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“The Moral of these Pictures”: New Zealand’s Early Urban Reform Movements in Lantern Lectures

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Abstract

One of the threads linking together the early twentieth-century urban reform movements of city beautifying, garden city/suburb and town planning is the use of lantern slides and their ubiquitous projection device, the magic lantern. Along with newspapers, pamphlets and posters, lantern slides were an essential tool across each of these movements, presenting and framing the objectives promoted by their enthusiastic leaders and enabling the broad dissemination of their ideas via images projected to audiences in public lectures. Yet our understanding of how lantern media operated in these contexts has been restricted by the lack of extant lantern slide collections and a long-standing view of the medium’s redundancy compared to newer forms of projection media. Histories of how these campaigns were promoted in New Zealand are dominated by personalities such as Charles C. Reade, William R. Davidge and Samuel Hurst Seager, who are known to have frequently employed lantern slides for public lectures. However, the lantern lecture was utilised by a number of other figures and groups with common interests in these interrelated attempts to improve New Zealand’s urban landscape. Lantern lectures engendered, and were evidence of, the intersections of ideas, meanings and relationships between audiences, politicians, architects, planners and other advocates from beyond these professions, such as Reade, who held sway over the Australasian town planning movement for many years. Looking at three lantern lectures between 1913 and 1923, this paper traces the effectiveness of the magic lantern medium and its traditions in facilitating the translation and adaptation of progressive ideas in New Zealand’s urban landscape.

Introduction

One of the recurring features of New Zealand’s early twentieth-century urban reform movements was the lantern lecture in which ideas about changing the built environment

were aired and consumed. Numerous public lectures making use of lantern slides and the magic lantern were delivered in connection with three interrelated movements seeking to improve the state of New Zealand towns and cities: the city beautifying, garden city (or suburb) and town planning movements. Histories of these movements often mention lectures as a common method for dispersing their fundamental ideas and enlisting widespread public support, a necessity if they were to achieve their goals of comprehensive urban transformation.¹ However, the inner-workings of these lectures and how lantern slides were used to illustrate them have escaped scholarly attention. The lantern lecture tours of town planning advocates Charles C. Reade (1911), Reade with architect William R. Davidge (1914) and architect Samuel Hurst Seager have been discussed elsewhere. Yet many others who were interested in the ideas of these movements were also inspired to give public lectures using the magic lantern medium. This paper looks closely at three lectures that took place between 1913 and 1923 as manifestations of these campaigns to locate the lantern lecture's significance in the history of urban transformation in New Zealand. It examines how lecturers utilised the magic lantern format and its array of audio-visual traditions to interpret the central principles of these movements for local audiences, and how they presented their own proposals for enhancing New Zealand's urban landscape. Centred on the magic lantern medium, these practices were important vehicles for the circulation of lecturers' proposed solutions, derived from international examples and applied to local issues they had identified as having potential for improvement.

Generally made in this period using photographic processes, lantern slides were glass objects holding positive images that could be projected and narrated to audiences. The medium had flourished for more than two centuries, playing important roles in both entertainment and educational activities. In the Australasian colonies, the lantern, illustrated, illuminated or limelight lecture became a staple of the urban cultural landscape from the 1870s. Lantern lectures were an exercise in self-improvement enjoyed predominantly by middle-class society, a form of rational recreation that also served to lessen the perceived cultural separation from the civilising centre of Great Britain.² The magic lantern format was well-suited to the broad diffusion of knowledge with its combination of persuasive audio-visual techniques that borrowed elements shared with its prolific entertainment traditions, and the ability to communicate information to audiences instantaneously, uniformly and repeatedly. Lantern lectures relied on the performance and narrative ability of their lecturers, the enthusiasm or interest of their audience, a minimum of attendance, the quality of the screened lantern

slide images and the strength of the illuminant. Lecturers simply had to repeat the event in order to increase the support they sought, a practice frequently deployed by figures such as Reade, Davidge and Seager on their lecture tours.

How the public lantern lecture operated in the context of calls to adopt the ideas of the city beautiful, garden city and town planning movements is the object of this paper. Given the overseas origins of these campaigns, I adopt Caroline Miller's description of a transition of their concepts within New Zealand from receiving knowledge uncritically from international sources, to a state where such ideas served as influences to discourses surrounding urban transformation, and were then adapted to fit local conditions.³ Arguing that public lantern lectures provided an important venue for the nourishment and acceptance of these concepts, the three lantern lectures appraised here are useful case studies for tracing the absorption, modification and attempts to implement their ideas at a local level.

Civic Water at Play in Christchurch

Charles Chilton (1860-1929) was professor of biology at Canterbury College, Christchurch, and one of the Christchurch Beautifying Association's more active members, having given several lectures on various city beautifying subjects and later serving as chairman.⁴ He became editor of its short-lived *The City Beautiful* publication, where he also wrote a history of the Association in 1924.⁵ Chilton's lecture on "The Evolution of the Fountain" was held with free admission under the auspices of the Association at 8 o'clock following its evening meeting on 10 April 1913, at the Alexandra Hall in Christchurch. In an article advertising the upcoming lecture, the *Star* noted that although its usual work amounted to the planting of trees, laying new lawns and cleaning up waste deposits, "some of its members have much more ambitious projects in mind, and one of these, put forward by Dr Charles Chilton some time ago, is the beautification of the city, and of the [Botanic] Gardens especially, by water displays."⁶

Beginning the lecture with a history of the water fountain, Chilton showed lantern slides of European examples to illustrate its evolution from utilitarian to purely ornamental uses. Many of these slides were likely made from his own photographs as he had recently travelled through southern Europe and had given an "abundantly illustrated" lecture about the trip a month earlier.⁷ Based on the concept of armchair travel, the travel lecture was another common use of the magic lantern apparatus. With improved access to equipment and innovations in photography from the 1880s, tourists could produce

lantern slides from their own photographs and become eyewitness lecturers. While narrating a sequence of slides displaying fountains in France, Switzerland and Italy, Chilton evoked the process of travel itself in a way that was both an enjoyable and educational pastime.⁸ This connection with the magic lantern's recreational life continues with the location of the lecture within the grand Canterbury Hall complex, which contained a theatre and two hall venues. The Alexandra Hall was regularly used as a substitute town hall for various events including public meetings, sport matches, sales, socials and religious services.⁹ The lecture's setting in a familiar performance space, coupled with fascinating views explained by their authoritative lecturer, resulted in an agreeable and intimate atmosphere where the audience became predisposed to Chilton's message.¹⁰

This was explained visually by several distinctions Chilton supplied with his slides. Ending his views of European fountains, he singled out the fountains of Versailles as the most exemplary for their captivating upward water jets that did not require an elaborate structure.¹¹ Another comparison was made between archetypal fountains of continental Europe and urban fountains in New Zealand, with Chilton stating the country had "not made very great progress... in applying the lessons of older countries." The fountains in Auckland's Albert Park, the Dunedin Triangle and the Wanganui racecourse were part of a pattern exhibiting "some pretence of utility," and more often than not languished without active water.¹² As lantern slides of New Zealand's waterfalls and still water features were shown, Chilton stated that active water was preferred in fountains, holding greater charm than motionless water. Here, the lantern slides exhibited the differences between successful fountains and those that failed, emphasising the instructiveness of Chilton's message. The writer of the lecture's report in the *Star* linked it with yet another popular magic lantern tradition practised by a wide range of religious and social organisations seeking to evangelise: "the moral of these pictures was that the erection or fountain proper was inappropriate without water playing from it."¹³

A slide of the Peacock fountain in the Christchurch Botanical Garden in an active state was then shown. This Chilton found wanting as it "pretended to play... [and] it was absolutely ineffective as a water display" since the surrounding basin wall prevented a clear view of the water at play.¹⁴ His criticism of this fountain is not without precedent. It was at Chilton's suggestion in 1908 that a civic fountain be erected using the bequest of businessman and politician John T. Peacock. In 1910, after the Beautifying Association committee returned to their first choice of an iron fountain designed by British artist John

Bell and prefabricated at the Coalbrookdale Iron Works, Shropshire, Chilton and fellow Association member Samuel Hurst Seager decried the option as inartistic. They claimed the available water for the Botanical Gardens site would produce spurts no higher than 6 feet. Its annual running cost, based on a proposed operation for three afternoons per week, would surpass that of the project. A more suitable alternative was a system of jets springing from a rockery near the Hagley Park footbridge; the water would rise to over 10 feet and run at a significantly lower cost. Their concerns were dismissed and the Coalbrookdale design was constructed in 1911 just west of the Canterbury Museum.¹⁵



Figure 1. The J. T. Peacock Fountain and basin in its original position west of Canterbury Museum, c.191-?, Christchurch Botanic Gardens (Christchurch City Libraries, File Reference CCL PhotoCD 4, IMG0031).

Referring again to the fountains at Versailles in his final lantern slide, Chilton claimed that “in Christchurch we could do something of the same kind of thing as in France at practically no expense,” although it would not be “as great or imposing.”¹⁶ This, he explained, was because the city’s flat landscape and artesian well system provided ample water at little cost. Likewise, the defunct fire-fighting reservoirs in Cathedral Square, Cashel and High Streets, and High and Manchester Streets could be simply modified to become “artistic and interesting” by installing a single jet and lowering their walls.¹⁷ This proposal of small alterations reflects the extent of city beautifying associations’ activities in New Zealand: upgrading extant features was preferable to creating new complex and expensive structures.¹⁸ Chilton concluded the lecture by reiterating how water displays could help accentuate Christchurch’s urban landscape in a way “which none of the other towns in New Zealand have,” to which the audience

applauded.¹⁹ His project embodies the notion of civic water, expressing a nationalistic and commemorative impulse that asserted narratives of settler and civic progress with a city's ability to supply and control water.²⁰ Chilton's preference for active water points to a desire to harness natural and urban beauty to "inspire civic pride" and economic prosperity.²¹

Regardless of Christchurch's supposed plentiful water supply, his attempts to set a standard for civic water fountains could not always be met. In February 1913, the Botanic Gardens' curator James Young reported the Peacock fountain was not attached to the high-pressure system and ran three days a week only if there was water to spare. As a connection to the city supply would undoubtedly be expensive, the Beautifying Association appears to have been content to let the matter rest.²² No action appears to have been taken until January 1915 when, as part of wider upgrades, Young proposed shifting the fountain further southwest to make it more prominent from the entrances to the Gardens. Citing complaints about its location and the high basin wall, he suggested the fountain form the centrepiece of an artificial lake, which would also contain several rockeries with small water jets.²³ It was this removal (executed a month later) that stirred minor public backlash in a few letters to the editors of Christchurch newspapers.²⁴ Although Chilton's campaign was further interrupted by the First World War, his lecture did succeed in drawing attention to a perceived need for beautification by water at play.

Artisans' Cottages for Ponsonby

Architect and quantities surveyor Thomas G. Price (ca 1865-1942) emigrated to New Zealand from Great Britain in ca 1912, and ran a small office with work generally confined to the Auckland region.²⁵ He was among several architects elected to the general committee of the newly established Auckland Town-Planning League in June 1914 and would later become League secretary.²⁶ That he was aware of town planning ideas is evidenced by his presence on a subcommittee to determine the League's rules, based on those of the Town Planning Association of New South Wales, and the *New Zealand Herald's* comment that he "had considerable Home and Continental experience of the subject." His lecture on "Workers' Homes" was given on 2 October 1916, as part of the Auckland Civic League's annual public lecture programme at the League's rooms in Hallenstein's Buildings on Queen Street.²⁷

Price's lecture was concerned with the shortage of workers' accommodation in New Zealand, introducing an economic model for their construction and rent, and the specific

types of dwellings that would work best in Auckland's situation. In his introduction, which appears to have preceded the projection of lantern slides, Price said the New Zealand government's construction programme of workers' homes did not go far enough in resolving the housing shortage in rapidly-growing cities like Auckland. It fell to the city council to secure land for new homes which could be found in Auckland's "congested areas." He said that although slums were considerably fewer in the city compared to those in Britain, there were "many wooden houses that should be pulled down."²⁸ This version differs from the impression of slum rife as promoted by advocates such as Reade and slum discourse found in newspapers during the 1910s. Slum rhetoric dominated the 1913-1915 campaign of C. J. Parr, former mayor and president of the Town-Planning League, to replace the dilapidated homes of Grey St Gully (now Greys Ave) and open Myers Park in their place.²⁹ As others have shown, slum propaganda during this time in New Zealand was an exaggeration of the run-down state of some residential buildings.³⁰

Bending his theme to ponder "what kind of house would best meet the needs of the artisans," Price's remedy comprised three housing types that could be built on cleared land and let at prices according to tenants' incomes. Lantern slides were then screened of a large hostel block for unmarried workers, another for married couples and the "dual cottage" model, presumably of designs as rendered by Price, who drew attention to their economy of space, reduction of housework and minimum cost. Next came slides of six two-storey houses in Clarence Street, Ponsonby, exhibiting "desirable attributes" for workers' homes. These recently completed brick and roughcast cottages at numbers 87-91 and 92-96 were Price's winning scheme for a design competition of three-bedroom workers' dwellings held by the Auckland City Council in 1915.³¹ Facing each other on both sides of the street, four were built in two semi-detached pairs, with one detached cottage each at their left. After detailing how they offered "every modern convenience," including slides of a combination range that could provide heat for multiple parts of the home, Price screened views of other British cottages (including examples at Letchworth) and spoke of their economical yet attractive construction materials. This part of the lecture was probably directed more at the large number of women present in the audience, who were more likely to approve of designs that took cost and the minimisation of labour into consideration.³²



Figure 2. Numbers 91 and 89 (adjoining at right) Clarence Street, Ponsonby, Auckland (Photograph by Geoff Dunham, 2022).

Price concluded the lecture by reiterating the need to devote more attention to “artisan’s dwellings.”³³ Coupled with his repeated use of this phrase evoking the “artisans’ quarter” of Letchworth, as promoted by British architect Raymond Unwin, his intention was to cast his designs, clearly inspired by British examples themselves, as a similar model for New Zealand workers in manual labour. Price’s lantern slides were likely to have included photographs of the completed buildings, advertising to the audience their success in being carried out, rather than as mere proposals. Further, the inference was these actualised workers’ cottages could themselves be visited and admired in person, perhaps taking observers’ interest to the point where they supported a continuation of this model in future municipal housing construction projects.³⁴ Yet Price also exhibited views of multi-storey blocks of flats, a type not generally promoted by the broader garden city movement. Although tenement buildings had appeared in some garden cities, including Letchworth, the detached house persisted in New Zealand as an ideal that could almost guarantee decent sanitary, moral and aesthetic conditions, as opposed to the slum tenements that multiple-household buildings fostered.³⁵ Detached and, at the most, semi-detached, homes precipitated the single-family occupants local authorities desired for their workers’ dwellings; a situation stipulated by the council for Clarence St.³⁶ Price repeated his solution for housing reform in the press when the housing shortage came under intense scrutiny during the influenza epidemic in November 1918, and again in May 1919, reflecting on the pressure the return of soldiers would produce.³⁷

The cottages are also emblematic of the Auckland City Council’s experimentation with progressive garden suburb ideas in its efforts to increase supply of workers’ houses.³⁸

Its use of a design competition and exhibition of the 33 entries at the Art Gallery exemplify a wider trend of municipal bodies publicising their progressive intentions and attracting innovative designs, although here it seemed to fall solely to the architect himself to promote the cottages' completion.³⁹ The council's wider intentions for this part of Ponsonby remain unclear. Questions from the audience indicate how they connected Price's message with the realities of housing affordability in central Auckland. Along with being asked whether he thought the rent of 17 shillings and 6 pence a week was within the means of a working man, some commented that the rent of council-built homes was too high and their layout unpractical.⁴⁰ Engaging directly with the audience in this way highlights how lantern lectures also served as public forums for the exchange of ideas. Linking his successful competition designs to international trends was not simply a publicity stunt for Price's role as an architect. He was inserting his completed work into the narrative of local town planning solutions with his designs, newly available in a form audiences could visit in person, another model to inspire future housing developments in Auckland.

Dunedin's Northern Foreshore Garden Suburb

Edmund Anscombe (1874-1948) was a leading New Zealand architect with a keen interest in city beautifying and town planning ideas. His early career in America (1902-1906) as a builder at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Fair and as a draughtsman for McKim, Mead & White exposed him to city beautiful principles, Beaux-Arts design and the phenomenon of world exhibitions. Anscombe gave a paper in 1915 on the economic basis of town planning schemes and systematic methods to be used in conjunction with city beautiful ambitions.⁴¹ On the evening of 7 August 1923, he delivered a lecture held by the Women Citizens' Association at the Dunedin YMCA to a mixed audience of 50 people.⁴²

Entitled "New Houses are Needed to Replace Old Ones: How to Do It," Anscombe's lecture continued his long-held view that a scientific approach for town planning was necessary. It was the fifth and final lecture he would give on the subject. Like Price, he does not appear to have shown his lantern slides until after he had delivered his main address. During this initial stage, Anscombe outlined the successful town planning measures implemented by American cities and the Port Sunlight and Bourneville model villages. In his view, systematic surveys of houses "in the more congested areas" could guide efforts to ensure that every home had access to "a minimum of fresh air and sunlight." The results, he urged, would improve "social and civic life" and immediately

reduce hospital admittances – to which the audience applauded. Anscombe's experience of the American city beautiful movement informed his opinion that despite being a young city, Dunedin may eventually exceed the number of slum "black spots" that currently existed.⁴³

Anscombe's 1922 visit to the United States and Canada would have enabled him to obtain more photographs and lantern slides of built examples he wished to visually record. Following the example of lecturers such as Reade and Seager, among the many lantern slides screened were views of congested housing in Dunedin, Wellington and Auckland, "many of them by no means pleasant," according to the *Evening Star*. Far more "delightful" to look upon were the slides they were contrasted with: scenes of garden cities in America and England and their "beautiful workers' homes, with refreshing and restful environments."⁴⁴ Returning to the idea of the civic design, plans of cities that had been reconstructed, and places where such plans had only been considered, were screened. The *Evening Star* noted how effective they were in telling "a story of the great expenditure that can be avoided through a right beginning." As an "appealing picture" for Dunedin, Anscombe drew attention to lantern slides of avenues planted with trees in the United States, which linked recreation sites by a system of avenues. Touching on the need for government regulation, he called on the audience to contact the mayor in support of his opinion on housing, which they applauded. Anscombe referred to a recent decision by the Auckland City Council to build 50 new homes, and said the government should be asked to supplement such efforts, receiving further applause.⁴⁵

These images formed the introduction to his scheme for a residential area "laid out on garden city lines" in Dunedin. A month earlier the *Evening Star* published this plan, which appears to have been initiated by the re-routing of the railway line in progress across the city's northern foreshore. The work was to leave open a 45-acre area on (the to-be reclaimed) Lake Logan that Anscombe envisioned as the key to solving the shortage of workers' homes by constructing over 200 houses. Accompanying the editorial supporting the scheme, the plan and two small perspective views of the development's features, he devoted several columns to explain his motivations in a way that mirrors the structure of his lecture. Homes were to be built on blocks of sections that encircled several park reserves. This residential area would be linked to the inner city by a new highway, while a railway station to the south would separate it from the industrial area.⁴⁶ Lantern slide images of the plans were screened, prompting questions from audience

members concerned at what would be demolished to make way for the highway. Another question led Anscombe to suggest that the Women Citizens' Association work alongside the Otago Expansion League to take up the cause of housing and town planning on a united front.⁴⁷

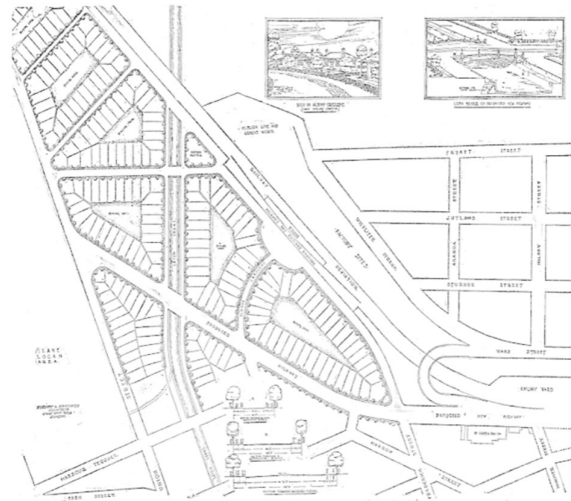


Figure 3. “Plan for Suggested Housing Scheme on Northern Foreshore:” Anscombe’s plan as reproduced in the *Evening Star* on 7 July 1923, 8 (Allied Press Ltd, CC BY-NC-SA, illustration detail; Creative Commons Licence).

His lecture had some eventual effects. It was referred to in an *Otago Daily Times* editorial appearing two days after the lecture, in which his efforts to explain the importance of decent housing were praised, delivered with a note of caution that whatever homes resulted from such schemes, they should be affordable for the occupants.⁴⁸ Anscombe’s appointment as architect of the 1925-26 Dunedin and South Seas Exhibition, which he had also instigated, soon dominated the housing scheme, with the plans for the highway to Logan Park given greater priority to feed construction of the Exhibition. This would eventuate as the Anzac Rd development and was later applauded as “not only responsible for the elimination of certain slum areas, but is in itself one of the biggest and most important civic improvements in the City.”⁴⁹ On 28 June 1924, Anscombe’s scheme was again published by the *Evening Star*. In his updated commentary, he welcomed the start of construction on the exhibition and the highway, but deplored the lack of progress in providing new homes, and repeated the extensive benefits the scheme would provide Dunedin. A series of public meetings to discuss the growing urgency of the city’s housing shortage followed in August and suggest that the greatest

success of Anscombe's advocacy lay not only in mooted a solution,⁵⁰ but in encouraging public support and further actions that would attempt to bring about such schemes.

Conclusion

As a platform for spreading progressive ideas about the built environment, public lantern lectures provided an important forum for their reception and discussion. Reflecting Miller's model of transition, they were yet another instrument of mediation between external influences and local adoption. After personalities such as Reade, Davidge and Seager were out of the limelight, figures such as Chilton, Price and Anscombe sought to continue the cause, supplementing the central message with other ideas and solutions. The three lecturers explained key concepts of major international movements for their audiences, and demonstrated their usefulness in their respective proposals, applying them to situations immediately facing their communities. In these lectures, audiences were persuaded to envision how such ideas could directly benefit their surroundings. This was a more relatable version compared to Reade and Davidge's 1914 lectures, which ended with a pamphlet of standardised town planning recommendations distributed to New Zealand and Australian audiences.⁵¹

As an assemblage comprising the venue, audience, lecturer, a raft of multi-sensory techniques and the magic lantern device itself, these public lantern lectures played a decisive role in casting images of the built environment in either a positive, epitomising light or in a negative, precautionary light. The magic lantern's use in these contexts reveals how the boundaries between entertainment and instruction were blurred in the service of imparting a sense of rightness and wrongness in pursuing transformation in New Zealand's urban built environment. While the effectiveness of these lantern lectures varied and was influenced by other media and circumstances, they were successful in broaching city beautifying, garden city and town planning concepts at the least, putting in train ideas for their audiences to digest and potentially act upon. The lantern lectures of Chilton, Price and Anscombe should not be seen as isolated incidents, but rather as an enhanced communication strategy for the intersections of ideas between those that were produced overseas and those that emerged locally.

Endnotes

¹ Caroline Miller, "The Origins of Town Planning in New Zealand 1900-1926: A Divergent Path?," *Planning Perspectives* 17, no. 3 (2002): 217-18; Robert Freestone, *Model Communities: The Garden City Movement in Australia* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1989), 66-70; Julia Gatley, "Sex and the Slum: Imperialism and Gender in Nascent Town Planning,

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- ² Elizabeth Hartrick, "Consuming Illusions: The Magic Lantern in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand 1850-1910," PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2003, 30, 34, 159.
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- ⁶ *Star*, 10 April 1913, 3.
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- ¹⁴ *Star*, 11 April 1913, 4.
- ¹⁵ Strongman, *City Beautiful*, 18-19. The report (dated 27 September 1910) is in the 1906 to 1928 Minute Book of the Christchurch Beautifying Association, held at Canterbury Museum.
- ¹⁶ *Star*, 11 April 1913, 4.
- ¹⁷ *Press*, 11 April 1913, 8; *Star*, 11 April 1913, 4.
- ¹⁸ Miller, "Town Planning in New Zealand," 99.
- ¹⁹ *Star*, 11 April 1913, 4.
- ²⁰ Andrea Gaynor and Daniel Jan Martin, "Every Fountain Tells a Story: Histories of Civic Water in Australia," *Australian Historical Studies* 52, no. 2 (2021): 192-93.
- ²¹ Robert Freestone, *Designing Australia's Cities: Culture, Commerce, and the City Beautiful, 1900-1930* (Milton Park, Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 5.
- ²² *Lyttelton Times*, 5 February 1913, 8.
- ²³ *Press*, 29 January 1915, 2.
- ²⁴ *Press*, 1 February 1915, 4; *Press*, 16 February 1915, 3.
- ²⁵ *Auckland Star*, 6 February 1913, 12; *Observer* (NZ), 3 June 1916, 8.
- ²⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, 28 July 1914, 8; *New Zealand Herald*, 27 November 1918, 5.
- ²⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 27 May 1915, 4; *New Zealand Herald*, 2 October 1916, 8.
- ²⁸ *Auckland Star*, 4 October 1916, 8.
- ²⁹ Julia Gatley, "Shabby and Shambling: Decadent Housing in Greys Avenue," *Architectural History Aotearoa*, 5 (2008): 48-49.
- ³⁰ Miller, "The Origins of Town Planning," 218-19; Gatley, "Shabby and Shambling," 47; Ben Schrader, "Avoiding the Mistakes of the 'Mother Country': The New Zealand Garden City Movement, 1900-1926," *Planning Perspectives*, 14 (1999): 398.
- ³¹ *Auckland Star*, 10 July 1915, 8.
- ³² *Auckland Star*, 4 October 1916, 8
- ³³ *Auckland Star*, 4 October 1916, 8.
- ³⁴ Laura Dunham, "Projecting Memory: Lantern Lectures and Performing New Zealand's First World War Battlefield Memorials," *Journal of Australian Studies* 44, no. 4 (2020): 20.
- ³⁵ Freestone, *Model Communities*, 19; Gatley, "Sex and the Slum," 303.
- ³⁶ Gatley, "Sex and the Slum," 302; Competitive Designs for Workmens' Cottages at Clarence St, Ponsonby (competition conditions), Auckland City Council Archives, ACC 219 15-149.

³⁷ At a national level, the idea of flats was repeated by architect Reginald Ford at the 1919 Town-planning Conference in Wellington. *New Zealand Herald* 27 November 1918, 5; *New Zealand Herald*, 7 May 1919, 9; Gatley, "Sex and the Slum," 303-304.

³⁸ The Auckland Town Clerk states as much in a letter replying to the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters & Joiners' call for the council to "reconsider" holding a design competition, dated 22 March 1915, Auckland City Council Archives, ACC 275/15-31.

³⁹ Miller, "Town Planning in New Zealand," 319; Dunham, "Projecting Memory," 12.

⁴⁰ *Auckland Star*, 4 October 1916, 8.

⁴¹ Christine McCarthy, "The Making of An Architect: Anscombe in America," *Fabrications* 16, no. 2 (2006); *Otago Daily Times*, 27 May 1915, 5.

⁴² Anscombe had designed this building in 1911. *Otago Daily Times*, 8 August 1923, 8.

⁴³ *Evening Star*, 8 August 1923, 5. Christine McCarthy, "Narrating the City Beautiful: Edmund Anscombe and His 1928 World Trip," *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand: 31, Translation* (Auckland and Gold Coast, SAHANZ, 2014), 763.

⁴⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, 8 August 1923, 8.

⁴⁵ *Evening Star*, 8 August 1923, 5.

⁴⁶ *Evening Star*, 7 July 1923, 4, 6.

⁴⁷ *Evening Star*, 8 August 1923, 5.

⁴⁸ *Otago Daily Times*, 9 August 1923, 6.

⁴⁹ Cited in: Christine McCarthy, "Traffic and the City: Town Planning Interests of Edmund Anscombe," *Southern Crossings*, 419-23.

⁵⁰ The plan was also reproduced again. *Evening Star*, 28 June 1924, 9; 1 August 1924, 3.

⁵¹ Miller, "Transmission, Reception, or Adaption?," 450.