

"The raging fury of Edwardian ornamentation" meets "a virtual frenzy of stylism": New Zealand architecture in the 1900s

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Lew Martin's poetic turn, writing that: "[t]he raging fury of Edwardian ornamentation and enrichment fairly flickers in the sun,"¹ is a rare moment in New Zealand's too frequently prosaic architectural historical lexicon, but there is perhaps something in the stylistic frenzy of the early 1900s that results in the pleasure of architectural description, and adjectives of transition and movement. In their description of "Gingerbread" George Troup's 1906 Dunedin Railway Station, Stacpoole and Beaven asserted that the rich, boldness of the architecture and its physical illusion of grandness "is a case where the motor car, as a means of approach, is a poor substitute for horse and carriage."² As McLean muses: "Even today it still exudes Edwardian pride in the iron horse."³ The decade's progression in rail - with the completion of the North Island's main trunk line in 1908, and Richard Pearce patenting his

design for a flying machine in 1906,⁴ additionally were harbingers of a century of new geospatial possibilities. The century's end amidst the euphoria of virtual reality which continues to excite (some) seems to have provided the evidence that this is a legitimate characterisation of its nascent decade.

New Zealand's first motor cars (two Benz) were imported to Wellington in 1899, the year following the McLean Motor Car Act.⁵ It wasn't until 1901, however, that Auckland's first car was imported, though Schrader states the "by the early 1900s motorcars were a familiar sight on city streets."⁶ That year (1901) began with Queen Victoria's death and the new reign of Edward VII, truly indicating the passing of an era, reinforced, for New Zealand later in the decade, with the shift of status from a Colony to a Dominion in 1907.⁷

This, as Michael King noted, implied "the beginnings of a sense of independent identity."⁸ A number of anniversaries celebrating towns and districts founded in the 1840s and 1850s, and the consequence of 60% of New Zealand's Pākehā population being "born in New Zealand as children and grandchildren of pioneers," reinforced the "perception that one major era of New Zealand's history and development was over and another just beginning."⁹ Hodgson similarly observes that:

[a] significant number of the architects now practising had been born in New Zealand, had undertaken their training as articulated pupils to established architects here and later furthered their training overseas by study trips and working in overseas offices.¹⁰

Examples include Wellington-born Gerald Jones (1880-1963) and Akaroa-born Louis Hay (1881-1948).¹¹ Jones "received some of his

¹ Martin *Built for Us* p 78.

² Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 57 caption.

³ McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 144 [caption].

⁴ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* pp 56, 61.

⁵ Pawson "Cars and the motor industry" np.

⁶ Schrader *The Big Smoke* p 298.

⁷ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 56; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 119; King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 279.

⁸ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 279.

⁹ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 280.

¹⁰ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 34.

¹¹ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 87, 95.

education in Sydney, but was articulated to Edward Bartley of Auckland and set up a practice there on his own in 1908," while Hay was articulated to CT Natusch in 1896: "In 1904 he spent a period of time working in the Lands and Survey Department, Invercargill, but by 1905 he was back in Napier, remaining there for the rest of his life. He made a brief trip to Sydney in 1908."¹²

The issue of national identity was however not so straightforward. King points to "a "double patriotism" ... emerging which took pride in being both British and New Zealand," and that increasingly, since the 1890s, "a feeling was coalescing that some form of "Maori" rather than specifically tribal political activity should be attempted to promote common Maori causes, particularly in dealings with the national Parliament."¹³ In architecture, Hurst Seager's 1900 pronouncement that, in New Zealand, "we have no style, no distinctive forms of [architectural] art ... our cities are chiefly made up of architectural quotations,"¹⁴ indicated an unfulfilled nationalist architectural aspiration; possibly only partially fulfilled with the

¹² Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 87, 95.

¹³ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* pp 252, 280.

¹⁴ Seager "Architectural Art in New Zealand" p 481.

formation of the New Zealand Institute of Architects in 1905.

The sense of transition experienced in the first decade of the twentieth-century was also reinforced by Premier Seddon's new use of the title "Prime Minister."¹⁵ Midway through the decade, in 1906, Seddon died and Joseph Ward became Prime Minister.¹⁶ Seddon's new title though was not the only office with a change in nomenclature. While the term "Colonial Architect" had only been used for William Clayton (1869-77) - Pierre Finch Martineau Burrows having the title of "Chief Draughtsman" - the decade saw John Campbell become "Government Architect" in 1909.¹⁷ Similar changes to institutions also reflected the new-found Dominion status, the Colonial Museum ("a little building behind Parliament"), for example, became the Dominion Museum.¹⁸ New Zealand also partook in colonial power, annexing the Cook Islands in 1900,¹⁹ and Niue in 1905,²⁰ while

¹⁵ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 54.

¹⁶ Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 11.

¹⁷ Martin *Built for Us* pp 33, 42.

¹⁸ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 58.

¹⁹ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 54; King gives a date of 1902. King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 291.

declining the invitation to become part of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901²¹ - though our first participation in the Olympics (in 1908) was as part of an Australasian team. This was also the decade when "New Zealand's first national rugby team to play in Britain ... [was] given the nickname "All Blacks"," a national (and our current) flag was formally adopted in 1902, and the first use of the kiwi, as a symbol of New Zealand-ness, occurred (on 20 August 1904), in a *New Zealand Free Lance* cartoon celebrating New Zealand's win against an Anglo-Welsh rugby team.²²

In 1907 the Ministry of Education established *The School Journal* in order to "provide children with New Zealand-based reading material,"²³ King likewise pointing to

a modest first florescence of literature which revealed the beginnings of a sense of [Pākehā] history (Reeve's *The Long White Cloud* in 1898, Robert McNab's *Historical Records of New Zealand* ten years later, and TM Hocken's *A Bibliography of the Literature Relating to New Zealand* in

²⁰ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 291. Jackson & McRobie date Niue's annexation as 1901. Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 10.

²¹ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 54.

²² McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* pp 55-56.

²³ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 60.

1909); and of nostalgia for what was passing away (William Satchell's novels *The Tale of the Bush* (1905) and *The Greenstone Door* (1914)).²⁴

It seems strange that now, only a solid 110 years later, New Zealand history is to be made compulsory in 2022.²⁵

A year earlier than the school children (1906), architects (and engineers) gained their national publication: *New Zealand Building Progress*.²⁶ Shaw contextualises this literary development by writing that:

By the turn of the century a number of journals from Great Britain, the U.S.A. and Australia were carrying information about the work of the Chicago School ... Although most practitioners continued to receive the notable overseas periodicals, *Progress* was a success from the start, as can be seen from the number of architects who placed advertisements. Initially it was the field of domestic architecture that was most affected by this increase in the flow of information.²⁷

The year that the flag was officially adopted, the Boer War (1899-1902) came to an end. New Zealand had been the first British Colony

²⁴ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* pp 280-281.

²⁵ "New Zealand history will be compulsory in all schools by 2022" np.

²⁶ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 72.

²⁷ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 72.

to volunteer a contingent,²⁸ and it was the first time that "a force [had been] raised in New Zealand and sent abroad specifically to represent the country in combat."²⁹ Because of a British policy, Māori were banned from fighting as a contingent in the Boer War, though this was contested; King recording a hui "held at the Basin Reserve in Wellington on 28 March 1900 [where Māori] protested vigorously against the policy."³⁰ The Boer War also provided the context for our first national war monument, the Ranfurly Veteran's Home in Auckland (1903), now named after its proposer, Governor Ranfurly as a "living" monument, and "an antipodean version of London's Chelsea Home for Pensioners."³¹

In 1901 the New Zealand population reached 830,000 - with only 5% being Māori. Pool and Kukutai refer to late nineteenth-century "forewarnings about Māori extinction,"³² and a population low of 42,000 Māori in 1896. The most extreme physical representation of this

²⁸ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 284.

²⁹ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 284.

³⁰ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* pp 286-287.

³¹ McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 142.

³² Pool & Kukutai "Taupori Māori: Māori population change" np.

thinking about Māori extinction is perhaps the obelisk on Maungakiekie, which memorialises the Māori race in accordance with John Logan Campbell's bequest that funded it. He died in 1912, but the obelisk was not completed until substantially later, in 1940.³³ By 1908 New Zealand's population had passed the one million mark.³⁴ By the end of the first decade of the twentieth-century, New Zealand was both significantly urban (with 49% of Pākehā living in towns of over 2,500 people³⁵), and racially-distinct geographically (with 98% of Māori living in rural communities in 1900³⁶). In this regard, the decade might be thought of as the last time New Zealand comprehensively understood rurality, despite continuing national myths. In Oamaru, JM Forrester designed the showgrounds (1907): "the centrepiece of rows of cattle pens, sheep yards and pig styes that even today seem to

³³ Jones "One Tree Hill Obelisk" np.

³⁴ Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 11.

³⁵ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 101. King states that in 1907 "the urban population of New Zealand exceeded the rural for the first time since the earliest years of British colonisation" King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 279.

³⁶ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 246; Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 102.

march on forever towards the railway line."³⁷ King noted that the rural/urban racial asymmetry also resulted in the geographic separation of "Maori from other Maori."³⁸ Just as the urban and Pākehā population outnumbered the rural and Māori, the North Island population surpassed that of the South, with 56% of New Zealanders living in the North Island in 1911.³⁹ High levels of homeownership for Pākehā, of over 50% in 1911, were another standout statistic.⁴⁰ Crown land, much of it bought or confiscated from Māori, was used "to build railways, roads and bridges to make that land accessible,"⁴¹ and to build the associated railway stations and railway infrastructure.

In the South Island, the Dunedin Railway Station (George Troup, 1903-7)⁴² is "one of the world's truly magnificent railway stations."⁴³

³⁷ McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 146.

³⁸ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 246.

³⁹ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 279.

⁴⁰ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 102.

⁴¹ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 269.

⁴² Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 38; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 44; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 68 [caption]. Shaw gives a date of 1904-07 for Troup's Dunedin Railway Station; Stacpoole & Beaven date it as 1904.

⁴³ McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* pp 144-145.

It "oozes confidence in a railway system that was nearing its zenith."⁴⁴ Shaw states that the building's "restless facades are a perfect architectural reflection of the Railways Department's confident belief in rail as the major mode of transport for the twentieth century,"⁴⁵ while Stacpoole and Beaven describe the railway station as "a building of such impact ... that it must rank as the outstanding monument of Edwardian architecture in New Zealand."⁴⁶ McLean is even more enchanted. For him, the station is magical; "a sparkling Aladdin's Cave full of stained glass, tiles, ironwork and Royal Doulton arches and friezes. Even the tiled foyer floor comes alive with locomotives and rolling stock."⁴⁷ Troup also designed stations at Bluff, New Plymouth, and Petone.⁴⁸

Following the completion of the Dunedin Railway station, the North Island main trunk line opened in 1908, with the first train on it travelling from Wellington to Auckland.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* pp 144-145.

⁴⁵ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 68.

⁴⁶ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 44.

⁴⁷ McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 144 [caption].

⁴⁸ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 56.

⁴⁹ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 61.

McGuinness and White note that its completion enabled Members of Parliament to travel to Auckland to meet the arrival of the US Navy's Great White Fleet.⁵⁰ Its construction fostered the development of centres around each station. Hunterville had served as "a base for main trunk railway construction," and its local development, included the building of a post office in 1903.⁵¹ The journey on the North Island main trunk line included the Makatote Viaduct (Central Plateau 1908), "which conformed to the classic North American steel trestle pattern,"⁵² and the time taken to achieve the construction of the North Island main trunk line, three decades after the South Island equivalent, has been attributed to the time it took for "engineers and politicians ... [to] overcome the opposition of King Country Māori and the forbidding central North Island terrain to complete the northern equivalent."⁵³

These attempts to access and control Māori land would, as we all know, continue through into the twentieth-century and 1900 saw the passing of the Maori Councils Act and the

⁵⁰ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 61.

⁵¹ Martin *Built for Us* pp 33, 64.

⁵² "Makatote Viaduct" np.

⁵³ McLean "Makatote Viaduct" np.

Maori Land Administration Act. The first, according to McGuinness and White, enabled Māori local self-government, authorising Māori to "frame for themselves such rules and regulations on matters of local concernment, or relating to their social economy as may appear best adapted to their own special [needs]."⁵⁴ Jackson and McRobie, however, describe this legislation as establishing "[c]ouncils empowered to enforce hygiene standards among Maori."⁵⁵ The second Act established "Māori-controlled land boards to develop Māori land and lease any surplus."⁵⁶ According to McGuinness and White, these land boards halted the alienation of Māori land, as "only 6,773 acres of land had been leased to Europeans by 1905."⁵⁷ In contrast, Smith identifies the desire to "balance iwi demands to hold on to their remaining land against settler demands for land for settlement"⁵⁸ as the rationale for the land councils being established. Hill writes that a 1906 extension, underpinned by the notion that "people should not be able to "own land

⁵⁴ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 54.

⁵⁵ Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 10.

⁵⁶ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 54.

⁵⁷ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 54.

⁵⁸ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 110.

without using it," threatened "many remaining tribal patrimonies," causing a government-appointed commission of inquiry into the best use of Māori land.⁵⁹ The Stout-Ngata Commission, established in 1907, conducted a stocktake of land, and "confirmed how little good land was left,"⁶⁰ and recommended that "Māori retain large tracts of their remaining lands."⁶¹ The Native Land Act 1909 removed restrictions and Māori land loss further increased.⁶² This focus on "idle" Māori land, was part of a larger preoccupation of the Liberals regarding:

how best to use land, widely recognised as the country's richest resource ... the spectacle of "idle" or unfarmed land ... a scandal. One of the party's most popular policies, ... was the determination to break up the big estates ... to allow settlement by smaller landholders able to take advantage of the new refrigeration technology which made meat and dairy farming not only viable but profitable.⁶³

The loss of land, and related broken promises made to Māori, prompted the building and naming of a weatherboarded whareniui at Arowhenua: "Te Hapa-o-Niu Tireni" ("The

⁵⁹ Hill *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy* p 81.

⁶⁰ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 111.

⁶¹ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 58.

⁶² Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 111.

⁶³ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* pp 259-260.

Broken Promises of New Zealand") in 1905.⁶⁴ Brown states that "[l]ike their northern counterparts, South Island Māori had not adopted the practice of whare whakairo building developed on the East Coast."⁶⁵ Peter Shaw's summary that "[e]conomic depression was to remain a fact of Maori life for many years to come," concludes that "[n]aturally, architectural trends reflected these factors."⁶⁶

The loss of much of their good land during the nineteenth-century meant that "[m]ost Maori communities made a precarious living from mixed subsistence farming," sometimes supplemented with income "from seasonal work created by the expanding European rural economy."⁶⁷ King writes of this period that Māori "continued to live for the most part in kainga or small villages with a hapu base or, in more isolated districts, in individual family homes outside kainga."⁶⁸ He describes South Island "kaika,"⁶⁹ as:

defined but flexible structures [where] communities

⁶⁴ Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 69 [caption], 70.

⁶⁵ Brown *Māori Architecture* p 70.

⁶⁶ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 58.

⁶⁷ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* pp 248, 250.

⁶⁸ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 246.

⁶⁹ Kāi Tahu (or Ngāi Tahu) dialectic uses "k" where most other dialects use "ng."

organised their rounds of hui, tangihanga ... and church functions, arranged marriages to strengthen useful alliances among families and hapu, [and] planned, constructed and maintained community facilities such as meeting houses and dining halls, dealt with local conflict and often resolved it, and discussed the perennial issues raised by prospects of land sales or public works in the vicinity of kainga.⁷⁰

Likewise, Brown describes "kainga" and "kaika" as:

small communities of dwellings ... built around meeting houses or churches. These villages continued the tradition of spatial organisation used before European arrival. They were likely to have also been influenced by the mission complex model, where life was centred on activity at an assembly building and tapu and noa were reinterpreted in terms of the Christian values of the sacred and profane.⁷¹

King though suggests a wider range of settlements stating that:

Some communities ... were by the beginning of the twentieth century almost indistinguishable in external appearance from a Pakeha village. Others, such as the settlements high up on the Whanganui River and the smaller Tuhoe villages in the Urewera, had changed very little in appearance since the wars of the 1860s.⁷²

⁷⁰ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 247.

⁷¹ Brown *Māori Architecture* p 70.

⁷² King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 248.

Predominately Pākehā settlements also spanned a range of forms and development and continued to undergo transformations. Schrader suggests that early 1900s civic reform targetting street orators and street hawkers later gave way to the sentiments of town planning with the publication of Auckland journalist Charles Reade's 1909 *The Revelation of Britain: A Book for Colonials*.⁷³

Churches continued to be important community centres and landmarks. Hodgson refers to the building of "[s]ome imposing churches ... along with a host of smaller churches serving the suburban parishes."⁷⁴ Famous among these are: Auckland's St Matthew's (Frank Pearson, 1901; supervised by Edward Bartley),⁷⁵ Wellington's St Gerard's Church (JS Swan, 1906),⁷⁶ Invercargill's First Church (John Mair, 1910),⁷⁷ and Frank W Petre's work in the South Island; his work

⁷³ Schrader *The Big Smoke* p 295.

⁷⁴ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 34.

⁷⁵ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 42, 43; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 76-77. Shaw gives a date of 1902 for St Matthew-in-the-City.

⁷⁶ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 62 [caption].

⁷⁷ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 43; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 77. Shaw states that Mair designed First Church in 1909.

during the 1900s included: Dunedin's St Joseph's Cathedral (-1905),⁷⁸ Christchurch's Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament (1899-1905),⁷⁹ Oamaru's Saint Patrick's (1893-1918),⁸⁰ Invercargill's St Mary's (1905),⁸¹ Timaru's Basilica of the Sacred Heart (1910)⁸² and Waimate's Saint Patrick's (1908-9, tower, 1912).⁸³ As McLean notes of his church architecture, "[a]lthough they reflect Petre's genius, they also remind us of the wealth of the South Island and of the importance of the Catholic Church there a century ago."⁸⁴ Peter Shaw records George Bernard Shaw's reported comparison of Petre's Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament to the work of Brunelleschi,⁸⁵ while Stacpoole and Beaven

⁷⁸ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 73 [caption].

⁷⁹ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 43-44, 45; McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* pp 140-141; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 75-76. Shaw gives a date of 1901-04 for Petre's Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament; Stacpoole & Beaven date it as 1904. Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 42.

⁸⁰ McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 141.

⁸¹ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 76.

⁸² McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 141; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 76.

⁸³ McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 141; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 76. Shaw gives a date of 1909 for Petre's St Patrick's church, Waimate.

⁸⁴ McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 141.

⁸⁵ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 75.

acknowledge the building's "magnificent massing," and describe its interior as "disappointing"⁸⁶ - but its

handling of inter-locking geometry and spatial control ... [are] brilliantly seen inside ... Walking round the building is an exhilarating experience as the full orchestration of exact classicism unfolds everywhere, considered and resolved. The splendid rear view, from the tree-surrounded courtyard, transports the onlooker direct to Rome.⁸⁷

Hodgson also draws attention to the Byzantine-influenced Catholic Convent chapel in Christchurch (Seager, Wood and Munnings, 1907),⁸⁸ which he describes as "one of those surprising buildings which help to season the general monotony of a streetscape. Designed with obvious care and interest and styled along unusual lines, it repays close inspection."⁸⁹ A similarly considered and unique building was the now demolished Art Nouveau Auckland Society of Arts Building (George Goldsbro, 1904).⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 42.

⁸⁷ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 51.

⁸⁸ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 44, 45.

⁸⁹ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 44.

⁹⁰ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 40 [caption].

Libraries are another core community building, and in the decade of the 1900s they were given specific support from the American Philanthropist Andrew Carnegie who funded New Zealand libraries in Westport (1904), Thames (John Currie, 1905), New Plymouth (c1906), Dunedin (Crichton and McKay, 1906-8), Hamilton (Rigby and Warren, 1906-8), Hokitika (AR Griffin, 1906-8), Hastings (1907), Dannevirke (1907-8), Gore (1907-10), Timaru (1908-9), Greymouth (Edward Iveagh Lord), Cambridge (AB Herrold, 1909), and Onehunga (James Park, 1909-12).⁹¹

Critical though to Pākehā cities were commercial buildings. Retail architecture ranged from streets of street hawkers and discrete buildings for small businesses, such as the building housing AE Kitchen, Chemist, in Wanganui (1909),⁹² through to the elegance and sophistication of Auckland's Strand Arcade (AP Wilson, 1900).⁹³ The Hurst Seager-designed, Byzantine-influenced, Christchurch Meat Company in Hereford Street (1903, dem. 1960) demonstrated the architectural potential

⁹¹ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 63; Rodgers "Carnegie Libraries" np.; Millen "Libraries" np.

⁹² Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 69 [caption].

⁹³ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 44.

of commercial architecture, which, as Hodgson writes, was "a notable piece of work which reflected both the architect's invention and the client's willingness to indulge in a little whimsy."⁹⁴ Also in Christchurch, the Press Company Building (Collins & Harman, 1907)⁹⁵ and the Lyttelton Times Building (Sidney & Alfred Luttrell, 1902)⁹⁶ advanced New Zealand office building design. Shaw writes that the design of the Lyttelton Times Building increased natural light levels inside,⁹⁷ while Stacpoole and Beaven describe the Press Company Building as "the ultimate refinement of the Gothic style applied to normal office needs."⁹⁸

The new century introduced a new type of urban building to New Zealand with our first skyscraper arriving thanks to the Luttrell brothers. The Christchurch New Zealand Express Company Building (Sidney & Alfred Luttrell, 1905-6)⁹⁹ was a taster, usurped by its

⁹⁴ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 41.

⁹⁵ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 67 [caption]; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 71 [caption], 72. Shaw gives a date of 1909 for The Press building.

⁹⁶ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 71.

⁹⁷ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 71

⁹⁸ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 67 [caption]

⁹⁹ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p

Dunedin equivalent (Sidney & Alfred Luttrell, 1908-10),¹⁰⁰ which "fully deserves its reputation as New Zealand's first skyscraper."¹⁰¹ Credited with bringing the ethos of Chicago skyscraping to New Zealand, the Christchurch building was an early steel-framed high rise, its brick used to clad rather than be a structure.¹⁰² The Dunedin building is more sophisticated, and is conventionally recognised as New Zealand's first skyscraper. Stacpoole and Beaven describe its construction techniques as "particularly advanced, for the building has a ferro-concrete raft foundation and steel frame, with precast reinforced concrete slabs and other sections all manufactured off the site."¹⁰³ The importance of the building was reflected by the interest shown across the profession, with it being "visited by many architects intrigued to observe at first hand its application of

41; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 71 [caption].

¹⁰⁰ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 44; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 66 [caption]; McLean *100 Historic Places in New Zealand* p 148; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 71. The building is also known as the Mutual Fund Building.

¹⁰¹ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 71.

¹⁰² Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 41.

¹⁰³ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 66 [caption].

modern principles."¹⁰⁴ Less discussed are the Luttrells' other buildings, such as King Edward Barracks (Christchurch, 1909) with its 120 foot (37m) roof span.¹⁰⁵

The Luttrell brothers appear to have been equally committed to suburban leisure activities as to office blocks designing grandstands for racecourses at Addington (1910)¹⁰⁶ and Trentham (c1906).¹⁰⁷ This was not incidental. In 1901 the 48-hour work week was established for factories,¹⁰⁸ providing the capacity for working people to have leisure time, which was a "new concept ... [that] appeared in the 20th century."¹⁰⁹

1901 was also the year that a Department of Tourism and Health Resorts was established in New Zealand - making us the first country

¹⁰⁴ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 72.

¹⁰⁵ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 66 [caption].

¹⁰⁶ Racing Department, Addington Raceway "Buildings & Facilities" np.; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 66 [caption].

¹⁰⁷ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 66 [caption]; Upper Hutt City Library Heritage Collections "Trentham Racecourse grandstand" np.

¹⁰⁸ Jackson & McRobie *Historical Dictionary of New Zealand* p 10.

¹⁰⁹ "Leisure Time" np.

to establish a national tourism organisation,¹¹⁰ resulting in consequential tourism infrastructure. For example, following the government taking over the Waitomo glow-worm caves in 1904, "the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts set about replacing a small earlier accommodation house," with the John Campbell-designed Waitomo Caves Hotel (1908).¹¹¹

In the tourist "hot spot" of Rotorua, a new Government Bath-house (WJ Trigg; BS Corlett; JW Wrigley, 1904-8)¹¹² - an "extraordinary Elizabethan concoction"¹¹³ - was built to replace the first government bath-house. Stacpoole and Beaven describe it as being: "an Edwardian tour de force, impressive inside as well as out,"¹¹⁴ while Lew Martin provides a particularly detailed description of the interaction between its construction and aesthetics:

The half-timbered Tudor style was specially suitable for several reasons: it was an economical way of building a large, dramatic and prestigious structure; it fitted in with

¹¹⁰ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 55.

¹¹¹ Martin *Built for Us* pp 72-73.

¹¹² Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p. 70; Martin *Built for Us* pp. 76-77; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 43.

¹¹³ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 58.

¹¹⁴ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 58.

and expanded upon Campbell's liking for a dark timber framework enclosing light-coloured panels; and it could be made to pay homage to Maori art and architecture, both in the areas of intricate half-timbering which gave a similar effect to that of woven tukutuku work, and in the massive decoratively pierced bargeboards reminiscent of maihi.¹¹⁵

The bath-house building was also progressive in its construction, as its architects "used modern techniques, such as pre-cast concrete panels, to give expression to an historical style."¹¹⁶

Hodgson describes the turn of the century as seeing "a great deal of building in all fields,"¹¹⁷ while King notes that "[p]rivate enterprise was weak in New Zealand. Only the Government could assemble sufficient capital to extend the country's transport and communications infrastructure,"¹¹⁸ and, in his role as Government Architect, John Campbell's influence dominated this work. However, the involvement of private architects in the design of government buildings (such as Maddison's Christchurch

¹¹⁵ Martin *Built for Us* p 76.

¹¹⁶ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 43.

¹¹⁷ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 34.

¹¹⁸ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 259.

Departmental Building, 1909,¹¹⁹ and the Luttrell brothers' King Edward Barracks, Christchurch (1909)¹²⁰ reflected "a policy to provide employment for local architects and contractors wherever practical."¹²¹

In addition to its forays into touristic ventures the government building programme during the 1900s included "new and replacement premises for its post and telegraph, justice, railway, education and other departments."¹²² The provision of this public infrastructure was sometimes interlinked. Martin notes that "[t]he construction of permanent post offices often related to the advancing construction of railways and the carriage of mail by train."¹²³ It included John Campbell-designed post offices in: Naseby (1900), Takaka (1900), Clyde (1900, 1909), Hamilton (1901, 1916), Onehunga (1902), Temuka (1902), Whanganui (1902), Hunterville (1903), Bulls (1905, dem. 1980s), Collingwood (1906), Cambridge (1908), Roslyn, Dunedin (1908), St Bathans (1909),

¹¹⁹ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 37-38.

¹²⁰ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 66 [caption].

¹²¹ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 37.

¹²² Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 34.

¹²³ Martin *Built for Us* p 64.

and Matakohe (1909).¹²⁴ Campbell was also responsible for the Post Office and Government Building in Tauranga (1905), and Chief Post Offices in Auckland (1908) and Wellington.¹²⁵ Shaw writes that Auckland's Chief Post Office, as noted by Richard Seddon at its opening, "owes a great deal to Sir Henry Tanner's 1907-10 General Post Office in King Edward Street, London."¹²⁶

Martin also identifies a number of Campbell-designed courthouses, including at Waihi (1901), Collingwood (1901), Dunedin (1902), Dannevirke (1905), Opunake (1905), Eltham (1908), Te Kuiti (1908), Cambridge (1909), and his Newton Police Station (Auckland, 1903), his Public Works Department Offices at Te Kuiti, and his Animal Research Laboratory (1905) in Wallaceville, Upper Hutt, which housed what had been "the first southern hemisphere diagnostic and research laboratory of its kind."¹²⁷ Other government work included: the Christchurch

¹²⁴ Martin *Built for Us* pp 54-55, 58-60, 62, 64, 69, 71, 75, 80-82; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 67. Shaw gives a date of 1907-08 for the Cambridge Post Office.

¹²⁵ Martin *Built for Us* pp 64, 65; Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 36, 37.

¹²⁶ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 67.

¹²⁷ Martin *Built for Us* pp 56-57, 60-61, 63, 66-68, 70, 72, 84; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 66.

Departmental Building (Joseph Maddison, 1909), the Napier Government Building (John Campbell, 1902), the Hokitika Government Building (John Campbell, 1908), and the Greymouth Government Building (John Campbell, 1909).¹²⁸

Regardless of the above, and his partly-built design for Parliament Buildings, Campbell's Public Trust Building in Wellington (with Llewelyn Richards, 1905-9),¹²⁹ is perhaps his most impressive. According to *Progress*, the design pioneered steel frame construction, making the Public Trust Building "the first building in the world to have its steel frame riveted to give tensional strength to the walls."¹³⁰ Martin writes that Campbell revised an early scheme commissioned from architects in San Francisco due to difficulty estimating costs, at which point he "introduced a structural steel frame."¹³¹

¹²⁸ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 37-38, 40, Martin *Built for Us* pp 74, 83.

¹²⁹ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 38; Martin *Built for Us* pp 78-79; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 44; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 66 [caption]. Stacpoole & Beaven date the Public Trust Building as 1908.

¹³⁰ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 38.

¹³¹ Martin *Built for Us* p 78.

The decade also saw a number of projects for local government, including town halls in Wellington (Joshua Charlesworth, 1900) and Invercargill (ER Wilson, 1906), and the competition for Auckland's town hall in 1907 (won by JJ and EJ Clark, blt 1911).¹³² 1907 was also the year that the William Clayton-designed wooden Gothic Parliament Buildings (1873) was burnt down,¹³³ prompting a design competition for its replacement (won by John Campbell and Claude Paton),¹³⁴ and the need for a new Government House, the existing one being co-opted to accommodate parliamentary functions until the new parliament building was completed.¹³⁵ Government House (John Campbell, 1910) was consequently relocated to Wellington's town belt, adjacent to the Basin Reserve.¹³⁶

Parliament was of course not the only political mandate existing in the country. The Kingitanga and Kotahitanga had both been

¹³² Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 34, 35; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 69 (and caption).

¹³³ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 66; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* pp 42-43.

¹³⁴ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 36.

¹³⁵ Martin *Built for Us* p 86.

¹³⁶ Martin *Built for Us* pp 86-87.

established in the nineteenth-century. In 1902 a hui at Waioamatini marae disestablished the Kotahitanga (Māori Parliament).¹³⁷ The following year (1903) the Māori King (King Mahuta Tawhiao Pōtatau Te Wherowhero) accepted a seat on the Legislative Council, and in 1907, at a hui at Waahi Pa, the Kingitanga was revitalised.¹³⁸ 1907 was also the year that Rua Kēnana established a community of 400¹³⁹ at Maungapōhatu, and built his council house Hīona (1907). Brown describes Hīona as:

a unique and striking building, being both circular in plan and double-storeyed, which eliminated customary seating arrangements on the ground floor ... most likely inspired in proportion, arrangement and colour by biblical descriptions of Solomon's Temple. However, [Rua] ... probably based the overall appearance of his design on a lithograph of Jerusalem's Dome of the Rock.¹⁴⁰

That same year (1907) Te Whiti and Tohu of Parihaka fame died¹⁴¹ and the Tohunga Suppression Act became law.¹⁴² The Tohunga Suppression Act outlawed Māori professing

¹³⁷ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 55.

¹³⁸ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* pp 55, 58.

¹³⁹ Brown *Māori Architecture* p 69.

¹⁴⁰ Brown *Māori Architecture* pp 69-70.

¹⁴¹ Brown *Māori Architecture* p 78; King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 272.

¹⁴² McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 58.

to possess supernatural power to treat or cure disease, and to predict future event, and was not repealed until 1962.¹⁴³ Two years later (1909) the Young Maori Party was founded. Issues of Māori health, support to develop Māori land, and fostering Māori arts and crafts were key kaupapa.¹⁴⁴ Earlier than this Māui Pōmare, as the Native Health Officer (appointed in 1901), had established a health service for Māori, and lectured, using slides and microscopes, on microbes in water.¹⁴⁵ Smith attributes inadequate funding to "disillusionment," and Māori communities suffering from "typhoid, diarrhoea, respiratory diseases and relatively high infant mortality."¹⁴⁶ The position of Native Health Officer followed the establishment of a centralised Department of Public Health in Wellington in 1900 (under the Public Health Act), with "a Chief Health officer, Dr Mason, and district health officers and offices in Auckland, Napier, Wellington, Nelson, Christchurch and Dunedin," which took over administering hospitals in 1909.¹⁴⁷ Its formation, after the passing of the Act on 13

¹⁴³ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 58.

¹⁴⁴ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 61.

¹⁴⁵ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 111.

¹⁴⁶ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 111.

¹⁴⁷ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* pp 273, 274.

October 1900, and that of the Bubonic Plague Prevention Act (passed 28 June 1900), followed the death of the country's first (and only) bubonic plague victim on 22 June: "Hugh Charles Kelly of Upper Queen Street."¹⁴⁸

Key innovations in the realm of mothers and children can also be credited to this decade, most famously the establishment in 1907 in Dunedin of the Society for the Promotion of the Health of Women and Children (or Plunket) founded by Truby King "to assist mothers and prevent babies dying."¹⁴⁹ Christchurch and Auckland followed suit in 1908.¹⁵⁰ King states that Truby King's

holiday home on the Karitane peninsula at the entrance to the Waikouaiti estuary [was] ... used ... as an extension of Seacliffe [asylum] and, after 1907, as a cottage hospital for training nurses in maternal and infant welfare. It became the prototype for Karitane hospitals.¹⁵¹

Seddon's 1904 campaign to save the babies, supported by public servant Grace Neill, also

¹⁴⁸ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 273.

¹⁴⁹ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 60; King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 274.

¹⁵⁰ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 121.

¹⁵¹ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 275.

resulted in an architectural outcome, with the establishing of St Helens Hospitals in 1905 in New Zealand's main towns.¹⁵² St Helens Hospitals trained midwives and provided maternity homes.¹⁵³ Despite this and Plunket, the decade saw a continued reduction in family size, with Pākehā families reducing from six children in the 1880s to two or three in the 1920s.¹⁵⁴

The following year (1908) saw Selina and David Cossgrove found Boy Scouts and Girl Peace Scouts in New Zealand,¹⁵⁵ at the end of which there were 36 New Zealand scout troupes, though most were in Canterbury.¹⁵⁶ Schrader writes that: "from 1908, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, with their focus on morally improving outdoor games, camping and survival skills, soon drew thousands of children to their ranks."¹⁵⁷

The same year the St Helens Hospitals became established (1905), Seddon's Workers Dwelling Act became legislation. Schrader

¹⁵² Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 120.

¹⁵³ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 120.

¹⁵⁴ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 120.

¹⁵⁵ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 61.

¹⁵⁶ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 122.

¹⁵⁷ Schrader *The Big Smoke* p 294.

states that Seddon was

[i]nspired by Britain's municipal housing schemes ... It was an unprecedented intervention in the New Zealand housing market, aimed at lowering market rents and improving housing quality ... Pockets of workers' dwellings were erected in suburban Ellerslie (Auckland), Petone and Newtown (Wellington), Sydenham (Christchurch) and Belleknowes (Dunedin).¹⁵⁸

This was the context of New Zealand's first state house being built, but

higher than expected rents and the added time and expense of commuting to city workplaces meant that most workers preferred to remain in town, and the scheme never realised its initial promise.¹⁵⁹

McGuinness and White credit the project with resulting in "several hundred state houses" being built.¹⁶⁰ King also notes that during the 20 years between 1892 and 1912, "the Government bought 223 estates totalling 520,000 hectares," and they settled some 7,000 farmers and their families on them.¹⁶¹

The first houses to be erected under the Workers Dwelling Act were in Patrick Street, Petone, a site which Helen Clark, marking the

¹⁵⁸ Schrader *The Big Smoke* p 345.

¹⁵⁹ Schrader *The Big Smoke* p 345.

¹⁶⁰ McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 56.

¹⁶¹ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 269.

centennial of their construction in 2006, credited with being "the site of the very first state housing scheme in New Zealand – and possibly in the world."¹⁶² The Patrick Street house designs by seven different architects resulted from an architectural competition.¹⁶³ Hurst Seager's development of eight bungalows on a site overlooking Pegasus Bay at The Spur, Sumner (1902-14),¹⁶⁴ is another unique architectural community and provides an interesting contrast to the government-funded scheme.

The viability and building of suburban houses was facilitated by the suburban expansion of towns and cities with the development of tram lines.¹⁶⁵ A wide variety of houses designed by architects occurred in this period into the lead up to the mainstream transitional bungalow (or "bungled villa"). They included: Daresbury Rookery, Christchurch (Samuel Hurst Seager, 1897-1901),¹⁶⁶ Mona Vale, Christchurch (JC Maddison, c1900),¹⁶⁷ Charles

¹⁶² Clark "Centenary celebrations" np.

¹⁶³ Petone Historical Society "Stop 35: Patrick Street Historic Precinct" np.

¹⁶⁴ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 85.

¹⁶⁵ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 34.

¹⁶⁶ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 83, 84.

¹⁶⁷ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 84.

Natusch's Rangiatea (Rangitikei, 1904),¹⁶⁸ Olveston, Dunedin (Ernest George, 1904-6),¹⁶⁹ 26 Heriot Row, Dunedin (Basil Hooper, 1905),¹⁷⁰ Warrender St House, Dunedin (Basil Hooper, c1906),¹⁷¹ Neligan House, Auckland (Noel Bamford, 1907-9),¹⁷² New Zealand's first Californian bungalow: Los Angeles, Christchurch (JS Guthrie, 1910),¹⁷³ and Woburn, Lower Hutt (CT Natusch, 1910).¹⁷⁴

During the decade, families were also supported by the New Zealand arbitration court adopting the premise of a "living wage," following the Australian Harvester decision in the arbitration court in 1907.¹⁷⁵ The living wage was defined as one which was "sufficient to maintain a male breadwinner, a dependent wife and three children."¹⁷⁶ As Smith observes, it assumed conventional gender roles, and an entitlement of the working man "to marry and have a family,

¹⁶⁸ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 46, 47.

¹⁶⁹ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 64 [caption].

¹⁷⁰ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 63 [caption].

¹⁷¹ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 86 [caption].

¹⁷² Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 88.

¹⁷³ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 72, 97-98.

¹⁷⁴ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 59.

¹⁷⁵ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 107.

¹⁷⁶ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 107.

and earn a wage sufficient to keep his family in a small degree of comfort."¹⁷⁷ However this commitment to a "living wage" was clearly insufficient, with 1909 seeing the formation of the New Zealand Federation of Labour, following a 1908 miners' "tucker time" strike in Blackball.¹⁷⁸

Hodgson's assessment of the period as "a virtual frenzy of stylism - a drive to design buildings in styles which were historically based, engagingly up to date, adaptations and just plain mixtures"¹⁷⁹ appears to be a valid one. The architectural histories of the decade reference Renaissance-,¹⁸⁰ Baroque-,¹⁸¹ Art Nouveau-,¹⁸² Byzantine-,¹⁸³ Arts and Crafts-,¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁷ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 107.

¹⁷⁸ Smith *A Concise History of New Zealand* p 108; Roth ""Red" Federation of Labour" np.

¹⁷⁹ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 34.

¹⁸⁰ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 37, 38 [caption], 45 [caption]; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 67 [caption].

¹⁸¹ Martin *Built for Us* p 78; Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 38; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 66, 68 [caption], 69 [caption].

¹⁸² Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 40 [caption].

¹⁸³ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* pp 41, 43, 44, 45 [caption]; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 76 [caption].

Gothic-,¹⁸⁵ Elizabethan- and Tudor-,¹⁸⁶ classical-,¹⁸⁷ Scottish Baronial-,¹⁸⁸ American commercial-,¹⁸⁹ and Sullivanesque-¹⁹⁰ influenced architecture. But perhaps the most accomplished stylistic achievement, in this respect, was Olveston, which Stacpoole and Beaven credit with being:

an eclectic mixture: tall mullioned bay windows under Dutch gables, a classical portico, prominent chimneys, crenellations, all held together by a practised hand. ... It is a curiosity, a museum piece totally unrelated to the development of housing in New Zealand.¹⁹¹

The decade ended (1910) with the Māori King's seat on the Legislative Council lapsing,¹⁹² George V, replacing his father, Edward VII,¹⁹³ and William Swanson Read Bloomfield, the earliest Māori known to have

¹⁸⁴ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 41; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 65, 84 [caption].

¹⁸⁵ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 71; Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 42 [caption].

¹⁸⁶ Hodgson *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand* p 46; Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 70, 84; Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* pp 58 [caption], 59 [caption].

¹⁸⁷ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* pp 63, 75 [caption].

¹⁸⁸ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 66.

¹⁸⁹ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 71.

¹⁹⁰ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 71.

¹⁹¹ Stacpoole & Beaven *New Zealand Art* p 64 [caption].

¹⁹² McGuinness & White *Nation Dates* p 61.

¹⁹³ King *The Penguin History of New Zealand* p 293.

graduated from an architecture school, commencing his architectural studies at the University of Pennsylvania. He graduated in 1913.¹⁹⁴ The villa of the nineteenth-century was in decline; the bungalow anticipating its mainstream ascendancy.¹⁹⁵ The first decade of the twentieth-century was a decade of change, of raging fury and virtual frenzies. Architecture played a pleasurable part in this.

¹⁹⁴ Cox "Station Hotel (Former)" np.

¹⁹⁵ Shaw *New Zealand Architecture* p 98.

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