"redolent of the soil": New Zealand Interior and Landscape Architecture in the 1890s
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The 1890s was a period when Pākehā began to strongly identify with New Zealand. There were several reasons for this. By the 1890s a majority of Pākehā had been born in New Zealand, the first generation of Pākehā settlers was passing, the Māori population had dropped, in 1891, to 44,177, and there was a perception by many Pākehā that Māori were a dying race. It was thus considered by many Pākehā that Māori "no longer posed the same threat" as they did during the civil wars, reframing Māori "as a brave and noble race." Smith also writes that "elevating Maori to honorary whites was a further way to render Pakeha superior to white Australians, as well as affirming the long-held belief in a hierarchy of races in which Maori were superior to Aboriginal Australians."

These complex dynamics - a perception that Pākehā were now New Zealanders and a pre-emptive nostalgia that Māori were in their final days, materialised in a Pākehā pride in being "native-born," twinned with an interest in what made New Zealand distinctive: nature, the landscape, and the idea of New Zealand as "Maoriland." Native plants became all the rage. On her 1890 Stewart Island honeymoon as Mrs Rhodes, Jessie Bidwill collected native plants, including rata, rimu and red beech to plant at Blue Cliffs, the estate her husband (Robert Heaton Rhodes) had bought in 1879. Strongman also notes that Rhodes' mother sent her "karaka seedlings, their roots carefully wrapped in damp rag to aid their survival" for her to plant. In a similar vein, William Martin's Dunedin nursery catalogue (c1890) "listed several pages of native plants, not only trees and shrubs, but also alpine perennials, ferns and orchids. His inventory of hebe is representative of the tremendous range of natives available in those days." The fourth edition of M. Murphy's *Gardening in New Zealand Illustrated* (c1890), added a section on New Zealand native plants. Raine notes that "[m]any of these plants would have been quite recently brought into cultivation, and others were still being discovered in remote areas by both professional and amateur collectors." Ferns in particular appear to have been a favourite. Murphy's section on ferns was "enlarged "at popular request","" and Dunedin Botanic Gardens created a new fernery comprising 60 ferns, and goldfish ponds, in 1896. The preservation of native fauna and land with "natural curiosities or scenery ... of a character to be of national interest" were made valid reasons for Crown acquisition of land.

Pākehā identification with living in "Maoriland" spawned native associations and use of "motifs borrowed from Maoridom." The Whanganui Savage Club was established on 19 September 1891, its first Rangatira being the Reverend Cox. The Christchurch Savage Club began on 13 April 1893. While Savage Clubs dated from London 1857, and were named after the poet Richard Savage, New Zealand Savage Clubs "appropriated aspects of Māori culture to develop club ceremonies and rituals. The leader wore a necklace adorned with hei tiki, the club rooms were decorated with figurines of Māori warriors and panels carved with Māori patterns, and members used wooden wahaika, presumably during evening entertainments (called kōrero)."

Other Pākehā interiors also engaged with Māori architecture and design, likely influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement. Petersen has closely documented this in domestic interiors. She identifies the end of the nineteenth century as when "a trend emerged for incorporating Maori motifs, designs and carving on architectural features and furniture inside Pakeha houses," giving the example of J.H. Menzies' home Rehutai (Banks Peninsula, 1894) which was:

planned around a central 'Maori' hall. The woodwork along the walls is designed to look like reeds, and the rafters and door frames are painted with designs drawn from kowhaiwhai in the traditional colours of red and white. Small carved details ornament the skirting boards. Elsewhere in Rehutai two of the fireplaces feature Maori motifs. The one in the drawing room originally had koru carved in stone around the mouth of the fireplace. Now only the carved wooden mantelpiece and surround remain, decorated with motifs such as spirals and tiki. ... A photograph of the drawing room shortly after the house was built in 1894 shows a cabinet that appears to have been inspired by a Maori pataka or foodstore. ... The pattern

down the far left side is the poutama design used on tukutuku panels. The koru near the centre could well be derived from the kowhaiwhai decorating other parts of the house.

Petersen also gives the example of Miss Deller who "began carving a fire surround and overmantel with paua insets in 1890 for her family home, Bushcroft, in Carterton."

In Rotorua, tourism was key to Pākehā interiors adorning Māori imagery. Charles Edwin Nelson's commissioning of Tene Waitere and other Ngāti Tarawahi carvers from 1892 to carve pieces used to decorate the Geyser Hotel and construct the whare Rauru (c1898-99) are perhaps the most clear examples of this. Some of this work involved naturalistic illustration of legends. Neich refers to these as tourist carving or commercial genres, in contrast to traditional work, while also acknowledging aesthetic exchange and development between whaikairo for different clients. Another change affecting carved buildings was the painting of polychromatic wharenui red. Neich states that:

the first meeting houses built by the Rotorua carvers in the late 1890s for European patrons, such as the tourist hotels and the Government Tourist Department, all had their carvings painted entirely red. Virtually all Rotorua houses built since then have had all their carvings painted red.

A Pākehā trend for using te reo Māori to name houses and estates, including: Te Koraha (Merivale, Christchurch, additions 1894), Otahuna (Frederick Strouts, Canterbury, 1895) and Orua Wharo (Hawke's Bay, enlarged 1899) was emerging. As James Cowan wrote:

we find amongst others a tendency to search for a suitable names for their houses of homesteads, and a genuine delight when they discover a smooth-sounding and appropriate combination of liquid Maori words; or for want of an original, they resort to Williams' Dictionary and manufacture one for themselves. Queer blunders are made in this way sometimes, but the spirit is there, the craving for a home-name which shall be redolent of the soil.

As the decade ended the Maori Antiquities Act 1901 prevented "the Removal from the Colony of Maori Antiquities," drawing a line distinguishing Aotearoa from the rest of the world.

This new sense of Pākehā national identity and use Māori cultural imagery is associated with a desire for other ways in which New Zealand could be distinctive. Smith points to the idea of New Zealand "as a site of experiment and its people as wont to score "firsts" and to climb to new heights." It is thus no coincidence then that the 1890s was a key decade in developing New Zealand as "a democratic social laboratory." Increasing urbanisation also played a part as it "revived all the worst fears of urban crowding and the lack of sanitation leading to diseases and high mortality rates [in Britain]," indicating that welfare reforms were an attempt to prevent a British urban poverty and disease occurred in New Zealand. Between 1890 and 1894, the three waves of influenza pandemic that hit New Zealand no doubt also reinforced the point. Significant reforms impacted workers, the franchise, the sale of alcohol, and introduced an old age pension, but they also cemented racial discrimination.

The plight of workers clearly related to the economic context. The depression had dominated the 1880s and the first half of the 1890s. Smith states that it caused "new class tensions and moral panic that Old World evils had appeared, such as sweating of women and children in the clothing industry, which prompted a royal commission report in 1890." The same year, the 8,000 Maritime Council unionists went on strike in "the first major nationwide labour dispute in New Zealand" seeing New Zealand workers lining wharves and picketing. 1890 also saw the inauguration of Labour Day (on 28 October) - marking the first anniversary of the Maritime Council.

After being elected in late 1890, the Liberal Government introduced a range of reforms aimed at workers. "[W]orking hours, wages and factory conditions were regulated and the use of "sweating" and child labour legislated against, unionism was stimulated and protected." For example, the Factories Acts of 1891 and 1894 "required all factories to be registered, and set up the Department of Labour and its factory inspection branch." The Shop and Shop Assistants Act 1894 provided for "a maximum 52-hour working week for women and all persons under 18 years of age." The Factories Act Amendment Act 1892 included provisions directly addressing aspects of the interior. It stipulated that:

Every factory or work-room shall be kept in a cleanly state, and free from effluvia arising from any drain, privy, or other nuisance. Where members of both sexes are working in the same factory or workroom, there shall be a water-closet or privy for each sex, separated in such a manner as to insure privacy, to the satisfaction of the Inspector (s. 3).

The same Act required that all the interior surfaces of bakehouses be:

painted with oil, or varnished, or be washed with lime or some other wash or liquid approved by an Inspector, or be partly painted or varnished and partly so washed; where painted with oil or varnish there shall be three coats of paint or varnish, and the paint or varnish shall be renewed once at least in seven years, and shall be washed with hot water and soap once at least in every twelve months, and when lime-washed the lime-washing shall be renewed once at least in every six months. (s. 4).

In all 14 Factory Acts would be passed during the decade.

A history of the impact of these reforms on the interior architecture of factories and workplaces in New Zealand is yet to be written, however Thornton's *New Zealand's Industrial Heritage* is a start. He notes that early in the decade the Department of Agriculture circulated free plans and specifications for both cheese and butter factories and creameries, and the number of cheese and butter factories grew from 74 in 1891 to 124 three years later. Using Thornton's numbers 40% of New Zealand's dairy factories were built in the 1890s, and 24% and 23% respectively of our freezing works and gas works, and 16% of our boot and shoe factories. The five-storey Hannah Boot Factory on Lambton Quay in Wellington (Thomas Turnbull, 1894) did not have ceilings, which Thornton highlights as if an unusual aspect of the interior. It was built using day labour because no tenders were received in protest to the lack of a maintenance clause in the contract.

Thornton also notes the use of electric light in the Oamaru wool mills in 1899, which, by the late 1890s, was employing 110 permanent staff. Reefton had been the first place in New Zealand to provide public electricity, and seen the first use of electric street lights in the southern hemisphere in 1888, while Auckland introduced Welsbach incandescent gas burners to light its streets in the 1890s. By 1900 all the main cities had electricity supply in some form.

While electricity impacted streetscapes, gold mining shaped remote landscapes. The Waihi Gold Mining Company's "huge Victoria Battery of 100 stampers" was erected in 1898. Thornton recalls visiting it as a young boy and hearing its "thunderous noise." The Taitapu Gold Estates battery on Slaty Creek, built in 1898 required "200 tons (203 tonnes) of crushing machinery and corrugated iron for the roof" to be brought in by sea. Thornton states that the water to drive its Pelton Wheel was delivered "partly by race, but was also partly flumed - for a distance in excess of 2 kilometres." While private industry was responsible for a good amount of this work, Richard Seddon's transformation of the Ministry of Works in the early 1890s from a "planning and supervisory body into the foremost construction agency in New Zealand" became increasingly responsible for big changes to our environment.

Franchise reform was also significant. The suffrage petitions of 1891, 1892 and 1893, resulting in the Female Franchise Act 1893 are perhaps the most well-known. Politician John Hall - a suffrage advocate and Canterbury pastoralist - literally rolled the suffrage petitions out on parliament's floor. That same year Elizabeth Yates was elected mayor of Onehunga, "the first woman in the British Empire to hold such a position," and in 1896 the National Council of Women was founded.

Why women got the vote in New Zealand is not completely apparent. Smith links it to a broader series of Australasian reform, and notes that "[h]istorians have ... debated whether early women's suffrage recognised women's special role in the home and family, or changes in women's status sufficient to convince politicians, and launch a women's campaign for political citizenship." She states that the success of suffrage was due to the co-operation of male politicians and the women's movement, but she also links female suffrage with universal male suffrage which in turn was often a consequence of gold rushes. She observes that: "Generally, too, women's suffrage was won early in colonial settler communities that had dispossessed indigenous people, where claiming the land was central to politics."

The female franchise had followed closely the "one man one vote" system which, in 1890, replaced "plural voting," where men with property in multiple electoral districts could vote in each of those districts, though it was not until 1893 when the "one man one vote" system included Māori. The female suffrage movement was also linked to temperance, and seen "to counterbalance rough men and to promote respectability in public life." Smith notes that: "Suffragists as helpmeets *and* New Women also wanted men to change, to stop drinking and domestic violence. As Anna Stout, wife of the chief justice Sir Robert Stout, explained: "Our children must have pure and temperate fathers"." New Zealand had 1,719 licensed premises in 1894 with an estimated male population of 380,496 - one pub for every 221 men.

Women worked in factories, and in 1896 women over the age of 21 were first able to practice law in New Zealand, after the Female Law Practitioners Act was passed. Ethel Benjamin (1875-1943), who had enrolled in an LLB in 1893, was admitted to the bar in 1897. There does not appear to have been a parallel legislative endorsement of women working in New Zealand's built environment professions although, in 1892, the *Daily Telegraph* did report that "the minor arts, such as woodcarving, designing, and house decorations, are already taught with singular success by women, and the demand of the country councils for lady instructors in household management ... has already outstripped the available supply."

Women also worked as servants. Macdonald states that, in "servant-employing houses, display, decoration and domestic ritual were part of what defined a "home"." Large houses in towns had "a permanent staff of about four: cook, parlour maid, kitchen maid, and gardener," though Hodgson states that "where the house was noted for its hospitality, especially in the country, the staff could outnumber the owner's family." He gives the examples of Highden (1898), where there were 11 servants, and Orua Wharo (Hawke's Bay, enlarged 1899) with 12. But things were changing. The 1890s saw "loud and agonised public debate" about the "servant problem." It was increasingly difficult to find (and keep) servants, and "increasingly, middling households were facing the prospect of living without hired help." In 1892 a system of Servants' Registry Offices was set up where potential employers could register their need for domestic, farm, agricultural, or any other, servant. Hodgson attributes "the demise of domestic staff in New Zealand," to new labour-saving devices, such as electricity, new kitchen equipment, and the motor car, and to an aesthetic shift in domestic interiors: "there was a change in taste from ostentation to comfort: a change that saw a reticence to build and staff palatial homes. Extensive gardens were also being trimmed in size and scope, and this lessened the need for large outdoor staffs." Women also increasingly had a broader range of employment options for work in hotels, hospitals, manufacturing, offices, and shops. A consequence was the advent of the "servantless" house, and this house was the suburban villa. As Macdonald puts it: "[t]he New Zealand home came to be characterised as being self-sufficient in labour. From this came a pride in independence: from reliance on others, and from the discomfiting presence of strangers at the hearth."

The old age pension, implemented in 1898, appears to be another example of progressive socialism, but Smith contextualises it with reference to "ageing pioneers," perhaps suggesting that the reverence for the generation of Pākehā "pioneers," rather than a more comprehensive idea of welfare was a driving factor. Many unmarried Pākehā men, who had immigrated to New Zealand in the 1840s and 1850s, were reliant on benevolent institutions. This link between the pension and the pioneer was explicit in the Old-age Pensions Act which stated that it was "equitable that deserving persons who during the prime of life have helped to bear the public burdens of the colony by the payment of taxes, and to open up its resources by their labour and skill, should receive from the colony a pension in their old age."

Other reforms also reflected discriminatory ideas of who a New Zealander was, and the 1890s saw continued anti-Chinese policies. For example, in 1896, the poll tax for Chinese immigrants increased tenfold from £10 to £100. Following Japanese defeat of China in 1895, the Asiatic Restrictions Bill directed at both Chinese and Japanese was passed - but did not gain Royal assent "because it clashed with the Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty." A previous attempt to restrict Indian immigration failed because Indians were British citizens. The "compromise" was the Immigration Restriction Act 1899 which prohibited non-British and Irish immigrants on the grounds of an English language test. This period saw reduced Chinese immigration, but also a shift from the 1881 peak of Chinese involvement in gold-mining in the South Island, with more Chinese moving to the North Island and taking up market-gardening. Scott writes

that "By the 1890s and the 1900s Chinese market gardens were established in Sawyers Bay, North East Valley, Kaikorai Valley, Tainui, Forbury and in South Dunedin."

More generous international relationships tended to be Anglophone, with the country celebrating Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee (1897) "enthusiastically." Masterton's jubilee arch was only one example:

this substantial arch built on a timber frame and decorated with foliage. There were portraits of Queen Victoria over each footpath, and a crown was suspended from the centre of the arch. At night fireworks were let off from the top of the arch, which was decorated with fairy lamps. Further along Queen Street local businesses brightly decorated their shop fronts and the streets had lines of flags and bunting.

It was joined with nationwide naming of various parts of the environment "Victoria" (including a university, an esplanade (in Palmerston North), an artificial lake (Hagley Park, Christchurch), and a square (Victoria Square, Christchurch)). Statues of the Queen (e.g. Albert Park, Auckland) and a marble drinking fountain in Pukekura Park New Plymouth, were also unveiled.

New Zealand's participation in the Boer War was the first time New Zealanders fought in an external conflict. The first contingent left on 21 October 1899, and nine more contingents would be sent during the next three years. The departure of the second contingent from Newtown Park in Wellington was captured in one of New Zealand's earliest surviving moving pictures. But it was not the first film made. That happened in 1898, and was "shot by Alfred Whiteman, a travelling showman, who films the opening of the Auckland Industrial and Mining Exhibition on December 1, 1898." Whiteman claimed, in 1899, that he had the ""only camera in New Zealand for taking animated pictures for the Kinematograph"." Research by Chris Pugsley suggests Whiteman also shot the second contingent material, and his work provides the first moving images of New Zealand's built environment - admittedly in that case through a screen of moving horses.

Overseas connections were also commemorated in residential place names. Robert Ewing McDougall's house Fitzroy (England Brothers, Christchurch, 1898) was named after his birthplace in Melbourne. Arthur Carlyon's homestead on a 30,000 acre station - Gwavas (Charles Natusch, Hawkes Bay, 1891), was named after "the area of Cornwall where the Carlyon family came from," and Highden (John Swan, Manawatu, 1897), built for Hon. Walter Woods Johnston, was named after "Mrs Johnston's grandfather's house in Sussex, England." Plants also reminded of foreign places. Otahuna (Frederick Strouts, Canterbury, 1895) was well known for "[i]ts wonderful roses, bulbs, flowers of all descriptions and majestic trees imported from all parts of the world," and Dunedin Botanic Gardens exchanged seeds "with overseas Botanic Garden - such as Kew, Edinburgh, Capetown, Jamaica, Lagos and Melbourne ... in this period."

Stewart states that the depression, and Pākehā settler frustration with lack of access to land, had been a significant factor in the Liberal Government winning the 1890 election. Consequently reforms were targeted at increasing land access to enable "cheap land for development." The two big targets were "the huge South Island estates of New Zealand's self-styled nineteenth-century rural gentry" and Māori land, and a Land and Income Tax was also introduced on land, mortgages, and income in 1891.

Legislation enabled the government to acquire land held by station holders, divide up estates to create small farms which were then sold. But, as Hodgson notes, station holders were not necessarily financially disadvantaged, with "some enormous pay-outs to individuals from State coffers." The first estate to be compulsorily sub-divided was the 84,000 acre Cheviot, bought by the government from William Robinson in 1893 and converted into 150 farms. In 1899, Allan McLean was paid £323,000 for his 48,000-acre South Canterbury estate. Stewart notes that: "Within 11 years 176 estates, totalling 380,000 hectares, were divided into 3500 farms. There was an increase in dairy farming and small farmers were, for the first time, able to live about subsistence level." A consequence of this was that "by the end of the decade the small farmer and the salaried worker in the town were the typical New Zealanders."

Regardless of government acquisitions, new (and large) homesteads continued to be built, and in the process of ""bursting up" the great estates, [the] sellers could retain homestead blocks." Longbeach (Collins and Harman, South Canterbury, 1891), built for John Grigg, was a 33-room homestead on a 30,000 acre station, where clay on the property was "used to make bricks for the house and station

buildings." These grounds had extensive plantations, wide lawns, Hower borders, and an ornamental lake. Meadowbank (Collins and Harman, North Canterbury, 1891), built for George Edward Rhodes, had "reception rooms, guest rooms, and a delightful book-lined billiard room complete with an inglenook fireplace." The grounds at Meadowbank were used for "hunt club meetings (where special trains would convey members and their hounds to the Ellesmere station); military encampments in the grounds; harvest dances; church fêtes; outings for visiting sports teams; house parties for Vice-Regals; and, in 1910, a party for the officers of an Antarctic expedition." Mid-1890s alterations to Kaiwara, bought by John Macfarlane in 1877, saw the additions of a "neatly edged drive ... bordered by extensive flowerbeds." Strongman notes that "[t]here were plantations of pines and oaks and, fronting the road, was a mixed plantation also containing Wellingtonias and Lombardy poplars. Specimen trees were planted in the paddock in front of the house and protected from stock by wooden rails."

Māori also built grand houses. In c1890, Huiwhenua, Hau (Ropata Wahawaha, Houhoupounamu), Umuariki (Renata Tawhai, Tuparoa Stream), Ruataupare, Kaiwaka, and Rongamaiāniwaniwa (Hone Ngātoto) were built. Huiwhenua, Hau, and Ruataupare were partly-carved, and Kaiwaka was uncarved. Inside Rongamaiāniwaniwa, "the poupou have painted Ringatū type manaia on them .... These would appear to derive from Rongopai, the house painted for Te Kooti." Two other 1890s Ngāti Porou houses that Simmons documents are: the fully-carved Hinetāpora (1886-96) and the partly-carved Rākaitemania (1890s). Inside Rākaitemania, the poutokomanawa represents the ancestor Nga Kawaingarangi. Simmons states that Rākaitemania appears to have been "a raupo house which has been raised on a floor sheathed in tin and lined." The pou inside Hinetāpora each have two figures. Simmons also notes that "The centre of the tukutuku panels has a band of painting with a V motif, with the head in the centre and two small figures either side. Many of these painted figures are illustrative of themes including one of contemporary political satire." The rafters "are decorated with fairly simple kowhaiwhai, but also have small carved heads at the end."

Such carvings were sought by New Zealand museums. Simmons documents the Auckland Museum receiving "13 poupou, two amo, a tekoteko, a ridge-pole, a lintel, door jambs and window facings" in 1898 from Sir Waler Buller, from a house likely to be Te Kani a Takirau. The previous year the museum had purchased "a complete carved doorway of a house," which originated from a child of Tutehurutea, and a poutokomanawa from "a house 30 miles from East Cape."

Brown also writes about Māori architecture, including Māori adoption of Western building, particularly in the East Coast, after Te Kooti's death in 1893. She also refers to the T-shaped plan of Te Waipounamu (Papawai, 1897), speculating on whether its two-storey annex "was an appropriation of the Western custom of elevating bedrooms over living areas," and the Raukura complex at Parihaka (c1896), which she describes as "a transitional house, which broke down old functional divisions and attempted to combine meeting, kitchen and sleeping quarters."

Shaw, writing of Māori churches, refers to a Catholic church building programme, initiated by J.B. Becker and St Joseph's Foreign Missionary Society clergy, in the far north. He describes these as:

mostly the work of Pakeha builders directed by Roman Catholic missionaries who, because of extremely limited budgets, preferred to build small-scale Gothic churches. These could then be decorated with Maori designs in an attempt to relate the natives' traditional skills to their more recently acquired Christianity.

Examples include St Gabriel's Pawarenga (1899), which overlooks Whangape Harbour. Shaw also describes St Werefrid's (Lake Taupo, 1895), where inside "simple roof trusses and supporting rafters are decorated with Maori designs; one of a pair of stained-glass windows depicts the Madonna as a wahine."

But Māori also lost land. This occurred in a concerted fashion through multiple ways, including: leases in perpetuity (999-year), the creation of native townships, effectual re-instatement of a Crown right of pre-emption, and a system that forced Māori land owners to sell their land or take on significant debt.

Smith gives the example of the Liberal government, in 1892, placing the West Coast Settlement Reserves "under lease-in-perpetuity at peppercorn rentals, in what amounted to a second confiscation." These leases meant that land was "effectively alienated for minimal return." An intention was to provide land for

Pākehā who could not afford freehand land, instead many new landholders reserved their capital for land improvements. The Government Advances to Settlers Act 1894, providing state loans, was also aimed at increasing Pākehā access to land.

Consequently, Pākehā got land, Māori got peppercorn returns, and, if land was leased, Māori incurred the costs of land surveys, which often resulted in Māori having to sell land to pay for them. If Māori sold land the prices they got were depressed because the Crown had a monopoly in purchasing Māori land, and half the money was deposited in the Public Trust Office "on trust for the Maori owners. ... earning low rates of interest."

Another Act, The Native Townships Act 1895, was passed to promote "the settlement and opening-up of the interior of the North Island." It enabled areas up to 500 acres to be surveyed as a Native township, with a maximum of 20% of the township being allocated "for the use of the Native owners." After a period of two months for objections to be lodged and any consequent amendments made, the township plan was certified and vested in Her Majesty. "Native allotments" were made for the use of mana whenua ("according to prescribed regulations"), and other allotments were "vested in Her Majesty, in trust for the Native owners," able to be leased for 21 years (renewable) by the Commissioner of Crown Lands. Smith states that the Native Townships Act established "[p]otential tourist towns, and towns on the main trunk line in the central North Island (completed in 1908)." She describes the resulting processes of alienation as "streamlined." The result was that Māori "were confined to inadequate reserves, of at most 25 acres of their first-class land. The whole system was designed to force hapu to sell lands"

Over 3 million acres of Māori land became Pākehā land because of transfers begun in the 1890s. In 1891 alone 2.4 million acres of Māori land was leased to Pākehā. By the end of the decade control of most North Island land had been transferred to Pākehā. Smith states that "[a]bout 28 per cent of land still held by Maori in 1890 was alienated within a decade." Underpinning this alienation was an attitude that Māori land was ""lying waste and unproductive"," though Smith also states that the colonial idea of "Maori as a dying race continued to colour Pakeha perceptions and to exclude them from "the people"." She summarises the situation for Māori as follows: "They were underpaid for their land, deprived of their best land, and denied cheap loans to develop the remainder. The remnant barely provided for subsistence. ... the settler contract central to the 1890s state experiments depended on Maori land loss."

This removal of Māori control over land was opposed by Māori MPs, tribal leaders and organisations who argued this breached the Treaty, "drawing attention to landlessness and the need for resources to help Maori development," and asking the government to "address the tangled problems of title, and give Maon access to capital." Kotahitanga were pan-tribal leaders in this, and in 1895 they effected a boycott of the Native Land Court. Kotahitanga also created a separate Māori parliament (as Kīngitanga did), and both Kotahitanga and Kīngtanga petitioned and drafted "bills to the settler government and sought the return of Maori chieftainship over their land. In 1897 the Kotahitanga petitioned Queen Victoria on her jubilee to stop the settler purchase of Maori land." A meeting of another independent Māori parliament movement (Te Tiriti o Waitangi) was held at Te Tii Waitangi marae in 1890. An apparent exception to this dominant trend of land loss was the Urewera District Native Reserve Act 1896. This made the Ureweras a native reserve administered by seven Commissioners, five of whom were to be Tuhoe.

During this period urbanisation increased. Auckland's population, for example, grew from 51,000 to nearly 103,000 from 1895 to 1911. But this did not mean a British image of the city was followed. Toomath wrote that: "[b]y the 1890s, New Zealand towns looked no more like English towns than did the new American ones in the West." He also attributed the small frontages of crowded houses in 1890 Wellington to the manipulation of house price by plot size to cater for "housing needs at differing economic levels," and Stewart observes that: "[t]he poor and the rich lived in close proximity in widely varying circumstances." Land sub-divided to create these city suburbs generated "mouth-watering capital gain," with Hodgson citing the subdivision of Kelburn into 212 sections in 1900 as a particularly lucrative deal for the syndicate owners. Stewart states that such urbanisation "revived all the worst fears of urban crowding and the lack of sanitation leading to diseases and high mortality rates ... Rural life, in the sunshine and fresh air, became the dream especially of the middle classes." She states that it was because of this that suburbia, "[d]etached houses on their own section," became the ideal.

Horse-drawn trams were the transport mode that facilitated the building of suburbia from the 1880s, but government loans to Pākehā settlers also played their part. Initially urban and suburban land was excluded from the state advances scheme, but in 1899 loans for urban and suburban land became available. Schrader notes the argument that the creation of suburbia would "reduce competition for scarce inner-city properties and ease overcrowding." The 1897 Workmen's Homes policy was another consequence of this thinking. A substantial increase in building activity resulted, helped by the improved economy, and, as Stewart writes, "what was being built now, by the thousand, was the bay villa." Villas were typically built of kauri in the north, while in the south rimu predominated, reversing the collapse of most timber companies during the 1879-1895 depression, when the Kauri Timber Company became the dominant market player. Liberal reforms had elevated "the confidence and affluence of the middle classes," and the bay villa came to be the architectural representation of these classes.

This "illogically"-named bay villa originated from America, reaching its height in the period 1895 to 1910. In some cases local stone comprised parts of the house, Hodgson, providing the example of villa with volcanic scoria foundations sourced in the local area. The villa's central passage reached deep into the house accessing high-ceiled rooms on either side, with the kitchen and bathroom "brought in under the main roof at the rear of the house." The street-front parlour was "well lit by its bay window and furnished for many uses." By the 1890s, a separate dining room had become commonly included, and was "usually located directly behind the parlour," but "never connected to the kitchen, which was seen as a utilitarian and not a formal space." The dining room interior was usually "more dignified and restrained" and larger than the drawing room, Stewart stating that it was sometimes used as "a general living room when the family was alone." In addition to the dining table and dining chairs, this room might be furnished with "a sideboard or chiffonier, some east chairs and perhaps a bookcase." New houses increasingly had piped water, "although residents of Newton in Auckland were still relying on rain tanks and a few wells for water in the 1890s." This was not the case in the Government Gardens at Rotorua, where in 1890 the Government Overseer of Works "engineered the Oruawhata cauldron and spring ... "to create the spectacle of artificial geysers," as well as restore an adequate supply of hot mineral water to the Blue Baths."

Stewart described the villa as:

a total revolt against Georgian symmetry, order and sparseness in interior decor. It blended a mixture of "picturesque" styles using irregularity, intricacy and variety as the essentials of its design ethic. Simplicity came to represent poverty while complexity represented wealth and social standing. Bay villas are also powerful statements of the nineteenth-century middle classes' enthusiasm for the scientific and industrial revolutions, for these were machine-made houses composed largely of standardised elements and they were filled with machine-made imitations of expensive handcrafts.

There appears to be little research into the gardens surrounding the 1890s suburban villa. Raine gives the example of Louis Christenson's carefully composed parterre garden in Willis St, Wellington in 1895, with its "abundant perennial flowers and shrubs of a rural cottage garden." No doubt small orchards provided fresh fruit for each household, and George Matthews' Dunedin nursery catalogue for 1893-94 had 96 varieties of apples. Legislation was also targeted at productive gardens, the Orchard and Garden Pests Act 1896 aiming to "prevent the Introduction and to provide for the Eradication of Diseases affecting Orchards and Gardens."

The rear of private houses was not only an area for gardens, but also important for keeping animals. Hodgson refers to Robert Ewing McDougall's house Fitzroy - much larger than a villa, designed by the England Brothers, with "paddocks at the rear of the house [that] were used in the weekends for grazing the draught horses used at the [McDougal's Aulsebrooks biscuit] factory." But this did not proclude extensive gardens. Fitzroy had "eight acres of lawns, rose gardens, orchards, and paddocks. It boasted a fine tennis lawn with its own pavilion which had gas laid on so that afternoon tea could be made there. Along the back boundary was a long shelterbelt of blue gum trees."

The suburbs also included large architect-designed houses. The furnishings for Holly Lea (England Brothers, Christchurch, 1899-1902) built for Allan McLean were bought in England, with McLean:

sending his housekeeper and a local draper's agent to England to select the furniture and fabrics for both curtains and wall linings. Its grounds spread to nearly five acres and its winter garden was one of the most splendid in the country.

Holly Lea had 53 rooms, a U-shaped symmetrical plan, and a floor area of 2140sqm. Shaw writes that "[i]nside McLean's Mansion, a spacious arcaded gallery with a glass skylight reinforces the connection with [Sir Joseph Paxton's Mentmore Towers (1852-54)]."

An aspect of suburbia, which permeated both interiors and gardens was entertaining. Hodgson documents the importance of large houses and their gardens as venues for hosting international sports teams, such as cricketers and footballers, referring to the 1896 hosting of the Queensland football team by Arthur Rhodes at Te Koraha, who:

after being received by their hosts in the drawing-room, "a move was made to the ballroom, a spacious room with an excellent floor where dancing was vigorously kept up till the small hours." A year later, the Queensland cricketers came to "Te Koraha" for an afternoon tea: after refreshments in the ballroom, everyone strolled around the garden and many took part in "the game of croquet which by the way is quite revived." ... one night in September 1894, Mrs T. C. Williams of Hobson Street, Wellington, entertained the visiting football teams from Wanganui Collegiate and Christ's College, tactfully decorating the hall with draperies in the schools' colours. Music was supplied by the local King's Band."

In 1891 Mrs George Stead hosted about 300 guests at Strowan, when "a "great many of the guests walked about the grounds and on the banks of the river"," and were entertained by "the Little Band of Burnham: an orchestra of boys from Burnham Industrial School, the government school for orphans, the offspring of prostitutes, and children who had been brought up before the courts." Longer parties appear to have been held at country houses, with guests staying at multiple residences. Hodgson details Mrs George Rhodes' June 1897 3-day long party at Meadowbank for 50 guests, 15 of whom stayed at neighbouring residences (Burnham and Springston). Event organisation included: "the building of a special supper room to one side of the billiard room. This was "a work of art, the walls lined with white and relieved by stripes of crimson, the same colours festooning the ceiling and pillars whilst cabbage trees and crimson lights completed a scene which will long be remembered by those present"."

For Mrs Nathan's private dance at Wickford in May 1897, "every room had been lavished with floral decorations; the ballroom in particular sporting "varieties of large, prize chrysanthemums"." Hodgson writes that: "To prevent undue attention by passers-by in Princes Street, the front garden had been canvased in to form "a splendid corridor," and out the back the tennis lawn had been set with "rustic sears" and also boasted a "sweet little arbour lighted with Chinese lanterns." Chinese lanterns also lit both the front and back balconies, where "seats a deux" had been prepared." Hodgson describes the private ball as:

probably the entertainment *par excellence,* with an expenditure of energy, time, and money that might rival a civic occasion. In August 1891, Mrs Williams of Wellington gave a costume ball for about ninety guests, which went on till 3am. ... This particular house had a gallery overlooking the main hall, and here "luxurious chairs and couches were placed and from this coign of vantage many of the chaperones watched their charges." The house, also, was in fancy dress with its billiard room "converted into a dream of beauty" with masses of tall palms and fem trees in silk-draped pots and hundreds of fairy lamps everywhere, including a round the fireplace.

Public garden parties also occurred and in 1896, Brooklands (Pukekura Park, New Plymouth) became a "venue for "public garden parties, with tea taken under the shade of the giant chestnut"."

Churches were also a vital part of 1890s society. Frank Petre's St Patrick's (1879-94) in the suburb of South Dunedin was a basilica, which Shaw describes as "an appropriately Roman precedent" that acknowledged that "Gothic buildings were both financially and liturgically unsuitable." The interior had "moulded plaster work and a Wunderlich ceiling of prefabricated, mass-produced zinc panels," and while initially intended to have one, it was built without a dome. Shaw notes that from this time Petre's use of domes was "influenced by the 1878 competition designs for London's Brompton Oratory, a building which

was to have a great influence on Catholic architects all over the world." Inside his St Patrick's Oamaru (1893-94), Corinthian colonnades support an entablature, "light floods in from the clerestory above; on the ceiling, plaster cornices frame richly ornamented pressed-zinc panels." In contrast, Petre's Basilica of the Sacred Heart (Wellington, 1899-1901) "used arcading rather than colonnades. ... The sanctuary is framed by a Palladian window motif, while the altar painting stands in a small barrel vault supported by Ionic columns. Another arch further forward in the chancel cleverly creates an illusion of depth."

Petre's masterpiece, according to Stacpoole and Beaven, was the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament (Christchurch, 1899). They write that:

The handling of inter locking geometry and spatial control is brilliantly seen inside, where the great central dome rises beyond the double-height arcaded nave, and the chancel closes in and circles behind the high altar. The dome is supported with brutal simplicity on tall stone piers separate and solitary above the dividing cornice. Walking round the building is an exhilarating experience as the full orchestration of exact classicism unfolds everywhere, considered and resolved.

Hodgson is likewise impressed, crediting the building's "sheer volume for its sense of majesty. The decoration is almost solely Classical, drawn from Roman and Greek models with an ample use of colonnades, capitals and balustrades. The ceiling, however, introduces a bold raft of colour with an almost secular use of coffers and saucer domes providing a fine contrast to the ubiquity of white limestone."

Such buildings were landmarks as much as impressive interiors, reflecting changes in urban streetscapes as double-storeyed wooden structures became replaced with multi-storeyed, plastered brick shops and offices. The bull-nosed corner of Thomas Turnbull's Bank of New Zealand (1899), graced the corner of Lambton Quay and Willis Street, Wellington, as a landmark rather than just a building. Its apex entrance led to the ground floor banking chamber "with its elaborate ceiling made from sheers of pressed zinc, a new fireproof material which was in vogue in Australia at the time and was soon to enjoy a wide popularity in New Zealand." In another Turnbull design, the General Assembly Library (1898), a broad entrance loggia leads to:

a richly decorated and spacious central hall, lit from above by a rather gorgeous coloured glass skylight dome, [that] acts as a circulation pivot for all the departments. And at the back of the building lie four floors of stackrooms complete with iron shelving specially imported from the United States.

In the same city, two years before, in 1897, public protest against another Wellington landmark building, the Mount Cook Gaol, saw its construction cease, while along the coastline the cast iron Cape Palliser, standing 79m above sea level, was built.

Schrader identifies another change occurring in New Zealand towns and cities at this time when he writes that "between 1880 and 1920, the city street moved from being a pluralistic space, encompassing many functions and activities, to one that privileged traffic." MP William McLean contributed to this trend when he imported the first two cars (Benzes called "Lightning" and "Petrolette") into New Zealand in 1898. It required the McLean Motor-car Act 1898 to be passed before he was legally able to drive them on public roads.

This new traffic focus paralleled an increasing appreciation of green spaces. The first New Zealand Arbor Day was celebrated in Greytown on 3 July 1890 with 800 people and 150 trees in attendance. Beautification societies were also forming. Dunedin's was the first in 1887, but through the 1890s others, such as the Christchurch Beautifying Society (1897) and the Auckland Scenery Preservation Society (1899), were established. Falconer writes that these societies "were particularly prominent in promoting the provision of public parks and open spaces for urban populations." New parks formed in the decade include John Logan Campbell's gift of $6^1/_4$ acres of land around Maungakiekie (now Cornwall Park, Auckland) in 1898. Such parks were also used as nurseries, the Dunedin Botanic Gardens, for example, propagating seeds for city reserves, and while some seeds failed, in July 1897 it was reported that "300 English oak and 150 horse chestnut, pittosporum and sycamore seedlings were ready for transplanting."

Botanic gardens were also the precursors of zoos, which date from 1906 in New Zealand with the opening of the zoo at Wellington. In Dunedin, exotic birds were released, with the involvement of Acclimatisation Society, including, in March 1897, "one pair of paradise ducks, one pair of mallards and one pair of widgeons in the Garden ponds." The aviary at the Dunedin botanic gardens was erected in February 1899 after five kiwi arrived at the gardens in October 1898. As Dunlop explains: "Two of them were dead within a month and it was obvious that better shelter was needed."

He adds that:

The first emu in the Garden came from a Mrs Jane MacPherson of Oamaru. Two more emus arrived in February 1901, and it became necessary to extend the emu run. Other birds referred to as being in the Aviary or the ponds were an albatross, wekas, kea, robin red-breast, *Apertyx* (kiwi), Blue Mountain drake, 'pukaki' (pukeko) or swamp turkey, kaka, swans, tuis and bronze pigeons.

Nelson council also created an aviary (in Queen's Garden, 1896) following gifts of Chinese geese and parakeets.

Schrader's observation regarding traffic would find a parallel in public gardens with the popularity of the bicycle in the 1890s. Rather than welcoming these in Dunedin, bikes were banned, Dunlop writing that "in 1895 the Gardener was instructed to put up notices announcing that bicycles were banned from the Garden." Other rules moderated behaviour in public gardens and in 1890 Dunedin city by-laws decreed that:

"No person shall pluck any of the flowers, cones, pods, or foliage, or collect seeds, or rake cuttings, etc ... No person shall shoot, snare, or destroy any wild fowl - or bathe in - such gardens ... Children under the age of ten years not being under the control of some competent person, shall be removed from the gardens ... All dogs and goats and all poultry found within the gardens shall be destroyed ... No cart, truck, wheelbarrow or other vehicle shall, without authority of the proper officer of the Council, be drawn or driven through the gardens."

The decade was a culturally complex one, in which Pākehā romanticised Māori, acquired alot of Māori land, and many - like the two dead kiwis in the Dunedin Botanic Gardens - had better houses by the end of it. After 1890, wage growth, relative to property income, declined. People who owned land "gained most from technical advances, notably refrigeration, because the export of frozen meat and dairy products increased the relative value of their land." The Liberal government's social laboratory was in a number of ways tied to Pākehā distinguishing New Zealand from Britain and a valorising of colonial pioneers, but it was also premised on shifting land ownership from Māori to Pākehā and the division and sub-division of land. Cultural exchanges in both directions occurred and mass production created new suburban landscapes and interior architecture made of timber components and pressed metal ceilings.

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 $60. 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 21st August 5pm 2023
Programme announced: Monday 21st August 2023
Full Papers due: Monday 13th November 2023
Registration due: Friday 24th November 2023
Conference: Friday 1st December 2023

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