"a massive colonial experiment": New Zealand architectural history in the 1840s
Date: Friday 5th December 2014
Venue: School of Architecture/Te Wāhanga Waihanga,
Victoria University/Te Whare Wānanga o te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui, Wellington
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It is more than obvious to say that the signing of the Treaty was the big event of the 1840s. The initial signing at Waitangi on 6 February 1840 of the Treaty between Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson, representing the British Crown, and "about 45 Maori chiefs" has become a defining moment in New Zealand's history, but, as Smith notes, "[o]nly recently has the Treaty of Waitangi become central to national life ... Hastily devised at the time, the treaty sheets have become a national monument: they mean different things to different groups but have had an evolving official interpretation placed upon them."

The Treaty "is the basis of the Crown's authority and legitimised European settlement in New Zealand," but important differences between the English version and the Māori version (which most Māori signed) include differences in the translations of article one (the cession of sovereignty vs "te kawanatanga katoa" (governorship)), and silence in the Māori text "on the Crown right of pre-emption. It promised the Queen 'hokonga' - the buying and selling of land that Maori were willing to part with - but not exclusively, nor even as the highest priority."

Different cultural attitudes to land set the context for systematic colonisation, agressively promoted by the New Zealand Company, which formed, as the New Zealand Association, in 1839, in accordance with Edward Gibbon Wakefield's *A Letter from Sydney* (1829), written in Newgate Prison. Smith describes these contrary attitudes as follows:

> the British colonists treated land as a commodity; the tangata whenua in contrast saw it as for the use of their descendants like their ancestors before them. Neither could grasp the other's point of view, though both understood and resented invasion and conquest. ... Europeans brought a particular moral perspective to land ownership and management, of 'use it or lose it' ... colonists believed that those who used the land most productively (their own kind) had the best moral claim to it: European 'civilisation' added value.

The New Zealand Company established Wakefield settlements at Port Nicholson (Wellington, 1840), Whanganui (1840), New Plymouth (1841), Nelson (1842), and Dunedin (1848), with the first New Zealand Company settlers arriving at Pito-one (Petone) on the *Aurora*, on 22 January 1840, two weeks before the Treaty was written, and one week before Hobson:

> read three announcements at the Anglican Church at Kokorareka (Russell) on 30 January. The first extended the boundaries of New South Wales to include New Zealand; the second declared him Lieutenant-Governor; and the third established that land titles would derived from the Crown.

Wellington land acquisition included the idea that one tenth of land acquired would be reserved for Māori. Smith states that this system compounded the "chaos" because the "tenths" were "according to the company's instructions were scattered by the ballot system." There were to be 110 acres of Māori tenths reserves, but some were existing pa sites (e.g. Pipitea), others had already been claimed by Pakeha settlers, presumeably in London. She notes that "[c]onsequently six of nine villages disappeared." By July Thorndon had been gazetted as Wellington's permanent site and "soon a townscape of scattered huts and makeshift buildings was seen on the plateau of flat land between the harbour and the rising hills."

The following month the French Nanto-Bordelaise Company sailed into Akaroa, only to find that Ngai Tahu had signed the Treaty with the British in May, but until 1848 - the year that the Kemp Deed was signed in Akaroa on the 12th June, and the establishment of Dunedin - "a balance of power prevailed between the tiny French settlement at Akaroa and local Maori in the 1840s." Trade and industry also established settlements. Shaw refers to the development of a whaling settlement at Te Awaiti in Queen Charlotte Sound, noting that "[b]y 1840 this whaling station had become a respectable town, boasting wooden houses and a hotel."

The first New Plymouth settlers arrived in March 1841 in the *William Bryan*, and apparently the sight of their new home caused a reluctance to leave the boat:

> [h]uddled on the beach was a row of empty raupo whare which had earlier been vacated by the whaler Dicky Barrett. It was hardly an inviting prospect to have to exchange the cramped conditions of shipboard life for a tent, which was what many of the new arrivals had to live in until the local Maori, in return for gifts, built more whare.

But soon timber houses and raupo whare were built, and adapted by settlers partitioning the single interior space, increasing wall height, installing timber floors over earth ones, and glazed windows in exterior walls; "verandahs appeared along the fronts of houses, and occasionally a dormer window was seen."

Houses were also built of ponga "tied together and laid horizontally within a timber frame," totara, rimu and kauri slab houses, and, once timber mills were established in the early 1840s, sawn timber. Other settlers brought prefabricated cottages with them: "sometimes they were complete in all details, but more often only the framework was shipped out." Manning cottages were well-known prefabs. Wellington's surveyor, William Mein Smith, for example, shipped a Manning cottage to Port Nicholson, and another Manning cottage would become Christchurch's Pegasus Arms; many also ended up in Australia. Mein Smith was suceeded as principal surveyor to the New Zealand Company by S.C. Brees. It is likely that F.A. Molesworth's Regency house (Lower Hutt, 1841), which was drawn by Brees, was also an English prefabricated house. Stacpoole and Beaven typify these prefabricated houses stylistically as being:

> Regency in character, with french windows opening on to verandahs and dormer windows interrupting the roof lines. With what was at once a gesture towards the concept of the picturesque *cottage orné* and a sensible use of available materials, the verandah posts were sometimes formed of the natural branches of tress, forked at the top where they supported the roof.

French prefabricated houses included the Langlois-Etevenaux House (Akaroa, 1841):

> Its wooden moldings, inward-opening casement windows and exterior weatherboard cladding show no signs of having been pit-sawn. Built by the storekeeper to the Nanto-Bordelaise Company in what has been described variously as Louis Philippe or French Empire style, the house has an absolutely symmetrical facade with shuttered windows, pilasters, cornice, flat entablature over the doors and windows, and a steeply pitched, scalloped, shingled roof. Under its eaves there are ingenious vents which allow air to circulate inside.

The first Government House (1840), was prefabricated by Mannings of High Holborn, but erected and extended under architect William Mason's supervision. The building included cast-iron verandah posts and marble chimneypieces in each room, but had a short-life being destroy in fire in 1848. There was also a Government House in Port Nicholson by June 1840, but this was constructed of wattle-and-daub. Its size of 36 ft (11m) x 15 ft (4.5m) contrasts that of Hobson's Auckland house which was 120 ft (36.5m) x 50 ft (15m). Another Auckland Government House - if only temporarily for Thomas Gore Brown - was Hulme Court (Parnell, 1843). It was built of bluestone by lawyer, land speculator and later PM, Frederick Whitaker. Bishop Selwyn also lived in Hulme Court in the middle of the decade (1844-46). Shaw describes the house as "[a] simple box with a surrounding verandah ... The paired verandah posts connected by trellis work are peculiar to this house." Stacpoole in contrast calls the building "old-fashioned." George Grey likewise had a temporary Government House, designed by Walter Robertson (d. c1851), in Scoria House (St Keven's) (Auckland, 1847).

When Britain sent Hobson's prefabricated house to Auckland, Wakefield settlers in Wellington were exceptionally disappointed having "realised that their town - conceived and advertised as the principal town - was not to be the capital." Instead Auckland became the second capital of New Zealand, formally recognised as such in September 1840, Kororāreka (Russell) being the New Zealand's first capital city. Smith states that the decision of Auckland (rather than Wellington) as the capital city was due to the Waitemata Harbour's situation "between the regions of densest Maori population in Northland and the Waikato." Hobson's house was:

> the first of many government houses in the country, was to be more than just a residence; it was the seat of government, for the Government's powers embodied those of the Sovereign. Government House therefore not only had to accommodate the Governor and his family but also had to function as a place of law and policy making, and as a setting for entertainment. ... it was by far the most imposing building in early Auckland, although when it was first occupied, cooking had to be done in a separate hut as no kitchen was provided. Its rather elegant appearance owed something to William Mason, Hobson's Superintendent of Public Works, who made a number of additions to the bare elevations of the sent house.

Combinations of earth and timber were used to build houses where timber was not so widely available, and further south cob-, turf- and sod-walled, and wattle-and-daub houses were built; Shaw referring to Scottish crofters' housing as the example for this. Kareao (supplejack) was used to create the structure for wattle-and-daub houses, which was coated with a clay and tussock. Cob (a mixture of clay, chopped straw and cow dung) and mud-bricks were used as building materials, for example at Oturehua (Otago). A less used method was pisé de terre, or rammed earth construction, where a clay, pebbles and water mixture was rammed into temporary formwork.

H.J. Cridland's house on Wellington's Terrace was constructed of rammed earth and "was badly damaged in the 1848 earthquake, [but he] later recommended the use of Roman cement on double laths as a safer construction than bricks for the building of the Mechanics' Institute." This pisé method had more famously been used by the Marist brothers to construct a printing house and store at Kororāreka (Russell) in 1841 - now known as Pompallier House, after Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier (1802-1871), who brought the first group of Catholic missionaries to New Zealand from Lyons, France. Architect Louis Perret supervised the initial months of the building's construction.

The Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) was another important group of missionaries. The Georgian architecture of the Elms Mission House (Te Papa, Tauranga, 1847), for example, is said to have been "built from plans supplied by [George] Clarke to the Reverend A.N. Brown of the Church Missionary Society." Clarke (1789-1875), who had been appointed "Protector of Aborigines" by Hobson, had built the earlier Waimate Mission House (1832) with local

Māori. Shaw notes the similarity between the two Mission houses, pointing to their "similar roofs and overall proportions, although The Elms has no verandah to shade the front rooms, which through shuttered windows give directly onto a spacious garden." Toomath, in contrast, focusses on weatherboard detailing, observing the colonial introduction of "rusticated boarding, hand-wrought with a recessed channel joint," and connects the use of diagonally fixed weatherboard on the dormer cheeks as also common to Scoria House (St Keven's) (Auckland, 1847).

Deidre Brown attributes Christianity as having "the greatest influence on Māori buildings," stating that Christian teaching, gospel and Gothic architecture led to the construction of CMS churches "at Waikanae, Otaki and Manutuke churches - and, more significantly, the East Coast meeting house," and claiming that Te Hau-ki-Turanga "signified the amalgamation of the mana and function of the chief's house, with the rich decoration of pātaka, and the scale of a small church." She states that "by 1840 the church and its teachings were becoming an important part of Māori life," pointing to over 50 mission stations in the North Island across the Anglican (CMS), Catholic and Wesleyan (Methodist) denominations. Richard Sundt's more recent *Whare karakia* suggests other connections in the development of mid nineteenth century whare karakia.

The 1843 Waikanae Māori mission church built by Te Rauparaha and Octavius Hadfield was a prelude to the pair's design of Rangiatea (1848-1851), the building of which was reputedly supervised by Samuel Williams, and constructed by many Māori, Shaw noting that "[s]uch was the mana of Te Rauparaha that he was able to draw a large force of workers from local tribes to help in the construction of the church,"and Brown stating that "[i]n order to assemble the estimated 1000 men needed to build the church, Te Rauparaha called on expert carvers and builders from among his Te Arawa tribal in-laws to assist his Ngati-Toa tribespeople."

Stacpoole and Beaven describe the building as having "[a] simple exterior [which] gives way to an interior having something of the same quality as an Anglo-Saxon hall." Tukutuku panels were 12m high, and Shaw states that tukutuku pattern, "the purapura whetu (star dust), was chosen by Te Rauparaha to signify his hope that the followers of the new religion would number the stars." The 86-foot-long totara tāhuhu was supported by three 12m high totara pou, and is said to have been "lifted into place by tripods and pulleys," but the exact method has been subject to some debate by Pākehā architectural historians. Brown contrasts Rangiatea with the church at Manutuke because the Manutuke interior included whakairo. She refers to missionary William Williams' concerns about tiki, with Te Waka Kurei carving manaia figures instead, appeasing Williams who wrote:

"the character of native carving remains, but there is nothing to be objected to in the device ... we shall have a more elaborate piece of workmanship than has been attempted by the natives before."

Brown concludes that the Manutuke church ended "[t]he exciting fusion of Gothic exteriors and Māori interiors under the supervision of Anglican missionaries" because of the influence of Bishop George Augustus Selwyn (1809-78):

Selwyn was not an evangelical, like the earlier missionaries, but a High Anglican who was upper-middle class and university educated, which instantly put him at odds with many of the CMS missionaries. Whereas the evangelicals believed that Māori converts should be encourages to gradually form their own community-based Māori church groups, Selwyn believed in racial and spiritual assimilation.

Selwyn arrived in New Zealand in 1842, after being consecrated Bishop of New Zealand in 1841, and was tasked with "organising a system of church government in a colony where missionary activity had earlier been largely confined to work with the Maori people." According to Shaw, he was unimpressed with William Mason's St Paul's Church which was in the process of being built in brick, because it was not archaeologically correct, nor was it in stone, reflecting his commitment to principles advanced by the Cambridge Camden Society (later the Ecclesiological Society), that: "A church had to have a chancel, that is, a portion set aside for the clergy and the choir; it had to have open seats instead of closed pews; exterior towers and projecting transept could be omitted for reasons of economy, but a steeply pitched roof was obligatory." Shaw suggests that Selwyn intended that Māori would be involved in building these churches when he refers to Selwyn's request for readers of the Cambridge Camden Society to provide plans appropriate for building in New Zealand, as he noted that '"as the work will be chiefly done by native artists, it seems natural to teach them first that style which first prevailed in our own country."" The Oxford Architectural Society apparent sent Selwyn "casts of the types of details, from a church at Iffley near Oxford, which they thought Maori carvers might be capable of imitating."

Stapoole and Beaven disagree with Shaw, and they describe Mason's brick St Paul's (1841) as "the first true Gothic Revival building in New Zealand," situated as it was in Emily Place on Auckland's prominent headland: "standing out from the streets and crescents taking shape on the improbable hillsides." They continue noting that the church "repeated almost exactly a design commissioned from him by the Bishop of London four years before. It was a very competent building and won the approval of Bishop Selwyn who arrived before its completion."

Selwyn was initially based at the Church Missionary Society at Waimate, but he moved to Auckland in 1844 and established St John's College at Tamaki, which was "a training establishment and, as such, required schoolhouses, dormitories, a library, administrative buildings and a chapel." Selwyn's first church commissions were with Sampson Kempthorne (1809-73), who designed St Thomas' (Tamaki, 1847) and St Stephen's (Judges Bay, Parnell 1848) both of which were built of scoria that soon disintegrated.

Frederick Thatcher (1814-90), a London-trained architect who had arrived in New Plymouth in 1843, replaced Sam Kempthorne as Selwyn's architect, and was integral to the development of the Selwyn churches. Stacpoole and Beaven credit both Thatcher and Reader Wood (1821-95) with formulating "the highly successful and individual style which has come to be known as the Selwyn style," and they refer to this style as being "often attributed to Bishop Selwyn, but an adaptation, in fact, of the principles of the Ecclesiologists ... to the necessities of building in timber."

In New Plymouth, Thatcher adapted Kempthorne's plans for St Stephen's as the chancel design of St Mary's (1845-46), which took 18 months to build. Thatcher also designed Holy Trinity (out of rimu slabs, with a thatched roof and rammed earth floor) and the stone vicarage at Te Henui. Jonathan Mane Wheoki has noted that the parsonage " was clearly indebted to Peter Robinson's Design No 8: The Parsonage House, published in his book *Village Architecture* in 1830."

The New Plymouth Colonial Hospital (New Plymouth, 1846), also known as The Gables, is another surviving Thatcher design, and Shaw suggests that the building is evidence of "the architect's preference for steeply pitched Gothic roofs even on secular buildings," and notes that the building was "the first of Thatcher's buildings to have the exposed timber frame which was to become a distinctive feature of his buildings. The hospital has "an exterior of vertical board sheathing with very distinctive exposed arched framing." After New Plymouth, Thatcher became the acting clerk to the Executive Council of New Ulster and assistant secretary to the Governor, Sir George Grey, but his first architectural job was project managing the stone house and kitchen at St John's which Kempthorne had begun. St John's College Chapel (Auckland, 1847) designed by Thatcher, assisted by Wood, is described as being "one of the first buildings in the so-called Selwyn style," with, according to Stacpoole and Beaven, its "most notable feature [being] ... the decoratively exposed external framing. Though insufficiently lit, the chapel is extremely successful inside." Hodgson describes St John's as "a building remarkable in appearance and planning." Like Stacpoole and Beaven, he also identifies the exposed wall framing as notable (and susceptible to rot if neglected), but also makes mention of "the use of small, bay-like apses at either end, one for the altar and one for the font."

According to Shaw, the construction of this and other Selwyn churches in timber was a because of the difficulties experienced in building St Thomas' and St Stephen's, but it also co-incided with a new interest by the Gothic Revivalists in vernacular timber buildings from the middle ages after 1840, while Hodgson attributes the use of timber to the expense of building in stone. According to Shaw: "It was these buildings which were to provide architectural models in the new British colonies, where buildings often had to be put up quickly using local materials. The bishop had to resign himself to a more temporary architecture of timber." The same year that St John's Chapel was built, Thatcher also designed All Saints' Church (Howick, 1847) which was prefabricated in the St John's College workshop - the sole survivors of eight churches prefabricated there. Shaw notes the simplified external frame and diagonal cross braces.

In the duration from Thatcher's arrival in New Plymouth in 1843, to the building of St John's Chapel in 1847, war had broken out in the north of the country. Nigel Prickett states that "[t]he first campaign of the New Zealand Wars took place in the Bay of Islands district in 1845-46. ... Kawiti's great fighting pa, Ruapekapeka, and Auckland's Albert Barracks are among sites dating from the Northern War." Michael King attributes the triggering of the war to Hone Heke's disenchantment with colonisation, the shift of the capital from Kororāreka to Auckland, a government ban on felling kauri trees, and the hanging of Maketu. Prickett gives a more general explanation for conflict:

> It is no accident that conflict between Maori and Pakeha greatly increased after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, despite the treaty purporting to protect Maori interests. This was, of course, because of vastly increased European settlement and the setting up of a colonial government claiming jurisdiction over both races.

But both Prickett and King also refer to the "Northern War" as being "as much betweeen Maori parties as between Maori and Pakeha," with King stating that Tamati Waka Nene and most Hokianga Ngapuhi chiefs attacked Heke and his allies in a revival of earlier tribal conflict."

The war is dated from the 11 March 1845, the day when the flagpole at Kororāreka was cut down for the fourth time, and the township was attacked. The battle at Ohaeawai was the first demonstration of what has come to be called the modern pa by writers such as Best and Belich. Te Ruki Kawiti's pa design used bunkers to protect the garrison and a flax screen and palisades (kauae and pekerangi) to absorb artillary fire and hide damage to the pa. Best also refers to stockades made of puriri. Prickett notes that even "[a] week's bombardment had little effect on the pa defences," after which Colonel

Henry Despard made the fatal error of storming the pa, which resulted in 40 British killed and 70 wounded in a matter of minutes. King sums up the consequences of the war as follows:

The Northern War had several important consequences. It was followed by thirteen years of peace nationally, apart from some small-scale tribal skirmishes. Imperial troops developed a far higher regard for Maori skills in warfare than they had held previously. In particular, admiration was expressed for the ingenuity of the fortifications at Ohaeawai and Ruapekapeka. In the space of around 30 years Maori had developed their pa from strongholds designed to withstand physical attack with hand-to-hand weapons to those designed to withstand attack by muskets, then cannon, and finally to enable virtual trench warfare.

Wellington earthquake's 1848 was also a traumatic event; the quake directly affecting attitudes to building materials with "[c]lay, or rammed earth [being] ... abandoned as a building material ... Wellington remained very much a timber-built town for thirty more years." A number of people left Wellington, while architects contributed to repairing the city. Robert Stokes, for example, "provided the drawings for the brick-built, earthquake-shattered Wesleyan chapel of 1844."

Apart from churches, there are few public buildings, in the sense we might think of them today, described by historians of this decade. Among these are Wellington's Athenaeum (1849, dem.1876) and various banks in Petone, Kororāreka and Port Nicholson. The Athenaeum was in a symmetrical Greek Ionic style, but built of timber, with side wings a later addition. Hodgson described it as having "strong modelling," and being "a building of visual strength and poise." There is significantly less visual description of the three banks, the first being established in March 1840 (Union Bank of Australia, Petone foreshore), the second a New Zealand Banking Company building in September 1840 (Kororāreka), and the third being the subject of a hopeful public meeting to "consider the propriety of establishing a Local Bank," announced in the *New Zealand Gazette* (18 April 1840). While the Union Bank of Australia was NZ's first trading bank, the NZ Banking Company was the first bank founded in NZ. NZ's first debenture notes were issued in 1844 - "effectively New Zealand's first state-approved currency."

1840 also saw the first newspaper being printed in New Zealand: the *New Zealand Gazette*, a New Zealand Company "mouthpiece." It advertised window glass arriving on the "Glenbervie," and the "Bolton"; nails for sale from T.M Partridge and Co., the Britannia Hotel, and Mr J. Telford's auction, carpenter's and joiner's tools, saws, locks, bolts and hinges from William Lyon's Store and from Martin and Co., and ironmongery from Hunter and Co.. Immigrants listed in the April 1840 issue included tradespeople such as: bricklayers, brick makers, cabinet makers, carpenters, chair makers, engineer, joiners, masons, painters and glaziers,and timber cutters, but no architects. Manning's Portable Colonial Cottages were also advertised: "Their usefulness and superiority of construction, either as stationary or moveable residences, as regards durability, comfort, and the facility with which they may be taken down, removed, and refixed by the most inexperienced, is now fully ascertained and acknowledged."

The decade's end saw the decline of the New Zealand Company; its existence ceasing on 5 July 1850.

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. Papers can be submitted in Te Reo Māori and/or English, but the conference will be in English. **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: 5pm, Friday 5th September 2014
Programme announced: Friday 5th September 2014
Full Papers due: Monday 10th November 2014
Registration due: Friday 29th November 2014
Conference: Friday 5th December 2014