

## **Elegance and excesses: War, Gold and Borrowings: architecture in the 1860s**

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Venue: School of Architecture, Victoria University, Wellington

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The 1860s were an eventful time for architecture in New Zealand. On the eve of the decade, in 1859, William Mason became the first person to be a registered architect in New Zealand. The scene was thus set for the English idea of architecture as a profession to more substantially impact on our land. From the decade's beginning were the start of civil wars and the discovery of gold, with New Zealand's first major gold rush in Otago. It was war and gold which crudely distinguished the decade's histories of the North Island and South Islands. As Salmond notes:

It is no accident that the events which marked the beginning of this period in New Zealand were the gold rushes of the 1860s and the land wars. As Maoris [sic] became less willingly to sell their land, European settlers took large areas by occupation or by force, and in the towns traditional Maori houses were banned by law. Many of the settlers who arrived in the 1860s came in search of gold, and as the European population expanded (from 26,000 in 1850 to 80,000 in 1860, and 100,000 a year later), more houses were needed on more land, and more timber was needed for their construction.

The population of New Zealand in 1858 was 115,461. By 1874 it was 344,985. The change in population was not only one of increase. This was the decade when the ratio of Maori:Pakeha population shifted such that Pakeha settlers outnumbered Maori and no doubt encouraged an increasing sense of Pakeha entitlement. This shift in population, added to the state of New Zealand's existing Pakeha architecture. One of the most important shifts in the decade though, must have been the shift of the colony's capital from Auckland to Wellington in 1865.

The civil wars began in Taranaki, moved to the Waikato, and by mid-decade had spread to the East Coast. The concentration of war in the North Island was not a co-incidence. Smith describes settlement aspirations as important drivers:

By 1861 the government had purchased two-thirds of New Zealand, mainly in the South Island, where Grey acquired huge tracts such as by the Kemp purchase in 1848 ... By contrast the government had alienated less than a quarter of the North Island by 1861, thwarting government and settler aspirations. Frustrated, in 1860 Governor Thomas Gore Browne sent in imperial troops to enforce the claim to a disputed purchase of land at Waitara in Taranaki, long coveted by settlers. The claim contravened the rights of a majority of owners ... and in doing so fired the opening round in the New Zealand wars of the 1860s.

The resulting loss of land caused Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi with others to move to Parihaka in c1866. As Brown describes it:

Here they established a self-sufficient religious community, which was purposefully isolated from Pākehā influence. The law of the Hebrews ... was evident in the community's architecture. Parihaka was confiscated land, and its settlement was seen as an act of defiance by the government. However, Te Whiti and Tohu believed that they had ancestral, political and Christian claims to this land. The consequential cross-cultural conflict that developed was expressed through Parihaka's architectural construction, destruction and revival.

Gore Browne's "bungling" of this first Taranaki war resulted in the British government bringing George Grey from Cape Town to replace him. Grey was more aggressive and used more explicitly architectural means to support his attack, building the Great South Road to Hamilton to convey military troops. Architecture was not simply used asymmetrically in New Zealand's civil warfare. Maori revived and developed the modern pa, first designed and used in the 1840s by Te Ruki Kawiti at Ohaeawai and Ruapekepeka. The battle was fought on the land and over the land, in the legislative chamber, as much as in the battle landscape. The New Zealand Settlements Act (1863), for example, was passed. It allowed the government to confiscate 1.2 million acres from Kingitanga for "public purposes," which effected the more colonial settlement in the North Island. In 1865 the Native Land Court was established, renamed at the time the "land-taking court." It was not only land which was confiscated; in 1867 the whareni Te-Hau-ki-Turanga (1840s) was taken and now resides in the National Museum.

The war moved to Tauranga and the wider East Coast, its most famous battle occurring at Gate Pa in 1864, before moving back to Taranaki. This period of fighting involved the followers of Pai Marire or Hauhau. As in other parts of the country the fighting significantly changed the socio-political landscape many Maori lived in. Architectural innovation operated in parallel to support change, most explicitly apparent in Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki's development of the whareni, which Brown locates as continuing "a practice of building begun by other East Coast tohunga whakairo." Te Kooti, the founder of Ringatu, was exiled to the Chatham Islands in 1865, but he escaped, returning to mainland New Zealand in 1868, the year George Grey had been dismissed as Governor and retired to his Kawau Island mansion, which had been enlarged by designs by Frederick Thatcher. Over 40 Ringatu meeting houses were built between 1869-1908, which were "significantly greater than earlier Māori buildings and often equalled the proportions of Christian churches. Not only were the Ringatū meeting houses large enough to walk around inside, they were also able to accommodate Te Kooti's religious services, which were based on those performed by the Anglican Church." Equally significant was the innovation of polychromatic carving and figurative painting characteristic of these houses.

Meanwhile in the South Island Gabriel Read's discovery of gold at Waitehuna in 1861 initiated the Otago rush. 1864 was the beginning of the discovery of gold in the West Coast. The migration of people from Otago, Canterbury and Australia to the West Coast inflated the urban scale of towns such as Hokitika and Greymouth. By 1865 more than 40,000 people lived on the West Coast. According to Hodgson, nearly half of Otago's population lived on the goldfields. Many Chinese immigrated too, mainly from Canton. Known as "Celestials," they were initially recruited by provincial governments in the mid-1860s and they established several settlements, one of the best known being in Arrowtown. Before the end of the decade oil would be discovered in Taranaki (in 1866), and gold in the Coromandel peninsular, a year later.

These events resulted in population movements across the country and influenced the architecture built at this time. They also drew commerce and money to specific Colonial centres. The Otago gold rush brought money to Dunedin and the troops imported for the New Zealand wars brought money to Auckland. These two events caused, what Stacpoole and Beaven have described as, "the first real flowering of architecture in Auckland and Dunedin." Stacpoole and Beaven were more explicit about the changing architectural cityscape when they noted that:

Auckland's early wooden buildings, dating from the 1840s, were badly in need of replacement by the mid-sixties when the town, deprived of its status as capital, yet enjoyed a building boom which was made possible by the influx of money brought by the Imperial troops engaged in fighting in the Waikato. To this period belong the Supreme Court ... by Edward Rumsey ... the coolly classical Bank of New Zealand ... and James Wrigley's Mental Hospital at Avondale ... There were also many hotels, commercial buildings, and private houses of considerable quality and substance.

Likewise, referring to the south of New Zealand, Knight and Wales note that: "The prosperity of the 1860s led to the appreciation of a quality of elegance that the pioneers of the previous decade had not been aware of ..." Smaller towns also grew in their architectural pretensions. Peter Shaw refers to Shrimski and Moss' drapery as the first business premises in Oamaru in Oamaru stone. Built in 1863 it was described as: "the first building in the town with any pretension to architectural style." Later that same year the William Mason-designed Traill and Roxby premises were also built in stone.

Retail architecture appears to have flowered during the decade. In Dunedin, the Arcade, built in 1861 by Henry Farley, was "a popular shopping mall and later known as Broadway until demolished ... There were 40 shops in the Arcade in 1869." In the same city, an elegant corner of shops on Manse and Princes Streets built in 1864, has been described by Stacpoole and Beaven as "a fine piece of cabinet-making ... built with the extreme delicacy characteristic of the early Victorian period." Their architect is unknown. In Invercargill, Burgoyne and Sons General Merchant Iron Store was built in 1864, standing on the current site of the railway hotel. Kirkcaldie and Stains was founded in 1864, its Toxward-designed building dating from 1868, and in 1867 Mary Jane and Charlotte Milne opened the millinery and drapery which would later become Milne & Choyce. Less permanent structures though housed many other shops. Around Wansbeck Street in Oamaru: in "the main entry to the town from the south, drapers, grocers, an ironmonger, tailor and clothier, all set up in 1863 premises constructed in the wood and iron of so many colonial towns."

From the gold rush emerged a larger banking sector. The Bank of New Zealand (BNZ) was founded in 1861, Post Office Savings Bank was formed in 1865, and the Government Life Insurance Office established in 1869. Such financial infrastructure required to be housed and buildings to demonstrate the significance of these institutions in the Colony. By 1862, the BNZ had twelve New Zealand branches and one in London. Stone was a preferred material for banks, with Oamaru's Oamaru stone BNZ building dating from 1865, while Auckland's Queen Street branch used Tasmanian sandstone and dates from 1865-1867 (designed by Melbourne architect Leonard Terry; supervised by Richard Keals). Bond stores were also built, Edinburgh House designed by William Clayton, and built in 1864-65, was later known as McCallum, Neill and Company's Universal Bond. Dunedin's Grand Palladian Post Office (1864-1867; now demolished), with "Italian and Grecian features" was designed by William Mason "in the Palladian style," and constructed by Dalrymple & Co. of Melbourne, and Oamaru's post office was designed by William Clayton (of Mason and Clayton) in 1864. The building, which was the first large building built from the newly opened Oamaru quarries, would never be used as a Post Office. After "being used for a bazaar, a ball and a flower show," it started life as a museum, then the university and finally housed the Stock Exchange. The establishment of the Post Office Savings Bank however coincided with the beginnings of a worldwide depression which would last until the mid-1890s.

An emerging educational infrastructure was also evident. The University of New Zealand was founded in 1869, and first opened in Mason's Dunedin Post Office building in 1871. The first stage of Wellington College was built in 1868, and much of Ben Mountfort's design of Christ's College of 1857 came to fruition in the 1860s. J.E. Fitzgerald's Big School (1863) and Robert Speechly's Chapel (1867), also buildings for Christ's College, were also built during the decade. In Dunedin 1862 saw progress being made in the building of the High School, North Dunedin School, and Green Island School. In addition, "Designs were made for a stone school at Caversham and a school master's house at North Dunedin." Soon after (1864) Lawson designed Park's School in William St. In 1865, the schoolroom which would later become Matawhero Church (Presbyterian) in Gisborne, was built.

The increases in population no doubt also caused increases in the number of hotels in New Zealand. In 1866 there were 33 hostels in Lambton Quay. The first Thistle Inn was built in 1866. Further south, on the west coast (in Okarito) the Club Hotel was built (c1866) with now historic concrete foundations, in Oamaru R.A. Lawson designed the Star and Garter Hotel (Itchen Street, 1867), and in Dunedin the idiosyncratic Oriental Hotel was built in 1863; architect unknown. In the gold fields Thomas Carter established the Acheron Accommodation House in 1863 on what was then the main route between Christchurch and Nelson. Of the 83 breweries built in the 46 years from 1835-1881, that Geoffrey Thornton records in his *New Zealand's Industrial Heritage*, a large proportion of them (32) were built in the 1860s. The 1966 *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* records that: "During the 1860s ... the widespread drunkenness, which was such a feature of pioneering life, found a response in the foundation of a large number of temperance societies. The New Zealand Independent Order of Rechabites, a total abstinence benefit society, and a Band of Hope Union were both founded in Auckland in 1863 ... [and d]uring the 1860s most provinces passed licensing ordinances."

The 1860s was a period of changing building technology, materials and other regulations. Fires in particular caused the introduction of new regulations by local councils. The first Thistle Inn, Thorndon, for example was burnt down the same year it was built (1866). A Charles Tringham-designed church in Wellington (1868) was also destroyed by a fire in 1879. There was a major fire in Wellington in 1868, which prompted the Wellington City Council to propose by-laws to limit fire-risk. Buildings were made of a significant range of materials ranging from raupo to masonry, flammable materials in particular being targeted by regulation. Timber building was restricted in some town centres, and technological fashions phased out construction techniques such as wattle-and-daub. C.E. Dampier's Esk Head Homestead (1863) was built of a thick cob exterior walls, but the interior partitions were wattle-and-daub, and the last known house made of wattle-and-daub dates from 1869 (Jenkin's Cottage, Otaki). Corrugated iron was first manufactured in New Zealand in Dunedin in 1869.

Masonry building appears to have been on the increase, with Knight and Wales noting an increase in the number of stonemasons from 1860-1861, and the discovery of Oamaru limestone as a material suitable for building in 1863. The Auckland Supreme Court (1866) was an important masonry building of the period, with its intricately carved gargoyles (by Anton Teunberg) depicting "heads of prominent Maori figures and Pakeha politicians for the building." The oldest extant concrete building also dates from the 1860s: the two storey house, built by John Gow in 1862 at Invermay, near Mosgiel, and one of the first stone buildings in Dunedin, Kilgour's building, was put out to tender in February 1860.

Steam-driven machines were making T&G floorboards by the 1860s. Christian Toxward reportedly introduced rusticated board to New Zealand in the 1860s. The central internal gutter of the New Zealand villa also dates from this period, and timber was well established as the dominant building material for houses. According to Jeremy Salmond, "By 1860 the small timber house had become established as the New Zealand vernacular dwelling, and from this little wooden cottage the forms of other ordinary New Zealand houses developed." Several buildings were prefabricated, perhaps most famously houses brought from England such as Hemming's Patent Improved Portable Houses of c1860, as Salmond notes: "The Victorian vernacular in New Zealand was founded on a kitset of wooden parts, mass-produced by steam-powered machines which began to arrive here in the late 1850s." Other prefabs included Bill Clayton's Colonial Museum in Wellington, which was commissioned in 1865 and prefabricated in Dunedin. Minniesdale Chapel in Wharehini, Port Albert was also constructed of pre-fabricated parts, in this case from England. It opened in 29 December 1867.

Cities were also subject to urban scale technological advancements. New Zealand's first gasworks, the Dunedin Gaslight and Coke Company, was established in 1863, and the following year, in 1864, "Princes Street [in Dunedin] had pavements, kerbs, and gas lamps." Other cities followed, with coke gas being produced in "Christchurch in 1864, Auckland in 1868, and Wellington in 1871." New window types were added to residential buildings to both increase the amount of daylight inside, but to also take advantage of this new found nocturnal light source. Salmond also notes that: "'Sidelights" and "fanlights" were first added to the front door in the 1860s to brighten the hall, and to lend a little of the gaslight's glow to the street at night," while Toomath records the new fashions for the Italianate style evident in window selection introduced in the 1860s: "round-arched window heads on double-hung sashes, often in pairs, beneath lowish, 30-degree gables with open eaves lines."

Toomath has comprehensively documented the significant American influence on New Zealand architecture, particularly in the domestic realm. Examples of this include plan book designs such as those of Downing and Davis. Likewise Shaw notes the influence of American architect Andrew Jackson Downings' "Carpenter Gothic style, which reproduced Gothic stone tracery in wood, became popular in the U.S.A. during the 1850s and 1860s. It achieved popularity here too in the period when builders and their clients wished to move beyond the simple unadorned forms of the earliest colonial housing." Similarly Charles Eastlake's 1868 *Hints in Household Taste* was a fashionable leader in decorative practices in New Zealand. Many domestic buildings were designed during the period, many of which still survive. Examples include: Spinks Cottage, Wellington (William Spinks, 1954-63), Choat House, Puketona (c1860), Fyffe House, Kaikoura (c1860), Te Wahapu, near Russell (c.1860), Highwic, Epsom (1862), Invermay, near Mosgiel (John Gow, 1862), Alberton, Mt Albert (Allan Taylor, 1862), Esk Head Homestead, Canterbury (Christopher Edward Dampier, 1863), Highlawn, Dunedin (William Mason, 1863), Ewelme Cottage, Parnell (1863-1864), Bishopscourt or Selwyn Court, Parnell (Thatcher, 1863-1866), Chew House (Millwood), Ngaio (John Chew c1865), the Mt Peel homestead (Frederick Stouts, 1865, built by J.B.A. Acland), Dr Boor's house, 22 The Terrace, Wellington (Toxward, 1866), Yule House, Invercargill (1866), Te Makiri, Helensville (1866), Netherdale, Wanganui (1867), Oneida, Fordell, near Wanganui (George Frederick Allen, 1867-1869), Fernhill, Dunedin (David Ross, 1867), Clendon House, Rawene (1868), and Jenkin's cottage, Otaki (1869).

Equally significantly though, reflected in the huge number of publications in the area, was the building of religious buildings. Maori and the Anglican church collaborated in the building of several buildings with plain gothic exteriors and rich whakairo inside, perhaps culminating in the Manutuke church (1863). The development of the Te Kooti whareni as Ringatu religious buildings, and Frederick Thatcher's collaboration with Bishop Selwyn were significant developments in New Zealand religious architecture. Selwyn churches built at this time, many designed or influenced by Thatcher, included: St Bride's, Mauku (Arthur Guyon Purchase, 1860), St John the Baptist, Northcote (1860), St Mark's, Remuera (1860), St Mary's, Parnell (1860), St John's Drury (1861), Wairoa Episcopalian Church, Clevedon (1861), Christ Church, Papakura (1862), Holy Trinity, Otahuhu, (1863), St Sepulchre's, Symonds Street (1865-1891), St Andrew's, Epsom (Reader Wood and Edward Rumsey, 1867), and St Peter's in the Forest, Bombay (Edward Rumsey, 1867).

Churches designed in the 1860s included a range from the monumental cathedral to the minute chapel, and across all denominational types: Christchurch Cathedral (Gilbert Scott, completed 1904) - its concrete foundations used 2,000 barrels of cement, Dunedin's First Church (Robert Lawson, opened 1873), Knox Church, Great King Street, Dunedin (William Langslands, 1860), St Augustine's, Clarkville (1860), St Cuthbert's, Governors Bay (George Mallinson, 1860-c1862), St Mary's Church (Parnell, 1860), Oruaiti Octagonal Chapel, Mongonui Harbour (1861), All Saints, Howick (1847, 1862), Wainui Early Settlers' Church (1862), Wheriko Whare Karakia, Parewanui (1862), Pukeohe East Presbyterian (1863), St Anne's, Pleasant Valley (1863), St Mary's, Meeanee (1863), St Paul's Church, Octagon, Dunedin (Charles Abbott, 1863), Wesleyan Church, Dunedin (George Greenfield, 1863), Hiona/St Stephen the Martyr, Opotiki (1864), St Mary's, Palmerston (1864-1872), St Peter's, Caversham (1864), All Saints Church, North Dunedin (Clayton and Mason, 1865), Church of the Holy Trinity (1865), St Luke's, Oamaru (Edward Rumsey, 1865-1912), St Patrick's, Akaroa (Maxwell Bury, 1865), St Paul's Presbyterian Church, Oamaru (Mason and Clayton, 1865), St Andrew's Church, Lambton Quay, Wellington (Toxward, 1866), St Peter's, Wanganui (1866), St Michael's, Waimea West (Thomas Brunner, 1867), Church of the Holy Innocents, Mount Peel (1868-c1869), Community Church, Pukehiki (Walter Riddell, 1868), St Thomas', Maketu (1868), East Takak Church (1868), and St Mary's, Stirling, nr Balclutha (1869).

Less well documented are religious buildings from non-Christian religions. William Clayton's Moray Pl West Synagogue (1864-1865) being one of the few.

The 1860s also saw the first daily newspaper founded: the *Otago Daily Times*. Less frequent newspapers had begun with the arrival of the New Zealand Company in the 1839. Other technologies of communication (the electric telegraph line in 1862, to support Grey's Waikato wars; the first railway line in 1863, from Christchurch to Ferrymead; and the laying of the Cook Strait submarine telegraph cable in 1865), followed. New Zealand's first railway station was built in 1864 - in Invercargill, with railway line between Lyttelton port and Christchurch, and between Invercargill and Bluff, both being constructed in 1867. The Invercargill-Bluff line was built of wooden rails and reputedly bankrupted the Southland Province.

Provincial and Colonial government provided various instances of building, including: the Government wharf and bonded store, Wellington (1862-1863), Auckland Supreme Court (Edward Rumsey, 1864), and the Dunedin Court House and Gaol, Bell Hill (1862). While the provinces of New Zealand were first established in 1841, it was not until 1852 that the six most enduring provinces were established (those of: Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Otago). The creation of Hawke's Bay and Marlborough occurred in the 1850s, but the 1860s was the decade of the Province of Southland's existence (1861-1869). The decade was also a period when architectural infrastructure supported the Provinces. Ben Mountfort designed the renowned Canterbury Provincial Council Chambers (1858-1865), and Max Bury the Elizabethan Nelson Provincial Building (1859-1861). Other architects also forged careers in this civil service. W.B. Armson was an assistant architect for the Otago Provincial Government (1862-1865), while Charles Robert Swyer (Armson's boss) was the Provincial Engineer from 1862. In 1869 William H. Clayton was appointed Colonial Architect. His work included the Colonial Museum (Clayton, 1865), and Government House, Wellington (Clayton, c1868-1871). The decade ended with Julius Vogel, the Colonial Treasurer, successfully proposing huge government debt to fund an extensive programme of public works. For architecture, the 1860s hence ended on a high and on borrowed money.

Papers (15-20 min) presenting new research which examines **any aspect of this period of New Zealand architectural history** are called for from academics, practitioners, heritage consultants, and postgraduate students. The symposium is one of a series of annual meetings examining specific periods of New Zealand architectural history. **It is intended that papers comprising the proceedings will be made available through the Victoria University institutional repository within a year of the conference.**

**Symposium fee:** The cost of the symposium (including proceedings) will be \$60, to be collected on the day of the symposium. Additional copies of proceedings will be available on the day for a cost of \$20.

**Timetable:**

Abstracts due: Monday 30th August 2010

Programme announced: Friday 3rd September 2010

Full Papers due: Monday 8th November 2010

(please note the earlier due date as I will be out of the country end of November, and the proceedings will need to be done prior to my being away)

Registration due: Friday 19th November 2010

NZ Architecture Films: evening Thursday 2nd December 2010

Conference: Friday 3rd December 2010

Docomomo annual meeting: Saturday 4th December 2010