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NB: This is a 2020 revised version of the original 2018 paper. An error with referencing has been corrected.

Like Gordon Wilson, Minus the Heritage Protection: Auckland's Upper Greys Avenue Flats, 1954-1959

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Abstract:

The Gordon Wilson Flats in Wellington (1954-59) have been the subject of much heritage attention and debate in recent years, as a result of the building's increasing state of disrepair and attempts by the owner, Victoria University of Wellington, to have it removed from the Wellington City Council's heritage schedule, to clear the way for its demolition.

Auckland's Upper Greys Avenue Flats (1954-59) have recently come under a similar threat, with Housing New Zealand Corporation announcing, in March 2018, its intention to demolish this building, which is in many ways similar to the Wellington building, except that the Auckland one is not included on Auckland Council's heritage schedule.

This paper offers a history of the design and construction of the Auckland building. This necessarily includes reference to its Wellington counterpart. Both are high-rise slab apartment buildings, designed as state rental flats under the Government Architect, Gordon Wilson. Both were built alongside blocks of state rental flats dating from the 1940s and comprise mostly two-storey maisonettes. The paper responds to the conference theme by giving particular consideration to the developing technologies employed in the construction of the Auckland building.

The paper also considers the building's heritage value. The similarities between the Upper Greys Avenue Flats and the Gordon Wilson Flats suggest that the pair should have the same heritage status. The paper discusses the complexities embedded in this suggestion, including both the haphazard ways in which New Zealand's heritage lists and schedules have been constructed, particularly as regards the country's modern heritage, and the extent to which

state rental flats are represented on them. It concludes that the demolition of either the Gordon Wilson Flats or the Upper Greys Avenue Flats would amplify the heritage value of the surviving building.

Introduction

Between 1937 and 1949, New Zealand's first Labour government built approximately 30,000 state rental housing units up and down the country.¹ Most were detached or semi-detached, and were owned by central government and rented to members of the public. In those same dozen years, Labour also built thirteen blocks of state rental flats. Five of them have been recognised as important in the development of modern architecture in New Zealand – Wellington's Centennial Flats, Berhampore (1939-40), Dixon Street Flats (1941-44) and McLean Flats (1943-44), and Auckland's Symonds Street Flats (1945-47) and Greys Avenue Flats (1945-47).²

In 1949, a new National government swept to power, and stayed there until 1972, other than the three-year term from 1957 to 1960, when Labour was briefly returned to govern. As a general rule, these National governments promoted private home ownership.³ They favoured making low interest loans available to working New Zealanders, to help them to buy their own homes, rather than building large numbers of state rental houses. They tried to pare back the scale of the state housing programme and portfolio, and started to sell off older state houses to those who were renting them. New legislation for company-share apartments provided a model by which state flats could also, in theory at least, be sold to tenants.⁴ But the state flats were not easy to sell, even when mortgage terms were generous, and none of those mentioned in this paper was converted to company share.⁵

New Zealand's population grew rapidly in the post-war period. Private house construction flourished. Even though National favoured private house construction, the speed of the population growth and the continual demand for housing meant that it could never stop building state housing. In the 1950s, the massive expansion of the suburbs from both public and private initiatives triggered increased concern about urban sprawl, and in the 1950s and 1960s, the new state housing outputs demonstrate less emphasis on detached and semi-detached houses, and an increased number of medium-density typologies, including star flats.⁶ Concern about urban sprawl also put the idea of high-rise housing back on the government's agenda, and in 1954, it requested designs for two such blocks of flats for inner-city sites that it already owned, one on The Terrace in Wellington and the other at the

southern end of Greys Avenue in Auckland. These were the sites on which the Gordon Wilson Flats and the Upper Greys Avenue Flats would be built.

Both blocks were to be built alongside state rental flats completed by Labour in the 1940s: the Upper Greys Avenue Flats to the immediate south of the Greys Avenue Flats (which are sometimes known as the Lower Greys Avenue Flats, to differentiate them from the 1950s building); and the Gordon Wilson Flats to the north west of the McLean Flats. Under Labour, in the 1940s, the Housing Division of the Ministry of Works had produced designs for both of these sites, but the government had delayed construction because of post-war shortages in building materials, particularly steel.⁷ Under National in the mid-1950s, the two blocks were re-designed, with both initially to comprise ten storeys and 81 units.⁸ Both were built between 1956 and 1959, by the Fletcher Construction Company, following the new designs. The two blocks are very similar, utilising the slab apartment typology developed in Germany and Holland in the early 1930s.⁹ Both comprise mostly two-storey maisonettes, as popularised by Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation in Marseilles (1947-53), but on a smaller scale and without his much-loved double-height living spaces.



Figure 1. The Upper Greys Avenue Flats, Auckland, 2017. Photo by Gina Hochstein. **Figure 2** The Gordon Wilson Flats, Wellington, 2017. Photo by Julia Gatley.

All the high-rise blocks of state rental flats dating from the 1940s and the 1950s were designed and realised under Gordon Wilson, the 1940s ones in his capacity as chief architect of the Department of Housing Construction (from 1943, the Housing Division of the Ministry of Works), and the 1950s ones in his capacity as Government Architect. Wilson was a keen modernist, and very interested in high-density housing, for its potential to both impact the city and provide alternatives to the suburban model of house and garden, with

plenty of fresh air and sunlight, even a city view. He died in 1959, aged 59, when these buildings were nearing completion, and the new Wellington block was named in his honour. Wilson had lived in Wellington, and for the Auckland building, the Auckland District Architect, Graham Dawson, also played an important role, particularly during the building's construction.¹⁰

While the Gordon Wilson Flats and the Upper Greys Avenue Flats are similar in many ways, the Wellington building has been written about at length and the Auckland building, hardly at all. The two also have differing heritage status. Neither is listed by the country's central heritage agency, Heritage New Zealand, but the Wellington City Council scheduled the Gordon Wilson Flats as a heritage building by 1995. Auckland Council has not scheduled the Upper Greys Avenue Flats. It did, however, schedule the Lower Greys Avenue Flats many years ago, and Heritage New Zealand also listed the lower blocks as a Category II historic place as long ago as 1981.¹¹

The Gordon Wilson Flats have been under threat of demolition since 2012. Thus far, the building's heritage scheduling has saved it from that fate. The Upper Greys Avenue Flats came under threat as recently as March 2018.¹² Without any formal heritage recognition, the Auckland building is unlikely to survive this threat.

For all these reasons, the paper provides a history of the design and construction of the Upper Greys Avenue Flats. This necessarily includes reference to the building's Wellington counterpart. The paper responds to the conference theme by paying particular attention to the developing technologies employed in its construction.

The paper also considers the matter of heritage value and status. Are the Auckland and Wellington buildings of equal heritage value? Should the Auckland building also have been recognised through the country's formal heritage identification processes? That the two are so similar suggests so. The paper discusses the complexities embedded in this suggestion, including both the haphazard ways in which New Zealand's heritage lists and schedules have been constructed, particularly as regards the country's modern heritage, and the extent to which state rental flats are already represented on them. It concludes that the demolition of either the Gordon Wilson Flats or the Upper Greys Avenue Flats would raise the heritage value of the surviving building.

Recognition of the Gordon Wilson Flats

Much has been written about the Gordon Wilson Flats in recent years, particularly by way of unpublished heritage assessments and reports. The building also earned an article in the *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects* in 1961, following its completion.¹³

Heritage assessment of the Gordon Wilson Flats began in the 1990s, with the Wellington City Council adding it to its heritage schedule (item #299) and including a two-page summary of its history and significance in its 1995 heritage inventory.¹⁴ Lengthier assessments have followed in the current decade. In 2010, the then owners, Housing New Zealand Corporation, commissioned heritage consultant Barbara Fill and conservation architect Russell Murray to write a heritage assessment.¹⁵ This 37-page report did not enter the public realm until 2015 or 2016, when its release was sought under the Official Information Act. The Wellington City Council produced its own 12-page heritage assessment in May 2012 (the version in circulation today includes photographs added in 2015);¹⁶ Auckland architects Archifact produced a 67-page assessment for property consultants Wareham Cameron & Co. in May 2015;¹⁷ the Architectural Centre Inc. provided evidence in support of the building in December 2015;¹⁸ Heritage New Zealand compiled a List Entry Record on the building in 2016, after Victoria University of Wellington's Christine McCarthy submitted a proposal for its heritage listing;¹⁹ and DOCOMOMO New Zealand approved its registration of the building in February 2017.²⁰

This recent flurry of assessments responded to and paralleled the threats to the building's future. During routine maintenance checks in 2012, safety issues were discovered.²¹ A seismic assessment found that façade elements could be dislodged by an earthquake or high winds, and, as a consequence, Housing New Zealand vacated the building of its tenants.²² It then sought to sell the building, with the neighbour to the immediate west, Victoria University of Wellington, purchasing it for \$6 million in September 2014.²³ The university wished to demolish it, to redevelop the site and improve its presence on The Terrace – the city side of its Kelburn campus – and more specifically to replace the flats with a new pedestrian route between its main campus and the city.²⁴ Rather than applying for resource consent to demolish the scheduled heritage building, the university applied to the Council to have it removed from the schedule, that is, to have it de-scheduled. In May 2016, the Wellington City Council approved this application.²⁵ Local lobby group, the Architectural Centre Inc., appealed the decision and in June 2017, the matter was heard in the Environment Court.²⁶ The Architectural Centre argued that the flats were a rare example of late 1950s high-rise state housing.²⁷ Two months later, the Environment Court

concluded that “the Gordon Wilson Flats [have] significant heritage value and therefore should not be delisted.”²⁸

During the appeal process, the building was found to be more structurally sound than previously thought, and engineers indicated that it could be strengthened, while also allowing the introduction of the university’s desired pedestrian thoroughfare.²⁹ But at the time of writing, the building remains empty, and with no sign of any maintenance or repair, its condition continues to deteriorate.

Recognition of the Upper Greys Avenue Flats

Unlisted and unscheduled, the Upper Greys Avenue Flats have not seen any such analysis or assessment. The building earned a mention in the Fletcher Construction Company journal, *Arrowhead*, in 1956, when Fletchers were awarded the contract to build it,³⁰ and a fuller article in *Home and Building* in 1959.³¹ The late Greg Bowron, who worked as a heritage consultant for Housing New Zealand in the early 2000s, examined a broad range of housing types built by successive New Zealand governments and identified exemplars of each typology, intended to guide the future heritage listing of state housing resources. With his premature death in 2007, the project idled. His work remains unpublished, with limited access through Housing New Zealand staff. In the scholarly work that has been published to date, books on state housing by Gael Ferguson,³² Ben Schrader,³³ and Bill McKay,³⁴ are all primarily concerned with the detached and semi-detached state houses and therefore give comparatively little attention to state flats, including this particular building, while one of the co-authors of the current paper has written widely on the blocks of state flats built in the 1930s and 1940s,³⁵ but not previously in any detail on the successor buildings of the 1950s. The best source to date is Jack Smith’s 2014 history of the Fletcher Construction Company, *No Job Too Hard*.³⁶ It gives particular attention to the building’s construction. The current paper is the first to consider the history and design of the Upper Greys Avenue Flats in an architectural and heritage context. In addition to published sources, it makes use of archival documents held at Archives New Zealand, the Fletcher Trust Archive, Housing New Zealand and Opus, the company that inherited records from the Ministry of Works when it was privatised.

The Upper Greys Avenue Flats were designed in 1954-55. The contract was awarded to Fletchers late in 1955, following a tendering process. Construction started in March 1956. At that time, Fletchers observed that the cost of each maisonette, including the value of the land, would be equivalent to that of an average state house, “but floor space will of course be less.”³⁷ National’s Minister of Housing, the Hon. Dean Eyre, laid the foundation stone

for this building and its Wellington counterpart within three days of each other in August 1957.³⁸ The Auckland building was completed in early 1959.

It is an 11-storey slab block, 63 metres in length and 40 metres high. The block runs north-east to south-west, meaning south-east and north-west aspects for the individual units – for fresh air and sunlight as mentioned. The building's 7,280 square metre floor area comprises 87 rental units, as distinct from the 81 proposed in 1954. Most of the units – 75 of the 87 – are two-storey maisonettes, each with a balcony on the north-west side.³⁹ The maisonettes are in linear formation, with five layers of 15 maisonettes in total. The other 12 units, on the ground floor, are single-storey bedsits.⁴⁰ At roof level, a communal laundry provides washing and drying facilities.⁴¹ The building's circulation is via a semi-detached lift tower on the street façade and two stairwells, one at either end of the building, with long galleries between, for access to the individual units.

The building combines *in-situ* and pre-cast reinforced concrete and timber: *in-situ* concrete shear walls and floor slabs between the units (Fletchers referred to this as an “earthquake proof spine”);⁴² pre-cast concrete panels for the building's exterior cladding; and timber within each of the maisonettes for the framing, flooring and staircases. The maisonette planning was considered to be economical, because only every second floor had to be made from reinforced concrete, and half the number of elevator stops and galleries had to be provided.⁴³ The concrete floors and beams also served the function of tying the lift tower to the main building at every second level.⁴⁴ Underneath the super-structure, the building's foundation comprises a cellular raft and incorporates a basement, founded directly on grade, yet varying in depth along the length of the building. Without piles or any additional support system, the stability of the structure relies entirely on the weight and the geometry of the raft.⁴⁵

In constructing the Upper Greys Avenue Flats, Fletchers used a new and advanced type of crane from Germany. This, an Acrow Liebherr crane, had a long range and the capacity to reach the whole of the building. Never before had a crane with such flexibility, strength and efficiency been used on a project in New Zealand.⁴⁶ Wilson took advantage of the large range of the crane in making the decision to use pre-cast concrete panels for the building's exterior.⁴⁷ He was also aiming to minimise the building's future maintenance costs.⁴⁸ The panels were cast against Redalon (a proprietary system trade name) and brushed to give them an aggregate texture, to which paint was applied.⁴⁹ The painting of the exterior was discussed in July 1958. Wilson wanted “to reduce the appearance of this bulk by the introduction of one or two horizontal lines. Thus I think that in place of the two lines

discussed with you, we should have one placed in the centre of the panel”.⁵⁰ A colour scheme of grey, red and white was chosen.

Post-war austerity was an everyday reality for all New Zealanders and from 1950, due to restrictions on the use of electricity, the government installed gas in state houses and flats.⁵¹ The ‘Sapphire’ gas heaters used in the Upper Greys Avenue and Gordon Wilson Flats were a new technology imported from Britain, with the dual role of heating the units as well as the hot water supply in each of them.⁵² In May 1959, the same kind of gas heaters exploded at the Wellington offices of the Broadcasting Department and the Tourist and Publicity Department. It was noted that there could be “political repercussions” if such heaters were to explode in state rental flats.⁵³ Thus, two months later, the gas supply to tenants’ heaters was cut off.⁵⁴

Throughout the construction of the Upper Greys Avenue Flats, reference was made to the building’s Wellington counterpart, and many decisions were made to reduce costs relative to those of the Wellington building. For example, the cement content in the *in-situ* concrete was reduced in the Auckland building; sheet glass was used for staircases instead of the Georgian glass used in the Wellington building;⁵⁵ a lead composition was used instead of asbestos cement, because it was “cheaper and more suitable”,⁵⁶ and redwood was used instead of heart rimu, both because rimu was felt to have a “greater tendency to rot”⁵⁷ and because the redwood was cheaper.⁵⁸ Jack Smith has commented that while the Auckland building benefited from the Acrow Liebherr crane, the Gordon Wilson Flats used a crane with a gantry-mounted mast-type fixed-boom that was not as economic, practical or fast.⁵⁹ And originally the lift in the Auckland building was not intended to reach the roof-top laundries, but in 1957 Graham Dawson requested that the lift shaft be extended by 1.2 metres (4 feet) to reach the roof,⁶⁰ and when this was approved, mention was made of the fact that the lift extension in Auckland was cheaper than that in the Wellington building.⁶¹

As was the case with all state houses and state flats in the early decades, units within the Greys Avenue building were let to tenants according to a priority system that included ability to pay the rent. They were aimed at middle-income earners, but would also be allocated to lower earners if not filled by middle-income earners.⁶²

The Upper Greys Avenue and Gordon Wilson Flats were the last of the central government’s high-rise state housing schemes. That the high-rise units cost about the same as individual state houses must have been a key factor. In 1960, it was government policy “to build about 50% of the State rental programme in multi-unit housing schemes”.⁶³

This meant buildings of three or four storeys rather than ten or eleven. By 1969, the multi-unit state housing programme was further curtailed. That year, the Minister of Housing, the Hon. John Rae, stated that there was no longer a “programme to continue construction for blocks of flats in Auckland.”⁶⁴

Conclusions, and the Upper Greys Avenue Flats Today

Even though the original 1940s design for state flats in Greys Avenue included buildings for the site on which the “upper” flats would be built, in the 1950s, there was no suggestion that the original 1940s design would be followed. Perhaps the 1940s design was considered old-fashioned by the 1950s; or perhaps new technologies had rendered it obsolete. Certainly the Upper Greys Avenue Flats used technologies that were more advanced than those employed in the Lower Greys Avenue Flats. The 1940s building was of load-bearing reinforced concrete, punctuated by distinct window openings, whereas the 1950s one, as discussed above, comprised a combination of *in-situ* concrete, pre-cast concrete panels and timber, and larger windows, with the end result being “taller, slimmer and, with reduced mass and more extensive glazing, lighter, in both senses of the word.”⁶⁵ The different designs ensure visual distinction between the Labour-built blocks of the 1940s, and the National-instigated blocks of the 1950s.⁶⁶

The Upper Greys Avenue Flats and Gordon Wilson Flats are sibling buildings. They were designed and built at the same time, are of similar scale and follow the same typology of the slab apartment building comprising mostly maisonettes. This paper shows sustained efforts to reduce the cost of the Auckland building relative to the Wellington one, particularly at the level of material selection and specification. Access to a technologically advanced crane is the one aspect of the Auckland building’s construction that surpasses that of its Wellington counterpart.

While the two buildings are very similar, the Upper Greys Avenue Flats are the poorer relation in terms of heritage recognition. The Gordon Wilson Flats are protected under the Resource Management Act 1991, by virtue of being scheduled as a heritage building on the Wellington City Council’s district plan, whereas the Auckland building has no formal heritage recognition and thus no protection. The Environment Court confirmed the heritage status for the Gordon Wilson block, on the grounds of architectural quality and rarity. Given their similarities, the Upper Greys Avenue Flats must be considered to be equal in terms of architectural value.

Heritage recognition of any one building is more complicated than this, however. It is usually the case that a building can be scheduled or listed either because it is a good example – an exemplar – according to criteria covering architectural, social, historical, cultural and scientific values, or because it has been selected as the representative example of some kind of typical, ordinary or everyday heritage. One of the co-authors of this paper surveyed the heritage recognition of New Zealand’s public housing in a 2010 article and concluded that state flats – of which there are only a small number – are heavily represented on the country’s heritage lists and schedules compared with the state houses, of which there are tens of thousands.⁶⁷ Such a situation reflects the haphazard ways in which the country’s heritage lists have been built up over time, without any systematic or thematic analysis. The state flats that are scheduled or listed all have that status by virtue of being exemplars. The question that needs to be asked is whether all of the important blocks of state rental flats – all the surviving exemplars – should be scheduled or listed.

Not surprisingly, the Upper Greys Avenue Flats are suffering from similar problems to the Gordon Wilson Flats. A structural report on the Auckland building from 2013 identifies issues with the pre-cast concrete post and panel fixings.⁶⁸ These are part of every unit, on both the front and rear façades. The problem arises from the unreinforced slot where the steel flat is inserted. This is part of the structural detail of the concrete post and the connection to the concrete floor slab. The concrete surrounding the slot has the potential for “a sudden brittle shear failure”,⁶⁹ if overloaded, for example, by an earthquake. Hence the suggestion that the posts and panels may fall from the building in the event of a natural disaster.⁷⁰ At the Upper Greys Avenue Flats, it has also been suggested that there is some significant cracking in the concrete of the semi-detached stair tower.⁷¹

Housing New Zealand staff have been generous in meeting with the current authors, and our colleague Bill McKay,⁷² twice over the last several months to discuss the future of the Upper Greys Avenue Flats, including hosting us on a tour of the building. Rather than focusing on the maintenance issues, they emphasise that the building is no longer fit for purpose because the slab typology is ill-suited to the demographic most in need of inner-city state rental housing. Today’s occupants are far removed from the middle-income earners for whom the building was built. They include beneficiaries and former rough sleepers, many struggling with mental health issues and a history of drug dependency. Such occupants need to be accommodated individually, or as couples where appropriate, meaning the building’s two-bedroom units are under-utilised. In addition, the long galleries providing access to the individual units compromise both privacy and security.

It is easy to imagine the Upper Greys Avenue Flats revitalised as a desirable building and place to live, if occupied by a different demographic. But those current residents and those on waiting lists and on the streets are Housing New Zealand's priority, and its intention is to replace the building with a larger complex comprising more single-bedroom units and a higher degree of on-site security and community support.

It is our conclusion that with the loss of the Auckland building, the heritage value of the Gordon Wilson Flats will escalate considerably, because instead of being a rare example of late 1950s high-rise state housing,⁷³ it will be the only surviving example.

Acknowledgement

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Endnotes

¹ State house is the New Zealand name for houses that are owned by central government and rented to members of the public. The government agency with responsibility for such housing today is the Housing New Zealand Corporation.

² Julia Gatley, "Labour takes Command: A History and Analysis of State Rental Flats in New Zealand, 1935-49", MArch thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1997.

³ Gael Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream* (Wellington: Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, and Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994), 177.

⁴ "Flats or Sprawl," *Arrowhead*, 2, no. 3 (February-March 1956), n.p.

⁵ Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, 180.

⁶ Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, 189; Julia Gatley and Paul Walker, *Vertical Living: The Architectural Centre and the Remaking of Wellington* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2014), 91; and "New Design for State Flats", *Home and Building*, 20, no. 9 (February 1958), 31.

⁷ Gatley, "Labour takes Command".

⁸ "Report to Parliament on Housing, Vol. 1, 1954-1963", Government Printer, Wellington, 1954. ABVF Series 7490 W4925 Box 1 R6819232, Archives New Zealand, Wellington. See also "Report of the Director of Housing Construction," *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1954, Vol. II, D1, 53.

⁹ Walter Gropius was an important leader in the development of the slab typology, with projects including a design at the Building Exhibition, Berlin (1931), and a staggered multi-storey block at Wannsee shore (1931), but none were realised. Sigfried Giedion identifies the Netherlands as the first country to build such projects, with the first being Bergpolder, Rotterdam (1933-34), designed by Willem van Tijen, with Johannes Andreas Brinkman and Leender van der Vlugt. Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* 5th edn (London: Oxford University Press, 1967 [1941]).

¹⁰ Wilson's and Dawson's names both appear on the drawings for the Upper Greys Avenue Flats, dated 26 April 1954. AAQB Series 889 W3950 Box 520 R20124733, Archives New Zealand, Wellington. A Mr. Hitchcock (in place of Graham Dawson) is also mentioned in the archival

documents. See, for example, Memo, Mr. Hitchcock, 4 December 1961. AELE Series 19203 SAC1 Box 242 R20054239, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

¹¹ Heritage New Zealand, "Greys Avenue Flats", www.heritage.org.nz/the-list/details/583, accessed 4 March 2018.

¹² Corazon Miller, "Demolition Looms for Faded Flats", *New Zealand Herald*, March 2, 2018, A13.

¹³ "The Gordon Wilson Flats, Wellington: The Work of the Architectural Division, Ministry of Works," *Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Architects*, 28, no. 1 (February 1961): 1-8.

¹⁴ "Gordon Wilson Flats" in "Wellington City Council Heritage Inventory", Wellington City Council, Wellington, 1995, n.p.

¹⁵ Barbara Fill and Russell Murray, "Heritage Assessment: Gordon Wilson Flats, 320 The Terrace, Wellington", Unpublished report prepared for Housing New Zealand Corporation, Wellington, 2010.

¹⁶ Wellington City Council, "Gordon Wilson Flats", Unpublished heritage assessment, Wellington, May 2012.

¹⁷ Archifact Architecture and Conservation Ltd, "Gordon Wilson Flats, 314 The Terrace, Wellington: Heritage Assessment," Unpublished report prepared for Wareham Cameron & Co., Auckland, 2015.

¹⁸ Architectural Centre Inc., "Submission on Plan Change 81: Rezoning 320 The Terrace and de-listing the Gordon Wilson Flats; Outline of Oral Submission", 15 December 2015. Available online at: <http://architecture.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Architectural-Centre-DPC-81-Outline-of-submissions.pdf>, accessed 13 May 2018.

¹⁹ Heritage New Zealand, "List Entry Record, List Number 9783; Site Reference P170465", Unpublished report, Wellington, 2016. The listing proposal was submitted in December 2015.

²⁰ Gina Hochstein, "Upper Greys Avenue Flats", DOCOMOMO International Fiche approved by DOCOMOMO New Zealand, 27 February 2017. Available online at: www.docomomo.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2008/09/Gordon-Wilson-Flats-DOCOMOMO-full-fiche-2017_Low_res.pdf, accessed 2 March 2018.

²¹ Lane Nichols, "Unsafe Flats: Get out in Seven Days," *Dominion Post*, 10 May 2012, www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/wellington/6897252/Unsafe-flats-Get-out-in-seven-days, accessed 28 December 2017.

²² Marc Daalder, "Ghost Flats: The Battle for the Gordon Wilson Building," *The Spinoff*, 17 August 2017, <https://thespinoff.co.nz/society/21-08-2017/ghost-flats-the-battle-for-the-gordon-wilson-building/>, accessed 28 December 2017.

²³ Daalder, "Ghost Flats."

²⁴ Brad Flahive, "Gordon Wilson Flats to Remain Standing as Court Upholds Heritage Appeal," *Dominion Post*, 10 August 2017, www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/business/residential-property/95648522/gordon-wilson-flats-to-remain-standing-as-court-upholds-heritage-appeal, accessed 28 December 2017.

²⁵ Daalder, "Ghost Flats." See also Laura Dooney, "Appeal Lodged Against Decision to take away Heritage Status of Wellington Flats," *Dominion Post*, 27 July 2016, www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/wellington/82525036/Appeal-lodged-against-decision-to-take-away-heritage-status-of-Wellington-flats, accessed 28 December 2017.

²⁶ [2017] NZEnvC 116, *The Architectural Centre v The Wellington City Council*. <http://architecture.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/2017-NZEnvC-116-The-Architectural-Centre-v-Wellington-City-Council.pdf>, accessed 28 December 2017.

²⁷ Dooney, "Appeal Lodged Against Decision."

²⁸ "Gordon Wilson Flats," Architectural Centre website, <http://architecture.org.nz/gordon-wilson-flats/>, accessed 28 December 2017.

²⁹ Ben Schrader, "In Defense of the Gordon Wilson Flats and Post War Modernism," *Dominion Post*, 15 August 2017, www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/comment/95745934/ben-schrader-in-defence-of-the-gordon-wilson-flats-and-postwar-modernism, accessed 28 December 2017.

³⁰ "Flats or Sprawl."

³¹ "Greys Avenue Flats: The Ministry of Works Makes a Welcome Addition to Auckland Skyline", *Home and Building*, 22, no. 1 (1 June 1959): 62-64, 93-95.

³² Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*.

³³ Ben Schrader, *We Call it Home: A History of State Housing in New Zealand* (Auckland: Reed, 2005).

³⁴ Bill McKay, Andrea Stevens and Simon Devitt, *Beyond the State: New Zealand's State Houses from Modest to Modern* (Auckland: Penguin, 2014).

³⁵ Julia Gatley's work on state rental flats includes:

- "Building Progress: The McLean Flats and the Hanson Street Flats", *The Modern World: Architecture and Design in New Zealand, 1918-1970*. (Auckland: Unitec, 1995), n.p.
 - "Privacy and Propaganda: The Politics of the Dixon Street Flats", *Fabrications: The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand*, 7 (1997): 77-98 (<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10331867.1996.10525098>);
 - "Labour takes Command";
 - "Going Up Rather than Out: State Rental Flats in New Zealand, 1935-1949", in Barbara Brookes (ed.), *At Home in New Zealand: Houses History People* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2000), 140-54;
 - "Modernism and the Quadrangular Courtyard: Wellington's Berhampore Flats, 1938-1940", in Christine McCarthy (ed.), "*Pleasing Homogeneity*", "*Dull Times*", and "*Animated Cocktails*": *New Zealand Architecture in the 1930s* (Wellington: Centre for Building Performance, Victoria University of Wellington, 2006), 32-38 ;
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- ³⁶ Jack Smith, *No Job Too Hard: A History of Fletcher Construction Volume II: 1940-1965*, (Wellington: Steele Roberts Aotearoa, 2014), 347.
- ³⁷ "Flats or Sprawl."
- ³⁸ That at the Gordon Wilson Flats was laid on 6 August 1957, and at the Upper Greys Avenue Flats on 9 August 1957. See Notes on the building provided by John Walls, Archivist, Fletcher Trust Archive, Auckland, 4 August 2017.
- ³⁹ This is different from the orientation of the Gordon Wilson Flats, which is sited closer to north-south, with the balconies on the east side and the galleries on the west.
- ⁴⁰ Smith, *No Job Too Hard*, 345.
- ⁴¹ Memo, General Manager, Wellington, to the Auckland Manager, State Advances Corporation, 7 October 1958; and "Maisonettes Feature of New Flats", *New Zealand Herald*, 17 November 1954. Both AELE Series 19203 SAC1 Box 242.
- ⁴² "Flats or Sprawl."
- ⁴³ "Flats or Sprawl."
- ⁴⁴ Clendon Burns & Park Ltd, "Structural Report, Detailed Seismic Assessment, 139 Greys Avenue, Auckland," Unpublished report, December 2013, 4.
- ⁴⁵ Holmes Consulting Group, "Structural Assessment: Draft Report of Greys Avenue Housing New Zealand Accommodation Block," Prepared for Architectus, 2.
- ⁴⁶ Smith, *No Job Too Hard*, 347.
- ⁴⁷ Smith, *No Job Too Hard*, 347.
- ⁴⁸ Smith, *No Job Too Hard*, 347.
- ⁴⁹ Notes on the building provided by John Walls.
- ⁵⁰ Letter, Gordon Wilson, Government Architect, to the District Architect, Auckland, 18 July 1958. See also Letter, Roger Hay, Draughtsman, Ministry of Works, Auckland, to Gordon Wilson, Government Architect, 10 July 1958. Both AAQB Series 889 W3950 Box 520.
- ⁵¹ "Approval for Gas Supplies to State Houses", *Evening Post*, 26 May 1950. Memorandum titled Press Statement, from the Minister of Housing's Secretary, to the General Manager, State Advances Corporation, 21 May 1956. AELE Series 19203 SAC1 Box 245 R20054259, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.
- ⁵² Memo, General Manager, Wellington, to the Auckland Manager, State Advances Corporation, 7 October 1958. AAQB Series 889 W3950 Box 520.
- ⁵³ Memo, Manager to the General Manager, Wellington, State Advances Corporation, 15 May 1959. AELE Series 19203 SAC1 Box 245.
- ⁵⁴ Letter, General Manager, State Advances Corporation, to the Commissioner of Works, Wellington, 15 October 1959. AELE Series 19203 SAC1 Box 245.
- ⁵⁵ Contract Price Adjustment Schedule No 2, Fletcher Construction, 9 December 1955. AAQB Series 889 W3950 Box 520.
- ⁵⁶ Contract Price Adjustment Schedule No 4, Fletcher Construction, 28 March 1958. AAQB Series 889 W3950 Box 520.
- ⁵⁷ Contract Price Adjustment Schedule No 3, Fletcher Construction, 13 November 1957. AAQB Series 889 W3950 Box 520.

⁵⁸ Fill and Murray, "Heritage Assessment," 17.

⁵⁹ Smith, *No Job Too Hard*, 347.

⁶⁰ Letter, Graham Dawson, District Architect, Auckland, to the Government Architect, Wellington, 13 September 1957. AAQB Series 889 W3950 Box 520.

⁶¹ Letter, Manager to General Manager Wellington, State Advances Corporation, 19 November 1957. AELE Series 19203 SAC1 Box 245.

⁶² Letter from Manager to General Manager Head Office, State Advances Corporation, 17 November 1959. AELE Series 19203 SAC1 Box 245.

⁶³ Papers and notes collected by Greg Bowron, Housing New Zealand Corporation.

⁶⁴ Letter, Hon. John Rae, Minister of Housing, to the Director, Tileman New Zealand, 14 August 1969. AEFM Series 19224 HD1W2060 Box 4 Record 3/1/12/11 R10982301, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

⁶⁵ Julia Gatley, "Greys Avenue Flats – Lower and Upper," in Julia Gatley (ed.), *Long Live the Modern: New Zealand's New Architecture, 1904-1984* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008), 46.

⁶⁶ Heritage New Zealand, "List Entry Record, List Number 9783.

⁶⁷ Gatley, "The Heritage Identification of Modern Public Housing," 681-94.

⁶⁸ Clendon Burns & Park Ltd, "Structural Report."

⁶⁹ Clendon Burns & Park Ltd, "Structural Report," 11.

⁷⁰ Clendon Burns & Park Ltd, "Structural Report," 11.

⁷¹ Holmes Consulting Group, "Structural Assessment," 4.

⁷² Bill McKay had spoken against the demolition on "Urban Issues with Bill McKay", on Katherine Ryan, "Nine to Noon", *Radio New Zealand National*, March 5, 2018. Available on www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/ninetonoon/audio/2018634710/urban-issues-with-bill-mckay, accessed 31 May 2018.

⁷³ Dooney, "Appeal Lodged Against Decision."