When Frank Eggar Greenish (c1887-1962) criticised the Reform Government's architectural policies he boldly stated that: "Good architecture should not be a plaything - a luxury - for a spirited nation. It should be a very real part of national character." The statement embodied sentiments which were uncontroverted among New Zealand architects of the period. Instead they were frustrated by their seeming inability to convey the necessity of architecture to the public and to the government, and to determine, within the New Zealand context, the appropriate standing of the architectural profession.

The 1920s has been conventionally seen by historians as a decade when "society slid back.” Architectural historians have described the time as "transitional," or "characterised by a conservativeness," though the NZIAJ suggests more complex dynamics as the profession was dealing with the conflicts between the standards of "Home," and desires for self-sufficiency. The decade began with the end of World War I (1914-1918) and the 1918 influenza pandemic. Lloyd-Jenkins points to the impact of the war, opening up opportunities overseas for New Zealanders, attracting them to migrate permanently. It is the demographic gap, left by these men, which Lloyd-Jenkins argues, created the dominance of the older generation of architects, and the decade's tendency to the conservative.

The reality of the war was significant in the early years of the 1920s, not in the least because "[t]he war's end late in 1918 meant it was 1920 before many New Zealand soldiers arrived home." Rehabilitation schemes provided ex-servicemen with "cheap urban housing" following the Soldier Settlement Act (1915), though Smith states that these opportunities were not available for Maori. The result was that land prices spiralled, contributing to the larger context of growing inflation and economic uncertainty. Smith also notes that the war "also gave renewed urgency to eugenic anxieties about racial degeneracy, because army medical examinations exposed a high level of unfitness.” Another health scare occurred with the international publication of statistics demonstrating that "New Zealand had the second highest maternal mortality rate after the United States.” Several changes during the 1920s were aimed at improving the health and well-being of New Zealanders. The Department of Public Health, shortened its name (to Department of Health) and broadened its focus from sewage and sanitation to personal health, particularly that of the child "as the future citizen." Open-air schools, such as the model open-air school at Cashmere Sanatorium (1926), and health camps (begun in Wanganui in 1919, and organised by eugenist Elizabeth Gunn) resulted. Frederic Truby King, of Plunket fame, became the Director of Child Welfare in 1921. He also hosted the New Zealand Institute of Architects, during a site visit of his William Gray Young-designed house in Melrose in 1925. The 1920s also saw the establishment of the School Dental Service (in 1921), and a shifting of the place of childbirth "from the home to the hospital as new public maternity hospitals and wards opened.” It appears the focus on health reforms may not have been as pervasive as first impressions. Brown notes that "At this time most hospitals refused Māori admissions.” This situation prompted Kingitanga leader Te Kirihaehae Te Puea Herangi to build a hospital at Turangawaewae:

Mahinarangi was originally intended to be a hospital, and conceived of as a building that would look like a meeting house so that Māori patients would feel comfortable and accept Western medicine from Māori staff who observed tapu. At this time ... many Māori were afraid of Pākehā medical practices.

Mahinarangi opened in 1929, but "did not fit the criteria necessary to operate as a private hospital," so the house instead became a focal point of Turangawaewae as a reception hall and museum.

While childbirth became increasingly a hospital affair, the home didn't miss out on ideological attention. The Massey-led Reform government promoted homeownership, providing "home loans of up to 95 per cent for a suburban house and section to workingmen and returned soldiers." Consequently the government became "the largest mortgagee in the country ... [and by 1926] New Zealand had probably the highest rate of [home] ownership in the world." Californian bungalows filled the suburbs, producing (in Thomson Wilson Leys' words):

such infinite variety ... that no one is surprised when rushing for a tram in the morning to find that some wonderful creation has sprung up on a vacant allotment like a mushroom, in the night. Such little vagaries as the omission to provide an entrance from the main building to a bedroom, or the intervention of a spacious hall between kitchen and dining-room, are details which contribute to that spirit of adventure which gives spice to life. For what can be more stimulating to courage than to brave a winter storm in your passage from a warm fire to a snug bed; or how can domestic virtues be better cultivated than in the conveyance of the family dinner across your main entrance without spilling the gravy.

Badly-designed houses were considered to have "an untold influence on the general well-being, - spiritually, mentally, and morally." An Auckland City Council housing scheme came under attack because it was a missed opportunity:

The external design of the houses is as banal and as mediocre as the typical plan. It is quite true that they show no attempt at pretence - they are honestly mediocre ... the joy of architecture - comes not by chance, nor by the payment of so many shekels, nor by any other means than training and experience in the art of architecture.

Equally importantly is the observation lloyd-Jenkins makes of this time period. He notes a social change as New Zealand architects understood that: "American architects encouraged tackling the entire home, not just the public rooms." The idea of house or home though was not a culturally singular one. As Deidre Brown notes:

This model of [Pākehā] living had not been adopted by all Māori at this time due to the expense of building such structures, the change from extended to nuclear family living associated with "house" life, and the difficulties in reconciling the tapu of sleep with the noa of ablutions, eating and cooking. Many Māori "houses" were judged by the government and Pākehā commentators to be dump, dark, overcrowded and, as a consequence, unsanitary; but what was being witnessed was largely an economic, social and constructional transition from whare puni to domestic housing.
Ferguson supports this observing that: "Applicants for [government] housing were expected to conform to the lifestyle of the respectable Pakeha urban worker." From 1923 though, Maori, via the Native Trustee Act, could access capital for land development and to "improve or replace existing housing." Five hundred and fifty one house were built in the seven years between 1929 and 1936 under the resulting development schemes, and these included culturally hybrid houses designed by Te Puea "which sought to combine the most favourable elements of whare and house ... [T]hese houses featured thatched, or a combination of thatch and weatherboard." Pakeha also engaged practices of cultural hybridity in the fashions for " the use of Maori decorative motifs," and giving houses Maori names (e.g. Waiohika (Louis Hay, nr Gisborne, 1920), Te Pa (Warrington, c1920), Wharetane (John Anderson (1880-?), Mt Eden, 1926). Other houses designed in the decade included: Fairley House (later Awatea), Auckland (Binney, 1922), the Spicer Beach Cottage, Rothesay Bay, Auckland (James Walter Chapman-Taylor (1878-1958), 1923), Weston House, Park Tce/Peterborough St, Christchurch (Wood, 1923), the Adamson Resident, Salamanca Rd, Kelburn, Wellington (William Gray Young (1895-1962), 1923), Pinckney House, Holly Rd, Christchurch (Helmore & Cottrill, 1924), Bates House, Pendarves St, New Plymouth (Thomas Herbert Bates (1873-1954), 1924), Shortland Flats (Thomas Coulthart Mullins (1878-1957) and Sholto Smith (1882-1936), 1924), Fernside, nr Featherston, Wairarapa (Helmore & Cottrill, 1924), Anderson Park, Invercargill (Wood, 1925), Four Peaks homestead (Helmore & Cottrill, 1925), the Hellaby House, Remuera (Roy Keith Binney (1886-1957), 1926), 10 Woodward St, Mt Albert, Auckland (Chapman-Taylor, 1925-1926), the Mills House, Upland Rd, Remuera (Binney, 1926), Arden, Havelock North (William H. Gummer (1884-1966), 1926), Fleming House, Park Tce/Bealey Ave, Christchurch ( Cecil Wood (1878-1947), 1926), Bishopscourt, Park Tce, Christchurch (Wood, 1926), MacEwan House, Wellington (Heathcote Helmore (1894-1965) & Guy Cotterill (1897-1981), 1926), Crawford House, Wellington (Helmore & Cottrill, 1927), Smeeton House, Remuera Rd, Auckland (Roy Alstan Lippincott (1885-1969), 1927), Fletcher House, Upland Rd, Auckland (Lippincott, 1927), Stoneways, Mountain Rd, Auckland (Gummer, 1927), and the Wilkinson House, Pukearuhe, Taranaki (Chapman-Taylor, 1928).

Fairburn locates the rise in home ownership as ameliorating political radicalism,"not only by giving contentment but also by imposing restraints. ... The families who purchased houses ... had something to conserve. ... workers became more averse to taking strike action, for strikes made mortgages difficult to service, and placed at risk the collateral - the savings represented by the home." He paints the decade as one of political extremism fuelled by Baptist minister, Howard Elliot, who employed "sensational methods of stirring up hatred. ... [and] increasingly added to his scurrilous revelations about Rome, extreme attacks on the "disloyal" Left, on the "Bolshevistic" Labour Party, on radical unionists and socialism of any kind, exposing their role in the Papal plot." Fairburn, hence suggests that the Reform government worked to ameliorate extreme effects, and the home was figured as a site for this moderation, noting that the 1920s "cult of domesticity ... helped to keep down the proportion of women engaged in paid employment," important as the economic fragility of the country increased and unemployment increased. This management of unemployment levels impacted society beyond the home. The progress made with mechanisation, for example in the Public Works Department, would be undermined with the reversion to manual labour and public works projects "to absorb the growing numbers of unemployed" with the Depression, though Noonan qualifies this by saying that: "only a really serious depression could reverse [mechanisation], not least because it reduced costs significantly, particularly in areas like earthworks, where expenses were estimated to have dropped by 30 percent." At home, new materials and technologies also made their impact. Plaster wallboards replaced scrim, stretched over boards, as an interior lining, and the fashion for panelling competed with traditions of wallpaper. Research into architectural sciences was supported by the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (established in 1926), and n NZIA's standing committee, formed in 1923 to: examine, report on and, if necessary, the various building materials manufactured in or imported into New Zealand as occasion may arise. ... The efforts of the Committee to be exercised in obtaining an improvement in the quality of the materials and discouraging the use of those of bad quality. It shall be competent for the Committee to obtain the advice of persons outside the Institute with reference to materials of which they may have special technical knowledge.

Appliance manufacture also supported New Zealand households with, for example, the first electric range manufactured in Dunedin in 1925, while "[e]lectric lighting, hot water and inside toilets eased the lives of families who could afford home ownership. Electricity lit up rooms and showed the dust, inviting into the house marketing strategies of the consumer society, to target the housewife and mother." It was in the 1920s, with further investment in hydro-electricity, that the goal of the Minister of Public Works (1920-1926) and Minister of Railways (1923-1928), Joseph Gordon Coates (1878-1943), for "reasonably priced electricity being available for every person in the Dominion" became a realistic one.

1920s New Zealand became more urban with the rise of the suburbs, the motorcar, and the Californian bungalow. As Staipoole and Beaven put that: "Garages began to appear beside the houses." Joseph McLatchie Dawson (1876-1956) designed New Zealand's first motor vehicle assembly plant for Courtenay Place in Wellington in 1921-1922. The "number of cars on the roads doubled," and this "[n]ew, rapid means of transport led to the spread of suburban development radially to the major cities." The Main Highways Act (1922) came into operation in June 1924, and, for the first time, the motor car challenged rail as the preferred mode of transportation; something Coates' railway policy underestimated, as the government "continued to build and operate lines that would never pay, at a time when there was a viable, cheaper alternative - motor transport." The motor car necessitated a redesign of roads, and consequently a new geometry in the landscape as the car's "higher speeds called for wider roads, better surfaces, easier curves, greater sight distances, and two-way bridges; heavy trucks and buses needed stronger roads and bridges." Even in the 1920s the investment into cars was contrasted with that into housing, with the observation that: "Were only half the thought devoted at present to motor cars given to the homes of the people, this country would be a happier and better place to live in."

The Public Works Department was also given new areas of architectural work, particularly the design and project management work of buildings commissioned by hospital boards, school boards and other educational authorities, taking work away from private architectural firms. Exactly how the NZIA felt about this was evident in Greenish's 1924 article "The Architecture of our Schools" stating that it was:
difficult to conceive a more short-sighted and uneconomic decision ... the legislators, and more particularly the Government of the day, seem to care nothing for what is intrinsically sound in building ... It is well known that bureaucratic methods are the surest means of narrowing the character and individuality of the people, and this is not less so in regard to architecture - an art in which individuality and service to the community must have full play - for such qualities are its life-blood.

The loss of hospital and school work from the private sector added to the NZIA's constant feelings of inadequacy represented through the NZIAJ during the time. The small numbers of registered architects meant the organisation was conscious of its lack of political power. It frequently turned to the RIBA for validation, and the prevalence of design by non-architects, and the seeming lack of architectural appreciation by the public was pervasive, demonstrated by, for example, the assertion by William Meek Page (1875-1953) that the Dollar Book of Plans from America "exerted more influence on the domestic architecture of the country than all the architects put together. ... He had been given to understand that the Architects were responsible for only about five per cent. of the houses built in the country." The lack of protection of registered architects was a common theme, the desire to improve local architectural education to ensure that architects had similar professional status to lawyers and doctors, and the recognition of their lack of influence over the government all suggest the insecurities and frustrations of a young profession. Likewise, Greenish, in an article responding to the new State Advances policy to loan up to 95% of a property's value, recalled that: "Our assistance and advice as a body of trained professional men have frequently been offered to the Government from time to time, but have either been consistently ignored or politely declined."

The NZIA's lack of agency also played out in the architects' lengthy negotiations with builders over the Conditions of Contract, and the heart-felt relief expressed by Crichton (as retiring NZIA President), when he was able to announce that:

(after long delay, during which many meetings were held) the controversy over the new general conditions of contract has been brought to a successful close. You cannot tell what a measure of relief this has caused the Committee and myself.

Frustration with the public lack of appreciation of architecture's value was also persistent. Charles Reginald Ford (1880-1971) put it like this: "I have never yet seen upon the bookshelves of a bookshop in New Zealand a biography of an architect. There is very evidently - a fact shown in many other ways - an almost entire lack of popular interest in architecture." The celebration of Australasia's first architect to be knighted (John Shulman) in 1924 went some way to address this, and Samuel Hurst Seager (1855-1933) was also publicly recognised when he was made a Commander of the British Empire (CBE) in 1926.

The architects' desire to improve the environment was also expressed in their aims to establish town-planning in New Zealand, following on from the 1919 conference. Advocates included Christchurch Mayor Henry Thomas Joyst Thacker (1870-1939), who asserted that: "They ought to have powers by which they could compel people to take down worm-eaten premises and allow architects to put up-to-date buildings," and Auckland City Councillor Andrew Jack Entrican (1858-1936), who supported "converting slums and offensive spots into places of beauty." Lippincott also promoted the idea that communities "be required by law to prepare a town-planning scheme," while Greenish, in response to an article by sculptor Joseph Ellis (c1880-1941), observed that:

It is quite true that our cities show a drab appearance - relieved occasionally by a building of merit, which only serves to emphasise the drabness ... Another cause of apparent drabness is the poor architectural setting which is afforded by the disorderly arrangement and the sordidness of our street equipment and the blatant hoardings and advertisement signs, for which the only remedy appears to be some measure of control under the Town Planning and City Improvement Act.

The Town Planning Bill became the Town Planning Act, in 1926, but up until that point it was a key focus for architectural action and cross-disciplinary collaboration.

During the 1920s, the NZIA saw education as key to increasing the status of the architectural profession, and referred to the fact that: "the [architectural] student is the most important person." The School of Architecture at the Auckland University College was only recently established (in 1918), and it was not the only option for potential architects. Banks Commercial College, for example, advertised its Correspondence Coaching for the Examination of the NZIA, with Cyril Hawthorn Mitchell (1891-1949) and Llewellyn E. Williams as instructors in the JNZIA. The importance of training overseas was also evident:

We are obliged to admit that unless we go to England or America and gain experience by a good course of study, or else read a great number of books, our training is in much the same position as it has been for many years. ... It is evident from the examination results that the students lack a complete systematic and progressive course.

Local architects frequently debated issues of education, during this time of transition from articling to university education, as well as the role of the RIBA. For example, William Feilding (1876-1946), in 1923, in response to that years' report from the NZIA Committee of Architectural Education, stated that he "thought too much stress was being laid on the R.I.B.A. examinations, and that more attention should be given to the Institute's own examinations." This was reinforced in 1926 when the RIBA acknowledged that: "the old Overseas Examination system of the R.I.B.A. may be considered to have exhausted its usefulness. ... the time may have arrived when the R.I.B.A. examinations overseas should be abolished and the architectural qualifications based upon local examinations should be accepted by the R.I.B.A. as equivalent to those based upon the R.I.B.A. examinations." Discussion about the syllabus of the BSc(Architecture), the renaming of the BSc(Architecture) the Bachelor of Architecture, and the co-ordination of the university examinations with the NZIA examinations also occurred, and concern was expressed about students not resident in Auckland, with James Louis Salmond (1868-1950) making recourse to the country's status as a democracy to underpin his argument that "the poor man's son had as much right as the rich man's son to secure a degree." Page's attendance at the 1924 Oxford Conference concluded that: "the old system of training the young architect is passing away. ... and it is clear that we must all follow the example of France."
The establishment of a Chair of Architecture at the Auckland University College in 1925 was a significant highlight for the NZIA, who literally put their money where their mouths were, partially funding the position with £300 for each of Knight's first three years. The NZIA cost was split 50:50 between the Auckland members and the national office, and a fundraising appeal was made to members. Knight's arrival was widely celebrated, and he was welcomed with a dinner in Auckland. It is, perhaps, better described as a turning point, as the profession began to conceive of the possibility that locally-derived standards of architecture might be plausible. Greenish saw Knight's appointment as "a decided step forward, because architecture will now in this country be placed on a proper footing in relation to the other professions." Likewise Page (at the time the NZIA President), considered the appointment of the new Professor as marking: "the beginning of a new era. ... For one thing, that fact that a Chair has been created for the study of architecture will go a long way to dispel the very wide-spread idea that the profession of architecture is one for which no serious study and preparation are required; that it is a profession into which any one may drift in any casual manner."

The 1920s was also key for New Zealand's second twentieth-century school of architecture: the School of Māori Arts and Crafts established by politician Apirana Ngata (1874-1950). The impetus of the school was Ngata's realisation that the knowledge and practice of whakairo rākau, and tukutuku was becoming rare. He gained state assistance, and the school, which "trained carvers, tukutuku workers and kōwhaiwhai painters," was opened in 1926 in Rotorua. Brown notes that under Ngata's influence, "the school turned its back on types of architectural innovations ... in favour of redeveloping the meeting house form. The Ringatū arts of polychromatic and figurative painting were not continued by the school, since Ngata believed that they had come to symbolise the pain, conflict and loss of the New Zealand Wars." Ngata's architectural work was also influential in other buildings, including St Mary's Church, Tikitiki, Gisborne (1924-26), built as an East Coast war memorial.

Counter to Ngata's architectural programme, Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana (1870-1939) built several temples, without aesthetic recourse to wharenui, following the establishment of the Ratana church in 1925. The 1000 seat, uncarved Temepara was opened in 1927 at Ratana Pa, and contrasted the pa's "Whare Maori," which was "decorated in the 1920s with whakairo rākau from another house, built in the nineteenth century near Taihape, called Te Ika-a-Maui. The Whare Māori became the repository for the crutches, spectacles and wheelchairs left over from Ratana's faith-healing sessions." Shaw notes that the Ratana temple was "based on plans drawn up by a Wanganui architect, Clifford Hood. ... [and] also said to have been influenced by a building he [Ratana] had seen in Japan." Sedcole has further documented this Japanese connection. Ratana, Te Puea, and Ngata were not the only Māori engaged in architectural projects. Ngati Kahungunu architect William Swanson, Read Bloomfield (c1885-1969), after studying in England and the University of Pennsylvania, also practiced architecture in New Zealand, beginning from the 1920s, until his retirement in 1959.

The decade was also a strong one for architectural competitions. In addition to those for war memorials, competitions were held for the designs of: the Methodist College, Auckland (won by Coombs & White), Lower Hutt Housing Competition (won by Greenish and Henry Thomas Mandeno (1879-1973) & Roy Henderson Fraser (1895-1972), and the Orakei Town Planning Competition, which "did not meet with the approval of the Institute," but was celebrated for being won by an institute member, Reginald Bedford Hammond (1894-1970), who also won the Lower Hutt Borough Town Planning Scheme. The 1920 competition for the design of the Auckland University College was won by Roy Alstan Lippincott (1885-1969) and Edward Fielder Billson (1892-1986). The building, constructed in 1921-1926, was initially described in uncomplementary terms. Shaw points to Building captioning an image of it with the words: "freak architecture" while noting that "the laws of architectural balance and proportion are entirely ignored ..." Lippincott, a graduate of Connell, appears, despite this reception, not to have been put off New Zealand. He became an active member of the NZIA, and remained in New Zealand until 1939. He also designed Massey Agricultural College, Palmerston North (1927), which was named in memory of Prime Minister William Ferguson Massey (1856-1925), and the Smith & Caughey Department Store, cnr Elliott and Wellesley St (1927). Competitions were another realm within which the profession attempted to define itself, with the NZIA insisting that members only compete in competitions that the institute had sanctioned. In 1922, it reprimanded the Wanganui Borough Council for running a competition asking builders to design workmen's cottages, and two years later Crichton, as retiring President, expressed his frustration regarding:

the fiasco over the competition held in Wellington for the erection of a large pavilion in the Basin Reserve. In that case the impossible was asked for, and this must have been known to the Council officers. ... Whether intentional or not, it now looks as if an attempt had been made to exploit architects. In future similar cases it seems desirable that architects should refrain from competing.

The decade also saw the NZIA institute its own system of awards. Following the suggestion of James Augustus Louis Hay (1881-1948), an annually awarded Beaucamp-Platts Memorial Medal was established for students, in memory and recognition of the late NZIA Secretary William Richard Beaucamp-Platts (c1865-1921), and a Memorial Fund was established. In 1926 it was decided that the Atkins' Gold Medal (gifted by the late President (1911-1912), Wanganui architect Alfred Atkins (1850-1919)) should be awarded annually, though there was debated regarding who should judge it. The initial proposal for the RIBA Street Architecture Medal Jury decide the winners of the New Zealand awards was objected to by Hurst Seager who asserted that: "It seems to me we are decrying the ability of our own people if we have to go outside the Dominion to get suitable people to judge the best building in a competition." Despite this, the NZIA Executive approached the RIBA, who replied stating that they "would be glad to undertake the necessary work." The first recipient of the Gold Medal was Stanley Walter Fearn (1887-1976), for the William Booth Memorial Training College (1927). The other winners during the 1920s were: Gummer & Ford for the Remuera Library (1928), and Grierson, Aimer & Draffin for the Auckland War Memorial Museum (1929).

Other public or commercial buildings of the decade included: the Technical College, Wellington (John Swan & William Gray Young, 1920), the Public Trust Building, Napier (Henry Hyland (1894-1969) & Eric Philips (1897-1980), 1921), St Andrew's, Wellington (Clere & Williams, 1922), Trentham Grandstand, (Alfred Edgar Luttrell (1865-1924) & Edward Sidney Luttrell...
Despite the up and downs of the decade, there existed a persistent striving for, and idealising, of Beauty; who is "here waiting for us if we will only appreciate and receive her. But walk down Queen Street in Auckland, or along Quay Street, and see our contribution! I think you will agree with me that we have done about everything we could do to drive her out of our lives."

Even scepticism (such as ungenerous characterisations of the wealthy: for whom "Close application to the accumulation of money does not tend to develop æsthetic taste, and the paintings found in wealthy homes too often neither beautify them nor instruct the owners"), were underpinned by a commitment to architecture as a battle worth fighting for. Page perhaps captures best the sentiment and delight which 1920s architects desired, when he stated that "Life is intolerable, sometimes, and I thank God for it; there is much to offend our susceptibilities, but we have our compensations. We derive infinite delight from a line, a shadow, a ray of light, a form, a mass, a word, even a thought."

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

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

Timetable:
- Abstracts due: Thursday 15th September 2011
- Programme announced: Friday 16th September 2011
- Full Papers due: Monday 14th November 2011
- Registration due: Monday 28th November 2011
- NZ Architecture Films: evening Thursday 1st December 2011
- Conference: Friday 2nd December 2011
- Docomomo annual meeting: Saturday 3rd December 2011