"Good Architecture should not be plaything": New Zealand architecture in the 1920s Christine McCarthy

When Frank Eggar Greenish (c1887-1962) Government's criticised the Reform architectural policies he boldly stated that: ""Good architecture should not be a plaything - a luxury - for a spirited nation. It should be a very real part of national character.""

The statement embodied sentiments which were uncontested among New Zealand architects of the period. Instead they were frustrated by their seeming inability to convey the necessity of architecture to the public and to the government, and to determine, within the New Zealand context, the appropriate standing of the architectural profession.

The 1920s has been conventionally seen by historians as a decade when "society slid back." Architectural historians have described the time as "transitional," or "characterised by a conservativeness," though the *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* suggests more complex dynamics as

the profession was dealing with the conflicts between the standards of "Home," and desires for self-sufficiency. The decade began with the end of World War I (1914-18) and the 1918 influenza pandemic. Lloyd-Jenkins points to the impact of the war, opening up opportunities overseas for New Zealanders, attracting them to migrate permanently:

The First World War removed many talented young architects, designers and craftsmen who might have made an impact on progressive architecture and design ... The war had opened up the world to the view of New Zealanders, many of whom had made the decision to return to Europe to study. Many never returned.⁵

Well known modernists who left New Zealand included: Amyas Connell, Basil Ward, George Checkly, Brian O'Rorke and Keith Murray, with Connell and Ward, students of the London University's Bartlett School (1924-26),⁶ famously winning first and second prize in the competition for the Rome Prize in 1926. While Connell was awarded the Rome Prize, Ward, unable to be awarded the Henry Jarvis Scholarship because he wasn't a

registered student of the RIBA, was granted a funds for a single year's study in Rome.⁷ For Connell this led to his famous commission for High and Over.⁸ It is the demographic gap, left by these men, which lloyd-Jenkins argues, created the dominance of the older generation of architects, and the decade's tendency to the conservative.⁹

The aftermath of the war gave New Zealand a new public holiday: Anzac Day, in 1922.¹⁰ It directly impacted on housing, and the building of memorials. The National War Memorial was a significant proposition, which would be completed in the 1930s. Debate in the 1920s determined its siting on Mt Cook: in order to "make, of what is now a frowning and sinister building [Alexandra Barracks] in the centre of a barren waste, a superb focal point for the future city improvement."¹¹ War

¹ Greenish "Architecture and the Government" p 106.

² Fairburn "The Farmers Take Over" p 186.

³ Stacpoole and Beaven New Zealand Art p 73.

⁴ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 102; see also lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* pp 53, 61.

⁵ lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* p 44.

⁶ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 102.

⁷ lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* p 62; Sharp & Rendel *Connell*, *Ward and Lucas* p 12; "The Rome Scholarship and the RIBA (Henry Jarvis) travelling Studentship" p 72; "Notes from Minutes of the Executive June, 29th" pp 75-76.

⁸ lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* p 62.

⁹ lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* p 44.

 $^{^{10}}$ Smith A Concise History of New Zealand p 126.

¹¹ "The National War Memorial" p 65.

memorials fueled numerous competitions. There were competitions for memorials in: Christchurch, 12 Hamilton,¹³ Oamaru,14 Stratford,15 Wellington (won by Hugh Cresswell Grierson (1886-1953), Kenneth Walter Aimer (1891-1960) & Malcolm Keith Draffin (1890-1964)), 16 Dunedin (won by William Henry Gummer (1884-1966) (of Prouse & Gummer)), 17 Southland (won by Leslie Douglas Coombs (1885-1952) & James Hodge White (1895-1970)), and, the largest: Auckland. The Auckland War Memorial Museum competition (blt 1922-29) was won by Grierson, Aimer & Draffin in 1922,18 the building's forecourt accommodating a replica of the Lutyen-designed cenotaph in Whitehall, London.19

The reality of the war was significant in the

early years of the 1920s, not in the least because "[t]he war's end late in 1918 meant it was 1920 before many New Zealand soldiers arrived home."20 Rehabilitation schemes provided ex-servicemen with "cheap urban housing" following the Soldier Settlement Act (1915),²¹ though Smith states that these opportunities were not available for Māori.²² The result was that land prices spiraled, contributing to the larger context of growing inflation and economic uncertainty.²³ Smith also notes that the war "also gave renewed urgency to eugenic anxieties about racial degeneracy, because medical army examinations exposed a high level of unfitness."24 Another health scare occurred with the international publication of statistics demonstrating that "New Zealand had the second highest maternal mortality rate after the United States."25 Several changes during the 1920s were aimed at improving the health and well-being of New Zealanders. The Department of Public Health, shortened its

name (to Department of Health) and broadened its focus from sewage and sanitation to personal health, particularly that of the child "as the future citizen."²⁶ Open-air schools, such as the model open-air school at Cashmere Sanatorium (1926),27 and health camps (begun in Whanganui in 1919, and organised by eugenicist Elizabeth Gunn) resulted.²⁸ Putting weight on to puny children was a prime aim. One farm hosting a health camp was described in 1922 as: ""fattening more valuable stock than it has ever fattened before ...""29 Frederic Truby King, of Plunket fame, became the Director of Child Welfare in 1921.30 He also hosted the New Zealand Institute of Architects, during a site visit of his William Gray Young-designed house in Melrose in 1925.31 The 1920s also saw the establishment of the School Dental Service (in 1921),³² and a shifting of the place of childbirth "from the home to the hospital as

¹² "Competitions" p 79.

¹³ "Hamilton War Memorial Competition" pp 26-27.

¹⁴ "Competitions" p 79.

¹⁵ "Competitions" p 79.

¹⁶ "Wellington Citizen's War Memorial" p 76;

[&]quot;Competitions: Wellington Citizens' War Memorial" p 160; "Competitions: Wellington War Memorial" pp 98-99; "Competitions" p 79.

¹⁷ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 115.

¹⁸ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 115, 116; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 73.

¹⁹ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 116.

²⁰ lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* p 44.

²¹ Fairburn "The Farmers Take Over" pp 205-206.

²² Smith A Concise History of New Zealand p 142.

²³ Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 13.

²⁴ Smith A Concise History of New Zealand p 136.

²⁵ Smith A Concise History of New Zealand p 140.

²⁶ Smith A Concise History of New Zealand p 137.

²⁷ Christchurch City Libraries "The open-air school Cashmere Sanatorium, Christchurch" n.p.; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 138.

²⁸ Smith A Concise History of New Zealand p 138.

²⁹ Smith A Concise History of New Zealand p 139.

³⁰ Smith A Concise History of New Zealand pp 136, 137.

 $^{^{\}rm 31}$ "Visit to Sir Truby King's House" p 43.

³² Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 13.

new public maternity hospitals and wards opened."33 It appears that the focus on health reforms may not have been as pervasive as first impressions. Brown notes that "[a]t this time most hospitals refused Māori This situation prompted admissions."34 Kīngitanga leader Te Kirihaehae Te Puea Hērangi build hospital to a Tūrangawaewae:

Mahinarangi was originally intended to be a hospital, and conceived of as a building that would look like a meeting house so that Māori patients would feel comfortable and accept Western medicine from Māori staff who observed tapu. At this time ... many Māori were afraid of Pākehā medical practices.³⁵

Māhinārangi opened in 1929, but "did not fit the criteria necessary to operate as a private hospital," 36 so the house instead became a focal point of Tūrangawaewae as a reception hall and museum. 37

While childbirth became increasingly a hospital affair, the home didn't miss out on ideological attention. The Massey-led Reform

government promoted homeownership, providing "home loans of up to 95 per cent for a suburban house and section to workingmen and returned soldiers." Consequently, the government became "the largest mortgagee in the country ... [and by 1926] New Zealand had probably the highest rate of [home] ownership in the world." Californian bungalows filled the suburbs, producing (in Thomson Wilson Leys' words):

such infinite variety ... that no one is surprised when rushing for a tram in the morning to find that some wonderful creation has sprung up on a vacant allotment like a mushroom, in the night. Such little vagaries as the omission to provide an entrance from the main building to a bedroom, or the intervention of a spacious hall between kitchen and dining-room, are details which contribute to that spirit of adventure which gives spice to life. For what can be more stimulating to courage than to brave a winter storm in your passage from a warm fire to a snug bed; or how can domestic virtues be better cultivated than in the conveyance of the family dinner across your main entrance without spilling the gravy.⁴⁰

Badly-designed houses ("inferior articles

The external design of the houses is as banal and as mediocre as the typical plan. It is quite true that they show no attempt at pretence - they are honestly mediocre. ... the joy of architecture - comes not by chance, nor by the payment of so many shekels, nor by any other means than training and experience in the art of architecture.⁴³

Equally importantly is the observation lloyd-Jenkins makes of this time period. He notes a social change as New Zealand architects understood that: "American architects encouraged tackling the entire home, not just the public rooms."⁴⁴

The idea of house or home though was not a culturally singular one. As Brown notes:

This model of [Pākehā] living had not been adopted by all Māori at this time due to the expense of building such structures, the change from extended to nuclear family

purchased at an excessive price"41) were considered to have "an untold influence on the general well-being, - spiritually, mentally, and morally."42 An Auckland City Council housing scheme came under attack because it was a missed opportunity:

³³ Smith A Concise History of New Zealand p 140.

³⁴ Brown *Māori Architecture* p 100.

³⁵ Brown *Māori Architecture* p 100; see also Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 126.

 $^{^{36}}$ Brown Māori Architecture p
 103.

³⁷ Brown Māori Architecture p 100.

³⁸ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 141; also Fairburn "The Farmers Take Over" pp 205-206.

³⁹ Fairburn "The Farmers Take Over" p 206; also Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 141.

⁴⁰ Leys "The Architect's Mission" p 4.

⁴¹ Greenish "The Housing Problem" p 118.

 $^{^{42}}$ Greenish "The Housing Problem" p 119.

 $^{^{\}rm 43}$ "Auckland City Council Housing Scheme" p 120.

⁴⁴ lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* p 49.

living associated with "house" life, and the difficulties in reconciling the tapu of sleep with the noa of ablutions, eating and cooking. Many Māori "houses" were judged by the government and Pākehā commentators to be damp, dark, overcrowded and, as a consequence, unsanitary; but what was being witnessed was largely an economic, social and constructional transition from whare puni to domestic housing.⁴⁵

Ferguson supports this, observing that: "Applicants for [government] housing were expected to conform to the lifestyle of the respectable Pakeha urban worker."46 From 1923 though, Māori, via the Native Trustee Act, could access capital for land development and to "improve or replace existing housing."47 Five hundred and fifty one houses were built in the seven years between 1929 and 1936 under the resulting development schemes,48 and these included culturallyhybrid houses designed by Te Puea "which sought to combine the most favourable elements of whare and house ... [T]hese houses featured thatched, or a combination of thatch and weatherboard."49 Pākehā also engaged practices of cultural hybridity in the fashions for "the use of Maori decorative motifs,"50 and giving houses te reo Māori names (e.g. Waiohika (Louis Hay, nr Gisborne, 1920),⁵¹ Te Pa (Warrington, c1920),⁵² Wharetane (John Anderson (1880-?), Mt Eden, 1926).53 Other houses designed in the decade included: Fairley House (later Awatea), Auckland (Binney, 1922),54 the Spicer Beach Cottage, Rothesay Bay, Auckland (James Walter Chapman-Taylor (1878-1958), 1923),55 Weston House, Park Tce/Peterborough St, Christchurch (Wood, 1923),56 the Adamson Resident, Salamanca Rd, Wellington (William Gray Young (1895-1962), 1923),⁵⁷ Pinckney House, Holly Rd, Christchurch (Helmore & Cottrill, 1924),58 Bates House, Pendarves St, New Plymouth (Thomas Herbert Bates (1873-1954), 1924),⁵⁹ Shortland Flats (Thomas Coulthart Mullions (1878-1957) and Sholto

Smith (1882-1936), 1924),60 Fernside, nr Featherston, Wairarapa (Helmore & Cottrill, 1924),61 Anderson Park, Invercargill (Wood, 1925),62 Four Peaks homestead (Helmore & Cottrill, 1925),63 the Hellaby House, Remuera (Roy Keith Binney (1886-1957), 1926),64 10 Woodward St, Mt Albert, Auckland (Chapman-Taylor, 1925-26),65 the Mills House, Upland Rd, Remuera (Binney, 1926),66 Arden, Havelock North (William H Gummer (1884-1966), 1926),67 Fleming House, Park Tce/Bealey Ave, Christchurch (Cecil Wood (1878-1947), 1926),68 Bishopscourt, Park Tce, Christchurch (Wood, 1926),69 MacEwan House, Wellington (Heathcote Helmore (1894-1965) & Guy Cotterill (1897-1981), 1926),70 Crawford House, Wellington (Helmore &

⁵⁰ lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* p 53; see also Petersen "The European Use of Maori Art" pp 57-72.

⁵¹ lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* p 51; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 96-97.

⁵² McCarthy "The Maori House" pp 62-78.

⁵³ "John Anderson" n.p.; NZHPT "Deficient Registration Report for a Historic Place: Whare Tane, Epsom" n.p.

⁵⁴ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 89; lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* p 46.

⁵⁵ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 83.

⁵⁶ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 93.

⁵⁷ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 92.

 $^{^{58}\,}Shaw$ New Zealand Architecture p 94.

⁵⁹ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 99.

⁶⁰ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 109.

⁶¹ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 95.

⁶² Shaw New Zealand Architecture pp 93-94.

 $^{^{63}}$ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 95.

⁶⁴ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 88.

⁶⁵ Stacpoole & Beaven New Zealand Art pp 74, 84.

⁶⁶ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 89; lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* p 46.

⁶⁷ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 91.

⁶⁸ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 93.

⁶⁹ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 93; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 81; lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* p 45.

⁷⁰ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 94.

⁴⁵ Brown Māori Architecture pp 103-104.

 $^{^{\}rm 46}$ Ferguson Building the New Zealand Dream p 98.

 $^{^{\}rm 47}$ Ferguson Building the New Zealand Dream p 99.

⁴⁸ Ferguson *Building the New Zealand Dream* p 100. ⁴⁹ Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 104-105.

Cottrill, 1927),⁷¹ Smeeton House, Remuera Rd, Auckland (Roy Alstan Lippincott (1885-1969), 1927),⁷² Fletcher House, Upland Rd, Auckland (Lippincott, 1927),⁷³ Stoneways, Mountain Rd, Auckland (Gummer, 1927),⁷⁴ and the Wilkinson House, Pukearuhe, Taranaki (Chapman-Taylor, 1928).⁷⁵

Fairburn describes the rise in home ownership as ameliorating political radicalism,

not only by giving contentment but also by imposing restraints. ... The families who purchased houses ... had something to conserve. ... workers became more averse to taking strike action, for strikes made mortgages difficult to service, and placed at risk the collateral - the savings represented by the home.⁷⁶

He paints the decade as one of political extremism fuelled by Baptist minister, Howard Elliot, who employed "sensational methods of stirring up hatred. ... [and] increasingly added to his scurrilous

revelations about Rome, extreme attacks on the "disloval" Left, on the "Bolshevistic" Labour Party, on radical unionists and socialism of any kind, exposing their role in the Papal plot."77 This political context is explicitly present in the pages of the Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects. Criticism of trade unions, for example, referred to the "more virulent socialist propaganda ... inciting bitterness between the classes, by attempting to define "workers" as only those engaged in manual labour,"78 while the Mayor of Auckland (James Gunston), at the dinner to welcome the new Professor of Architecture, Cyril Roy Knight (1893-1972), identified the dangerous "tendency of the extreme element, the Bolsheviks, Communists and Socialists - and those sections are increasing to a much larger extent than most of us realise even in the cities of New Zealand - to organise and spread their doctrines."79

Fairburn, hence suggests that the Reform government worked to ameliorate extreme effects, and the home figured as a site for this moderation, noting that the 1920s "cult of

⁷¹ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 94.

domesticity ... helped to keep down the proportion of women engaged in paid employment,"80 important as the economic fragility of the country and unemployment both increased. This management of unemployment levels impacted society beyond the home. The progress made with mechanisation, for example in the Public Works Department (with the acquisition of air compressors and rock drills as replacements for the hammer and gads and hand drills used for tunnelling in the earlier years of the decade), would be undermined with the reversion to manual labour and public works projects "to absorb the growing numbers of unemployed"81 with the Depression, though Noonan qualifies this by saying that: "only a really serious depression could reverse [mechanisation], not least because it reduced costs significantly, particularly in areas like earthworks, where expenses were estimated to have dropped by 30 percent."82 At home, new materials and technologies also made their impact. Plaster wallboards replaced scrim, stretched over boards, as an interior lining, and the fashion for panelling competed

⁷² lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* p 51; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 124.

⁷³ lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* p 51.

⁷⁴ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 91; lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* pp 46-47.

⁷⁵ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 82; lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* p 56.

⁷⁶ Fairburn "The Farmers Take Over" p 209.

⁷⁷ Fairburn "The Farmers Take Over" pp 193-194.

 $^{^{78}}$ Editor [Greenish] "The Demand for Skilled Workers" p 38.

⁷⁹ "The Welcome to Professor Knight" p 62.

⁸⁰ Fairburn "The Farmers Take Over" p 207, caption.

⁸¹ Noonan *By Design* p 107.

⁸² Noonan *By Design* p 104.

with traditions of wallpaper.⁸³ Articles for architects were penned on: gas distribution,⁸⁴ electrical installations,⁸⁵ domestic hot water heating and plumbing,⁸⁶ and earthquake risks in cities,⁸⁷ and the installation of "modern labour-saving devices in the home" was seen as a potential service the profession could offer the public: saving "the overworked mother, by lightening her duties." Research into the architectural sciences was supported by the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (established in 1926),⁸⁹ and NZIA's standing committee, formed in 1923 to:

examine, report on and test, if necessary, the various building materials manufactured in or imported into New Zealand as occasion may arise ... The efforts of the Committees to be exercised in obtaining an improvement in the quality of the materials and discouraging the use of those of bad quality. It shall be competent for the Committee to obtain the advice of persons outside the Institute with reference to materials

83 lloyd-Jenkins *At Home* pp 49, 54.

of which they may have special technical knowledge.90 Appliance manufacture also supported New Zealand households with, for example, the first electric range manufactured in Dunedin in 1925,91 while "[e]lectric lighting, hot water and inside toilets eased the lives of families who could afford home ownership. Electricity lit up rooms and showed the dust, inviting into the house marketing strategies of the consumer society, to target the housewife and mother."92 It was in the 1920s, with further investment in hydro-electricity, that the goal of the Minister of Public Works (1920-26) and Minister of Railways (1923-28), Joseph Gordon Coates (1878-43), for ""reasonably priced electricity being available for every person in the Dominion" became a realistic one.93

1920s New Zealand became more urban with the rise of the suburbs, the motorcar, and the Californian bungalow.⁹⁴ As Stacpoole and Beaven put it: "Garages began to appear

beside the houses."95 Joseph McLatchie Dawson (1876-1956) designed New Zealand's first motor vehicle assembly plant for Courtenay Place in Wellington in 1921-22.96 The "number of cars on the roads doubled,"97 and this "[n]ew, rapid means of transport led to the spread of suburban development radially to the major cities."98 The Main Highways Act (1922) came into operation in June 1924,99 and, for the first time, the motor car challenged rail as the preferred mode of transportation; something Coates' railway policy underestimated, as the government "continued to build and operate lines that would never pay, at a time when there was a viable, cheaper alternative - motor transport."100 The motor car necessitated a redesign of roads, and consequently a new geometry in the landscape as the car's "higher speeds called for wider roads, better surfaces, easier curves, greater sight distances, and twoway bridges; heavy trucks and buses needed stronger roads and bridges."101 Even in the

⁸⁴ Taylor "Gas Distribution [I]" pp 67-72; Taylor "Gas Distribution [II]" pp 81-88.

 $^{^{85}}$ Walls "Electrical Installations" pp 104-112.

⁸⁶ Clark "Domestic Hot Water Heating and Plumbing" pp 86-91.

⁸⁷ Adams "Earthquake Risks in Cities" pp 91-92; see also "Security Against Earthquakes" pp 119-120.

⁸⁸ Entrican "Civic Welcome" p 10.

⁸⁹ Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 14.

⁹⁰ "Notices of Motion [I]" pp 43-44; "Our Building Materials: The Functions of the Institute's Committee" pp 114-115.

⁹¹ Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 14.

⁹² Smith A Concise History of New Zealand pp 141-142.

⁹³ Noonan *By Design* p 114.

⁹⁴ Smith A Concise History of New Zealand pp 141-142.

⁹⁵ Stacpoole & Beaven New Zealand Art p 74.

⁹⁶ Jackson & McRobie Historical Dictionary of New Zealand p 13.

⁹⁷ Smith A Concise History of New Zealand p 141.

⁹⁸ Stacpoole & Beaven New Zealand Art p 73.

⁹⁹ Noonan *By Design* p 113.

¹⁰⁰ Noonan By Design p 109.

¹⁰¹ Noonan *By Design* pp 109-110.

1920s the investment into cars was contrasted with that into housing, with the observation that: "Were only half the thought devoted at present to motor cars given to the homes of the people, this country would be a happier and better place to live in." 102

The Public Works Department was also given new areas of architectural work, particularly the design and project management work of buildings commissioned by hospital boards, school boards and other educational authorities, 103 taking work away from private architectural firms: "As the architectural section's work expanded so did criticism of it ... other architects who felt threatened by it ... the New Zealand Institute of Architects claimed that Public Works architecture was monotonously uniform and stereotyped." Exactly how the NZIA felt about this was evident in Greenish's 1924 article "The Architecture of our Schools" stating that it was

difficult to conceive a more short-sighted and uneconomic decision ... the legislators, and more particularly the Government of the day, seem to care nothing for what is intrinsically sound in building ... It is well known that bureaucratic methods are the surest

¹⁰² Greenish "The Housing Problem" p 119.

means of narrowing the character and individuality of the people, and this is not less so in regard to architecture - an art in which individuality and service to the community must have full play - for such qualities are its life-blood. 105

The arguments against government-employed architects suggested: the efficiency of the private sector (with William Crichton (1862-1928), the retiring NZIA President asserting that: "There is no incentive for a salaried officer to enter into the work with the same zest as a private architect"106), the moral appeal of good architecture ("The Minister and his Departmental officers ... have higher obligations to the public than this, namely, to provide artistic, healthy buildings and beautiful surroundings. Who can deny the good influence derived from the beautiful Universities and public schools in Great Britain?"),107 the lack of incentive of the employee to "work government expeditiously,"108 and the inappropriateness of standardisation ("The same objections to the

use of standard plans apply with equal force to school buildings ... there are often very considerable differences, involving much thought and patient labour, which make the task much more complex than would appear to the uninitiated on a cursory glance. For this work an architect seldom receives credit"109).

The loss of hospital and school work from the private sector added to the NZIA's constant inadequacy represented feelings throughout the NZIAI during the time. The small numbers of registered architects meant the organisation was conscious of its lack of political power. It frequently turned to the RIBA for validation, and the prevalence of design by non-architects (especially through the circulation of quarter dollar plan books from America),110 and the seeming lack of architectural appreciation by the public was pervasive, demonstrated by, for example, the assertion by William Meek Page (1875-1953) that the Dollar Book of Plans from America "exerted more influence on the domestic architecture of the country than all the architects put together. ... He had been given

 $^{^{\}rm 103}$ e.g. "The Future of the Institute" p 123.

¹⁰⁴ Noonan *By Design* p 116.

¹⁰⁵ Greenish "The Architecture of our Schools" pp 128-132; see also "Government Enterprises in Architecture" pp 92-97.

¹⁰⁶ Crichton "The Address of the Retiring President" p 8; see also "Architecture and the Government" p 104.

¹⁰⁷ Crichton "The Address of the Retiring President" p 8.

¹⁰⁸ "Architecture and the Government" p 105.

¹⁰⁹ "Architecture and the Government" p 105.

 $^{^{110}}$ Gummer response, Ford "Address by the Retiring President" p 151; "The Mayoral Reception at Dunedin" pp 3, 4.

to understand that the Architects were responsible for only about five per cent. of the houses built in the country."111 The lack of protection of registered architects was a common theme, 112 the desire to improve local architectural education to ensure that architects had similar professional status to lawyers and doctors,113 and the recognition of their lack of influence over the government all suggest the insecurities and frustrations of a young profession. As Joseph Fearis Munnings (1879-1937) put it in 1922, "in a country like this, where there is universal suffrage, a few architects do not carry much weight."114 Likewise, Greenish, in an article responding to the new State Advances policy to loan up to 95% of a property's value, recalled that: "Our assistance and advice as a body of trained professional men have frequently been offered to the Government from time to time, but have either been consistently ignored or politely declined."115

subscriptions (which perhaps came to a head with Frederick Charles Daniell's (c1880-1953) statement at the 1925 AGM that he "did not forget to pay my subscription, but I was trying to make up my mind whether it was worthwhile," or Edwin Reyden Wells' prosecution for unlawful use of the title registered architect, having failed to pay his NZIA subs. This sense of the NZIA's lack of agency also played out in the architects' lengthy negotiations with builders over the Conditions of Contract, and the heart-felt relief expressed by Crichton (as retiring NZIA President), when he was able to announce that:

The NZIA were continually frustrated in their

attempts to get members to pay their

(after long delay, during which many meetings were held) the controversy over the new general conditions of contract has been brought to a successful close. You cannot tell what a measure of relief this has caused the Committee and myself.¹¹⁹

Frustration with the public lack of appreciation of architecture's value was also persistent. Charles Reginald Ford (1880-1971) put it like this: "I have never yet seen upon the bookshelves of a bookshop in New Zealand a biography of an architect. There is very evidently - a fact shown in many other ways an almost entire lack of popular interest in architecture."120 The celebration Australasia's first architect to be knighted (John Shulman) in 1924 went some way to address this,121 and Samuel Hurst Seager (1855-1933) was also publicly recognised when he was made a Commander of the British Empire (CBE) in 1926. 122

The architects' desire to improve the environment was also expressed in their aims to establish town-planning in New Zealand, following on from the 1919 conference. Advocates included Christchurch Mayor Henry Thomas Joynt Thacker (1870-1939), who asserted that: "They ought to have powers by which they could compel people to take down worm-eaten premises and allow

¹¹¹ "The Mayoral Reception at Dunedin" p 4.

¹¹² "Protection of Title of "Architect"" pp 17-18.

[&]quot;Legislative Committee" p 37; "The Outlook" p 142;"Statuory Recognition of the Architect" pp 132-138; Leys

[&]quot;The Architect's Mission" p 4.

114 "Notices of Motion [II]" p 47.

 $^{^{115}}$ Greenish "A Discussion on the Housing Question" p 33.

 $^{^{116}}$ "Minutes of the Annual General Meeting" p 48; see also "Notices of Motion [II]" p 50.

¹¹⁷ "Unlawful Use of Title of Registered Architect: Breaches of NZIA Act" p 91.

 $^{^{118}}$ "Conditions of Contract" p 38; "The Conditions of Contract: Meeting with the Builders' Federation" p 52; "The Conditions of Contract: Further Progress toward a Settlement" p 73.

¹¹⁹ Crichton "The Address of the Retiring President" p 7.

¹²⁰ Ford "Address by the Retiring President" p 147.

¹²¹ "Birthday Honours: Sir John Sulman" p 66.

^{122 &}quot;Birthday Honours: Mr. S. Hurst Seager" p 62.

architects to put up-to-date buildings,"123 and Auckland City Councillor Andrew Jack Entrican (1858-1936) who supported "converting slums and offensive spots into places of beauty. Auckland has had this experience, a slum having, through the generosity of Sir Arthur Myers, been converted into a beautiful park, and in its centre was a kindergarten school, surrounded by everything attractive to child life."124 Lippincott also promoted the idea that communities "be required by law to prepare a town-planning scheme,"125 while Greenish, in response to an article by sculptor Joseph Ellis (c1880-1941), observed that:

It is quite true that our cities show a drab appearance relieved occasionally by a building of merit, which only serves to emphasise the drabness ... Another cause of apparent drabness is the poor architectural setting which is afforded by the disorderly arrangement and the sordidness of our street equipment and the blatant hoardings and advertisement signs, for which the only remedy appears to be some measure of control under the Town Planning and City Improvement Act. ¹²⁶

 $^{123}\,\mbox{Thacker}$ "The Value of the Architect to the Community" p 12.

The Town Planning Bill became the Town Planning Act, in 1926,127 and up until that point it was a key focus for architectural action and cross-disciplinary collaboration, 128 but even after the legislation was in place it was observed that "with the exception of a few cities and towns, there does not appear to have been any very definite start made in forwarding the preparation of comprehensive schemes of town planning."129 This need to embrace town-planning was given a personal note by Page (the then out-going NZIA president), when he referred to his daughter's infantile paralysis, linking town planning to the health and well-being of children, before advocating for a Ministry of Happiness. 130

During the 1920s, the NZIA saw education as key to increasing the status of the architectural profession, and referred to the fact that: "the [architectural] student is the most important

114.

person."¹³¹ The School of Architecture at the Auckland University College had only recently been established (in 1918), ¹³² and it was not the only option for potential architects. Banks Commercial College, for example, advertised its Correspondence Coaching for the Examination of the NZIA, with Cyril Hawthorn Mitchell (1891-1949) and Llewellyn E Williams as instructors, in the *JNZIA*. ¹³³ The importance of training overseas was also evident:

We are 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. ... It is evident from the examination results that the students lack a complete systematic and progressive course. ¹³⁴

Local architects frequently debated issues of education, during this time of transition from articling to university education, as well as the role of the RIBA. For example, William Feilding (1876-1946), in 1923, in response to that year's report from the NZIA Committee of Architectural Education, stated that he

¹²⁴ Entrican "Civic Welcome" p 11.

¹²⁵ Lippincott "Art and Economics in Town Planning II" p 59; also Lippincott "Public Lecture on Town Planning" pp 53-55.

¹²⁶ Greenish response, Ellis "Colour in Architecture" p

¹²⁷ Greenish "A discussion on the Housing Question" p 36; "Development Plans" pp 65-67; "Town Planning Bill" pp 27-28; "The Town Planning Bill" pp 101-106; "The Town Planning Act" pp 122-128.

¹²⁸ "Town Planning: Co-operation with Surveyors and Civil Engineers" pp 80-81.

¹²⁹ "The Future of the Institute" p 124.

¹³⁰ Page "Address of Retiring President" p 5.

^{131 &}quot;The Address of the President" p 38.

¹³² Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 102.

 $^{^{\}rm 133}$ "Correspondence Coaching [advertisement]" p i.

¹³⁴ "The Outlook" p 141.

"thought too much stress was being laid on the R.I.B.A. examinations, and that more attention should be given to the Institute's own examinations."¹³⁵ This was reinforced in 1926 when the RIBA acknowledged that:

the old Overseas Examination system of the R.I.B.A. may be considered to have exhausted its usefulness. ... the time may have arrived when the R.I.B.A. examinations overseas should be abolished and the architectural qualifications based upon local examinations should be accepted by the R.I.B.A. as equivalent to those based upon the R.I.B.A. examinations. 136

Discussion about the syllabus of the BSc(Architecture), 137 the renaming of the BSc(Architecture) the Bachelor of Architecture, 138 and the co-ordination of the university examinations with the NZIA examinations 139 also occurred, and concern was expressed about students not resident in Auckland, with James Louis Salmond (1868-

1950) making recourse to the country's status as a democracy to underpin his argument that "the poor man's son had as much right as the rich man's son to secure a degree." Page's attendance at the 1924 Oxford Conference concluded that: "the old system of training the young architect is passing away. ... and it is clear that we must all follow the example of France."

The establishment of a Chair of Architecture at the Auckland University College in 1925 was a significant highlight for the NZIA, who literally put their money where their mouths were, partially funding the position with £300 for each of Knight's first three years. The NZIA cost was split 50:50 between the Auckland members and the national office, and a fundraising appeal was made to members. Knight's arrival was widely celebrated, and he was welcomed with a dinner in Auckland. It is, perhaps, better described as a turning point, as the profession

began to conceive of the possibility that locally-derived standards of architecture might be plausible. Greenish saw Knight's appointment as "a decided step forward, because architecture will now in this country be placed on a proper footing in relation to the other professions." Likewise Page (at the time the NZIA President), considered the appointment of the new Professor as marking:

the beginning of a new era. ... For one thing, the fact that a Chair has been created for the study of architecture will go a long way to dispel the very wide-spread idea that the profession of architecture is one for which no serious study and preparation are required; that it is a profession into which any one may drift in any casual manner. 145

The 1920s was also key for New Zealand's second twentieth-century school of architecture: the School of Māori Arts and Crafts established by politician Apirana Ngata (1874-1950). The impetus of the school was Ngata's realisation that the knowledge and practice of whakairo rākau, and tukutuku was becoming rare. He gained state assistance, and the school, which "trained carvers, tukutuku workers and kōwhaiwhai

 $^{^{\}rm 135}$ "Report of the Committee of Architectural Education [1923]" p 18.

 $^{^{\}rm 136}$ "Examination Reciprocity with the RIBA" pp 72-73.

 $^{^{137}}$ "Report of the Committee of Architectural Education [1924]" pp 12-13; "The University Course in Architecture" p 159.

¹³⁸ "The Future of the Architectural Student in New Zealand" pp 97-99.

 $^{^{\}rm 139}$ "The Future of the Architectural Student in New Zealand" pp 97-99; "The Address of the President" p 39.

¹⁴⁰ "Consideration of Syllabus of Examinations" p 45.

^{141 &}quot;The Address of the President" p 38; see also Page"Address of Retiring President" p 9.

 $^{^{\}rm 142}$ "The Chair of Architecture: An Appeal to Members" p 56.

 $^{^{143}}$ "The Welcome to Professor Knight: A Dinner in Auckland" pp 59-69.

¹⁴⁴ "Chair of Architecture" p 7.

¹⁴⁵ "The Address of the President" p 39.

painters,"¹⁴⁶ was opened in 1926 in Rotorua. Brown notes that under Ngata's influence,

the school turned its back on types of architectural innovations ... in favour of redeveloping the meeting house form. The Ringatū arts of polychromatic and figurative painting were not continued by the school, since Ngata believed that they had come to symbolise the pain, conflict and loss of the New Zealand Wars. 147

Ngata's architectural work was also influential in other buildings, including the building of St Mary's Church, Tikitiki, Gisborne (1924-26), built as an East Coast war memorial.

Counter to Ngata's architectural programme, Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana (1870-1939) built several temples, without aesthetic recourse to wharenui, following the establishment of the Rātana church in 1925. The 1000 seat uncarved Temepara was opened in 1927 at Rātana Pa, and contrasted the pa's "Whare Māori," which was "decorated in the 1920s with whakairo rākau from another house, built in the nineteenth century near Taihape,

called Te Ika-a-Maui. The Whare Māori became the repository for the crutches, spectacles and wheelchairs left over from Ratana's faith-healing sessions." Shaw notes that the Rātana temple was "based on plans drawn up by a Wanganui architect, Clifford Hood. ... [and] also said to have been influenced by a building he [Rātana] had seen in Japan." Sedcole has further documented this Japanese connection.

Rātana, Te Puea, and Ngata were not the only Māori engaged in architectural projects. Ngāti Kahungunu architect William Swanson Read Bloomfield (c1885-1969), after studying in England and the University of Pennsylvania, also practiced architecture in New Zealand, beginning from the 1920s, until his retirement in 1959.

The decade was also a strong one for architectural competitions. In addition to those for war memorials, competitions were held for the designs of: the Methodist College, Auckland (won by Coombs & White),¹⁵³

Lower Hutt Housing Competition (won by Greenish and Henry Thomas Mandeno (1879-1973) & Roy Henderson Fraser (1895-1972),154 and the Orakei Town Planning Competition, which "did not meet with the approval of the Institute," but was celebrated for being won by an institute member, Reginald Bedford Hammond (1894-1970),155 who also won the Lower Hutt Borough Town Planning Scheme.¹⁵⁶ The 1920 competition for the design of the Auckland University College was won by Roy Alstan Lippincott (1885-1969) and Edward Fielder Billson (1892-1986).157 The building, constructed in 1921-26, was initially described in uncomplimentary terms. Shaw points to Building captioning an image of it with the words: "freak architecture" while noting that "the laws of architectural balance and proportion are entirely ignored ..."158

¹⁴⁶ Brown *Māori Architecture* p 85.

¹⁴⁷ Brown Māori Architecture p 86.

¹⁴⁸ Brown *Māori Architecture* p 111; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 147; Binney "Ancestral Voices" p 181.

¹⁴⁹ Brown *Māori Architecture* p 112.

¹⁵⁰ Brown *Māori Architecture* p 117.

¹⁵¹ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 127.

¹⁵² Sedcole "A temple for a prophet."

 $^{^{\}rm 153}$ "Competitions: Methodist College" p 108:

[&]quot;Competitions: Methodist College, Auckland" p 160.

¹⁵⁴ "Notes: Lower Hutt Housing Competition" p 31.

¹⁵⁵ "Orakei Town Planning Competition" pp 25-26, 32; "The Town Planning Field" p 73; "The Orakei Competition" p 75: Hammond "Orakei Garden Suburb

Competition" p 75; Hammond "Orakei Garden Suburb Competition" pp 101-104.

¹⁵⁶ "Competitions: Lower Hutt Borough Town Planning Scheme" p 55; "Lower Hutt Town Planning Competition" p 75; Hammond "Borough of Lower Hutt Town Planning Scheme" pp 129-132.

¹⁵⁷ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 50-51.

¹⁵⁸ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 110.

Lippincott, a graduate of Connell, appears, despite this reception, not to have been put off New Zealand. He became an active member of the NZIA, and remained in New Zealand until 1939.¹⁵⁹ He also designed Massey Agricultural College, Palmerston North (1927), which was named in memory of Prime Minister William Ferguson Massey (1856-1925),¹⁶⁰ and the Smith & Caughey Department Store, cnr Elliott and Wellesley St (1927).¹⁶¹ The decade concluded with the competitions for the Dominion Museum, National Art Gallery and Campanile,¹⁶² and the Christchurch Art Gallery, which was won from London by EW Armstrong.¹⁶³

Competitions were another realm within which the profession attempted to define itself, with the NZIA insistent that members only compete in competitions that the institute

Wanganui Borough Council for running a competition asking builders to design workmen's cottages,¹⁶⁵ and two years later Crichton, as retiring President, expressed his frustration regarding:

had sanctioned.¹⁶⁴ In 1922, it reprimanded the

the fiasco over the competition held in Wellington for the erection of a large pavilion in the Basin Reserve. In that case the impossible was asked for, and this must have been known to the Council officers. ... Whether intentional or not, it now looks as if an attempt had been made to exploit architects. In future similar cases it seems desirable that architects should refrain from competing. ¹⁶⁶

The decade also saw the NZIA institute its own system of awards. Following the suggestion of James Augustus Louis Hay (1881-1948), annually an awarded Beauchamp-Platts Memorial Medal was established for students, in memory and recognition of the late NZIA Secretary William Richard Beauchamp-Platts (c1865-Memorial Fund 1921), and a was established.167

In 1926 it was decided that the Atkins' Gold Medal (gifted by the late President (1911-12), Whanganui architect Alfred Atkins (1850-1919)) should be awarded annually, though there was debate regarding who should judge it. The initial proposal for the RIBA Street Architecture Medal Jury to decide the winners of the New Zealand awards was objected to by Hurst Seager who asserted that: "It seems to me we are decrying the ability of our own people if we have to go outside the Dominion to get suitable people to judge the best building in a competition."168 Despite this, the NZIA Executive approached the RIBA, who replied stating that they "would be glad to undertake the necessary work."169 The first recipient of the Gold Medal was Stanley Walter Fearn (1887-1976), for the William Booth Memorial Training College (1927).¹⁷⁰ The other winners during the 1920s were: Gummer & Ford for the Remuera Library (1928), and Grierson, Aimer & Draffin for the Auckland War Memorial Museum (1929).171

¹⁵⁹ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 110.

¹⁶⁰ Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 14; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 146.

¹⁶¹ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 111.

¹⁶² "Competition: Dominion Museum, National Art Gallery and Campanile" p 87.

¹⁶³ "Christchurch Art Gallery Competition" pp 101-105; also "Winning Design Christchurch Art Gallery Competition by Mr E.W. Armstrong A.R.I.B.A. [London]" opp. pp 94f.

¹⁶⁴ "Private Competitions" pp 20-25.

¹⁶⁵ "Builders and Plans" p 57.

¹⁶⁶ Crichton "The Address of the Retiring President" p 9.

¹⁶⁷ "Report of the Education Committee" p 36, "Notices of Motion [II]" p 45; "Memorial to the Late Secretary" p 52; "Beauchamp Platts Memorial Fund" p 100.

¹⁶⁸ "Atkins' Gold Medal" pp 21-22.

 $^{^{169}}$ "Additional Notes from Minutes of the Executive" p 52; "Notes from Minutes of the Executive June, 29th" p 75.

¹⁷⁰ "1927-2004 NZIA Award Winners" p 236.

¹⁷¹ "1927-2004 NZIA Award Winners" p 236.

Other public or commercial buildings of the decade included: the Technical College, Wellington (John Swan & William Gray Young, 1920), 172 the Public Trust Building, Napier (Henry Hyland (1894-1969) & Eric Philips (1897-1980), 1921),173 St Andrew's, Wellington (Clere & Williams, 1922), 174 Trentham Grandstand, (Alfred Edgar Luttrell (1865-1924) & Edward Sidney Luttrell (1872-1932), 1923), 175 Chancery Chambers, Chancery Street, Auckland (Thomas Coulthart Mullions (1878-1957) & Sholto Smith (1882-1936), 1923), 176 the George Court's Building, Karangahape Rd, Auckland (Herbert Clinton Savage (c1892-1957), 1924),177 the New Zealand & South Seas Exhibition (Edmund Anscombe (1874-1948), 1924-25), the Wellesley Club, Wellington (Grav Young, Morton & Young, 1925),178 the Dilworth Building, cnr

Oueen and Customs St, Auckland (Gummer & Ford, 1925),179 the AMP Building, Wellington (Clere & Son, 1925), 180 the Memorial Hall, Christ's College (Wood, c1925),181 Auckland Railway Station (Gummer & Ford, 1926),182 the South British Insurance Building, Shortland St, Auckland (Grierson, Aimer & Draffin, 1927), 183 the DIC Building, Wellington (Atkins & Mitchell, 1927),184 St David's, South Canterbury (Herbert Henry Hall (1880-1960), 1928),185 Yorkshire House, Shortland St, Auckland (William Swanson Read Bloomfield (c1885-1969) & Hunt, 1928),186 T & G Office Building, Wellington (A & K Henderson, 1928),187 Auckland Electric Power Board Building (Alva Martin Bartley (1891-1979) & Norman Edward Thomas Wade

(1879-1954), 1928-30), 188 Chateau Tongariro, Mt Ruapehu (Herbert Hall, 1929), 189 the Hamilton Nimmo Building, Willis St, Wellington (Francis Drummond Stewart (1903-72), 1929), 190 and The Civic, Auckland (Ernest Charles Bohringer, Ronald Morton Taylor & Johnson, 1929). 191

Despite the up and downs of the decade, there existed a persistent striving for, and idealising, of Beauty; who is "here waiting for us if we will only appreciate and receive her. But walk down Queen Street in Auckland, or along Quay Street, and see our contribution! I think you will agree with me that we have done about everything we could do to drive her out of our lives." Even scepticism (such as ungenerous characterisations of the wealthy: for whom "Close application to the accumulation of money does not tend to develop æsthetic taste, and the paintings found in wealthy homes too often neither beautify them nor instruct the owners"), was

 $^{^{\}rm 172}$ Hodgson Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand p 50.

¹⁷³ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 49; Art Deco Trust "Napier's Reconstruction Architects" n.p.

¹⁷⁴ Hodgson Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand p 54.

¹⁷⁵ Stacpoole & Beaven New Zealand Art p 73.

¹⁷⁶ Shaw New Zealand Architecture pp 108-109.

¹⁷⁷ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 105.

 $^{^{\}rm 178}$ Hodgson Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand p 50.

¹⁷⁹ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 112-114; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 73.

¹⁸⁰ Hodgson Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand p 49.

¹⁸¹ Stacpoole & Beaven New Zealand Art pp 73, 77.

¹⁸² Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 73; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 114-115.

¹⁸³ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 108.

 $^{^{184}\,}Hodgson$ Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand p 52.

¹⁸⁵ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 54-55.

¹⁸⁶ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 108.

 $^{^{187}}$ Stacpoole & Beaven New Zealand Art p 79.

¹⁸⁸ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 108.

¹⁸⁹ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 95.

¹⁹⁰ Shaw New Zealand Architecture p 108.

¹⁹¹ Shaw New Zealand Architecture pp 106-107.

¹⁹² Lippincott "Art and Economics in Town Planning II" p 59.

¹⁹³ Procter "Painting in Relation to Modern Life" p 79.

underpinned by a commitment to architecture as a battle worth fighting for. understanding voiced by the NZIA architects, in relation to their idea of architecture, appears to have been consistent with modernism, rather than stereotypes of the Beaux Arts; Ford, for example, described Beauty as "inherent in the building as a structure apart from any external decoration, although the latter may be there, or it is not architecture,"194 while Shelley chides the building of "decadent or "perpendicular" Gothic churches ... in armoured concrete instead of stone. This was simply "telling lies." ... [the architect] must use the lines of construction as the basis of his decoration, emphasising them, not hiding them."195

Page perhaps captures best the sentiment and delight that 1920s architects desired, when he stated that: "Life is intolerable, sometimes, and I thank God for it; there is much to offend our susceptibilities, but we have our compensations. We derive infinite delight from a line, a shadow, a ray of light, a form, a mass, a word, even a thought." ¹⁹⁶

_

¹⁹⁴ Ford "Address by the Retiring President" p 146.

¹⁹⁵ Shelley "Loyalty to out Professional Ideals" p 14.

¹⁹⁶ Page response, Ford "Address by the Retiring President" p 154.

REFERENCES

- "1927-2004 NZIA Award Winners" *Exquisite Apart: 100 years of Architecture in New Zealand* ed Charles Walker. Auckland: Balasoglou Books, 2005:236-240.
- Adams "Earthquake Risks in Cities" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (September 1926) V(iv):91-92.
- "Additional Notes from Minutes of the Executive" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1926) V (2):52.
- "The Address of the President" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1925) IV (2):39.
- "Architecture and the Government" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (November 1924) III (5):103-107.
- Art Deco Trust "Napier's Reconstruction Architects" (October 2003) http://www.artdeconapier.com/data/media/documents/ARCHITEC TS%20%2011.pdf
- "Atkins' Gold Medal" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1926) V (1):21-22.
- "Auckland City Council Housing Scheme" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (November 1924) II (5):119-120.
- "Beauchamp Platts Memorial Fund" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (September 1923) II (4):100.
- Binney, Judith "Ancestral Voices: Māori Prophet Leaders" *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand* ed Keith Sinclair. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1996; first published 1990:153-184.
- "Birthday Honours: Mr. S. Hurst Seager" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (July 1926) V(iii):62.
- "Birthday Honours: Sir John Sulman" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (July 1924) III (3):66.
- Brown, Deidre *Maori Architecture: from fale to wharenui and beyond* Auckland: Raupo, 2008.

- "Builders and Plans" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1922) I (2):57.
- "Chair of Architecture" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1925) IV (1):7.
- "The Chair of Architecture: An Appeal to Members" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1925) IV (2):56.
- "Christchurch Art Gallery Competition" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (October 1929) VIII (4):101-105.
- Christchurch City Libraries "The open-air school Cashmere Sanatorium, Christchurch" http://christchurchcitylibraries.com/heritage/photos/disc13/img004 2.asp
- Clark, J.B. "Domestic Hot Water Heating and Plumbing" (September 1924) III (4):86-91.
- "Competitions" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (July 1923) II (3):79.
- "Competition: Dominion Museum, National Art Gallery and Campanile" Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects (October 1929) VIII (4):87.
- "Competitions: Lower Hutt Borough Town Planning Scheme" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1925) IV (2):55.
- "Competitions: Methodist College" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (September 1925) IV (4):108.
- "Competitions: Methodist College, Auckland" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (January 1926) IV (6):160.
- "Competitions: Wellington Citizens' War Memorial" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (January 1926) IV (6):160.
- "Competitions: Wellington War Memorial" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (September 1926) V(iv):98-99.

- "Conditions of Contract" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1922) I (2):38-39
- "The Conditions of Contract: Further Progress toward a Settlement" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (July 1923) II (3):73.
- "The Conditions of Contract: Meeting with the Builders' Federation" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1923) II (2):52.
- "Consideration of Syllabus of Examinations" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1926) V(ii):45.
- "Correspondence Coaching [advertisement]" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1922) I (2):i.
- Crichton, Wm "The Address of the Retiring President" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1924) II (1):6-10.
- "Development Plans: A Preliminary Step Necessary" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (July 1923) II (3):65-67.
- Editor [F.E. Greenish] "The Demand for Skilled Workers" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1923) II (2):37-44.
- Ellis, Joseph "Colour in Architecture" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (November 1923) II (5):113-114.
- Entrican, A.J. "Civic Welcome" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1924) III (1):10-12.
- "Examination Reciprocity with the RIBA" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (July 1926) V(iii):72-73.
- Fairburn, Miles "The Farmers Take Over (1912-1930)" *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand* ed. Keith Sinclair. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1996; first published 1990:185-209.
- Ferguson, Gael *Building the New Zealand Dream* Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994.
- Ford, C. Reginald "Address by the Retiring President" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (January 1923) I (6): 143-154.
- "The Future of the Architectural Student in New Zealand" Journal of the

- New Zealand Institute of Architects (September 1924) III (4):97-99.
- "The Future of the Institute" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (February 1929) VII (6):123-125.
- "Government Enterprises in Architecture: its effect on the welfare of the community" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (September 1925) IV (4):92-97.
- Greenish, F.E. "Architecture and the Government: the need for a broader official outlook" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (November 1924) III (5):103-107.
- Greenish, F.E. "A Discussion on the Housing Question" May 1923) II (2): 31-36.
- Greenish, F.E. "The Architecture of our Schools: A discussion of the Government Policy" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (January 1924) II (6):128-132.
- Greenish, F.E. "The Housing Problem: some neglected essentials" *Journal* of the New Zealand Institute of Architects (November 1924) III (5):118-119.
- "Hamilton War Memorial Competition" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1925) IV (1):26-27.
- Hammond, R.B. "Borough of Lower Hutt Town Planning Scheme" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (November 1925) IV (5):129-132.
- Hammond, R.B. "Orakei Garden Suburb Competition" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (September 1925) IV (4):101-104.
- Hodgson, Terence *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* Wellington: Grantham House, 1990.
- Jackson, Keith and Alan McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* Auckland: Longman, 1996.
- "John Anderson" *Lost Property* http://www.lostproperty.org.nz/architects/john-anderson/

- Kearns, Robin, A. and Damian C.A. Colins "New Zealand children's health camps: therapeutic landscapes meet the contract state" *Social Science & Medicine* (2000) 51:1047-1059.
- "Legislative Committee" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1922) I (2):37
- Leys, T.W. "The Architect's Mission" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1924) III (1):3-5.
- Lippincott, R.A. "Art and Economics in Town Planning II" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (July 1924) III (3):55-59.
- Lippincott, R.A. "Public Lecture on Town Planning" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1925) IV (2):53-55.
- lloyd-Jenkins, Douglas *At Home: a century of New Zealand design* Auckland: Godwit, 2004.
- "Lower Hutt Town Planning Competition" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (July 1925) IV (3):75.
- McCarthy, C. "The Maori House, Te Pa and Captain Hankey's House: bicultural architecture in New Zealand at the turn of the century" *Fabrications* (July 2000) 11 (1):62-78.
- "The Mayoral Reception at Dunedin" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1925) V (1):2-5.
- "Memorial to the Late Secretary" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1922) I (2):52.
- "Minutes of the Annual General Meeting" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1925) IV (2):48.
- "The National War Memorial: A suggested application of the Government Vote" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (July 1923) II (3):63-65.
- New Zealand Historic Places Trust (NZHPT) "Deficient Registration Report for a Historic Place: Whare Tane, Epsom" http://www.historic.org.nz/TheRegister/~/media/Corporate/Files/R

- egister/Recent%20Registrations/WhareTane.ashx
- Noonan, Rosslyn J. *By Design: a brief history of the Public Works Department Ministry of Works 1870-1970* Wellington: A.R. Shearer, Government Printer, 1975.
- "Notes from Minutes of the Executive June, 29th" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (July 1926) V(iii):75-76.
- "Notes: Lower Hutt Housing Competition" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1926) V(ii):31.
- "Notices of Motion [I]" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1922) I (2):42-44.
- "Notices of Motion [II]" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1922) I (2):45-51.
- "Obituary: Mr. J.C. Maddison, F.R.I.B.A." *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (January 1924) II (6):151.
- "Obituary: Mr. Thomas Duncan Brown" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (November 1923) II (5):125.
- "Obituary: Mr. Thomas Mahoney, Past President" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (September 1923) II (4): 101.
- "The Orakei Competition" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (July 1925) IV (3):75.
- "Orakei Town Planning Competition" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1925) IV (1):25-26, 32.
- "Our Building Materials: The Functions of the Institute's Committee" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (November 1923) II (5):114-115.
- "The Outlook" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (January 1923) I (6):139-142.
- Page, W.M. "Address of Retiring President" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1926) V (1):5-13.
- Petersen, Anna K.C. "The European Use of Maori Art in New Zealand

- Homes c.1890-1914" *At Home in New Zealand: history: houses: people* ed Barbara Brookes. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2000:57-72.
- "Private Competitions" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1925) IV (1):20-25.
- Procter, R. "Painting in Relation to Modern Life" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (September 1924) II (4):79-81.
- "Protection of Title of "Architect"" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1925) IV (1):17-18.
- "Report of the Committee of Architectural Education [1923]" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1923) II (1):17-18.
- "Report of the Committee of Architectural Education [1924]" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1924) III (1):12-13.
- "Report of the Education Committee" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1922) I (2):36-37.
- "The Rome Scholarship and the RIBA (Henry Jarvis) Travelling Studentship: Two N.Z. Students Successful" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (July 1926) V(iii):72.
- "Security Against Earthquakes" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (November 1926) V(v):119-120.
- Sedcole, Bruce "A temple for a prophet: (Ratana architecture)" Wellington: Victoria University, BArch Research Report, 1985.
- Sharp, Dennis and Sally Rendel Connell, Ward and Lucas: Modern movement architects in England London: Frances Lincoln, 2008.
- Shaw, Peter New Zealand Architecture: from Polynesian Beginnings to 1990 Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991.
- Shelley, J. "Loyalty to out Professional Ideals" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1923) II (1): 13-15.
- "Sir Christopher Wren: Bicentenary 1723-1923" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (January 1923) I (6): 163-165.

- Smith, Philippa Mein, *A Concise History of New Zealand* Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Stacpoole, John and Beaven, Peter *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970* Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1972.
- "Statuory Recognition of the Architect: A Comparison with other Recognised Professions" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (January 1924) II (6):132-138.
- Taylor, A. Morrie "Gas Distribution [I]" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (July 1923) II (3):67-72.
- Taylor, A. Morrie "Gas Distribution [II]" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (September 1923) II (3):81-88.
- Tennant, Margaret "Children's Health Camps in New Zealand: The Making of a Movement, 1919–1940" *The Society for the Social History of Medicine* (1996)9(1):69-87.
- Thacker, H.T. "The Value of the Architect to the Community" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1923) II (1):11-13.
- "The Town Planning Act: 1926 No 52" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (November 1926) V (v):122-128.
- "Town Planning Bill" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (March 1925) IV (1):27-28.
- "The Town Planning Bill" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (November 1926) V(v):101-106.
- "Town Planning: Co-operation with Surveyors and Civil Engineers.: Activity in Auckland" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (September 1923) II (4):80-81.
- "The Town Planning Field: Town-Planning and the History of the NZIA" Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects (July 1925) IV (3):72-74.
- "The University Course in Architecture" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (January 1926) IV (6):159.

- "Unlawful Use of Title of Registered Architect: Breaches of NZIA Act." *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (October 1928) VII (4):91.
- "Visit to Sir Truby King's House" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (May 1925) IV (2):43.
- Walls "Electrical Installations" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (November 1923) II (5):104-112.
- "The Welcome to Professor Knight: A Dinner in Auckland" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (July 1925) IV (3):59-69.
- "Wellington Citizen's War Memorial" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (July 1924) III (3):76.
- "Winning Design Christchurch Art Gallery Competition by Mr E.W. Armstrong A.R.I.B.A. [London]" *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* (October 1929) VIII (4): opp. 94f.