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"And ... the dazzle continued inside ...": New Zealand interior and landscape architectures of the 1930s

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The Depression began in the late 1920s, but was not simply triggered by the October 1929 crash in Wall Street. In the two years between 1928-29 and 1930-31, "export income nearly halved. ... The government ... slashed expenditure," including severe cuts to public spending in health and education.[1] As Ann Calhoun notes:

> [t]he effect of the 1930s Depression on [Schools of Art] students and instructors alike was massive: salaries were reduced, the school admission age was raised, overscale salaries were limited, grants for sewing and science were withdrawn, administration grants were cut back, training colleges in Wellington and Dunedin closed and student allowances decreased, and grants to kindergartens were withdrawn.[2]

A proposal for a town-planning course by John Mawson (the Director of Town Planning)) and Cyril Knight (Head of Architecture, Auckland University College) likewise failed due to "lack of numbers and Depression cutbacks."[3] Helen Leach also notes the impact of cuts to education more generally, writing that: "[m]others of young children who expected them to start school at four or five learned in May 1932 that the age of entry would be raised to six."[4]

In 1930 over 11,000 people were officially registered as unemployed, though it is recognised that many unemployed did not register,[5] and Garth Falconer notes that "the reliance of many Maori on casual and seasonal work left them vulnerable to economic decline and the Great Depression hit Maori the hardest."[6] In 1931 the wage rate was reduced by 10% via the Industrial Conciliation & Arbitration Act 1931.[7] In 1932 about 100,000 men were unemployed[8] in a country with a population of 1.5 million.[9] The wages of public servants were cut another 10%. Family allowances and widows, blind and war pensions were also cut, and compulsory arbitration provisions were repealed.[10] Philippa Mein Smith writes of the government's practice of laying off staff and then re-employing them at relief rates.[11] The effects of the Depression were clear in the streets and public places of the country. Smith states that: "[m]ass unemployment overwhelmed charities and charitable aid boards, etching images of the soup kitchen in popular memory"[12] as Depression poverty became increasingly visible,[13] and the number of buildings constructed (represented by building permit value) significantly declined from a "peak of £1,741,000 in 1927"[14] to a value

[1] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* pp 150-151.
[2] Calhoun *The Arts & Crafts Movement in New Zealand 1870-1940* p 165.
[3] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 304.
[4] Leach *Kitchens* p 78.
[5] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 14.
[6] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 197.
[7] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 151; Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 15; Leach *Kitchens* p 79.
[8] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 15.
[9] The population in 1936 was 1,573,812. Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 309. The New Zealand Year Books of 1931, 1932 and 1933 give New Zealand populations for April 1930, April 1931 and April 1932 as 1,488,595, 1,510,940 and 1,524,633 respectively. "Yearbook collection: 1893-2012" n.p.
[10] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 151; Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 15.
[11] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 151.
[12] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 151.
[13] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 15.
[14] Schrader "Modernising Wellington" pp 15-16.

of £186,000 in 1932. By August 1935, "the men's cafeteria operated in Wellington by the Mayor's Metropolitan Relief Committee ... was supplying about 200 men a day with a "well-cooked dinner"."[15] However some public eating places during the Depression excluded some members of society. Robert Bartholomew quotes RA Kelly, stating that during the Depression,

> "Some hotels were refusing to accept Maoris as guests, while many were refusing to sell liquor ... Signs and notices were beginning to appear in some shops in some towns, saying that Maoris would not be served there, or that the premises were reserved for Europeans only."[16]

Massive public works schemes were implemented to provide partial employment for those without work,[17] and Rosslyn Noonan writes, while noting a drop in the Public Works Department budget from £5,542,000 in 1931 to £1,234,000 in 1932, that "[a]ll public works undertakings were to be put on a purely relief basis."[18] These were administered by the Unemployment Board established in 1930 and created work on projects such as roading and land-reclamation.[19] Noonan writes that

> [b]y the middle of 1932 the [Public Works] department's activities consisted almost entirely of improving back-country roads, bush felling, scrub cutting, stumping and logging, marram grass planting, hawthorn hedge cutting, clearing boulders from farms, levelling agricultural land, clearing noxious weeds, fencing, tree planting, clearing river beds, and building stop banks. Its sole *raison d'etre* was as a relief agency ... In the thirties the need to provide the unemployed with work saved many Public Works officers from joining their ranks."[20]

In Invercargill, "as many as 250 men were employed on parks and reserves projects. ... There was a massive amount of clearing, extensive drainage of wet areas, and miles of footpaths and stone walls were formed and many trees and shrubs were planted."[21] Helen Leach writes that:

> At Christmas time 1932 there were 64,082 men on relief schemes. That figure rose to 67,740 by December 1933. There was no unemployment benefit as we know it. During the Depression, the state paid men who had lost their jobs only if they provided labour, from two to four days a week depending on the number of their dependents."[22]

Cities experienced scenes of unemployed people demonstrating, specifically in Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin, with some events becoming riots, especially as the Depression deepened in early 1932.[23] The coalition government responded with the Public Safety Conservation Act 1932, which enabled the government to proclaim or declare a state of emergency,[24] giving it "near-absolute powers to deal with unrest and disaffection."[25] John Mulgan, a special constable in the 1932 riots, depicted "the acute distress in relief camps felt by the individualistic, strong-willed, egalitarian, hard drinking, laconic male" in his 1932 novel *Man Alone*.[26] In Christchurch, allotments were created in South Hagley Park "for gardens for men without work. Seeds and fertilisers were furnished at cost."[27] Louise Beaumont states that:

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[15] Leach *Kitchens* p 81.
[16] Bartholomew *No Maori Allowed* p 123.
[17] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 151; Leach *Kitchens* p 79; Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 15.
[18] Noonan *By Design* p 123.
[19] Leach *Kitchens* p 79.
[20] Noonan *By Design* p 125.
[21] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 141.
[22] Leach *Kitchens* p 79.
[23] Leach *Kitchens* p 79.
[24] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 128.
[25] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 15.
[26] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 152.
[27] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 108.

for a large number of New Zealanders the productive home garden of the Depression was a necessary adjunct to life ... vegetables bearing names inspired by a sense of nationalist pride and the mother country: "Richard Seddon," "Glory of Devon" and "Yorkshire Hero" peas covered garden stakes, while "Early London" cauliflower and "British Queen" potatoes flourished in the vegetable plot. The majority of these homes also had small orchards ... and it was not uncommon for householders to keep chickens, ducks and bee hives.[28]

Ann Calhoun also notes a Depression tendency to look backward and to England - to "the romance of cottage peasant industries such as those in Haslemere in the British countryside at the end of the previous century"[29] - and references the introduction of a course in hand-loom weaving, described as "retrograde" by one correspondent of the 1936 Wellington school *Review*.[30] However Beaumont also notes that the 1930s Depression "witnessed the growth of a generation that did not know rural England first-hand," and states that an awareness of "New Zealand's fast-disappearing flora" prompted the realisation that "gardens of a more "national type" ... were an important facet in the acquisition and assumption of a national character."[31] Consequently gardens, either exclusively of native species, or in combinations with "the more traditional "flower-garden" plants of the motherland,"[32] emerged in the 1930s. School gardens also often had "a "native corner" or area for study purposes, and some ... planted predominantly native species that reflected the original flora of their locality."[33] Beaumont also observes that "[i]t was claimed that good gardens, both public and private, were essential to good citizenship."[34]

Smith writes that "the depression was a class experience, which left a gulf between the unemployed and the employed, between workers - especially casual labour - and the privileged."[35] This is reflected in the issues of the *Mirror*, which - while soup kitchens and charity supported a significant number of New Zealanders - "printed recipes from their "chef" ... including selections for dinner parties, as well as bridge, cocktail and supper parties."[36] Likewise the wealth of some New Zealanders was reflected in their "landscape gardens." Sir Edwin MItchelson's 5-6 acre garden "Waitaramoa,"[37] in Remuera, Auckland, considered to be one of Auckland's loveliest and best-known gardens in 1933," being one example:

"One gazes over the terraced garden, with beds of multi coloured flowers, divided by well-graded, winding paths, with lily and iris ponds, here and there several quaint and artistic arbours and, at the extreme end of the garden, the rose garden, backed by a patch of lovely native bush ... [The garden] contains something of almost everything - stately trees, graceful tree ferns, lovely shrubs, delicate greenhouse plants, masses of lovely flowers, well-kept lawns, fruitful orchards - all arranged in such a fashion and so wisely planned as to give the greatest pleasure and delight."[38]

Sir Truby King's windswept 10 acres in Melrose, which was begun in 1924, had "nearly 400 of the finest rhododendrons in the world" planted by 1932.[39] Landscape designer

[28] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 145.
[29] Calhoun *The Arts & Crafts Movement in New Zealand 1870-1940* p 186.
[30] Calhoun *The Arts & Crafts Movement in New Zealand 1870-1940* p 186.
[31] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 138.
[32] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 138.
[33] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 139.
[34] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 136.
[35] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 152.
[36] Leach *Kitchens* p 81.
[37] The name Waitaramoa may be a joining of the two words "waitara" ("project or scheme of a fanciful or difficult nature") and "moa" ("bed or raised plot in a garden") Williams *Dictionary of the Maori Language* pp 204, 477.
[38] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 148.
[39] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" pp 149-150.

Alfred Buxton's work was also apparent in numerous estate and station landscapes across the country, and Beaufort describes his work as a blending of styles from English arts and crafts and picturesque:

> The large scale of these sites called for a park-like landscape with long, gracefully curving carriageways or drives, and wide terraced lawns ... The use of stone masonry pergolas, walls, stone look-outs and building facings was a frequent feature of these pastoral landscapes, as was the placement of rustic summer houses and sunken gardens ... Gardens were enclosed by plantations of closely planted trees in large clumps and belts ... Ferneries and aquatic features such as ponds, lakes, lagoons, fountains, waterfalls and cascades were fashionable and allowed for the introduction of ornamental bridges, water, and bog gardens. ... Buxton encorporated[sic] native species such as cabbage trees, flaxes, kaka beaks, lace barks, mānuka and pittosporums with ornamental grasses, bamboo, pampas grass and many flowering and berry-producing shrubs.[40]

At the same time, a glamourous image was also present in New Zealand interiors, and "[t]he romance with overseas-bred styles made for some dazzling debuts."[41] Terence Hodgson refers to Lambton Quay's Prudential building (Hennessy and Hennessy, 1933), where:

> the dazzle continued inside, with the use of materials such as vitrolite, bronze, etched glass and imported woods for the shops. Constructed during the darkest years of the Depression, the building offered employment to many builders and ancillary businesses, prompting one reporter in the *Dominion* (11 April 1935) to eulogize "not only does it hurl a defiance at the world's financial worries, but it also exemplifies a rock-like solidarity in the future".[42]

But this was clearly not the reality for all businesses during the Depression, as Terry Moyle notes "private investment in commercial building had declined with the Great Depression in 1930."[43] He writes of the contrary economic drivers: "[b]uilding construction in 1930s and 1940s New Zealand was both limited by the economics of Depression and correspondingly stimulated by Government investment in building."[44] This government investment included the construction of post offices (an estimated 17 during 1930-35), many of which were designed by government architect John T Mair (1876-1959).[45] Mair, in an attempt to mitigate the effects of the Depression "ensured that local architects and builders in towns outside Wellington were given work on government construction work."[46] No doubt as a result of this, and the concentration of the Public Works Department during this time on providing relief work, "from the depression there did emerge a number of contracting firms who were competent to undertake large scale public works projects for the department."[47]

Public parks and gardens appear to have been one beneficiary of relief schemes. In Auckland, 4,500 roses were planted within years of the laying out of the Parnell Rose Garden in 1932, while, in New Plymouth, the Rhododendron Dell was planted at Pukekura Park in c1932-33.[48] The length of Palmerston North's esplanade Victoria Drive was planted with flowering cherry trees, and the road north of the conservatory was lined with Canary Island palms.[49] 1932 also saw the opening of the final section of the waterfront

[40] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" pp 150-151.
[41] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 69.
[42] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 58.
[43] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 10.
[44] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 18.
[45] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 13.
[46] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 13.
[47] Noonan *By Design* pp 121-122.
[48] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* pp 26, 62.
[49] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 80.

road between Mechanic's Bay and St Heliers, and the "development of Selwyn Reserve, including installation of convenience blocks, footpaths, pohutukawa trees and the Mission Bay beach seawall."[50] Donated, memorial, and golden gates were constructed at entrances to city parks, including: the main Liardet Street gates to Pukekura Park in New Plymouth (c1932-33), the Park Road gates to the Auckland Domain (1936) (donated by William Elliot), and the Chelmer Street George V memorial entrance gates to the Oamaru Public Gardens (1939) (a gift of James and Hugh Robertson).[51] Relief workers constructed the Cook Garden's Golden Gates (99 Saint Hill street) leading to the South African War obelisk in Whanganui,[52] which were opened in 1940 to mark the country's centenary. Other gifts to public places included the tea house in Pukekura Park (New Plymouth), a "gift of the former Mayor and Mayoress, Mr and Mrs CH Burgess," which opened on 14 November 1931, the Bowker Fountain (1931), New Zealand's second illuminated fountain, in Victoria Square, Christchurch (followed by a statue of James Cook in 1932), and the Tom Parker Illuminated Fountain (1936) installed in Napier's Marine Parade.[53] At the end of the decade, in 1938, the One Tree Hill obelisk - John Logan Campbell's memorial to the Māori people, was erected.[54]

The installation of the Tom Parker fountain was part of the rebuilding of Napier following the region's infamous earthquake. On 3 February 1931 at 10.46am, a magnitude 7.8 earthquake destroyed much of Napier and Hastings.[55] The cliff face of Bluff hill "crashed onto the road 350 feet below ... buildings swayed like saplings in a gale."[56] A second shock "crumpled buildings into rubble."[57] About 40 square kilometres, "including much of the Ahuriri Lagoon to the west of the city," was lifted more than 2 metres.[58] Fire, spread by an easterly wind, consumed "the central business district ... halted only by the open spaces of Clive and Memorial Squares."[59] Falconer notes that:

> fires burned for over thirty hours and gutted the 4 hectares of Napier's central commercial area, creating something that looked like a bombed out First World War scene. In one massive event the town of 20,000 was reduced to a ruin. ... Financial documents, land titles and provincial records were lost. Business struggled to restart.[60]

The earthquake killed 256 people, and "thousands require[d] medical treatment."[61] Hodgson writes that "[i]n architectural terms, the devastation led to the formation of strict codes and laws for new public buildings, particularly laws demanding earthquake-resisting structures of steel or concrete,"[62] while Stacpoole and Beaven credit "[t]he new techniques of earthquake-resistant steel and reinforced concrete construction, and the use of electric lifts ... [with enabling] city buildings

[50] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 31.
[51] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* pp 22, 62, 124.
[52] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 123.
[53] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* pp 61, 86, 120.
[54] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 53 caption.
[55] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 15; McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 125; Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 75.
[56] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 85.
[57] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 85.
[58] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 75.
[59] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 85.
[60] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 75.
[61] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 15; McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 125; Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 75.
[62] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 59.

to rise to unprecedented heights."[63] Ben Schrader also notes wider architectural ramifications, with Wellington City Council ordering "the removal of dangerous ornamental from all city buildings ... [which] contributed to the adoption of plainer architectural styles."[64]

In Napier, a Reconstruction Committee was established to facilitate the consequent rebuilding,[65] assisted by the Public Works Department in a response described as "the one period of real achievement for the department in the years 1930-35 ... All the department's resources were at the district's disposal."[66] The rebuilding provided new urban amenities, including rebuilt sewerage and water infrastructure.[67] It also changed urban detail, in part to facilitate the motor car. Wider streets, concrete footpaths, larger street corner radii, service lanes, undergrounded electricity and telephone services, and the replacement of verandah poles with cantilevered canopies, created a cleaner urban image.[68] Moyle writes that these changes and the degree of design co-ordination, possible due to the immense scale of destruction, resulted in "a very modern precinct"[69] and "considerable harmony between the buildings."[70] Napier's recreated Marine Parade (1931-35), made wider and longer, was subsidised as relief work, first required remediation of the shorefront,

> which had risen from four to six feet during the earthquake, and had also moved about 50 metres seaward. ... Finally, lawns and flower beds were established, and in 1933, a fine sun dial was erected at the south end of these gardens, opposite Tennyson Street.[71]

The well-known sound shell and seaward colonnade were funded by the Thirty Thousand Club,[72] all founded on rubble from buildings destroyed by the earthquake.[73]

The scale of damage and consequent rebuilding, which Hodgson notes was "seldom more than two storeys high,"[74] famously concentrated New Zealand's Art Deco buildings in Hawke's Bay. Falconer credits this stylistic outcome to "comparisons with Santa Barbara in California ... which had been recently rebuilt uniformly in a Spanish Mission style ... after an earthquake in 1925."[75] He notes importantly, of this visible change in building style in Napier, that "England was no longer the point of reference; now it was America and its film sets."[76] Marewa,[77] created after the earthquake, is known as an art deco garden suburb.[78] In 1934, John W Mawson (Director of Town Planning) designed its

> meandering street layout ... The arrangement of the roads was hierarchical according to volume to use, and they were conspicuously curved and lined with grass verges and trees ... design standards were introduced to control siting, fencing and garaging.[79]

[63] Stacpoole and Beaven *Architecture 1820-1970* p 73.
[64] Schrader "Modernising Wellington" p 16.
[65] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 76.
[66] Noonan *By Design* p 131.
[67] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 76.
[68] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 76; Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* pp 12, 28.
[69] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* pp 12, 28.
[70] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 12.
[71] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 86.
[72] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 86.
[73] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 76.
[74] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 60.
[75] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 76.
[76] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 76.
[77] Marewa means "raised up" Williams *Dictionary of the Maori Language* p 182.
[78] Falconer notes that "From the 1930s the term Garden City or garden suburb was rarely used because by then it had become the default made of urban settlement." Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 161.
[79] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 77.

The National Tobacco Company Building (Louis Hay, Napier, 1933) is another significant byproduct of the earthquake. Gavin McLean sees the building as evidence of the profitability of Gerhard Husheer's National Tobacco Company - despite the Depression, noting that Husheer returned Hay's first set of plans requesting the design be more extravagant. McLean describes the result as "an oddly successful blend,"[80] and notes that its famous wooden doors were "carved by Ruth Nelson of Havelock North."[81]

Douglas lloyd-Jenkins provides a number of other Art Deco examples from across the country, including the "glazed tiles and black glass" of the shallow, asymmetrical, mantlepiece of the Douglas Thorpe House (CB Watkin, Mt Eden, 1937) fireplace, adorned with "slim lines of chrome yachts," and the horizontal stripes of the Tingey home's wallpaper in Miramar, Wellington, and a brightly coloured cane couch in Auckland's Smith & Caughey department store, noting that "[f]urniture of all descriptions could be found in banded patterns."[82] He identifies wider glazed front doors, "the newly arrived telephone" in a small entrance hall, the picture window (giving "a wide, cinematic view"), glazed sliding doors, stepped cornices, sweeping staircases, recessed lights, and glass light fittings available in white, cream, muted pastel pink and spearmint, detailed in red, chrome or gold," as some of the new features of art deco domestic interiors.[83] Hodgson writes that the popularity of Art Deco

> brought a new decorative vocabulary to public notice - chevrons, sunbursts, ziggurats and cogwheels, some vivid colours such as cobalt blue, orange and silver, and new materials such as stainless steel, plastic, vitrolite, chrome and neon lighting. Its use in architecture was predominantly cosmetic and appeared either in subdued quantity or in extravagant luxuriance.[84]

The popular horizontal bands "represented both speed and restful repose," and were thought to increase spaciousness, and clearly linked to the fashion for American 1930s streamlining.[85] lloyd Jenkins also notes the co-ordination of abstract cubist forms in carpets and the coverings of lounge suites, not always fully appreciated: "Today the riotous colours of such fabrics have faded into more autumnal tones."[86] He emphasises that "the 1930s was the "age of colour"," and observes the use of individualised colour schemes and coloured and glitzy materials as representing for some - not "nouveau riche tastelessness" - but, "luxury and a safe departure from the past."[87] Moyle likewise refers to the Art Deco tinting of concrete "with oxide pigments and resulted [in] a range of colours including cream, pink, blue, green and ochre."[88] Art Deco "confections with their new colours, materials and decorations - [were] buildings making a light-hearted contribution to the streetscape but still fulfilling serious functions."[89]

Art Deco's "strong horizontal and vertical lines with rounded corners, and a decorative style which featured flat incised abstract patterns such as zig zag, chevron and sunburst motifs"[90] was a new challenge for garden design, with Beaumont stating that:

> [o]ffset by uninterrupted expanses of lawn, Mediterranean cypress ... were placed as vertical accents at measured intervals down the length of the driveway

[80] McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 166.
[81] McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 166.
[82] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* pp 66. figs 2-4 captions, 68.
[83] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 68.
[84] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 58; also Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses 1800-1940* p 226.
[85] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p p 66, 68.
[86] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 70.
[87] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* pp 72, 74, 75.
[88] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* pp 27-28.
[89] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 69.
[90] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 143.

and in front of the house as a frame for the front door or window. Pedestrian and vehicular access were often combined, which served to increase the size of the lawn.[91]

Salmond likewise states that:

> [t]he geometric discipline of the house was firmly imposed on the garden, with concrete paths running straight from door to gate flanked by narrow borders of annuals, or just grass. Obedient yew trees stood on either side of the door, and standard roses formed a guard of honour along the path or occupied neat geometric beds in the centre of the lawn.[92]

Low, ornamental, rock walls were considered appropriate for Art Deco houses, while encouragement from beautification and amenity associations for homeowners to present their gardens to the street supported hedges one metre high or lower, or iron work for high fences.[93] These front gardens were to be plain but colourful without resembling "a floral stockroom."[94]

Art Deco also co-incided with an international interest in "primitive" design, making use of stylised Egyptian, Aztec and Mayan decorative design motifs popular.[95] In New Zealand, Pākehā appropriation of motifs from traditional Māori culture in Art Deco and modernistic design resulted:

> [w]hereas Maori-inspired motifs, usually kowhaiwhai, had previously been interpreted through the sinuous curves of Art Nouveau, they were now filtered through the more angular forms of modernistic design. Angular kowhaiwhai-inspired borders began to appear on rnagazine covers, in commercial buildings, and in needlework, ceramics, woodcarving and other domestic crafts.[96]

Moyle refers to the use by Art Deco of Māori cultural motifs making mention of Napier's Bank of New Zealand (Crichton, McKay and Haughton, 1932) and its "extensive Māori inspired decoration on both exterior and interior," including "kōwhaiwhai ceiling panels," and Gisborne's one storey East Coast Commission Building (LG West, Son and Hornibrook, 1936), "where the fusing of the Streamlined Moderne style and the verticality of traditional Māori carving pointed to an entirely different and unexplored direction."[97] The Commission "was involved in assisting the management and development of substantial Maori land holdings on the East Coast,"[98] suggesting that an Art Deco propensity for (mis)appropriation was not the only driver for the Commission building's cast concrete "carved" panels.

While the opportunity of the Hawke's Bay earthquake rebuild supported Art Deco in New Zealand, lloyd-Jenkins identifies its prime source as Hollywood. He writes:

> In the early 1930s, technical innovations in cinema sound had meant that Hollywood film-makers had retreated from the Spanish Mission streets of California into new sound studios. These studios were home to a new interior architecture in an unmistakably novel style. Created to look its best in black and white, the new style had broad curves that were designed to eliminate shadows. Chrome finishes and black glass added luminosity and depth to the film stock. It was an architecture of set designers. ... The abundance of local cinemas showing Hollywood productions allowed New Zealanders to circumvent architects as purveyors of architectural and interior style. The new style did not need to be explained by an architect,"[99]

He consequently speculates that "[q]uite possibly the first houses in the modernistic style were not the work of architects at all, but of speculative builders who had encountered

[91] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" pp 143-144.
[92] Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses 1800-1940* p 226.
[93] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 142.
[94] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 143.
[95] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 72.
[96] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 72.
[97] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* pp 19, 20, 32.
[98] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 113.
[99] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* pp 66-67.

it first hand at the movies."[100] Jeremy Salmond also writes of Moderne houses that "[m]any were built during the Depression and cheapness was readily confused with economy,"[101] while Falconer notes that Art Deco "like the bungalow the style didn't survive past the Second World War."[102]

Art Deco was not the only 1930s style, and "detours into Bauhaus, English cottage, Deco, Jazz, Mediterranean and Moderne"[103] have been well documented in New Zealand. Stacpoole and Beaven categorise the main lines of architectural development as "Traditional, Transitional, Early Modern, and Original,"[104] stating that the historical or traditional were typically "the first choice for the bigger and costlier civic buildings."[105] The Edmund Anscombe-designed Washpool in Hawke's Bay is one example of 1930s Spanish Mission architecture, which Fowler described as "a unique homestead,"[106] referring to its "formal entrance about a blue tiled pool under Canary Island palms, and the surrounding gardens"[107] and the use of "concrete walls, the relatively small windows and the deep loggia [to] keep the house cool in summer ... [w]hen the temperatures ... are often 100°F."[108] New Zealand Spanish Mission residences were, while popular, typically more understated. Salmond notes the example in the 1931 *Home and Garden Services* plan book and that these houses "brought a little excitement and novelty to a conservative and depressed market."[109] He writes that they were "often built on leftover sites in earlier bungalow subdivisions or as one of a variety of competing novelties in new developments."[110]

As Hodgson notes, writing of stripped classicism, that "[d]ecorative opulence, although significant, was not the sole architectural expression of the period," and "[a]lmost like a powerful disinfectant, Bauhaus ideas of design cut through the decoration and construction techniques of past styles and movements."[111] It represented "the modern world. ... was radical, [and] associated with the [political] left."[112] Aesthetics and form were to be determined by rational functional needs,[113] leading to an absence of applied decoration and pattern, replacing wallpapers and patterned carpets with "painted walls and plain carpets. Checked patterns and stripes - determined by the method of making the material - replaced patterned prints."[114] Likewise, "the interior and the exterior of the modernist house .... were considered one and the same. Furniture and furnishings had to be modernist," leading to greater use of built-in furniture (bedside tables, wardrobes, bookcases, even couches), bringing this aspect of the interior more firmly under an architect's control.[115] An anonymous essay written in 1936 noted that "[t]he best of the modern houses have repose and simplicity almost an effect of peace in the midst of a rushing world,"[116] but also noted that:

> [m]odern interiors may often be rather bleak. ... Some modernists would eschew all plant life save the cactus, banish all the gaily printed drapes for prim checks and stripes and leave no opportunity throughout the bare

[100] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 67.
[101] Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses 1800-1940* p 226.
[102] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 248.
[103] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 64.
[104] Stacpoole and Beaven *Architecture 1820-1970* p 73.
[105] Stacpoole and Beaven *Architecture 1820-1970* p 73.
[106] Fowler *Country Houses of New Zealand* p 36.
[107] Fowler *Country Houses of New Zealand* p 36.
[108] Fowler *Country Houses of New Zealand* p 36.
[109] Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses 1800-1940* p 216.
[110] Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses 1800-1940* p 217.
[111] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 60.
[112] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 76.
[113] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 76.
[114] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 87.
[115] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* pp 82, 83.
[116] Anonymous "Evolution or Revolution" p 80.

walls for the craftsman to carve his wood or fashion his wrought metal.[117]

However, despite its importance (and "great intellectual purity"[118]), "Bauhaus styling was not widely adopted in New Zealand,"[119] and, according to Stacpoole and Beaven, it is likely that a lack of consistent understanding of this modernism contributed to this, as "[m]ost of the profession, and those of the public who were interested, still saw modern architecture as a compound of styles."[120] They also stressed that the designs of modern architecture derived from "new social freedoms and increasing outdoor activities."[121] Plischke's L-shaped planned Frankel House (Christchurch, 1938-39), likewise amplified the relationship of domestic life with its exterior paved terrace, using large sliding glass doors, but these 1930s examples of modernism in New Zealand were infrequent.[122]

W Robin's Simpson's house in Auckland's Greenlane (1938-39) was one such exception. lloyd Jenkins highlights the building's "restrained approach to colour and decoration,"[123] and its steel-framed floor-to-ceiling windows, describing these as "a bravado act of transparency that completely broke down the barrier between house and garden."[124] This intimate connection between inside and out, is replicated in the dissolving of conventional spatial division inside, as the living and dining room, usually distinct, become functions in the same room,[125] and the wall between kitchen (now located directly opposite the front entrance) and dining is penetrated with "a serving hatch connecting the two rooms."[126] lloyd Jenkins writes that "[t]he plan of the house had become more open, more democratic, than it had ever been before," and indicates the increasing importance of this informality and communal openness in the allocation of a third of the building to the combined dining and living room, and the co-opting of normally exclusive circulation space as a study named "work hall," which leaked, via a folding glass wall, onto a small, sheltered patio.[127] Pickmere likewise noted the disappearance of a room dedicated as a library in New Zealand houses, writing that:

> [b]ooks ... tend rather to live with us more informally, as old friends, at ease, who are given the "run of the house." Perhaps [she asked] the efficiency of modern lending libraries as well as the problem of space-saving has contributed to this state of affairs.[128]

The modernistic Sidey House (Arthur Salmond, Dunedin, 1934) was another "radical departure,"[129] in which ornament was banished from the interior: "Inside, the Sideys were presented with meticulously detailed oak flush-panel doors, minimal trim and textured plaster wall surfaces - the effect was spare and fashionable,"[130] though lloyd Jenkins also writes that because of the understanding of modernistic style being *just a style*:

> there was absolutely no obligation for the interior and exterior appearance of the house to be co-ordinated ... the streamlined modernistic forms of 1930s houses ... were often furnished in the barley-twist forms of neo-Jacobean furniture ... The discrepancy was unimportant; it only mattered that the owner strove for a simpler, less cluttered interior than had been common in the past.

[117] Anonymous "Evolution or Revolution" p 81.
[118] Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses 1800-1940* p 220.
[119] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 68.
[120] Stacpoole and Beaven *Architecture 1820-1970* p 74.
[121] Stacpoole and Beaven *Architecture 1820-1970* p 74.
[122] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 82.
[123] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 79, figures 1 and 2 captions.
[124] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* pp 78, 80, figure 2 caption.
[125] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 81.
[126] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 81.
[127] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 81.
[128] Pickmere "The Stranger within your gate" p 86.
[129] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 68.
[130] lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 68.

Reproduction furniture remained highly popular throughout the decade.[131]

Rather than consistency of style, it was perhaps the new shift to opening the house to sunshine which strongly connected the interior with outside. a response, in part to "a new fashion for sunbathing - then called sun-worshipping."[132] Fresh air and sunlight was also advocated for health reasons, by figures such as the founder of the Plunket Society, Dr Truby King,[133] but also architects like Robin Simpson who wrote that:

[b]ig windows fitted with glass that permits the entry of the health-giving rays of the sun are undoubtedly more costly than small ones of ordinary glass. But of the prevention of rickets and a general improvement in health counts for anything, the money is well spent.[134]

This was new thinking about house design "to make the most of sun, view and site, or even of the materials of which they are built."[135]

As an example, lloyd Jenkins quotes promotional material for Horace Massey's Cintra flats in Auckland: ""Cintra pampers sun-worshippers. Every living room has almost an entire wall of windows which fold back and leave wide, uninterrupted areas open to light and air, and to satisfy our thirst for sunshine.""[136] He notes the particular desirability of sunlight (especially morning sun) being brought into kitchens due to its changed character. It was now a space without servants, "filled with new gadgets and labour-saving appliances," floor to ceiling built-in, and colourful, easy-clean rubber and lino floors, creating "a temple of efficiency and cleanliness."[137]

Such thinking also increased debate regarding the building of flats. Cedric Firth, for example, wrote in 1936, that:

[a] tremendous amount of nonsense has been talked about flats ... But there is the obvious fact that if, in a given area, you build seven out of every eight houses on top of the eighth you have not crowded any more people into the area, and you have given them the ground which would have been occupied by those seven houses as extra open space.[138]

Robin Simpson similarly wrote the following year (1937):

[i]t may be asked whether flats are worth worrying about in this country ... In the first place, they allow of better utilisation of land ... it is obvious that better conditions are possible with the flats than with the cottages ... equipment which makes for more comfort and less work can be provided more cheaply in flats than in cottages. Further, in the one building we can assemble not only the means of giving greater freedom to women, but also the community rooms where that freedom may be enjoyed.[139]

However, as lloyd-Jenkins notes, during the Depression those who could afford new houses chose "to cling to the English cottage, Spanish Mission and Californian bungalows of the previous decade,"[140] but even when the modernistic style of the 1930s dressed houses along a suburban street, often "the interior plan was little altered from those of the previous decade."[141] McLean similarly states that "many Victorian buildings were given stripped classical or art deco façades in order to keep up with changing tastes or to attract or

131 lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 69; also p 70, figures 4 and 5 captions.
132 lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 74.
133 Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 135.
134 Simpson "Workers' Housing: A Scheme for New Zealand" p 113.
135 Simpson "Workers' Housing: A Scheme for New Zealand" p 105.
136 lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 74.
137 lloyd Jenkins *At Home* pp 74-75.
138 Firth "Problems of Working-Class Housing" p 98.
139 Simpson "Workers' Housing: A Scheme for New Zealand" p 109.
140 lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 65.
141 lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 67; also Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses 1800-1940* pp 225-226.

retain tenants" in the 1930s.[142] However, the interiors did not stand still, as Leach notes, "[m]ost households that [had previously] cooked on coal ranges were now wired for electricity, and did not have to light the stove to make a cup of tea."[143] She also writes that the words "compact" and "built-in" most frequently described the kitchen designs of the 1930s:

> Movable furniture, such as the classic kitchen dresser and kitchen work-table, was being replaced by built-in cupboards and benches. From our viewpoint today, it is tempting to see the adoption of the compact kitchen as a cost-cutting measure, for few people in the 1930s could afford to build a house with the footprint of a Victorian villa.[144]

Leach also notes the ""the application of time-and-motion studies to domestic activities," and cites Vernon Brown's belief that a 3.6m x 2.4m kitchen was sufficient for a household of four.[145]

A very specific change in the design of large appliances occurred in the 1930s, and Leach notes that the 1931 General Electric refrigerator, like many kitchen appliances, "stood on curved legs, which satisfied both contemporary aesthetic tastes and the widespread desire to open up all areas of the kitchen floor for regular cleaning."[146] This seems to be consistent with Vernon Brown's 1933 recommendation that "the space under the sink be left open, as it was in kitchens of the 1920s."[147] The 1934 Crosley Shelvador ("the first model to incorporate shelves in the door"), also "still stood clear of the floor, but the cabriole legs had given way to Art Deco-style legs with a stepped profile."[148] By 1937 the Shelvador "had an arched top and a front panel that concealed its feet."[149] These refrigerators were imported by the then new company Fisher & Paykel. The role of importing was also important in relation to furniture, with lloyd Jenkins writing that:

> [a]lthough locally manufactured furniture in the modernistic style was widely available, little was locally designed or, if it was, it was seldom very original. ... Scoullar and Chisholm designed some quirky modernistic furniture but it seldom showed any attempt at integrated form. ... In the 1930s New Zealanders still relied on Britain for imported "fancy" goods - in particular glass, ceramics and textiles.[150]

However, in response to import controls Fisher & Paykel began to assemble refrigerators in late 1939 "using panels imported from Kelvinator Australia and enamelled in Auckland. The mechanisms were imported from Kelvinator's Detroit factory."[151] Cooking stoves in New Zealand were also "increasingly locally made."[152]

After the flamboyant opening of Auckland's Civic atmospheric cinema in December 1929, the 1930s began with the receivership of its developer, Thomas O'Brien Theatres Ltd, and the cinema's takeover by JC Williamson Films Ltd, a company that also went into receivership in 1932.[153] Before this, Williamsons equipped the Strand (Christchurch, 1917) for "sound in 1931, ... raked the circle more steeply and renamed it the Plaza."[154] The company would also open the Art Deco Avon in 1935, and Brittenden writes that: "although only a 900-seater, Williamson ensured it had space for dressing

142 McLean "From Shrine to Shop" p 79.
143 Leach *Kitchens* pp 97-98
144 Leach *Kitchens* p 100.
145 Leach *Kitchens* p 100.
146 Leach *Kitchens* p 90.
147 Leach *Kitchens* p 100.
148 Leach *Kitchens* p 93.
149 Leach *Kitchens* p 93.
150 lloyd Jenkins *At Home* p 69.
151 Leach *Kitchens* p 93.
152 Leach *Kitchens* p 94.
153 Brittenden *The Celluloid Circus* p 157.
154 Brittenden *The Celluloid Circus* p 187.

rooms and scenery, should they wish to switch from screen to stage."[155]

Despite the Depression, a good number of cinema were built. Moyle attributes this to a government incentive scheme whereby picture theatres were subsidised "on a pound for pound basis. Accordingly such theatres were known as "State theatres"."[156] The uncertainty of cinema as a secure entertainment form is also apparent in the realisation that, up until 1930 and the introduction of sound, at Dunedin's first cinema (the Princess), "films only spasmodically punctuated its schedule of variety shows"[157] and Amalgamated's Crystal Palace in Christchurch being "the last of the Christchurch city cinemas to convert to sound, because its owners steadfastly believed that the new phenomenon would never catch on."[158] Prior to sound, the Crystal had a 20-piece orchestra and "in 1932 it became an "All British" cinema."[159] The shift to the "talkies" naturally affected the auditorium interior, the Whakatane Regent Theatre (1937), for example, was re-lined in 1939 "with "Tree-tex" a sound absorbing material that was claimed to enable perfect sound and voice reproduction."[160] Other upgradings included increased screen size; the Alliance Hall (Te Puke 1917), for example, which reopened in August 1930 as the Capitol, claimed to "have the tallest screen in the Southern Hemisphere."[161] Its foyer also emphasised the enormous and

> was painted with fresco murals of ... the Pink and White Terraces, Rabbit Island and Mitre Peak. A large doorway was also made in the side of the building to permit the entry of elephants from travelling shows that used the stage for performances.[162]

The foyer of the Masterton State Theatre (George Tole and Fred Daniell, 1935) sported an illuminated fountain, while the foyer in Christchurch's ferro-concrete State Theatre (cnr Colombo and Gloucester Sts) (H. Francis Willis, 1935) had an "electric fireplace of exceptionally striking design detailed in silveroid and black and coral vitrolite."[163] In contrast, the interior of Palmerston North's Regent Theatre (Charles Hollingshead, 1930) was "based on a fifteenth century Florentine manor house."[164] It had a vaulted marble staircase and "kōwhaiwhai design on the mezzanine ceiling,"[165] and W Colman, an Austrian scenic artist, painted the auditorium fresco.[166]

The 1930s also saw Amalgamated continue to convert existing buildings into cinema. Brittenden states that the company

> seemed to take the view that as long as the building they leased was in a favourable location, everything else could be made to work. The State on Courtenay Place had actually been a garage, but it served the circuit well as a single-floor 885-seater from its opening in 1933.[167]

In 1931 the Statute of Westminster (UK) was passed by the British parliament.[168] The Statute of Westminster would give New Zealand constitutional independence, because it removed the automatic right of the British parliament to legislate for the colonies. However New Zealand did not ratify the statute until 1947,[169] but the appointment of

[155] Brittenden *The Celluloid Circus* p 191.
[156] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 14.
[157] Brittenden *The Celluloid Circus* p 203.
[158] Brittenden *The Celluloid Circus* p 196.
[159] Brittenden *The Celluloid Circus* p 196.
[160] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 109.
[161] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 101.
[162] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 101.
[163] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* pp 131, 168-171.
[164] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 124.
[165] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 127.
[166] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 127.
[167] Brittenden *The Celluloid Circus* p 167.
[168] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 15.
[169] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 172;

Britain's first High Commissioner to New Zealand in 1939 meant that the Governor-General no longer had ambassadorial functions.[170] The next year (1932), MP Vernon Read, after failure to convince the government to buy the British Resident James Busby's former residence at Waitangi, persuaded the governor-general and his wife to buy and gift it and the surrounding 506 hectares to the nation:[171]

> When Lord Charles and Lady Alina Bledisloe first walked on the grounds of Waitangi in 1932 they looked beyond the run-down buildings and overgrown gardens and envisioned a future where the significance of Waitangi was properly recognised. This was a dream many Māori had been holding onto for decades.[172]

McLean describes the Busby residence, renamed as the "Treaty House,"[173] as New Zealand's "first monument of state,"[174] and writes that "Ngapuhi matched the gift with one of their own, the whare wananga (carved meeting house)."[175]

On 6 February 1934, 100 years after Busby's prefabricated iron residence (designed by NSW architect John Verge) had been shipped to New Zealand across the Tasman and erected at Waitangi,[176] the first Waitangi Day was held

> to celebrate Governor-General Lord Bledisloe's gift of the Treaty House and the grounds at Waitangi to the nation, a gesture that was intended to symbolise the Treaty's influence in creating "a unique relationship between indigenous and the colonising peoples."[177]

Smith, however, notes that: "[t]he Tourist and Publicity Department hailed the 1934 celebrations while dating the "real settlement" of New Zealand from the "formation of the New Zealand Company ... and the arrival of the pioneers in 1840"."[178] The Mt Victoria lookout in Wellington, completed in September 1939, was consequently built:

> to mark the centennial of the entry of the "Tory" into Port Nicholson. The granite walls once supported the Waterloo Bridge across the Thames, but when it was demolished in 1938, the London County Council made a gift of granite blocks to the Wellington City Council. A bronze bust of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and a direction indicator may be found in lookout. The indicator points "to the capitals of Great Britain, the British Dominions, and the provinces of New Zealand".[179]

According to Smith, it was this interpretation, giving precedence to the Wakefieldian narrative, which dominated,"[180] but, of course, for many Māori the significance of the 1934 event was not Wakefield, nor perhaps even Bledisloe's gift, as the February hui at Te Tii marae, at which 10,000 Māori attended, also "marked the 100th anniversary of the selection of the United Tribes' Flag [He Whakaputanga] by northern Māori chiefs as the flag of an independent New Zealand."[181]

The following month (10 March 1934) Bledisloe attended the formal gifting of the 54-acre Brooklands property to the New Plymouth Borough Council, which further enlarged Pukekura Park. The property "included the King's two-storeyed, verandahed homestead, the historic Gables (former Colonial Hospital) and various

McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 128; McCarthy *Exhibiting Māori* p 65.
[170] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 136.
[171] McLean "Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze" p 30; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 164; Anonymous. "Our Vision and Mission Waitangi" n.p.; Ross "Waitangi Treaty Houses" p 49.
[172] Anonymous. "Our Vision and Mission Waitangi" n.p.
[173] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 245.
[174] McLean "Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze" p 30.
[175] McLean "Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze" p 30.
[176] McLean "From Shrine to Shop" p 77; Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 245.
[177] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 129; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 164.
[178] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* pp 164-165.
[179] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 70.
[180] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* pp 164-165.
[181] Orange "Treaty of Waitangi: Implementing the Treaty: 1900 to 1940" n.p.

outbuildings," and Tritenbach records Bledisloe expressing "his pleasure to the crowd of 5,000 that "this delectable valley" would be preserved for all time."[182] 1934 was also the year that the foundation stone for the National Art Gallery and Dominion Museum on Buckle Street, Wellington was laid,[183] and Conal McCarthy depicts the accompanying "uniformed soldiers standing to attention and Union Jacks fluttering."[184] Both the National Art Gallery and Dominion Museum and the War Memorial Carillon would open on 1 August 1936,[185] and David Kernohan notes that Gordon Wilson, while a partner at Gummer and Ford was responsible for the design of the museum, as well as the nearby carillon (which he dates 1931-32), and the Wellington Central Library (1935-40).[186]

McCarthy describes the museum building's "stripped classicism of the elevated façade of "Wellington's Acropolis" ... [as] a visual link to the civilization of antiquity,"[187] and records that "[i]nternally, the design was influenced by consulting architect Samuel Hurst Seager, who had recently worked on Tate Britain."[188] Preparation for the Māori Hall included persuading iwi to donate exhibition material and the establishment of the "Maori workshop," which supported "the repair, "restoration" and reconstruction of the large objects that would form the centrepiece of the Māori Hall."[189] The workshop was consistent with what McCarthy describes as Apirana Ngata's long term thinking regarding the development of Māori arts and crafts, where ""students of Maori art attached to museums" ... would eventually take over from the School of Arts and Crafts."[190] He writes that in 1932 Thomas Heberley travelled to the Urewera and "persuaded the Tūhoe people at Ruatāhuna to donate *Te Whai a te Motu* a house closely, associated with the *Ringatū* faith and its leader Te Kooti."[191] He also describes Heberley's corrugated iron workshop in Sydney Street which was open to the public; "it created so much interest that from 1933 it was open five days a week ... crowds flocked to it to see Heberley ... working away at his carving and showing people around."[192] McCarthy's assessment of the resulting Māori Hall in the Dominion Museum is that it "presented a vision of national heritage that sought to assimilate Māori, the display of art in the galleries upstairs marked off this space as an exclusively Pakeha domain."[193]

The 1930s had began with Apirana Ngata's School of Māori Arts and Crafts in full flight. Ngata (Ngāti Porou) was an important politician: MP for East Coast 1905-43; Minister of Native Affairs (1928-34) and "number three in Cabinet (even for a short time acting Prime Minister)."[194] He was the Father of the Parliament (the longest-serving member) for the whole of the decade. McCarthy states that Ngata's social agenda for the school was clear: "[r]egenerated *marae* with their new meeting houses became focal points for strengthening *iwi*, an essential part of Ngata's strategy of wrestling from the state a form of benign segregation for his people,"[195] while Brown states that the school was "responsible for the completion of more than 40 building projects,

[182] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 62.
[183] McCarthy *Exhibiting Māori* p 6.
[184] McCarthy *Exhibiting Māori* p 6.
[185] McCarthy *Exhibiting Māori* p 6.
[186] Kernohan "Introduction" p 10.
[187] McCarthy *Exhibiting Māori* p 75.
[188] McCarthy *Exhibiting Māori* p 76.
[189] McCarthy *Exhibiting Māori* p 73.
[190] McCarthy *Exhibiting Māori* p 86.
[191] McCarthy *Exhibiting Māori* p 73.
[192] McCarthy *Exhibiting Māori* p 74.
[193] McCarthy *Exhibiting Māori* p 93.
[194] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 196.
[195] McCarthy *Exhibiting Māori* p 84.

initiated in the 1920s and 1930s, and it trained tohunga whakairo as well as tukutuku, kowhaiwhai and kākaho specialists."[196] The teaching of tukutuku, with classes for the school's 400-500 female students, began c1933,[197] and in 1935 the school began restoration work on Te Hau-ki-Turanga (Raharuhi Rukupō, c1840s), making new tukutuku panels, and new carved panels.[198] Brown states that this Rongawhakaata wharenui was identified by Ngata as a "suitable prototype" because "the house pre-dated the New Zealand Wars and therefore made no artistic reference to conflict with the government or confiscation."[199]

Brown also documents several significant changes to wharenui built in the 1930s represented by work undertaken by the Māori Arts and Crafts school. She refers to the impact of fire and building regulations restricting the use of flammable materials, requiring permanent building foundations and greater earthquake resistance, resulting in weatherboard, iron and tiles replacing traditional materials such as thatch and the inclusion of floors, concrete foundations, steel framework and lower walls.[200] She also notes the use of seating at marae meant the building of raised stages, creating an interior that Ngata described as "a "house within a house","[201] the reduction of internal columns to provide a better space for dancing, and the replacement of kāuta with dining halls fitted out with "Pākehā-style commercial kitchens."[202] Te Poho-o-Rawiri (Kaiti, 1930), Te Ikaroa-a-Maui (Waitara, 1936), Raukawa (Otaki, 1936), Takitimu (Wairoa, 1938), Whitireia (Whangara, 1939), Poho-o-Rawiri, Ruatepupuke (Tokomaru Bay, 1934) meeting house projects, and Rongomaitapui (Te Araroa, 1938) dining hall scheme are examples of the School of Māori Arts and Crafts projects that Brown lists as affected by these changes.[203] Falconer states that these "strategically placed" Ngata wharenui were "significant symbols of progress for Maori communities."[204] At the end of the decade (1938) the school's director Harold Hamilton passed away, and "[d]espite an increase in demand for the school's services, due to government funding for Treaty centennial building projects," the school closed that same year.[205]

Another carving school (the Tūrangawaewae Carving School headed by Piri Poutapu), was established by Te Puea Hērangi and worked on several projects in the 1930s and 1940s. Brown links the school to Te Puea's aim to "establish permanent meeting houses and dining facilities on every Kīngitanga marae,"[206] and gives the Kawhia Methodist Church (1934) and Turongo (Tūrangawaewae, 1936) as examples of work undertaken.[207] Te Puea had directed that Turongo, planned to be the king's residence, was to be "more Maori than Pakeha."[208] The house contained "a formal dining room .... with whakairo rākau and tukutuku, ... a sitting room, kitchen, caretaker's room, two bedrooms and a sun porch."[209] The octagonal bedroom at the north end of the verandah was influenced by a turret on a Hamilton East villa.[210] The fluent drawing from Māori and Pākehā traditions of

[196] Brown *Māori Architecture* p 85.
[197] Brown *Māori Architecture* p 87.
[198] Brown *Māori Architecture* p 92.
[199] Brown *Māori Architecture* p 92.
[200] Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 89-90.
[201] Apirana Ngata quoted, Brown *Māori Architecture* p 91.
[202] Brown *Māori Architecture* p 92.
[203] Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 89, 91.
[204] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 197.
[205] Brown *Māori Architecture* p 94.
[206] Brown *Māori Architecture* p 105.
[207] Brown *Māori Architecture* p 106.
[208] Te Puea quoted, Brown *Māori Architecture* p 106.
[209] Brown *Māori Architecture* p 106.
[210] Brown *Māori Architecture* p 106.

domestic architecture apparent in Turongo is characteristic of Te Pueu's hybrid houses "clad in a combination of raupō and weatherboard," that also had sash windows and corrugated iron roofs.[211]

The 1930s was also a significant decade for transportation, particularly aviation, in New Zealand, starting with the beginning of commercial aviation in 1930,[212] and the ongoing need to extend and alter runways, and introduce hard runway surfaces, due to "the growing size and weight of aircraft," predating WWII.[213] Falconer links the New Zealand development of aerodrome construction to 1933 and a government decision to "build a chain of aerodromes around the country so that personnel and freight could moved easily."[214] Noonan writes that:

> By mid-1934 reports had been made on 40 [aerodrome] sites and 16 were being surveyed. Construction work was under way at Wigram and a start had been made at Westport and Hokitika. The following year a further 72 grounds were investigated, another 27 surveyed and construction was actually under way on 30.[215]

In 1934 the first Trans-Tasman airmail service began,[216] and on 5 January 1936 New Zealand's first major airline (United Airways of New Zealand) began operation, providing flights between Palmerston North, Blenheim, Christchurch and Dunedin.[217] Aviation also no doubt gained support with the successful exploits of Jean Batten who completed the first direct flight from England to New Zealand on 16 October 1936.[218] The previous year (1935) she had been "the first woman to fly solo across the South Atlantic."[219] Her accomplishments were recognised in the naming of the seven-storey, steel-framed, Jean Batten Building on Auckland's Queen Street (John Mair, 1937-42),[220] and during its construction, in 1939, TEAL (Tasman Empire Airways Limited - now Air New Zealand) was established.[221] TEAL was "formed and jointly owned by Union Airways, Imperial Airways, Qantas, Empire Airways and the New Zealand Government."[222]

This investment in aviation more generally, and aerodromes more specifically, also led to associated building work and architectural interest apparent in Hean's 1935 article "Airports" in the *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects*.[223] The RNZAF Mess (14 Wigram Drive, 1938), "a rare adoption of Art Deco styling for aviation buildings"[224] is one example, while the Wigram Control Tower (1939) also dates from the 1930s.[225] Several reinforced concrete aircraft hangars at major RNZAF stations can be dated to 1939,[226] and the significant activity undertaken by the Public Works Department constructing aerodromes resulted in the creation of the Aerodrome Services Branch in 1936.[227]

Other forms of transportation were also reflected in various infrastructure projects -

[211] Brown *Māori Architecture* p 104 [caption].
[212] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 15.
[213] Noonan *By Design* p 152.
[214] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 336.
[215] Noonan *By Design* p 130.
[216] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 15.
[217] McGuinness *Nation Dates* pp 37, 130.
[218] McGuinness *Nation Dates* pp 37, 131.
[219] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 131.
[220] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 355.
[221] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 16. McGuinness provides a date of 16 April 1940 for the establishment of TEAL. McGuinness *Nation Dates* pp 37, 136.
[222] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 136.
[223] Hean "Airports" pp 63-65.
[224] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 172.
[225] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 172.
[226] Noonan *By Design* p 150 caption.
[227] Noonan *By Design* p 149.

the Royal Commission investigations into an Auckland harbour bridge (1930),[228] the completion of Tamaki Drive in Auckland (c1931),[229] the Jackson Bay wharf (South Westland, 1939),[230] and the building of the Wellington Railway Station (Gray Young, Morton and Young, 1933). The Wellington Railway Station project was the result of the reorganisation of the city's rail system and centralisation requiring the housing of 640 staff in addition to providing for commuters and long-distance travellers.[231] Its interior includes the monumental booking hall, which can, as Hodgson has noted, "also be a draughty brute of a place,"[232] though Stacpoole and Beaven point to the station plan's "undeniable advantage of leading straight from the concourse to the platforms."[233] The ceiling of this main hall is

> formed by two intersecting barrel vaults ... [of] pastel-tinted plaster, the walls have their texture produced by incising the plaster, the dado are panels of Whangarei marble and the floor is terrazzo slabs with brass rules.[234]

When it opened, "the public amenities included showers and baths, a dining room and cafeteria, a hospital room and, on top of the building, a nursery and playroom where children could be left in charge of trained assistants."[235] The building also operates to shut off "the less-than-lovely sheds and yards of railway and port ... [making] a very satisfactory screen to one side of a small park."[236] Rail and road corridors were of particular importance for manufacturers, with Falconer noting, of Auckland's development as a city in the 1930s, that "[m]anufacturing industries were provided with exclusive zones close to rail and road south of the central city in Penrose, Otahuhu and Mt Wellington."[237]

However, Falconer also states that with the completion of the national network of rail lines, stations and bridges, "the railway budget plummeted,"[238] seeing increased priority given "first to roading and communications, then to land development, electric power and public buildings."[239] Likewise Noonan writes more generally that:

> [b]y the end of 1931 very little remained of the [Public Works] department's usual activities. All railway construction had stopped in October [1931] with the exception of two almost completed lines ... Of the power development projects construction work continued only at Waitaki. The irrigation schemes in Central Otago also survived,[240]

though Noonan identifies that a characteristic of the 1930s was the shift of major irrigation from Otago to the plains of South Canterbury.[241] The 48 metre-high Waitaki hydro-dam in North Otago (1934) opened in October 1934. Its 30 megawatts capacity was equivalent to approximately half of the South Island's electricity needs.[242] McLean writes that "[u]nusually, Waitaki does not have a spillway - the water flows over the top, making a spectacular sight in floods as the flow breaks up on the disrupters on the dam face."[243]

[228] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 290.
[229] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 62 caption.
[230] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 69.
[231] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 60.
[232] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 60.
[233] Stacpoole and Beaven *Architecture 1820-1970* p 83.
[234] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 60 caption.
[235] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 60.
[236] Stacpoole and Beaven *Architecture 1820-1970* p 83.
[237] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 452.
[238] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 337.
[239] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 337.
[240] Noonan *By Design* p 123.
[241] Noonan *By Design* p 152.
[242] McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 168.
[243] McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 168.

Road transport infrastructure was improved at both national and local levels. The Main Highways Act 1936 saw the classification of main highways as State Highways resulting in

> their widening and straightening, sealing of the surfaces and where necessary strengthening or replacing bridges ... accompanied by a significant drop in the number of accidents and fatalities on the roads.[244]

Hamilton city responded to increased motor traffic in 1937 by introducing four pedestrian crossings, and in 1939 the council's removal of half of Garden Place's hill, which had divided the town's north from south, created a flat 1.25-hectare of inner-city space.[245] In Wellington, a scenic drive, Alexandra Road, was built along the crest of Mt Victoria through the town belt, under which the building of the Mt Victoria tunnel (1931) occurred,[246] the earth and rock removed to create the tunnel being "used for levelling for [the] sportsground in Hataitai Park."[247] At Western Springs, in Auckland, a motor camp and swimming pool were built between the lake and the zoo, ready for motorists to holiday in Christmas 1933. Paul Tritenbach notes that "[b]y New Year's five years years[sic] later, it was crowded with as many as 2000 campers on peak weekends."[248] A less usual mode of transport was celebrated during Christchurch's Venetian Carnival's of 1932 and 1935, driven by then mayor DG Sullivan, as "the riverbank around the Edmond Band Rotunda ... thronged with almost 40,000 spectators."[249] The carnival included "a procession of 54 decorated and illuminated boats - even several gondolas."[250] The second 1935 event coincided with the Duke of Gloucester's visit in January 1935.[251]

Women had been particularly affected by the Depression because unemployment aid assumed a male breadwinner. The well-known Maud Ruby Basham (or Aunt Daisy) was one such victim of this prioritising of male breadwinners, when she was fired "because the 2YA station director had been instructed to employ men," resulting in her move to Auckland and to 1ZB.[252] Leach writes that, in Auckland, women:

> could register with the Women's Unemployment Bureau, which endeavoured to match them to vacancies, usually as domestic servants. If they were not experienced domestic workers, as in the case of girls who had been employed in factories or shops ... the bureau provided training in cooking and dressmaking.[253]

Charlotte Macdonald's study of domestic servants likewise notes that the gradual decline in domestic servants from 1911 to 1936, had a "brief resurgence" during the early 1930s Depression because domestic servitude "was often identified as the solution to female unemployment."[254] In 1936 there were 29,262 female domestic servants and 265 male servants in New Zealand,[255] and "[f]rom 1936 through to 1945 domestic service in New Zealand virtually disappeared ... It seems likely that the redistribution of women's work in accordance with wartime demands was the final nail in the coffin of private domestic service."[256]

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[244] Noonan *By Design* p 153.
[245] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 290.
[246] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 69.
[247] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 69.
[248] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 37.
[249] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 120.
[250] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 120.
[251] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 120.
[252] Leach *Kitchens* p 82.
[253] Leach *Kitchens* p 79.
[254] Macdonald "Strangers at the Hearth" p 55.
[255] Macdonald "Strangers at the Hearth" p 49, Table 1.
[256] Macdonald "Strangers at the Hearth" p 55.

There were also instances in the Depression of women taking part in street protests, for example, in Christchurch 1932, a May Day Demonstration was organised by women,[257] though Leach states that this was less usual, with few women participating in "the street confrontations with the police; however [she notes], they fought for their causes in the newspaper letter columns."[258] Other aspects of public space had gendered inflections of varying scales. Falconer, for example, includes a photograph of 1930s Courtenay Place, Wellington "showing the gardens, with women sitting on park benches, one inscribed "Ladies Only"."[259] More importantly, as Calhoun notes, the Depression shifted the trajectory for women. She states that "[t]he 1920s witnessed massive urban growth and should have allowed women to enter new vocations and professions but the country's financial circumstances barred such advances."[260] Other social indicators of women's life in 1930s New Zealand include the "109 married women who died from - illegal - septic abortions between 1931 and 1935,"[261] and declines in marriage and birth rates.[262] In the kitchen: ""[t]he depression ethos of "making do" reached new heights with the fashion for remade, recycled clothing, and eggless cake recipes."[263]

The prioritising of the male breadwinner would continue with Labour government following its election in 1935. Labour had promised to provide "a universally comfortable standard of living for the male breadwinner and his dependents"[264] - not for women. Consequently, the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Court "set the basic breadwinner wage at a level "sufficient to maintain an average family, a man and his wife and three children," while continuing to assume that the working woman was single, with no children or elderly parents to support."[265] However, as Smith notes, when the Social Security Act 1938 was passed, it

> introduced an unemployment benefit for men and for single women for the first time, to counter workers' loss of paid employment. ... It accepted that single women were moving into paid employment between school and marriage, but it confirmed married women and children as dependants.[266]

Improvements for women's healthcare resulted with the new provision of free medical care for childbirth, following a 1937-38 Committee of Inquiry into Maternity Services, which recommended "that birthing mothers have access to the "fullest degree of pain-relief consistent with safety to mother and child.""[267] Smith writes that this change was supported for both humanitarian reasons and to "encourage women to have more children."[268]

Supporting motherhood was linked to the importance of health at this time. Beaumont describes the concern for the health and moral fibre of the family unit as "obsessive," and relates it to the importance of healthy boys for the Empire's military capacity, but also the dependence of the nation's future prosperity on heathy and happy communities.[269] Consequently, government (and the Plunket Society) supported "scientific home

[257] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 153 caption.
[258] Leach *Kitchens* p 79.
[259] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 88 caption.
[260] Calhoun, Ann *The Arts & Crafts Movement in New Zealand 1870-1940* p 165.
[261] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* pp 152-153.
[262] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 15.
[263] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 167.
[264] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 155.
[265] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 155.
[266] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 157.
[267] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 157.
[268] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 157.
[269] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 135.

management," mothering techniques and the vocation of motherhood "to ensure that healthy expert mothers produced a race of "efficient children-strong, healthy, and resistant to disease" who would be capable of defending the nation if the need arose."[270] Beaufort consequently stresses the *national* importance of the home environment and garden:

> its establishment and maintenance allowed an individual to "partake in their required amount of fresh air and sunlight," and the very act of gardening was viewed as a healthy invigorating exercise which was considered necessary to keep "muscular tissue in decent form, as well as the brain and nervous system."[271]

This promotion of motherhood and homecraft remarkedly coincided with several firsts for New Zealand women. Earlier in the decade, Labour candidate Elizabeth Reid McCombs became the first New Zealand female parliamentarian when she won the Lyttleton seat, which had been formerly held by her husband, in a by-election on 13 September 1933.[272] The same year as Batten's record-breaking flight from England, Kathleen Maisey Curtis, later Lady Rigg, became "the first woman elected as a fellow of the Royal Society of New Zealand, in recognition of her contributions to mycological research."[273] The Royal Society of New Zealand had been established by the Royal Society of New Zealand Act 1933, replacing the New Zealand Institute.[274] Curtis had been the first woman in New Zealand to gain a PhD in 1919; her thesis examining the cause of wart disease in potatoes, ""was considered the most outstanding mycological research of the decade"."[275] The decade had also begun with Miss MA McIntyre of Atkins and Mitchell winning the 1931 Ten/Test Small House Competition (her entry "noticeable for the excellent planning") - one of the few indications that women were actively involved in the architectural profession.

On 27 November 1935 the first Labour government led by Michael Joseph Savage was elected in a landslide.[276] The Labour government addressed numerous welfare issues, picking up "where the 1890s Liberal model of state development left off. ... Social priorities were transformed as Labour made manifest Christian and humanist versions of dignity and equality. Immediately the unemployed received a Christmas bonus."[277] Noonan also writes that:

> the Labour Party rejected the very basis of relief work. Instead it claimed that the unemployment problem could best be solved by allowing the Public Works Department to fulfil its true function. Overnight the Public Works Department reverted to its original role of design and construction agent for the State.[278]

Labour also reversed a number of practices legislated during the early 1930s Depression: compulsory arbitration was restored and compulsory trade unionism was instituted,[279] the early 1930s cuts to wages, salaries and pensions were reversed.[280] Minimum pay rates were set for agricultural workers[281] and

[270] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 135.
[271] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 136.
[272] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 15; McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 128.
[273] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 131.
[274] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 128.
[275] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 131.
[276] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 15; McGuinness *Nation Dates* pp 130, 131; Leach *Kitchens* p 81.
[277] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* pp 150-154.
[278] Noonan *By Design* p 136.
[279] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 16; McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 131; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 155.
[280] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 16; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 155.
[281] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 16; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 155.

the normal working week was cut from 44 to 40 hours,[282] with a maximum working week of 44 hours established for offices and shops.[283] In 1938, the Social Security Act 1938 legislated a "cradle to grave" philosophy of welfare.[284] It improved the age pension and attempted the provision of a universal superannuation from 65 years.[285] Universal free access to hospitals and maternity care was achieved in 1939.[286] McGuinness identifies the Act as marking "the beginning of a period where Keynesian economic policies prevail, reflecting the philosophies of economist John Maynard Keynes, who advocated government interventionism and high taxation."[287]

The reinstated pensions however were not necessarily equitable, and this demonstrated an idea that "living standard" had a mutable reality. Robert Bartholomew, writing about New Zealand's history of racist segregation quotes a senior Treasury public servant, Bernard Ashwin saying, in 1937, that:

> "On the face of it, it may appear equitable to pay the average Maori old-age pensioner the same amount per week as the average European pensioner, but in this matter questions of equity should be decided having regard to the circumstances, the needs and the outlook on life of the individuals concerned ... the living standard of the Māori is lower - and after all, the object of these pensions is to maintain standards rather than to raise them."[288]

Bartholomew has written particularly about segregation in Pukekohe, and his work includes the decade of the 1930s. Of a December 1937 inspection by representatives of the Departments of Labour, Public Works, Health, and Native Affairs of housing for Māori workers in the Pukekohe market gardens, he quotes a consequent report:

> "They are sleeping under sacks ... sutured together as "houses" ... alongside hedges and in all sorts of unsanitary conditions. They live, too, in galvanised iron sheds, with low roofs, no ventilation and dirt floors".[289]

He identifies a number of buildings constructed by Pukekohe Borough Council to support racial segregation including a "Native Rest-room" and a health clinic, near Memorial Park, both opened in December 1938, [which] were stated to "stop Māori visitors "from being a nuisance in the township.""[290] He also records an August 1936 petition of "50 Māori who lived near the town of Tauranga ... asking that the local Council construct a public toilet for native women and children as "Maori women and children were excluded from the rest rooms provided for pakehas"."[291] Bartholomew also documents segregation by private business owners, with the Strand cinema owners, Mr and Mrs Blennerhassett, maintaining:

> a strict policy of "No Maoris upstairs or under the circle," and assigning them into certain sections since about 1930. It was not until 1961 that the Maori Affairs Department made a concerted effort to stamp out the practice.[292]

In 1939, the Royal Commission inquired into Māori grievances regarding land at Orākei in Tāmaki-makau-rau,[293] and Falconer writes that Ernest Davis, Mayor of Auckland, had dismissed plans for "a proposed model Maori village in Orakei (on Maori land) in 1935,"[294]

[282] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 16; McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 131.
[283] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 16.
[284] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 16; McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 130.
[285] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 157.
[286] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 157.
[287] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 130.
[288] Bernard Ashwin quoted, Bartholomew *No Maori Allowed* p 125.
[289] Bartholomew *No Maori Allowed* p 43.
[290] Bartholomew *No Maori Allowed* p 97.
[291] Bartholomew *No Maori Allowed* p 131.
[292] Bartholomew *No Maori Allowed* p 106.
[293] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 290.
[294] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 204.

saying that ""The Maori is a child of nature, and it is better both for him and the pakeha that he should live in the country and not in the town"."[295]

On 25 March 1936 Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana and Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage met to formalise an alliance between the Rātana church and the Labour Party.[296] Henderson described the meeting as follows:

> Ratana visited the new Prime Minister and placed on the table before him four objects: a potato, a broken gold watch, a greenstone *tiki* and a *huia* feather ... The potato was the ordinary Maori, needing his land. The watch was the law relating to the lands of the Maori. Only the machinery of the law could repair the law. The greenstone *tiki* stood for the traditions and *mana* of the Maori. And the *huia* feather, the sign of a paramount chief, would be worm by Mr Savage if he would look after his Maori people. The Prime Minister accepted the proposal and the Four Quarters, as each obtained election, joined his party to hold the four Maori seats ... for Labour.[297]

Falconer notes that the numbers of Rātana's followers were "bolstered by fallout from the Depression until by 1936 it was conservatively estimated that 20 per cent of all Maori, some 40,000 people, adhered to the faith."[298] While Rātana had established the Temepara Tapu o Ihoa (the Sacred Temple of Jehovah) in the late 1920s, the 1930s saw Rātana establish a "new nationally focused political centre called Manuao, or "Man-o-War"," following Te Whaea (Rātana's wife) having a prophetic dream "about a "man-o-war" secular building that would promote and defend Ratana's religio-political mission."[299] Brown states that Manuao "resembled the Omeka complex" because of similar verandahs and Spanish mission-style parapets.[300] She writes that:

> [t]he façade united four existing houses, which continued to be used for sleeping, schooling, debating, faith healing, cultural practice, cooking, dining and dancing. Newly built administrative facilities included a printing office, a post office, "police" office, church office, storerooms and butchery.[301]

Brown associates Manuao with the relocation of the administrative functions of Rātana's Matamata complex at Rātana Pā,[302] however Falconer more fully describes the Matamata complex as an unsuccessful attempt to convert Kīngitanga,[303] following which Ratana looked to creating a national-level political alliance. Eruera Tirikatene, the first Ratana MP, elected in 1932, represented Southern Maori.[304] He presented a petition signed by over 30,000 people asking for the Treaty to be made statutory.[305] It was Tirikatene who organised the meeting between Rātana and Savage in April 1936.[306] In 1935 the four Māori electoral seats, which Rātana referred to as "the "four quarters" of his body (ngā koata e whā) when

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[295] Ernest Davis, Mayor of Auckland quoted, Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 204.
[296] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 131; Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 16.
[297] Henderson "The Ratana Movement" p 71. Henderson writes of the agreement: "Thus the prophecy made by Ratana on Westminster Bridge in 1924 seems to have been fulfilled" (p 71). The prophecy was as follows: "When all your stone houses are in ruin and ashes in time to come, then will the blacksmiths, the shoemakers and the carpenters be in power, and I will be the government. The Morehu today declare that he foresaw the bombing of London in the Second World War and the election of Labour Governments to power in Britain and New Zealand" Henderson "The Ratana Movement" pp 70, 71. See also Newman "Rātana, the Prophet: Mā te wā - the Sign of the Broken Watch" pp 245-246
[298] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 197.
[299] Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 119, 120.
[300] Brown *Māori Architecture* p 119.
[301] Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 119-120.
[302] Brown *Māori Architecture* p 119.
[303] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 198.
[304] Henderson "The Ratana Movement" p 71; Newman "Rātana, the Prophet: Mā te wā - the Sign of the Broken Watch" p 245.
[305] Henderson "The Ratana Movement" p 71; Newman "Rātana, the Prophet: Mā te wā - the Sign of the Broken Watch" p 245.
[306] Newman "Rātana, the Prophet: Mā te wā - the Sign of the Broken Watch" p 245.

announcing his intention to enter politics,"[307] were won by Rātana. In July of that year (1935) the memorial arch at the Rātana Temple gates was opened, representing that his mission would not end with him.[308] While Māori continued to be excluded from much of welfare support, Smith does note of the Labour government welfare reforms that, unlike the state support provided in the 1890s, "this time it partially included Maori,"[309] and that "Maori well-being improved dramatically under Labour."[310] Rātana died at 10am 18 September 1939.[311] The week-long tangi was attended by the Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage and Sir Apirana Ngata and about 3,000 followers.[312] Rua Kenana's tangi had occurred only two years before in 1937.[313] The same day as the meeting between Rātana and Savage, 25 March 1936, New Zealand commenced the first regular radio broadcasting of any parliament.[314] This followed a Labour election promise to broadcast ""important debates on matters considered to be of interest to the people"," and parliament was broadcast to four national radio stations.[315] This was not the only change to broadcasting during the decade. In late 1931 the Broadcasting Company was replaced with a Broadcasting Board, and the Broadcasting Act 1936 allowed advertising on radio, leading to the success of personalities such as Maud Ruby Basham's Aunt Daisy.[316] The 1YA Studios (Shortland Street, Auckland, 1934) built at the time is considered to "symbolise the high point of our radio, or wireless years."[317] McLean writes that the building's "solid brick walls ... shielded it from traffic noise, [while] four storeys of studios catered for broadcasters' every need. The largest, 20x12x7.6 metres, occupied two floors in the building and catered for concert presentations. A smaller one contained an "echo" room used for generating special sound effects,"[318] while Moyle notes the contrasting styles of its Romanesque exterior and interior Art Deco features.[319]

In 1937 a state-owned commercial broadcasting service was established.[320] That same year (1937), on 1 March, following nutrition surveys that pointed to dietary deficiencies in children, and the League of Nations' recommendation that children drink 1 litre of milk daily, a school milk scheme, providing half a pint of milk free to children at kindergartens and primary school daily - "sometimes accompanied by an "apple a day"" - began.[321] The scheme was politically appealing because it supported both children's health and daily farmers' income.[322] Schools also including gardening in the curriculum,[323] indicating as Beaumont writes that "boys ... were expected to feed the nation via the home vegetable garden,[324] with

[307] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 131; Newman "Rātana, the Prophet: Mā te wā - the Sign of the Broken Watch" p 256.
[308] Newman "Rātana, the Prophet: Mā te wā - the Sign of the Broken Watch" p 257.
[309] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 155.
[310] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 159.
[311] Brown *Māori Architecture* p 114; Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 199; Newman "Rātana, the Prophet: Mā te wā - the Sign of the Broken Watch" p 257.
[312] Newman "Rātana, the Prophet: Mā te wā - the Sign of the Broken Watch" p 257.
[313] Morrison "Representations of Māori in Presbyterian Children's Missionary Literature, 1909-1939" p 165.
[314] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 21.
[315] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 130.
[316] Leach *Kitchens* p 82.
[317] McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 171.
[318] McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 171.
[319] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 56.
[320] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 16.
[321] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 132; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 155.
[322] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 155; Leach *Kitchens* p 82.
[323] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 138.
[324] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 138.

children also developing "their aesthetic horticultural skills in the front gardens or display beds of the school."[325] These gardens served to separate school entrances from playing grounds:

> [t]rees were formally placed on the lawn, and some schools boasted other fashionable garden features such as pergolas, arches, sundials and gazebos ... These gardens were frequently the setting for annual floral fêtes and garden parties, both important events in the fundraising calendar of a school. Families were invited to picnic in the school grounds and enjoy strawberries and ice-cream among the flowers. In the evening the grounds were illuminated for night cinema, open air concerts, exhibition wrestling and special guest appearances by popular entertainers of the period.[326]

Playgrounds were also recognised as important. Falconer refers to Director of Town Planning, John W Mawson's 1930 article on "Playground Efficiency" in which he identified the large number of reserves for our population: "at the time New Zealand had less than 1.5 million people but possessed huge reserves: 1,149,300 hectares of national parks, 207,100 hectares of scenic reserves and 29,000 of public domains in urban areas" in contrast to English and American minima, with Greater London having 2.8 hectares of recreational space per thousand people.[327] Mawson advocated implementing a "Radius of Efficiency" stipulating walking distances to recreational space for different age groups. [328]

Just as school gardens and playgrounds promoted and supported the health of children, factory amenities often included grounds, that included gardens and sometimes tennis courts and bowling greens, for staff recreation.[329] Beaumont identifies Christchurch factories as "particularly progressive in this respect due to the influence of the Christchurch Beautifying Association, which was responsible for organising regular garden competitions, which included a special factory garden category."[330] Edmonds' famous factory garden was described in 1933 as: "a blaze of colour, and with grass that is almost faultless ... there is a marvellous display ... including ageratum, marigolds, verbenas, snapdragons and so forth, of the brightest possible colours and very nicely arranged."[331]

The Depression however had a long tail. It had meant that "[m]any families could no longer afford rent or to keep up mortgage payments, and ended up crowding several families to a house."[332] Falconer describes "[a]spiring homeowners ... reduced to renting sub-standard rooms, flats and houses in city centres as mortgage finance stalled. Many lost what they had invested in new homes."[333] Renting, in contrast to homeownership, increased. In Christchurch, for example, in 1926, 32 per cent of houses were rented. Ten years later, in 1936, the figure had grown to 46 per cent.[334] Less orthodox domesticity was sought. Writer Frank Sargeson, for example, lived in the family bach at 14 Esmonde Road in Takapuna from 1931 to 1948,[335] McLean stating that "seclusion of the quiet seaside resort suited the 28-year-old Sargeson, who was still trying to live down an earlier arrest for having sex with another man."[336]

Quality as well as quantity of housing appears to have been inadequate. Firth in 1936 stated that, while

[325] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 138.
[326] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" pp 138-139.
[327] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 82.
[328] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 82.
[329] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 140.
[330] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 140.
[331] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" pp 140-141.
[332] Leach *Kitchens* p 79.
[333] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 151.
[334] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 152.
[335] Jones "A Home in This World?" p 91 caption.
[336] McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 164.

> [c]onditions vary from city to city, but in all you will find whole areas covered with flimsy, squalid shacks ... In these dreary and depressing areas overcrowding is rife in every department of the housing operation; houses without room enough, or air enough or sun: houses without water: dark, dirty, damp and bug-infested. Congestion of people in rooms; "extra" families in dwellings; overstuffing of bathrooms at houses into honey-comb rookeries; overcrowding of land by buildings and the endless multiplication of residential blocks with only the slenderest intervening slice of open area or breathing space.[337]

The new Labour government's platform of restoring a decent living standard to those impacted by the Depression highlighted providing "everything necessary to make a "home" and "home life" in the best sense of the meaning of those terms."[338] Isaac and Olssen have referred to Coate's "Brains Trust" and their increasing interest in housing from 1933-34.[339] They note that:

> discussion was couched increasingly in terms of the rights of citizenship rather than fear of contagious disease. Yet the older paradigm, linking slums to moral pollution and disease, still informed discussion, diagnosis and prescriptions.[340]

Schrader also notes that "the declining birth rate in the 1930s was also an issue, raising the prospect that New Zealand was heading towards "race suicide","[341] while Falconer has attributed the 1935 Labour government's "massive housing building scheme"[342] to the successful lobbying of James Fletcher.[343]

Hodgson highlights Coates' proposal to "determine the extent of the slum problem by means of a survey (the first survey in New Zealand's history),"[344] which he states "confirmed the pressing need for housing of decent standards and led to the establishment of the Department of Housing Construction"[345] to build state rental houses[346] and "train a generation of tradesmen,"[347] with, as Salmond notes "its own architectural staff,"[348] and Gordon Wilson as Chief Architect.[349] Isaac and Olssen, however, query a simple and direct link between the housing survey results and Labour's housing policy. They note that the "[i]mplementation of the survey was somewhat haphazard and few results were published,"[350] and speculate that:

> [a] cynic might conclude that Labour did not analyse the results of the housing survey because the analysis would have called into question the government's justification for its large housing scheme. It is more likely, however, that the survey was overtaken by event, for by 1938 the first large schemes had been completed.[351]

Another important, sometimes forgotten, part of Labour's housing scheme was the 1936 replacement of the Mortgage Corporation with the State Advances Corporation in order "to provide cheap, long-term mortgage finance."[352]

On 18 September 1937 the first Labour state house at 12 Fife Lane in Miramar, Wellington, was completed and occupied by a Wellington

337 Firth "Problems of Working-Class Housing" p 89.
338 Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 155.
339 Isaac and Olssen "The Justification for Labour's Housing Scheme" p 113.
340 Isaac and Olssen "The Justification for Labour's Housing Scheme" pp 113-114.
341 Schrader "Labour at Home" p 131.
342 Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 337.
343 Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 337.
344 Isaac and Olssen "The Justification for Labour's Housing Scheme" p 114.
345 Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 64.
346 Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 16.
347 Leach *Kitchens* p 82.
348 Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses 1800-1940* p 228.
349 Kernohan "Introduction" p 10; Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 355.
350 Isaac and Olssen "The Justification for Labour's Housing Scheme" p 114.
351 Isaac and Olssen "The Justification for Labour's Housing Scheme" p 123.
352 Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 16.

bus conductor and his wife, David and Mary McGregor.[353] The event was marked by the Prime Minister Joseph Savage and most of his Labour Cabinet helping the couple move house, the photograph of Savage carrying their dining table through the cheering crowd of onlookers on the front yard being iconic. Less known is that:

> [a]fter the opening ceremony, 300 people traipsed through the McGregors' open home, muddying floors and leaving fingerprints on freshly painted fixtures. They eventually persuaded their guests to leave, but for days afterwards, sightseers peered through the windows.[354]

These state houses were "compact, well built and comfortable, and, financed by Reserve Bank credit, mushroomed in the four main cities."[355] Walter Nash described them as ""fit for a cabinet minister,""[356] perhaps encouraging McLean's assessment that the houses were designed "to be good enough to cross class barriers."[357] There was a deliberate attempt ensure that state house suburbs were not ""rows of identical houses""[358] because, as John A Lee argued in 1937, this ""would have been immediately unpopular"."[359] Schrader writes that, because of this, "Labour rejected the idea of extending the standardised Railway housing programme."[360] But while "no two houses in a street needed to be identical, [Salmond states that] the economics of standardised details produced a controlled aesthetic which left no room for self-expression or eccentricity."[361]

Hodgson notes that: "[a]ttention to detail was important; the intricacies of bedroom design, kitchen fittings and room siting were just as important as the larger concern of street widths and contours, access to public spaces and services such as shops and schools,"[362] while also crediting state involvement in housing producing "a thoroughly intensive study of domestic efficiency and value for money."[363] Stacpoole and Beaven refer to this standard one-storey house as segregated into bedroom and living areas with the "[k]itchen, bathroom, and laundry are grouped round a back porch to bring plumbing together,"[364] while Schrader writes of the state house design's awareness of the sun, spatial efficiency, and use of New Zealand materials:

> The largest room in all plans was the living room, which was oriented towards the north to catch the afternoon sun ... the kitchen was sited towards the morning sun and reduced in size, to allow for maximum efficiency ... A meal recess, extending from the kitchen, served the function of a dining room and "as a play area for small children ... Floors were to be of heart timber and roofs were to be laid with locally made tiles, in support of New Zealand industry.[365]

One of the kitchen's modern conveniences was "the 1938 Coronation Electric Necco was a cabinet with box base," with three elements fitted, which Leach writes equipped several thousand 1938 state houses.[366] She also notes that "[e]ven the state houses under construction in the late 1930s included "built-

[353] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 16; McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 132; "First state house opened in Miramar: 18 September 1937" n.p.; McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 174.
[354] "First state house opened in Miramar: 18 September 1937" n.p.
[355] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 158.
[356] Walter Nash quoted, Isaac and Olssen "The Justification for Labour's Housing Scheme p 123.
[357] McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 174.
[358] John A. Lee quoted, Schrader "Labour at Home" p 133.
[359] John A. Lee quoted, Schrader "Labour at Home" p 133.
[360] Schrader "Labour at Home" p 133.
[361] Salmond *Old New Zealand Houses 1800-1940* p 229.
[362] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 64.
[363] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 69.
[364] Stacpoole and Beaven *Architecture 1820-1970* pp 74-75.
[365] Schrader "Labour at Home" p 134.
[366] Leach *Kitchens* pp 96-97.

in work spaces, ample cupboard space and room for a refrigerator"."[367]

Falconer, referring to its modern conveniences, described the state house as "a triumph of individual material needs over social needs, in part a return of our sense of identity back to Britain,"[368] while McLean, noting their "modern kitchens, fitted wardrobes and sturdy construction,"[369] stressed that the houses impressed "people fleeing draughty, rotting old dives."[370] However, Falconer states that Bill Toomath viewed the state house as

> a retrograde step away from the evolving New World type, turning back from a very public type of house to a cold climate introspective type. It halted eighty years of development of a publicly outgoing model.[371]

Bill Wilson described them (state houses) as "[p]etty planning, planned mediocrity, deliberate suburbanism. It's a sentimental and ruthless imposition of the small existence ... There'll be no Sargesons in the state suburbia."[372] Likewise, while Labour established "the family home as the icon of everything good and wholesome about New Zealand," Jones notes that the progressive "Provincial" writers identified the family home as "a symbol of a smug complacent, basically sick society."[373]

Beaumont writes that the most significant aspect of the state house was

> their lack of front fence. The state house was part of a large community, its garden part of the community garden, and while residents suffered a loss of privacy it was felt that the absence of a fence created a more unified street picture.[374]

Likewise Schrader states that:

> [h]ouses would be sited in harmony with one another, and frontages were to be left unfenced, to promote the impression of a community garden. At the back of each house tenants would be provided with a tool shed and encouraged to cultivate a vegetable garden. ... Until Labour's programme, suburbs had grown in a piecemeal fashion, ... Labour, however, was building whole suburbs.[375]

This understanding of the building of suburbs is reflected in what Robin Simpson, in 1937, described as "a new method of planning that takes as its unit, not the individual family, but a whole community."[376] He wrote of this in contrast to "our present methods of sub-division [that] generally give us streets that are completely lacking in beauty unless they serve expensive, well-planted land which is not available to the working man."[377]

However, access to this New Zealand state house was only for those who fitted into the imagined image of "ordinary people," specifically people who were "married and willing to move."[378] As Smith observes:

> [t]he scheme was not intended for Maori, who remained geographically separate, second-class citizens. Land development schemes provided tribes with some new, inferior houses in rural areas. But even among iwi who had not lost so much land and resources, the majority lived in rural poverty. ... Bureaucrats reasoned that hapu could live off the land, when in reality many were landless and had lost access to traditional food resources.[379]

[367] Leach *Kitchens* p 101.
[368] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 249.
[369] McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 175.
[370] McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 175.
[371] Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 245.
[372] Wilson "The Small House" p 149.
[373] Jones "A Home in This World?" p 92.
[374] Beaumont "Gardens of the 1920s and 1930s" p 144.
[375] Schrader "Labour at Home" pp 134-135.
[376] Simpson "Workers' Housing: A Scheme for New Zealand" p 106.
[377] Simpson "Workers' Housing: A Scheme for New Zealand" p 106.
[378] Isaac and Olssen "The Justification for Labour's Housing Scheme p 123.
[379] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 159.

The scheme "raise[d] the standard of housing available to manual workers, [and] improve[d] the standard of domestic design."[380] Labour's state housing programme also introduced "the idea of high-density housing .... as a partial solution to the problems of slum clearance and housing needs."[381] In Wellington, the 1938 Housing Construction Department designs of Dixon Street Flats and Centennial Flats (Berhampore) under Francis Gordon Wilson were significant, and Hodgson credits their popularity to "their views, services and amenities," and noted the provision of a communal hall at Berhampore.[382]

Smith writes that "[t]he 1930s and 1940s was a formative era in nation-building, through the conscious "making" of New Zealand."[383] Jones more specifically identifies "the self proclaimed makers of a national literature who dominated serious New Zealand literature from the 1930s through the 1960s" who "strongly rejected the idea of Britain as "Home"."[384] The celebration of New Zealand's centenary was an important part of this.

On the 8 November 1939 the 55-acre New Zealand Centennial Exhibition, the exhibition architecture designed by Edmund Anscombe, began.[385] Falconer states that the nation's centennial celebrations were five years in the making, and also that "the Centennial demonstrated how little Pakeha understood of Maori and how much they over-rated European success."[386] The friezes for the bas-relief on the iconic Centennial Tower and the base of the forecourt fountain were both designed by Chrystabel Aitken, whose "angular study of a galloping horse and rider, "Equestrian Group," carved directly in fine "white rock" from Mount Somers, [also] stood at the centre of the Dominion Court."[387] Moyle notes that "[t]he Maori Court at the Centennial Exhibition was designed and carved under Ngata's supervision and the master carver was Pine Taiapa."[388]

The exhibition would run until 4 May 1940, and celebrated the 100-year anniversary of the signing of Te Tiriti on 6 February 1840.[389] A total of 2,641,043 people attended the exhibition, at a time when New Zealand's population was 1,633,447 (31 March 1940).[390] The exhibition promoted New Zealand's material progress, and coincided with the publication of 11 Centennial Surveys that "chronicle[d] New Zealand's history since the Treaty of Waitangi."[391] In her discussion of the event, Wendy McGuinness notes that "in 1945, copies of "the Treaty of Waitangi [were] hung in every school and marae"."[392] However, Smith stresses that, for some, greater emphasis was placed on British settlement than the Treaty signing. She writes that: "Wellington's *Evening Post* published its centennial issue in November 1939 to advertise the opening of the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition, and gave priority in its own coverage to the settlement of Wellington

[380] Isaac and Olssen "The Justification for Labour's Housing Scheme p 123.
[381] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 64.
[382] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 67.
[383] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 150.
[384] Jones "A Home in This World?" p 89.
[385] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 133; Falconer *Living in Paradox* p 200.
[386] Falconer *Living in Paradox* pp 200-201.
[387] Calhoun *The Arts & Crafts Movement in New Zealand 1870-1940* p. 181. Moyle states that the bas-relief frieze on the tower depicted "New Zealand's progress with images of motor vehicles and tractors," and was the work of Alison Duff. Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 16.
[388] Moyle *Art Deco New Zealand* p 20.
[389] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 133.
[390] "Yearbook collection: 1893-2012" n.p.
[391] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 133.
[392] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 133.

by the New Zealand Company."[393] She likewise writes that "[t]he exhibition cited the dates in its title as "1939-1940," not 1940, in remembrance of the pioneers," and notes the side-lining of Māori:

> Only at Ngata's insistence were carvings created at the Rotorua school of arts put on display ... Remembrance of the treaty at the centennial owed greatly to Ngata's leadership. At a re-enactment of the treaty signing at Waitangi on 6 February, Ngata, then Minister of Native Affairs, led the haka. Afterwards the Governor-General opened the ceremonial carved meeting house built especially for the centenary at Waitangi.[394]

The building of the whare runanga, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, which followed Ngata's carvers studying northern carving styles with ethnologist Gilbert Archey at Auckland Museum,[395] was another architectural project associated with the centenary. McLean states that Te Tiriti o Waitangi was "the first meeting house to represent all tribes."[396] McCarthy states that:

> [w]ith its spacious interior and pan tribal iconography, the *whare* was designed as a monument or museum ... At the 1940 centennial celebrations, when Ngata led a dramatic *haka* in front of the new meeting house ... it was clearly meant to remind Pakeha that their Treaty partners were not going away.[397]

Ross also acknowledges that "[a]nother centennial project was the building of the canoe Ngatokimatawhaorua, named in memory of Kupe, the Polynesian discoverer of the islands now called New Zealand."[398]

The restoration of the Busby residence, renamed as the Treaty House, was supervised by architects William H Gummer and William M Page, creating what McLean has described as: "a bogus, grandiose monument of state."[399] He quotes archaeologist Aiden Challiss' evaluation that ""the 1933 work produced a structure seven-eighths new","[400] and states that "[t]he old house emerged from its institutional chrysalis as The Treaty House, centrepiece of a national shrine, surrounded by the trappings of nationhood such as formal grounds, cannon, and flagpoles."[401]

Te Tiriti o Waitangi, like the restored Busby residence, were not the only buildings with explicit links to the centennial, as the approaching centennial increased the number of ""[financial] contributions toward historic structures.""[402] McLean refers to government funding (£65) of a gothic-revival memorial lychgate at the Waimate North Anglican Church in 1930.[403] He also notes that the National Centennial Committee had asked its regional committees to identify and list "historic places, objects, and sites in their districts,"[404] but the intended Department of Internal Affairs historical atlas planned for 1937 was never completed.[405] Another centennial project that failed to be completed in time was the proposal for Napier's Marine Parade to gain "a "giant domed community centre"."[406] Tritenbach states that the centre "would have included an assembly hall, Hall of Memories, skating rink, Palm Lounge, winter gardens, and, outside, bowling greens and tennis courts."[407]

[393] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 165.
[394] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 165.
[395] McCarthy *Exhibiting Māori* p 86.
[396] McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 170.
[397] McCarthy *Exhibiting Māori* p 86.
[398] Ross "Waitangi Treaty Houses" p 49.
[399] McLean "Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze" p 30; McLean "From Shrine to Shop" p 77.
[400] Challis quoted, McLean "From Shrine to Shop" p 77; see also Ross "Waitangi Treaty Houses" p 49.
[401] McLean "From Shrine to Shop" p 77.
[402] Bassett quoted, McLean "Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze" p 29.
[403] McLean "Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze" p 29.
[404] McLean "Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze" p 31.
[405] McLean "Where Sheep May Not Safely Graze" p 31.
[406] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 86.
[407] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p

On 3 September 1939, the day that Britain declared war on Germany (following the invasion of Poland on 1 September), New Zealand became one of the first countries to likewise declare war against Germany, and our involvement in World War II began.[408] In a recording made from his sickbed, following an operation for colon cancer, on Tuesday 5 September, Michael Joseph Savage's voice was broadcast to living rooms across the nation: ""Both with gratitude for the past, and with confidence in the future, we range ourselves without fear beside Britain. Where she goes, we go; where she stands, we stand ..."."[409] This was not the only way that Savage's presence was felt inside New Zealanders' homes, as the immensely popular Prime Minister's framed photograph is said to have been mounted in thousands of New Zealand living rooms.[410]

The same month rationing began with petrol rationing,[411] it not being until 1 May 1942 that sugar, clothing, boots, hosiery and knitting yarns were also rationed.[412] The rationing of paper, corrugated iron, liquor, prams and lawnmowers, china and canned foods, encouraged "ingenuity with the sewing machine, in the kitchen and with self-provisioning, while the shortages vested more meaning in home preserves."[413] The war also impacted on the public works programme, with "an immediate diversion of men, equipment, and materials from regular public works to various projects urgently required by the Army, Air Force, and Navy."[414]

The needs of the war also affected other forms of architecture. Hodgson writes that the new basement carpark of the 1937 Gummer and Ford-designed State Fire Insurance building in Wellington was "fitted out as an air-raid shelter with its entrance on Lambton Quay."[415] In the Dunedin Botanic Gardens, the 1930s saw "[a] "seven tonner" cannon, vintage 1900, ... placed under the Royal Oak in the Lower Garden," and then removed eight years later ""in a wave of pacifism","[416] no doubt related to the war. Falconer notes that a 1938 proposal for a course in landscape architecture by Cyril R Knight was interrupted by the war,[417] recalling the failure of the proposed town planning course, due to the Depression almost a decade earlier. The war also saw the immigration to New Zealand of architects and designers from Europe fleeing Nazism and anti-semitism, including Helmut Einhorn (in 1939), Ernst and Anna Plischke (in 1939) and Odo Strewe (in 1938), who was "interred for the war on Somes Island in Wellington Harbour."[418]

86.

[408] Jackson and McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 17; McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 133; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 160.

[409] Savage quoted, McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 133; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 160.

[410] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 154.

[411] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 133; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 167.

[412] McGuinness *Nation Dates* p 133.

[413] Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 167.

[414] Noonan *By Design* p 162.

[415] Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 62 caption.

[416] Tritenbach *Botanic Gardens and Parks in New Zealand* p 132.

[417] Falconer *Living in Paradox* pp 87-88.

[418] Falconer *Living in Paradox* pp 306, 361; Kernohan "Introduction" p 10.

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