

"more cars and fewer hen houses:" New Zealand Interior and Landscape Architecture in the 1960s: a one day symposium

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1960s New Zealand was a decade that benefited from ongoing post-war prosperity, enabling "greater attention [to be] paid to developing distinctive living environments" - both inside and out. At home, this meant both the detail of the interior and its deliberate connection to the landscape outside, but new purchasing habits also meant mundane things like "more storage space was required in the home." At the same time, New Zealand was jolted into the reality of a world no longer dominated by Britain, and a new relationship with the "mother" country, which was looking to Europe - rather than the Commonwealth - for economic partnerships. In the lead up to the 1961 British decision to join the European Economic Community (EEC), New Zealand and Australia started to work towards a free-trade agreement. The significance of this is clear in Tim Groser's description of our traditional trans-Tasman interactions: ""New Zealand and Australia did not interact with each other directly across the Tasman, but only indirectly through a giant mirror placed in Britain.""

The New Zealand Australia Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was signed in 1965 and came into effect a year later, just before our duty-free access to British markets for meat and dairy products ceased. But while Britain was looking to Europe, orchardist, horticulturalist and philanthropist Sir Frank Crossley Mappin, and his wife, were looking to Britain. In 1962 they gifted their extensive Epsom home and grounds "Birchlands," which they had spent 45 years "developing and landscaping," to the Queen "for use as a Royal or Vice-Regal residence." It remains Auckland's Government House on Mountain Rd. The gifting the 12-acres of "Birchlands" preserved one of the many disappearing "large grounds of homes in Remuera and Lower Hutt, and in Fendalton and along Papanui Road in Christchurch," which were increasingly "subdivided or lost completely to commercial development."

It was in the context of increasingly closer economic relations with Australia, and the shift of power from Britain to America, that the Decimal Currency Act 1964 was passed. When the dollar was devalued it restored parity with Australian, not British currency, supporting trade between the two countries. The Decimal Currency Act legislated the move from pounds, shillings and pence to dollars and cents, and came into effect in July 1967. This change included replacing pounds, feet, miles and perches with kilograms, metres, kilometres and hectares - affecting the ways we weigh objects, measure land, and dimension architectural drawings. One pound "became two dollars, and one shilling 10 cents." Philippa Mein Smith refers to the design of the new coinage as having "[a]ll the hallmarks of populism:" Cook's *Endeavour*, the kiwi, the silver fern, the kōwhai, the tuatara, and the tiki. She writes of their marketing pedigree: "Maori motifs, the silver fern on war graves, All Blacks and sports jerseys and butter wrappers, while the tuatara made the link to ancient Gondwana. All of these symbols suggested identification with the environment." The new coinage followed the replacement of the Queen's head by 1960 with "New Zealand plants ... on our ordinary postage stamps."

The decade began with an all white All Blacks team leaving for South Africa in 1960, prompting a 150,000+-signature petition in protest, and the Waitangi Day Act 1960, declaring 6 February as a national day of thanksgiving commemorating the signing of the Treaty, but falling short of establishing Waitangi Day as a public holiday. It took until 1967 for a Prime Minister (Keith Holyoake) to state an All Blacks tour "would be cancelled if Māori were not included." Racial discrimination was identified in the Hunn Report, and Robert Bartholomew states that "Māori discrimination became the subject of numerous workshops and conferences during the early 1960s." Sir Eruera Tirikatene, MP for Southern Māori proposed in parliament in 1964 that "discrimination should be made a punishable offence." Despite clear problems, some progress was made in the area of human rights. In 1961 the death penalty was abolished for all crimes, barring treason, and the following year New Zealand appointed an Ombudsman to investigate complaints about central government departments and organisations - the fourth country (following Sweden, Finland and Denmark) to establish such an office. We also signed the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) to eradicate all forms of racial discrimination and promote understanding among all races. in 1966, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) in

1968.

Smith locates the year we lost duty-free access to British markets - 1967 - as the threshold which marked "the end of the years of prosperity." 1967 was the year free milk-in-schools ended, subsidies from bread, butter and flour were removed, and the wool price crashed. It was thus pulp and paper, rather than meat and dairy, that was export star of the end of the decade, as the Tasman Pulp and Paper Company became New Zealand's largest manufacturing export plant. It provided "50 per cent of manufactured exports by 1965 and 45 per cent of all exports to Australia" Smith identifies its success as a key influence in NAFTA. In 1957 import controls had aimed to maximise local employment and these supported other industrially-based manufacturers, like Fisher & Paykel, Crown Lynn and Crown Crystal, whose goods found their way into many New Zealand interiors. Government mandates, such as the requirement for the Auckland Teachers' College's gymnasium to be built of New Zealand materials, achieved similar outcomes. 1967 was significant for other reasons. It was the year that Arthur Porritt, the first New Zealand-born Governor-General, took office, the Silver Ferns first won the netball world championships, and a referendum to extend parliamentary terms to four years was lost. Two years later (1969) the voting age was lowered from 21 to 20.

The post-war shift in Britain and America's relative global power, and the 1951 signing of the ANZUS alliance, was reflected in New Zealand's 1960s involvement in foreign conflicts. New Zealand troops were sent to Borneo supporting Britain's aim to unite Malaya, Singapore, Brunei and Borneo in 1965, but we "followed the American lead against President Sukarno in Indonesia ... in 1966," the year we served a second term on the UN Security Council and supported Rhodesia's white minority government. 1964 also saw our involvement in Vietnam - the first war we participated in without Britain, though "Prime Minister Keith Holyoake ... kept the forces' contribution to a minimum."

The history of New Zealand and war in the 1960s is also a history of New Zealanders taking to the streets to protest against war. Protests against Vietnam began in 1965, intensifying in 1968. These

revealed that the class divide in politics was undergoing realignment as the baby boomers grew up to join a New Left progressive middle class, keen to end the reign of the conservative establishment. ... Locally, Vietnam ... split the country. Young educated professionals rallied to Labour rather than National, attracted by Labour's anti-Vietnam stance.

This clearly impacted on the urban spaces where protesting occurred, but this was not the only way the built environment felt the consequence of war. The Auckland War Memorial Museum building was completed in 1960, "this time as a memorial to the heroes of World War II." In Campbell's Point, Parnell, the Netherlands War Memorial (1963), "with a wall and benches looking out from Campbell's Point over Judges Bay and the harbour to Rangitoto and beyond," was built. Other events were also commemorated. In Wellington, near the Mt Victoria summit carpark, a concrete monument was built in memory of "Admiral Richard E Byrd, US Navy, commander of five American expeditions to the Antarctic and the South Pole," in 1962. Dunedin also gained a Byrd memorial in 1962 - a "copper bust ... on the brow of Unity Park, facing over the red iron roofs of South Dunedin toward the Antarctic ... a gift of the National Geographic Society, USA." Peter Pan too had a bronze statue built in his image - in Dunedin - gifted by Harold Richmond in 1966, while, in 1963, Queen Elizabeth II, on her second visit to New Zealand, planted a tree in Hagley Park - one hundred years after the first commemorative oak was planted "to mark the wedding of Edward VII to Princess Alexandra." Three years later, in 1966, King Kororki's daughter became the first Māori Queen, Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu.

Flower beds were planted to commemorate public figures - such as the Sir Charles Norwood Begonia House (Wellington Botanic Gardens, 1960), and the Dugal MacKenzie Rose Garden (The Esplanade, Palmerston North, 1968). The Government Gardens, Queenstown also gained a rose garden, with 850 rose bushes (1967). Tea kiosks and skating rinks supplemented these floral arrangements. Often sponsored by savings banks, tea kiosks appeared in Queen's Park, Invercargill (1969), Government Gardens, Queenstown (1966), and the Botanic Gardens, Dunedin (1966), while a roller-skating rink was installed in Government Gardens, Rotorua (1964) and an ice-skating rink built further south in the Government Gardens, Queenstown (1966). Terence Hodgson provides a wider context when he writes:

[t]here was much government expenditure on departmental buildings, post offices, schools and hospitals and much private expenditure on office towers and amenities - everything from swimming pools to libraries. A romance with shape - the curve, the zigzag, the polygon - also made many appearances in the country's architecture. ... a vigorous church building programme which saw many daring angles and outlines employed for everything from small chapels to large parish churches.

Earlier in the decade, nuclear violence was the focus of protest, following the 1960 visit of the world's first nuclear submarine, the *USS Halibut*, to Auckland and Wellington, on PM Walter Nash's invitation. Wendy McGuinness refers to an anti-nuclear protest in Auckland's Queen St, in 1961, "led by children as a symbol of the world's future." The following year (1962), the US, began a series of tests that was met with "mounting public concern about nuclear fallout." From 1966 to 1974, France, who had not signed the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty, "conducted 41 atmospheric nuclear tests in the Pacific, mostly at Mururoa Atoll," also prompting public protest. Smith describes this as an assertion of France's "colonial power in Polynesia ... long resented in New Zealand," and she notes our particular resentment with the French using the Pacific - that we considered our "backyard" - as "their "nuclear playground", particularly, with the potential impact on the Cook Islands.

But New Zealand was not a nuclear "virgin." In 1956 we had signed an agreement with the US enabling our access enriched uranium for research reactors and equipment to research the most interior of interiors. In 1961 the agreement was transferred to the International Atomic Energy Agency and, as part of the US "Atoms for Peace" programme, a sub-critical reactor - New Zealand's only nuclear reactor - was donated to the University of Canterbury, conditional on research results being provided to the US. At the end of its 30-year life, it was returned to the US in 1981. New Zealand's post-war relationship with the US also led to the installation of an Omega satellite navigation station in the South Island high country landscape in 1968, one of the first global-range radio navigation systems.

The decade which saw the space race get the first person on the moon, also saw significant contributions by New Zealanders to new understandings of the "landscape" of outer space. In 1963 mathematician Roy Kerr (1934-) solved Einstein's equations of general relativity using what is known as the "Kerr Solution," and "revolutionised physics" by explaining why rotating black holes exist." Three years later (1966) Beatrice Tinsley (1941-81) wrote her University of Texas PhD thesis "The Evolution of Galaxies and its significance for Cosmology," which found that galaxies are receding from each other, forming "the basis for contemporary studies of galactic evolution." Her research would also result in a mountain in Fiordland's Kepler range being named Tinsley in 2011. Another expansive view was provided by Bill Alington's landmark Met Office, sitting in Wellington's Town Belt and Botanic gardens (1964-68), described by Hodgson as a "building of intricate parts which also possesses strong form." The mid-1960s also saw the completion of the Auckland Astronomical Observatory (One Tree Hill Domain, Auckland, 1965), complete with Pat Hanley mural. Another planetarium, the 1969 "gift of Mr and Mrs Harold Holt, was opened in the Century Theatre building next to the Hawke's Bay Art Gallery and Museum."

In 1961, the year Maurice Wilkins won the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine, along with Francis Crick and James Watson, for their work on "the molecular structure of nucleic acids and its significance for information transfer in living material," the Universities Act 1961, which dissolves the University of New Zealand, was passed. This converted the university colleges at Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin into the independent universities with power to confer degrees. Consequent legislation retained Lincoln and Massey Colleges as parts of the University of Canterbury and Victoria University of Wellington respectively. Three years later (1964) Massey and Waikato Universities were established, and the University of Canterbury moved "to a new suburban campus that gave more room to engineering and the sciences." Another new campus was Jack Manning's Auckland Teachers' College. It included a gymnasium interior which was "largely rationale, physically and aesthetically," and an external environment organised on New Brutalist principles, where "routes were set through the buildings and between them, to give order to the whole without relying on geometric uniformity and repetition (at the time, the chief ordering devices employed by architects)." In 1964 Charlie Challenger, from Lincoln College, toured American and English universities prior to establishing a two-year post-graduate diploma in the Department of Horticulture. Gareth Falconer links this to "a perceived demand for specialist designers in national parks, in the creation of large infrastructure such as motorways, and in forestry and city parks as well as in garden design."

An increasing awareness of environmental degradation due to commercial agreements resulted in environmental protest. The Manapouri-Te Anau Development Act 1963 allowed Comalco to use water from Lakes Manapouri and Te Anau, and Waiau and Maraoa Rivers to generate electricity for the new Tiwai Point aluminium smelter at Bluff. This Act initially intended to raise lake levels by 30 metres. The consequent "Save Manapouri" campaign resulted in a 265,000-signature petition to

Parliament and

marked a major shift in public attitudes away from colonising the land, towards conserving natural resources. ... The protest campaign raised critical questions of conservation versus development, domestic versus overseas capital, multinational corporations' threat to sovereignty, the role of the state, and the very values underpinning Kiwi culture.

Falconer also notes that the Manapouri protest co-incided with the 1969 publication of landscape architect Ian McHarg's *Designing with Nature*.

Water wasn't only manipulated by the Ministry of Works (MoW). Water was used as a medium for design across a number of scales. Fountains were installed in public gardens - some illuminated (e.g. Queens Gardens, Nelson, 1967; Government Gardens, Queenstown), perhaps most famously Dunedin's Star Fountain (The Octagon, 1966), which I fondly remember limping out of sync with its accompanying lights and music in the late 1980s. Ornamental pools (à la Neutra) were featured in the domestic landscapes of architecturally-designed houses, such as Redwoods (Kohimarama, 1962), Alan Warwick's House in Cambridge (c1960), and the Orr-Walker House (Mark Brown & Fairhead, 1965). Large swimming centres were also built: the Lido Swimming Centre between the motor camp and Park Rd in Palmerston North in 1966, and in 1964 Dunedin's Moana Pool - "one of the largest indoor swimming complexes in New Zealand." 1966 also saw work commence on Palmerston North's Manawatu Riverbank Walkway and Bridle Track, while 1964 was the last time a whale was caught in New Zealand waters. The following year (1965) Marineland in Napier opened with "performing dolphins, Californian sea lions, leopard seals, NZ fur seals, small penguins, otters and gannets."

Another sign of environmental awareness of sorts was the introduction of "freedom walking" of the Milford Track in 1964. Smith also refers to an emerging "[n]ationalist feeling ... for the landscape as more families took car trips and mobile holidays, staying at caravan parks or in motels." Suburbs became replicated in holiday locations, "transported out of the urban centres primarily to the beach environment," and new beachside suburbs displayed urban "Garden Suburb planning ... in locations accessible to major cities." Meanwhile, bush locations contrasted barren suburbia, and were increasingly chosen as home locations by the environmentally-aware. Douglas Lloyd Jenkins refers to the *Woman's Weekly's* fascination with Len and Ruth Castle's bush setting for their house in 1962, which they found ""as different from that of the suburbs as mushrooms are from toadstools".

The decade was also a critical one for recognition of the urban environment as heritage worthy of preservation. Falconer refers to the precinct of Jewish merchants' houses in Princes Street, near Albert Park, being formed into a building conservation area by the Auckland City Council, after their 100-year leases expired in the late 1960s. Such thinking evolved from changing cityscapes and demolitions, like that of William Mason's Dunedin Exchange building (1892). This also included the disappearance of inner-city gardens. As John Stacpoole and Peter Beaven, in their description of the Auckland University Science Block (1968-71), quietly note, "[n]ot many years ago the site was occupied by spacious colonial villas surrounded by old-world gardens." In 1963 the Rotorua Main Baths building (Tudor Towers) was also saved from demolition, with ownership transferred to the city council along with "a Government grant of £60,000 for restoration." The century-old Parnell's St Stephen's Chapel (Judge's Bay, 1857) was also restored in 1966.

Changes to town planning consequent to the 1953 Act had significant impacts in the 1960s. Rotorua, having reached a population of 20,000 was declared a city in 1960. While Hamilton reached 50,000 people in 1961 - the year Jane Jacobs published *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Gordon Cullen published *Townscape*, and the Architectural Centre published *196X* (1961). Hamilton submitted its District Scheme in 1960, and adopted it in 1963. This appears to have been unusual as Falconer observes that the lack of planners and resources meant that "few district plans had been produced by 1960," prompting the introduction of the Town and Country Planning Regulations (1960) and its District Scheme templates. Falconer not only identifies the impact of too few planners on District Plan delivery, but also the conservatism of the NZ Planning Institute and the importance of the MoW as both "a major employer of planners but also as a supplier of planning advice to other government departments."

Despite the planning templates, by 1969 only 144 district schemes (out of the 255 required) had been produced. Core to a district plan is a view about how a city should grow and develop, and this aspect of the environment was a matter of study beyond groups such as planners. In 1965, at a Christchurch conference, Waikato University economic professor, J.T. Ward "called for a focus on planning for

economic growth and a move away from restrictive planning" - contrasting "harmony with the "grand design"" to ""septic tank planning."" In 1966, the Auckland branch of the New Zealand Geographical Society ran a conference ("Auckland in Ferment") examining "the future needs of a rapidly growing Auckland," which included subjects such as demographics, agriculture and business.

Early 1960s projections of Auckland's population foresaw a doubling from 500,000 to 1 million by the mid-1980s. In reaction, the government created the Auckland Regional Authority (ARA) in 1963 to oversee the region's planning, including "water, air, waste, transport and regional parks." Its 1967 20-year Regional Masterplan was informed by a 1961 regional growth plan based on decentralisation: "a series of self-reliant community clusters located around the core metropolitan area," spreading the city "out to Orewa in the north, Waimauku in the west and Beachlands in the east." The ARA also established beach reserves - the first at Wenderholm in 1965.

Another Auckland-focused government initiative was a 1964 urban renewal group, its outcomes included "council flats in Freemans Bay and an internalised Downtown Shopping Mall on the Harbour Board's waterfront land." Queen Street was also home to Rigby Mullan's 246 Queen Street (Auckland, 1962), as an alternative design to "a 21-storeyed scheme for the site drawn up by American architects Skidmore Owings and Merrel." Its interior was "designed for shopping and as all the lighting was to be artificial there was no need for windows."

Cityscapes were also shaped by what Hodgson calls the "innovative debuts" of "[b]old shapes, particularly the drum, cylinder and curve," referring to the Beehive (Basil Spence/Fergus Shepherd, Wellington, 1964-1979), 82 Symonds Street (Price and Associates, Auckland, 1967), the Christchurch Town Hall (Warren and Mahoney, Christchurch, 1965) and Beaven's ship-shaped Lyttelton Tunnel Authority building (Christchurch, 1962). Near Rotorua, the site of the Timber Research Institute (MoW, 1965) centred on another drum shape.

For Hodgson, the Beehive interiors revealed "a satisfying polish in the detailing and materials used throughout." He writes that its conical shape created suitable interior spaces for various public reception spaces, referring also to "a reliance on as much local material as possible, including the commissioning of major artwork for the interior." Peter Shaw notes its form was preferred due to "its functional efficiency in permitting a high percentage of usable space. ... [which] proved to be somewhat less practical than originally envisaged." 82 Symonds Street's cylinder housed "a central service core deep inside," while the Lyttelton Tunnel Authority building used "a deck-shaped floor plan, curved tub walls and an abundance of componentry not dissimilar to ship fittings." At the Christchurch Town Hall, the foyer floor is paved in marble, its wall a 55 metre Pat Hanly mural, and its concert hall acoustics, designed by Harold Marshall, "dictated such outstanding features as the hovering panels of ceiling reflectors, the cantilevering of the upper area seating, and the overall ellipsoid arrangement of the seating, choir stalls and entrances." Shaw states that:

[i]nside, the Brutalist/ Constructivist ethic still dominates promenade areas and staircases and the effect is harsh, particularly because of the vast amount of brightly coloured carpet used. The oval-shaped auditorium with its audience-embracing sound reflectors is, however, impressive from every vantage point.

Shaw also refers to government architect, F.G.F. Sheppard's 1965 reference to the proliferation of glass box commercial buildings as playing havoc in an urban environment. The Shell Building (The Terrace, Wellington), Bank of New Zealand (Christchurch), the ANZ Bank (Auckland) demonstrated more conventional forms, but also, according to Stacpoole and Beaven, "the advantages of applying management techniques and overall design control in a very large practice." They point to the significant role of the government's MoW in shaping our cities, our landscapes and our interiors, and credit this monolith with "repetitious patterns and a dominance of engineering values. ... [and] standardisation," as well as a culture of built environment leadership.

Development was clearly a concern of the National Party government, which was led by Keith Holyoake for much of the 1960s. Throughout the decade government-sponsored conferences were held on Industrial Development (1960), Agricultural Development (1964), and National Development (1968). This last conference recommended an annual Gross National Product (GNP) growth rate of 4.5% for the following five years, and recommended protection of the manufacturing sector. Falconer also refers to "a spurt of public works" during the 1950s and 60s, which he links to increased infrastructure including roads, motorways, bridges, power stations and airports. In Auckland, mayor Dove Meyer Robinson (1956-80) built modern oxidation ponds for sewerage disposal and

unsuccessfully campaigned for a commuter light-rail system. In 1966 Auckland International Airport was completed.

A Picton to Nelson railway was commenced in 1960, only to be abandoned by the National government after that year's election. Two years later (1962) the Cook Strait road-rail ferry service began, but rather than remember this, recollections of 1960s Cook Strait travel is marred by the sinking of the Lyttelton-Wellington ferry *S.S. Wahine* at the entrance to Wellington harbour during April 1968's Cyclone Giselle, resulting in over 50 people dead. McGuinness and White write that "[i]mages of the disaster are televised, marking a turning point for television news broadcasting in New Zealand."

Another event in New Zealand's transport history would also have great repercussions. In 1961 the government bought the Qantas shareholding in Tasman Empire Airways Ltd (TEAL), making the company New Zealand's national airline. In 1965 TEAL was renamed Air New Zealand. Before 1973 Air New Zealand flew "the Tasman route and the Pacific, flying to Los Angeles, Hong Kong and Singapore." Smith writes that "TransTasman air travel had a big effect on popular culture, increasing the frequency of trans-Tasman sporting contests, the circulation of Australian magazines, and informal contacts," while Helen Leach writes that "many "baby boomers" took advantage of cheaper airfares and the new jet passenger planes to travel overseas. Their widened horizons, combined with television, accelerated the internationalisation of New Zealand cookery."

Increasingly, such infrastructure was expected to be cognisant of good landscape design. Falconer more specifically locates this growing obligation as a mid-1960s phenomenon referring to Trans-Tasman visits from landscape architects John Oldham (from Perth) and Peter Spooner (of Sydney) sponsored by the New Zealand Institute of Engineers. They "spoke on the need for landscape design on the largest infrastructure such as motorways, and power plants, arguing their case on the grounds of both visual appearance and efficiency," while the conference supported "the establishment of professional training for landscape designers." Perhaps in response, the MoW formed an environment design unit in the late 1960s, with Helmut Einhorn at its head, and it "quickly became the country's leading employer of professionally trained landscape architects." This position was a double-edged sword, tested with the development of Wellington's new urban motorway which infamously disrupted 3,693 graves in Bolton St cemetery. Falconer writes that, as a consequence, "Einhorn would become fully involved in a public controversy that pitched urban development against social heritage."

The MoW's enormous impact on the landscapes of "the great hydro-electric dams such as Roxburgh, Benmore, and Aviemore" is clear. However, Stacpoole and Beaven describe A.C. Vallenduuk's Ohakuri Hydro Electric Station (Waikato River, 1961) as an exemplar of

[c]are in landscaping [that] integrates the man-made forms with the existing terrain and vegetation. The deliberate placing of windows at eye level to accommodate an uninterrupted awareness of the surrounding landscape.

Other large industrial works built in the 1960s would also have significant impacts on the landscape and surrounding environment. The 1969 south Auckland Glenbrook steel mill used local iron sand as its raw material. More invisibly, the submerged Cook Strait cable, bringing energy generated in the South Island northward, was laid in 1964-65 - the third of its kind internationally. But, the Cook Strait cable and the hydro dams were not the only projects addressing the country's increasing consumption of electricity. As Smith notes "[b]etween 1955 and 1964 electricity generation doubled yet barely kept up with soaring demand." 1964 saw the opening of Marsden Point oil refinery - "one of the world's first integrated refineries," and in 1969 the Maui gas field was discovered.

The 1960s also saw the end of the "six o'clock swill" in 1967 - a consequence of a national referendum to extend licensing hours. Barmaids re-entered hotel bars, and pubs could remain open until 10pm. This liberation of drinking hours followed an earlier change to 1917 prohibition-era legislation that had allowed the serving of wine in restaurants with licences - the first one granted was to the Gourmet Restaurant in Auckland in 1961. However Leach notes that "licensing was a slow process and many restaurants were still unlicensed at the end of the decade."

Bar culture of the time was both sexist and racist. Bartholomew documents the way private bars would display "signs explicitly stating: "Maoris are not allowed" or "We don't serve Maoris here"," while local council candidate, "Ronald" Waishing Ng stated in a public meeting that "some bars in the town

(Pukekohe) still refused to serve him alcohol," indicated anti-Chinese sentiment continued to exist. Hotel accommodation could also be discriminatory, and David Ansel "wrote that both hotel proprietors and landlords would put up "No Vacancy" signs as a way to exclude Maori." It wasn't until 1972 that "it became illegal for hotels to discriminate on the basis of race in relation to accommodation, meals or the sale of liquor." A self-service wine and food centre opened in Auckland late in 1966, when wine and cheese parties were very popular." The same year that Gourmet became licensed, Eelco Boswijk established Chez Eelco coffee house in Nelson.

It was the 1960 "Report on Department of Maori Affairs," written by senior public servant Jack K. Hunn (1906-97), and better known as the Hunn Report, that perhaps would have the most significant impact on Māori of the decade. Published in 1961, it "highlighted the lack of Maori presence in higher education, Maori unemployment rates that were three times higher than Pakeha, and a Maori life expectancy that was fifteen years lower than Pakeha." Fundamental to the report was a shift from a government policy of "assimilation" to one of "integration," with proposals for Māori to adopt a "modern way of life, and for help for Māori to move from "rural areas to the cities," backed by "serious funding ... to support Maori housing, training schemes and education." Integration aimed to "combine (not fuse) the Maori and pakeha elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct," but it "assumed state leadership as a given, and ignored lessons of the past that Maori problems needed to be solved by Maori themselves."

Smith attributes the stress on "integration" to a "response to rapid demographic change," and it had numerous effects. In 1961, the separate registration of Māori births and deaths ceased and Māori became eligible for jury service. Through the 1960s, the separate Māori school system was phased out, and completely dismantled in 1969. Bartholomew gives the example of the Pukekohe Maori School, which closed in 1964, re-opening the following year as the interracial Pukekohe Hill School. In 1961, the Maori Education Foundation was established, because education was identified as key to integration in the Hunn Report. The following year the Maori Community Development Act 1962 was passed and the New Zealand Maori Council was established." Later in the decade, the Electoral Amendment Act 1967 allowed "Māori to stand as candidates in European electorates, as well as Europeans to stand in Māori electorates." Smith writes that "'integration' gave Maori room to negotiate, for example to secure state support for building urban marae," Te Puea Marae, for example, "opened at Mangere, South Auckland, in 1965." Deidre Brown refers to other attempts to "forge a Maori identity for city-based Maori focused on customary Maori architecture," including Rehua Marae (Christchurch, 1960). At the same time both Māori fertility and death rates fell; "Maori women's life expectancy doubled between 1901 and 1961; [and] the disparities with Pakeha began to close."

The government scheme (1960-67) supporting Māori to be relocated to urban centres was supported by the Maori Affairs publication of *Te Ao Hou: the New World* (1952-76), aimed at "Maori making the move to the city, to inform them on how to live there and how to keep Maori culture alive." According to Barbara Brookes, discussing an image of washing strung out on a barbed-wire fence, *Te Ao Hou* also included advice about "how to hang up washing and ... how deal with neighbours. Such advice was particularly important if Maori families were to be housed adjacent to Pakeha in order "to promote closer integration"." This postwar urban migration was "possibly "the most rapid urban movement of a national population anywhere" until the end of the 1960s." Smith writes:

[y]oung Maori women were attracted to hotel and hospital work by cheap board and good pay, and into teaching and nursing, all viewed as suitable training for future wives and mothers. Young men, largely from the East Coast of the North Island, migrated to Christchurch for trade training. Of nearly 2700 young people relocated between 1961 and 1967, 52 per cent moved to Christchurch as apprentices.

From the end of WWII to 1976, Māori changed from being a 74% rural population to 77% urban. In 1966 38% of Māori lived in rural areas. This urbanisation, was in part a response to the need for a greater labourer force in cities, and "[c]hanges in migration policy accompanied changes in the economy. Pacific Islanders and Maori provided a cheap unskilled and semiskilled workforce."

An increased supply of suburban housing was one response. Bartholomew refers to 65 houses for Māori constructed by 1961 in Pukekohe due to a Department of Maori Affairs housing programme of "pepper-potting," while Falconer refers to the planning and building of a township at Porirua (1945-64), which was "'landscaped" in a massive earthmoving exercise, which provided level building platforms for housing, playing fields, parks and a town centre." He notes that cheap land and the

workforce increase, due to migration of rural Māori and Pacific Islanders, attracted industries such as Todd Motors, General Electric, Kodak and Bonds. He also refers to

some conscious effort to plan a Maori state-housing community, sometimes even featuring a marae and large communal gardens. But while most of these initiatives involved lengthy planning, few were built and ultimately they made limited impact.

One of these new communities was at Ihumātao, "which in the early sixties was developed as an urban village [of 14 detached brick state houses and a meeting house] for the repatriated Maori hapu who had been in exile in the Waikato since the Land Wars." Housing policy led to "pepper-potting" Māori families in areas of Pākehā households, and placing Māori "in state houses, designed for nuclear rather than whanau extended family units." Brown writes that "[t]hese houses did not respect the separation of tapu and noa, and situated ablution, laundry and cooking facilities in close proximity to each other." Smith also notes that urban migration "rearranged [Māori] kin networks from extended to nuclear families, [and] the importance of homes - represented by the detached suburban house - grew in creating the ideal Maori as well as European citizen." There were some attempts to provide more appropriate housing, notably Gerhard Rosenberg's articles on housing for Māori in *Te Ao Hou* and the *NZIAJ*.

28-year-old Ans Westra's *Washday at the Pa* (1964) would put the problems surrounding housing for Māori clearly in public view. Westra's booklet depicted a Māori woman and her children at their Ruatōria home and its lack of electricity and hot water, in the days prior to their move into a new state house. The Maori Women's Welfare League protested its publication and achieved the Minister of Education "ordering the withdrawal and destruction of all [38,000] copies of the booklet." Brookes sees the controversy as centred on "the right to self-representation," and identifies the concern of the League as the potential "that Westra's representation would be seen as typical and therefore it would have "a detrimental effect on the efforts of our people to establish themselves in better living conditions"." She writes that "League members wanted the opportunity to have equal access to the housing, educational and health status that Pakeha enjoyed but not at the cost of losing their distinctiveness, their Maoritanga." Brookes related the *Washday* controversy to the underpinnings of Pākehā identity as reliant on antiquated ideas of Māori, writing that:

Maori ... were excluded from the Just City, and denied entry to the Affluent Suburb. Pakeha identities were dependent upon this exclusion: the images of New Zealand promoted to tourists showed Maori women in flax skirts, cooking and washing in hot pools. The "quaint and simple" Maori, along with the kiwi, the fern and the tiki, marked New Zealand as unique. They provided the "natural" backdrop against which the affluent suburbs existed. The modernity and sophistication of New Zealand's towns could only be appreciated against the simplicity of the rural hinterland; and the modernity and sophistication of its Pakeha citizens drew on a parallel opposition.

She also observes that: "higher standards of living meant that Pakeha women's interest in the home ... could be focused on interior decorating rather than basic housing needs," implicating the prioritising of "design" in the perpetration of racial discrimination. The debate about *Washday at the Pa* confronted New Zealand's urban-rural and wealth divides, its racial prejudice and representational politics.

The impact of poverty and racism on the housing conditions of Māori is also illustrated in the depiction Bartholomew provides of Pukekohe "market garden huts and sheds that housed the workers." One 1961 description is of a:

"shack was of corrugated iron, without lining and consisted of two small rooms with an opening between them. In one room an open leanto fireplace provided the only means for cooking. A sofa and makeshift table were the only furniture in the room. Two beds, one double and one single, occupied all of the floor space in the second room. The floor was of dirt. Small holes in the tin roof suggested ineffectual protection from rain and wind. The only facility of any kind was a tap some distance from the shack."

Brown also writes of Māori living in "cheap accommodation in the unsafe and unsanitary Victorian workers cottages of inner-city areas, such as Freemans Bay in Auckland," and a generation of Māori

born and raised in the city, many of whom had little or no knowledge of their cultural background and no apparent way to reclaim it. The social cost of identity loss was high for this generation, and their descendants, who have had a higher rate of imprisonment, serious illness and under achievement than their non-Maori neighbours.

While Brown associates the Victorian with the rundown and the unsanitary, Lloyd Jenkins links it with the fashionably progressive. He refers to a new awareness of the city seen in McCoy and Blackman's photographic documentation of Dunedin: *Victorian City* (1967), but also the revitalisation of Victorian

suburbs such as Auckland's Parnell, Wellington's Kelburn, Thorndon and Christchurch's Merivale. This followed on the heels of the post-1965 "Youthquake" branded by *Vogue New Zealand* as local evidence of the international trend of the young design conscious who

rejected both the Danish modern interior, cocooned in its pan-Pacific shell, and the woody craftiness of the New Zealand house. They looked with a new intensity first at Britain, then at Italy ... London.

International awareness was also apparent in suburban backyards, as Paul Walker notes, "ordinary suburban gardens started to feature not only the trees and shrubs of English gardens but also many Australians and South Africa species."

While import restrictions limited the passage of physical goods, international travel and television impacted on historic centres. Shops like Environment, Portobello Antiques, The Establishment, The Provincial Kitchen and Habitat transformed Parnell into "a smaller version of Carnaby Street," and the domestic interiors of Youthquakers into something old and something new. "Real" coffee drove baby boomers to invest in "a wide variety of coffee-brewing utensils and buying freshly roasted beans to grind at home," threatening the prominence of tea, but also bringing a new aroma of sophistication lingering in domestic interiors.

Established "dairies, butchers and grocers were replaced by antique shops, boutiques and bistros." Rees Interiors (Symonds Street, Auckland, 1967) "fairly radiated [this] late-1960s attitude," which reveled in the Victorian revival and witty, versatile design. It typified the "frenetic search for individual style that would in time come to dominate the culture of design." Lloyd Jenkins writes that "[i]nterior decoration through the creation of "interior spaces" and "environments" emerged as an important part of this search for self-expression," which he credits to television, increasing affluence and "the greatly increased number of young people now setting up flats, going to university or travelling overseas." Leach's personal experience of second-hand furniture bought from "junk" shops illustrates the point. This led to the acceptance of a new eclecticism, recycled from the nineteenth century, and refashioned with pop-art. It later grew to incorporate interwar design, and was positioned as "a rebellion against the "stark boredom of too much of the so-called Scandinavian design in furniture"," played out in a fad for high-gloss painted furniture and the irreverence of Ilam art students McNulty and Benson's shop The Whole Drag.

At the same time Peter Beaven was adapting the intricacy and richness of Italian-streetscape thinking to Auckland in his Canterbury Arcade and Office Building (1968), which (Stacpoole and) Beaven described as "the first city building and planning exercise in New Zealand to find a workable aesthetic out of the inevitable difficulties and idiosyncratic vagaries of our democracy." The pleasure of the interior is apparent in his description of:

[t]he wandering little arcade [bringing] alive the nearby streets by fitting between old and new buildings, ... [with] well-understood symbolic things for a hot climate: ceramics, shutters and balconies placed in random yet inevitable manner ... to almost reflect the chances and misfortunes of the human experience in a city. All this was a strong reaction in New Zealand against heroic or monumental architecture designed for powerful committees, whether private or public.

William Mason was another person who contributed to the new 1960s understanding of New Zealand's Victorian history, because

[u]nlike most of his generation, he *liked* the Victorian period. He saw the older housing stock - the villas and bungalows of the country - as something that might be sympathetically restored then decorated in a modern manner that nodded to the original.

Mason won the first and second prizes in the wallpaper competition at the 1961 Festival of Wellington, where an exhibition of historic wallpapers, including papers from the Victoria and Albert Museum, could be seen. After his success he established Mason Handprints. His bold, large motif, and striking gold and silver-foiled papers worked both in period rooms, with period furniture and in contemporary interiors. His wallpaper was "Warhol-esque," and the sense of scale in a small space abstractly confronts and embraces in an experience not so distant from walking alongside a McCahon landscape mural in a tight space. Lloyd Jenkins astutely observes that:

William Mason, the failed painter, produced rooms that made paintings obsolete ... rooms became total environments, providing a spatial experience akin to walking into a painting. ... This was decor as installation.

Johannes La Grouw's Lockwood homes, which didn't need to be wallpapered, were similarly relentless. They had plans comfortable with the post war suburb and the quarter-acre dream, which

Falconer refers to as establishing the New Zealand city as "a primarily suburban place, a middle landscape between town and country." It was needed to house the consequences of the 1945-61 baby boom. By 1960, family sizes had increased to four children "who crowded maternity hospitals, then kindergartens and primary schools." The following year (1961), when a peak of 65,476 babies were born, oral contraceptive first became available, but only to married women. Smaller family sizes resulted, but married women also had children younger, and they lived longer, enabling their move into the workforce, encouraged by low unemployment rates, despite wages for women being only half those given to men. Increasing prices following 1967 additionally encouraged more women to consider paid work.

By 1966 one-fifth of married Pākehā women were in paid work, an increase from less than 8% in 1945. Smith writes that: "[t]hey occupied a narrow range of acceptable jobs, often part-time so that they could also remain housewives. The public service especially sought to attract skilled women as permanent and relieving schoolteachers of the baby boomers," and to address the shortage of hospital nurses that persisted throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Public service equal pay was implemented in stages to 1963, as the government promoted both paid work for married women and their domestic duties. This was consistent with the National Party's promotion of "equality of opportunity," but it would take another 12 years before the private sector was required to pay women equal wages, which was aided by the faltering compulsory arbitration system in the late 1960s. Leach astutely observes that "the [food] revolution of the 1960s was intimately connected to the trend for women to spend less time in the kitchen," no doubt for some because they were in paid work.

Absent women also had ramifications for the design of kitchens, including appliances, such as the 1965 Russell Hobbs kettle which automatically switched off when water boiled, and the automatic toaster. A certain rationalisation appeared in kitchenware geometry. Leach refers to the Aluminum Company of New Zealand's 1968 "Squareware" pots - with American-inspired "designer colours on the lids." Their "square shape may have saved space in storage, but was inefficient when placed on a round element." Pyroceram glass ceramic, developed by the Corning Glass Works in parallel with coatings for missile nose-cones, also entered the kitchen. Benches were surfaced with Formica (or Laminex) or stainless steel.

Leach records the slower change in stoves, fridges and freezer in contrast to smaller kitchenware. Gas cooking declined, possibly in anticipation of coal gas plant closures in the main centres, while wall ovens with bench-top hobs were a novelty. By 1962 most households had a fridge. Advances in refrigeration included more efficient insulation, allowing more space for food storage in the same sized fridge, automatic defrosting, and a greater range in freezer sizes. Dishwashers mostly opened from the top, taking up bench space unavailable in compact kitchens, though the increasing shift of laundry facilities, which Leach says were no longer considered appropriate in kitchens by 1967, must have resulted in additional kitchen space.

This was the decade of the kitchen work triangle, promoted in Carpenter and King's 1962 *Kitchen Planning*, published by Otago University's Home Science Department, with its three apexes of the preparation centre, the cooking centre and the sink centre. The preparation work centre in particular needed large areas of storage, reflecting the increased number of supermarket products and new types of small appliances, and Leach writes that "[i]n the early 1960s there was renewed interest in pantries," with the wall pantry being an alternative to the traditional walk-in pantry. The need for storage prompted the building of larger kitchens and remodeling of existing ones, and Leach notes that "many New Zealanders were doing kitchen renovations themselves."

Specific distances between fridge and sink (4-7ft), sink and stove (4-6ft), and stove to fridge (4-9ft) with a minimum total of 15ft to ensure sufficient bench space, were stipulated. In contrast to the 1950s' use of cupboards to define separate areas, Leach notes the introduction of the island bench, which sometimes accommodated the cooking hob, reflecting the new use of the kitchen for "informal family meals, children's play, reading, sewing and enjoying radio or television." Her analysis of Max Rosenfeld's 1969 *Practical Town and Country House Planning* bears this out: "33 kitchens [in 38 plans] had no table or chairs; the once-popular breakfast alcove or kitchen "dINETTE" was on its way out, as families chose to eat in the adjacent, more spacious living room." She concludes that "[t]he kitchen was no longer the private workroom to which the hostess retreated to fetch the next course for a dinner party," and quotes interior designer Prudence Rothenberg in 1969 writing ""Design your kitchen as a creative studio, with sun, colour and attractive accessories. Don't make it a sterile

laboratory.""

Core to the expansion of the suburbs was the continuing creation of homeowners facilitated by the government's lending scheme administered by the State Advances Corporation and the Group Building Schemes housing companies, which were low-risk ventures that developed expertise in land banking and subdividing, backed by a government buy-back scheme for houses that didn't sell. Shaw gives Neil Housing and Universal Homes as examples. This system was supported by standardised house plans to facilitate building and loan approvals. David Mitchell and Gillian Chaplin state that:

[t]here was also official disapproval of plans which had kitchens opening out on to living areas. Sometimes it was necessary to produce two sets of drawings, one for the client showing an open plan concept, the other showing a separate kitchen in order to satisfy a council official.

They associate this 1960s "vilification" of the open plan with the family becoming "a less secure unit." Typically, interiors were:

[b]ody carpet covered fine matai floors, gibraltar board lined the walls, and ceilings were plastered over at considerable expense. In kitchens wood was banished in favour of formica, sometimes with an imprint that mimicked a timber or tiled surface.

It was this type of architecture that Beaven described as "the "bloody little incubator runs" in which children were brought up." District Plans also prescribed minimum standards as dimensional relationships, while Walker observes that "[s]uburban sections had to accommodate more cars and fewer hen houses." As an example, Hamilton's district scheme required a minimum section size of "694m², the minimum width frontage 16.75 metres and the minimum setback 7.5 metres from the front boundary." Walker also refers to the 1960s home garden devotion to "flowering shrubs, roses, competence in growing annuals and a very few herbaceous plants and bulbs and, decreasingly, the production of fruit and vegetables," and he observes, with reference to the covers of the 1963 Yates' *Guide*, that "the division between the male world of the back garden and the female world of the front was still in place."

Suburbs were not only streets of houses and aspirations for quarter-acre sections. New public playgrounds provided some variation for Beaven's incubated children, such as the newly enlarged playground in Pukekura Park (New Plymouth, 1960), with its Jaycee-gifted paddling pool. Pukekura Park also gained a small zoo, and a new curator (George Fuller - who'd formerly worked at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew) in 1965, while Oamaru gained an aviary (1964) "stocked with species "of special interest to the Acclimatisation Society, including partridges, quail and pheasants." Swans, Canada geese and ducks were abundant in the nearby waters including the Top Pond, Mirror Lake and Oamaru Creek." The Jaycees also built a playground in Palmerston North's The Esplanade in 1964, and a kilometre of miniature railway five years later (Manawatu Miniature Railway and Model Engineering Society, 1969). In 1970 Napier's Lilliput Village (1970), which had "a scale model village and miniature railway," was installed in the Century Theatre.

Shopping changed. Hay's opened at Church Corner (1960) and Riccarton Mall (1965) in Christchurch. While larger grocers had begun adopting self-service in the 1950s, by 1967-68 "88 per cent of grocery stores with turnovers exceeding \$100,00 per annum were self-services." This change in shopping changed interior spaces. Checkouts and checkout lanes were installed along with an increased range of goods sold, and stores moved out to the suburbs to sites that could provide car-parking. Companies in traditional grocery locations experienced the tension of growth on constrained sites. For example, while Four Square had over 1550 stores, many were "in premises unsuited to expansion." Leach refers to the disappearance of old-style grocer's shops, bakers and butchers, and the changing landscape of neighbourhood centres." Inside open-plan spaces, "with refrigerated cabinets and deep freezers," displayed and sold the new foods New Zealand produced and ate: ice-cream, packets of quick-frozen vegetables, and cheese for fondue parties. As Leach exclaims: "we called them supermarkets." She identifies the next stage being the shopping mall built around a supermarket. In 1965, the year Le Corbusier died, an early example of a New Zealand shopping mall was built in Pakuranga. Garden centres also proliferated. Walker refers to drive-in suburban garden centres displacing "older modes of garden retailing - the centre-city garden shops, local nurseries, and ... mail-order businesses."

Not all suburbs however were equal. Negative social conditions were apparent in some areas and ongoing criticism resulted in the MoW employing sociologists. Falconer refers to two 1969 MoW-

commissioned reports by P.J. Melser and J.R. Daish: "A Case Study of Twenty State Houses and Families" and "A Study of Medium Density Housing." He writes that:

These reports were the first to explore how well the housing designers were reflecting the way people wanted to live. The report compiled wide-ranging feedback, with many detailed concerns about the widths of backyards, footpaths, poor-quality wallpaper and small single bedrooms. ... Much of the feedback was about the lack of provision of social facilities and the poor development of the public realm.

Architects, of course, also contributed to suburban landscapes and domestic interiors, often recorded in the sharp black and white images of photographers like Duncan Winder. Mitchell and Chaplin note Miles Warren's design for his parents' house, with its steeply pitched 40° roof and coved ceilings, recreating a version of "the early New Zealand cottage with its separate roof over each room." Athfield's assemblage of rooms dribbled down its hillside site to constitute his 1966 house.

Hodgson describes domestic architecture of the 1960s as a refinement of the postwar "wholemeal" style, including the use of timber and masonry as a building material, and "expansive glazing ... as transparent walls." Masonry in domestic buildings encountered public resistance, but the concrete block would find a secure home in Christchurch in its mid-1960s obsession with Constructivism. As Mitchell and Chaplin write: "[t]he feature stair was likely then to have a feature rail held by feature brackets with feature screws."

Hodgson also presents the cellular construction and planning of Bernard Johns' The Tuis (Lowry Bay, 1962) as the basis for "much architecturally designed domestic work," describing the building's planning as

simple and direct: garages and entrance stairs on the ground floor, living areas on the middle floor and bedrooms on the upper floor. It is the materials, detailing and composition which give this house an air of grace, calm and poise. Extensive use has been made of local and imported woods, notably redwood and cedar for the exterior and Oregon for the interior beams. The cell-like composition provides an efficient method of aligning the main rooms towards the sun and the view, and the extended floor slabs and vertical walls allow a series of private, sheltered balconies. Slenderness of componentry is another feature contributing to a feeling of elegance.

Lloyd Jenkins observes similar spatial characteristics in the work of Kenneth Albert, Vladimir Cacala, Anthony Treadwell and Allan Wild, in what he describes as a "stacked, or elevated, box aesthetic," which "suited both houses and apartment buildings," while retaining "the sense of the endless horizon, the openness that made the pavilion house-type so appealing." He specifically refers to Albert's Paora Flats (Orakei, Auckland, 1959-60), where apartments

had an end wall of glass and its own balcony. Kitchens were placed along this wall, providing immediate access to view, living space and balcony. The bathrooms boasted both automatic washing machines and spin dryers. Visitors would have expected nothing less from a building that presented such a crisply modern profile to the passing motorist.

He also writes that:

[a]partment blocks were international bywords for early 1960s chic, and New Zealand had relatively few examples built with the well-heeled homeowner in mind. Rapidly spreading Auckland saw little obvious need for apartment schemes, and accordingly it was in Wellington that the modernist apartment building matured.

These Wellington apartments (Birchington Court, Avon Flats (Barry Martin and Blake), Clifton Towers, Oriana Apartments, Aston Towers (Porter & Martin), Herbert Gardens (Biggs, Power and Clark), The Dorchester and Jellicoe Towers (Allan Wild)) newly defined Wellington's inner-city skyline. Further out "sausage flats" sprouted in the suburbs.

A shorter "tower," Warren and Mahoney's 65 Cambridge Terrace (Christchurch, 1963) was four storeys high, enabling much of its narrow site "to be planted out so that it becomes part of the design." A similar sense of verticality was experienced in Ted McCoy's Gary and Majorie Blackman house where a progression of staircases "projected [upward] with an unmistakably architectural assertiveness," through "[t]he interior, furnished sparsely in a progressive Scandinavian mode, with light coloured timber and white walls, [which] emphasised a carefully chosen collection of contemporary textiles and floor coverings." Lloyd Jenkins describes the Blackman House as:

one of the last modernist houses into which a clear model of how to live was articulated at every point. The house was one of the last lessons in living directed at a community so that they might learn, rather than at an individual so that they might express themselves.

It contrasts the concrete-block, seven-storey Porter House (1968) furnished in the late 1960s fashion

for new eclecticism:

the internal walls were painted bright white, the floor varnished timber or ceramic tile. Ann Porter covered old couches from a billiard saloon in a bright red fabric in an emphatic revival print. The motif was repeated on custom-made roller blinds. The floor of the main living space was covered with an old Persian rug bought for 'a few dollars'. Furniture ranged from dining room chairs and a table by Peter Smeele to red and orange lacquered coffee tables by Nigel Rees, and included antique furniture, both inherited and rescued.

Lloyd Jenkins states the Porter House was influenced by John Goldwater's house (Grafton, Auckland 1962), which would be demolished to make way for Grafton gully's motorway. The Goldwater House "had introduced a new Mediterranean informality into the interior, focusing on social rituals and helping introduce the new "family room", described by Mitchell and Chaplin as "built around a substantial dining table. [and] elevat[ing] the fundamental activities of family life."

Furnishing interiors with Scandinavian-style furniture was also widespread, but impacted by the import restrictions implemented by the second Labour government in 1957. Some local firms manufactured overseas designs under licence, appreciated by the growing awareness of design fostered by television. Local access to aesthetically-advanced furniture was supported by the opening of Danske Møbler's Auckland Symonds Street store in 1962. It became New Zealand's leading retailer of such furniture, when Jon Jansen closed shop in 1964. Other furniture designers included Peder Hansen, whose 1966 chair 304 was promoted in the inaugural Rothman's Industrial Design Awards in 1968, in the days when cigarette-advertising was legal. The Safari chair, as chair 304 came to be known, sold from 1968 to 1980 and was "[d]esigned to be packed flat ... [and] easily assembled." A more rustic aesthetic was apparent in Peter Smeele's designs, which were influenced by "simple country furniture, traditional Dutch forms and the work of the Shakers." Dutch immigrants likely had wider impact on New Zealand practices of design, as Walker speculates, "[p]erhaps Dutch immigrants of the period brought their country's horticultural tradition too. Research on such topics is needed."

Shaw refers to the influence of bi-lingual books, such as *Moderne danske hjem* (Modern Danish Homes) (1959) and *Enfamiliehuset af idag* (Family Houses of Today) (1959), in which black and white photography, with its images of walls extending into gardens, and large expanses of glass, merged "rooms imperceptibly with nature," to be replicated by young New Zealand architects in the early 1960s. He refers to the particular relevance of this to Auckland's sea views of the Waitemata and bush views of Titirangi.

For Lloyd Jenkins, the interiors of houses designed by Warwick and Wright "seemed to reach out and grab the environment in which they were placed, to draw it in as part of a carefully manicured composition." Likewise, Rigby.Mullan's Greer/Firth House (Swanson, 1960) created "a world delicately positioned between traditional notions of interior and exterior space." The overhanging eaves and floor-to-ceiling doors and windows of Mark-Brown and Fairhead's Orr-Walker House (Titirangi, 1964) "presented the most intimate of relationships between interior and exterior space," including views out to an ornamental pool and a rock garden. The interior articulation of these houses was effected by "[folding or] sliding doors, curtains or Japanese rice-paper screens," and modulated floor levels, created through "a sunken lounge, [or] a raised dining platform." Rooms were linked by "corridors, walkways and courtyards." Service cores (of bathrooms and laundries - à la Farnworth) became domesticated. Plywood, cork flooring, white acoustic ceiling tiles and timber-battened pinex softboard lined domestic interiors. Lloyd Jenkins writes that "[t]raditional craft and modern technology were constantly coming up against each other: rustic bandsawn timber against Pinex wallboard, fibrous plaster next to Pacific mahogany, timber floors butting against cork tile. The way the house was lived in followed a similar pattern."

Architect-designed domestic interiors at the end of the decade retained the earlier engagement with landscape context. The continuous glazing below the roof plane of Russell Withers' house (Glenfield, 1969) created a lightness and carefully framing of the exterior, while Mike Austin's Win Chapple House (Thoorne Bay, nr Takapuna, Auckland, 1969), "[l]ike an old bach ... spreads itself under the pohutukawa ... [in] the vision of paradise that Auckland architects share." Peter Beavan's Spary House (nr Arrowtown, 1969) also opened out into the landscape, in this case, with doors and verandahs, while "[b]ringing the outside in was a major consideration" in John Scott's Pattison House - The Brow (Waipawa, Hawke's Bay, 1966-67), such that "it is possible to see from one side of the house to the other." The interior "uses painted concrete block and stained woods to contain highly developed and often luxurious domestic spaces." The exploration of continuous space became a

nuanced reality in interiors such as Bill Toomath's Mackay House (Silverstream, 1959-60), or in the "dramatically lit space" of Peter Bartlett's move away from the pavilion house in his Newcomb House (Parnell, Auckland, 1963), where the heart of the house was "an immense volume of space in which no one room had precedence but in which living, dining and the mezzanine study were each clearly delineated and intimately intertwined."

In contrast, Leach highlights the technological changes that occurred in New Zealand 1960s interiors, pointing to the greater number of televisions made in New Zealand between 1963 and 1966, "than refrigerators and freezers, or washing machines or ranges." Smith also describes the changes to domestic interiors in terms of appliance and goods acquisition:

The baby boomers buoyed demand for home appliances, especially washing machines to ease the chore of washing nappies. By the time of the late arrival of television in 1960 most homes had a washing machine and a refrigerator. Baby boomers boosted the market for children's toys and obliged fathers to build sandpits to encourage creative toddler play. The rules of child rearing had changed with the transformations in the economic and emotional value of children, as people lived longer and healthier lives. Indeed healthier children allowed the transition in child care rules from 'character' to 'personality' development, and so from Dr Truby King to Dr Spock.

A less pleasant aspect to this seemingly wholesale consumption of new household appliances was associated racial inequities. Brookes notes that the 1961 census recorded: "[n]early 30 per cent of Maori had no hot water service, 21.5 per cent had no bath or shower, and 44.4 per cent had no flush toilet; 38.1 per cent relied on a coal or wood range for cooking; 72.2 per cent relied on an open fire for heating. Just under 50 per cent of Maori houses were occupied by owners, while the equivalent figure for Pakeha in the 1961 census was nearly 70 per cent." But racism also played out in even more complex ways too, and Bartholomew states that "[t]he Maori Affairs District Office in Christchurch reported that a refrigeration company "refused to take Maori apprentices" on the grounds that they were required to enter homes to service machines, and in doing so it was feared that they "may lose their customers simply because they are Maori".

Lloyd Jenkins links the new presence of electronic appliances with the new commitment to Japanese craft aesthetics. He refers to the *Women Weekly's* "Asia is People" series, the promotion of Ikebana, bamboo and bonsais, as well as the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games and the 1965 visit by Japanese potter Shoji Hamada - who was "mobbed wherever he appeared." The use of timber in interiors, stainless steel tableware, and compact cars were other ways Japanese aesthetics entered the New Zealand home. Early 1960s women's magazines played an important role in popularising Asian, especially Japanese culture, while Leach notes that "Chinese recipes became popular."

Bruce Mason's *The End of the Golden Weather* (1960), and New Zealand's first television broadcast began the decade, followed closely by Len Lye's 1961 exhibition of a new kind moving art, transforming the interior at MoMA in New York. Television transmission was black and white, of a single channel, and progressively rolled out geographically, beginning in Auckland in mid-1960. TV signals beamed across Wellington and Christchurch the year later, and Dunedin from mid-1962. During the first six years of the decade, "the number of movie theatres halved while movie admissions dropped by 62 per cent." The introduction of television co-incident with increasing pressure to remove colour bars operating in some cinema. The case of Pukekohe's Strand picture theatre is the most well-known. Bartholomew writes of the owners' policy of "'No Maoris upstairs or under the circle," and assigning them into certain sections since about 1930. It was not until 1961 that the Maori Affairs Department made a concerted effort to stamp out the practice," with Maori Affairs Minister, Ralph Hanan intervening in 1962.

As if in response to the new technology of television, more conventional cultural media secured their importance with the establishment of the National Library of New Zealand in 1965, and the 1966 publication of the three-volume *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* ed by A.H. McLintock. The *Encyclopaedia* included articles by Paul Pascoe and Cyril Knight, as well as James Garratt's "Towards an Indigenous Architecture: Space, Light, and Nature" that advocated for houses to "take into account and grow out of specifically human values, spiritual, emotional, intellectual - they must express "tradition"" to develop an indigenous architecture.

Television also had an impact on the interior it occupied. Pragmatically, it "required some rearrangement of living room furniture," but it also created "a heightened awareness of the contemporary interior as it occurred in the United States and Britain" through programmes like *The Saint* and *The Avengers*, and Lloyd Jenkins credits the introduction of television, and 1960s affluence,

with the high polish achieved in pan-Pacific modern interiors, despite import controls and currency restrictions. Stacpoole and Beaven, in contrast, use the term "Pacific Basin style," referring to Juris and Wilson's "open plans, timber construction, and close relationships between house and garden." Actual Pacific people were also making their mark on New Zealand design. As Walker writes, "Pacific Islanders migrating to Auckland left a permanent trace on the gardens of suburbs such as Ponsonby and Grey Lynn with taro, and struggling gardenias, frangipani and hippeastrums."

Smith states that while there were only 26,000 Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand in 1966, this was a proportionately significant number, noting that the populations of the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau "largely relocated to New Zealand in 1966." This followed the 1962 Treaty of Friendship between New Zealand and Western Samoa, the year Western Samoa gained independence, the introduction of a quota system for Samoan entry into New Zealand, and the Cook Island's self-governing status in 1965. The Cook's new status can be traced back to 1962, when they chose self-government in free association with New Zealand over integration or independence. This world-first arrangement enabled Cook Islanders to retain New Zealand citizenship and self-government, "with New Zealand responsible for foreign affairs" at a time when increasing border restrictions required all foreigners, barring Australians, entry permits. However, Smith notes this did not mean consistent entry to New Zealand, writing that "[i]n practice, it remained difficult for Chinese and Indians to gain entry unless they had family links." She also notes that "Dutch comprised almost half the intake of migrants from continental Europe between 1945 and 1975; in New Zealand minds, as northern Europeans, they best-approximated the British ideal. Between 1945 and 1971 almost 77,000 newcomers arrived from Britain while about 6200 migrated from the Netherlands."

This was also a time when Pine Taiapa mentored the "Tovey Generation" of Māori Arts and Crafts Advisors, named after the Department of Education's National Supervisor of Art and Craft (1946-1966), Gordon Tovey (1901-74). Taiapa led a training workshop Ruatōria in 1960, which, according to Brown, "sanctioned the radical direction in which the emerging artists wanted to move" and "gave permission for gender roles to be abandoned, so that the male art advisors could practise fibre arts and the female advisors could carve." The idea of the "Māori architect" might also be a self-conscious 1960s idea. As UPenn graduate William Bloomfield (Ngāti Kahungunu) ended his 35-year architectural practice in 1960, Wiremu Royal (Ngāti Raukawa) completed his architectural diploma from Auckland University. Brown quotes Royal, who established his own practice in 1968, as saying that "'from day one I had to succeed, because I was a guinea pig for Maoridom. I couldn't afford to let the race down'."

John Scott, another famous Māori architect, is perhaps best known for Chapel of Futuna (Karori, Wellington, 1958-61, which won the NZIA gold medal in 1968, and the Maori Battalion Memorial Centre in Palmerston North (1958-64). Futuna's interior was colour-lit in sunlight glancing through spex windows. Stacpoole and Beaven described the chapel's interior as "a wonderful complex of spaces, both majestic and intimate. The interior glows with shifting patterns of light from the coloured windows, and the spaces are beautifully ornamented by the textures, the crucifix and the Stations of the Cross." Hodgson writes that:

[i]nside, the textural treatment of the wall is achieved with roughcast, leaving exposed the marks of construction boxing, and occasional areas of polished concrete. The floor is paved with blocks of serpentine, and rising from the centre of the chapel is a tall wooden column whose umbrella-like bracings angle out to meet the steep roof planes. The overwhelming impressions of the interior are those of quiet and refuge, and of rich colours and almost atmospheric gradations of light and shade. ... the serpentine stone for the floor [was] from an abandoned West Coast quarry.

Futuna was one of many churches built, as the decade saw "unprecedented growth in the number of churches." After Futuna, Scott would design the Church of our Lady of Lourdes (Havelock North, 1960), its interior geometries, surfaced in timber and light from a roof lantern above the altar, are as bold as those in Charles Thomas' Church of Our Lady of Victories (Christchurch, 1967), which Hodgson describes as "[q]uite fascinating." He relishes the "hyperbolic paraboloid roof shells which swoop down in tight curves to embrace the whole diamond-shaped interior plan, and the use of full-length windows with modern and geometric stained glass work." It reflected "changes in the Roman Catholic liturgy after the Second Vatican Council (1962-64), church design began to reflect the increasing democratisation of the relationship between congregation and clergy and the *shared* nature of worship. ... expensive stained-glass windows were replaced by panes of coloured glass arranged in abstract patterns."

Another church built in the decade is Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei's interdominational Maori Chapel (Okahu Bay, 1963), designed by Sargent Smith & Partners, which *Te Ao Hou* described, in June 1963, as "a successful fusion of the old and the new." The same year the Whiteley Methodist Church (F. John Bowering, in assoc. with Abbott, Hole & Annabell, New Plymouth, 1963) was completed. Its entrance porch

leads to a narrower vestibule, which then opens out to the main body of the church. The steeply pitched roof, the use of steel joists and laminated wood members, and the exploitation of dramatic lighting effects were familiar to New Zealand's church architects from the variety of American churches illustrated in books published by the *Architectural Record*.

James Hackshaw's "simple interior" of the chapel for the Sisters of the Mission (Remuera, Auckland, 1964), built the following year:

stressed simplicity of form in order that his chapel should contrast as sharply as possible with the overly detailed churches being built at the time. The flat roof was pushed up above the main roof line to form a surrounding clerestory, the windows of which were designed by Colin McCahon ... Altar furniture, instead of being imported from Italy or Australia, was designed by the architect. Nothing was permitted to disturb the calm atmosphere created by white walls.

In contrast, in the chapel of the Upper Room in Warren and Mahoney's Christchurch College (1968), "[e]very detail of the structure is exposed in a manner designed to make a virtue of the conjunction of hard surfaces." Their Harewood Crematorium, recognised as an elegant response to a flat site, was completed six years earlier in 1962-63. Walker writes that "[t]he sobriety of the landscape language at Harewood is appropriate to its memorial role, but it could also be taken to refer to its physical context: the rectangular, agricultural landscape of the Canterbury Plains." Finally, John Goldwater's Synagogue and Community Centre (Grey Street, Auckland, 1967) showed "a European urbanity that was still foreign to Aucklanders in 1967, with a street wall that was scaled to respect its neighbours."

Papers (15-20 min) which present new research on any aspect of this period of New Zealand interior or landscape 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 interior and landscape architectural history.

Symposium fee: The cost of the symposium (including proceedings) will be \$50. This will be able to be paid either via the symposium website closer to the date of the symposium, or collected on the day.

Timetable:

Abstracts due: Monday 19th September 5pm 2022
Programme announced: Monday 19th September 2022
Full Papers due: Monday 14th November 2022
Registration due: Friday 25 November 2022
Conference: Friday 2nd December 2022

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