

## "... ponderously pedantic pediments prevail ... good, clean fun in a bad, dirty world": New Zealand Architecture in the 1980s

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"A full year has now passed since *NZ Architect* committed itself ... to a programme of regular and concerted architectural criticism."

"A criticism is no more than a personal viewpoint. It is not gospel. The critic, too, is open to criticism, and therein lies the challenge."<sup>1</sup>

The 1980s in New Zealand started with Robert Muldoon as Prime Minister: "Think Big," the Springbok Tour, the price freeze, and the establishment of Kōhanga Reo. These conflicting messages of expansion, contraction, and of race and politics were contextualised by high inflation (15.7% in 1981, 17.6% in 1982) and increasing unemployment (over 70,000 in 1981; c130,000 in 1983). In 1983 the CER (Closer Economic Relations) agreement with Australia was signed. In 1986 a GST (Goods and Services Tax) was first introduced. In October 1987, the sharemarket crash devastated many and reduced the number of cranes dominating the skylines of New Zealand's major cities. Building sites became car parks, and a new era of economic rationalisation would occur. In 1988 Broadcasting was de-regulated, NZ

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<sup>1</sup> Melling "Editorial" (1984) 4:5. The title for this paper quotes Melling "Editorial" (1983) 5:5.

Post (now an SOE) closed 432 post offices, and the selling of state assets to private interests was put in train. In 1989 GST increased to 12.5% and the Serious Fraud Office was established.

It was also a decade of drama in New Zealand architecture. Significant controversies arose over buildings being built or being demolished, the economies of land value and building worth were in constant comparison. Of note were the discussions around the unrealised National Art Gallery,<sup>2</sup> Roger Walker's now demolished Wellington Club,<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Melling "Editorial" (1983) 6:5; Bruge & Van Raat "That NAGging question ..." p 2; Robertson, Hunt, Joiner, Toy and Miskimmin "NAG, nag, nag, nag, nag ..." pp 6-9; Wild & Gorbey "Yet more NAGging ..." pp 6-7; Melling "Editorial" (1985) 3:5; "National Art Gallery" pp 4-9.

<sup>3</sup> "Finial: A matter of conscience ..." p 9; "Apology to Morrison Cooper & Partners [re: Wellington Club]" p 11; Melling "Editorial" (1985) 3:5; Alington, Derek, Taylor & Walden "The Wellington Club saga" pp 6-7; Melling "Editorial" (1985) 5:9; Walden "The New Dawn (Te Atatu)" pp 21-25; Walker "Strategies for Survival" pp 21-25; Beard "Clubs, Shebangs and Warrens" pp 21-26; Melling "Editorial" (1985) 6:9; Tyerman & Edney "Wellington Club Backlash ..." p 10; Bossley "Letters" p 7.

the Aotea Centre in Auckland,<sup>4</sup> the destruction of William Pitt's His Majesty's Theatre,<sup>5</sup> and finally the National Museum of New Zealand, known these days as Te Papa.<sup>6</sup> Controversies included protests against the recurring lack of open competitions for major public buildings, as well as the dominant disregard for architectural heritage.

Competitions which did occur were usually at a much smaller scale and included those for drawing, in particular the National Measured Drawing Competition,<sup>7</sup> which Chris Cochran defended in terms of demanding skills for "the most thorough investigation of the fabric of

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<sup>4</sup> Ward "The Aotea Alternative" pp 22-27; Hunt "The Aotea Alternative Explained" pp 28-31; "Aotea Centre" *New Zealand Architect* p 13; "Aotea Centre" *Architecture New Zealand* p 18.

<sup>5</sup> Bucknell "Demolition Derby" p 19.

<sup>6</sup> Niven "Comment: National Museum of New Zealand" pp 25-27; Bucknell "Editorial" (May/June 1989):18; "Museum of New Zealand: Te Papa Tongarewa: Competition for Selection of Architectural Design Consultants" p 14.

<sup>7</sup> "National Measured Drawing Competition" (1982) 1:0; "National Measured Drawing Competition" (1983) 2:34-44.

the structure ... it leads to - hopefully - a mastery of the idiosyncracies of the structure, an explanation of the inexplicable clues that only have meaning when the whole is studied in detail."<sup>8</sup> Architectural drawings also became the subject of exhibitions: "The Architect Exposed" (1983),<sup>9</sup> "W.B. Armson" (1984),<sup>10</sup> "Past Tense" (1986),<sup>11</sup> "Dreams and Schemes" (1988),<sup>12</sup> and "Unbuilt Wellington: 1940-1990" (1989).<sup>13</sup> Regular architectural cartoons were penned by Chris Brooke White ("Speerhead") and then Malcolm Walker,<sup>14</sup> the effectiveness of these suggested by letters such as that by AJ Neil accusing Brooke White's artistry as being damaging to the profession.<sup>15</sup> This privileging of drawing coincided with the emerging status of architectural computing and CAD, its proponents frequently bemoaning the building industry's slowness "to recognise the impact of computers,"<sup>16</sup> and pointing to the

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<sup>8</sup> Cochran "National Measured Drawing Competition" pp 10-11.

<sup>9</sup> McCarthy "The Architect Exposed" p 10.

<sup>10</sup> Cochran "Heritage" (1984) 2:47.

<sup>11</sup> Ansell "Past Tense ... Exhibition" pp 24-27.

<sup>12</sup> "Dreamers" p 103

<sup>13</sup> Niven "What a City Could be" pp 94-98.

<sup>14</sup> Melling "Editorial" (1985) 1:5.

<sup>15</sup> Neil "Letters" p 13.

<sup>16</sup> "A Mid-Career Course in "Computer Applications in

fact the architectural profession "has stood on the brink of the computer age for nearly two decades."<sup>17</sup> Contributors to this discussion included Andrew Cotton, David Kernohan, Gary Mason and Russell Walden,<sup>18</sup> and prompted the suggestion of a Computer Users Group.<sup>19</sup>

The first *NZ Architect* article of the decade was Russell Walden's "The Nature & Value of Architectural Archives."<sup>20</sup> The same issue profiled the Shamrock Hotel and the Greta Point Tavern as recycled buildings<sup>21</sup> - architectural history in terms of economic advantage, anticipated in Gordon Moller's editorial on reuse.<sup>22</sup> More emphasis would be stressed on heritage for architectural

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Architecture"" p 41.

<sup>17</sup> Robertson "Across the Computer Threshold" p 32; also Martin "One Byte\* at a Time" pp 33-36; Mason "The Programmable Calculator" pp 38-41.

<sup>18</sup> Walden "Computer Vibrations From America" p 49; also Deeth "Letters" pp 6-7; Cotton "CAD Wise" p 107; Wolff "Architectural Computing" p 91; Thompson "Thomson on CAD" pp 73-75.

<sup>19</sup> Kernohan "Computer Users Group?" p 9.

<sup>20</sup> Walden "The Nature & Value of Architectural Archives" pp 3-12.

<sup>21</sup> "A Recycled Building: "The Shamrock Hotel" Athfield Architects"" pp 19-20; "A Recycled Building: The "Patent Slip"" pp 21-23.

<sup>22</sup> Moller "Editorial" (1980) 1:0.

heritage's sake. Chris Cochran's articles and "Heritage" columns (1983-86) discussed relevant issues, the impotency of the Historic Places Act (1980),<sup>23</sup> and highlighted potential and actual demolitions: the State Fire Insurance Building, Midland Hotel,<sup>24</sup> the Public Trust Building,<sup>25</sup> the Convent of the Sisters of Mercy in Palmerston,<sup>26</sup> and Christchurch's Civic Theatre.<sup>27</sup> Graeme Robertson, Jeremy Salmond, and Hugh Norwood also contributed to the *NZ Architect* "Heritage" columns; Salmond ruefully observing that "[t]he exponential rate at which sections of the city are disappearing makes it difficult to offer directions to visitors,"<sup>28</sup> whereas Gerald Melling described Wellington city as having "open-heart surgery [being performed on it] with a Kango hammer."<sup>29</sup>

This was also the decade during which, in Ross Jenner's words, "Architectural History ... [came] of Age" with the formation of the

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<sup>23</sup> Cochran "Heritage" (1984) 5:51-52.

<sup>24</sup> Cochran "A Plea for the Twenties and Thirties" pp 22-23.

<sup>25</sup> Cochran "Heritage" (1983) 4:47-48.

<sup>26</sup> Cochran "Heritage" (1984) 5:51-52.

<sup>27</sup> Cochran "Heritage" (1985) 2:9-10.

<sup>28</sup> Salmond "Heritage" *New Zealand Architect* (1986) 2:48-49.

<sup>29</sup> Melling "Stitching-up the City" p 14.

Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand,<sup>30</sup> and Ian Bowman and David Reynolds' attempt to establish a New Zealand committee for ICOMOS.<sup>31</sup> Equally significant was the University of Canterbury's post-graduate course in New Zealand architecture.<sup>32</sup> The constant threat of demolition to heritage buildings throughout the decade soon meant impassioned tones pleading demolition-prevention became more dominant. Articles such as "South Island Survivors"<sup>33</sup> and "Demolition Derby"<sup>34</sup> conveyed this sentiment running through the decade. The issuing of a demolition permit by the Auckland City Council for His Majesty's Theatre on the 31st December 1987,<sup>35</sup> the building's demolition by Pacer-Kerridge, and its site's consequent use as a carpark was a tipping point. The lobby group "Save Our City" was formed.<sup>36</sup> Façadism came under fire, by heritage advisors<sup>37</sup> and cartoonists

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<sup>30</sup> Jenner "Architectural History Comes of Age" p 51.

<sup>31</sup> Bowman & Reynolds "Letters" pp 8,10-11.

<sup>32</sup> Lochhead "Rediscovering the Past" p 34.

<sup>33</sup> Strever "South Island Survivors" pp 7-9.

<sup>34</sup> Bucknell "Demolition Derby" p 19.

<sup>35</sup> Bucknell "Demolition Derby" p 19.

<sup>36</sup> "Save Our City" p 17.

<sup>37</sup> White "Beyond Facadism" pp 71-74; Stewart "Facadism: Is it a Veneer Disease?" pp 74-75.

(Malcolm Walker's "Marquis de Facade"<sup>38</sup> being one memorable example), and the law was changed so significant heritage buildings became exempt land taxes.<sup>39</sup> Heritage restorations and refurbishments also occurred, including Government Buildings, Wellington,<sup>40</sup> the Auckland Supreme/High Court,<sup>41</sup> Auckland Custom House, Ivey Hall, Christchurch, Auckland University's Old Arts Building,<sup>42</sup> and the Princes Street Synagogue.<sup>43</sup>

The decade was a productive one in many ways for Māori. The 1981 Springbok Tour put race issues firmly on the table. The following year Te Kōhanga Reo was established. Keri Hulme won the 1985 Booker Prize for *The Bone People*, in 1987 te reo Māori was formally recognised as an official language, and, in 1988, Bastion Point was finally returned to Ngāti Whātua. Explicit engagement with Māori architecture though appears to be contained to the second half of the decade.

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<sup>38</sup> Walker "Marquis de Facade" p 7.

<sup>39</sup> Bucknell "Editorial" (July/August 1988):11; "Preservation Incentives" p 15.

<sup>40</sup> Treadwell "A life in the day of .. The re-birth of Government House" p 15.

<sup>41</sup> Auckland Works Consultancy "Courthouse Update" pp 65-67.

<sup>42</sup> Stewart "Refurbishment Update" pp 41-45.

<sup>43</sup> Shaw "Synagogue Renewal" pp 44-50.

Cochran's 1985 "Heritage" column discussed renovations of Māori whareniui and churches by the NZHPT,<sup>44</sup> a Russell Withers' "Life Styles" column of the same year was subtitled "Three maraes (past, present and future),"<sup>45</sup> and a later Withers' column discussed "Racism and Architecture."<sup>46</sup> Three contributions to *New Zealand Architect* in 1987 by John Scott, Margaret Orbell and Rewi Thompson were grouped together under the title "The Language of Maori Architecture."<sup>47</sup> John Scott was profiled by Mary Shanahan<sup>48</sup> in the same issue Walden's *Voices of Silence* was reviewed,<sup>49</sup> and Mike Linzey had, by the end of the decade, published an account of Te Kooti as an architect.<sup>50</sup>

The 1980s was also the decade when the United Nations convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women was ratified (in 1984), the

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<sup>44</sup> Cochran "Heritage" (1985) 1:34-35.

<sup>45</sup> Withers "Life Styles?: Three maraes (past, present and future)" pp 44-45.

<sup>46</sup> Withers "Life Styles?: Racism and Architecture" pp 50-51.

<sup>47</sup> "The Language of Maori Architecture" pp 36-39.

<sup>48</sup> Shanahan "John Scott Architect of the Land" pp 44,45-48.

<sup>49</sup> Wilson "Voices of Silence" pp 75-77.

<sup>50</sup> Linzey "Te Kooti-Architect" pp 90-95.

"Homosexual Law Reform Act" (1986) was passed, and the Cartwright Report on the cervical cancer research programme was presented (in 1988). It was a decade in architecture when minority concerns were beginning to be given a voice. Columns such as Russell Withers "Life Styles?" (1981-86), and the variously authored "Women in Architecture" column (1983-85), contributed (often collaboratively) by Jane Admore, Robin Allison, Diane Brand, Claire Chambers, Beverley Gill, Heather Ives, Gill Matthewson, and Janet S Thomson were key avenues for addressing such concerns. Withers' column discussed issues ranging from: Community Architecture, Housing Co-operatives, and Maslow's hierarchy of needs, to Sexist Architecture, and Responsible Urban Design. Withers' last column co-incided with the departure of Melling from the editorship. The "Women in Architecture" column examined topics including: feminist design, discrimination, and women's participation in the profession. In 1984, AANA - Architects Against Nuclear Arms formed.<sup>51</sup> The same

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<sup>51</sup> "AANA: Architects Against Nuclear Arms" (1984) (5):53; ADPSR "Land of the free ...?" p 8; "AANA: Architects Against Nuclear Arms" (1985) 4:11; "Architects Against Nuclear Arms" (1986) 1:32; "Architects Against Nuclear Arms" (1986) 2:52.

year *New Zealand Architect* published a review of Omerod's *Nuclear Shelters: A guide to design*.<sup>52</sup>

The proverbial elephant in the room though was Post Modernism - a topic frequently wrestled with in terms of humour or frustration. Overseas influences were varied, Post Modernism and Deconstructivism being the most obvious, accessed via the architectural press, local architects returning from overseas and visiting architects, who included Charles Moore,<sup>53</sup> Richard Burton and Jane Carter,<sup>54</sup> Harry Seidler,<sup>55</sup> and Stanley Tigerman, reputedly "thoroughly unimpressed by Auckland."<sup>56</sup> In 1987 a more formal exchange of local architects travelling occurred, with Athfield, Thompson, Walker and Blair participating in an American lecture tour: "Up From Down Under."<sup>57</sup>

The 1980s was also a decade when writing about New Zealand architecture flourished,

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<sup>52</sup> Ansell "Richard Omerod *Nuclear Shelters: A guide to design* [book review]" p 50.

<sup>53</sup> Walden "Charles Moore" pp 4-7.

<sup>54</sup> Moller "Editorial" (1981) 3:0.

<sup>55</sup> Melling "Conference" pp 10-11.

<sup>56</sup> Melling "Editorial" (1984) 3:5; "Face to Face: Stanley Tigerman" pp 10-11.

<sup>57</sup> "New Zealand in America" pp 13-15,26-29,37-39,42-45.

with the exception of the demise of *Designscape* at the end of 1983.<sup>58</sup> Strong editorship (too strong for some!), especially under Gerald Melling, encouraged architectural criticism, but ultimately resulted in *New Zealand Architect* being sued.<sup>59</sup> Several books covering various aspects of New Zealand architecture appeared including: Melling's *Joyful Architecture* (1980), Bonny & Reynolds' *Living with 50 Architects* (1980), Michael Fowler's *The New Zealand House* (1983), Mitchell & Chaplin's *The Elegant Shed* (1984), Martin Hill's *Restoring with Style* (1985), Melling's *Positively architecture!* (1985), Jeremy Salmond's *Old New Zealand Houses* (1986), Russell Walden's *Voices of Silence* (1987), and Melling's *The mid-city crisis and other stories* (1989). Television also featured architecture, in particular *Kaleidoscope*; its 1984 *Elegant Shed* series,<sup>60</sup> and Mark Wigley's 1988 programme,<sup>61</sup> before his departure to New York.

Architectural students took an active part in discussions about architecture and their education, including in Student Congresses in

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<sup>58</sup> Melling "Editorial" (1984) 1:1.

<sup>59</sup> Melling "Editorial" (1985) 3:5.

<sup>60</sup> McCarthy "The Elegant Shed" pp 48-49.

<sup>61</sup> "New York, New York!" p 88.

1983 and 1985. Eight postgraduates (including Wigley) also wrote to the editor of *New Zealand Architect* wanting better recognition by the profession of their study.<sup>62</sup> It was not only the postgraduates who were vocal about their education. Martin Hanley and Guy Marriage wrote articles and letters raising issues about their undergraduate studies.<sup>63</sup> Replies (mainly from John Hunt)<sup>64</sup> were made publicly, as more "Letters to the Editor" and articles about architectural education.<sup>65</sup>

The profession and the role of architect itself was also questioned - though less often and less explicitly. Neil Kirkland suggested "that the architect is playing an obsolete social role."<sup>66</sup> Gerald Melling, when reviewing a

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<sup>62</sup> Civil, Walker, Meurant, Orsman, Barton, Wrigley, Haryana, Mitchener & Stewart. "Postgraduate Pique" p 6.

<sup>63</sup> Hanley "Education: VUW School of Architecture - a post-occupancy evaluation ..." p 11; Marriage "Teaching the teachers ..." p 10. Also McDougall "Education: Through a Perspex Set-square ..." p 53.

<sup>64</sup> Hunt "Letters" pp 6-7; Hunt "Education: Architecture, design, and building science" p 55; Hunt "Education: Package Tour or Journey of Discovery?" p 61.

<sup>65</sup> Botes, Chippindale, Higham & Kelly "Education - evaluating the evaluation ..." p 6; "Finial: The Noe's have it ..." p 10; Norwood "Disservice to the profession" p 10.

<sup>66</sup> Kirkland "Architects without architecture" p 38.

complaint by an architectural firm contracted to produce working drawing *not* designwork (who gained unwanted success in the 1985 Wellington Bland Awards),<sup>67</sup> concluded that:

In this case ... the architect posed as mere technician - a role, we are persuaded, of diminished responsibility. This has fascinating implications ... Just when, one must ask, is an architect, a mere *architect*?<sup>68</sup>

The anonymous "Finial" column, a feature of Melling's editorship of *NZ Architect*, was also a venue of astute commentary about architecture and its makers.

The New Zealand architectural press underwent significant changes during this time (not the least four editors),<sup>69</sup> in the constantly changing face of what would morph from *New Zealand Architect* into *Architecture/New Zealand* in November 1987 - a "broadly based architectural magazine,"<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> "Finial: 1985 Wellington Bland Awards" p 12.

<sup>68</sup> Melling "Editorial" (1986) 2:5.

<sup>69</sup> [advertisement for *New Zealand Architect* editor] p 48; "Architect: New Editor" p 44; "[announcement of new editor John Huggins]" p 6.

<sup>70</sup> Bucknell "Editorial" (May/June 1988) p 31; see also a "more broadly based format" - the magazine "serves as a communications vehicle between architects and their fellow building and design professionals - engineers, quantity surveyors, planners, landscape architects,

when the NZIA relinquished its role in publishing. Prior to November 1987, the eighties had seen the editorships of Gordon Moller (beginning with engaging and strident editorials which progressively diminished), followed by the uncompromising penship of Gerald Melling and his seemingly less-than-happy editorial retirement in 1986. John Huggins' nine issues prefaced the new *Architecture/New Zealand* and Carol Bucknell's editorship. This move from NZIA to AGM saw regret voiced from architects ranging from David Mitchell "seeing architects lose their grip on what was once their journal,"<sup>71</sup> to Graeme Robertson querying whether "the New Zealand architectural profession require[d] a more introspective vehicle to allow architects to record via critical articles on current work and researched papers, the state of the art?"<sup>72</sup>

The 1980s were also the decade of the building of: the Education Board's Miramar South School (1981),<sup>73</sup> Ted McCoy's Hocken Building

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building owners, developers" Bucknell "Editorial" (January/February 1989):10.

<sup>71</sup> Mitchell "Letters" p 11.

<sup>72</sup> Robertson "Letters" p 23.

<sup>73</sup> "Miramar South School" pp 20-25.

(1982),<sup>74</sup> Structon's DSIR building (1982)<sup>75</sup> Athfield Architect's Church of Christ Scientist (1983),<sup>76</sup> Marshall Cook's Napier Street Townhouses (1984),<sup>77</sup> David Mitchell's Gibbs House (1984),<sup>78</sup> Athfield Architects' Moore Wilson Warehouse (1985),<sup>79</sup> Michael Watt's Arrowtown Library (1985),<sup>80</sup> Tyl van Randow's Fielding Play Centre (1985),<sup>81</sup> Rewi Thompson's Horouta-ki-Poneke Marae, Porirua (c1986),<sup>82</sup> Ross Jenner's House for GR & CM Jenner (1986),<sup>83</sup> Structon's St Mary's Girls College Redevelopment (1986),<sup>84</sup> Rewi Thompson's Thompson House (1986),<sup>85</sup> JASMaD's Waikato Museum of Art and History (1988),<sup>86</sup> Nigel Cook's Kelly House,

Paraparaumu (1988),<sup>87</sup> the MWD's National Library,<sup>88</sup> Dino Burratini's NZI/Fay Richwhite building (1988),<sup>89</sup> and Warren and Mahoney's TVNZ Network Centre.<sup>90</sup>

The decade also saw the deaths of several architects, including those of Terry Acraman (1937-89),<sup>91</sup> Helmet Einhorn (1911-88),<sup>92</sup> Barry Ellison (d.1981),<sup>93</sup> Robert Brian Finch (1911-81),<sup>94</sup> Bernard Johns (1902-82),<sup>95</sup> Charles Light (1902-86),<sup>96</sup> Robert J Paterson (1946-89),<sup>97</sup> Maurice Patience (d. 1987),<sup>98</sup> Herbert Eric Phillips (c1897-1980),<sup>99</sup> Ewan Wainscott (d. 1987),<sup>100</sup> and Chris Brooke White (1939-83).<sup>101</sup> Ayn Rand's death, in March 1982, also

warranted a mention in the pages of the *New Zealand Architect*.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> "Hocken Building, University of Otago" pp 30-37.

<sup>75</sup> "Physics & Engineering Laboratory at D.S.I.R. Gracefield" pp 2-9.

<sup>76</sup> "Church of Christ Scientist" pp 15-21.

<sup>77</sup> "Napier St. Townhouses" pp 24-30.

<sup>78</sup> "Gibbs House" pp 20-28.

<sup>79</sup> "Moore Wilson Warehouse" pp 28-35.

<sup>80</sup> "Arrowtown Library" pp 16-20.

<sup>81</sup> "Feilding Play Centre" pp 33-37.

<sup>82</sup> "On the Board [Rewi Thompson Horouta-ki-Poneke Marae, Porirua]" p 19.

<sup>83</sup> Jenner "House for GR and CM Jenner" pp 24-25; Niven "Jenner House: Auckland Classic" pp 26-29; Wigley "The Generic New Zealand House near Ross - 1985" pp 30-31.

<sup>84</sup> "Reflections on a School ..." pp 16-24.

<sup>85</sup> "Monier Design Awards" p 20.

<sup>86</sup> "Waikato Museum of Art and History" pp 45-52.

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<sup>87</sup> "House in the Country" pp 53-56.

<sup>88</sup> "National Library" pp 51-56.

<sup>89</sup> "Room at the Top" pp 69-75.

<sup>90</sup> "Horizontal Hold" pp 29-34.

<sup>91</sup> "Obituaries" pp 14-15.

<sup>92</sup> Beard "Helmet Einhorn 1911-1988" p 14.

<sup>93</sup> Long "Obituary: Barry Ellison" p 41

<sup>94</sup> "[Obituary: Robert Brian Finch]" p 41.

<sup>95</sup> "Bernard W. Johns, Architect 1902-1982" pp 16-25

<sup>96</sup> Walden "Obituary: Alfred Charles Light" p 12.

<sup>97</sup> "Obituaries" pp 14-15.

<sup>98</sup> Beard "Obituary" p 28.

<sup>99</sup> Chaplin "Obituary: Herbert Eric Phillips" p 40.

<sup>100</sup> "Obituary" p 25.

<sup>101</sup> Athfield, Ian "Brooke White" p 11.

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<sup>102</sup> "Ayn Rand. Died March 7, 1982" p 41.

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