page 74 of his copy of Vaux, that this strategy ‘was far from a success, as the bricks sucked up the damp from the ground and made the house damp. Ch-ch [sic] bricks are very inferior it must be said, each one absorbing about a pint of water.’ C. Vaux, Villas and Cottages. A Series of Designs Prepared for Execution in the United States, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1872. See also Lochhead, ‘The Early Works of Benjamin Woolfield Mountfort, 1850-1865’, p. 102.

house in Cambridge,\textsuperscript{56} there seems to be sufficient circumstantial evidence to suggest that even an architect with Mountfort's training and reputation may have turned to American pattern books for direction when called upon to design a building in this popular mid-nineteenth century architectural style.\textsuperscript{57}

Following on from Downing's success at popularising the pattern book format, the number of such books being published in the United States increased rapidly.\textsuperscript{58} During the late nineteenth century a further development occurred in this field with the evolution of plan books, which offered their readers the opportunity to purchase a full set of plans and specifications from the architect/author. Because the authors of plan books relied on plan sales for their income, the books themselves were considerably cheaper than the earlier pattern books, which were sold as an end in themselves. Thus, while the pattern book \textit{Woodward's National Architect} (New York, 1868) retailed for US$12, many late nineteenth century plan books published by firms such as Palliser, Palliser & Co. and R.W. Shoppell sold for as little as 50 cents or a dollar.\textsuperscript{59} These books were printed on lower quality paper and were generally intended to have a very limited life, in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{56} Lochhead, \textit{A Dream of Spires}, pp. 227-31, 339 n. 49.
\item \textsuperscript{57} See Chapter Two.
\item \textsuperscript{58} Of the 658 practical architectural books that were published in the United States before 1895, two-thirds of these were issued between 1866 and 1894. Guter & Foster, p. 141.
\item \textsuperscript{59} Despite its cost \textit{Woodward's National Architecture} was clearly available in New Zealand given F. de J. Clere's remarks about it, which were published in the 1916 edition of \textit{"The Studio" Year Book}. Clere's opinion of this American pattern book, which was not at all favourable, will be discussed in Chapter 5. See F. de J. Clere, 'Domestic Architecture in New Zealand', \textit{"The Studio" Year Book of Decorative Art, 1916}, London, 1916, p. 122.
\end{itemize}
contrast to the pattern books which were published to a higher standard for continued use.\textsuperscript{60} It is therefore to be expected that plan books are even less likely to have survived to the present day than the more expensive pattern books, which are themselves difficult to trace in New Zealand despite visual evidence of their use.

One such plan book that has survived in Christchurch, however, is \textit{Modern Homes of California} by J. Cather Newsom. Published by the author in 1893, this volume once belonged to Christchurch architect Samuel Hurst Seager.\textsuperscript{61} \textit{Modern Homes} was, as its full title suggests, published in California, unlike the pattern books of Downing and Vaux, which were published on the eastern seaboard of the United States. It therefore anticipates the profusion of pattern and plan books produced in California in the early decades of the twentieth century and is indicative of the impact Pacific Coast architecture was beginning to have within the United States and overseas during this period.

\textit{Modern Homes} illustrates, with plans and photographs, the work of not only its author but also houses designed by many of the best known residential architects of the day in California.\textsuperscript{62} It was one of 10 pattern books produced by Joseph Cather Newsom (1857-1930) and his brother Samuel (1848-1908) between 1884 and 1900.\textsuperscript{63} In 1893 J.C. Newsom was able to state that ‘designs from my publications have been followed and built throughout the Pacific Coast,'

\textsuperscript{60} Garvin, pp. 309-10.
\textsuperscript{61} J. Cather Newsom, \textit{Modern Homes of California}, the author, San Francisco, 1893. The book was donated to Canterbury College, now the University of Canterbury, along with the rest of Seager’s extensive architectural library in 1928. Amongst this collection as also Carl Pfeiffer’s \textit{American Mansions and Cottages} (Ticknor, Boston, 1889), a copy of which is also held by the Architecture Library at the University of Auckland.
\textsuperscript{62} These include A. Page Brown, Willis Polk and the Coxhead brothers. J.C. Newsom offered his readers complete drawings of any of the designs shown in \textit{Modern Homes}, suggesting he had made some kind of financial arrangement with his fellow architects that enabled him to sell plans on their behalf. Newsom, Introductory, unpaginated.
Australia, New Zealand, Honolulu, the Eastern, Western and Southern States of our own country, South America, and two in Mexico'. A Christchurch house which may have been designed by Newsom, or built to plans supplied by his office, is similar to buildings illustrated in Modern Homes but identical to none (fig. 50). Two-and-a-half storeys in height, with a gambrel roof intersected by a cross gable, the house is particularly notable for its idiosyncratic fenestration. Clad in horizontal weatherboards and shingles, the house has none of the curvilinear Shingle Style elements that are a feature of many of the houses in Modern Homes, but once again it has enough in common with these buildings to suggest a link. The roof form alone is rare in Christchurch but can be seen on a number of houses illustrated in Modern Homes.

Although the audience to whom pattern and plan books were marketed in the United States was primarily made up of middle class clients and speculative builders, it should be clear from the preceding examples that architects were not necessarily uninvolved or disinterested in this vehicle for promotion and education. When, in 1916, Frederick de Jersey Clere wrote somewhat dismissively of the 'pecuniary success of the man who has copied almost unreservedly from English and American books' he might very well have been describing the successful architectural partnership of Robert and Edward England (1863-1908, 1875-1949). Robert had received his training in England, serving articles with the Birmingham architect Joseph Ball, and in turn he passed on his experience to his younger brother, who also studied at the Canterbury College School of Art under Seager. While they are best known for their domestic work, the England brothers designed a wide variety of building types, establishing long-term professional relationships with a number of leading Canterbury businesses and designing buildings for erection.

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64 Newsom, Introductory, n.p. No Newsom houses have as yet been positively identified in New Zealand
66 See for example the house called ‘Alhambra’ in Modern Homes, which is listed as costing US $3500. Newsom, n.p.
throughout the province and beyond. At the turn of the twentieth century, as New Zealanders of wealth and taste embraced the Queen Anne style, the England brothers cultivated one of Christchurch’s most successful domestic practices by ‘designing’ houses taken straight from the pages of an American pattern book.

The England Brothers ostensibly designed ‘Fitzroy’, the home of Christchurch businessman and benefactor Robert McDougall, in c.1896-8 (fig. 17) and ‘Acton’, near Gisborne for Henry White, formerly of Little River, Canterbury, in 1906. The model for both dwellings can be traced to the same design published in George Barber’s plan book *Modern Dwellings* (fig. 18). Barber was an enthusiastic advocate of the Queen Anne style but he described the style of Design No. 233 as ‘Colonial Renaissance’. This, as Linda Smeins has written, was the ‘modern suburban home’ style of its day. In addition to perspective drawings and floor plans, Barber also featured exterior and interior photographs of houses he had designed in *Modern Dwellings*. ‘Acton’ is the mirror image of both ‘Fitzroy’, as it appeared before its tower was removed in 1907, and Barber’s Design No. 233. Reversing a plan book house design was common practice, indeed it was promoted by the authors of these books as offering a greater range of choices to their clients.

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67 Clere, p. 123.
69 Initially known as R.W. England, the firm became known as the England Brothers on 1 July 1901. For convenience the firm is referred to as the England Brothers because Edward England joined the practice in 1891 and became a partner in 1897. *The Press*, 19 June 1901, p. 11; 5 January 1909, p. 1.
71 George Barber, *Modern Dwellings – A Book of Practical Designs and Plans for Those Who Wish to Build or Beautify Their Homes*, fourth ed., Barber & Klutz, Knoxville, Tenn., 1903, pp. 288-9. In addition to running a successful mail-order plan service, Barber was also a pioneer in the field of prefabricated houses after his move to Knoxville, Tennessee in 1888. See Garvin, p. 334.
72 Smeins, pp. 13, 54-5. Garvin, p. 175.
customers. The appearance of ‘Matai Awa’, a house built in 1912 for W.G. Bassett of Wanganui and attributed to local architect Thomas Battle, attests to the use of Barber’s book of *Modern Dwellings* elsewhere in the country.

Another Christchurch house designed by the England Brothers, now demolished, also appears to have been based upon an American plan book. Built for Peter Grant, it was erected on Colombo Street, the city’s principal north-south axis, and published in *Progress* in July 1906. One month later the McDougall residence was published in the same journal; authorship of both houses was claimed by the architectural partnership, just as J.S. Guthrie was to do with ‘Los Angeles’ five years later. The most notable feature of the Grant house was its extravagant corner tower, clad in zinc tiles, which rose above a curving verandah and was topped by a curvaceous two-part dome. The surface of the tower above the sash windows was decorated with swags and the whole effect was one of an exuberantly ornamented outcropping from what was otherwise a reasonably conventional weatherboard building, complete with a Marseilles tile hipped roof enlivened by cross gables. Art Nouveau motifs ornamented interior fittings such as fireplace tile surrounds and overmantels and the stair hall was lit by a leaded glass dome with Art Nouveau floral patterning offset by plaster swags. In detail as well as in outline the Grant house owed much to Barber’s work. It is not known, however, whether the England Brothers sent away to Knoxville, Tennessee for the working drawings or simply prepared their own based on a careful study of the plan book illustrations.

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73 The plans in *Colonial Homes – A Collection of the Latest Design* [2nd ed., Yoho & Merritt, Seattle, 1921, p. 4], for example, are offered for sale ‘as shown or reversed’.
74 Bovey & McDonald, pp. 28-9. Barber, p. 323.
75 The Grant residence may be compared with Design No. 211 in *Modern Dwellings*. Barber, pp. 234-6.
Edward England's own home in Springfield Road (1907), a two-storeyed house clad in shingles above a rusticated masonry base, is more modern both in its exterior and the treatment of its interior than those illustrated in Barber's *Modern Dwellings*. Still, given the architect's previous work, it may owe more to a plan book such as Seager's Newsom volume, more than likely known to England from his student days, than to the American professional periodical cited by Jeremy Ashford. The England Brothers designed houses for some of the leading citizens of their day in Christchurch. Their evident reliance upon at least one American plan book is suggestive, not only of the extent to which New Zealand architects were willing to use foreign publications to expedite their design work, but also of the appeal of those designs to their clients. If the England Brothers followed the lead of their American colleagues, however, it is possible that Messrs McDougall and Grant were not aware that they had paid for a plan book house.

Whereas the England Brothers' debt to American plan books is not widely known today, Louis Hay's ownership of the Frank Lloyd Wright's Wasmuth portfolios is well documented and often cited as an indication of the progressive nature of Hay's architecture, despite his provincial background. The Hawke's Bay architect's one and only overseas trip was made in 1908, to Australia, and so he must have acquired Wright's German publications through a bookseller in New Zealand. Peter Shaw has written that Hay's debt to Wright is first visible in the design of the Vigor-Brown house of 1915 (Napier). In two of his designs that date from 1920, however - the Gisborne house 'Waiohika' built for Emily Gray and the Soldier's Club on Napier's Marine

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Parade - the influence of the Prairie style is much more evident. Here the horizontality of Wright’s Chicago houses, and their equally characteristic openness of plan, is handled with confidence by Hay, who went on to apply the lessons he had learnt from Wright in commissions for commercial and civic buildings. ‘Waiohika’ and the Soldiers’ Club therefore suggest a slightly later acquisition date than Shaw has previously put forward. Anthony Alofsin has recently questioned the extent to which the Wasmuth publications influenced European architecture, given their limited print runs. However, both Thomas Marvel’s study of Puerto Rican architect Antonin Nechodoma, who had acquired the Wasmuth folios by 1915, and Shaw’s work on Hay offers new evidence as to the wide distribution and careful use of these publications.

In New Zealand the relative historical awareness of the use of American architectural publications by Hay and the England Brothers suggests that historians have drawn a distinction between two different classes of architectural publication; the one held up for scrutiny because it evokes professional study and a worthy intellectual pedigree, the other overlooked as it suggests plagiarism and expediency. The mutual choice of American domestic architectural models in this instance offers a way of reviewing the usefulness of this distinction and illuminating more clearly the precise nature of local architectural practice in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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85 Contemporary statements about the merits of such sources will be canvassed in Chapter Five.
In addition to having copies of American architectural books in their office libraries, New Zealand architects also possessed technical reference works, which were either published in the United States or based in part upon experiments in construction methods undertaken there. Edmund Anscombe, for example, owned an eight volume set of *The Modern Carpenter and Joiner and Cabinet Maker* (1905). Although published in London, this set of books includes a volume on ‘The Strength of Timber and Timber Framing’, which draws upon the results of American stress tests. Volume Five illustrates American timber steeple and Volume Six features American houses with heavy and light timber frames. The latter, so the author notes, is ‘in America ... known as “the balloon frame”’. English technical manuals might therefore provide a source for information about American construction methods for New Zealand architects and builders, just as American pattern books could be a conduit for English architectural theories.

American pattern books also offered their readership comprehensive information about balloon framing. Throughout the 1860s George Woodward repeatedly provided descriptive text and line drawings of balloon frames and their construction details within his numerous self-published pattern books. Woodward enthusiastically extolled the virtues of the balloon frame, noting that its ‘simple, effective and economical manner of construction, has very materially aided the rapid settlement of the West, and placed the art of building, to a great extent, within the control of the pioneer.’ Correspondingly Gervase Wheeler instructed his readers on ‘How to Build Balloon Frames’ in *Homes for the People*, a text that may have been Wellington architect William

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86 This set of books was donated to the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington, by Mr. Gary Black, nephew of the architect, on 29 September 1993.
88 Sutcliffe, Volume 5, p. 109.
Clayton's source of information about this method of construction.\footnote{Woodward's Country Homes, p. 152.} Local publications also provided information about house building that was predicated upon this American framing system.

Published in Auckland in 1883, \textit{Brett's Colonists' Guide and Cyclopaedia of Useful Knowledge} offered the new settler four designs for timber cottages, in addition to advice on horticulture, ostrich farming, homoeopathy, and a wealth of other topics.\footnote{Wheeler, pp. 409-14. See above.} Design No. 4, described as a 'very showy and convenient class of house', was a one-and-a-half storey Carpenter Gothic cottage with fourteen feet (4.27 metres) balloon framed walls.\footnote{T.W. Leys, ed., \textit{Brett's Colonists' Guide and Cyclopaedia of Useful Knowledge}, H. Brett, Auckland, 1883, pp. 723-34. Further editions were published in 1897 and 1902. The author of the section titled 'Cottages for Settlers' is not identified, although the text states that the plans were 'specially prepared ... by a competent architect'. Ibid., p. 723.} The style of the house was decidedly unfashionable by the mid-1880s, but that was probably not of great concern to the men and women who were engaged in the pioneering settlement of the upper North Island towards whom \textit{Brett's Colonists' Guide} was directed.\footnote{J. Binney, J. Bassett & E. Olsen, \textit{The People and the Land Te Tangata me Te Tangata: An Illustrated History of New Zealand, 1820-1920}, Allen & Unwin, Auckland, 1990, pp. 262-66, 287.} Henry Scammell's \textit{Cyclopedia of Valuable Receipts}, which was published jointly in St Louis, Missouri and Auckland in 1897, included within its pages domestic designs of a more fashionable, less rudimentary nature.\footnote{H.B. Scammell, ed., \textit{Cyclopedia of Valuable Receipts: A Treasure-House of Useful Knowledge For the Every-Day Wants of Life}, Planet Publishing, St Louis, Mo. & Wm. Gribble & Co., Auckland, 1897, pp. 760-98, 803-23. A. Martin, School of Engineering and Construction, The Open Polytechnic of New Zealand, Lower Hutt, facsimile correspondence with the author, 13 December 1994.} Unlike \textit{Brett's Guide}, Scammell's \textit{Cyclopedia} also provided numerous illustrations of construction details, including those relating to the balloon frame, and the author of the section was identified as St Louis architect Jerome B. Legg.\footnote{Cyclopedia of Valuable Receipts, p. 760.}
What both publications had in common was their acknowledgment of the financial constraints and limited physical resources available to their target audience. Whereas Downing wrote for the educated home-owner, who, it was hoped, would use his texts as an aid to improved relations with an architect, the contributors to household encyclopedias addressed their publications to ‘country settlers ... compelled, by the exigencies of their location, to become their own architects’. That Henry Scammell should simultaneously publish his *Cyclopedia* in New Zealand as well as in the American Midwest attests to the common colonial experience that connected these two environments and ensured the usefulness of American architectural publications in New Zealand.

After 1900 Frank Kidder’s *Architects’ and Builders’ Handbook*, an American technical manual that was addressed to a narrower professional audience, enjoyed a wide circulation in New Zealand. Kidder’s *Handbook* went through numerous editions between 1900 and 1940, of which three at least are known to have been available in New Zealand. Wellington architect William Gray Young owned the 1906 edition, and a copy of the 1916 edition was in the library of Collins Architects of Christchurch. In 1932 the *Journal of the N.Z.I.A* published a review of the eighteenth edition of Kidder’s handbook. By contrast with the reception sometimes accorded American professional publications, the anonymous reviewer enthusiastically praised this voluminous publication.

The great service which editions of this remarkable work have conferred upon all those who have to do with structural design, specifying and carrying out the supervision of buildings is continued in this eighteenth

99 Collins Architects’ office copy of Kidder’s handbook had been awarded to Edgar West when he was a student at the Canterbury College School of Art. As the prize had been donated to the School by the Canterbury Branch of the N.Z.I.A. this suggests the Institute’s official endorsement of the handbook.
100 See Chapter Five.
The handbook is undoubtedly one of the most useful reference books for everyday use available to the architect in English-speaking countries. ... The handbook is so well known that there is little need to state that it lived up to the standard of past editions and is of great value to all who have to do with building work.101

Described as 'that well-known vademecum' of architectural books even as late as 1959, Kidder's handbook was first copyrighted in 1884 and had had a total issue of 62,000 by 1916.102 In the same year it ran to 1816 pages of information about everything from 'Practical Arithmetic, Geometry and Trigonometry' and 'Strength of Materials and Stability of Structures' to a list of 'American Periodicals Devoted to the Interest of Architecture and Building'.103 As a reference text, which seems to have been widely used and well-respected in New Zealand, it is difficult to calculate the precise impact Kidder's Handbook might have had on local building practice. Nevertheless its presence in New Zealand provides a backdrop against which the local enthusiasm for adopting American construction methods, discussed in the previous chapter, might be better understood.

Not only did specific designs and construction methods reproduced in American architectural publications have an impact in New Zealand, but the books themselves were also influential models of professional activity. In the first volume of the Cyclopaedia of New Zealand (1897) there appeared an entry concerning the Wanganui architectural firm of Pinches & Co. in which it was written that:

Messrs. Pinches and Co. have quite recently initiated a most remarkable scheme, and one that is likely to revolutionise the building trade of this part of the Colony. In an exceedingly neat circular of some dozen pages issued by the firm, specifications, plans, and agreements for any kind of home are offered free, on the condition that the firm supply the building

This constitutes the earliest known instance of a New Zealand architect emulating his American peers in an attempt to expand his domestic practice. The principal of one of only two Wanganui practices listed in the Cyclopaedia, William Pinches had been born and trained in England, where he worked as draughtsman with the Colne Valley Ironworks in Essex before immigrating to New Zealand in 1874. Typical then of those who were to follow his example, Pinches' background and the description of his publishing initiative are more suggestive of the business of building than the art of architecture. At a time when architects were becoming increasingly concerned about their professional status, Pinches and Company's innovative scheme was the first hint of the potential for conflict within the competitive market of domestic architecture that was to set builders against architects in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Despite the 'revolutionary' intent of William Pinches' project, however, it was another 15 years or more before New Zealand architects began to produce pattern books that offered a significant challenge, in either number or size, to the American pattern and plan books that continued to find their way into the country. One of the most prolific local authors of pattern books was G.W. Phillips of Christchurch who produced a number of builder's guides and plan books in the early twentieth century (see fig. 38). In his 1913 publication Details and Specification ... for New Zealand Homes Bungalows Residences Etc. Phillips illustrated numerous exterior and interior details

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104 Cyclopaedia of New Zealand, Volume 1 - Wellington Provincial District, Cyclopaedia Co. Ltd., Wellington, 1897, p. 1408. It should be noted here that because the subjects paid for their own entries in the Cyclopaedia the tone of the text is often self-congratulatory.

105 Timber merchants had been supplying house elevations in their sales catalogues for quite some time by this date. See, for example, Findlay & Co.'s Illustrated Catalogue of Cottages, Doors, Sashes, Mouldings, Arches, and Every Description of Furnishings for Building Purposes of 1874. Eph-B-BUILDING-SUPPLIES-1874-01-03, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Salmond, pp. 96-100.
in order to assist the builder to construct all the necessary features of a ‘modern’ house. In the same volume he also included 16 different floor plans for a five-room balloon frame house. No exterior elevations were provided to accompany these plans, some of which were for simple villas with front access to a central corridor on either side of which the living and sleeping rooms are arranged. Two plans offered side entry to the building, as one would expect in a bungalow, and three provided direct access from the kitchen to the living room via a servery or larder which is a design element commonly found in American houses of the period. The absence of elevations makes it impossible to determine the way in which Phillips’ intended his plans to be expressed in three dimensions. Only one of the plans includes an inside toilet, whereas in Fred Hodgson’s Common-Sense Stair Building and Handrailing of 1907, which was published in Chicago and available in New Zealand, 17 out of the 47 house plans illustrated had a toilet in the bathroom. Jeremy Ashford has observed that the ‘American practice of putting the toilet in the bathroom’ was rare in New Zealand bungalows even in the 1920s, suggesting one aspect of domestic planning that was not greatly affected by the example of American plan book houses.

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106 Cyclopaedia of New Zealand, Volume 1, p. 1408.
107 Details illustrated by Phillips include doors, fences, foundations, eaves treatments, windows, dados, and hall arches. In Details and Specification he also provides the reader with a standard specification format to assist him or her in framing a builder’s contract.
108 Recommended construction is to red pine framing with 2 x 4 studs spaced at 18 in. centres to be clad in rusticated or bevelled back weatherboards. G. W. Phillips, Details and Specification … for New Zealand Homes Bungalows Residences Etc., the author, Christchurch, 1913; Supplement to Details and Specification, Approximate Estimates, n.p. 109 By way of a contrast, Phillips’ Designs for New Zealand Homes & Residences of 1909 does include elevations and these are generally in a conservative villa style. Published in Christchurch by the author, this work features a number of floor plans of such a fanciful nature as to make them purely ornamental in appearance.
110 Eldon Peters of Chapman Oulsnam and Associates, Engineers and Architects, New Plymouth now holds new Plymouth architect M.G.B. Harvey’s copy of Hodgson’s book. In Designs for New Zealand Homes & Residences several house plans include inside toilets, including the only design in the book called a ‘Week-end Bungalow’; Designs No. 54, model D, n.p. The latter has a central living room, which has direct external access to the verandah, around which the sleeping and service rooms are arranged. The living room therefore serves as the principal circulation space in the dwelling, although entry to the kitchen and bathroom is also possible via two doors at the rear of the house. Unfortunately Phillips does not provide an elevation drawing to show the reader the external treatment recommended for a bungalow of this nature. Phillips, Details and Specification, Plan L, n.p.
111 Ashford, pp. 69-70.
Phillips' plans are suggestive of the transition, from Edwardian villa to California bungalow, that occurred in New Zealand domestic architecture during the 1910s. Clearly a significant aid to this development were the numerous American bungalow plan books that proliferated in the early twentieth century. Books published by the Radford Architectural Company of Riverside, Illinois, the John C. Winston Company of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Yoho and Merritt ('The Bungalow Craftsmen') of Seattle, Washington were available in New Zealand, along with periodicals such as *The Craftsman* (1901-16) and the *Bungalow Magazine* (1912-18). The houses of Cambridge architect James Douce (see fig. 43) suggest that he was in possession of a copy of *Practical Bungalows of Southern California Built at Moderate Cost*, which has already been discussed (see fig. 44).

Photographs of interior and exterior views, in addition to the ubiquitous floor plans, were reproduced in *Practical Bungalows* and Gustav Stickley's *Craftsman* magazine. The latter offered considerably more text than standard pattern or plan books and Stickley's publication was not exclusively devoted to the California bungalow, although this house style was most often the

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112 Salmond, pp. 185-96.
vehicle for the promotion of his Arts and Crafts philosophy. Nevertheless *The Craftsman* was aimed at 'men and women of small incomes' whose ideal home was one 'in which their individuality might be truly expressed'. Although it featured the work of prominent architects, including Pasadena's Greene and Greene and, on one occasion, Taranaki architect J.W. Chapman-Taylor, *The Craftsman* was directed towards the same popular, middle-class audience as contemporary bungalow plan books (see fig. 39). Contributions to *The Craftsman* by female home-owners and bungalow builders acknowledged a subset within this mass audience, one that had been served by American women's magazines such as *Godfrey's Lady's Book* and the *Ladies' Home Journal* since the mid-nineteenth century. New Zealand's *Ladies' Mirror* emulated these magazines when it offered 'Some Modern Ideas in Brick Bungalows' in its February 1923 issue.

Besides architects and individual builders other parties also contributed to the available literature about house building in New Zealand before 1940. In c.1915 the Christchurch construction company, Paynter and Hamilton, offered a booklet titled *Modern Homes* in order to advertise their range of building services and provide advice on domestic planning, exterior finishes, and

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116 'Vacation Bungalows that Appeal Besides as Homes of Comfort and Refreshment' (June 1913), *Craftsman Bungalows*, p. 90.


interior furnishings.\textsuperscript{120} The houses illustrated in the booklet, which had been designed and built by Paynter and Hamilton, conform to Arts and Crafts principles of siting and ornamentation and reveal a debt to the California bungalow in their planning. Hence the anonymous author’s admonition that ‘sliding doors or low archways, as wide as possible, between, say, dining and lounge room are an acquisition, and give an idea of spaciousness which is very attractive.’\textsuperscript{121} With regard to exterior finishes, \textit{Modern Homes} mentions boulders, field stones, and shingles, thereby acknowledging the characteristic materials of the California bungalow which can be seen to such good effect in contemporary houses such as Christchurch’s ‘Los Angeles’.\textsuperscript{122}

Offering a start-to-finish design and build service to ‘bona fide prospective clients in any part of the country’, Paynter and Hamilton were aware of the most recent trends in local domestic architecture and were in no way promoting reactionary styles out of step with contemporary architectural practice, a criticism that seems to have been frequently levelled at builders by architects.\textsuperscript{123} Furthermore, the list of clients supplied at the end of \textit{Modern Homes}, by way of a testimonial of their work, indicates that the firm found a ready market for its services and its designs of ‘Country Homes, Cottages and Bungalows’.\textsuperscript{124}

Another New Zealand building firm involved in the production of plan books for the local market, this time seeking to draw clients’ attention to the use of a specific construction material, was Bassett & Co. of Wanganui. This company built hundreds of ‘Kosy Konka Homes’ in the bungalow style which had been chosen from over 1000 patterns produced by Bassett & Co. in

\textsuperscript{120} \textit{Modern Homes}, Paynter & Hamilton Ltd., Christchurch, c.1915.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., p. 17.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid., pp. 17-19. See Chapter Two for a discussion of ‘Los Angeles’.
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., p. 41. See Chapter Five.
order to promote the company's concrete-sheet building system. Peter Shaw illustrates one such 'Kosy' home which stands in Ingestre Street, Wanganui. The entry to this house is framed by an arched verandah supported by random rubble stone pylons which contrast with the white-painted stuccoed surface texture of the house. A shed dormer set into the gabled roof, bracketed eaves, sunhoods over casement windows, and the predominant horizontal emphasis of the entire composition, signal the California bungalow origins of this design.

Individual plan book authors commonly occupied an intermediary zone between members of the building industry and the architectural profession. James Christie, a sawmiller turned 'Finance Agent, Estate Agent, [and] Company Promoter', and Richard Kibblewhite, who began his working life as a carpenter in Hamilton and later worked as a draughtsman in Auckland, produced books of plans for the local market in the 1910s and 1920s. Christie's *New Zealand Homes* of c.1914 illustrated 60 designs in either bay villa or 'semi-bungalow' style. A *Progress* reviewer described them as 'stereotyped and commonplace'. As was the case with Harry Ratcliffe's *30 Plans and Elevations of Selected Bungalows* (1912), Christie's floor plans were additive and compartmentalised. Ratcliffe did, however, seem to have a better overall grasp of the American principles of bungalow planning. In some of his designs he dispensed entirely with the central hall typical of villa design and the interconnection between living room and kitchen in several plans suggests the more informal lifestyle of the bungalow owner (see fig. 56). Even when his plan is that of the old-fashioned villa, the exterior treatment of all of Ratcliffe's designs

124 Ibid., p. 3. Paynter and Hamilton's best known Christchurch house is 'Greystones', built in 1926 at the corner of Glandovey and Idris Roads, Fendalton. This large house has a Halswell stone ground floor and half-timbered first floor below a slate roof. *Christchurch Press*, 26 November 1994, p. 86.
126 Ashford, pp. 30-1.
is much more convincing in its bungalow styling than Christie's transitional designs. W.H. Jaine also hoped to capitalise on the inter-war vogue for bungalows, offering a folio of *40 Artistic Bungalows* to builders for direct purchase in the early 1920s. Although Harry Ratcliffe identified himself as an architect and Jaine was an associate member of the N.Z.I.A. neither man distinguished himself in the field of domestic design independently of their builders' plan books.¹²⁹

In view of the increasing demand for local plan books of the sort published by Messrs Christie, Ratcliffe and Kibblewhite, and in spite of their concerns about the creative integrity of such enterprises, qualified architects clearly felt compelled to engage with this vehicle for self-promotion. Consequently *Dominion Homes* and *Modern Homes of New Zealand by Architects of Standing* were published in 1915 and 1917 respectively.¹³⁰ Both of these books, as the name of the latter suggests, illustrated houses designed by qualified architects; houses that were already extant and which were presented to the viewer in photographic rather than pictorial form.¹³¹ The intention behind both was to impress upon the reader the necessity of commissioning an architect to design a 'pretty and comfortable dwelling costing no more than the one reminiscent of the pioneering days'.¹³² Despite the modernity of the house designs they illustrated, however,


¹³¹ *California Garden City Homes* was published in 1915 to address the same concerns. 'In a country noted for the healthfulness, comfort, and beauty of its domestic architecture, it is deplorable that the average American should be dependent for his home upon speculative builders who build from such [stock] plans.' Priced between US$15 and $125 each, the plans offered by the Garden City Company had been drawn up by qualified architects. As its name suggests the Company was greatly influenced by the contemporary English Garden City movement. *California Garden City Homes: A Book of Stock Plans Designed by Walter S. Davis, H. Scott Gerity, Layall F. Watson, Henry R. Davis*, The Garden City Company of California, Los Angeles, 1915, p. 9.

¹³² *Dominion Homes*, p. 1.
Dominion Homes and Modern Homes were essentially pattern books in a market that had by this time fully embraced the builders' plan book.

Dominion Homes was published as a supplement to Progress, the nation's first architectural periodical. Its stated purpose was 'to assist housebuilders in their quest for artistic, comfortable homes of moderate cost' as it was felt that

the New Zealander who has to depend upon similar publications originating in America or England as a guide has not ... been helped very far. ... We owe much, however, to the originality of design shown in many small American houses, and it will be seen from these pages that the best points of American house architecture are well understood here.

When differences in climate and building materials between Britain and New Zealand came to be regarded as impediments to the traditional borrowing of forms from the Mother country, American domestic architecture could be the catalyst for the development of New Zealand housing.

Evidence of this situation can be seen in J.T. Mair's design for 'An £800 Bungalow', built in a suburb near Wellington. In plan a dining alcove off the living room is linked to the kitchen via a 'pass pantry', a common motif in contemporary American domestic design. Intended to save the labour of the 'house-wife', the pass-pantry was one of a number of design strategies implemented in the early twentieth century to relieve the affects of a shortage of domestic servants then being felt in the United States and New Zealand. The sleeping porch off the principal bedroom in

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134 Dominion Homes, p. 1.
135 Ibid., p. 12. See also Craftsman Bungalows, pp. 73, 79-80, 123-4, 125, 148. It should be noted here, however, that in view of the higher class of clientele to whom Dominion Homes was clearly pitched, several of the featured designs included accommodation for servants.
Salmond and Vanes' Dunedin residence is another American planning motif, albeit one which may have been little used given the southern city's climate.136

Claiming that 'up to the present time no book devoted to examples of New Zealand Homes has been published,' and decrying the 'numerous publications [available], mostly American, [which] ... are unsuitable for local requirements,' Modern Homes of New Zealand also constituted a rather optimistic attempt by the profession, to gain a larger proportion of the domestic building market.137 Readers were advised to contact the architect directly if they wished to know more about any of the designs reproduced in Modern Homes. It is impossible to know, however, whether the generous provision of plans, perspective drawings and photographs that marked Modern Homes out from its much more humble contemporary publications enticed any readers to do just that.

Bungalow designs are well represented in Modern Homes of New Zealand and generally the influence of American domestic architecture was carried through into the planning of these houses. Pass pantries or serving hatches, wide openings between the living and dining rooms, a piazza or porch which communicates with the dining or breakfast room, and sleeping porches can all be found in the pages of Modern Homes. The influence of contemporary American domestic architecture is as visible in the planning of many of the houses reproduced here as it is in their exterior styling.138 This unity of design could be considered the most significant difference

136 Dominion Homes, p. 7.
137 Modern Homes, p. 1.
138 See, for example, the two storeyed house designed by Frederick A. Browne of Auckland reproduced on page 9, or Chilwell & Trevithick's 'Residence at Birkenhead' on page 17. The latter features direct access to both the dining and living rooms off the large verandah, with no intermediary hall, and these two rooms communicate with one another through a wide opening which could be closed when required by portieres. The exterior of this single-storey home is clad in stained weatherboards and topped by a cruciform-shaped gabled roof with wide overhanging eaves.
between the house books produced by architects and those prepared by members of the building trade. This despite the fact that there are houses featured in *Modern Homes* whose floor plans are strongly reminiscent of Edwardian villas and there are in turn houses illustrated in builders’ plan books which reflect American trends in interior planning even though they are clothed in very conservative ‘costume’. It is somewhat ironic that in the same year in which *Modern Homes* was published, J.S. Guthrie designed ‘Long Cottage’ and thus signalled an architectural retreat from bungalow design that was to leave this popular house style for builders and their middle and working class customers.

The extent to which New Zealand architects and builders modified the American houses plans with which they were familiar can be suggested by an examination of designs in another pattern book to feature the work of qualified local architects. *Commonsense Homes for New Zealanders - Being a Collection of Small Houses Suitable to New Zealand Conditions* was published in 1920 and included within its pages 14 designs borrowed from an American publication. These model dwellings, ‘Six Bungalow Designs from a Single Plan’ and ‘Eight Designs from a Single Plan’, had already been published in the May 1919 issue of *Progress*. Here they accompanied an article titled ‘Building Concrete Houses and Bungalows in Quantities’, which reported on experimental housing being erected in Cleveland, Ohio by the Cray, Curtis Company for employees of the

Thus the layout of the interior and the design of the exterior are consistent with the principal features of the California bungalow.


140 *Commonsense Homes for New Zealanders* was published in 1920 and it reproduced some of the same houses that had appeared in *Dominion Homes* five years earlier. This was perhaps a reflection of the perceived ‘gap’ between architecturally designed houses and those which were erected by builders using plan books and timber component company catalogues. The slump in housing construction that occurred in the aftermath of World War One may also partially explain the duplication of 1915 house designs in this pattern book. *Commonsense Homes for New Zealanders: Being a Collection of Small Houses Suitable to New Zealand Conditions*, Harry H. Tombs Ltd, Wellington, 1920, pp. 45-7.
Hydraulic Pressed Steel Company.\textsuperscript{141} In \textit{Commonsense Homes} there is no mention of the method of construction used in the original models, but the floor plans clearly indicate the presence of an aggregate, and therefore the use of concrete, in the external walls.

The ground floor plan proposed for ‘Six Bungalow Designs from a Single Plan’ may be compared with a design offered by Auckland architect, Gerald E. Jones, in the same publication.\textsuperscript{142} Both plans provide for direct access to a multi-purpose living room from a porch or verandah, and the living room in turn communicates with the kitchen. Bedrooms and a bathroom occupy the other half of the rectangular floor plan, and in both designs the area of passageway is reduced to the minimum necessary to provide access and some degree of privacy. Jones’ design also provides for two bedrooms in the attic space and the New Zealand plan is more generously scaled, but the influence of contemporary American houses upon Jones is nevertheless clear (fig. 51). It is tempting to suggest that his design in \textit{Commonsense Homes} may even have arisen out of a desire to adapt, for New Zealand conditions, the American model published initially in \textit{Progress}. In exterior expression, however, Jones chose to use an English cottage idiom rather than adopting the American bungalow style. This modest echo of the discrepancy between style and structure that was discussed in the previous chapter, in conjunction with the Public Trust Office, suggests once again that New Zealand architects took what they needed from American architecture with no obvious concern for maintaining the integrity of the British antecedent. In this synthetic approach to domestic design, architects such as Gerald Jones may have been aided by English publications in which the lessons of American bungalow planning are also apparent.\textsuperscript{143}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{141} New Zealand Building Progress, Vol. 14, No. 9, May 1919, pp. 498-500.
\item \textsuperscript{142} Commonsense Homes for New Zealanders - Being a Collection of Small Houses Suitable to New Zealand Conditions, Harry H. Tombs Ltd., Wellington, 1920, p. 11.
\item \textsuperscript{143} See, for example, R.R. Phillips, \textit{The Book of Bungalows}, 3\textsuperscript{rd} ed., Country Life, London, 1926.
\end{itemize}
The general character of all of the houses illustrated in *Commonsense Homes* is English Arts and Crafts. At the same time many of the designs illustrated in contemporary American mail-order house plan catalogues were becoming increasingly formal in their external appearance. In catalogues such as *Colonial Homes - A Collection of the Latest Designs*, published in 1921 by Seattle company Yoho and Merrit, the most popular model was a New England Colonial Revival dwelling. This catalogue also featured the new 'Colonial Bungalow', which was described as being 'no different from the ordinary bungalow' in terms of its plan and interior detailing, but its exterior 'is designed along different lines.... Here the wide over-hanging cornice gives place to narrow eaves, and wide, low porches to small entrance porches, pergola roofed terraces and sun rooms.' In New Zealand the continued popularity of the California bungalow for middle- and working class suburban dwellings between the world wars appears to have militated against the use of American plan books featuring such designs.

One final example of a specific New Zealand house said to owe its appearance to an American pattern book reintroduces the discussion of the previous chapter concerning the distinction between iconography and style in the generation of architectural meaning. Standing on an inner-city site overlooking Christchurch's Cranmer Square, J.T. Sutton's house was completed by a firm of local builders in October 1926, following a visit to the United States by the owner two years earlier. According to his son, Sutton was much taken with the homes in the exclusive Los Angeles suburb of Beverly Hills during his stay in California. Consequently he purchased a pattern book of famous American houses in order to replicate one Beverly Hills dwelling in particular.

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144 Salmond, pp. 212-15.
146 See Chapter Two.
'Pickfair', the home of Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks, was 'once the Buckingham Palace of the film world' and it is commonly understood to have been the model for the Sutton residence.\textsuperscript{148} The latter is a double-brick structure with a hipped roof and extensive built-in furniture. The rose pergola framing the path to the front door is no longer extant but originally it was one of the features of the house which drew comparisons with the movie stars' mansion. David Gebhard has disputed the connection between the two houses on stylistic grounds, but the fact that the Sutton residence is by no means a carbon copy of 'Pickfair' does not alter the significance of the historic belief in this same association.\textsuperscript{149} As with the Buckland house, the public perception of an American influence may be as important as the actuality when it comes to recognising the presence of such influences in New Zealand, both architecturally and within a broader cultural context. New Zealand's contemporary devotion to American motion pictures was made tangible not only in the cinema architecture of the day but in the mythology surrounding the home of an individual New Zealander.

Putting to one side reservations about its precise source, the plan of the Sutton house is entirely in keeping with contemporary American housing, particularly with regard to the breakfast nook which connects the kitchen and dining room and the provision of a basement furnace. The latter was also acquired in the United States by Sutton and is believed to have powered one of the 'first privately owned interior-heating plants in New Zealand.'\textsuperscript{150} That the Sutton household was well in advance of conventional local heating practices in 1926 is indicated by two pieces of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Undated, unsourced newspaper report on the house supplied by Warwick Todd Ltd. Real Estate Agents on the occasion of the sale of the property in 1993. See also \textit{The Press}, 15 May 1993, p. 73.
\item The late Professor David Gebhard, formerly of the University of California, Santa Barbara, did not know of any pattern books featuring famous American houses and suggested that any one of a large number of pre-1919 American pattern books could have provided J.T. Sutton with the generic design for his house. Professor Gebhard, University of California, Santa Barbara, U.S.A., facsimile message to the author, 20 March 1995.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
documentary evidence. The first is the observation made by an American doctor visiting Christchurch in 1938 that he ‘missed the central heating of America’.\textsuperscript{151} The second, published 16 years after Sutton built his house, is the warning given to the American armed forces before their arrival in New Zealand during the Second World War. The Department of Internal Affairs informed these servicemen that they would find local houses ‘cold’ because the country’s inhabitants were ‘able to kid [them]selves that we don’t need central heating’.\textsuperscript{152} Not only was J.T. Sutton inspired by the glamorous image of American housing in the 1920s, but he was also prematurely aware of the way in which such houses used modern technology to create a comfortable living environment.

The purchase of a pattern book and a central heating furnace in the United States enabled Sutton to dispense with the services of an architect and simply employ a building firm to construct a house which represented, in his eyes, both Hollywood style and American domestic efficiency. Sutton’s efforts suggest that lay people in New Zealand had access to information about contemporary American architectural design independent of the architectural profession and were able to use this information to erect buildings which were in advance of local building practices in either function, plan or style. In the 1920s members of the profession responded to this use of American plan books by clients to short-circuit the design process in two, ultimately unsuccessful, ways.

The design and manufacture of prefabricated houses, which could be ordered by mail by a homeowner or builder living anywhere in the United States or even overseas, represented the

\textsuperscript{150} Undated, unsourced newspaper report on the house, source and date of publication unknown, supplied to the author by Warwick Todd Ltd.
\textsuperscript{151} \textit{The Press}, 11 July 1938, p. 9. The doctor in question was Dr. C.C. Fulmer from San Francisco.
\textsuperscript{152} \textit{Meet New Zealand}, N.Z. Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, c. 1942, p. 20.
culmination of the development of builders’ guides and architects’ plan books. In New Zealand a Wellington architect’s association with an American mail-order house company brings the narrative of European domestic architecture in this country full circle. During the mid-nineteenth century some of New Zealand’s early colonists had imported prefabricated houses from England and Australia to hasten their settlement into permanent accommodation. In the 1920s local architect James Bennie (1874-1945) imported ready-cut houses from the United States to meet a demand for low-cost housing in suburban Wellington. Both activities were responses to the same imperative, the provision of adequate dwellings in the face of a shortage of both housing and the labour needed to build it. That Bennie looked to the United States rather than Australia or Britain to meet this demand is an indication of the premier role American companies played in the increasing standardisation and mechanisation of the construction industry in the twentieth century.

Scottish-born Bennie studied architecture in Melbourne (c.1894-8) and worked for a period in Greymouth before moving in 1903 to Wellington where he lived and worked for the rest of his life. In the capital Bennie designed some public buildings, including several early cinemas and a number of Methodist churches, but he was primarily a domestic architect. In 1921 he visited the

153 For example, the first Government House in Auckland (1840) was prefabricated in England. It is no longer extant, but a cottage built from pre-cut timber which was shipped over from Australia in 1861 still exists in Diamond Harbour, Banks’ Peninsula, where it is known as Stoddart’s cottage after the first owner. T. Hodgson, Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand, pp. 2-3. Stoddart’s Cottage registration file, N.Z. Historic Places Trust, Wellington.

154 In Volume 23 of 125 Pacific Homes Ready-Cut, published in Los Angeles in 1923, it is stated that ‘shipments of Pacific Homes have been made to Alaska, Hawaii, Mexico, Guatemala, Belgium, England, New Zealand and South America’. This would suggest that James Bennie was not alone in his efforts to import prefabricated houses from the United States during the 1920s. A Lower Hutt house (c.1925) illustrated in Built in New Zealand was imported pre-cut from Seattle according to Bill Toomath. 125 Pacific Homes Ready-Cut, Volume 23, Pacific Ready-Cut Homes Inc., Los Angeles, 1923, p. 10. Toomath, pl. 25, op. p. 155.

155 The New Zealand government’s establishment of a pre-cut house factory based on North American models in the 1920s has already been mentioned in Chapter Two.

United States, returning to New Zealand with a pre-cut house that he erected in Derwent Street, Island Bay.\textsuperscript{157} This was to be the first of about 30 pre-cut houses, manufactured by the Gordon-Van Tine Company of Davenport, Iowa, that Bennie erected in Island Bay and Karori between c.1922 and 1927 (see fig. 52). The houses were in a simplified bungalow style, had a standard floor plan and could be built in about three weeks by two men.\textsuperscript{158} Gordon-Van Tine was one of the largest suppliers of pre-cut, mail order houses in the United States in the early years of this century.\textsuperscript{159} Despite the severe shortage of housing in New Zealand in the years following the World War One, however, Bennie's New Zealand Popular Homes Company was short-lived. His efforts to combine advanced American construction technology with the imprimatur of architectural authority were arguably doomed to fail given the dominance of the modestly priced housing market by speculative builders.

As a body New Zealand architects discussed their concerns about the domestic market and the quality of the houses being built by non-architects throughout the inter-war period. At a Mayoral Reception in Dunedin in February 1926, for example, the Annual General Meeting of the N.Z.I.A. was addressed by the city's Deputy Mayor, Councillor Ta\v{e}n

ner. Telling his audience what they wished to hear, Ta\v{e}n

ner said he

\begin{quote}
\textit{did not see any reason why, if a man wanted to build a house, he should rely upon a book of plans from America. ... In connection with some of the things seen round about which were called houses, the design had been obtained from an American publication for the price of one dollar, and some of them were nothing to write home about, as he as sure they would agree.}
\end{quote}

In reply, the outgoing president of the Institute, W.M. Page declared

\begin{quote}
\textit{[h]e was also glad that the Dollar Book of plans from America had been}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{157} Fill, pp. 10, 27. See also, \textit{N.Z. Building Progress}, Vol. 16, No. 11, July 1921, p. 253.
\textsuperscript{158} Fill, p. 28.
\textsuperscript{159} The Gordon-Van Tine Company was in operation from c.1911 until 1941. Schweitzer & Davis, pp. 24, 64.
mentioned, but at the same time he would have wished that a way of dealing with it had been suggested. (Hear, hear!) That book of plans exerted more influence on the domestic architecture of the country than all the architects put together. It was unfortunate that it was so.160

Ironically the solution to the ‘Dollar Book’ the Institute had under consideration by this date also originated in the United States.161

In the late-1920s and early 1930s members of the N.Z.I.A. examined the workings of the American Architects’ Small House Service Bureau as one possible solution to the housing problem as they saw it. This service was established in 1920, with the endorsement of the American Institute of Architects, and it provided mail-order house plans at a cost of US$5 per principal room.162 It had grown out of a similar bureau established by a group of Minnesota architects in 1919. The American Architects’ Small House Service Bureau was initiated ‘in response to the state of residential architecture, to the limited influence architects were having on small-house design, and to the successes of non-professional plan services’.163 These were precisely the same concerns expressed by qualified architects in New Zealand and Australia at this time.164

161 See Chapter Five for a further consideration of William Page’s views on the practice of New Zealand architecture and the profession’s obligations to British imperial loyalties.
162 The Bureau survived until 1942 although the A.I.A. withdrew its support in 1934. Harvey, p. 9.
163 Harvey, p. 1.
In November 1925 Cyril Knight, the newly appointed professor of the School of Architecture at Auckland University College, in a paper presented to the Auckland Branch of the Institute, drew members’ attention to an American initiative:

> It is interesting to note here the work that is being done by the “Small House Service Bureau” to raise the standard of design in small houses. … No arrangement of this sort can ever be as satisfactory as an architect designing a personal problem, but the buildings erected under the bureau scheme have done much to improve the standard of the small house in the environs of New York.\(^{165}\)

At the N.Z.I.A.’s annual council meeting in 1930 the matter of a Small House Bureau for New Zealand was again raised, but in this instance the subtext of Knight’s assessment was stated much more overtly. C.R. Ford of Auckland told fellow members ‘that the Institute [should] go cannily in regard to the question of the Small House Bureau. New Zealand would not do well to follow the movement of America in this matter. The Small House Bureau [is] not the right way of tackling this problem’. Ford argued instead that the poor design of the small house in New Zealand would only be remedied when the owners cared as much for their houses as they did for ‘picture theatres, motor cars and frippery’.\(^{166}\) F.E. Greenish, on the other hand, felt that ‘because the idea had originated and failed in America, it was not to say that New Zealand could not do something successfully on similar lines though varied to suit particular needs’.\(^{167}\)

In the United States the Architects’ Small House Service Bureau ‘had little direct impact on small-house construction’ and was ‘unsuccessful in creating new tastes in architecture. Rather, it

\(^{165}\) Prof. C.R. Knight, ‘The Types of Residence in New York and Environs’, *Journal of the N.Z.I.A.*, Vol. 4, No. 5, November 1925, pp. 115-16. In his paper Knight also noted the provision of central heating in country houses, the luxuriousness of American bathrooms, and paid homage to the domestic architecture of Charles Platt. Ibid., p. 116-17.

\(^{166}\) *Journal of the N.Z.I.A.*, Vol. 9, No. 1, April 1930, pp. 16-17.

\(^{167}\) Ibid., p. 17. Greenish was editor of the *Journal of the N.Z.I.A.*.
made established styles available to a national home market. Its indirect influence was considerable, however, given the widespread circulation of the Bureau’s designs in plan books and national newspapers and magazines. That lesser accomplishment was either overlooked by or not apparent to contemporary antipodean observers. In New Zealand the profession continued to bemoan their marginal position within the small house market but chose not to develop an indigenous version of the Small Houses Bureau in an effort to increase market share. Thus it was left to builders and home-owners, with or without the aid of a pattern or plan book, to design and build the majority of New Zealand’s houses - just as they had always done.

Conclusion

In 1903, an editorial in *The Press* titled 'The Hope of Colonial Architecture' made the following statement with regard to architectural publications.

> It is true that illustrated processes are so perfect to-day, and professional publications so numerous that the knowledge of all ancient and modern art work is brought within the reach of everyone, however distant from the refining influence of the works themselves. ... But such publications do not come within the reach of the 'man in the street' - they are not studied, nor could they be properly understood by the non-professional owner for whom architectural works are erected.

168 Harvey, pp. 5, 9.
170 Design competitions for a ‘Small House’ [*Journal of the N.Z.I.A*, Vol. 10, No. 5, December 1931, pp. 116-7] and a ‘Model House for Persons of Moderate Means’ [*Journal of the N.Z.I.A*, Vol. 11, No. 3, August 1932, pp. 70-1], which were sponsored by the N.Z.I.A. for architectural draughtsmen and students in the early 1930s, were clearly intended to raise the level of professional interest in small house design. Miss M.A. McIntyre, then working with the Wellington firm of Atkins and Mitchell, won both competitions.
Although the author was not identified, the tone of the text is entirely consistent with pronouncements made elsewhere by architects in defence of their assumed role and status within the New Zealand building industry.\textsuperscript{171} By contrast published material directed towards a non-professional audience did come within reach of the ‘common man’ throughout the study period and was consequently fundamental to the introduction of American domestic models from the early years of European settlement. New Zealand architects, builders and homeowners gleaned information from American pattern and plan books about architectural styles, planning and methods of construction. As these publications were directed towards a similar audience of colonists, amateur architects and speculative builders, they satisfied a demand in New Zealand that could not be fulfilled by British publications.\textsuperscript{172}

In the United States the widespread distribution of pattern and plan books had the potential to deflect regional differences in architecture, introducing the California bungalow to New England and broadcasting the Colonial Revival house from Massachusetts to Michigan and beyond.\textsuperscript{173} Equally the appearance of American domestic styles in New Zealand is due in large part to the availability of such books beyond the borders of North America. The ubiquity of the California bungalow in New Zealand suburbs between the world wars is perhaps the best instance of this process of diffusion but the popular use of Carpenter Gothic and Italian villa styles in the second half of the nineteenth century is also indicative in this respect.

\textsuperscript{171} S.H. Seager may have been the editorial’s author given that he resided in Christchurch and his active promotion of New Zealand architecture was often reported by the news media.

\textsuperscript{172} The terminal date of John Archer’s study of the literature of British domestic architecture is 1842 because in that year \textit{The Builder} began publication and henceforth professional periodicals became the dominant component in British architectural publishing. Archer, p. xviii.

\textsuperscript{173} Guter & Foster, p. 3. See also D. Gebhard, \textit{The Elusive Image: Regionalism in Twentieth Century Architecture}, The Harkness Lectures, School of Fine Arts, University of Canterbury, 1993.
More than simply increasing the range of useful design models available to local home-owners, American publications offered New Zealand architects and builders entry to a community of theory and practice that was broader than their situation in an isolated British colony might have been expected to allow. Particularly in the years before the establishment of a local architectural press, American publications went some considerable way in reducing the isolation of New Zealand architects and builders. While some members of the architectural profession railed against their slight hold on the domestic market, others used pattern books to offer their clients fashionable designs suited to timber construction and so built up successful domestic practices. As tensions between builders and architects became more evident in the early decades of the twentieth century, however, plan and pattern books were increasingly criticised by architects who looked instead to professional periodicals, tertiary education and overseas travel for validation and inspiration. Such vehicles for the promotion of architectural authority in New Zealand will be considered in the next chapter, wherein it will soon become evident that the United States still had much to offer the colonial architect.
Chapter Four

American Lessons: 
The Education of New Zealand Architects

The training in Design is based upon the world-famous system adopted by the Ecole des Beaux Arts at Paris, which has been followed by Liverpool, Manchester, and London University Schools of Architecture with such distinguished success. It is also the system operative at the Architectural Association Schools in London and most of the American Universities. Auckland University College School of Architecture Prospectus, 1927, p. 6.

In June 1910 J.T. Mair (1876-1959), who had studied architecture at the University of Pennsylvania and was to become Government Architect of New Zealand, strongly advised members of the Architectural Students’ Club of Wellington ‘to take a course of training in one of the English or American architectural schools.’¹ In the following decade architectural education was to become a major issue for the profession in this country. In a number of instances, both before and after 1910, American approaches to architectural education were utilised in New Zealand by would-be architects and those concerned with their training. Whether these solutions came directly from the United States or via England, where the American model of design education was particularly influential, the overall effect was to place New Zealand architects firmly within an Anglo-American context of educational development in which they were full participants.²

Architectural education has long been regarded by architects as central to their struggle to

² See A. McEwan, ‘Learning by Example: Architectural Education in New Zealand Before 1940’, Fabrications – The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand, Vol. 9, May 1999, pp. 1-16. This essay was originally presented as a conference paper to the 13th Annual S.A.H.A.N.Z. Conference held in Auckland in 1996. Research undertaken for this chapter also formed the basis of the paper titled “[W]e must all follow the example of France’: the École des Beaux-Arts and Architectural Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand’ which was presented to the 53rd Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Miami, Florida in June 2000.
advance the profession's social status. The first system of architectural education to operate in New Zealand was the traditional British method, where aspiring architects learnt their craft in the office of a senior architect. The pupil usually commenced his or her articles as a teenager and then worked for some five to seven years before being adjudged as having acquired sufficient skill to work independently or go into full partnership with the master architect. The success of the system was therefore dependent upon the expertise of the senior architect and the ability of his or her pupil to capitalise upon the experience, at the same time augmenting it with whatever was available in the way of draughting and other technical classes provided by the local university or technical college. Sometimes the practice of articled pupillage created the environment in which leadership in the profession was passed from one architect to another, as was the case in Christchurch with Benjamin Mountfort and his student Samuel Hurst Seager, but as an informal system it did nothing to enhance architects' call for recognition of their vocation as a profession, rather than a trade.

The French École des Beaux-Arts system, established in 1797, offered the principal alternative to articled pupillage for the education of architects. In Paris students of the École worked in ateliers (studios) run by the leading architects of the day, learning their profession by entering progressively more demanding design competitions set by the state-funded school. After 1846, when the first American attended the École to study architecture, this system attracted considerable interest in the United States where the 'tradition-bound, hierarchically structured

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4 Crinson & Lubbock, pp. 22-6, 44-7.

École seemed worth emulating to those architects who were alarmed by the almost total lack of regulation of the [local] building industry and the architectural profession.\(^6\) The École des Beaux-Arts subsequently became the model for the first American university architectural programme established by William R. Ware (1832-1915) at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass. in 1865. By 1900 a total of 14 American universities offered degree courses in architecture, all of them following the École system, particularly as it applied to the teaching of design.\(^7\)

During this period, articled pupillage continued as the predominant method of architectural training in Great Britain. Gradually, however, British architects also came to realise that the formalisation of architectural education was fundamental to the maintenance of standards within the profession and to the assertion of the status of its practitioners. From the early 1840s London’s King’s College (1840) and University College (1841) offered architectural classes as ‘the foundation-stones for pupillage’.\(^8\) T.L. Donaldson, who was Professor of Architecture at University College from 1841 until 1865, was familiar with the French academic model but, significantly, neither King’s nor University College provided courses in architectural design before 1890. Once the prejudice against university education for architects had been broken down, encouraged by pioneers such as Donaldson, the American example then paved the way for

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\(^7\) The MIT architecture programme was followed by one at Cornell University, New York State, in 1871. The first architectural school west of the Rocky Mountains was established at the University of California’s Berkeley campus in 1903. Draper, pp. 209-10, 229.

\(^8\) Crinson & Lubbock, p. 49.
architectural schools in Britain and the Commonwealth to adopt the Beaux-Arts system.\textsuperscript{9}

Given the importance of education to the English-speaking architectural community during the period in which the profession was being established in New Zealand it is hardly surprising that it was a frequently discussed subject in local professional periodicals. \textit{Progress} and the N.Z.I.A.'s \textit{Journal} kept their readership informed about the Institute's deliberations on educational policy and published comment and controversy about the state of architectural education in New Zealand. The curriculum of the country's first school of architecture, which was established at Auckland University College in 1917, also provides written evidence of the influence of American educational models in New Zealand. Finally, biographical information regarding individual architects who had had personal experience of American architectural education reveals the impact that experience had upon their working lives and professional concerns. Together these sources reveal that American educational programmes and teaching models were accessible to New Zealand architects and that they were considered appropriate and useful by many within the local profession. Despite the paucity of contemporary records regarding architects' assessment of their own educational experiences, as distinct from what they felt was most appropriate for others, learning architecture in New Zealand between 1900 and 1940 did in many cases involve learning about American architecture, the American way.

\section*{Education By Correspondence}

Before the establishment of the School of Architecture at Auckland University College aspiring

\textsuperscript{9} J.M. Freeland chronicles the development of architectural education in Australia and describes the same progression towards university education for architects that occurred in Britain and New Zealand during the late nineteenth and
architects in New Zealand had few alternatives if they were unable or unwilling to serve a period of articulated apprenticeship. Although pupillage alone 'had rarely if ever been regarded as sufficient training for the responsibilities of an architect' it was nevertheless considered to be the foundation of all architectural education by the profession in Britain and its colonies until at least the 1880s and 1890s. Additional instruction in design and construction was offered in the evenings at technical and university colleges as an adjunct to pupillage in New Zealand and Australia from about 1880, but these classes were not 'intended as a substitute for office practice' and attendance was voluntary and casual (see fig. 26). Similarly, the ever-increasing array of British and American builders' manuals, pattern books and architectural periodicals expanded the opportunities for architectural self-education, although they were never regarded as constituting an adequate alternative to learning the skills needed to become an architect within an office environment.

Positioned between night classes and voluminous reference books, such as Kidder's *The Architects' and Builders' Pocket-Book*, private study by correspondence was the most formal and systematic alternative to an architectural apprenticeship available in New Zealand by 1900. At this time, when only about 10% of the country's primary school children went on to secondary school and, of that 10%, the average length of attendance at secondary school was less than two-and-a-half years, there was 'something of a vacuum in adult education in New Zealand'. During the interval between the decline of the mechanics' institutes in the 1890s and the

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10 Crinson & Lubbock, p. 64.
11 Freeland, pp. 204-11.
12 Crinson & Lubbock, p. 18. See Chapter Three.
13 See Chapter Three for a discussion of Frank Kidder's *Pocket-Book*.
establishment of the Workers' Education Association in 1915, education for adults who had not had the opportunity to attend secondary school or university was provided by a variety of organisations, which were neither solely concerned with the provision of such education, nor were they coordinated in any way. Furthermore, it was only after 1920 that there was a 'well-developed national system of technical instruction' in New Zealand. It was against this background that correspondence schools emerged as one agency for adult education. They provided not only non-vocational language and English literature courses for the general self-improvement of their students, but also professional subjects, such as architecture and accountancy, which could lead more directly to social advancement within colonial-settler communities.

Distance education was particularly well positioned to help New Zealand's would-be architects in the period between about 1900 and 1920 because, like architectural books and periodicals, it addressed both the problem of the country's isolation from the principal centres of architectural tradition and innovation and the lack of a fully-developed professional educational

15 Important though the foundation of the W.E.A. was in New Zealand, neither the leaders of the movement in England nor those in New Zealand were concerned with providing vocational training courses for workers. Rather they sought to promote education for the working classes as a tool to personal self-improvement, independent of their specific vocational needs. Classes taught by W.E.A. branches in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin and Invercargill in 1915, for example, included economics, English literature, psychology and chemistry. Shuker, pp.19, 42-3, 55. See also M. Fairburn, 'Social Mobility and Opportunity in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *The New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 13, No. 1, April 1979, p. 48.


Two American schools of correspondence, the International Correspondence Schools (I.C.S.), based in Scranton, Pennsylvania, and the American School of Correspondence (A.S.C.), of Chicago, Illinois, offered courses in architecture which were advertised in New Zealand in both the professional journals and mass-circulation newspapers of the day.

A nationwide network of agents promoted and coordinated study with I.C.S. and A.S.C. in New Zealand. In Wellington, for example, the St. John's Presbyterian Young Men's Bible Class became an agent for the International Correspondence Schools in about 1903. Local architect, George Troup (1863-1941), who had been promoted to the position of Office and Designing Engineer for the Railways Department a year earlier, was joint leader of this bible class. Troup's high standing within the architectural profession and civil service in Wellington made him an authoritative spokesman for study by correspondence. Notwithstanding Troup's personal endorsement of I.C.S., the school's courses were also highly regarded at this time because they not only served as preparation for university studies, but could also be taken to augment such

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18 The fact that there was some demand for architectural education by correspondence did not escape the attention of New Zealand architects and in the March 1919 issue of *New Zealand Building Progress* Banks' Commercial College of Wellington advertised a 'complete course in architecture' to be taught by correspondence. The course was designed to prepare students for the N.Z.I.A. and R.I.B.A. examinations and was also open to builders and contractors. Instructors Llewellyn Williams and C.H. Mitchell offered personal tuition for local residents as an additional service. The College's architectural programme was also advertised on at least one occasion in the journal of the N.Z.I.A. but the absence of any other reference to the course in either *Progress* or the journal suggests that interest in it was shortlived. The coincidence of the introduction of this course with the establishment of the School of Architecture in Auckland may well have stymied the Wellington initiative's chances for success. *New Zealand Building Progress*, Vol. 14, No. 7, March 1919, pp. 451-2. N.Z.I.A. Proceedings, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1917/18, inside cover.

19 The American School of Correspondence advertised in the first issue of *Progress* in November 1905. Offering 200 different courses, including electrical, mechanical, steam, civil and sanitary engineering, as well as architecture, A.S.C. had its New Zealand head office in Auckland with branches in Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, Napier, Timaru and Palmerston North. The school was based at the Armour Institute of Technology in Chicago and, according to another advertisement in the October 1906 issue of *Progress*, it was 'the only correspondence school which makes a speciality of engineering work, and the only correspondence school whose instruction is credited for entrance to American engineering schools and colleges.' The Armour Institute of Technology later merged with the Lewis Institute to become the Illinois Institute of Technology. *Progress*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1 November 1905, p. 2; Vol. 1, No. 12, 1 October 1906, p. 332. C.W. Condit, *The Chicago School of Architecture - A History of Commercial and Public Buildings in the Chicago Area, 1875 - 1925*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1964, p. 208.

Although I.C.S. and A.S.C. both advertised their programmes in New Zealand, it appears that I.C.S. was the more popular distance-education provider for aspiring local architects. According to its textbooks, I.C.S. commissioned leading American professionals to prepare its architectural study material and examination questions, chief among them William Robert Ware, the ‘founder of modern architectural education in America’. Prior to his involvement with I.C.S. Ware had been responsible for establishing the architectural programmes at M.I.T. (1865) and Columbia University, New York (1881). From these schools his students ‘went on to teach in most of the other university schools of architecture which were then being founded’ in the United States. Ware’s university teaching programmes were based upon a thorough knowledge of both the English and French systems of architectural education, with modifications to suit American conditions, and his association with I.C.S. is indicative of his commitment to architectural education at both collegiate and popular levels. Others in the American architectural fraternity were evidently not so supportive of correspondence schools, including Charles McKim who was a persuasive advocate for a more purist form of Beaux-Arts architectural design education than that espoused by Ware. The latter’s involvement with I.C.S., who published Ware’s most famous publication, *The American Vignola*, in 1904, nevertheless provides a strong indication of

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25 Ware’s resignation from the staff of Columbia University in 1903 was evidently due in part to his proposal to allow I.C.S. architectural students to gain credit for their previous work if they were accepted in to the university programme. Associate Professor Mary Woods, 13 August 1995. Chewning, p. 29.
the professional standard of teaching offered by such a school.26

New Zealanders who studied architecture with an American correspondence school shared two common characteristics that help to explain why they elected to take this method of entry to the profession. William Thomas (d.1967) of Ashburton and J.W. Chapman-Taylor (1878-1958) may have chosen tuition by correspondence over pupillage because of the paucity of local architects with which to train, but Joseph Dawson (1877-1956), who was a Wellington resident, can hardly have been in this position. Rather what these men had in common was that all had worked in the building industry before becoming architects and none had served articles with a practising architect. Thomas, Chapman-Taylor and Dawson were therefore just the type of aspiring architects to whom I.C.S. addressed their architectural course, a programme ‘designed particularly to meet the wants of those already engaged in the building trades or drafting-room’.27

Chapman-Taylor enrolled in an I.C.S. Course in ‘Architectural and Building Construction’ in 1903 and by 1905 he had completed twenty-two subjects and was approaching graduation.28 This constituted his only formal architectural education. The son of a quantity surveyor, Chapman-Taylor had previously been apprenticed to a builder in the Taranaki township of Stratford.29 In 1905 he settled in Island Bay, Wellington and established himself in practice as an architect-craftsman, designing houses in the English cottage style and making Arts and Crafts

29 Ibid., p. 6.
style furniture with which to furnish them.30

As he was later to repudiate the 'slushy sentimentality' of the American bungalow it is apparent that studying with I.C.S. did not automatically confer upon students a blind appreciation of all things American.31 Nevertheless Chapman-Taylor’s association with The Craftsman magazine reveals that the architect was sympathetic to, and undoubtedly aware of, Arts and Crafts architecture in America and that he was also recognised in the United States as being a kindred spirit in regard to his own domestic production.32 In the text which accompanied photographs of ‘Plas Mawr’, a house designed and built by Chapman-Taylor in New Plymouth in 1913 and reproduced in the June 1914 issue of The Craftsman, Gustav Stickley lavished praise on the New Zealand architect for his commitment to Craftsman principles (fig. 42). The Craftsman’s founder and editor also remarked that the house ‘shows how wide and all-pervading is the architectural zeitgeist of today’.33

The affinity between Chapman-Taylor’s designs and those published in The Craftsman had been apparent at least 10 years before Stickley’s 1914 assessment of the New Zealand architect’s work. Perspective views of a ‘Rustic Bungalow’, which were reproduced in the July 1904 issue

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33 Gustav Stickley identified five characteristics of ‘Plas Mawr’ which signalled the influence of Craftsman designs: the post-and-panel construction between the rooms, the ‘frank treatment of each structural feature’, the solid proportions and simple lines of the furniture, the elimination of unnecessary ornament, and the Craftsman-style fireplace in the living-room inglenook. The ground floor plan of the Snell house ‘Restormel’, designed by Chapman-Taylor in 1928 and erected in Chatsworth Road, Silverstream, reveals the way in which the architect used an open, informal plan for the main living areas, in keeping with the Craftsman bungalow style, by substituting a dining recess for a separate dining room and linking that space with the kitchen via a servery. ‘A New Zealand Bungalow that
of *The Craftsman*, bore a strong resemblance to the cottage designs of the New Zealand architect in their simple hipped-roof forms, solid walls inset with multi-paned casement windows sheltering beneath low eaves and the partially enclosed courtyard on to which the principal rooms open. Houses reproduced in R.R. Phillips’s *The Book of Bungalows*, first published in London in 1920, are also similar to those designed by Chapman-Taylor in their construction, composition and general appearance. These buildings lend weight to Stickley’s contention that the new home-building spirit, with its yearning for comfort, for simplicity and beauty, for sincere and earnest craftsmanship, is by no means limited to America and the countries of the Old World, but is stretching out into other continents and colonies and inspiring pioneers beyond other seas.

J.W. Chapman-Taylor firmly believed that ‘to study from [New Zealand] is not enough, one must see the REAL THING [in England]’, and he made his own pilgrimages to Britain in 1909 and 1914. In his concern for experimental construction techniques using concrete and petrol tins and the free plan form of many of his houses, however, it is possible to see that contact with America may well have been equally important in shaping his approach to domestic architecture and the craftsman house. Chapman-Taylor’s Arts and Crafts philosophy, which is evident in his writings and embodied in the design and construction of his houses, places him firmly within a movement that had adherents in both Britain and the United States. So too does his educational...
background provide an indication of the synthetic Anglo-American nature of New Zealand architectural education as it evolved in the early twentieth century.

William Thomas's domestic architecture in the mid-Canterbury town of Ashburton is more overtly American in appearance than are Chapman-Taylor's craftsman houses. Nevertheless Thomas's use of the American Colonial Revival style during the late 1920s and 1930s is equally representative of the simultaneous popularity of a domestic style in New Zealand, England and the United States.39 In 1909 Thomas began working for Tucker's Limited, a local Ashburton firm of timber and coal merchants, with whom he subsequently became foreman of the company's joinery division. Outside working hours he undertook the correspondence lessons which would eventually allow him to set up his own architectural practice in the town.40 His houses stand out within the streetscape of Ashburton because of their thoroughgoing adoption of the American Colonial Revival style.

Weatherboard structures with shuttered windows, symmetrical facades and dormer windows, the houses Thomas designed are very similar to Colonial Revival dwellings reproduced in contemporary American house pattern books and mail-order catalogues.41 American architectural publications, both educational and plan books, therefore seem to have enabled 'Billy' Thomas to advance his career and offer his provincial clients house designs in most up-to-date style.42 In addition to a large number of domestic commissions, Thomas designed a variety of other building types, becoming the town's foremost resident-architect and practising until his retirement in

The third architect who is known to have used an American correspondence school course to make the transition from the building trades to the practice of architecture was Wellington architect, Joseph Dawson. The son of a Christchurch builder, his formal knowledge of architecture was entirely based upon his study with I.C.S. After making an extended tour of South Africa, England and Australia, Dawson established his practice in Wellington in 1906, gaining his client base predominantly from the motor vehicle industry. He was subsequently joined in partnership by Jack King (1900-72), who had studied architecture at University College in London (1927-9). Dawson and King’s different pathways to the practice of architecture illustrate the way in which patterns of architectural education changed from one generation to the next in the early part of this century.

Dawson and King’s partnership - between a university-trained architect and one whose background was in the building industry - also offers an echo of the kind of alliances American architects were making in the late nineteenth-century as the process of designing and constructing buildings became more complicated and more demanding. Dawson’s I.C.S. education, in conjunction with six years of overseas travel and work experience, enabled him to establish a successful practice. His presidency of the N.Z.I.A. between 1938-40 suggests that such a background was no hindrance to achieving prominence within the profession at that

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42 Thomas’s use of the Colonial Revival style may be compared with contemporary work by William Gray Young in Wellington, for example. See Chapter Two.
43 Ashburton Guardian, 21 February 1987, p. 10. Some of the architect’s plans are now held in the Ashburton District Museum.
45 Kemp, pp. 51, 108. See Chapter Two.
47 Woods, p. 168.
Edmund Anscombe is another leading New Zealand architect who may have studied architecture by correspondence with an American school. Anscombe served a building apprenticeship in Dunedin before he travelled to America in 1901 to study architecture. One of his former employees, architect Jack Sewell, has suggested that during Anscombe’s six-year residence in the United States (1901-7) he undertook an International Correspondence Schools’ course in architecture, possibly while living in Chicago. Anscombe certainly fits the profile of a ‘correspondence architect’ and in light of what is known about his subsequent career it seems plausible that he was one of a rapidly-expanding constituency of adult students living in the United States who undertook I.C.S. courses for the same reasons as their New Zealand counterparts.

On his return to New Zealand Anscombe established a private practice in Dunedin and was appointed architect to the University of Otago, an association that was maintained until his move to Wellington in 1929. Unlike J.T. Mair’s experience on returning from America, which will be discussed shortly, there was no mention in contemporary reports of what Anscombe’s study in America had involved. Anscombe himself never seems to have referred to his education in the United States in any of the articles or interviews that were published about his work during his lifetime.

In addition to his work at the university campus Anscombe designed ecclesiastical, educational and residential buildings in Dunedin, Wellington and the Hawke's Bay region. His specialist interest in the design of exhibition buildings, which culminated in the design of the Wellington Centennial Exhibition buildings, has already been discussed.52 Given Anscombe's high profile within New Zealand architectural circles, and his willingness to promote both himself and his work in public and professional publications, it is hard to account for the mystery over his American years. What this omission tends to suggest, however, is that Anscombe had not received the kind of formal American architectural training which could have been used to establish or enhance his architectural pedigree in New Zealand and so he said nothing on the subject. That is not to say that Anscombe's American experience was in any way disregarded once he was back in New Zealand, but rather that in regards to his professional education there was nothing singular about it which could be advertised to advantage by the architect. Anscombe's silence in no way contradicts Sewell's contention and it seems likely that he followed a path similar to that taken by other New Zealand contemporaries, the only difference being the place of study.

Correspondence study allowed would-be architects such as Chapman-Taylor, Thomas and Dawson to study in their own time whilst continuing to undertake full-time employment. In 1880 the 'Report of the Royal Commission ... Upon the Operations of the University of New Zealand and its Relations to the Secondary Schools of the Colony' noted that evening classes often failed to attract sufficient numbers of pupils, despite the 'urgency with which their institution has been demanded'. It was thought 'probable that many who commenced attendance at the classes had underrated the strain which is imposed by a continuous course of study carried

52 See Chapter Two.
on in the hours that remain after the ordinary work of the day.\textsuperscript{53} This observation may also explain why correspondence courses had an appeal to men involved in the trades who desired a more flexible method of study than nightly attendance at the local college. Furthermore, private study outside the developing network of student self-help clubs and the evening classes offered by technical and university colleges may also have been more appealing to men who did not come from a professional family background wherein the procedures and protocols of higher education were more familiar.

Entry into the architectural profession by men of a lower social class than many of their professional colleagues may therefore have been facilitated by the availability in New Zealand of correspondence courses offered by American organisations. Study by correspondence gave some New Zealand architects the opportunity to circumvent the usual method of entering the profession through the process of articed pupillage and provided them with an introduction to American architectural practice at a time when there were insufficient opportunities for professional study within the country.

\textbf{Study in America}

The advantages of American correspondence school courses for one sector of the professional community notwithstanding, another group of aspiring architects - those who could afford it -

were more inclined to take J.T. Mair’s advice of 1910 and go abroad for their education.\textsuperscript{34} Foreign study tours had been a customary adjunct to articled pupillage in Britain since the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{35} This convention in architectural education was easily reconciled with the patterns of expatriatism and overseas travel which have come to be considered characteristic of native-born artistic and scholarly life in New Zealand in the decades after c.1895.\textsuperscript{36} Study abroad, like correspondence courses, offered a means by which aspiring architects could compensate for the lack of a fully developed educational infrastructure in New Zealand. In fact even as the establishment of a School of Architecture was being mooted in the early 1910s, some members of the profession felt that New Zealand’s student architects could only be considered satisfactorily educated if they had been overseas. As a contributor to \textit{Progress} put it in 1912 [t]o study architecture the student must go where architecture is. For even the partial training of architectural students it would be necessary to import the teachers from Europe, and we all know the risk that is run in doing that. Moreover it is far from certain that the best men ... would come out to this architectural wilderness. We lack the architectural sense and atmosphere in New Zealand. ... A knowledge of the sciences connected with architecture is, therefore, the most the architectural student can hope to properly obtain in New Zealand. Of architecture itself he can but obtain a smattering from books; and rather than waste his time and money in burdening his mind with matter which would have to be unburdened if he ever went abroad, we would suggest that he

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\item It seems likely that the men who went overseas to study architecture between c.1900 and 1925 were from a more affluent socioeconomic group than that of their contemporaries who used correspondence courses in architecture to further their professional aspirations. As the son of the Mayor of Invercargill, J.T. Mair, for one, would appear to bear out this observation. The paucity of information about the family circumstances of New Zealand’s early architects, however, makes it difficult to ascertain the extent to which this contention might be true. The issue is certainly one that deserves further study in order to elucidate more clearly the educational options available to architects prior to World War Two. \textit{Progress}, Vol. 5, No. 10, 1 August 1910, p. 350.
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proceed to Europe for his architectural training.\textsuperscript{57}

These sentiments were reiterated at regular intervals over the next decade. In 1915 Eric Gooder, who was then studying at the Architectural Association in London, observed in a letter to the editor of \textit{Progress} that it was 'perhaps unnecessary to impress upon the colonial wishing to take up the profession of architecture, the importance of a course of study abroad'.\textsuperscript{58} Again in 1923, the official journal of the N.Z.I.A. was 'obliged to admit that unless we go to England or America and gain experience by a good course of study, or else read a great number of books, our training is in much the same position as it has been for many years'; a not altogether positive appraisal in view of the existence of the Auckland School of Architecture by this date.\textsuperscript{59}

What foreign learning could offer over home study by correspondence was 'the [social] cachet of Paris or London or Edinburgh' and, for some, a formal qualification to set before a society which was highly susceptible to the premise that overseas recognition was far superior to local achievement.\textsuperscript{60} It is against this backdrop, at a time when the 'most eminent New Zealanders of their day in the world of art, literature, or intellect, had to leave in order to achieve their maturity', that the United States provided another point of entry to the profession back home.\textsuperscript{61}

Furthermore, the partial overlap between this aspect of architectural education in New Zealand and the period during which American attendance at the École des Beaux-Arts was at its peak (1890-1910), suggests a degree of commonality between New Zealand and American aspiring architects at the turn of the century in their concern for advancing their own careers and in


\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Journal of the N.Z.I.A.}, Vol. 1, No. 6, January 1923, p. 141.

\textsuperscript{60} McCormick, p. 157.
overcoming any deficiencies in local programmes of study.\textsuperscript{62}

Architectural study abroad might be an informal, self-directed process, such as that apparently undertaken in the United States by Edmund Anscombe, or, more commonly as the century progressed, it could be focused upon formal training at a tertiary institution.\textsuperscript{63} Either form of study might also be augmented by overseas work experience, such as that undertaken by W.H. Gummer (1884-1966) in both England and the United States in the early 1910s.\textsuperscript{64} Gummer spent three months in 1912 working for D.H. Burnham and Company of Chicago, the largest and most distinguished architectural practice in the United States at that time. Previously he had served his articles with Auckland architect W.A. Holman (1900-7), studied at the Royal Academy School of Architecture (1909-10) and worked in the office of Edwin Lutyens (1911) in London.\textsuperscript{65} Encompassing New Zealand pupillage, British academy training and American office practice, Gummer's career signals the diversity of educational options available to an ambitious and competent New Zealand architect in the years preceding World War One. It is also indicative of the way in which American architectural experience might be accommodated within Commonwealth patterns of education and professional development.

\textsuperscript{61} Sinclair, \textit{A History of New Zealand}, p. 199. See also, Marsh, pp. 573-5.
\textsuperscript{62} Draper, pp. 210-12. Crimson & Lubbock, p. 77.
\textsuperscript{63} Like Anscombe, Frederic Browne (1883-1961) also appears to have followed an independent course of study in the United States. He was born in Thames and received his early education in Auckland, from whence he travelled to San Francisco in 1906 to study architecture and gain experience working for local architects. After 10 years residence in the United States, Browne returned to New Zealand in 1917 to enlist for war service and he subsequently practiced architecture in Auckland from 1920 until his retirement in 1959. Wellington architect William Crichton's (1862-1928) 'Travelling Experiences' in the United States and England were shared with members of the Wellington Branch of the N.Z.I.A. in 1915. Crichton, who later served a term as Institute President (1922-3), reported that '[i]t is universally acknowledged that educational matters all over the States are well attended to, but nowhere are they better than at San Francisco.' 'Obituary - Frederic A. Browne', \textit{Journal of the N.Z.I.A.}, Vol. 28, No. 4, May 1961, pp. 112-3. \textit{The N.Z.I.A. Journal of Proceedings}, Vol. 3, No. 6, July 1915, pp.14-20.
Another point to which the example of Gummer's early professional life lends itself is that most of the architects who went overseas at this period, including Gummer and Mair, returned to New Zealand after relatively short periods of residence in England or the United States. Arguably this is a significant exception to the trend identified by A.L. McLeod in 1968, when he wrote: ‘Because of the constant and statistically considerable emigration of the very best of New Zealand's artists and scholars, writers and scientists, the national culture owes more, perhaps, to amateurs and young people than most other cultures'. What is suggested here is that opportunities for advancement and professional satisfaction within the profession in New Zealand were sufficient to keep architects at home, an aspect of the nation's 'expatriate phenomenon' which has yet to be explored.

World War One, in particular, provided the impetus for a significant number of New Zealand's would-be architects to study abroad and then return home to take up active roles within the profession. Study after the war, at either the Architectural Association in London or at an American institution such as Mair's alma mater, the University of Pennsylvania, gave such men the opportunity to gain a recognised overseas qualification with which to set the seal upon their

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68 At least 16 New Zealanders were reported to be studying at the Architectural Association in London by the New Zealand Building Progress in August 1919. Citing a letter from Horace Massey to the journal dated 20 April 1919, Progress gave the names of Messrs Draffin, Grierson, Bartley, Morgan, Marr, Massey, Lockley, Armstrong, Greenish, Morton, Baker, Harman, Gordon, Reid, Miller and Trengrove as being attendees at the A.A. New Zealand Building Progress, Vol. 14, No. 12, August 1919, p. 571.
travel abroad. There were clearly networks in place at this time whereby an architectural student might take advantage of both English and American educational systems. In December 1919, for example, *New Zealand Building Progress* reported that

> [p]ermission has been granted by the N.Z.E.F. [New Zealand Expeditionary Force] for architectural students who gained scholarships to study at the Pennsylvania University in America, as soon as a diploma has been gained by them in England. It is the intention of Messrs Armstrong, Morgan and Massey to avail themselves of this opportunity at the end of next year, thus giving 18 months study in America before returning to N.Z.

The opportunities for overseas study offered to demobilised servicemen at the end of hostilities in Europe have been credited with having a considerable impact upon the architectural profession in post-war New Zealand. Looking back over his career in 1962, Auckland architect M.K. Draffin stated that he was 'convinced that it was this study of architecture in Europe by young men serving in the armed forces which was responsible for the marked improvement in the design of building in New Zealand in the 20 years that followed.' Personal experience of formal architectural education also seems to have raised architects' expectations for the provision of professional training at home. For some of those most actively involved in the advocacy of university education, such as Mair and Roy Lippincott, their experience could be partially, or even wholly, American.

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69 The Architectural Association was established in 1847 and offered design classes from 1869, thereby challenging the primacy of pupillage in this regard. According to Crinson and Lubbock, '[t]he AA came to foster an anti-pupillage attitude, seeking the use of examinations and diplomas to protect professional status and responding promptly and positively to the R.I.B.A.’s moves in these directions [during the 1880s].’ Crinson & Lubbock, pp. 56-60.

70 *New Zealand Building Progress*, Vol. 15, No. 4, December 1919, p. 669. A search of the enrolment archives at the University of Pennsylvania has failed to establish if in fact Armstrong, Morgan and Massey did take up the offer made to them in 1919. Rather, it would appear that Armstrong and Massey, at least, stayed on in London to complete their study at the Architectural Association. Massey did, however, visit the United States on his way back to New Zealand in 1922, spending five months in California 'studying the architecture of that State.' *The Press*, 20 September 1922, p. 4. Gail Pietrzyk, Public Services Archivist, The University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, correspondence with the author, 18 July 1994. See also *The Press*, 2 April 1930, p. 13. *Home and Building*, Vol. 31, No. 11, 1 April 1969, pp. 8-9.

American-born, university-educated Roy Lippincott (1885-1969) came to New Zealand from Australia, where he had been working for Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahony in Melbourne. In partnership with Edward Billson, Lippincott won the design competition for the Auckland University College's Arts Building in 1920 and he took up residence in New Zealand in the following year (fig. 55). Lippincott designed several other buildings on the Auckland University site and he was also responsible for the campus plan and first three buildings of the new Massey Agricultural College in Palmerston North (1927-31). Although the Massey site plan was never realised in its entirety, enough remains of Lippincott's original scheme to indicate his obvious debt to American campus planning in the design's axiality and expansive landscape setting. This major, if incomplete, commission in the architect's New Zealand oeuvre therefore physically expresses his personal knowledge of American tertiary institutions, both from his own study at Cornell University, from which he graduated with a Bachelor of Architecture degree in 1909, and his study tour of American and Canadian colleges prior to commencing the Massey project in 1926.

In addition to his practical concern for university planning, Lippincott was also a prominent advocate of university education for architects during his 18-year residence in New Zealand. Having actively promoted the creation of a Chair in Architecture at Auckland University College in 1924, Lippincott took a great interest in the university's architectural programme and in 1936,


73 F.L. Olmsted, one of the United States's most influential landscape architects, was asked to advise on the planning of Cornell University in 1867. He rejected the intended quadrangle plan, and instead called for a 'free, liberal, [and] picturesque' arrangement which was suited to the topography of the site and to the future development of the university. P.V. Turner, Campus: An American Planning Tradition, The Architectural History Foundation, New York & The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1984, p. 145.

74 S.A. Falconer, 'The Maori Gothic Wedding Cake: The Auckland University College Arts Building and the Architecture of Roy Alstan Lippincott', M.A. thesis, University of Auckland, 1993, pp. 2, 14. See also, M.A. Bruce,
when Professor Cyril Knight went on sabbatical leave, he acted as a voluntary consultant to the School of Architecture. Lippincott also served on the N.Z.I.A.'s Education Committee (1928-34) and, as the Chairman of that Committee, he delivered a paper to the Annual General Meeting of the Institute in 1930 in which he outlined 'Some Present Day Difficulties of Architectural Education in New Zealand'. Primary among these so-called difficulties, according to Lippincott, was the growing conflict between university training and the article system. In recommending the abolition of the Institute's programme of examinations, in favour of university courses for aspiring architects, Lippincott was clearly drawing upon his knowledge and experience of the American approach to architectural education.

The reception to his proposal from other members of the Institute present at the A.G.M. was not favourable, indicating the extent to which the profession was divided on the education issue. During the discussion which followed Lippincott’s presentation, he was criticised for his idealism in view of the practicalities of architectural education in New Zealand, in which the dual system of pupillage and university education accommodated the needs of those who could not afford to attend university and provided a cheap pool of office juniors for practising architects throughout the country. One Institute member even went so far as to suggest that, ‘Mr. Lippincott’s move was distinctly counter to the democratic character of the Dominion.’ As Lippincott was voicing his opinion from within the professional hierarchy, however, it must be concluded that he also had supporters for his cause. It is interesting to note that one such supporter appears to

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25 Professor C.R. Knight, School of Architecture, correspondence to The President, Auckland University College, 12 July 1935, University of Auckland Archives.
78 Ibid., pp. 28-9.
79 Ibid., pp. 33-5.
have been W.H. Gummer, who with his partner C.R. Ford (1880-1972), stated during the same discussion that university education was more desirable, and likely to be better, than articled pupillage.81 There is therefore a sense in which men who had had experience of overseas programmes, such as Gummer and Lippincott, were in the vanguard of architectural education policy reform in New Zealand. It is to be expected that their high status within the profession, both organisationally and practically, must have had some bearing on the relative influence of their views on education.

Just as Lippincott would have been well-known in New Zealand architectural circles because of his institutional activity and high-profile architectural work, not to mention the controversy that surrounded his design of the Arts Building, J.T. Mair’s position within the profession also provided a platform from which his American education and work experience could be well publicised. As Government Architect of New Zealand, from 1923 until 1941, Mair was arguably the country’s most widely-known architect and in the articles that charted the progress of his career his American education was always comprehensively reported.82 Even at a time when New Zealand architects were debating the relative merits of articled pupillage over a university degree programme it is clear that Mair’s study abroad was a source of considerable pride and interest to both the profession and to the public at large. If then, as Keith Sinclair asserts, to “hold his own” abroad, to win fame abroad, was the hallmark of the New Zealand Hero in the early twentieth century, J.T. Mair is the best example of this doctrine in New Zealand’s

80 Ibid., pp. 33-6.
architectural history.\textsuperscript{83}

The relative coverage of Mair and Anscombe's American educational experiences suggests that colonial New Zealand assigned different values to the various overseas experiences and achievements of its citizens.\textsuperscript{84} What Anscombe and Mair have in common, however, is that Mair was a correspondence student for a number of years before going to the University of Pennsylvania.\textsuperscript{85} In Philadelphia, where he was nicknamed 'Foreigner', Mair's two-year enrolment as a mature student culminated with the award of a Certificate of Proficiency in Architecture in 1908.\textsuperscript{86} This in turn led to temporary employment in New York with, as \textit{The Weekly Times} (N.Z.) proudly reported in 1908, 'the greatest of American architects, Mr. G.B. Post'.\textsuperscript{87}

George Post's most notable work was in the field of skyscraper design and his office was 'one of the first of the many huge architectural practices that would later be such a dominant force in the [American] profession.'\textsuperscript{88} Post (1837-1913) had been a pupil of Richard Morris Hunt, the first American graduate of the École des Beaux-Arts, who had established his own architectural atelier in New York in 1857.\textsuperscript{89} Hunt's atelier also provided early training in the discipline for William Ware and Frank Furness, who were to become leaders in their profession.\textsuperscript{90} Concern for architectural education, which Spiro Kostof considered to be 'typical of Beaux-Arts architects',

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\textsuperscript{83} Sinclair, \textit{A History of New Zealand}, p. 200.
\textsuperscript{84} See, for example, \textit{The Weekly Times}, 4 September 1908, p. 9. \textit{New Zealand Building Progress}, Vol. 16, No. 1, September 1920, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{85} \textit{The Weekly Times}, 17 August 1906, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{86} \textit{The Record of the Class of 1908}, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1908, p. 78. Enrolment archives, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
\textsuperscript{87} \textit{The Record of the Class of 1908}, p. 78. \textit{The Weekly Times}, 4 September 1908, p. 9. \textit{New Zealand Building Progress}, Vol. 16, No. 1 September 1920, p. 9. During Mair's time in Post's office, the firm was working on the 12-storey high Prudential Life Company Building
\textsuperscript{88} Handlin, p. 111. See also Chapter Two.
\textsuperscript{89} Draper, p. 220. Handlin, p. 103.
\textsuperscript{90} Chewning, p. 25.
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could thus be transmitted from one country to the next, within a single architectural lineage.\textsuperscript{91} Mair's place in this process reflects not only the internationalism of early twentieth-century architectural education but also the centrality of personal relationships to the development of educational principles and practices.

Even before his employment by Post, however, Mair would have been very familiar with the milieu of Beaux-Arts education, because his tuition at the University of Pennsylvania brought him into contact with some of the leading architectural teachers of the period, notable among them the Frenchman Paul Cret.\textsuperscript{92} Instruction in architecture had been offered at the University of Pennsylvania since 1874 but with the appointment of Cret as the Professor of Architectural Design in 1903, the teaching programme at the university came to reflect the design principles espoused by the École des Beaux-Arts, at which Cret had himself been educated.\textsuperscript{93} That is not to say, however, that American schools of architecture were ever carbon copies of the École. Rather, the French programme was modified to sit within an American university framework, with its more formal, modularised curriculum structure and greater emphasis on providing students with a good general education in the humanities.\textsuperscript{94}

Cret promoted two aspects of the Beaux-Arts system in his teaching of final year students at the University of Pennsylvania: the \textit{esquisse}, whereby the student had a set time to develop a preliminary sketch which would establish the basic scheme for a finished design, and the practice

\textsuperscript{91} Draper, p. 220.
\textsuperscript{93} Paul Cret was appointed by Dean Warren Laird, Dean of the School of Fine Arts and Professor of Architecture at the University of Pennsylvania [1890-31], who had also attended the École des Beaux Arts. J. Esherick, 'Architectural Education in the Thirties and Seventies: A Personal View', \textit{The Architect - Chapters in the History of the Profession}, pp. 239-42.
of younger students being helped by their elders in return for undertaking simple technical chores. The advantage of the former method was thought to be that it taught the student how to solve architectural problems in a systematic manner within a framework of classical architecture. Mair’s stripped classical work as Government Architect in New Zealand would certainly appear to be the outcome of a Beaux-Arts approach in this respect.

Paul Cret has been credited with building the Department of Architecture at the University of Pennsylvania into ‘a great school of architecture’ during his 34-year tenure there. Cret’s own assessment of American architectural schools highlights the environment within which architectural educators in the United States were working in the early twentieth century; one with which New Zealand architects must have felt some sympathy. Writing about American architectural schools in 1924, Cret noted that

[following a course parallel to that which our architecture itself has taken, they have never been shy in borrowing from European methods whatever seemed to them worth having; the opening of new paths they have wisely set aside for the future, contenting themselves with the building of solid foundations; and that they have not altogether failed in this attempt needs no other proof than the ever-growing number of their pupils, and still more significant, the large percentage of foreign students that they attract.]

Those students came from ‘Russia, China, Japan, India, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada’ and Cret’s subsequent influence upon them is easy to detect. When Mair stated in 1910 that ‘to apply the principles of Old World architecture, instead of the work itself, should be the aim of all study; and out of the critical use of past tradition, considered as a whole, we must strive to

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95 White, Paul Philippe Cret, pp. 23-4.
96 Ibid., p. 221.
build up a current custom, a tradition of our own’ echoes of Cret’s emphasis on ‘the need for students to analyze architectural elements used in past monuments, ... without absorbing a liturgy of styles or monuments’ could be clearly heard.100

In Australia too Jack Hennessy acknowledged his debt to Cret and the rest of the architecture faculty at the University of Pennsylvania in a paper he wrote for the local journal, Art and Architecture, in 1912.101 The year before the publication of this article, in which he described the architectural school at the university as the best in the world, Hennessy had been appointed Lecturer in Architecture at Sydney University.102 Thus he, like Mair, was very well placed to communicate to his peers and colleagues the Beaux-Arts attitudes learnt in Philadelphia. In New Zealand, professional awareness of Beaux-Arts teaching principles, underpinned by a knowledge of the American adaptation of the French model and no doubt encouraged by a shift towards the same framework in British architectural education, created the environment in which the School of Architecture at Auckland University was established.

Architecture at University

The development of university architectural education in New Zealand is the third aspect of educational policy and practice to show an American influence prior to World War Two. It also represents the culmination of efforts to professionalise the training of architects in this country,

efforts which were almost contemporaneous with those in Australia and Britain. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries calls for university education became one of the lynch-pins, along with architectural registration, of 'the profession's hopes for achieving improved standards and higher social status' in both the United States and the British Empire. As a consequence, architectural schools were established to offer degree courses and exemption from professional examinations, and in this process it was the adaptation of the French Beaux-Arts system of formal, full-time architectural education by American architects and educators which came to dominate British and New Zealand schools of architecture. The story of architectural education in New Zealand before the onset of World War Two therefore reveals a degree of interconnection between Britain, France, the United States and New Zealand which may serve to locate the experience of local architects within a wider context than has hitherto been acknowledged.

The provision of school of art and technical school courses in architecture precedes, by over 30 years, the establishment of the School of Architecture at Auckland University College. From as early as the 1880s institutes of higher learning in the four main centres offered evening and, far less commonly, day classes in Architecture and Building Construction to the cities' articled pupils.

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103 Sydney Technological College awarded 'the first academic qualification in architecture to be granted in Australia' to Christopher Newland in 1896. University Chairs of Architecture were established in all Australian states, with the exception of Tasmania, between 1918 (Sydney) and 1966 (Western Australia). The first full-time university course in architecture in Britain was established at the University of Liverpool in 1895. This was 'designed as a two-year prelude to pupillage', however, rather than as a complete course of study in itself. Six years later a full-time degree course in architecture was introduced at Liverpool. In 1920 enrolment in Liverpool's five year degree course gave exemption from the R.I.B.A. examinations. Freeland, pp. 203, 210, 219. Crinson & Lubbock, pp. 60, 71. Wilton-Ely, p. 204.

104 Freeland, p. 214. See also Woods, p. 67.

105 Draper, p. 218. Crinson & Lubbock, p. 75.

106 Canterbury College (New Zealand) School of Art - Courses of Study, Lectures, etc., Christchurch, 1882, pp. 5, 8, 11, 18. G.H. Elliott, Director of the School of Art, correspondence with the Chairman, Board of Governors, Canterbury College, Christchurch, 17 July 1900, pp. 1-5.
and draughtsmen. Then, in 1914, Canterbury College introduced a Diploma Course in Architecture, having had an architectural section within its School of Art since the latter's founding in 1882. The course 'marked the establishment in Christchurch of the first course of architecture in connexion [sic] with any of the colleges attached to the University of New Zealand.' It was instituted by the director of the school, Samuel Hurst Seager, who was also a prominent local architect and strong advocate of architectural education.

Seager's three-year course was in accordance with the N.Z.I.A. requirements for associate membership and was run in conjunction with the Schools of Art and Engineering at the college. In this way the college was able in part to circumvent the University of New Zealand's policy with regard to the provision of only one 'special school' for each profession within the university college system, even as the ground was being prepared for a School of Architecture at Auckland. Classes were offered chiefly in the evenings as an adjunct to daytime office work. With the development of the School at Auckland, however, and the impact of World War One on college enrolments generally, there appears to have been a gradual decline in this programme of study which eventually led to its suspension in the mid-1920s.

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107 Elliott, p. 5. Progress reported in March 1915 that the Wellington Technical College syllabus in that year offered courses in architecture and building construction to pupils and draughtsmen in architects' offices as well as building apprentices and others. Similarly, Dunedin architect Basil Hooper was the Lecturer in Architectural History and Design at the city's School of Art between 1916 and 1921. New Zealand Building Progress, Vol. 10, No. 7, March 1915, p. 242. The Journal of the N.Z.I.A., Vol. 27, No. 4, May 1960, p. 107.

108 Canterbury College (New Zealand) School of Art - Courses of Study, Lectures, etc., Christchurch, 1882, pp. 5, 8, 11, 18.

109 The Press, 31 March 1914, p. 3.

110 Seager's efforts with regard to architectural education were not confined to New Zealand. During a period of residence in Australia, he founded the Sydney Architectural Association (1891-94), to 'afford facilities for the study of Civil Architecture, to advance the profession; [and] to serve as a medium of friendly communication between the members and others interested in the progress of Art.' Freeland, pp. 215-6.


112 The Press, 31 March 1914, p. 3. Archives of the School of Fine Arts, University of Canterbury, Christchurch. See also, The Press, 4 April 1914, p. 6. The N.Z.I.A. Journal of Proceedings, Vol. 2, No. 3, December 1914, p. 126. Classes in architecture were still on offer at Canterbury College in 1923 according to the 51st Annual Report of the Chairman for the Year 1923, but no mention is made of an architectural department in the school in the reports for 1925 and 1926. 51st Annual Report of the Chairman for the Year 1923, presented 26 May 1924, The Canterbury College,
Even before Seager had established the diploma course at Canterbury College, however, the profession was already discussing the University of New Zealand’s proposal to grant a degree in architecture at Auckland. With the passing of the N.Z.I.A Act 1913, under which New Zealand architects were to be registered, the need for examinations to permit entry to the Institute of Architects arose and so the move towards university degree courses in architecture received added impetus. ‘The time will surely come’, noted the editor of the Institute’s Journal of Proceedings with the passing of the Act, ‘when those who have entered the profession through the examination chamber will be more highly regarded than those who crept in before examination became compulsory, and those who voluntarily submitted themselves to the test will have the greater mana.’ Despite reservations about the viability of a School of Architecture in New Zealand at all, the New Zealand Building Progress reported in April 1915 that the establishment of a School of Architecture in connection with Auckland University College had been resolved by the university council. New Zealand’s first School of Architecture was thereby established in 1917; the ‘seemingly almost accidental odd by-product’ of the feud between the colleges in Auckland and Christchurch over Auckland’s desire to establish a School of Engineering where one was already in existence at Canterbury. The significant distinction between classes, such as those offered by Canterbury College, and the degree programme that was developed at Auckland during the 1920s was the differing approach each took to architectural training. Whereas the former operated as an adjunct to office training, the course at Auckland was destined to


114 Ibid., Vol. 2, Part 2, Serial No. 4, May 1914, p. 50.

supersede traditional pupillage and eventually become the means by which nearly all architects were to gain entry to their profession.

At first two part-time lecturers, Noel Bamford and Ashley Hunter, were appointed to the new school and classes were conducted only in the evenings.\textsuperscript{117} Both appointees had been nominated by the N.Z.I.A. and Bamford was to be the school’s first director.\textsuperscript{118} Initially there were fewer than ten students enrolled, and by 1920 this figure had dropped to five, but five years later the number of students at the school stood at 33.\textsuperscript{119} Confidence in the school amongst the profession had also clearly risen by this time and in 1924 the N.Z.I.A. sponsored the establishment of a Chair in Architecture, which in turn prompted the introduction of full-time courses of study. With the arrival of Professor Cyril Knight (1893-1971) and the preparation of a new school syllabus in 1925, the study of architecture in New Zealand was thus finally placed upon a solid, and officially-sanctioned, academic footing.\textsuperscript{120}

Professor Knight’s appointment was hailed as ‘only the second Chair of Architecture ... [to be] established in the Southern Hemisphere’ and during his 33-year tenure as Dean of the Faculty of Architecture he was to gain recognition as a New Zealand authority on architectural education.\textsuperscript{121} Born and raised in Sydney, Knight had studied architecture and town planning to Masters level at the University of Liverpool and then gained office experience with several


\textsuperscript{118} \textit{New Zealand Building Progress}, Vol. 12, No. 8, April 1917, p. 940.

\textsuperscript{119} Sinclair, \textit{A History of the University of Auckland}, p. 117. \textit{New Zealand Building Progress} reported in February 1924 that the University of New Zealand was yet to grant a Bachelor of Science in Architecture at Auckland University College. \textit{New Zealand Building Progress}, Vol. 19, No. 6, February 1924, p. 154.

\textsuperscript{120} Professor Knight’s personal library was to become the nucleus of the School of Architecture’s collection. \textit{School of Architecture, Auckland University Library Bulletin, 1968, Supplement No. 7}.\textsuperscript{7}
American firms prior to his arrival in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{122} Throughout his career in New Zealand Knight continually drew upon his early Anglo-American experience to bring the profession in New Zealand into closer contact with the architecture of the United States; whether it was to illustrate a discussion about architectural modernism with extracts from the writings of Frank Lloyd Wright, or to borrow the idea of an annual newsletter to graduates and friends of the school from the College of Architecture at Cornell University, New York.\textsuperscript{123} He was committed to educating architects for practice abroad, but at the same time considered the programme of the School of Architecture at the University of Auckland to have developed 'its own particular emphasis.... [I]t is allied to the requirements of the other Commonwealth countries and to a certain extent to those of the United States of America.'\textsuperscript{124} As a consequence of Knight's position within the architectural community it must be assumed that such American references in his writing and professional addresses had a considerable impact upon the direction architectural education was to take in New Zealand between 1925 and 1958.


\textsuperscript{122} Knight entered the University of Liverpool in April 1919, one of about 50 Australians who were able to attend the School of Architecture having been awarded ex-servicemen's scholarships. He graduated Bachelor of Architecture with First Class Honours in July 1923, thereby gaining an exemption from the Final R.I.B.A. Examination. In the same year he was awarded a Certificate in Civic Design and two years later an M.A. (Arch.) was conferred. Knight worked for Aymer Embury in New York during the summer vacation of his fourth year and for about 18 months prior to his arrival in New Zealand. Journal of the N.Z.I.A., Vol. 4, No. 6, January 1926, p. 147; Vol. 26, No. 4, May 1959, pp. 104-6. Professor John Nelson Tarn, School of Architecture & Building Engineering, University of Liverpool, facsimile correspondence with the author, 5 November 1997. C.H. Reilly, Scaffoldng in the Sky - A Semi-Architectural Autobiography, George Routledge & Sons Ltd, London, 1938, p. 200.


\textsuperscript{124} Thirty years earlier, Knight's assessment of the significance of the Royal Institute of British Architects' official recognition of the architecture programme at the University of Auckland also signalled his commitment to preparing architectural students for practice outside New Zealand. 'This recognition will be far reaching in its general effect upon the work of the school. ... It means world recognition of our architectural education, as the R.I.B.A. final examination is accepted throughout the British Empire, the United States, and most European countries as a satisfactory qualification for the practice of architecture.' The Press, 22 September 1931, p. 5. Home & Building, 1 April 1962, p. 52.
Knight’s knowledge of American architecture and its educational milieu would have preceded his residence in the United States because of his study at the University of Liverpool. A full-time degree course in architecture had been introduced at Liverpool in 1901 and, in the years following C.H. Reilly’s appointment as director in 1904, the School of Architecture became the most influential Beaux-Arts school in Britain. After a visit to the United States in 1909 Reilly instituted within the school a ‘Beaux-Arts system with American-style jury criticisms and with arrangements with American offices to take fourth-year students for periods of six months. Soon students from all over the British Empire were flocking to Liverpool’, among them men who were themselves to occupy Chairs of Architecture in Britain and the Commonwealth. A classicist and ardent admirer of leading American firms such as McKim, Mead and White, Reilly was ideally placed to promote a network of architectural practitioners and educators in Britain and the United States upon which his students could later draw to enhance their own professional development.

Although, like Paul Cret at the University of Pennsylvania, Reilly expressed some reservations about the way in which the Beaux-Arts system might be applied away from its native setting, he nevertheless defended aspects of Beaux-Arts practice which were later to contribute to its rejection in favour of Bauhaus modernism. ‘Palaces for Kubla Khan are in my opinion a necessary part of architectural education’, Reilly wrote in his 1938 autobiography, *Scaffolding in the Sky*, and he was clearly not alone in voicing this sentiment between the wars. Well into the 1930s students of architecture in Britain, the United States or New Zealand might be asked to

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125 Crinson & Lubbock, pp. 71-2, 82. Reilly, p. 68.
126 Crinson & Lubbock, p. 82. See also, Wright, p. 14. Reilly, p. 232.
127 Reilly, pp. 120, 221. Reilly was the author of a monograph on McKim, Mead and White in 1924. L.M. Roth, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1984, p. 349.
128 Reilly was critical, for example, of the *esquisse en loge* practice in Beaux-Arts’ teaching, whereby a design problem had to be solved within a limited time in accordance with the student’s initial scheme. He felt that this could lead to the student wasting a lot of time on a poor design. Reilly, p. 133.
design villas, palaces or private yacht clubs in their studio classes.\textsuperscript{130} As in the United States, Beaux-Arts teaching practices were ‘adapted to … [suit] particular local requirements’ in New Zealand and Britain.\textsuperscript{131} As a result Commonwealth architectural programmes had more in common with those developed in American schools than with the French École, which had served as the original model for academic architectural education.

Given his educational and professional background, Cyril Knight was well placed to develop the School of Architecture in New Zealand upon Beaux-Arts lines following the accepted system of teaching in British and American schools.\textsuperscript{132} In 1926, the year after his arrival, Knight instituted a new programme of degree, professional and diploma courses at the Auckland School which embodied this synthesis of British, American and French educational practices.\textsuperscript{133} Professor Knight's wide-ranging knowledge of contemporary educational practices was also expressed in the School of Architecture's prospectus each year. Between 1927 and 1939 each prospectus carried the same paragraph which stated that the school's design training was ‘based upon the world-famous system adopted by the Ecole [sic] des Beaux Arts at Paris, which has been followed by Liverpool, Manchester, and London University Schools of Architecture with such distinguished success.’\textsuperscript{134} By 1940, the first year in which this statement did not appear in the Prospectus, a ‘modernist revolt against Beaux-Arts historicism’, which had begun in some

\textsuperscript{129} Reilly, p. 209.
\textsuperscript{130} Draper, pp. 224, 230-32. In 1928 the Third Year Degree Design submitted for the Tite Prize at the University of Auckland by C. Sanderson was for ‘A Private Yacht Club’. \textit{Auckland University College School of Architecture Prospectus}, Auckland, 1929, pp. 8-9.
\textsuperscript{131} \textit{Auckland University College School of Architecture Prospectus}, Auckland, 1927, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{132} Wright, pp. 23, 26-8.
\textsuperscript{133} The new syllabus provided for three different courses of study. The Degree course was of five years duration, of which the first four were expected to involve full-time study at the Auckland University College and the fifth was given over to gaining practical experience in an architect’s office. The Professional and Diploma courses, both of which were only discontinued in 1964 and 1971 respectively, were aimed at students who were unable to attend day classes in Auckland or those serving their articles in the traditional manner. M. Bowes, ‘The First Steps’, B. Arch. thesis, University of Auckland, 1980, pp. 113-16. See also, \textit{Auckland University College School of Architecture Prospectus}, Auckland, 1927.
\textsuperscript{134} \textit{Auckland University College School of Architecture Prospectus}, Auckland, 1927, p. 6.
American architectural schools during the 1920s, was under way. Just as Walter Gropius's appointment as head of the Graduate School of Design at Harvard University in 1937 is a landmark in the decline of the Beaux-Arts system in American universities, the changing language of the Auckland school's prospectuses can be taken as an indication that Cyril Knight was fully cognisant of overseas trends in architectural education.\(^{135}\) That he was also sensitive to a growing regionalist trend in architectural education may be seen in the school's explicit attention after 1940 to 'New Zealand's special problems in construction, particularly those concerned with earthquake resistance'.\(^{136}\)

In addition to the espousal of Beaux-Arts principles in the school's early literature and in Knight's public pronouncements on the subject, specific teaching practices also point to a Franco-American influence.\(^{137}\) As described in the 1927 Prospectus, the constitution of the Fourth Year Exam to test students' design and planning skills was very similar to the methods used by the École, and its American imitators. 'A Test Subject in Architectural Design', the exam was to take place over five days at the end of which 'the final design [should] not deviate from the original sketch in its main lines of composition.'\(^{138}\) This follows very closely the spirit and practice of the en loge examinations of the Beaux-Arts system, whereby the student had to prepare drawings of a major building or civic scheme under considerable restraints as to the time allowed and the degree of permissible deviation from the original sketch plan submitted to the examiners. Despite the alterations to the prospectus, the five day en loge examination was still part of the school syllabus during the 1950s, and it was not until 1961, with the introduction of the Intermediate


\(^{136}\) Auckland University College School of Architecture Prospectus, Auckland, 1940, p. 6. Wright, pp. 26-8.

\(^{137}\) In the course of a public lecture entitled 'The Training of an Architect', presented in Christchurch in November 1926, Professor Knight stated that 'the great Parisian school had set the standard for [architectural education in] the twentieth century'. The Press, 26 November 1926, p. 11.

\(^{138}\) Auckland University College School of Architecture Prospectus, Auckland, 1927, p. 17.
Examination, that the degree programme underwent any substantial change.139

Knight's knowledge of educational theory and practice did not remain static after his arrival in New Zealand. In 1936 and 1950 he made extended overseas visits to Britain and North America in order to produce reports for the University Council on *Architectural Education in the British Empire*.140 In them he reported on general trends in architectural education and made recommendations to improve the standard of the school at Auckland.141 Roy Lippincott and Horace Massey acted as volunteer consultants to the school during Knight's absence from the university in 1936, both men having studied architecture at American or English institutions, and early members of the school's permanent staff also contributed a variety of educational experiences to the teaching programme.142 A. M. Chisholm, who held the position of Lecturer in Architecture and Studio Instructor in Design from 1929 until 1941, was also a graduate in architecture and town planning from the University of Liverpool.143 Travelling scholarships made it possible for some graduates of the Auckland programme to emulate the peripatetic educational experiences of school staff in reverse.144 The school's apparent emphasis on diversity

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139 Bowes, pp. 126-127.


141 Architectural Education in the British Empire - A Report by C.R. Knight, Dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts, Professor of Architecture, Auckland University College, New Zealand to the President and Members of the Council, Auckland University College, Auckland, April 1937. Prof. C.R. Knight, Architectural Education, Report made to the President and Members of the Council, Auckland University College, New Zealand, February 1952.


143 J.W. Mawson, who immigrated to New Zealand in 1928 to take up the position of Director of Town Planning, was also a visiting town planning graduate. *Auckland University College School of Architecture Prospectus*, Auckland, 1942, p. 1. *Journal of the N.Z.I.A.*, Vol. 7, No. 4, October 1928, pp. 87-90.

144 T.F. Haughey, for example, was awarded a scholarship to travel to the United States on completion of his degree in 1939. He then planned to study for an M.A. in Architecture at the University of Liverpool. *Auckland University College School of Architecture Annual News Letter*, Auckland, 1939, p. 2.
in this regard was further enhanced upon Cyril Knight's retirement in 1947 when he was succeeded by Professor A.C. Light, an Englishman who had studied at London and Columbia Universities and had held teaching positions in Ireland and Britain before coming to New Zealand.\textsuperscript{145}

Conclusion

In the first four decades of the twentieth century members of the New Zealand architectural profession engaged with American educational models in a number of significant ways. Prior to the establishment of the School of Architecture at Auckland University College, study at an American institution offered New Zealand architects the opportunity of a full-time tertiary education in architecture where none existed at home. Study in the United States, whether formal or self-directed, brought with it the added advantage of a first-hand experience of American architecture, an education in itself. Alternatively, American correspondence courses offered flexibility of study to New Zealand architects who needed to supplement their practical training, whether as a substitute for other formal study or in preparation for it. At a more general level American university architectural education provided a crucial model for the development of New Zealand's first School of Architecture, particularly after its first professor was appointed in 1925. The significance of this multiple influence lies in the way it contributed greatly to the professionalisation of architectural education in New Zealand, while at the same time providing an invaluable foundation for the careers of a number of New Zealand's early twentieth-century architects.

\textsuperscript{145} Home and Building, Vol. 12, No. 1, August - September 1949, p. 11.
The active mediatory role that the United States played in the introduction of Beaux-Arts teaching practice to New Zealand has been a significant component of the foregoing discussion. As was the case with A.J. Downing’s repackaging of the English picturesque into a form easily appropriated by New Zealand architects and builders, American architectural educators such as William Ware and Paul Cret transformed a foreign model of teaching practice into something that was responsive to local needs and could be readily assimilated in Britain and its colonies. In New Zealand Cyril Knight was instrumental in raising the profession’s awareness of the usefulness of American developments in architectural education and design within the Anglocentric teaching environment of the University of New Zealand. In a similar vein John Mair and Roy Lippincott used their direct experience of American architectural education to shape their practice of architecture as well as to advance their aspirations for the local profession.

In 1921 Stanley Fearn, patron of the Wellington Architectural Students' Association, canvassed both the challenges and opportunities facing would-be architects in New Zealand in an address he gave to members of the Association. One of the recommendations Fearn made during his apparently lengthy speech, extracts of which were published in three successive issues of Progress, was that his audience subscribe to New Zealand, English and American architectural journals.146 “[F]or remember what I said before – we have no history or tradition here, so we must go outside – see what they are doing in the older countries.”147 The well-educated architect in New Zealand was therefore advised to look to both England and America for guidance in the practice of his profession.148

147 New Zealand Building Progress, Vol. 17, No. 4, December 1921, p. 86.
148 Female architects are conspicuous by their absence in this narrative. It has been said of the academic system of architectural education, however, that it facilitated the entry of women and ethnic minorities to the profession where previously the system of pupillage prevented many from gaining entry to the white, male domain of the draughting...
Although they were not officially represented at the First International Congress on Architectural Education, held in London in 1924, New Zealand architects were evidently well aware of overseas trends in this field either through their involvement with correspondence courses, study abroad or the evolution of the University of Auckland's degree course in architecture.\textsuperscript{149} What remains to be discussed in the fifth and final chapter of this thesis is the apparent contradiction between the Anglo-American educational environment, with which New Zealand architects were increasingly familiar as the twentieth century wore on, and the tunnel-vision many of these same men had when it came to asserting the primacy of an English architectural paradigm. Just months before Cyril Knight was to arrive to take up his professorship, the President of the N.Z.I.A., W.M. Page, exhorted members of the Institute in February 1925 with the words:

\begin{quote}
Our loyalty does not end when it reaches the circumference of our own Institute. Our Institute is one of many professing allegiance to the Royal Institute of British Architects. It is then easy to realise how far-reaching and important our loyalty may be. It touches the Empire. Our loyalty and patriotism become synonymous.\textsuperscript{150}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{150} Ibid., p. 35.
In whatever we do, however, let us, above all, retain our birthright, 'to be New-Zealanders' and British. Admire America as much as you like and all her great works, but do remember that America has done great and beautiful things because she has retained her own character and remained American. Joseph Munnings, 'The City Beautiful', Official Volume of Proceedings of the First New Zealand Town-Planning Conference and Exhibition, Government Printer, Wellington, 1919, p. 162.

The question which concerns our profession is this, - do we consider that the Californian Bungalow type is truly expressive of the needs of the people of this country or any part of it? If we do, then by all means let us adapt what is good in it. Architecture in civilised lands having international relationships has ever tended to absorb and adopt what is fitting from that of neighbouring countries. Journal of the N.Z.I.A., Vol. 3, No. 4, September 1924, p. 95.

A Carpenter Gothic house near Wanganui, a client in Christchurch inspired by a Hollywood mansion, and a School of Architecture design exercise, amongst a host of other individual case studies, can be cited as evidence of an American influence upon New Zealand architecture. The multiplication of such examples does not, however, go very far in explaining why this influence has yet to be fully acknowledged within New Zealand's cultural history. The complexity of the N.Z.-U.S. architectural relationship, as seen in the evolution of New Zealand's system of architectural education, is further revealed by statements and articles in contemporary New Zealand architectural journals, in which a dichotomy between an admiration of American innovation and a strong sense of loyalty to the principles and precedents of the architecture of the British Empire is apparent. Emotional ties to Britain and an awareness of the practical lessons that American architecture had to offer are played off against one another in Progress, the Institute of Architects' Journal, and other publications in which members of the profession, and occasionally the laity, set forth their views about New Zealand and American architecture.
At the end of the period with which this study is concerned, Cyril Knight’s verdict on the character of New Zealand architecture was published in *1840 and After - Essays Written on the Occasion of the New Zealand Centenary*. Knight’s text suggests that, even as architectural history was being founded in this country, an Anglophile attitude was already established as the standard reading of New Zealand’s pre-World War Two architecture. The professor writes:

> So far it is clear the architecture of New Zealand has followed a parallel course to Great Britain and indeed it could hardly do otherwise unless there were local conditions or other influences strong enough to divert it... When all is said, local influences had little effect and New Zealand architecture during its first hundred years faithfully reproduced contemporary thought in Great Britain.¹

While Knight can certainly be regarded as an expert witness in this context, the problem remains of how to reconcile his view with counter-observations which bear out the existence of an American influence upon New Zealand architecture long before the centennial year.

English tourist Mary Proctor’s impressions of New Zealand’s built environment were recorded in *Progress* in October 1913. On ‘A Visit to Rotorua’, Miss Proctor noted that the:

> straight, sandy streets, of great width, bordered with trees, the frame houses with their red roofs and white verandas, impressed me at first as being distinctly American, a duplicate of a suburban town in the United States. The bright lights outside a moving picture show served to strengthen the illusion.²

In a similar, albeit considerably less positive, vein H. Courtney Archer, writing in the English publication *The Architectural Review* in 1942, commented that the ‘appearance of the New Zealand country town and suburb reminds one of the ugliest aspect of the United States.’³

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² *Progress*, Vol. 9, No. 2, October 1913, p. 713.

Whereas it is possible, with the benefit of hindsight, to challenge the veracity of such observations, it does not seem possible to question the sincerity of their makers. Rather, the differences that may arise between the perception and the reality of a situation must be acknowledged, and then the disparity between these two elements can be investigated to reveal contemporary attitudes and beliefs. In looking at the evolution of the history of New Zealand architecture there is a sense in which the New Zealand architectural community admired, and sometimes sought to emulate, the achievements of American architecture, but that ultimately Britain established the norm against which these achievements were measured. This in turn appears to have shaped the way that present-day New Zealanders regard their architectural heritage, even as ties with Britain become increasingly tenuous.

**American Lessons**

In 1970 Henry-Russell Hitchcock argued that since the nineteenth century ‘the outside world has looked to the United States ... for architectural ideas that were organizational and technical’ in nature. L.K. Eaton arrived at much the same conclusion, with regard to the nineteenth century at least. ‘[O]n the whole English architects seem to have thought that American architects were progressive in building technology but backward in architectural design.’ The French modernist architect, Le Corbusier, is frequently cited as a contemporary witness to the European bias towards American engineering over its architecture. In *Vers une Architecture*, published in 1923, he wrote, ‘[l]et us listen to the counsels of American

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engineers. But let us beware of American architects.\textsuperscript{7} In Britain, wrote David Gebhard in 1971, with the image of America as a nation passionately involved in technology and above all in business, it should not be surprising to find that the British journals from the 1870s on contain numerous articles on America’s use of iron and, later, steel construction; on the development of the skyscraper; on America’s approach to heating and plumbing, and on the size and practical business operations of the American architectural office.\textsuperscript{8}

Published comments by New Zealand architects in the period 1905 to 1940 appear to bear out these observations within the local context.\textsuperscript{9} Reinforced concrete construction, labour-saving devices in the home, and the organisation of the profession itself are all aspects of American architectural practice to which New Zealand architects responded positively. Comments in local professional journals indicate a genuine interest in contemporary developments in American architecture and a willingness to test such developments for their usefulness and suitability to the New Zealand situation.

Given \textit{Progress}'s early emphasis upon the ‘engineering, processes, inventions, industrial work, and economics’ of the colony as signs of its overall material progress, it is not surprising to find within the journal’s pages praise for American building technology which might be utilised in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{10} In December 1907, for example, \textit{Progress} noted that ‘the ideas of Americans in reinforced concrete construction practically dominate that branch of the


\textsuperscript{9} There was no national forum for the discussion of architectural practice in New Zealand before 1905 due to the lack of a professional press.

\textsuperscript{10} Indeed the editorial in the first issue of \textit{Progress}, titled ‘Protection and Prosperity’, holds up the example of American productivity as a model of material progress for New Zealand and other member states of the British Empire. \textit{Progress}'s early focus on science and engineering was quickly superseded by an emphasis upon architecture and building, as evidenced by the journal’s name change in February 1914 to \textit{New Zealand Building Progress}. Reportage of construction methods and techniques continued to be a feature of the publication until its
building trade throughout the world. This assessment was reiterated in the same journal four years later. 'We have been accustomed to look to our American cousins for the last thing in concrete construction, both as to the results attained and the manner of their attainment.' Articles in Progress also described specific technical innovations in the field of concrete construction for the journal's readers, including the invention of the 'mushroom' or 'girderless' type of flat floor slab by C.A.P. Turner of Minneapolis. Architects wishing to learn more about this development were then referred to a published paper by A.B. MacMillan, of the Aberthaw Construction Company of Boston, Massachusetts. Edmund Anscombe's Evening Star building in Dunedin (1926-8) employed concrete 'mushroom' columns for the first time in that city.

As well as an appreciation of the innovative qualities of American construction methods, articles in the professional media also suggest a sense of relief on the part of New Zealand architects that their American counterparts were facing similar problems in the fields of construction and design. This sentiment was captured in Cecil Trevithick's comment that 'our brother architects in the States are just as much troubled with the cracks in concrete floors as

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11 Progress, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2 December 1907, p. 64. See also G. Thornton, Cast in Concrete - Concrete Construction in New Zealand 1850-1939, Reed, Auckland, 1996.


we are.'\textsuperscript{15} Trevithick had just returned from a four month tour of the United States when he made this observation, and it was often as a result of such visits that the most noteworthy aspects of contemporary American architecture were reported to New Zealand architects and engineers by their colleagues.\textsuperscript{16} When Horace Massey returned from California in 1922 his views concerning that state's architecture were reproduced in the Christchurch \textit{Press} and subsequently reiterated in \textit{New Zealand Building Progress} two years later.\textsuperscript{17} Massey observed that America 'has revolutionised the inconvenient home, and with the sympathetic help of manufacturers of labour-saving devices, has evolved what is generally known as the labour-saving house.'\textsuperscript{18} He also put forward the idea, which seems to have largely fallen on deaf ears, that 'one of the various systems of central heating, as used in America, would be a great improvement on the old fireplace system common in New Zealand'.\textsuperscript{19}

New Zealand architects and engineers who had travelled in the United States often acclaimed American labour-saving equipment.\textsuperscript{20} Having made an extensive tour of both Britain and the U.S.A. in 1919 two New Zealand city engineers were particularly impressed by American highway construction. 'In regard to the use of labour-saving machinery', they considered 'Britain was far behind America [and] ... in the carrying out of large works New

\textsuperscript{16} During the same meeting of the Auckland Branch of the N.Z.I.A., at which he reported his impressions of American architecture, Cecil Trevithick also commented upon the 'thoroughness down to the smallest detail' of the equipment of American hotels and upon the picturesque nature of American lawn cemeteries.' Trevithick, p. 62. \textit{Journal of the N.Z.I.A.}, Vol. 9, No. 4, October 1930, p. 81. \textit{The Press}, 22 May 1930, p. 4. See Chapter Two for a discussion of the impact of the American hotel in New Zealand.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{New Zealand Building Progress}, Vol. 19, No. 7, March 1924, p. 182.
\textsuperscript{19} Even as late as 1949, New Zealand architects were still chiding their countrymen for their lack of response to central heating technology. Interviewed by \textit{Home \\& Building} on his return to New Zealand after eight years working overseas, Stewart Minson remarked that he thought the 'lack of central heating the greatest drawback to enlightened home planning. Says our housewives "mostly slaves to the home because house design and social aspect of family life not taken seriously enough. Should watch America."' \textit{Home \\& Building}, Vol. 11, No. 4, February - March 1949, p. 12. See also Chapter Three.
Zealand and Australia both were likely to follow American methods more quickly than the older countries.  

In a similar vein, C. R. Ford returned from the United States in 1923 with a very evident admiration for the skill and design shown in providing Americans with their dwellings. We have long realised that much inspiration can be obtained from this source, ... for the reason that the ordinary small dwelling has received special attention, and that American labour-saving devices for the home are innumerable. As New Zealand is rapidly coming into the era of cheap electric power, we may profit greatly from American enterprise in this respect.  

Such admiration might also be given concrete form in the pages of New Zealand house pattern books. The foreword of Dominion Homes, Supplement to "Progress" stated that we ‘owe much ... to the originality of design shown in many small American houses, and it will be seen from these pages that the best points of American house architecture are well understood here.’ Commonsense Homes for New Zealanders, published five years later in 1920, even went so far as to include unmodified American bungalow designs in the hope that they would prove ‘valuable as suggestions to those about to build.’ 

Individual architects also used publications to champion American architecture, motivated perhaps by a desire to transform their personal experience into useful paradigms for future development. In 1919 Edmund Anscombe published a booklet entitled Modern Industrial Development in which he advocated the construction of American-style 'Incubator Factories' 

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20 Honour, p. 252.  
21 New Zealand Building Progress, Vol. 15, No. 6, February 1920, p. 711.  
22 Ibid., Vol. 18, No. 9, May 1923, p. 198.  
in New Zealand. The incubator, or combination, factory was intended to provide cost-effective and versatile accommodation for a number of small manufacturing concerns which could not afford to commission a purpose-built factory for themselves. According to Anscombe the 'proposed Combination factories would be built of reinforced concrete, designed on the skeleton daylight principle, and constructed in such a way as to meet the requirements of almost any kind of manufacturing.'

The architect had reportedly studied this building type in New York, Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, Toledo and Cleveland and in 1943 he proposed the erection of a factory of this kind on Aotea Quay, Wellington to demonstrate the efficiencies which could be achieved using this method of planning. Had it been built, the proposed factory would also have drawn upon modern American daylight factory planning and construction techniques. In his design for the Vocational Training Centre in Wellington, built for the rehabilitation of returned servicemen in the same year, Anscombe was able to apply these principles to a real commission.

In addition to espousing the merits of modern American building technology, New Zealand architects also looked to the United States for models of professional conduct and organisation. In 1919, for example, the President of the N.Z.I.A., J. Louis Salmond,

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25 A synopsis of this booklet was published in *Home and Building* in 1943, at which time it was still considered to be relevant to the conditions that would supposedly ensue in post-war New Zealand. *Home & Building*, Vol. 6, No. 4, September 1943, pp. 13, 27, 29.

26 *Home & Building*, Vol. 6, No. 4, September 1943, p. 27.

27 Although not a factory building as such, the Training Centre was partially built from reinforced concrete and had a markedly industrial appearance with a flat roof and symmetrical facade in which were set large windows. Internal ramps rather than stairs gave access to the first floor and the building was centrally heated, both features intended for the greater ease and comfort of its users. Anscombe's Co-operative Fruitgrowers of Otago Ltd building of 1922 (Dunedin) was also designed on the daylight factory principle. For a discussion of the impact of American daylight factories upon European modernist design see, R. Banham, *A Concrete Atlantis - US. Industrial Building and European Modern Architecture 1900-1925*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1986, pp. 23-109. *Home & Building*, Vol. 7, No. 1, December 1943, pp. 18-19. C. Walker, "'Make no Little Plans' Edmund Anscombe; A Survey of His Life and Works", Research Paper, B.A. (Hons) in Art History, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, 1994, p.15.

28 In June 1920 *Progress* reprinted an article sent in by Dunedin architect Basil Hooper entitled 'Business Organisation Amongst Architects'. Taken from the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, the article discussed the threat posed by large corporate contracting businesses to individual architectural practices and
'caused to be circulated to every member a copy of a circular issued by a Committee of the American Institute of Architects known as "The Post War Committee on Architectural Practice."' It was the view of the N.Z.I.A. Council that the 'circular sets out very clearly the difficulties which are at present hampering the profession, and members have been asked to give full expression to their views on the points raised. The circular might well have been written in New Zealand, so exactly similar are many of the conditions here to those in America and elsewhere.'\textsuperscript{29} At the same time, the \textit{Proceedings} of the Institute reported that the American Institute of Architects had asked 'to be supplied with all the information available regarding the conduct of Architectural competitions in this country', and the A.I.A. had in turn provided information about competitions in the United States to the New Zealand Institute. These 'documents were of considerable interest, and showed a marked improvement upon the forms and methods in use here'. They were then referred to the Executive of the Council 'to examine and report as to what improvements could be made in the forms and methods in use by this Institute'.\textsuperscript{30}

Such exchanges of information between the New Zealand and American Institutes of Architects reveal the commonality of professional concerns between the two countries, and


\textsuperscript{30} During the late 1910s the executive of the N.Z.I.A. responded to a number of other enquiries from the A.I.A. with regard to appropriations for government buildings, architectural competitions, and the registration, or licensing, of architects. All three areas had been central to A.I.A. advocacy since the 1880s and it is worth noting that the American Institute was interested in canvassing the opinion of a much smaller organisation three decades later. N.Z.I.A. \textit{Proceedings}, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1918-19, p. 15. N.Z.I.A. \textit{Journal of Proceedings}, Vol. 4, No. 2, September 1916, p. 7. A. Saint, \textit{The Image of the Architect}, Yale University Press, New Haven & New York, 1983, pp. 84, 90 - 92.
the level of interest in and knowledge of the experiences of colleagues overseas. Why then was the New Zealand architectural profession not more eager to promote the positive aspects of American architecture and to acknowledge their debt to their counterparts in the United States? The answer to this question may lie in the fact that discussions of American innovation and enterprise within the local profession were frequently predicated upon statements such as those made by N.Z.I.A President W.M. Page in 1925. Beyond pragmatic considerations, 'loyalty and patriotism' were what was at stake.

'Oh to be in England'

The appreciative comments made about American architecture within the pages of Progress and the N.Z.I.A.'s Journal need to be read in conjunction with a succession of emphatic, pro-British sentiments expressed by some of the most prominent members of the profession, including William Page, in the same publications. In the first four decades of the twentieth century New Zealand architects described their nation as 'the most English of all the British possessions outside the Home Islands' and avowed that this 'most distant dominion, is true to the core in its support of the British monarchy. We in New Zealand are very robust believers in Imperialism.' The enumeration of the laudable qualities of British architecture by members of the local profession can therefore be seen as an act of imperial loyalty. At a time when architects were becoming interested in discussing the character and evolution of

New Zealand's built environment, such comments might also serve as the starting point for an examination of the historiography of New Zealand architectural history.

As has already been discussed, Willmott has hypothesised a desire on the part of New Zealand's upper class, the group to which architects as professionals certainly aspired, to identify most strongly with all things British in order to distance themselves culturally from the popular culture of the working classes.35 This hypothesis offers one way to explain the chauvinism sometimes expressed by local architects with regard to the precedents and authority of British architecture, even at a time when New Zealand buildings were increasingly reflecting other influences. Willmott's account might also be read in conjunction with Hugh Honour's observation concerning the European perception of American architecture in the nineteenth century. 'American money - and the notion that Americans were exclusively occupied in amassing it - led to the belief that they had little time or opportunity for culture. Europeans generally assumed that the arts did not flourish in the United States.... [O]nly the useful arts could be practised there.'36 It can therefore be argued that New Zealand architects were predisposed to regarding American architecture with suspicion, and possibly a little disdain, because of their class and out of a desire to establish their architectural and social pedigree in a country that considered itself to be 'the cream of the British empire'.37

Underlying the confident tone, in which statements about the Britishness of New Zealand's citizens and their culture were frequently made, there was often an air of colonial inferiority

36 Samuel Hurst Seager's 1911 statement that America was a country 'with which we are unfortunately often compelled to associate all that is worst in modern commercialism' is clearly also relevant to this discussion. Progress, Vol. 6, No. 4, 1 February 1911, p. 551. Honour, p. 251.
with regard to the Mother Country. New Zealand architects looked to their British counterparts for reassurance and affirmation on architectural matters, including those relating to some of the more unfamiliar aspects of American architecture. In the year after New Zealand's first skyscraper was completed in Christchurch, Progress expressed its uncertainty about the merits of this building type. "The objection is often taken to the sky scraping architecture of the Americans - that it is ugly and uninteresting to a high degree. As that style of building is getting near to this country, the opinion of a distinguished architect on the subject is of special interest." The architect to whom the writer referred was Sir Aston Webb, the principal of England's largest architectural practice at the turn of the twentieth century and the designer of such landmark buildings as the Victoria and Albert Museum (1891-1909) and the east facade of Buckingham Palace (1912-13), both in London. Webb was quoted as saying that architecture's "prospects among the sister arts in America are of the brightest ... and [t]he public buildings in course of erection are most interesting." The resort to English architectural authority was made even as contemporary commercial architecture was beginning to inspire local popular pride.

On other occasions there was a more direct correlation between the media's recourse to English architectural authority and the contemporary architectural scene in New Zealand. During the design competition for Parliament Building in Wellington, arguably the single

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38 Imperial loyalty was not, of course, confined to the architectural profession at this time, and within the pages of New Zealand Building Progress it is also possible to find similar feelings being expressed in relation to a diverse range of non-architectural subjects. An editorial concerning a New Zealand government contract for American locomotives published in Progress in 1915 provides another indication of the prevailing climate of pro-British feeling. "We need not, as patriotic Britshers, feel much concern about our American rivals over this contract. They excel in particular lines, and all credit to them. But when a customer for a big thing wants reliability he generally prefers "Made in England" on the name-plate." Progress, Vol. 10, No. 7, March 1915, p. 225.

39 See Chapter Two.

40 Progress, Vol. 2, No. 6, 1 April 1907, p. 229.


42 Progress, Vol. 2, No. 6, 1 April 1907, p. 229.
most important building project undertaken in the first half of the twentieth century in this
country, the editor of Progress posed the following question. 'Would it not have been much
better to have sent the whole of the plans away to England, after having first adopted the
conditions drawn up by the N.Z.I.A., which are based upon those issued by the R.I.B.A., to
be judged by a member nominated by the Royal Institute of British Architects?44 In the
popular media too, even before the competition was announced, the suggestion was made
that 'the best plan for the Government to follow would be to entrust the designing of the
new buildings to some European architect of acknowledged eminence, who has had
experience in a similar class of work.'45 Failing that, the editor of The Press proposed that the
next best option would be a national design competition to be judged by an English architect.
In the event, the competition was assessed by the Government Architect of New South
Wales, Australia, Colonel Vernon, and was won by John Campbell and Claude Paton. As
Government Architect Campbell had also been responsible for the design of Government
House in Wellington in 1910. According to The Press the plans for this building had
'provoked a chorus of derision' when they were unveiled, that project had also been
considered to be 'of sufficient importance to justify the engagement of an English architect of
acknowledged eminence to undertake the designs.'46

'The baffling thing about competitions is that they never seem to give much satisfaction to
any of the parties concerned', noted an unnamed commentator in New Zealand Building
Progress in November 1921, and this was certainly the case in regards to that for the Auckland
University College's Arts Building in the early 1920s. The story of the Arts Building's design
also brings into focus the ways in which New Zealand architects measured local buildings

43 See Chapter Two's discussion of the Luttrell brothers' commercial work.
45 The Press, 26 September 1908, p. 8.
against overseas standards. Once again British precedent and authority were cited by those
who were dissatisfied with the winning design for the college's first substantial purpose-built
structure, produced by Roy Lippincott and Edward Billson of Melbourne. According to
Progress, Lippincott and Billson's entry had 'provoked a storm of derision from a number of
the unsuccessful competitors, and a feeling of disappointment from most people who are
sufficiently sensitive to appreciate a good design.'47 Quoting the Australian journal Building,
the same item went on to report that the designers had 'claimed an inspiration from English
Gothic. The assertion that English Gothic had anything to do with the design published
should make our great English architects turn in their graves'.48 Members of the public
appear to have been equally concerned about the architectural pedigree of Lippincott and
Billson's design. In a letter to the editor of the New Zealand Herald one reader asserted that
'[n]ever before surely can such an architectural monstrosity have been inflicted upon any
community in the British Empire.'49 Even the Education Board's chief architect, J.T. Mair,
who might have been expected to feel a certain sympathy towards the American Lippincott
because of his own familiarity with American architecture, considered that the tower, which
was to be the focal point of the new structure, 'was not in harmony with our national
character.' Mair suggested instead 'a more simple and British treatment of the mass', although
what he meant by that remark is difficult to determine.50

Roy Lippincott responded to this controversy by arguing that it was not his intention to
design a Gothic Revival building but rather to 'produce a building and a tower not British,
surely, but one that shall belong much more intimately to us here in Auckland than any

48 Ibid.
49 New Zealand Herald, 21 June 1921, undated item; Sheppard Collection, School of Architecture Library,
University of Auckland.
50 New Zealand Herald, 9 August 1921, p. 7.
imported facade ever could’.51 Thus it was left to an American architect, who had lived in
Australia for the previous seven years, to make the case for regional expression in New
Zealand architecture. Lippincott’s willingness to acknowledge his debt to Wren’s Tom
Tower, Oxford (1681-2) in the design of the Arts Building did, however, indicate his
familiarity with British precedent.52

In due course Lippincott was able to assuage the reservations of most of his critics, including
Mair, and some indication of his eventual acceptance by the New Zealand architectural
fraternity may be given with the reportage of his second placing in the Sydney Law Courts
competition in 1938.53 In August of that year Home & Building congratulated Lippincott on
his success and asserted that his high placement in the competition also helped ‘to show that
design standards in this country are quite on a par with those overseas.’54 And so Lippincott
was claimed as a New Zealand architect; not because of his commitment to developing a
distinctly national architecture, but rather due to his success within an international arena.

Although Lippincott’s statements about New Zealand architecture and its character were
never openly criticised on the grounds of his American origins, they may have met with some
degree of resistance and incomprehension because they were at odds with local concepts of
architectural identity then being formulated. After 1900 architects such as Samuel Hurst
Seager and Frederick de Jersey Clere began to look for the clues which would reveal the
foundation of a distinctly national school of architectural art. In this endeavour they were
clearly reliant upon the construction of a dichotomous relationship between British and New

51 New Zealand Herald, 9 August 1921, p. 7.
54 Home & Building, Vol. 2, No. 4, August 1938, p. 44.
Zealand architecture. The historiography came to be characterised by issues of alignment with, and divergence from, a British tradition in architecture and also the 'myth' of New Zealand's isolation from that tradition. Christchurch architect Richard Harman cogently expressed the widely-held belief that New Zealand's sense of cultural isolation was indivisible from the reality of its remote physical location when he wrote: 'New Zealand is a new country, and though, as children of Great Britain, we have a rich architectural heritage, it is far away on the other side of the world. We do not rub shoulders daily with good work of the past, and there is excuse for architectural ignorance.' Precisely the same sentiments had been expressed in a newspaper editorial entitled 'The Hope of Colonial Architecture', published almost 30 years before Harman's essay, in which the author stated:

here we are far away from those ancient examples which have formed the standards on which modern work is based - far away from those modern buildings erected in the great European centres, with a full knowledge of the art of past ages, and of the many scientific problems which present needs demand.

By contrast Roy Lippincott sought to disabuse New Zealand architects of this isolationist perception. 'We have a habit here in New Zealand - a somewhat egotistical habit it seems to me - of considering ourselves to be under very great disadvantages on account of our remoteness from the great cultural and business centres of others of our race'. In spite of New Zealand's isolation, Lippincott believed that 'the transfer of thought is now so perfect and rapid that distance is annihilated, and by the marvellous modern technical journals we are able to be in almost weekly rapport with all that is being done in the world - both good and bad.'

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By necessity then, and in spite of Lippincott's admonitions, American architecture was relegated to a place outside of the narrative of New Zealand architecture, and its impact was marginalised on a rhetorical and historiographical level at the same time as it was becoming increasingly apparent within the built environment. The contradiction inherent within this situation is revealed in the text of an article published in British journal *The Architectural Review* in 1927.

The early settlers laid down English traditions and adapted them to the conditions of New Zealand.... It is disappointing that the present generation has ignored or perhaps overlooked the possibilities of these pleasant-looking homes ... which are fast being demolished. To the average New Zealander they may appear dull and out of date, and they fail to see the finer feeling of scale and proportion and prefer the prettiness and eccentricities of the American modern architecture. So today we find in New Zealand a collection of pretty Californian bungalows, Spanish Mission houses, and American Gothic buildings huddled together, all looking foreign, self-conscious and uncomfortable in a setting that is as English as any country out of England could be. There is a great deal that can be taken from the American homes with their many labour-saving devices, sun porches, etc., which are suitable for the condition and climate of New Zealand; but New Zealand being a British colony, the people should endeavour to hold on to the English traditions left by the pioneers and not be led away by the dazzling prettiness of some American modern architectural craze.59

The reality of an American influence may have been apparent, particularly to overseas commentators, but New Zealand architects were not necessarily enthusiastic about the situation. They preferred instead 'to adhere to English traditions of design in a colony which is after all British, although so many houses have been influenced by foreign fashions.'60 The heterogeneity of New Zealand's built environment might be acknowledged, but the desire to isolate a single, authentic New Zealand architecture was much stronger.

59 'In New Zealand. The English Tradition. Some Houses Designed by R.K. Binney', *The Architectural Review*, Vol. 61, No. 366, May 1927, p. 172. The author of this article is not identified but it is presumed to have been written by Binney himself. Thomas Ritchie, winner of *Progress*'s 75th Student Essay Competition, expressed similar sentiments about the lack of homogeneity in the American suburban streetscape in his prize-winning entry. Ritchie's essay was titled 'The Place of Traditional Styles in Modern Architecture'. *New Zealand Building Progress*, Vol. 16, No. 12, August 1921, pp. 276-8.

American Failings

Not only did New Zealand architects espouse the superiority of British architecture, and hold it up as the standard against which the merits or deficiencies of New Zealand architecture should be measured, but, as the Binney article suggests, they were also concerned with identifying the failings of American architecture, both in comparison with British architecture and with regard to its potential application in New Zealand. Such criticism appears to have focused upon several recurring themes, one of which was concerned with the quality of building construction in the United States. The Carpenter Gothic and California bungalow styles of domestic architecture also came in for intense criticism from New Zealand architects. It therefore appears that those aspects of American architecture which were regarded as being its most singular achievements, building technology and the suburban dwelling, were also the features that attracted the most negative comment within New Zealand.\(^{61}\)

In spite of the evident interest in, and admiration for, American building technology, some early twentieth-century commentators nevertheless characterised American architecture as cheap and ephemeral, particularly in regards to its construction.\(^{62}\) 'A Returned Architect' noted in the June 1909 issue of *Progress* that in 'Great Britain, one is struck with the ancient and solid appearance of the majority of buildings which seem to be built to last for ever, and present a notable contrast to the American system where they believe in putting up a building

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\(^{62}\) *Progress*, Vol. 4, No. 9, 1 July 1909, p. 303. See also Lewis, p. 271.
for your present requirements, as cheap as possible, and if later you require a better one, well, pull it down and rebuild.⁶³

Sir Edwin Lutyens, reported The Press in 1928, was even more forthright on the subject of American construction. When asked his opinion of the fact that the average American skyscraper was built to last only 40 years, he explained that ‘Americans are not good builders. They build for the hour, with no eye at all for the future.’⁶⁴ English critical commentary once again served to affirm stereotypes or prejudices that already had some currency within the local profession. Perhaps it was the recognition that the same imperatives that encouraged expediency and built-in obsolescence within the American building industry were also present in New Zealand, an uncomfortable reminder of ‘the temporary nature of many of our structures’, which gave rise to such an attitude, even as American steel frame and reinforced concrete technology was being acclaimed for its modernity and global impact.⁶⁵

No such ambivalence appears to have clouded the minds of many members of the architectural community when it came to their appraisal of the American influence upon domestic architecture in New Zealand. Nothing came in for more scorn within the profession than the California bungalow, closely followed by another distinctly American housing style, Carpenter Gothic (see figs. 19 & 69). Both styles appear to have been intimately connected in New Zealand architects' minds with the 'problem' of mass housing, designed and built without the aid of a qualified architect. There is a sense in which attacks on the influence of American house styles were therefore directly related to New Zealand architects' marginal

⁶³ Progress, Vol. 4, No. 8, 1 June 1909, p. 282.
⁶⁴ The Press, 23 February 1928, p. 4.
participation in the domestic market.\textsuperscript{66} Architects in the United States were also faced with the same problem of market share during this period, but in New Zealand American pattern book architecture provided the profession with a convenient scapegoat.\textsuperscript{67} An address delivered to the Southland Branch of the N.Z.I.A. in June 1916 sums up the climate in which the California bungalow was being discussed between the wars.

All through the Dominion we find that domestic work of a class which a few years ago was almost all from the hands of practising architects, is more and more drifting into the hands of the enterprising builder. The same fate will, I fear, follow with much commercial work. The advent of the 'American Book of Bungalow Plans' and the facilities afforded the builder in copying and adapting them as well as 'tasty' bits from the work of various architects by their instruction at our technical colleges in the rudiments of architectural drawing, have wrought havoc with much of the practice we once had. People naturally look to save where they can, and it cannot be denied that in many instances these houses are better planned with a better understanding of convenience, of comfort and also often more tasteful in design than many of those by architects, as evidenced by their own paid for illustrations in some of our journals.\textsuperscript{68}

At the same time as the California bungalow was being introduced to New Zealand in the early 1910s, the Carpenter Gothic style was being lambasted for the supposedly negative impact it had already had upon the nation's domestic architecture. Writing about the late nineteenth century 'carpenter-architect' phase of New Zealand domestic architecture in the English \textit{Studio} magazine, Frederick de Jersey Clere declared that \textit{Woodward's National Architecture} (an American book giving designs for houses which, according to the letterpress, were equally adapted to brick, stone, or timber construction, and thus carried their condemnation with them), and works of similar kind directed the taste of the day ... [and] for

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{66} I am indebted to Geoff Hanmer, Managing Director of WHP Architects, Sydney, for clarifying my thoughts on this point. Email correspondence with the author, 26 June 1997.
\item \textsuperscript{67} \textit{New Zealand Building Progress}, Vol. 12, No. 11, July 1917, p. 1005.
\item \textsuperscript{68} Ibid., Vol. 11, No. 5, January 1916, p. 517.
\end{itemize}
some years vulgarity reigned supreme. Not only was this legacy still apparent within New Zealand townscapes in the early twentieth century, argued commentators such as Clere, but it was even put forward by the editor of Progress as the principal reason why the establishment of a School of Architecture in New Zealand was premature in 1913. '[W]here are the students of architecture to get their inspiration of lofty ideals and elegant tracery? Over three parts of every suburban area the “Carpenter's Gothic” reigns supreme, exhaling anything but inspiration from its commonplace front.... That there are beautiful examples of the villa and the country house in the suburbs of our cities and on the estates of the country gentlemen no one will deny. But who is there bold enough to hold that these be enough to nourish a generation of architects to perfection?'

The air of class snobbery that comes through in such writing seems very much in keeping with the nature of the subsequent discussion concerning the impact of American movies upon New Zealanders during the 1920s. It is also possible to detect a similar tone in the criticism of the California bungalow, which began to appear in the local architectural press during the same decade. From James Chapman-Taylor to William Gray Young, some of the most prominent architects of the inter-war period appear to have settled upon the bungalow as the scourge of the New Zealand suburb and the 'bungalow craze' was frequently invoked as evidence of the decline of national standards in housing design. In an editorial following the text of an article by Professor Leslie Wilkinson about contemporary Australian architecture, in which Wilkinson was critical of the 'invasion' of builder-designed bungalows

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70 Progress, Vol. 2, No. 8, 1 June 1907, p. 302.

71 Ibid., Vol. 8, No. 11, July 1913, p. 537. See also Vol. 5, No. 4, 1 February 1910, p. 103.

72 See Chapter One.
in that country, an N.Z.I.A. spokesperson agreed that this problem was also to be found in New Zealand.74

It will be generally admitted that the responsibility for the tendencies indicated [by Wilkinson] rests mainly on the shoulders of unregistered men, - the builder and the often ill-trained draftsman who prepares his designs, based as they are on the usually meretricious books of designs which come in thousands from the Pacific Coast of America. There is, however, an indication that some of our members are inclined to follow what they conceive to be the popular taste, forgetting the while that so long as they do, they are being led and are not leading, which latter is their proper function.75

One such architect who might have been deemed guilty of following 'popular taste' was New Plymouth practitioner Thomas Bates (1873-1954), an Australian who had worked in San Francisco for two years prior to his arrival in New Zealand in 1908. According to his daughter, Maud Walker (née Bates), who carried out a lot of the draughting in her father's office, Bates was privately irritated by the 'bungalow craze', but he nevertheless provided bungalow designs at his clients' request.76 Regardless of whether or not Bates was guilty of being led rather than attempting to be a leader in his provincial community, the problem we have today in measuring his deeds against the N.Z.I.A.'s words on the matter is that the California bungalow and the 'craze' that it generated in New Zealand are very rarely defined by contemporary architectural commentators or practitioners.77
the day, writers in *Progress* and the N.Z.I.A.'s *Journal* clearly had a sense of what the terms would mean to their audience and saw no need to offer an explanation of what exactly were considered to be the main faults of this domestic architectural style. Stanley Fearn offered some hints in this regard in his address on architectural design to the Wellington Architectural Students' Association reported by *Progress* in January 1922, but they are by no means explicit or particularly enlightening.

To-day we have the American bungalow craze ... my advice to you is eschew them [sic] all and settle in your minds first of all the tradition you will follow; and in domestic work you should have no hesitation in deciding upon the English, for every nation will admit, even America - who does not admit much - that the English vernacular work for charm and repose can outclass anything else in the world....[T]ime will show that the American bungalow craze must go the same way [as Art Nouveau], for the simple reason that these types ignore tradition and their sense of proportion is foreign to us.78

Although Auckland architect C.R. Ford returned from his trip to the United States in 1923 'with a very evident admiration for the skill and design shown in providing Americans with their dwellings' he also appears to have had reservations about the appropriateness of adopting such models in New Zealand.

New Zealanders know a good deal about the plans of American homes, for we see many of the type in our suburbs, where they look strangely out of place, because the type has been transplanted without regard for the changed conditions. While we have much to learn from the best type of American home, we have to remember that climate and environment are the governing conditions, and that the New Zealand designer, while taking inspiration from across the Pacific, is wise is [sic] making many important modifications, which are usually neglected when the speculative builder or amateur designer 'lifts' a plan from a well illustrated guide to home-builders.79

hideous, where it might have been made beautiful. There are real bungalows in America but they are designed by real architects, and are not to be found in 'dear-at-any-price bungalow books', with plans of 'Japo-Swiss bungalows.' *Progress*, Vol. 6, No. 8, 1 June 1911, p. 698. *The Ladies' Mirror*, 1 October 1923, p. 18.

The source of California bungalow designs, American pattern books, may have been as much in contention with New Zealand architects as the design of the houses themselves, reinforcing the sense in which it was architects' exclusion from the bungalow building boom, as much as their reservations about its aesthetic qualities, that resulted in the profession's antipathy towards the most influential American domestic building type of the twentieth century. This was certainly made explicit in an article published in The New Zealand Architectural and Building Review in September 1927 entitled 'Homes and Architecture - Book Plan Copying Dangerous'. Echoing Ford's concerns, the unnamed author stated that the 'slavish copying of plans from cheap publications is ... a dangerous practice as every site has its special idiosyncrasies [sic] that must be considered in good planning.... The old two box windows and portice [sic] has had its day, also it is to be hoped the monstrosities so called American Bungalows.

Conclusion

Allegiance to Britain and admiration of America were combined in a confusing medley of architectural awareness, influence and antagonism. This is particularly evident in the work and writings of William Gray Young (1885-1962), one of the most successful architects of his generation. In describing the character of Gray Young's work in the late 1910s, the editor

79 New Zealand Building Progress, Vol. 18, No. 9, May 1923, p. 198.
82 This sentiment was also echoed by Dr. J.S. Elliott, Chairman of the Wellington Branch of the British Medical Association, when he proposed the toast to the N.Z.I.A. at its annual dinner in 1930. According to Dr. Elliott 'New Zealand had had imposed on it the Californian bungalow in its various forms. While some of these were pleasing to the eye others were monstrosities.' The Journal of the N.Z.I.A., Vol. 9, No. 2, June 1930, p. 40. The New Zealand Architectural and Building Review, Vol. 2, No. 3, 30 September 1927, p. 9.
83 See Kroes, pp. x, 6-7
of the *Architects' and Builders' Journal* summed up the complex matrix within which British and American architectural influences functioned in the early twentieth century. 84

That the architectural traditions of the Old Country exercise a considerable influence over the development of colonial architecture is shown in this admirable example of the work of Mr. W. Gray Young, F.N.Z.I.A., who has manifestly derived inspiration from the late Georgian period. At the same time there is a character about the building that clearly reveals other conditions and a different environment - a breadth and simplicity of effect that is achieved elsewhere only in the best modern American architecture. 85

Five years later, Gray Young's paper on 'Small House Design', presented at the N.Z.I.A.'s annual meeting, was accompanied by 'some excellent lantern slides, which brought home vividly to the audience the contrast between a well-designed house (as shown by the designs of English houses as well as some by local architects) with some of the bad specimens of the Californian bungalow type of house. The audience was quick to see the difference.' Whilst acknowledging that 'a great improvement had been experienced in the design of the small house in New Zealand during the past ten years', Gray Young asserted during his presentation that the 'American bungalow style had crept in ... and had to a certain extent eliminated the British characteristics of our building. We must not forget that we were British, he continued, and we should aim to develop our house architecture along national and traditional lines.' 86

In his comments about more specific aspects of American domestic architecture, Gray Young reiterated the attitude that appears to have been prevalent amongst many of his contemporaries; that American architecture could provide some useful lessons for New

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84 Gray Young's designs for the Wellington Boys' Institute and a local doctor's residence were the particular focus of this article. The Boys' Institute in Tasman Street (1914) was a steel-frame structure four and a half stories in height, and the house was that built for Dr., later Sir, James Elliott (1913) in Kent Terrace. See above, ff. 81. *New Zealand Building Progress*, Vol. 13 No. 10, June 1918, pp. 226-7.


86 *New Zealand Building Progress*, Vol. 18, No. 6, February 1923, p. 137.
Zealand practitioners, but at best these were supplementary to English architectural methods and principles rather than an alternative to them.\textsuperscript{87} The strands of taste and imperial chauvinism are by no means easy to separate in these discussions, however, and, because some of the strongest expressions of New Zealand's essentially British nature made by local architects were those written for publication in overseas journals, there is also a sense in which architects such as Clere, Binney and Gray Young may have wished to establish an image of certainty abroad which deliberately obscured the ambiguities of the situation at home.

For all the patriotic rhetoric of the time there were some architects who were able to acknowledge the achievements of American architecture and recognise the reasons why the profession in New Zealand might not always be able to do so. W.J. McKeon presented a paper titled 'A Ramble Through Washington' to delegates at the Annual N.Z.I.A. Conference in 1937, wherein he outlined the problem.

In this part of the world we probably get a distorted viewpoint on the United States and per medium of the films, the press and the cheaper form of literature which reach us from that great country, we are apt to associate the name of America with a mixture of gangsters, film stars and their activities, stunts and spectacular happenings, all of which tend to hide from us the really great artistic and scientific achievements of which America is capable.... Architecturally, America has had the courage and the money to express herself, and although she has passed through phases of bad taste and transitional periods, her architecture to-day stands out with all the strength, vigour and beauty which can only be achieved by a

\textsuperscript{87} The following extract is taken from an article entitled 'Architectural Developments in the United States' which appeared in \textit{The New Zealand Architectural and Building Review} in February 1928 following Gray Young's return from six months abroad, which had included a brief stop-over in New York. 'It is well known that the Americans have developed and invented some excellent devices for the equipment of household kitchens and bathrooms, in which respect they have set an entirely new standard. In the opinion, however, of Mr. Gray Young, based on what he saw in the United States, they have lost all sense of proportion in regard to the fitting up of the bathroom.... American kitchens, he observed, are fitted up like factories, so complete are they in labour-saving devices. The exterior of the English house still stood entirely on its own for design. It was so simple and attractive, and it looked essentially a part of the landscape. But when it came to home planning, the Americans were a long way ahead of the English.' \textit{The New Zealand Architectural and Building Review}, Vol. 2, No. 7, 29 February 1928, p. 33. See also R.L.J. Vorstermans, 'William Gray Young, Architect, 1885-1962', B.Arch. research report, Victoria University of Wellington, 1982, p. 11.
L.K. Eaton, in discussing American architecture's 'coming of age' in the eyes of European architects responding to the work of Richardson and Sullivan at the end of the nineteenth century, offers the proviso that recognition is not synonymous with influence in the architectural profession. Perhaps this observation might be inverted to suggest that influence does not necessarily entail recognition, a state which could describe the New Zealand architectural community's response to American architectural influence up to 1940. From the architectural writing of the period it certainly seems likely that the desire demonstrated by New Zealand architects to identify as Britons necessarily entailed consciously ignoring the signs of non-British cultural, and therefore architectural, influence in New Zealand.

In 1942 H. Courtney Archer, writing in *The Architectural Review*, summed up 'Architecture in New Zealand' for the magazine's readership, in England and abroad. Archer observed in New Zealand 'a desperate attempt to cling to traditional English social customs and habits in the face of slow but positive social and economic reforms brought about by progressive legislation, and the determination on the part of a small minority to attempt to build a distinctive New Zealand culture.' He then went on to argue that a shift in economic and social control within the country, from the agricultural community to the commercial sector, had brought about a change of focus from England to the United States. As a result '[m]uch of American life was adopted almost without change and the New Zealand landscape, the towns with their American equipped theatres showing American films, the streets of bungalows equipped with telephones, electric lights and cooking appliances, radios and the American sedan motor cars parked in the street or in the garage, and the country patterned

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89 Eaton, p. 1.
with electric power poles and worked with American farm implements, has more in common with the U.S.A. than with Great Britain.91 Despite his summary of a multiplicity of American influences upon New Zealand architecture, particularly since 1900, Archer nevertheless reverted to a more traditional sentiment when summing up the general situation in New Zealand in 1942; one which serves as a useful reminder that the perception and the reality of American architectural influence in New Zealand prior to 1940 were two widely different things.92

It is often proudly claimed by New Zealanders that their country is the most English of the Dominions. True, this statement is rarely, if ever, substantiated, were that possible, but the New Zealander is tied by strong bonds of sentiment to “Home” as the British Isles are always called, and the building of a “Britain in the South Seas” has been the desire and aim of the inhabitants during the past hundred years.93

90 Courtney Archer, p. 53.
91 Ibid.
92 “[T]he suburbs from 1900 onward might be the suburbs of Philadelphia or Chicago, with their rows of dreary T. houses with ornamental ironwork, coloured glazing and iron roofs…. Official Building to-day is [also] under strong American influence.” Ibid., p. 54.
93 Ibid., p. 53.
Conclusion

American Legacy: Understanding the Impact of American Architectural Influences in New Zealand

If there is any such thing as a 'New Zealand culture', it is to a large extent the creation of Hollywood. G. Mirams, Speaking Candidly - Films and People in New Zealand, Paul's Book Arcade, Hamilton, 1945, p.5.

[O]ur environment might have shaped us more quickly had it not been for ... our stubborn belief that here in the blue remoteness of the South-West Pacific had been created another England... [T]he tradition of a South Pacific Britain lived on long after it had ceased to have any real substance. It is not entirely dead today. D. Stone, 'Introduction', Verdict On New Zealand, D. Stone, ed., A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1959, p. 11.

On Friday, 12 June 1942 five American navy transport ships sailed into Auckland harbour. Their arrival heralded a new era in N.Z.-U.S. relations.1 Over 100,000 American servicemen and women were stationed in camps in or near Auckland and Wellington between 1942 and 1944, and their presence in New Zealand has been characterised as an 'invasion', albeit a largely peaceful one (see fig. 77).2 New Zealand culture was 'permanently altered' by the presence of American troops during the war, according to one historian of the period, and in many ways the war years are now seen as a watershed in New Zealand's social and political history.3 It has been the intention of this study to demonstrate how one aspect of New

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1 More than 30 years before the arrival of the U.S. Marines in New Zealand, American military might had already been witnessed with the appearance of the Great White Fleet in 1908. See Chapter One.


Zealand’s material culture, its architecture, provides definitive proof that the relationship established with the United States during the Second World War was predicated upon a firm foundation of pre-war knowledge and influence.

Something of the environment in which American troops and the New Zealand public came together during the war is suggested by Meet New Zealand, a booklet produced in c.1942 by the Department of Internal Affairs to help visiting American military personnel adjust to life in New Zealand. ‘You won’t find subways, skyscrapers or night-life’, warned the unnamed author, but we ‘know about the United States. Some of us have been there, most of us have read American books, all of us have seen American movies; our children learn about George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, and we listen to Franklin D. Roosevelt over the radio.’

In a manner that may have been more conciliatory than strictly accurate in terms of contemporary public opinion, the booklet went on to state that New Zealanders ‘don’t belong to England.... And by the way, if you ever hear a New Zealander refer to England as “Home”, more often than not that’s just traditional - not so much sentimentality as the use of a convenient one-syllable rather than a two-syllable word.’ Similarly, the Pocket Guide to New Zealand, produced by the Special Service Division of the United States Army in 1944, informed U.S. troops that they were ‘going to meet people who, in many ways, are much like ourselves. For although New Zealand is on the other side of the world from us, its people are about midway between the British and ourselves in manner and culture.’

That ‘midway’ point had, according to contemporary commentator Gordon Mirams, been reached in part through the auspices of the movies. ‘When the U.S. Marines landed in New Zealand, nearly 40 years of Hollywood films cushioned the impact’, wrote Mirams in 1945.

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Four decades of motion-pictures which predominantly have originated in Hollywood have already carried the 'Americanisation' of New Zealand further than most of us realise, and than some of us would care to admit. The movies have brought these islands, and Australia also, within the orbit of American influence. If ever a national post-mortem is performed on us, I think they will find there are three words written on New Zealand's heart - ANZAC, HOLLYWOOD, and HOME. But only a rash prophet would venture to suggest which word will be carved the deepest.

According to Hugh Honour it was 'in the 1920s that the United States first became familiar, visually, to Europeans through the cinema.' It can be argued that this visual consciousness was also fostered abroad by developments in the architectural arena; architects borrowed and adapted American styles and construction methods to create in New Zealand a hybrid Anglo-American environment. If the motion pictures on exhibition in the early twentieth century introduced the appearance of American life and culture to New Zealanders, the buildings in which they were being shown and the houses to which movie patrons returned after the credits rolled may have served much the same function.

The widespread reception of American cultural influences in New Zealand prior to World War Two preceded the establishment of closer political links between the two countries that developed during and after the war. New Zealand's first diplomatic mission in a foreign country, excluding Great Britain, was established with the United States in 1941, and cooperation during the Korean and Vietnam wars was to further cement the two countries' political relationship. Economically, however, New Zealand's dependence upon Britain remained strong until the latter joined the European Economic Community in 1972 and events such as the Royal tour of 1953-4 served to reinforce the country's social and

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7 Gordon Mirams was a Listener columnist and New Zealand's only film critic at this time. G. Mirams, Speaking Candidly - Films and People in New Zealand, Paul's Book Arcade, Hamilton, 1945, pp. 123, 125. See also, Bioletti, p. 17. Keith & Ridge, p. 67.
emotional ties with the 'Mother Country' in the post-war period.\textsuperscript{11} There is a sense then of a complex, somewhat contradictory, matrix within which American and British influences affected life in New Zealand after the war, in much the same way as they had done prior to it.

Architecturally the post-war period also reflected the same pattern of hybrid Anglo-American influence and imitation. Modernism, which before the war had been more discussed than implemented, gained currency as the leading architectural idiom when construction resumed in the late 1940s.\textsuperscript{12} It was to make particular inroads into the design of government architecture and private housing.\textsuperscript{13} This change in architectural climate was signalled by Paul Pascoe and Humphrey Hall in their 1947 \textit{Landfall} article titled 'The Modern House'.\textsuperscript{14} Here Pascoe and Hall acknowledged American architect Frank Lloyd Wright's work and the 'humanizing influence' of his theory of organic architecture, wherein they considered the functionalist approach of European architects such as Le Corbusier had reached its maturity.\textsuperscript{15} By 1947 the principles of European modernism had been taught and practised in the United States by German emigré architects, among them Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe, for a decade.\textsuperscript{16} Pascoe and Hall recognised the integration of European and American trends within contemporary architecture, and promoted the lessons of the

\textsuperscript{11} Even as late as 1988 Keith Sinclair was to write in \textit{A History of New Zealand} that it is 'indisputable that the people have, in general, remained attached - attached, a modern Prime Minister has said, by bonds of sentiment, trade and debt - to the United Kingdom.' Sinclair, p. 214. See also C.H. Grattan writing in 1961 'New Zealand today is a Western nation, predominantly British in character... It has remained "colonial" in its attitudes longer than Australia - there appears to be a lag of three or four decades.' C.H. Grattan, \textit{The United States and the Southwest Pacific}, Oxford University Press, Melbourne & Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1961, p. 38.


\textsuperscript{13} P. Shaw, \textit{A History of New Zealand Architecture}, Hodder Moa Beckett, Auckland, 1997, Chapter 8, 'The Search for the Vernacular', pp. 139-56.


International Style in the hope that this would engender a higher standard of domestic design in New Zealand.

In their *Landfall* article Pascoe and Hall compared the modern house, 'free from the doctrines of historical styles', with the fashion house, in which the 'false allegiance to Tudor, Georgian, Colonial or Spanish peculiarities' could be observed. The echo of Binney's 1927 critique was plainly audible. Pascoe and Hall were also critical of the nation's 'endless rows of peaky and restless-looking suburban bungalows'. A decade later Britain's pre-eminent architectural historian, Nikolaus Pevsner, also remarked, in rather negative terms, upon the popularity of the bungalow when he travelled around New Zealand for six weeks in 1958.

In addition to undertaking radio interviews and public speaking engagements whilst he was in New Zealand, Pevsner recorded his impressions of the nation's buildings in the British periodical, *The Architectural Review*. In an issue dedicated to the architecture of the Commonwealth nations of Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, Pevsner characterised the architects of these countries as having 'their roots ... in Britain, but their eyes are on the United States'. Of the New Zealand situation in particular he noted that the 'respect for England is great, and emotional ties are as a rule admitted, but the relations are platonic.... California houses in the journals are pondered over with more profit than English ones.' Nevertheless, the individual buildings praised by Pevsner during his visit to New Zealand all owed their inspiration to British and European models alone and they were judged according to their faithfulness to such models and as to how they might appear within

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17 Pascoe & Hall, p. 122.
18 See Chapter Five.
19 Pascoe & Hall, p. 124.
21 Skinner, pp. 1, 3.
22 Earlier in the same article Pevsner had written 'that throughout the four dominions England as a source of inspiration has been eclipsed by America calls for some thinking'. Pevsner, p. 152.
23 Ibid., p. 205.
an English architectural setting.\textsuperscript{24}

More recent assessments of New Zealand's twentieth-century architecture have, to some extent, reinforced the Eurocentricism that is understandably present in Pevsner's writing. This is most evident in the recent enthusiasm for the modernist designs of Wellington emigré architect Ernst Plischke and the New Zealand architects who shared his approach to design in the post-war period.\textsuperscript{25} Within a small community of scholars, the adoption and adaptation of European architectural style has thus far received much greater attention than American typological innovations, such as the supermarket, the motel and the shopping centre, which have arguably been much more instrumental in the transformation of New Zealand social life and patterns of urban development since the 1950s.\textsuperscript{26}

Nevertheless what has emerged in the histories of New Zealand architecture written in the last ten to fifteen years is the implicit suggestion of the mediatory role played by American architecture in the adaptation of European style to suit New Zealand requirements.\textsuperscript{27} As Rob Kroes has written, the 'word mediation, which Banham uses and which occurs in many other studies of America's cultural radiance, should be central to any other treatise on Americanization.'\textsuperscript{28} Whether in relation to the Georgian Revival style of the 1920s and 1930s or to the adoption of post-war Modernism, in which the architecture of Scandinavia played a similar role, American architecture appears to have consistently offered New

\textsuperscript{24} Pevsner commented on both 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries in this regard, citing Old St. Paul's Church in Wellington and the Dunedin railway Station as comparable to good English work of the same period. Skinner, pp. 2, 3. See also, L. Tyler, 'Modernity Arrives: Massey House', \textit{Zeal and Crusade - The Modern Movement in Wellington}, J. Wilson, ed., Te Waipora Press, Christchurch, 1996, pp. 103-9.


\textsuperscript{27} See, for example, W. Toomath, \textit{Built in New Zealand - The Houses We Live In}, Harper Collins, Auckland, 1996.

Zealand architects a 'midway' point between European practice and ideology and local needs and capabilities. American architecture can be seen to have been both peripheral and central to the evolution of New Zealand architecture in its role as mediator.

To date two factors appear to have militated against a greater recognition of the importance of American architecture in histories of New Zealand's architectural development. The first relates to the position usually assigned to American material and visual culture within the wider context of New Zealand's cultural history. A dichotomy between low (American) and high (British) culture constructed by an aspirant intellectual and social elite has arguably obscured the American contribution to local high culture, within which category architecture, in the narrow Pevsnerian sense, can be included. If the distinction between high (architecture) and popular (building) culture is rejected it becomes possible to recognise and accommodate counter-examples across the entire spectrum of cultural production.

The second factor that might account for the obscurity of the American influence within the narrative of our built heritage relates to the way in which that narrative has been constructed. A linear and emphatically chronological approach to the nation's architectural history, following a line of progression from British colonial origins to post-colonial South Pacific nation, has only recently been expanded so that the complexities of multiple influences, whether constructional, typological or stylistic, within the wider Anglo-American

29 Cecil Wood, in a letter to his wife during his 1927 visit to the U.S.A., wrote that the American architect and educator Paul Cret 'was as modern as he was prepared to go at that time.' Indeed, the significance of the American stripped classical style practised by Cret and contemporaries such as Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, whom Wood also admired, has been largely overlooked in the construction of a modernist genealogy in New Zealand, which has concentrated instead upon European and British models of modernist theory and practise. L. St. J. Maingay, 'Cecil Walter Wood - Architect of the Free Tradition', B. Arch. thesis, University of Auckland, 1964, p. 49.


31 'A bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln cathedral is a piece of architecture.... [t]he term architecture applies only to buildings designed with a view to aesthetic appeal.' N. Pevsner, An Outline of European Architecture, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middx., 7th ed., 1963, p. 15. See also Phillips, p. 39.
context which has clearly shaped the development of New Zealand architecture over the last 200 years can be addressed. The primary focus of architectural history and criticism, since at least 1900 when Christchurch architect Samuel Hurst Seager wrote his account of 'Architectural Art in New Zealand' for the *Journal of the R.I.B.A.*, has been with trying to identify a unitary national school of architecture.\(^{32}\) A function of the youth of both history and architectural history as scholarly enterprises in New Zealand, this situation will certainly change as time goes by.\(^{33}\) It is to be hoped that this study makes some contribution to a more inclusive and catholic history of New Zealand architecture; one which will offer a springboard for subsequent efforts to create a New Zealand-centred architectural history, replacing one which conceives of the country's architectural legacy solely in terms of its deviation from foreign norms.

Architecture offers one means by which the present can be better understood and the future re-imagined. In New Zealand the fact of an American architectural influence before 1940 offers a challenge to the conventional narrative of pakeha material culture, as one that is, or at least has been seen as, entirely Anglocentric. Between their selective use of American models and their imperial rhetoric, New Zealand architects created an intermediary space in which a local architecture was established, albeit one that was characterised by its heterogeneity rather than the homogeneity which they desired.

Pevsner's visit to New Zealand in 1958 was, Robin Skinner suggests, 'a trip to chart *terra incognita* onto the art and architectural world map'.\(^{34}\) That may have been a famous architectural historian's perception, but the reality was altogether different. As Paul Walker and Justine Clark have written, 'New Zealand's architecture is not at the end of some slow

\(^{32}\) S. Hurst Seager, 'Architectural Art in New Zealand,' *Journal of the R.I.B.A.*, Third Series, Vol. 3, No. 19, pp. 481-91. In a similar vein to Seager Pascoe and Hall, in their 1947 *Landfall* article, asserted that '[e]xcept for the typical carving on early Maori buildings, there is little in New Zealand architecture that can be said to be distinctive or indigenous.' Pascoe & Hall, p. 124. See also P. Pascoe, 'Houses', *Making New Zealand - Pictorial Surveys of a Century*, Vol. 2, No. 20, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1940, pp. 18, 30.


\(^{34}\) Skinner, p. 1.
and enervating drift of ideas from metropolitan centre to the antipodes. It is embedded in the
give and take of architectural ideas and culture.\textsuperscript{35} The United States, in the century before
1940, was one of the key components in this process, of which it can be said

\ldots American cultural items are appropriated selectively and often reinterpreted or fused with local cultural practices and traditions. Hence, although cultural diffusion proceeds, the result is not the loss of cultural diversity but rather the recreation of new hybrid cultural forms. These forms illustrate that cultural consumers are not passive agents but active participants who integrate, appropriate, and manipulate cultural objects to represent the social relations of their own communities.\textsuperscript{36}


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78] Ford Mobilised No. 6. Advertisement c.1943. ATL C-19549-1/2


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With thanks to the Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa for permission to reproduce images from their collection.
On most maps, New Zealand is shown down in the left-hand corner, a fact that makes Americans think it's a long way from nowhere. This map gives a truer picture of New Zealand in relation to the rest of the world and clearly indicates its strategic importance. You will notice that it lies below the Equator, whereas the United States lies above it. As a result, the seasons are reversed. When it is winter in the United States, it is summer in New Zealand and vice versa. The International Date Line runs north and south through the Pacific—just about at the fold of these two pages. When it is today on the left-hand page, it is yesterday for places on the right-hand page. When you are in Auckland, you are 16½ hours ahead of New York time. For instance, when it is noon on Wednesday in Auckland, it is 4:30 p.m. on Tuesday in San Francisco and 7:30 p.m. in New York. The normal shipping time between New Zealand and the West Coast of the United States is 3 to 4 weeks. Because of the war, sea transport now takes even longer. But aviation has brought the two countries close together. The regular clipper used to take 4 days. For detailed map of New Zealand see centerspread.
Fig. 2  Acker's Cottage, Halfmoon Bay, Stewart Island, c.1844.
Fig. 3  Highwic, Epsom, Auckland. 1862 with additions.
Fig. 27

Fig. 28

PRINCIPAL FLOOR

Fig. 5 'The Grange', Wadestown, Wellington. Photographed by E.S. Richards in 1867.
ATL PA2-1561
The Burnet home ('Oneida') in Fordell. c.1870s.
W.J. Harding Collection, ATL G-169-1/1
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Fig. 8  C. Tringham, ‘Westoe’, Karkariki Road, Rangitoikei in c.1875.
William James Harding Collection, ATL G-000154-1/1
DESIGN VI.

An Irregular Villa in the Italian style, bracketed.

This design shows a villa in the Italian style of moderate size. It is highly irregular, and while it will, on account of the great picturesqueness and variety growing out of this circumstance, be much more pleasing to a portion of our readers, a great number of persons, who only judge of a dwelling-house by a common-sense standard, will probably prefer a more regular and uniform building, like one of the previous designs. The latter class will find no good reason for any extra cost incurred in creating an irregular villa like this, as a more regular one would afford the same comfort and convenience; but persons who have cultivated an architectural taste, and who relish the higher beauties of the art growing out of variety, will give a great preference to a design capable of awakening more strongly emotions of the beautiful or picturesque, as well as the useful or convenient. We might illustrate the natural progress in taste in the fine arts which all persons make, and their relative capacity of enjoying different degrees of art, by a familiar example drawn from music. Most persons, having an ear for music, but who have never cultivated a taste for it, will be found greatly to prefer simple airs, because the simple rhythm of melody is distinct, and easily understood; the more intricate beauties of harmony abounding in fine musical compositions, are only intensely felt and enjoyed when our perceptions are enlarged and heightened by education.

Fig. 9  
A.J. Downing, Victorian Cottage Residences, 1873 ed.  
Fig. 10  Balloon frame house (c.1874) in Thorndon, Wellington being demolished.

Fig. 11  East elevation, Benjamin Smith, Mount Vernon, Waipukurau. 1882-83.

Fig. 13  East front, Mount Vernon, Virginia. In 1858. Postcard, author’s collection.
Fig. 14 Entrance Hall, Mount Vernon, Virginia. 1735 – Postcard, author's collection.
Fig. 15 Royal Flouring Mills, Timaru. 1881-2.

*The Past Today — Historic Places in New Zealand*, J. Wilson, ed.,
THE TEMPLE OF TRUTH, erected August 1892. Seats 1800.

Fig. 16 Clarkson & Ballantyne, Temple of Truth, Christchurch. 1892.
ATL F-20058-1/2
Fig. 17  England Brothers, ‘Fitzroy’, Papanui Road, Christchurch. c.1896-8.
ATL G-74020-1/2
Fig. 18

'A Beautiful Suburban Place' (Colonial Renaissance)
Fig. 19  Victorian colonial house, probably in Stratford, Taranaki. c.1895.  
James McAllister Collection, ATL G-005851-1/1
Fig. 20 Thomas Turnbull & Son, Bank of New Zealand, intersection of Customhouse & Lambton Quays, Wellington. 1899-1901.
Sydney Charles Smith Collection, ATL G-049162-1/2
American and Australian Line
Via New Zealand
Around the World

Miles:
- Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe System: 9,346
- Chicago & Alton: 843
- Chicago & North-Western (The Great Western Line): 7,046
- Union Pacific: 4,919
- Oceanic S. S. Co. of San Francisco: 8,100
- Union S. S. Co. of New Zealand: 2,227

Fig. 21 Australian & America Line Brochure. c.1900.
ATL C-23432-1/2
A COUNTRY WITHOUT STRIKES

A Visit to the Compulsory Arbitration Court of New Zealand

By

HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD

WITH INTRODUCTION BY

WILLIAM PEMBER REEVES

EX-MINISTER OF LABOR IN NEW ZEALAND
AND AUTHOR OF THE COMPULSORY ARBITRATION LAW

NEW YORK
DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & CO.

1900
Fig. 23  
Admiralty House, Anzac Avenue, Auckland. 1902.  
demolished 1916.  
J.H. Kinnear Collection, ATL G-82035-1/2
Fig. 24  American Bar, Central Hotel, Wellington, under the supervision of Mr. James Riegel. 1903
ATL E-PH 143
Fig. 25 Carnegie Free Library, Thames. 1906.
William A. Price Collection, ATL G-001547-1/2
Fig. 26 Architectural design class, Canterbury College School of Art, Christchurch. 1907. Steffano Webb Collection, ATL G-005361-1/1
Fig. 27  John Campbell, Public Trust Office, Wellington. 1908-9.  
Fig. 28  S. & A. Luttrell, N.Z. Express Company building, Dunedin. 1908-10.
N.Z. Historic Places Trust.
Fig. 29  Great White Fleet Procession. Monday, 10 August 1908.
Fig 30  S. & A. Luttrell, Façade, Kaiapoi Woollen Manufacturing Company building, Christchurch. 1909.

Don McEwan.
Fig. 31  J.T. Mair, First Presbyterian Church, Invercargill. 1909.
Fig. 32 Christchurch panorama, N.Z. Express Company building to left of Christ Church Anglican Cathedral. *Canterbury Times*, 21 December 1910, Canterbury Public Library.
Fig. 33  The International Harvester Company building on the corner of Lichfield Street and Bedford Row, Christchurch. c.1912
Steffano Webb Collection, ATL, G-3972-1/1
Fig. 34  Frederick de Jersey Clere, St Mary's Church, Karori, Wellington. 1912.
ATL A-166-009
Fig. 35  J.S. Guthrie, ‘Los Angeles’, Fendalton, Christchurch. c.1909.
Steffano Webb Collection, ATL G-21835-1/1
Fig. 36. View of living rooms, 'Los Angeles', Fendalton, Christchurch.
Steffano Webb Collection, ATL G-21825-1/1
Fig. 38  G.W. Phillips, *New Zealand Homes and Bungalows*, Christchurch, 1913. Unpaginated.
CALIFORNIA BUNGALOW WORTH STUDYING

A CALIFORNIA BUNGALOW OF STONE AND SHINGLE WORTH STUDYING, BOTH IN DESIGN AND INTERIOR FINISH

That it is wise to put new wine in new bottles cannot be doubted, and that it is the part of wisdom to put new architecture in new lands is also true. The West is not as yet put to the sad necessity of building houses in perpendicular form, "standing room only," on tip-toe to catch a bit of sun and air! They can assume a comfortable horizontal position, lounging at ease in the midst of gardens! The long low-sweeping line of roof of these charming bungalow houses permits a beauty such as is often obtained in the "sheer" of a boat.

The accompanying photographs of a house built by Edward E. Sweet of Pasadena, California, at a cost of only $3,500.00 is an excellent type of the commodious, beautifully proportioned bungalows now becoming known as Californian—the new architecture of a new land. This building grows from a rock foundation quite as vegetation springs from the earth, the chimneys rising above it as large rocks occasionally lift their gray heads above the grass and flowers associated with them in the lawns of Nature's making.

The use of shingles forms a distinct decorative note; the beams and cobbles are handled in a most interesting way; the windows are pleasant spots placed happily in the composition, and the roof completes the whole in a satisfactory manner. Nothing jars, but every feature unites in forming a house of exceptional beauty.

The arrangement of the interior is no less satisfying, combining comfort, convenience, privacy, simplicity, yet creating a luxurious sense of space. The large living room with its reading table within comfortable proximity to the fireplace, a smaller room joined in

Fig. 39 'A Californian Bungalow of Stone and Shingle Worth Studying',
Fig. 40  
ATL F-6745.1/1
Fig. 41  W.J. Rush, Iona College, Havelock North.
In 1915.
F.G. Radcliffe Collection, ATL G-006088-1/2
A NEW ZEALAND BUNGALOW THAT SHOWS THE TRUE CRAFTSMAN'S ART

If a craftsman is to be successful he must base his efforts on essential principles. He can only be sure of himself after years of study and deep seeking. In other words, he must discover the relation of art to human life. With this rock for his foundation, he may speak, through the medium of wood and brick and stone, the truths that have come to him.

There is much wisdom in this simple statement of a craftsman's creed, and it is lent all the more weight because it comes from the pen and heart of one who has sought to embody its meaning in concrete form. It is the expression of a successful architect, a man who has himself thought and studied much, who plans and builds not only with due consideration for those who are to occupy his dwelling, but also in keen sympathy with the materials beneath his hand. He respects the individuality of each—and incidentally, in doing so, expresses his own.

The result, as the accompanying photographs show, is a building of sturdy charm, stamped, in spite of its simplicity—perhaps because of it—with a certain rare distinction that one does not meet in every bungalow. It is quaint, but not eccentric; unique, but not affected; fashioned with frank intention of material comfort, yet imbued with an atmosphere that is far from materialistic. For the spirit of home is there—the brooding quiet, the sheltering friendliness that comes with simple walls and solid woodwork, pleasant windows that gather air and sunlight, and furnishings that invite to sociability and rest.

The fact that this architect, Mr. J. W. Chapman Taylor, is a New Zealander, and the bungalow in question was designed and built by him for a family in New Plymouth, New Zealand, gives an additional interest to these illustrations, for it shows how wide and all-pervading is the architectural zeitgeist of today. This new home-building spirit, with its yearning for comfort, for simplicity and beauty, for sincere and earnest craftsmanship, is by no means limited to America and the countries of the Old World, but is stretching out into other continents and colonies and inspiring pioneers beyond other seas. It is infusing into a craft which modern industrial methods have commercialized, somewhat of the old-time ideals that guided the builders and artists and cabinetmakers of long ago. It is forsaking the cult of the machine-made and the gaudy, and hailing the rebirth of a half-forgotten art.

One cannot glance at these pictures of "Plas Mawr," this New Zealand bungalow, without feeling an echo of the home-ideals and the enthusiasm that must have gone into its conception and making.

Fig. 42 'A New Zealand Bungalow That Shows the True Craftsman's Art', The Craftsman, June 1914 in Craftsman Bungalows: 59 Homes from The Craftsman, Dover Publications Inc., New York, 1988, p. 116.
Fig. 43 James Douce, House, Grosvenor Street, Cambridge. c.1914.

NUMBER 450

OUR NO. 450 SERIES of plans embraces four variations, all quite popular in design. The plans and exteriors given herewith are somewhat similar. We present views in two of them, B and C, showing interior treatment: that of 450 C being taken before the house was occupied; but with appropriate rugs and furniture the effect would be entirely pleasing.

Attention is called to the four exteriors and the different architectural treatments adopted, alike in some respects, but different in others. Three of them have porch roof carried on two piers, two ave full-height brick piers and wooden arched entablatures; one has the upper end of piers subdivided into three, and one has wooden posts with ornamental blocking and small brackets, supporting a painted entablature, returned at the ends and crowned with a small molding. Attention is called also to the dormer treatment of the four designs, which show considerable difference. Any one of these exteriors can be combined with any one of the plans shown with slight modification of the plans. It may be added here that a house built from Plan 450 would cost in the cheapest material and finish about $2200; with the best of material and workmanship and with down-to-date accessories the expense might run to $2550.

Fig. 44 No. 450, Practical Bungalows of Southern California,
Fig. 45  W. Gray Young, Church of Christ, Newtown, Wellington. 1915.
Peter G. Healy Collection, ATL F-075314-1/2
Fig. 46  J.S. Guthrie, 'Long Cottage', Merivale Christchurch. 1917.
Christchurch Press Company Ltd.
Fig. 47 J.S. Guthrie, Entrance hall, 'Long Cottage', Merivale, Christchurch. 1917.
Christchurch Press Co. Ltd.
Fig. 48  H.E. White, The Midland Hotel, Wellington. 1917.
Gordon Burt Collection, ATL F-15618-1/1
Fig. 49  W.H. Gummer, Y.W.C.A. building, Auckland. 1917-18. (demolished)
S. Coney, Every Girl: A Social History of Women and the YWCA in Auckland, 1885-1985,
Auckland YWCA, Auckland, 1986, p. 49.
Fig 50  Home of the Whites at 76 Harakeke Street, Christchurch. c.1920s. Steffano Webb Collection, ATL G-4022-1/1
Fig. 51  Gerald E. Jones, House design, *Commonsense Homes for New Zealanders*, Harry H. Tombs Ltd., Wellington, 1920, p. 11.
Fig. 52  House, Ranelagh Street, Karori, Wellington. c.1930s
Bennie Collection, ATL F-139964-1/2
Fig. 53  Colonial Motor Company building, Wellington. 1920.
Lithgow Album, ATL PA1-q-144-057
Fig. 54  Ford dealer’s garage in Stratford, Taranaki. c.1920.  
James McAllister Collection, ATL G-0121715-1/1
Fig. 55

View of the Arts Building, University of Auckland. 1921-26.
ATL F-2243-1/2
Fig. 56  Northcote bungalow plan. 1924.
Fig. 57  Clere & Clere, AMP building, Wellington. 1925-8.
Hall-Raine Collection ATL reproduced in
T. Hodgson, Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand,
Fig. 58  DIC building under construction, Lambton Quay, Wellington. 1928.
Evening Post Collection, ATL G-4625-1/2
Clara Bow in 'Ladies of the Mob'.
Movie brochure, c.1928.
ATL Eph-A-CINEMA-1928-01
Fig. 60  Bohringer, Taylor & Johnson, Interior; Civic Theatre, Auckland. 1929.
Fig. 61  
Tole & Massey, St. Mary's College, Auckland. 1929-30.  
Archives of the Congregation of the Sisters of Mercy, Auckland.
Fig. 62  Upoko Poito Private Hospital, Marine Parade, Napier. 1931.
ATL F-002941-1/2
A. All buildings and structures shall be built so as to resist wind loads, shocks and vibrations by one of the following methods:

1. Rigid connections at the intersection of beams, girders, floor system and roof trusses with their supports.
2. By means of knee or diagonal bracing; or
3. By bracing in walls.

B. All buildings not having inherent stability in their structural design equal to the bracing herein required shall be braced to resist a horizontal thrust acting in any direction. This bracing shall be applied at all points of support in such a manner that each tier of columns or storeys shall resist a horizontal thrust applied to the centre of gravity of the supported load, equal to 10 per cent of the load which they support when the foundation rests on material upon which a bearing of 4 tons per square foot is allowed, 15 per cent. when 3 tons per square foot is allowed, and 20 per cent. when less than 2 tons per square foot is allowed or when piling or raft foundation is used.

C. All buildings and structures hereafter erected having large open spaces therein, such as garages, theatres, churches and lodge halls, and those buildings or structures which have rooms or spaces of a width in excess of 35 feet, shall have their roof trusses supported on structural steel or reinforced concrete columns, and all such roof trusses and columns shall be braced with knee braces.

D. The wind load on all structures less than 30 feet high shall be computed as a horizontal force equal to 10 lb. for each square foot of surface exposed by a horizontal projection of the building or structure. The wind load on higher buildings shall be computed at 15 lb. per square foot, acting on an area equal to the horizontal projection of the said building or structure.

Outline of main 1924 Amendments to the Building Law of Tokyo, Japan, as given by Dr. Naito, Tokyo.

The principal point of the amendment is the introduction of the seismic coefficient—requiring the introduction of a lateral force equivalent to 0.1 or more of the gravity weight (0.15 or more for chimneys higher than 50 feet, and for towers and tower-like projections above the main building).

The following are the main points of amendment:

A.—WOODEN BUILDINGS are subject to the following limitations:

1. Maximum height 42ft. instead of 50ft. formerly allowed.
3. Roofing tiles must be anchored to the battens.
4. Sizes of columns increased about 15%.
5. Proper bracings or brackets are required.
Fig. 64  Francis Willis, New Regent Street, Christchurch, 1930-32. Ann McEwan
New Zealand's Thermal Wonderland

Fig. 65  J.T. Mair, Blue Baths, Rotorua. 1931-3.

_Rotorua and New Zealand’s Thermal Wonderland,_
Tourist and Publicity Department, Wellington, 1940, cover.
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or a large wedding reception.

Fig. 66 W.J. Prouse, Hotel St George, Wellington. 1933.
Fig. 67 Edmund Anscombe, Washpool, Maraekakaho, Hawke's Bay. 1934.
M. Fowler & R. van de Voort, The New Zealand House,
Fig. 68    Hennessy & Hennessy, CML building, Wellington. 1935.
ATL F-18387-1/1, reproduced in T. Hodgson, Looking at the Architecture of
Fig. 69  
Hawke’s Bay bungalow and family. 1930s.  
H.N. Whitehead Collection, ATL G-004609-1/1
Fig. 70 Ford Motor Company, Seaview, Petone. 1935.
J. Gatley, 'For(war)d Thinking: The Ford Building, Seaview',
*Zeal and Crusade, The Modern Movement in Wellington*, J. Wilson, ed.,
Fig. 71 General view of the Centennial Exhibition, Wellington, looking towards the Exhibition Tower. 1940. ATL F-4300-1/2
Fig. 72  Plan of the Wellington Centennial Exhibition buildings, 1939.
Gordon Burt Collection, ATL G-015667-1/1
Fig. 73  G.R.C. Muston, Interior perspective, N.Z. Centennial Exhibition, Wellington, 1938.

The National Broadcasting Service block in the Government Court. In this display a complete broadcasting unit is presented.

Fig. 74 'The National Broadcasting Service block in the Government Court'
New Zealand Centennial Exhibition: Official Catalogue. Wellington, 1939-40,
N.Z. Centennial Exhibition Company, Wellington, 1939, p. 43.
Fig. 75  Wade & Bartley, Station 1ZB Auckland in 1947.
Archives New Zealand: National Publicity Studios Collection, ATL F-33910-1/2
Fig. 76  Cecil Wood, Proposed Wellington [Anglican] Cathedral, Hill Street elevation, Wellington. April 1941.
ATL C-121-034
Fig. 77  United States Marines in Parade along Bunny Street, Wellington. c.1942.
John Dobree Pascoe Collection, ATL F-000477-1/4.
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Fig. 78 Ford Mobilised No. 6. Advertisement. c.1943.
ATL C-19549-1/2
Fig. 79 United States Servicemen at the Hotel Cecil Milk Bar, Wellington. c.1943.
Gordon Burt Collection, ATL F-015935-1/1.
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