

**Milica Mađanović**, PhD

University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, Belgrade, Serbia

milica.madjanovic@arh.bg.ac.rs

## **GENERAL PUBLIC, ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING: THE CURIOUS CASE OF AUCKLAND CIVIC CENTRE SCHEME IN AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND (1924)**

### **Abstract**

Executed skillfully, architecture and planning projects shape public spaces for generations to enjoy – executed poorly, for generations, to annoy. Architecture and urban planning are essentially bound to the public domain – urban spaces are designed, and urban heritage is protected, for the sake of the public. And yet, the role of the public is often overlooked in discussions of architectural, planning and protection issues.

The Auckland Civic Centre Scheme example illustrates the impact the public can have on shaping the urban environment. The largest city in New Zealand, Auckland is considered the country's capital of commerce. During the interwar period, Auckland Council decided to grace their city with a center worthy of its progress. However, the taxpayers objected and voted against the expensive scheme – eventually, the Council had to abandon the project. The consequences of this act were far-reaching – to this day, Auckland lacks a recognizable urban space that would operate as a symbol of civic sentiments and activities. Drawing from the Auckland Civic Centre Scheme, this paper explores the strategies New Zealand interwar architects and planners proposed for preparing the members of the public to take their rightful place in the decision-making process.

**Keywords:** New Zealand architecture and planning, interwar period, Auckland Civic Center Scheme, the role of the public, teaching of architecture

## **Introduction**

Maturation of the city culture between the world wars in New Zealand brought upon a broader awareness of the importance of the public architecture and the urban context. Perceived as inextricable from everyday human experience, architecture and planning were considered as a matter of communal interest. Set in their belief that, inspiring certain values and behaviors, architecture and urban spaces play an important role in the betterment of the society, members of the architectural profession considered their responsibility to bring architecture closer to the general public. New Zealand architects and planners of the interwar period contemplated strategies that would help with the wide popularization of their profession and prepare the broader public to actively engage in architectural discourse. They advocated the important role of the press and the benefits that introducing the basics of architectural and planning knowledge to the primary and secondary education might bring to New Zealand society.

Reversing the investigative approaches which dominates the scholarship of architectural and planning history – traditionally focused on the professional perspectives – this paper will shift the gaze to the role the general public might play in the shaping of cityscapes. The paper discusses the example of the Auckland Civic Centre Scheme, a grand project that was never executed due to the unwillingness of the general public to lend their support to the matter. Exploring the ideas permeating New Zealand interwar writings, the paper explores the responsibilities of architectural and planning professionals for the public awareness – and appreciation – of the architectural and planning issues.

### **Civic Sentiments Embodied: The Auckland City Civic Square Design Concept**

Though struggling with economic crises and other social challenges, post-World-War-I New Zealand reality was marked by the notion of progress. The cities developed more rapidly during this period, acquiring many of the features associated with the modern-day living. In their early effort to create a concise survey of architectural history in New Zealand, Stacpoole and Beaven showed that increased capital investment in primary industries, new roads, and new land development resulted in rapid growth of the main urban centers.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the predominantly agricultural demographics, with most of the population living at the countryside since the European settlement of New Zealand in 19<sup>th</sup> century, by 1926, 63% of the population was living in urban areas.<sup>2</sup> New means of transport and the growth of urban population facilitated the spread of suburban development radially to the major cities which, as a result, required adequate planning solutions for central areas.

In Auckland, the biggest city in New Zealand and the country's capital of economy, stabilization of post-war circumstances revived the earlier ideas to develop a civic center "worthy" of its progress. Rapid expansion, the city's increasing prosperity and a developing sense of a civic self-identity initiated calls for a new urban center that would

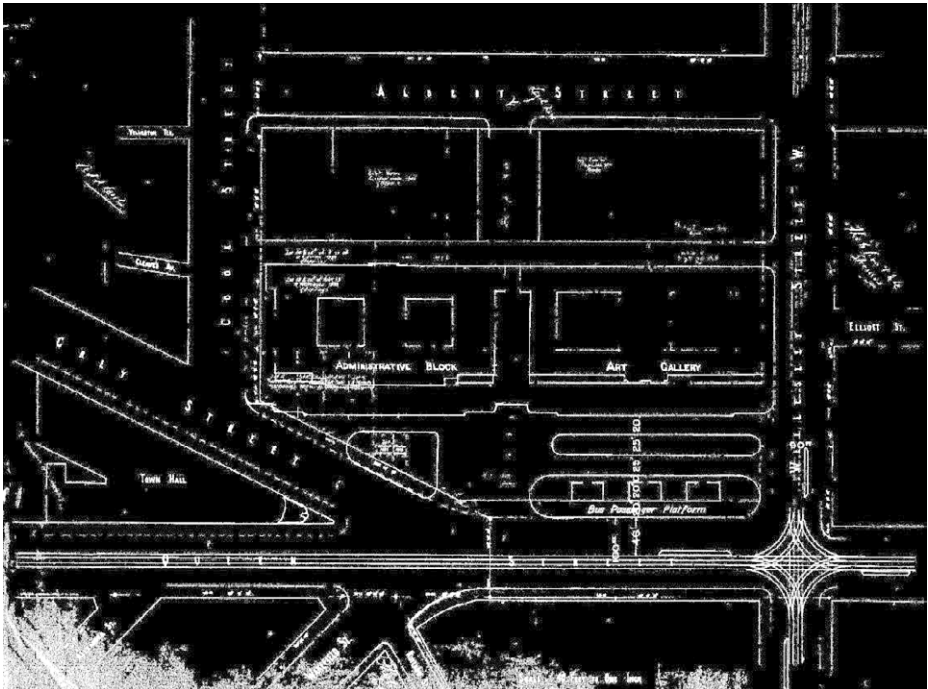


Figure 1. Proposed Civic Centre, site plan (Source: Auckland Council Archives, AKC 033 1872-1993, Record No. 431433)

symbolize the city's status, reflecting the entrepreneurial spirit of Auckland. In response, a Competition for Auckland Civic Centre (1924-1927) was held. The *Municipal Record*, Auckland Council's promotional magazine, devoted a whole issue to the winning scheme.<sup>3</sup> Architectural bureau of Gummer and Ford, widely discussed in New Zealand historiography and considered one of the country's most prominent architectural practices of the 1920s, won the competition.<sup>4</sup>

Gummer and Ford upheld the French Beaux-Arts School design methods and principles, which informed many of New Zealand's key buildings and public spaces until the Second World War.<sup>5</sup> Focused on the development of functional planning solutions, sensitive towards the urban environment, and clothed in the historic forms deeply rooted in the tradition of Western civilization, Beaux-Arts was the popular choice of the governing social strata in New Zealand between the World Wars. Self-contained system that operated outside the regional and the culturally specific – a design technique, rather than a style – Beaux-Arts ideas was easily transposable within various predominantly Western cultural contexts.<sup>6</sup>

Gummer and Ford designed their Auckland Civic Centre Scheme in the classical ideal, drawing upon the compositional logic from the Beaux-Arts tradition – simple, harmonic planning that relied on symmetry, instilling the highly sought-after qualities of gravity and dignity in architecture (Figure 1).<sup>7</sup> Ford's writing helped identify archi-

itects' ideas behind the grandiose design. The primary objective was to create a "dignified" civic core, a place of assembly for the citizens of Auckland demarcated by important public buildings. The architects aimed at the development of an urban syntax that would embody the democratic ideal.<sup>8</sup> As Peter Wood noted insightfully, Ford launched an advocacy of architects as spiritual campaigners – active contributors to the public well-being, responsible for the society.<sup>9</sup> Accepting Lethaby's definition of architecture, Ford distinguished between *building* which makes provision for physical needs, and *architecture* – which served the activity of the spirit. According to its designers, the Civic Centre Scheme, an urban cathedral for the secular masses, catered to the spiritual needs of Aucklanders, elevating them to the higher realm of beauty and dignity, and inspiring sentiments of civic pride:

The craving for beauty as a spiritual activity cannot be denied. That beauty in building can evoke the spiritual emotions and minister to the spiritual side of life, many glorious temples and cathedrals have testified throughout the centuries. But temples and cathedrals no longer form the main building activities of whole peoples. To-day schools, libraries, hospitals, post-offices, factories, and other utilitarian or altruistic buildings are taking their place in common life. To-day rulers raise money not for the churches but for workers' homes; not for cathedrals but for power-houses and town halls. All these buildings touch the common life of people at every point – surely, they should be made to minister to their spiritual and not alone to satisfy their physical needs?<sup>10</sup>

### **Civic Sentiments Expressed: The "Battle" of the Auckland Centre Civic Square**

In contrast to the civic sentiments that the two parties behind the project – the Auckland Council as commissioners and notable designers – were trying to inspire, the citizens rejected the Scheme on several occasions. The "saga of the Auckland Civic Centre," as Caroline Miller accurately phrased, it can be traced back to the enthusiastic Edwardian ambitions, prevented by the outbreak World War I.<sup>11</sup> However, the idea that a planned civic core was needed persisted. In 1921, the City Council approved the proposals for the city "improvement" by widening a section of Queen Street, removing old buildings and the old market premises at expiry of leases, and erecting another municipal structure.<sup>12</sup> Polls were organized to include the citizens into the decision-making process, and, despite the Council's best efforts to popularize the project, the ratepayers voted against.<sup>13</sup>

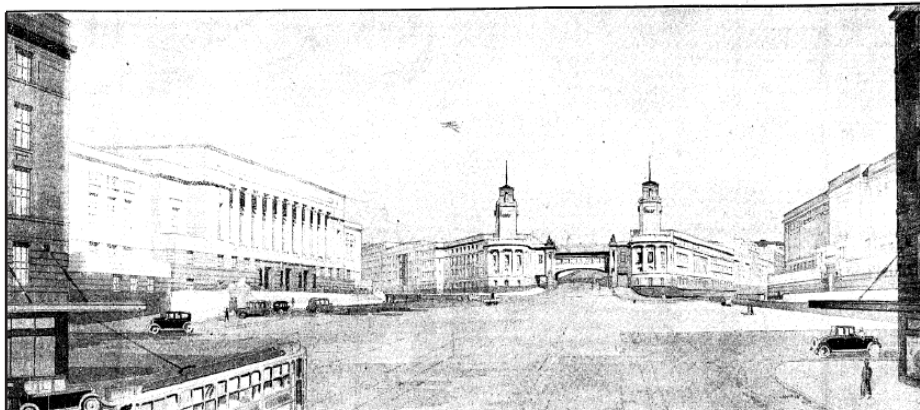
The resolve of the city leaders was not shaken – two years after the 1921 failure, articles about the necessity to develop the "unbefitting" site of the old city market next to the Town Hall and remove the outdated buildings proliferated in the daily press.<sup>14</sup> Sir James Henry Gunson (1877–1963), Mayor of Auckland City in 1915–1925, was among the strongest supporters of the project. Gunson described the civic center construction as one of the most important among the "six points" of the period civic administration.<sup>15</sup> According to him, the citizens of Auckland needed to be practical and plan for the future. Steps needed to be taken to clear out the city center – to avoid congestion and to improve its appearance. Furthermore, the growing community must have an adequate place of gathering and establish a civic focal point.

---

Amongst other prominent Aucklanders who endorsed the cause unequivocally, the arguments of Sir George Mathew Fowlds (1860–1934) were especially persuasive: “every city must have a heart, and a city which has some pride in itself must have a soul.”<sup>16</sup> Fowlds reassured the public concerned mostly with the costs, insisting that the project was economically feasible. Ultimately, he stressed, “some sacrifice needed to be made” for the greater good, and invited the citizens of Auckland to heed the example set by the great cities of the world: “after all, generous open planning of Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Washington which captivates their visitors, could hardly be considered reckless.”<sup>17</sup> And yet, the citizens of Auckland remained unconvinced.

In spite of the public criticism and concerns about the costly scheme, the Council proceeded with demolition of the outdated Queen Street buildings after the leases expired in 1924.<sup>18</sup> The decision to go forth against the ratepayers wishes would prove to be fatal for the scheme’s realization. As the citizens sharply objected, the Auckland Council attempted a damage-control campaign. A public poll about a loan for the Civic Square proposal was scheduled for 29 April 1925. In preparations for the poll, the newspapers insisted on the merits of the scheme, stressing, among other points, that it would raise the property values in the surrounding areas. The tone of the articles was often apologetic. They explained that the demolition of the old structures was necessary and in line with the Health Department’s recommendations: “these buildings were merely a rat harborage owing to their age and defective construction.”<sup>19</sup> The press appealed to the citizens of Auckland to make a rational decision, keeping in mind the various benefits of the Scheme and the city’s future – regardless of the grudge they might hold against the action taken by the City Council.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Gunson gave a public lecture explaining the scheme’s importance for Auckland’s progress: “if we fail to show some initiative and resource and be unwilling to make relative sacrifices, future generations would rightly blame us for our failure to maintain the noble conceptions of the past and uphold its traditions.”<sup>21</sup> However, not fully gained in the first place, the 1925 poll showed that the public support was utterly lost by the attempt to strong-arm the decision about the Civic Square issue. The citizens rejected the project which they considered exorbitant and, ultimately, unnecessary.<sup>22</sup>

In contrast to what one might expect, the chapter about the Auckland City Civic Square was not closed by the 1925 debacle. Set in their intention, the City Council decided the following year to form a Committee of “eminent town-planning experts” to find a satisfactory solution to the civic center issue.<sup>23</sup> Two famous architects – Sir John Sulman of Sydney and New Zealand based Hurst Seager – and Auckland City engineer Walter Bush, were allotted the task of evolving a suitable scheme. They went further than the Gummer and Ford’s original proposal. Sulman, Seager and Bush developed a grandiose scheme which centered on Queen Street, offering “a sense of spaciousness and symmetry, and freedom for full architectural expression in the grouping and design of the public buildings on the area” (Figure 2).<sup>24</sup> The Committee acknowledged the fact that their proposal might seem too ambitious for a city the size of Auckland. However, they insisted that their scheme catered for the future.<sup>25</sup> At a cost of over half a million pounds, the project proposed by the Committee was significantly more ambitious than the one rejected by the ratepayers in 1925. This might be the reason why the Council never even attempted to consult the public about it. Instead, they postponed reaching a final decision for months. In the end, the Commission’s scheme was described



*Figure 2. "Auckland's Civic Centre: The Commission's Proposal Illustrated." Newspapers illustration. (Source: Auckland's Civic Centre: The Commission's Proposal Illustrated, Auckland Star, 23 Oct 1926, no. 62 is. 252, 13)*

as "too large" and rejected.<sup>26</sup> The cleared Queen Street area in the proximity of the Town Hall entered another phase in November 1927, with the auctioning of leases – a clear sign that the Council lost "the Battle of the Square."<sup>27</sup>

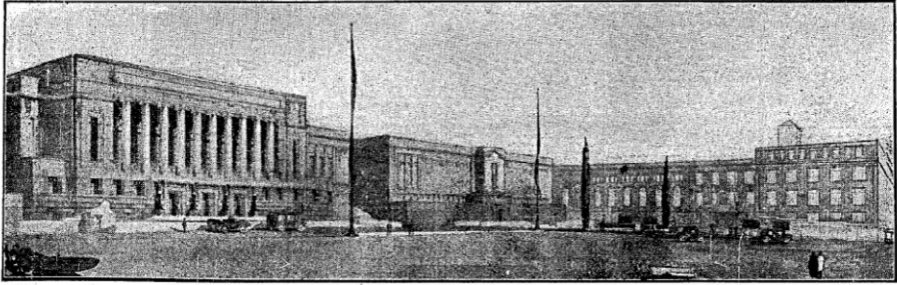
### **In Service of the Society: Communicating Architecture to the Public**

Outlined in the first section of the paper, the sense of an architect's responsibility for the society permeated creative efforts behind the Auckland Civic Centre Scheme. Trained in the Beaux-Arts tradition, Gummer and Ford, like Sulman, Seager and Bush after them, approached urban design as reformers of the human spirit.<sup>28</sup> Continuing the line of moralizing theories developed since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, New Zealand architects regarded architecture not solely as a passive reflection of their time, but as a potent tool for the betterment of the society.<sup>29</sup> As Mari Hvattum noted, in the nineteenth century, architecture was a "vehicle for moral improvement as in Pugin, a symbol of national renewal as in Schinkel and Klenze, an expression of rationality and progress as in Hubsch, or the self-representation of a new social class as in the Vienna Ringstrasse."<sup>30</sup> These ideas lived on in the early twentieth-century. Associational thinking – architecture as embodied memory – and the idea of architectural propriety – form as an expression of socio-cultural norms and of purpose – provided basis for design processes.<sup>31</sup> Communicating cultural values of the governing class, architecture was supposed to serve the society by inspiring certain thinking patterns and behaviors amongst the ever-growing urban populations.

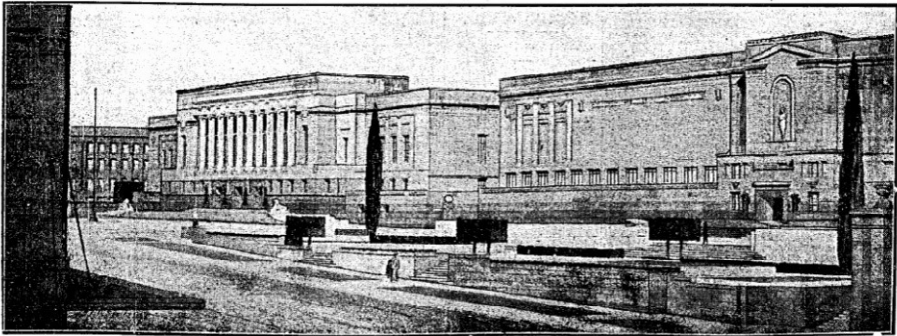
Therefore, for the interwar designers in New Zealand, the issue of architectural form was not merely a matter of aesthetic preference. To be able to "minister" to the human spirit – to paraphrase Ford's words quoted earlier in the paper – architecture needed to



THE ACCEPTED DESIGN FOR AUCKLAND'S CIVIC CENTRE.



Perspective drawing of the proposed Civic Centre looking toward Wellesley Street, buildings in which form the background, with Queen Street on the extreme right. The Municipal building is on the left of the view, with the Art Gallery beyond.



A view of the Civic Centre from the foot of Wellesley Street East. The Art Gallery is the building on the right, the Municipal Building is distinguished by the colonnade. Beyond it are prospective buildings in Cook Street.

Figure 3. "The Accepted Design for Auckland's Civic Centre." Newspapers illustration.  
(Source: *Design of Civic Centre. Dignified Simplicity the Fundamental Idea*, *New Zealand Herald*, 6 Nov 1924, no. 61 is. 18859, 11)

"speak" clearly, employing easily discernible system of historical forms and architectural ornament (Figure 3). Anthony Alofsin remarked that the analogy of architecture as language is one of the oldest tropes in the traditions of Western European architecture.<sup>32</sup> Communication in service of society, thus, became an essential trope in thinking about architecture, imbuing architectural form with didactic layers of diverse communicative potentials. Simultaneously, architects explored additional channels that would enable clearer communication of architecture. In New Zealand, in addition to other strategies, engaging in active dialogues with the general public was important for the establishment of architectural profession.<sup>33</sup> Creating a firm bond between the profession and the community was deemed an essential task of the period. Media was considered an essential tool in the process.

The attention given to the Auckland Civic Centre Scheme clearly illustrates the role of media in popularization of architectural and planning issues. Though the second part of this paper depicts the press as a tool of political propaganda, it was, in fact, crucial for promotion of architectural topics, keeping the public up to date with international and local news. Daily newspapers such as the *Auckland Star* and the *New Zealand Herald* published texts about architecture and urban planning by local authors and reprints of British, American,

and Australian articles regularly. Moreover, various “reader’s letters” sections enabled the citizens to voice their opinions about architectural and planning issues. An article published in the *Progress* in 1908 stressed the importance of the press for reaching out to the public: “the only hope of a proper comprehension and appreciation of the great part which architecture plays in human affairs rests in the attitude which the press in future may take up in regard to it.”<sup>34</sup> Period press maintained that, inextricable from everyday human experience, architecture concerned everyone – it was a matter larger than the profession.<sup>35</sup>

Inspired by the words by William J. Locke, the former secretary of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and a famous novelist, the press was deemed to be responsible for the popularisation of architectural art.<sup>36</sup> Locke criticised the relative anonymity of architects in the eyes of the general public – especially when compared to other creators – maintaining that the main cause was the lack of adequate promotion. According to him, as a result, architectural profession was underappreciated and often misunderstood. Being the only art ever-present in everyday life and always visible, an anonymous journalist for the *Auckland Star* called upon the public to recognise architecture as a communal necessity.<sup>37</sup> The journalist criticised common practice and the current New Zealand law, which allowed no one but a licensed plumber to put in a drain, yet everyone could design the house to which the said drain was attached: “drains, being tangible and material things, are of more importance than dignity and beauty.”<sup>38</sup>

In addition to the print media, members of the profession maintained that general education was another efficient vehicle for keeping the New Zealand public well informed about architectural and planning issues. Early 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the first efforts to introduce technical education, with basics of architectural knowledge, to primary and secondary schools – at least to a certain extent.<sup>39</sup> This way a “nexus” between the primary, secondary, and tertiary education was to be achieved and the general population better prepared for understanding the progress the country was experiencing. Originally published in the famous London based journal, the *Illustrated Carpenter and Builder*, the idea to teach architecture in secondary and evening continuation schools – not from the architectural student’s point of view, but as a matter of general culture” – was presented to the New Zealand reading audiences in 1908.<sup>40</sup> The same article listed “the publication in the general press of brightly written and well-informed articles on architecture” and “signing of their buildings, as pictures are signed, by the architects, so that the public may become familiar with the names and styles of the leading practitioners of the art” as two other “aids” necessary to develop architectural taste.

Fighting for the architecture’s cause, a 1922 article complained that “where the painter appeals to the few, the architect addresses thousands, but to the comparatively few the artist is known both by his work and his name, and his reputation lives or falls by the quality of his production.”<sup>41</sup> The article proposed a solution – to adequately present it to the wider public, history of architecture should be taught across the country in relation to the study of general history: “There are examples on every side that could be pointed out to even the elementary pupils that would incite their interests and help spread the gospel of beauty and the converse in daily life. We cannot all of us own gallery of paintings or even prints, but architecture, good, bad, and indifferent, and worse is ever before our eyes.”



---

Similarly, discussing conditions that might contribute to the society's well-being, in 1933, Professor of Civil Engineering at Canterbury College, John E. L. Cull (1879–1943), insisted that primary and secondary education should include basic information about town-planning: "in the primary and secondary schools the subjects of history, geography and civics, where taught, could be given a bias toward town-planning ideals by including the history of the development of towns and descriptions of typical towns, old and new."<sup>42</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The case of the Auckland Civic Centre scheme illustrates a potential outcome of the public engagement in decision making about urban planning. In this case, it is possible to describe the interference of the public as harmful for the long-term planning history of Auckland – at least from a point of traditional city planning. Namely, left without a well-defined central urban place, the inner city of the modern-day Auckland lacks a focal point, stretching between disconnected spaces of Aotea Square, Waterfront, Queen Elisabeth Square, and other scattered locations. It can be argued that the interwar interference of the general public deprived the city of a hierarchically distinguished urban space that would operate as a focal point for civic and public activities. At the opposite end of the spectrum, it is possible to list numerous examples when the failure to take into consideration the public opinion resulted in unbecoming urban spaces, unjustly imposed to the citizens.

Resolving the latter issue is a matter which concerns all societies aspiring towards democracy and surpasses the issues of architecture. The former, however, seems more intimately connected with architectural domain and can, potentially, be handled from within the professional circles. Central to the issue is adequately preparing the general public to participate in the discussions about architectural and planning matters. This paper shows that, firmly set in their belief that, architecture and urban spaces are a matter of communal significance, members of the profession developed two main strategies to engage and educate the wider public in the interwar New Zealand – print media coverage and systematic education.

Facing other challenges of popularization and standardization of the profession in New Zealand, as well as the broader socio-economic and political circumstances of the period, it seems that, however, they never assembled to tackle the issue systematically. For example, as far as this research managed to determine, the idea of introducing basics of architecture and planning to the primary and secondary education curricula remained confined to the format of professional writing in New Zealand between the world wars. It is possible to wonder, though, whether these interwar ideas had some long-term effects, having that present-day Visual Arts courses in years 1–13 of New Zealand public education comprise architectural projects. Finally, it is possible to argue that preparing the general public for active engagement with architectural and planning topics is a universal issue. Easily transposable within various contexts, it presents an opportunity to diversify employment profiles of the architectural profession and prepare its members to join a broader workforce.

## Notes

- 1 Stacpoole, J., Beaven, P: *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820–1970*, Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1972, p. 73.
- 2 Orsman, C: *Architecture and the New Zealand Mythos*, MArch, University of Auckland, 1983, p. 238.
- 3 *Municipal Record: Official Organ of the Auckland City Council* 2, Apr 1924, no. 4.
- 4 Hodgson, T: *The Heart of Colonial Auckland, 1865-1910*, Auckland: Random Century, 1992, 48; Petry, B: *The Public Architecture of Gummer and Ford*, MArch thesis, University of Auckland, 1992; Shaw, P: *A History of New Zealand Architecture*, Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett, 2003, pp. 19, 67, 88, 90, 111–115, 146, 197; Waite, B: *In the Beaux-Arts Tradition. William Gummer Architect*, Exhibition Catalogue, Napier: Hawke's Bay Cultural Trust, 2005; Moore, C: The Design Philosophy of Gummer and Ford. in *Proceedings of the SAHANZ: 30*, Gold Coast: SAHANZ, 2013, pp. 487–497.
- 5 Findlay, M: The Lure of London: New Zealand Architects Abroad 1918–1930. In: *'Good Architecture Should Not Be a Plaything': New Zealand Architecture in the 1920s. A One Day Symposium*, Wellington, Centre for Building Performance Research at Faculty of Architecture and Design, Victoria University of Wellington, 27.
- 6 Middleton, R (ed): *The Beaux-Arts and the 19th-century French Architecture*, MIT Press, Cambridge, 1982; Drexler, A.: *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts*, London: Secker & Warburg, 1977, pp. 129, 332.
- 7 See for example: *Dignity and Simplicity – The Keynote of Modern Architecture*, *Auckland Star* 60, 22 Feb 1929, no. 45, p. 9.
- 8 Ford, C. R: *Address by the Retiring President*, *New Zealand Institute of Architects Journal*, January 1923, no. 2, p. 146.
- 9 Wood, P. C. Reginald Ford: An Account of His Practice and Influence, 1919–1931. In *'Good Architecture Should Not Be a Plaything': New Zealand Architecture in the 1920s. A One Day Symposium*, Wellington: Centre for Building Performance Research at Faculty of Architecture and Design, Victoria University of Wellington, p. 107.
- 10 Ford, C. R: *Architect and Client*. *Progress*, Sep 1921, no. 17, pp. 26–27.
- 11 Miller, C. L: The City Beautiful Movement in New Zealand and the Saga of the Auckland Civic Centre. In *Proceedings of the Fifth Australian Urban History Planning History Conference*, Adelaide, University of South Australia, 2000, pp. 276–284; *The Future Auckland. City Council's Big Policy*, *Auckland Star*, 28 Jul 1916, vol. XLVII, is. 179, p. 2.
- 12 *New Municipal Block over Old Market Site. City Loan of 120,000*, *Auckland Star*, 1 Jul 1921, vol. LIII, is. 155, p. 6.
- 13 *Market Scheme Lost*, *New Zealand Herald*, 1 Sep 1921, vol. LVIII, is. 17875, p. 4.
- 14 *A Great Civic Centre*, *Auckland Star*, 17 Nov 1923, vol. LIV, is. 275, p. 17.
- 15 *Auckland's Romance. Growth and Progress. Schemes Contemplated. Mayor's 'Six Points'*, *New Zealand Herald*, 30 Jul 1923, vol. LX, is. 18464, p. 9.
- 16 *A Civic Centre*, *New Zealand Herald*, 13 Sep 1923, vol. LX, is. 18503, p. 5.
- 17 *A Civic Centre*, p. 5.
- 18 *Demolition of Buildings. Possibilities of the Area*, *New Zealand Herald*, 3 May 1924, vol. LXI, is. 18699, p. 13.
- 19 *The Civic Square. Poll Fixed for April 29. Addresses to Ratepayers*, *New Zealand Herald*, 7 Mar 1925, vol. LXII, is. 18961, p. 13.

- 
- 20 *The Civic Square*, *New Zealand Herald*, 20 Apr 1925, vol. LXII, is. 18997, p. 6.
- 21 *City Loan proposals. Mayor Opens Campaign. Address at Remuera. Civic Centre Project*, *New Zealand Herald*, 21 Apr 1925, vol. LXII, is. 18998, p. 11.
- 22 Ben Schrader offered a compelling analysis of complex nature of a specific form of anti-urbanism deeply rooted in New Zealand culture of that period: Schrader, B: *The Big Smoke: New Zealand Cities 1840–1920*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016. 353–403.
- 23 *Our Civic Square. The Experts' Findings. An Ambitious Proposal.*, *Auckland Star*, 13 Oct 1926, vo. LVII, is. 243, p. 8.
- 24 *Civic Square Endorsed*, *Auckland Star*, 23 Oct 1926, vol. LVII, is. 252, p. 10.
- 25 *Auckland Civic Centre. Commission's Report*, *New Zealand Herald*, 23 Oct 1926, vol. LXIII, is. 19466, p. 12.
- 26 *The Civic Square. Council Still Divided*, *New Zealand Herald*, 18 Feb 1927, vol. LXIV, is. 19565, p. 12.
- 27 *Civic Centre. Auction of Leases To-Day*, *New Zealand Herald*, 2 Nov 1927, vol. LXIV, is. 19783, p. 12; *Battle of the Square*, *New Zealand Herald*, 5 May 1925, vol. LXII, is. 19009, p. 10
- 28 Ford, C. R: *Architect and Client*. *Progress*, Sep 1921, no. 17, pp. 26–27.
- 29 See, for example: Crook, J. M: *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern*, London: John Murray, 198); Stansky, P: *Redesigning the world: William Morris, the 1880s, and the Arts and Crafts*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, c. 1985; Watkin, D: *Morality and Architecture Revisited*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, c. 2001.
- 30 Hvattum, M: *Gottfried Semper and the Problem of Historicism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 154.
- 31 For more about the concept of architectural propriety see: Mađanović, M: *The Quality of Fitness in the Architecture of the 20th Century: An Oversighted Design Principle from the Beaux-Arts Tradition*, *Matica Srpska Journal of Fine Arts*, 2020, 48, pp. 163–179.
- 32 Alofsin, A: *When Buildings Speak: Architecture as Language in the Habsburg Empire and its Aftermath, 1867–1933*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006, p. 8. The analogy continues to attract scholarly attention. For example: Achleitner, F: *The Pluralism of Modernity: the Architectonic 'Language Problem' in Central Europe*. In: *Shaping the Great City: Modern Architecture in Central Europe, 1890–1937*, Munich: Prestel, 1999, 94–106; Guillerme, J: *The Idea of Architectural Language: A Critical Inquiry*, *Oppositions*, Fall 1977, 10, pp. 21–26.
- 33 Bassett, B: *Between the Edwardian and the Modern: Stylistic Debates in the New Zealand Architectural Press, 1905–1918*, *The Journal of New Zealand Art History*, 2010, pp. 31, 37.
- 34 *Architecture and Press*, *Progress*, Oct 1908, no. 3, p. 419.
- 35 *The Young Architect*, *Progress*, Jan 1917, no. 5, p. 842; *Planning for the Client*, *Progress* 12, July 1917 no. 11, pp. 1011–1012.
- 36 *Notes and Comments*, *New Zealand Herald* 59, 9 Mar 1922, no. 18035, p. 6.
- 37 *Art and Architecture. Or Architect and Public*, *Auckland Star* 63, 9 Sep 1922, no. 214, p. 17.
- 38 *Art and Architecture*, p. 17.
- 39 *Technical Education*, *New Zealand Times*, 28 Mar 1904, vol. LXXVI, is. 5236, p. 4.
- 40 *Aids to Architectural Taste*, *Progress*, 1 Jul 1908, vol. III, is 9, p. 315.
- 41 *Making Architecture Known to the Man in the Street*, *Progress*, 1 Aug 1922, vol. XVII, is. 12, p. 279.
- 42 *Town Planning Ideal. In the Schools. Suggestion by Professor Cull*, *Waikato Times*, 21 Oct 1931, vol. 110, is. 18465, p. 5.
-