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“A Goodly Heritage”
Queen’s Gardens, Dunedin 1800-1927: An Urban Landscape Biography

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Abstract

This work is a landscape study of the Queen’s Gardens Public Reserve in Dunedin from the early nineteenth century to the end of the First World War. Originally the ‘gateway’ to Dunedin, this historic precinct is a good example of urban cultural landscape, containing a historic and commemorative record of community and individual activities. The Queen’s Gardens area has played a key role in the history and development of the city of Dunedin, and contains many excellent examples of built heritage, much of which remains intact and currently in use.

Urban landscapes are generally on a smaller scale than rural and regional-scale landscapes. However, their designs and histories also constitute a record of active and dynamic interaction between people and place. Whether representative of economic, industrial or political activities, domesticity, leisure, or the arts, the material culture of urban landscapes conveys information concerning, community cultural values, civic infrastructure, significant events and activities, which can be traced through their various stylistic changes, modifications and successional uses, and interpreted within their historical social context.

The aim of this study has been to interpret the landscape of Queen’s Gardens as a record of the establishment and evolution of cultural ideas, values, and notions of group identity, and to use this process to discover the heritage values that it has acquired, and the ways in which these are recognised. I build up a picture of the landscape in four chronological stages, looking at the relationships between material objects in these spaces, and the ideas and values that they represented. I trace the development of the Reserve and the creation of its cultural heritage through successive phases from the pre-land, pre-European period, early settlement, the land reclamation process, and the changing layouts and uses of space between the early nineteenth century and the end of the 1920s. By separating and examining each layer of landscape in chronological sequence, I uncover the cultural history of the landscape, and identify the traditions and aspirations of the people and groups who formed, manipulated and used it. The progressive series of significant and dynamic changes in form, function and
ideology that this area underwent throughout its formative years contributed greatly to the
growth and development of Dunedin, and reflected many of the social values and perspectives
of colonial culture.

This work is an exercise in reading a cultural heritage landscape, not only through its
material culture, documentary history, and progressions of form, but also its established
traditions, and the variety of personalities, contrasting perspectives and stories that
contributed to these. By synthesising the resulting data, interweaving the different strands of
approach and materials of evidence into a holistic picture, I have shown how heritage
meaning was progressively deposited and embedded in this urban landscape as it developed.

This study demonstrates that the landscape interpretive approach can be applied to an
urban context with a shorter and more specific cultural sequence, and that a New Zealand
urban landscape can provide a valuable insight to the social and cultural attitudes of the
colonial past.
Acknowledgements

It has been a privilege to have the opportunity to write about the history and heritage of my adopted city. Twenty-five years ago, I was fortunate enough to fulfil my childhood ambition to live in Dunedin. Since then, and particularly since I commenced this research, I have come to understand and appreciate the quality and nature of its heritage, and to realise the significant part this small city has played in the history of New Zealand.

My family's connections with Dunedin stem from the 1870s, when my great-grandparents arrived as part of the wave of immigration from the British Isles, encouraged by Julius Vogel, and as a child, I spent many holidays visiting the city. I was always captivated by the appearance of its magnificent old buildings and its exciting hilly terrain, and these visits sparked what has become a life-long interest in the tangible history of places. The research and writing of this landscape study has, therefore, been an illuminating journey of discovery, which has given me great personal satisfaction.

I would like to thank the many people who have helped me through the process of this work. Foremost among these is my supervisor, Dr Alex Trapeznik, who first introduced me to the idea of studying an urban landscape, and encouraged me to combine the approach of a public historian with the skills acquired in my anthropology degree. Alex has given me much appreciated guidance and support throughout this research. My thanks also go to Professor Tom Brooking for providing relief supervision during Alex's leave period this year, and to Associate Professor Ian Smith for his helpful advice and input.

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I am grateful for the helpful assistance received from the staff members of the various libraries and archives consulted during the course of my research. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the contribution of librarian Cheryl Hamblyn of the McNab Archive at the Dunedin Public Library. For many months Cheryl has uncomplainingly trailed up and down stairs in search of some of the more obscure reference materials I required, been on hand to assist with the complicated technologies of microfiche readers and uncooperative photocopiers, and has constantly offered support and interest. I would also like to thank the Reverend John Sinclair, archivist of First Church and Alison of the Dunedin City Council Archive for their help with photographs, and Alan Worthington of the Dunedin City Council Planning department for generously providing, and customizing to my requirements, the landscape map which appears at the beginning of the work.

I have also been fortunate in the support I have received from friends and family. My fellow post-graduate students, especially Natalie and Rachel, have been a great source of strength and encouragement. Above all, thanks go to my wonderfully patient husband, Bernard Madill, and my son Paddy, who have accommodated their lives to my work and kept the home running for me. I have appreciated all the cooking and cleaning, but most of all I am grateful for their constant support, encouragement and love.
Frontispiece: The present landscape of the Queen's Gardens area. (Courtesy of Dunedin City Council Planning Dept., 2004).
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Introduction

The study and interpretation of historical landscapes is a recent directional development in the fields of both archaeological and historical research. Such landscapes contain complex and eclectic assemblages of natural and cultural features which have accumulated over a period of time, and which may have been modified, extended or diminished during their existence, to adapt to the particular circumstances or ideas of different eras. The nature, style and spatial arrangement of structural and botanical elements in a cultural landscape reflect and represent the history and cultural development of people and place in terms of social and spiritual values, tastes and fashions, and a variety of activities, adaptations and relationships. A heritage landscape evolves through the experiences and values of the successive generations of its cultural community, and tells their stories. It is imbued with a store of cultural meanings and memories, which cause it to become greater in significance than the sum of its visible parts might suggest.

To study culture and history at landscape level gives the broader scope of understanding that comes from viewing holistically, not merely in terms of individual elements or single themes. As archaeologist Rachel Palmer has explained in her landscape study of the Lower Clutha District, the landscape approach “allows the positioning and relationships between sites to be investigated. The focus then becomes greater than the individual site to offer a range of angles for potential study, including the social construction of space through manipulation of the natural and cultural environment.” This means that the space between and around the actual material elements also becomes important to the overall interpretation. A comprehensive interpretative synthesis of the various patterns of a culturally constructed landscape can contribute significantly to historical knowledge and understanding of the cultural practices and values of the past.

Landscape and Heritage

In recent years the concept of ‘heritage’ and engagement with ‘the Past’ has become increasingly popular as a basis for commercial enterprise, political persuasion and the expression of cultural status and identity. Heritage value is difficult to define accurately, as the term can refer to many diverse components and values, and is frequently applied

haphazardly to anything remotely associated with the past. Trapeznik and McLean have observed that “the most exploited and misunderstood word or idea in the field of public history is that of ‘heritage’... often confused with nostalgia, a view that equates the past with something that is intrinsically worthwhile and good.” Heritage historian David Lowenthal has also been critical of the current “heritage crusade,” its nostalgic and selective approaches to the past, and its, often, detrimental effect on historical accuracy. However, although he argues that history and heritage approach the past from conflicting viewpoints, he also allows that they may be interconnected ways of seeking insight into past times. This combination constitutes the essence of public history. While working within the disciplinary framework of historical method, the public historian must also acknowledge the importance of the past to people, thus creating a link between the requirements of historical accuracy and analysis, and the contributing significance of heritage to a public sense of identity with and involvement in its history. History provides a record, explanation and analysis of what has happened in the past. Heritage is what makes us part of that story.

How does a landscape reflect a community’s heritage? It incorporates much of the history of the growth and establishment of a cultural community over time. The material culture and spaces in a landscape can be ‘read’ and interpreted in terms of the historical characteristics of the period to which they belong, and as mirrors of a community’s (or a specific groups’) own views of their position, power, and self-identification. Whether consciously or unconsciously, landscapes are created, arranged and used according to accepted social and cultural practices, beliefs and values, and these are shaped by variables such as events, innovations, cultural interaction, environmental opportunities or constraints. Over time, a landscape builds a record of a community’s memories of these. This is valued as heritage, an identification with, and connection to an ancestral past.

Urban Landscape

Is there a difference in the way we perceive the cultural history embedded in large-scale rural or regional landscapes heritage landscape and that of the smaller, more compact urban heritage complexes? Although the interpretation of the physical manifestations of landscape history is now beginning to be addressed in New Zealand, the emphasis has mainly focussed

on the preservation of cultural patterns within natural and predominantly rural landscapes with their long cultural sequences. Little attention has been given to the concept of urban landscape history. Urban environments are generally on a smaller scale than the wide acres and ‘natural’ vistas of rural and countryside regional-scale landscapes. However, the designs and histories of urban environments also constitute a record of active and dynamic interaction between people and place. Whether representative of economic, industrial or political activities, domesticity, leisure, or the arts, the material culture of urban landscapes conveys information concerning, community cultural values, civic infrastructure, significant events and activities, which can be traced through their various stylistic changes, modifications and successional uses, and interpreted within their historical social context.

Urban New Zealand is the outcome of European colonisation at the height of the Victorian industrial age. Our historic urban places were built on the ideological foundations of this introduced cultural heritage. This study proposes to demonstrate that the landscape interpretive approach can also be applied to an urban context with a shorter and more specific cultural sequence, and that a New Zealand urban landscape study may provide a valuable insight to the social and cultural attitudes of the colonial past.

Introducing Queen’s Gardens

This work is a landscape study of the Queen’s Gardens public reserve in Dunedin from the early nineteenth century to the end of the First World War. Originally the ‘gateway’ to Dunedin, this historic precinct is a good example of urban cultural landscape, containing a historic and commemorative record of community and individual activities. The Queen’s Gardens area has played a key role in the history and development of the city of Dunedin, and contains many excellent examples of built heritage, much of which remains intact and currently in use.

The present landform of the reserve was culturally created by extensive modification of the original natural shoreline. Even prior to this, the tidal mudflat space that was to become Queen’s Gardens was a significant factor of the early Dunedin settlement. At its southern point, in 1848, Cargill and the Scottish immigrants first landed from the John Wickliffe to begin the task of building their Free Church community. Around this small piece of the foreshore the initial church and manse were built. From these humble beginnings, the minister

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4 Trapeznik and McLean, 18.
and congregation planned and raised a fine and lasting place of worship, the First Church of Otago that now stands resplendent on the top of the remains of Bell Hill. Over time, the developing settlement increasingly distanced itself from the sea, as land reclamation projects altered the terrain completely. The civic land reclamation project, which began in 1862, saw the manual reduction of Bell Hill, the rubble of which was spread over the coastal mudflats and former shoreline to form a triangular ten acres of flat land at the base of the hills of the town. The new landscape was initially referred to as 'the Triangle'. After the unveiling of the statue of Queen Victoria within its boundaries in 1904, it officially became 'Victoria Gardens', but soon became popularly known as 'the Queen's Gardens', a title it has retained to this day.

The material culture in and surrounding Queen’s Gardens covers a range of forms, styles and themes. An historical study of such an area should not address these as discrete individual features, but as the component parts of a whole landscape, which encapsulates the history and traditions of settlement, land use, civic development and cultural values. This place has had a long association with arrivals, transport and various forms of movement across the landscape. Within its boundaries grew the commercial success of Dunedin during the boom years brought about by the gold rushes. It is also a repository for a community’s recognition and remembrance of significant people and events in their past. It provides a visible record of a variety of past intentions, values and activities connected not only with the founding and development of the city of Dunedin, but also with some of the broader aspects of nineteenth and twentieth century New Zealand cultural development and history.

Research Objectives

The aim of this study is to interpret the urban landscape of Queen’s Gardens as a record of the establishment and evolution of cultural ideas, values, and notions of group identity, and to use this process to discover the heritage values that this landscape has acquired, and the ways in which it is recognised. It will build up a picture of Queen’s Gardens in chronological stages, looking at the relationships between material elements and objects in these spaces and tracing them through successive phases from the pre-land, pre-European period through the land reclamation process and the different phases of the land period from 1862 to the 1920s, during which time there were a number of changes in the layout and uses of the space.

The key issues and questions to be addressed here may be divided into two categories, the
broader issues of landscape and heritage and the specific questions that can be applied to the study area. The objectives of the former are:

1. To define the concept of cultural landscape.
2. To determine if large-scale cultural landscape criteria and research strategies can be successfully applied to a smaller urban area.
3. To discover how a landscape acquires its heritage values and meanings.

Within this broader perspective, the following questions must be addressed to the Queen’s Gardens landscape:

1. What meaning did and does this space have for its community?
2. How are different eras represented?
3. How and why has it changed over time?
4. How do we recognise and address its heritage significance?

Methodology

This study is an exercise in reading a cultural heritage landscape, through its material culture, its historical documentation and its stories, personalities and contrasting perspectives. Its intention is to gather together the historic themes and stories of the landscape and present them as a coherent whole. In order to offer a more broad-based and holistic interpretation, a multidisciplinary approach is taken, combining archaeological, documentary, epigraphical, photographic and cartographic sources of information. Through the comprehensive synthesis of this evidence, the area can be assessed in terms of how well and to what extent it represents significant aspects of the cultural and social history of the community and the nation.

A survey of the international literature offers perceptions of landscape and heritage from varying perspectives. Primary sources of documentary information include contemporary newspaper articles, early photographs, maps, drawings and dated descriptions. City Council plans and records have also been consulted, as well as records of the various societies and groups associated with aspects of the Gardens, including the Amenities Society, the Early Settlers’ Association and the Art Gallery Society. As a landscape is an essentially visual phenomenon, liberal use has been made in this work of the available pictorial record in conjunction with the text. The history and changes of the built environment are recorded chronologically, determining use, value and adaptations. The botanical elements and planting
patterns also provide evidence of symbolic values, cultivation practices and changes in these over time.

Landscape boundaries are not always easily defined. The boundaries of the study area will, therefore, be defined fairly flexibly to accommodate the relevant ‘stories’ and include the various ‘view-sheds’ surrounding the main area.

An analysis of the built environment must consider the broader relationships and associations within the landscape, including those that may extend beyond the immediate environs. . . . Walkways lead somewhere, fences enclose specific areas and terraces create visual illusions, elevate land surfaces and divide sections of the [space].

This study focuses on the development of the Queen’s Gardens Reserve during its formative period, and the creation of its cultural heritage between the early nineteenth century and the end of the 1920s. It concentrates on the progressive series of significant and dynamic changes in form, function and ideology that this area underwent throughout these years, which contributed greatly to the growth and development of Dunedin, and reflected many of the social values and perspectives of colonial culture. By 1927, where this study ends, the Queen’s Gardens urban landscape had become an established area of central Dunedin, containing most of the material cultural heritage elements with which we are familiar today. Its key role in the City’s life had changed, and was diminishing in importance, while a new, post-war culture of national awareness was beginning to change the outlook and ideas of the community.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter one reviews the international literature on landscapes and urban heritage to provide a background to the study of landscapes. It discusses recent research and relevant case studies, and outlines the intended approach to be taken in this study. Chapter two covers the period from 1800 to the 1850s. It describes the physical geography and ‘natural history’ of the area, and outlines the background history of the ‘pre-land’, pre-settlement shoreline and mudflats, the planning of the Otago settlement and the arrival of the European settlers. In this chapter I examine the associations that two cultures, Maori and Pakeha, had with the landscape in this period, and consider the ways in which cultural impact and change laid the

foundations for the future urban landscape. Following on from this, Chapter three is an account of the planning and execution of major landscape modification, and land reclamation between 1862 and 1870, and a discussion of the forces that contributed to this radical transformation. It considers the impact of technological advances, commercial interests, political visions and the agenda of the Presbyterian Church.

Chapter four introduces the prosperous urban landscape that developed during the 1870s and 1880s, in conjunction with the new railway era of New Zealand. It describes the material culture of the railway-dominated landscape, and a new wave of architecturally designed buildings on the reclaimed land. In this chapter I discuss their appearance, interrelationships and juxtapositions, and consider how well these represented and reflected the affluence and social values of the period, and fostered a community ‘sense of place.’ Chapter five examines the ‘cultural era’ of the 1890s and the early years of the twentieth century. It analyses the significant reorganization of the landscape space and the introduction of new material elements during this time period as a reflection of new social expectations and attitudes, and an expression of social ordering, heritage and identity. Finally, the conclusion summarises the themes of all of the past landscapes of Queen’s Gardens and presents the results of this study with reference to its stated objectives and research questions.

Taking a landscape rather than a site-specific approach relates all the discrete material elements and historical stories to each other, fitting them together as in a jigsaw-puzzle. In addressing the ‘big picture’ history of the layers of urban landscape in this manner, the heritage of the past can be more fully understood and incorporated into our knowledge and understanding of the present.
Chapter 1. The Literature of Landscape

A significant growth in the application of a ‘landscape approach’ to research in several disciplinary areas has occurred since the mid-1980s, and has led to a wide and varied range of definitions and theoretical approaches, both from disciplinary and conceptual perspectives. Landscape study seems to provide something for everyone. As studies of landscape have proliferated, a number of theoretical and research perspectives have been advanced. One body of literature is concerned with a general exploration of the concept of the cultural landscape, and proposing the kinds of analytical and conceptual approaches that may be taken to this academic area; others discuss approaches to fieldwork, and demonstrate these with a variety of locations and types of landscape. Contributions have come from a number of academic disciplines. Historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, cultural geographers and heritage consultants have engaged with the concept of landscape, its definitions and interpretations. Approaches vary according to perspective, as well as landscape type and location. Several major themes, however, are identifiable in the literature. This chapter will consider the chronological development of cultural landscape study, and its key concepts, definitions and applications, and explain how these will contribute to the perspective that I intend to apply to the study of the Queen’s Gardens landscape.

Historical Background

The academic study of cultural landscape began in the United States in 1925, with the publication of The Morphology of Landscape by geographer Carl Sauer, in which he defined landscape as “an area made up of a distinct association of forms, both physical and cultural.”¹ In 1955, W.G. Hoskins, an Oxford economic historian, published the first systematic and thorough British study of the landscape as an interpretive tool for history. The Making of the English Landscape was a comprehensive account of the history of man’s interaction with and shaping of the landscapes of the diverse regions and environments of Britain in which Hoskins suggested a key to the interpretation of the still visible relics of the past.² He advocated the reading of the landscape as a whole, multi-temporal historical story, seen through its material features and elements and their juxtapositions. His work founded a British

school of historical landscape study, based upon the idea of interpreting the whole, rather than single objects and sites, through a combination of archaeological fieldwork, research of documentary sources, and accessing of local knowledge. This has formed the basis upon which successive landscape approaches in Britain have built and developed.

Historical archaeology began to develop as a separate subdiscipline in America in the 1970s, and encouraged the rediscovery of historically significant sites, those for which documentary evidence was available as an additional resource. In America, this meant that attention was now given to sites and landscapes connected with, or post-dating, European settlement. Although not all of historical archaeology involved the study of landscapes, archaeologists began the interpretation of some extensive settlement complexes, such as ante-bellum plantations, colonial forts and monasteries, and to consider the nature of the environment and the cultures that had been imposed and structured upon it. Historians, too, began to acknowledge landscapes and structured environments as parts of the evolutionary process of colonial history, and testimonies to events of national significance, while cultural geographers acknowledged the necessity of applying the human element to studies of geographical space.

The 1980s in both Britain and America saw an increasing emphasis on the ideational and symbolic qualities of landscape and material culture. In archaeology, this included the writings and theories of Ian Hodder and Mark Leone, which sought to move away from the processual ‘scientistic’ concepts of the New Archaeology of the 1970s, arguing that human cultural behaviour was too complex and subject to too vast a range of social and historical variables to be adequately recorded and predicted by immovable paradigms, and positivism. In short, a more interpretive approach to data was needed.

Since the 1980s, scholars have increasingly been recognising that cultural landscapes may be studied as manifestations of social history, and that valuable evidence of ideas, beliefs, social and political organization, economic and environmental strategies and adaptations may be drawn from the study of landscapes. The literature and theoretical perspectives of

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3 Fieldwork, as understood in Britain, has not meant excavation, but, rather, above-ground survey. In Britain, therefore, landscapes have been generally evaluated visually, by field observation, not digging. The term is used differently elsewhere in the world, where archaeological fieldwork as often refers to excavation as to topographical investigation.


landscape range from science-oriented approaches and conceptions of physical, geographical space that can be identified, classified and analysed, to the treatment of landscape as an abstract setting for cognitive and conceptual theories. Between these two extremes, several distinct groups of theoretical approach can be identified, treating cultural landscape either more or less in concrete or abstract terms, either physical or conceptual manifestation.

**Geographical Space and Culture**

The analysis and classification of a landscape has, at its most extreme, been reduced to a single equation. This example comes from the field of landscape survey, where the “appeal” qualities of landscape are evaluated in terms of its physical and scenic components. Taking the example of a New Zealand river landscape, M.P. Mosley has formulated a paradigm for landscape evaluation by translating its qualitative properties into a quantitative equation, which can describe the landscape as:

\[
SC \text{ (perceived scenic beauty)} = 4.12 + 2.29 A_{\text{Forest}} + 0.62 \log(\text{Ang.Prom}) + 0.0007 \text{ Relief} + 3.46 \text{ Alpine} = 2.06 A_{\text{Water}} + 1.42 \log(\text{Confine}) - 0.06 \text{ Colour.}
\]

Mosely's equation confines landscape definition to the natural and the scenic. However, the term ‘cultural landscape’ implies something more than just space or vistas of scenery. It recognises that interaction occurs between humans and the environment. This recognition is apparent in *The Cultural Landscape*, a 1971 collection of papers edited by Christopher Salter. In this, Salter draws from an unusual and eclectic collection of sources to cover a wide range of landscape aspects from the perspective of cultural geography. The cultural landscape is defined as “the artificial landscape man creates, remaking nature to better provide himself with his short-term needs of food, shelter, clothing and entertainment,” and Salter argues that the “mobility of man,” the “husbandry of the earth,” and man’s “intentional spatial organization” are the key factors that introduce culture to the natural environment. This volume includes a discussion by Golumb and Eder, demonstrating the typical processual academic approach of the 1970s, in which the development of appropriate terminology and methods of classification are suggested for man-made landforms. This discussion considers the “geomorphic role” of man in the shaping of landscape in purely physical terms. However, it draws attention to the important fact that many landscapes are deliberately constructed for

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specific purposes, rather than evolving as the result of natural forces, and that there may be social and practical reasons for controlling and adjusting the natural topography.\(^8\)

**Landscape as Social History**

Also based mainly on the idea of culture in a physical space, another body of research has approached landscape as a manifestation of historical progression, or in the context of a distinct historical period, in terms of its social, political and economic record. Much of the writing on European landscapes has concentrated on the interpretation of historic accumulations of features. This is the approach Hoskins pioneered in Britain in 1955. Another early contributor to this field was Christopher Taylor, a geographer who, from the early 1960s, was involved with landscape survey and interpretation through his work with RCHME,\(^6\) compiling local inventories of historical monuments and features. Taylor used the evidence of survey and site recording in a new interpretative way to gain a wider understanding of landscape, extending the scope to include geological, economic and social perspectives. Between the 1960s and the 1990s, he produced a prolific number of lectures, broadcasts and publications covering a wide variety of areas, periods and landscape features. His work introduced “a level of academic perception which was new in the field archaeology of the time,” and “stood out in an era when rapid field survey was not generally appreciated as an informative technique in understanding the landscape.”\(^10\)

Michael Aston has been a significant contributor to the historical and archaeological English landscape studies of the 1990s, not only through his written work, but also through the medium of the popular BBC television series *Time Team*, in which, along with a team of experts, he provides a practical demonstration of the range of research methods employed to provide an explanation of the relationship between historical events and the appearance of the cultural landscape. The major theme of his work is that cultural landscapes express local histories, and are the means of appreciating the significance of a local environment within the context of the big historical picture. This form of study focuses on making sense of what can be seen or uncovered in landscapes. It is multi-disciplinary, incorporating the expertise of historians, archaeologists and cultural geographers, and relies on the integration of the

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\(^9\) Royal Commission for the Historic Monuments of England

available documentary evidence with the material residues of the landscape, and can be summarised as a method of ‘hands-on’ explanation of the political, economic and social history of the various locales of England.

The landscapes of Britain vary, both environmentally and historically, and are generally approached within the context of local environments and events. The major difference between the landscape approach in Britain and that of countries such as America, Australia and New Zealand is the very long sequence of cultural and environmental evolution within its landscapes. Owing to the fact that documentary sources cover centuries of history in Europe, historical, text-aided fieldwork can reach far back into the past of a landscape, in a way that it cannot do in the colonial countries. In European studies, there has tended to be an emphasis on rural areas, small villages and early towns of the pre-industrial landscape a period of the cultural sequence that is very short and recent in the older colonies, and virtually non-existent in the later ones such as New Zealand. (Nevertheless, it must be noted that much has been contributed to the study and interpretation of the former landscapes of prehistoric New Zealand by an accumulated body of New Zealand archaeological research since the nineteenth century and the increasing awareness of, and attention given to, indigenous oral history and tradition.)

Temporal Approaches to Landscape

A related theoretical approach has focussed on time and the cultural landscape. This view considers landscape as a constantly changing space, where successive eras of human life and activity bring about change and a recreation of the same space. Proponents of this idea, J.B. Jackson and T. Ingold, have both argued that boundaries are culturally imposed on landscapes, and are subject to constant redefinition over time, as changing social demands generate changing configurations and uses of the surroundings. Jackson sees landscape as “a living map” composed not just of space, but also of human life, while Ingold writes: “The landscape is, therefore, an interactive concept between humans and their surroundings, not passive but a place for activity and action which must change from moment to moment over time, and this temporality must be recognised if we are to fully appreciate the nature of landscape.”

Barbara Bender has incorporated this perspective into her 1998 study of the

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Stonehenge landscape, in which she examines the many different forces, ideas, uses and re­uses of the space over centuries which have shaped and been shaped by it.13

In 1999, Timothy Darvill proposed a “Space – Time – Action” paradigm, consisting of three theoretical aspects for defining the contextual landscape.14 The spatial context refers to the zoning accorded to a landscape by the routine of social practice or meaning as a place for something. The temporal context adds the dimension of a particular time period in the history of a landscape and its associated social community, “often structured to reflect symbolic codes and beliefs.” The third context is that of social action, manifested by the material culture resultant of actions, agents, and events. When these are taken together and interpreted as a contextual whole, the landscape reveals its multiple and interactive meanings. Darvill’s model closely resembles the “Historical Interactive Landscape” approach also suggested in 1999 by Benes and Zvetebil and applied to a Bohemian landscape study.15 This views the landscape as a surface where cultural and natural processes of one period leave traces, which, in turn, constrain and influence the activities of subsequent inhabitants. Landscape, they argue, is not merely a passive recipient of human activities but also an active element in the evolution of a society using it.

It is impossible not to be aware of the similarities between these models and the work of the French Annales historian Fernand Braudel half a century earlier. Braudel proposed a model of time for the analysis of history consisting of three distinct temporal scales or processes, the interaction and dynamics of which form the background to historical changes and events, and applied it to his major work, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the Age of Philip II, in 1949.16 His argument was that each plane of time overlay the others and contributed its own rate of change to human history. The manner in which change occurs in particular regions and societies is a reflection of this constant interaction, each temporal scale affecting the processes of the others. He divided his temporalities into the short-term (events, political history and individuals), the medium term (structures of society, socio-political systems, economic and demographic trends and cycles etc., and elements of human life which evolve and operate over a period of centuries), and the long-term, or longue
*duree*, which incorporates those slow-moving structures of enduring and barely changing factors such as the physical environment, natural resources, long-lasting technologies and the kinds of human activities which they support or constrain. The application of a similar model to landscape history and archaeology is helpful, both in its ability to provide a blueprint of methodology for the approach, but also as a conceptual method of understanding the extremely complex interactions and intertwining of time, action and social constructions, which are simultaneously implicit in a landscape.

**Cultural Meaning, Symbolism and Ideology**

Since the early 1980s, a major body of research has approached the cultural landscape through the interpretation of its material cultural styles and arrangements. This perspective considers its symbolic manifestation of cultural ideologies and lifeways. The idea of giving attention to these aspects of the constructed environments of societies developed from various critiques of processual archaeology. The work of British archaeologist Ian Hodder, emphasising “the active role of material culture” in shaping as much as being shaped by society, and its ability to reinforce social reality, is the most notable example. A variety of new approaches developed from these ideas, which are grouped under the broad heading of post-processual theory. Other key writers associated with the development of this school of thought are Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley in Britain, and Mark Leone in the United States. This perspective considers the material culture and features of cultural landscapes as symbolic expressions of social meanings, ideas and aspirations, and the theory is based on the concept that individual items, or collections of material culture, can be ‘read’ and understood as ‘text’, their symbolic meanings understood in the context of an implicit social grammar or worldview of a particular society.

Anthropologist Amos Rapoport views the material elements of the built environment as “non-verbal cues,” and argues “since environments apparently provide uses for behaviour but do not do it verbally, it follows that they must represent a form of non-verbal behaviour.”

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17. Ian Hodder, quoted in Renfrew & Bahn, 461.
The idea that landscapes and their features can be ‘read’ as ‘text’, and decoded, owes much to the structuralist writings of French anthropologist Claude Levi Strauss and American linguist Noam Chomsky. Many scholars have incorporated this approach into cultural interpretations and analyses, but, as Barbara Little has pointed out, the concept of ‘reading’ material culture pre-supposes that it was fashioned according to an understanding of literacy and the logic of written language. She, therefore, prefers the idea that material culture provides not necessarily a text but an “image” for communication of social messages, arguing that “much of the communication involved in material culture is about interpersonal relationships... Real but not necessarily visual can be represented, imagined, taught and learned through messages of the created environment.” As Little has also stressed, care must be taken to correctly interpret the historical context of material culture. Otherwise, present worldviews, and the personal perspectives and values of the researcher may bias the interpretations that are made.

The significance of oral tradition, myth and ideology in cultural conceptions of the environment, and how they determine the shaping of landscapes, is typically associated with the work of D. Cosgrove and Kenneth Olwig. Cosgrove, approaching the subject as a cultural geographer, has defined landscape as a “signifier” of myth or story. In Landscapes and Myths, he uses the Aeneid as an example of how a narrative mirrors the movement of shaping the landscape, moving from nature to culture through the progressive activities and interventions of humans. Olwig takes an anthropological approach to the meaning of landscape, discussing it by analysing its etymology and disguised social meanings, in which he links the cultural defining of landscape to “an ongoing hidden discourse underwriting the legitimacy of those who exercise power in society” and an expression of a universal sexual cosmology. Both writers make a distinction between ‘natural’ and ‘cultural’ landscapes, expressed as that of the ideal and material worlds. However, Ingold, whose argument rests on the interactive qualities of landscape, disagrees with this concept. He argues that “in a world construed as nature, every object is a self-contained entity, interacting with others.

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19 Renfrew & Bahn, 464.  
22 Ibid., 282-3.  
24 Olwig, 339; and Cosgrove, 293.
through some kind of external contact. But in a landscape, each component enfolds within its essence the totality of its relations with each and every other.”

The idea of the progressive evolution of a landscape as a cultural narrative is a useful concept, and one of the themes that will be explored in the present study. Myth is generally understood as a metaphorical way of expressing the reality (or interpretations of reality) of events, natural occurrences, and explanations of the human role and destiny within the physical world. It, therefore, seems valid that cultural myths should contribute to the shaping of cultural environments, and that they should do more than merely offering retrospective explanation but, in fact, play an active role in the shaping, to conform to the cultural worldviews and understandings.

Like Cosgrove, Tilley looks to narrative, symbolically cultivated and recognised through the features of the landscape, as a way of interpreting the meanings of particular styles, placements or configurations. In his 1994 publication, *A Phenomenology of Landscape. Places Paths and Monuments*, he has focussed on the phenomenological aspect of European Neolithic landscapes, which, he argues, are constructed from memories of past experiences. The phenomenology of the landscape is both constructed and acquires ideological symbolism through the cultural memories and narratives of the past, modified to adjust to the successive natures of a place, or subject to “ideological attempts to provide ‘stability’ or perceptual and cognitive fixity to a place, to reproduce sets of dominant meanings, understandings, representations and images.”

He argues that these symbolic expressions were intended in the constructions of landscape as ideological “cultural image[s], a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolising surroundings.” In other words, a landscape’s features, both cultural and natural, may be culturally and ideologically manipulated to reproduce a sense of place, heritage and identity through successive phases of time. Memories and past experiences shape cultural construction of landscape. In their 1980 study of historic preservation in Salzburg, Austria, Lester Rowntree and Margaret Conkey have also examined the role of symbolism in the material features of an urban landscape and demonstrated how this manipulation can occur as a response to “cultural stress.”

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25 Ingold, 154.
26 Ibid., 27-28.
One of the more significant theoretical perspectives introduced to landscape study in the post-processual era has been neo-marxism, which has emphasised the role of ideology in the development and construction of societies and that the ideology and economic foundations of a society are of equal importance. In the United States during the 1980s, Mark Leone demonstrated this approach in his archaeological landscape interpretation of the eighteenth century formal garden of William Paca in Annapolis, Maryland, as a reflection of the ideology of capitalism.\(^{29}\) He views the garden landscape as a symbolic statement, deliberately constructed through the stylistic choice of elements and the creation of optical illusion in the space to reflect and reinforce contradictions both in the owner’s life, and in American society. In this work, Leone is influenced by, and has enlarged upon, the style of symbolic analysis employed by American historian Rhys Isaac for his 1982 historical synthesis of the development of capitalism and its effects on the Chesapeake society and landscape.\(^{30}\) Leone argues that “Ideology takes social relations and makes them appear to be resident in nature or history which makes them apparently inevitable . . . Thus the class or interest group which controls the use of precedent does so to ensure its own interests.”\(^{31}\) Therefore, the garden may be interpreted as William Paca’s attempt to reiterate his social position of power through the medium of landscape, and to disguise the contradictions of the reality.

Other research studies have applied Leone’s theoretical approach and examined landscapes as material expressions of capitalist ideology and social relations. Both Mary Beaudry and Randall Maguire have studied expressions of capitalist ideology and social relations apparent in American industrial landscapes. Beaudry’s archaeological research at the Lowell Boott Mills has addressed industrial corporate ‘paternalism’ and shown that its controlling effects on the lives of the workers had expression in the material environment,\(^{32}\) while Maguire has identified in the material development of the successive industrial landscapes of Broome county a corresponding suggestion of periodic reworking of industrial class relations, which

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he interprets as the interaction of new ideologies with those of the past. The interpretation of cultural landscapes, in all manner of settings, as expressions of ideology, status and symbolism, capable of revealing the nature of social relations, and legitimating the social order, is an approach that was widely adopted by American historical researchers and archaeologists in the 1990s. Typical of this trend is Elizabeth Kryder-Reid’s account of the successive ownership of an historic garden in the Chesapeake, Hood’s comparison of the nature of social relations portrayed in the constructed landscapes of colonial New England with the socio-cultural English landscapes that the colonists had left, and Pogue’s archaeological analysis of the formal landscaping at the Mt Vernon property of George Washington as an expression of the perceived status of the owner.

The introduction of a theoretical approach acknowledging the various elements of a landscape as symbolic communication has increased the level at which landscapes can be understood, and has focussed research on the cultural landscape as an interactive process between humans and their environment, each affecting the other. This understanding removes landscape from the realm of the purely physical and functional, and recognises layers of meaning that extend beyond the view and the chronology. However, the method of concentrating on symbolic expressions of ideology in historical archaeological studies has been shown to have its weaknesses. Leone’s theoretical treatment of the Paca garden has drawn criticism from both Johnston in 1989, and Hodder in 1993 as being biased by his interpretation of Paca as an individual, assuming, without presenting any evidence, that it represented the commonly accepted ideological view of society outside the garden, either the ruling classes or the ruled. It can also been argued that the neo-Marxist approach to ideology as inevitably expressing the dialectic between the economic base and social relations presents too narrow a perspective of ideological symbolism in material culture, which may result in the misinterpretation or missing altogether a significant aspect of the meaning of a landscape. Material culture may often be interpreted from the strongly held ideological perspective of the

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34 Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, “‘As is the Gardener, So is the Garden.’ The Archaeology of Landscape as Myth,” in Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake, eds Paul Shackel and Barbara Little (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 131-148.
researcher, rather than within its actual context. However, Heather Burke’s recent study of meaning and ideology in the development of the Australian town of Armidale has built on this theoretical foundation and provided a significant further step in its direction, in that she has moved away from the concept of the inevitable polarization of economic and ideological forces, and produced an analysis based on an interpretation of the interactive relationship between the semiotics of architectural style choices, perceived social identities and a variety of ideologies and movements which characterised the developmental stages of this colonial town. This study better demonstrates the complexities of such a subject, addressing the reality of a landscape, which reflects no clear single ideology or concept of precedence, but a shifting field where many thoughts, ideas and views operate in combination.

**Abstract and Cognitive Landscapes**

A significant theme has emerged in the landscape literature of the last decade, which carries landscape beyond the study and interpretation of actual physical space to a concept of abstract mental, emotional and imaginary landscapes. In *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place* Barbara Bender has introduced a perspective on landscape that goes beyond the visual into perceived, remembered or cognitive concepts. This proposes landscapes of mind and emotion, rather than those in a physical sense. Using selected stories, she and Margaret Winer have examined the ways in which different people engage with the material world, how they interpret, understand and act out their perception of their place of belonging, and how dependent this is on their connections and their social position. Bender conceives landscape as an image of process and movement rather than one that is static and visual. Moving closer or further from it, a different viewpoint inevitably occurs. Dawson and Johnson also discuss the construction of landscape as a “cognitive” movement, as much as a physical one, and “situations in which the imagining of migration and exile become parts of the construction and experience of place and landscape,” while, in considering the Scottish diaspora, Basu argues that “there can be no diaspora without homeland (actual or imagined),

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38 Ian Hodder, *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 64-68.
41 Andrew Dawson and Mark Johnson, “Migration, exile and landscapes of the imagination,” in Bender & Winer, *Contested Landscapes*, 319.
no homeland without dispersal." Summarised, this perspective argues that an understanding of place or landscape extends beyond the actuality of a locale and an active moment of experience. It comes, instead, from a range of personal and cultural experiences and relationships, which may cross spatial and temporal boundaries. Although this seems to resemble Tilley’s approach, Bender stresses that there is a difference. She sees his ideas as grounded more in the sense of actual location, whereas her perspective concentrates on conceptual places.

The literature of this theoretical perspective has increasingly employed the terms ‘space’ and ‘place’, rather than ‘landscape’. ‘Place’ has become a popular alternative choice for conveying an abstract, conceptual meaning of landscape, and is connected to the idea of a sense of self and identity. Cultural geographer Linda McDowell provides an example of this in Undoing Place: A Geographical Reader in which she examines the history and social changes of localities by deconstructing them into particular varieties of place (the home, the community and the nation state) at particular times and the relationship between perceived place and social divisions (gender, class and nationality). Her main argument, similar to that of Bender and her colleagues, is “that there is a reciprocal relationship between the constitution of places and people . . . a dual focus on how places are given meaning and how people are constituted through place as well as how they perceive and consume place in everyday social interactions.”

Although the extreme end result of this perspective might suggest the obliteration of the notion of material landscape altogether, on a more moderate level its major merit is the attention it draws to the individual and group perspectives that shape understandings of place and landscape. By carrying mental templates from one place to another, those images and understandings contribute to the shaping, arranging and comprehending of its physical surroundings. All these ideas contribute as significant components in the formation and enhancement of specific landscapes.

Heritage Landscapes

The recognition of accumulated heritage present in historic landscapes is implicit in the majority of the theoretical perspectives and approaches that have been discussed, particularly

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43 Bender, Contested Landscapes, 6.
in the work of Hoskins, Taylor and Aston. However, there has also been a distinct movement in which cultural landscape research has been undertaken for the explicit purpose of addressing the issues and concepts of heritage. These studies recognise the importance of documenting and, if possible, preserving and displaying those aspects of a landscape which can connect us with the past, and are often undertaken in association with heritage organizations or historical societies. Several American studies have approached landscape from this heritage perspective. Alanen and Melnick have edited a recent volume of interdisciplinary studies focussed on the heritage significance and importance of preservation of a variety of historic landscapes and built environments.\(^{45}\) Julia King’s exploration of the “cult of the ruin” in formal garden landscapes uncovers valuable insights into nineteenth century American attitudes to heritage and the past.\(^{46}\) Garden studies, of which McKee’s archaeological reconstruction of Rachel Jackson’s garden,\(^{47}\) and De Cunzo’s analysis of the garden of a religious community at Economy,\(^{48}\) are typical, have been undertaken for the purpose of restoration, preservation, and heritage interests.

Introducing the New Zealand National Heritage Landscapes Think Tank in April 2003, the Chairperson of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust spoke of heritage landscapes as “the narrative of our nation . . . down through successive generations, layered on the land in a stratigraphy of stories.”\(^{49}\) The preservation and heritage management of historic buildings in New Zealand has been a matter of national importance for some years. Recently, heritage manager Janet Stephenson has challenged the practice of concentrating this effort on single sites, buildings or time periods, and the notion that stasis is an essential ingredient of conservation. She argues that introducing an awareness of whole landscapes is a more challenging method of viewing heritage.\(^{50}\)

The role of the public historian contributes much to the study of heritage inherent in public places. In *Common Ground? Heritage and Public Places in New Zealand*, Alex Trapeznik and Gavin McLean have discussed the definitions and heritage value of public places in New Zealand.
Zealand, advocating that public historians make more use of the historical information contained in the material culture of landscapes. In the same volume, McLean and Ian Barber consider “built heritage” places, using the historic harbour precinct in Oamaru, a successful tourist venue, as their example. They argue that a greater understanding of heritage might be achieved by widening the boundaries to avoid exclusion of those landscape components that establish essential contexts for the understanding of the heritage environment. These ideas suggest some useful new and community-oriented directions in the approach to landscape study. They are centred on a growing awareness of the significance of heritage, and that which may be learned of it from landscape, particularly in the colonial context.

**Urban Studies**

The word ‘landscape’ often evokes the idea of vast distances and rural aspects, or garden areas where nature is tamed and manipulated into attractive or functional displays. Many of the studies already discussed have been based on the consideration of rural or semi-rural environments. The formal Georgian gardens of the American colonial period have also provided a fruitful field for landscape studies, offering “different focuses of analysis – on the botanical, symbolic or ideological content . . . reflective of the manifold functions the cultural landscape had in the past.” Urban landscape is a less familiar concept. However, archaeologist Bert Salwen has argued:

> Since all human activity ‘disturbs’ the locale in which it occurs . . . it follows that urban, heavily built-up areas must be accorded the same thought and attention that is accorded more bucolic ones. Logically, they deserve more attention, since they have been the loci of much more human activity.

The study of urban spaces is now beginning to receive more attention, as they are increasingly recognised as a valid form of cultural landscape, and theoretical approaches and methodological strategies have developed to address this environment. A variety of urban settings have been studied in America. Cressy and Stephens have proposed a “City-site” approach to urban archaeology which is equivalent to a landscape perspective, suggesting a

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51 Trapeznik & McLean, 23.
53 M.C. Beaudry, “Why Gardens?,” in Yamin & Metheny, 4-5.
conceptual framework in which single areas or sites should be contextualized within their wider local and regional settings, incorporating relevant variables of time, space and socioeconomics.\textsuperscript{56} Rothschild and Rockman have used the ‘big picture’ method in an archaeological study of land use, public architecture and site formation processes in New York.\textsuperscript{57} Rubertone has demonstrated value of an integrated approach making use of the documentary as well as the material record, in an historical archaeological study of a small urban park.\textsuperscript{58} The urban domestic environment has also been considered. Zierden and Herman have produced a study of seven neighbouring townhouse sites in Charleston, combining archaeological, material and documentary evidence to look at the progressive processes of land modification, environmental adaptation and the establishment over time of a community landscape,\textsuperscript{59} while Anderson and Moore have carried out a symbolic and ideological analysis of the building of a nineteenth century urban villa in Galveston.\textsuperscript{60}

British landscape work has generally concentrated on the rural environment. A notable exception to this is Aston and Bond’s book \textit{The Landscape of Towns}, in which the authors acknowledge that towns are “compositions made up from the interrelationship of many features natural and man-made . . . and the cumulative patterns which the different elements create are what gives each town its peculiar character.”\textsuperscript{61} Post-industrial urban environments are so recent in Britain’s history that they are hardly considered historical, and very little of this time period has been addressed in the literature. An urban study conducted by Paul Belford, provides an exception. By examining the evolution and design of a slum landscape in Sheffield, he has addressed issues of social relations generated by the Industrial Revolution.\textsuperscript{62} The post-industrial urban slum environment has also inspired several Australian studies. In 1989, Mayne and Murray investigated the social aspects of the ‘Little Lon’ city block in Melbourne,\textsuperscript{63} while Grace Karstens has provided a new perspective on the ‘slum myth’ of

\textsuperscript{56} Cressey & Stephens, “The City Site Approach to Urban Archaeology,” in Dickens, 41, 44.
\textsuperscript{57} Nan A. Rothschild & Diana diZerega Rockman, “Method in Urban Archaeology: The Stadt Huys Block,” in Dickens, 3-18.
\textsuperscript{63} A. Mayne & T. Murray, “Imaginary Landscapes: Reading Melbourne’s ‘Little Lon’,” \textit{Urban Landscapes}, 89-105.
Sydney’s Rocks neighbourhood through an archaeological investigation of its domestic landscape which was able to provide a more comprehensive and reliable interpretation of ‘slum culture’ than the analysis of a single domestic site.64

Towards a Holistic Synthesis

Several recent writers have advocated that the cultural landscape should be defined and approached in a broad and holistic manner that incorporates its multiple research aspects and attributes. For example, in their 1999 publication *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*, Ashmore and Knapp introduce a collection of changing perspectives on the interpretation of ideational qualities of past landscapes.65 In *The Archaeology and Anthropology of Landscapes*, also published that year, editors Ucko and Layton have drawn together contributors of anthropological and archaeological perspectives and theory, in an exploration of ideas and definitions of landscape. They address the issues of symbolism, ideological expression in landscapes, and the notion of changes in the symbolic nature of material culture through time. Defining landscapes as “particular ways of expressing conceptions of the world,” and arguing that “the same physical landscape can be seen in many different ways by different people, often at the same time,” this collection demonstrates the concept of the multiplicity of time and the intertwining of themes and ideas which are simultaneously present in landscapes marked by humans.66 Trapeznik and McLean recognise that the challenge for the landscape historian is to seek the “total picture . . . of a society’s culture and concerns,” and that this must be sought beyond the documentary and material evidence through the interpretation of “the invisible moving forces” which have contributed to a landscape’s totality.67 According to Gosden and Head, it is essential to retain the ambiguity of the concept of landscape, and allow it to carry a range of meanings. This allows it to be conceptually defined and approached by researchers from a variety of perspectives, “a concern for history” being the key unifying element necessary for connecting all these approaches.68 Fisher and Thurston have suggested an all-encompassing definition of landscape as “a unit of occupation,” their aim being a concept that can incorporate and integrate various research objectives, and which can connect to both “our physical and

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cognitive environment." Clearly, current research is gravitating towards the concept of a holistic multidisciplinary approach to the unravelling of meaning in the cultural landscape.

**Landscape in New Zealand**

Although prehistorians now incorporate wider settlement and economic patterns into site interpretations, very few historical landscape studies have been made in New Zealand. Rachel Palmer’s landscape approach to the Lower Clutha District of Otago is arguably a major New Zealand contribution to the field of landscape literature. By examining the land features and modifications and the available documentary evidence, and analysing the patterns and material culture of settlement and production, she has presented an interpretive account of the relationships between people and the environment, significant events and activities, the gradual developing of a shared history and identity, all of which have left traces in the landscape. However, the Lower Clutha landscape is extensive, containing several distinct settlements or groupings of cultural activity. Despite the fact that, as Eric Pawson has recently pointed out, historical (post-European) New Zealand has always been an essentially urban society, no concerted attention has yet been given to the urban landscapes of New Zealand. In this study I intend to take a holistic approach, similar to that employed in Palmer’s work, and demonstrate that it can be applied to the interpretation of a smaller-scale urban area, and within a shorter and more specific time frame.

As many recent writers have observed, landscape is essentially dynamic, both in its physical and ideational manifestations. Ingold’s contention that its role is interactive with rather than passively receptive of culture, suggests that the landscape can itself be considered an entity for the purpose of study. Therefore, I present here a landscape ‘biography.’ Multi-period landscapes incorporate a series of changing patterns and formations, superimposed on each other within the same space. By separating and examining each layer of landscape, the cultural history, traditions and aspirations of the people and groups who formed and used it can be traced, the points in time noted when significant changes occurred, and reasons for this postulated through interpretation of the historical record. In this study I will reconstruct the successive forms of the Queen’s Gardens landscape in terms of its functional dynamics,

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residues and records, and attempt to demonstrate how these reflect a shifting sense of ideas and have become icons of heritage and cultural identity. The features present in Queen's Gardens embody a variety of cultural themes, reflecting aspects of the historic contexts in which Dunedin's settlement and society developed. Secondly, therefore, I will approach the landscape in terms of these thematic histories and the societal values and preoccupations that they indicate. Through cognitive perspectives, symbolic perceptions, and stories, I will also explore the more intangible qualities of meaning and tradition attached to a heritage landscape and its material culture.

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Chapter 2. The ‘Pre-Land’ Landscape, 1800 - 1850

Standing today in the centre of Queen’s Gardens, it is difficult to realise that this urban area once formed the natural coastline of the city. The ground, now firm beneath one’s feet, was then nothing but a shallow tidal estuary, exposing a stretch of mudflats at low water. The landscape of the present is the latest in a succession of landscape configurations which have occupied this same piece of geographical space, and have changed periodically and progressively through cultural interactions and activities. In order to fully appreciate the nature and magnitude of the transformation of the land from its natural topography to a man-made environment, progressively extending urban landscape, it is necessary to consider its original appearance and cultural significance.

As a prelude to the story of Queen’s Gardens, this chapter introduces the foreshore landscape of the years between 1800 and 1850, and the changes it underwent as a result of the cultural dynamics of the period. I have drawn on recorded Maori interpretations and traditions, and the observations, maps and sketches of early European surveyors and settlers in order to reconstruct a picture of this vanished landscape, tracing its progressive changes through the first half of the nineteenth century. It is intended to provide a context for understanding how and why the urban landscape development of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries occurred.

Environment

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the site comprised a sheltered harbour basin from which a series of hills and spurs rose rapidly back from the water’s edge (Figure 1). As all of the available documentary accounts of the appearance of the landscape agree, it was densely wooded with podocarp forest in which kahikatea (white pine) dominated, and bush flourished right to the shoreline at this time.\(^1\) One dominant spur protruded into the harbour, its length and height effectively forming a distinct division of the landscape. The original shoreline followed the base of this spur, known to Maori as Nga-Moana-e-rua.\(^2\) The foreshore indented markedly on either side, the sea reaching to the present area of the Market Reserve


and Manor Place on its southern side and cutting in to modern Great King Street to the north. Small streams flowed down the gullies between the hills. These, along with the harbour mists, provided the optimum moisture-laden environment for the lush forest growth and for the proliferation of the ferns and mosses with which it was carpeted.\textsuperscript{3} One of these streams, the Toitu, ran from its source in what is now Mornington, down the line of the present Serpentine Avenue and Maclaggan Street, turning sharply at the bottom to run south to the harbour at the top of Water Street. At this point, the foreshore receded into ‘a great extent of mud flat’\textsuperscript{4} at low tide. It was here where the first group of the New Edinburgh settlers were to make their landfall in 1848.\textsuperscript{5}

**Economic and Extractive Functions**

The southern Maori of the Murihiku culture were seasonal hunters and gatherers. The economic functions of the lands that they occupied were different from the northern settlements, where the climate permitted agriculture. In the south, the people moved through the landscape in rhythm with the seasons, extracting the optimum usage from the seasonal and environmental resources of the land. Before the arrival of Europeans, the Queen’s Gardens’ site constituted a part of the wider cultural and economic landscape and tribal territory, home first to Waitaha, then later Katimamoe and Kaitahu.

The area provided plenty of fresh water and was rich in resources such as birds, eels and flax. It was a landscape which environmental historian Geoff Park has referred to as “interconnective,” part of an interactive ecosystem.\textsuperscript{6} Although unusable as navigable inland waterways, the myriad of little streams flowing down the gullies supported the growth of the kahikitea forest, which, in turn, would attract bird-life in large numbers. The tidal estuary and waters of the harbour also provided a feeding ground for a variety of marine birds, and encouraged the growth of flax around its margins.\textsuperscript{7} That the bird-life was abundant and varied is confirmed by the later reports of European settlers. Thomas Ferens, one of the immigrants

\textsuperscript{3} Thomson, 49, 50.
\textsuperscript{5} This is a summary of the landscape descriptions given in K.C. McDonald, *City of Dunedin A Century of Civic Enterprise* (Dunedin, N.Z.: Dunedin City Council, 1965), 2, Goodall and Griffiths, 19, and A.H. McIntock, *The History of Otago* (Dunedin, N.Z.: Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1949), 14-17.
\textsuperscript{7} Wakefield, in Hocken, 243.
from the *John Wickliffe*, recorded in his journal his sightings of "white cranes, oyster pickers or Red Bills . . . Wrens, Tits, Buntings, Fan tails, bush sparrow, larks . . . paraquetes," and "a small bird resembling the English hedge sparrow."

**Figure 1**: The site of Dunedin in its natural state. (Source: K.C. McDonald, *City of Dunedin*).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the upper harbour had also become a haven for a more substantial food resource - pigs. These may have been descendents of those that Captain Cook had introduced to Fiordland in the 1770s. They constituted a significant food and trade resource for the Otakou people at that time. It is likely that these were the free-ranging property of local Maori. Edward Shortland, returning from a journey to Taieri Mouth in 1844, recorded meeting a group of Maori who had come up to the head of the harbour to see to their pigs, "of which," wrote Shortland, "great numbers were running at large in the bush." Shortland also provided an explanation of the methods generally employed by Maori.

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8 Thomas Ferens, Journal, Otago Settlers' Museum Archives, March 28, 30; April 6, 1848.
with regard to pig husbandry, which suggests a well-organised strategy of environmental and economic management of the landscape.

... it is the custom of this people to select, for pig runs, places distant from their ordinary cultivations, whether they transport a great part of their stock, when the crop is in the ground; leaving it to range at will till the season for storing the potatoes [sic] is past. They then catch as many as they require, and take them back to the plantations, in order that they may root up whatever food has been left in the ground. They now and then visit these pig-runs .... To watch over the safety of their property, or to catch and mark the young ones; feasting at such times on the flesh of boars, which are killed by preference to prevent their becoming too numerous. 11

The potato, like the pig, was a post-contact economic resource, which constituted a valuable and lucrative addition to the traditional seasonal hunting and gathering economy, and trading networks of the southern Maori. As we can see from Shortland’s account, the two were incorporated into an economic landscape, which, according to both Herries Beattie and Rhys Richards, did not so much change as expand, as a result, into a mixed Maori and European economy. 12 Prior to the introduction of the potato, agriculture had not been an option for people living south of Banks Peninsula, as the staple crop of the northern areas, the kumara, did not grow in a cooler climate. The Otakou people cultivated the potato from about 1810, using the flat land at Aramoana for the purpose, on the opposite side of the harbour from their settlement. 13 Both the permanent and visiting Europeans greatly appreciated these resources and would exchange iron weaponry, and even whaleboats for a supply of pork and potatoes. 14 The whaling fraternity based at the Heads also took to mounting shooting expeditions “up the river” (i.e., the Harbour) to secure supplies of pork to be salted for the winter in the 1830s and ’40s, 15 and Isabella Anderson, who arrived in Otago from Nelson in 1844, recalled in a letter to her brother that, in those early days, “Often we had very little to eat except the flesh of the wild pork,” of which there were “fortunately . . . plenty near Dunedin.” 16

11 Ibid.
14 M. Bathgate, 362.
15 Entwisle, 118, 119.
From the early 1800s, European sealers, whalers and explorers had established a presence in the area, interacting and establishing trade relationships and settlement rights with the local Maori, who, at this time, inhabited the adjacent Otago Peninsula. Moreover, the presence of the Europeans encouraged more Maori into the coastal area.\footnote{Richards, 71; and M. Badgiate, 360.} Sealing was the first ‘extractive’ occupation to be recorded in the vicinity of the Otago Harbour, but the boom period of the sealskin market was rapidly declining and was virtually non-existent by the 1830s. By this time whaling had replaced it as the thriving marine resource industry and the Weller brothers had established a permanent shore whaling station at Otakou. During the forty years prior to the arrival of the New Edinburgh settlers there was an increasingly busy traffic of shipping entering the harbour in search of various commodities and trade opportunities, particularly flax (Phormium tenax) for rope manufacture.\footnote{Duncan Mackay, Frontier New Zealand: The Search for Eldorado (1800-1920) (Auckland, N.Z.: Harper Collins, 1992), 19. See also Ian Church Opening the Manifest on Otago’s Infant Years. Shipping Arrivals and Departures, Otago Harbour and Coast 1770-1860 (Dunedin, N.Z.: Otago Heritage Books, 2002), 11-12.} These Europeans did not, however, make any major impact on the landscape of the upper harbour, beyond the occasional foray for pork. The main Maori settlement of the area did not lie on this foreshore or its rising slopes, but along the opposite peninsula at Otakou, an altogether more defensible and preferred situation, in an era that was punctuated by fierce and periodic inter-necine rivalry and warfare, and it was here that the Europeans would anchor their ships and set up their bases.\footnote{Church, 9; and Goodall and Griffiths, 5-7.}

**Nomenclature of the Landscape**

The names given to places and their features provide a clue to their cultural significance, topography, history and uses. Names give identity to the landscape. They may define it as a place with specific features and associations, identify its functions, perpetuate memories and reinforce meanings. Naming the landscape affirms human engagement with it, records significant landmarks and events, claims possession and also, as in this case, signals future intentions.

This landscape’s nomenclature has changed as progressively as the two cultures associated with it. It lies at the end of the long and narrow Otago harbour passage, which the whalers referred to as “the river.”\footnote{Octavius Harwood, Journal, 15 November 1838, 14 December 1840, cited in Entwisle,118.} Originally, the name Otago (Otakou) was not a specific name for
the harbour itself, but was applied to the area that surrounded and included it. It may take its name from a current in the inlet, but other explanations have been proposed. From the Heads its fourteen-mile length is punctuated by a series of little islands, and its upper reaches are not immediately visible from the entrance. It acquired its first European name, Port Daniel, some time in 1809. It has been generally accepted that this name commemorates Daniel Cooper, a sealer who visited the harbour in the Unity in February of that year and gave it his name. However, Ian Church has suggested another Daniel (Wilson), one of a gang of sealers landed on White Island (off St Clair) in November 1809, from the ship Brothers. Of the two Daniels, Cooper seems to be the more likely candidate, as the entry of the Brothers log refers to arrival at ‘Port Daniel’. The important point to note, however, is that the harbour now had a new name, which recognised a significant European commercial activity of the period. This naming brought the landscape within the sphere of European concepts and activities, and appropriated something of the essence of the landscape for a new and different cultural intention. Another new name was conferred on this piece of water in 1823, when the Mermaid entered it. Her captain, John Rodolphus Kent made a careful recording of his observations of the place, and, unaware that it had already been designated Port Daniel, christened it Port Oxley, in honour of the Surveyor-General of Australia. The last (and current) title for this stretch of water, the upper shallows of which were destined to become part of our urban landscape, reverted, appropriately perhaps, to a version of the original, Otago. However, now the name ‘Otago’ was not only a Maori appellation but also a signifier of European cultural intention. It was decided that this was to be the name of the new Scottish settlement, to which the harbour formed the entrance. “I like Otago” wrote Burns to Cargill, in 1845, advocating the retention of the native place-names. However, he suggested that it might be spelled “Otaygo” which he thought would encourage its pronunciation by Scottish tongues, thus indicating that he himself had no knowledge of the correct spoken sound of the name.

It is generally agreed that Otepoti is the Maori name for the site of Dunedin. However, opinions differ as to what this name might mean, to which features or activities it refers, and

21 George Griffiths, *Spurious Maori Place-names of Southern New Zealand* (Dunedin, N.Z.: Otago Heritage Books, 2002), 29. (Griffiths also suggests here that the presently used ‘Otakou’ might be a modern standardised version of the older southern dialect form of ‘Otargo’, or Otago.)
24 Church, 19.
25 Robert McNab, transcript of Sydney court record 25 September 1810 (Turnbull Library, MS 1368-84), 70-77, quoted in Entwisle, 144.
27 Thomas Burns, Letter to Cargill, February 1845, quoted in Griffiths, 31.
when exactly it was bestowed on the site. It has had various spellings – Otepoti, Oteputi\textsuperscript{28}, Otepotu (or pou\textsuperscript{tu})\textsuperscript{29} and Otepoto\textsuperscript{30}. This range of spellings may be attributed to variations in phonetic transcription in the early years of European settlement. Certainly, such confusion has given rise to conflicting ideas of its meaning. Goodall and Griffiths argue that ‘the place beyond which one cannot go’ is the most likely meaning, based on the topography of the site\textsuperscript{31}. W.H. Roberts suggested that the Maori meaning of ‘Otepotu’ (or Oteputu\textsuperscript{tu}) was either “the place of the steep points,” or “where the points of land come together.” The points referred to are Logan’s Point and the Anderson’s Bay headland, “the part of the harbour south of these points forming a horseshoe-shaped bay, contracted as at the heels by the points.”\textsuperscript{32} Roberts also suggested “place of the angle” referring to the bend in the Toitu stream as it reached the foreshore, but this translation has been dismissed by Goodall and Griffiths as unlikely, given the small size and significance of the stream itself.\textsuperscript{33} Herries Beattie, a conscientious and prolific collector of Maori lore and oral history in the early twentieth century, who acquired his information directly from the kaumatua (elders) of the area, could get no consensus from his informants. Some held that it was recent, meaning “the place of the boat”, referring to a boat (‘poti’) given to the local Maori by the whalers. Others agreed with the translation, but were certain that it referred to an older canoe-landing place (although the use of ‘poti’ for boat must certainly be a post-contact word).\textsuperscript{34} Yet another version offered by Beattie is that the site was associated with the making of flax baskets, ‘poti’ in this case meaning a bend (whaka-poti is the corner of a kete, or flax basket).\textsuperscript{35}

Neither was Beattie able to discover a definitive age for the name. One source named it in an account of a 300-year old battle,\textsuperscript{36} and another placed it in a story associated with the Araitae-uru canoe.\textsuperscript{37} Others were adamant that it was a modern appellation, connected with the interaction between Maori and the Europeans and the advent of European boats and sailing vessels.\textsuperscript{38} Griffiths takes this view, arguing that neither Tuckett’s nor Monroe’s records give

\textsuperscript{28} Cyclopaedia of New Zealand, 1905, 60, states “Dr Shortland examined the country round Otakou with some care in 1843 and camped on the spot which was then called Oteputi and is now Dunedin.”
\textsuperscript{31} Goodall and Griffiths, 15.
\textsuperscript{32} Roberts, 3.
\textsuperscript{33} Goodall and Griffiths, 14-15.
\textsuperscript{34} Beattie, Maori Placenames, 45.
\textsuperscript{35} Beattie, Lifeways, 452.
\textsuperscript{36} Beattie, Maori Placenames, 45
\textsuperscript{37} Beattie, Lifeways, 568.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., 572.
any indication that anyone was actually using the name in 1843, but, with the advent of the Europeans and their settlement, the place would have become a main centre of trade for Otakou Maori, as it had not been before, and 'the place of boats' then became the colloquial term for it.39 This suggestion would seem to be a logical solution to the question. However, with such a profusion of contradictory evidence, it is impossible to make any definitive statement as to the origins or meanings of the name. I suggest that it is credible that the name may always have applied to the landscape, acquiring new meanings and associations as time and circumstances progressed. This theory would allow a 'place of steep points' (which, as the early maps show, it undoubtedly was) to also become, through customary use, a 'terminus', and at the same time a place where a European whaling boat, or the settler's ships might be landed, and, with the increasing European shipping activity associated with the new settlement, a place which might be colloquially referred to as 'where the boats come'. Since flax was an abundant resource in the area, perhaps the basket-making suggestion could also be considered as a possible additional interpretation, or even a local play on words. Whatever its meaning, or multiple meanings, however, Otepoti, while still remaining in the memory right to the present day, was to be superseded in the 1840s by another name from another culture with the generation of the settlement scheme from Scotland.

"Let the settlement be called Otago, the town Dunedin." 40 The town might just as easily have remained Otepoti, for Burns approved of the practice of retaining the native names. However, the name of the new town had already been chosen – Dunedin. It might as easily have been 'New Edinburgh', which was its proposed label in George Rennie's original proposal for a Scottish settlement in New Zealand. However, this unimaginative appellation was viewed unfavourably by publisher William Chambers, who considered that the North American habit of calling their colonial towns after English ones by preceding the name with 'new' was "an utter abomination," and continued severely, "It will be a matter of regret if the New Zealand Company help to carry the nuisance to the territories with which it is concerned."41 As a result, further discussion eventually produced the name 'Dunedin'. This was the old Gaelic version of 'Edinburgh', and its use established at once the Scottish character of the proposed settlement, and its associations with an ancient and honourable language and history. It conveyed the intention that the values of that heritage were to be

39 Griffiths, 34, 44.
40 Burns, Letter to Cargill, 1845.
41 William Chambers, on the New Edinburgh Settlement Scheme, New Zealand Journal, November 1843, quoted in Griffiths, 30.
carried twelve thousand miles across the world and imposed on a foreign landscape, which was to be made, as far as possible, into an image of the old.

One other interesting reference should be mentioned here. Although Otepoti, whether traditional or contemporary, is accepted as the official Maori name for the Dunedin site, in the Deed of Purchase for the Murihiku Block, signed on 3 August 1853, ‘Dunedin’ is Maoricised as ‘Tanitani’. It is the only documented instance of this usage, which is made more curious by the fact that the purchase was negotiated by Walter Mantell, Commissioner of Crown Lands for Otago, whose knowledge of Maori culture and place-names was extensive. Griffiths offers this in support of his argument that ‘Otepoti’ was a local colloquialism for the landing place rather than an official name.\textsuperscript{42}

There does not appear to be a record of many of the natural landscape features having any major significance to Maori, and, as far as I can tell, very few were specifically named. Of the multitude of little streams that descended to the harbour, only two were ever named. This is understandable, since it is clear that they were all of very little interest to Maori, unnavigable by canoe, and only having minor significance as a food source. The Owheo, later re-christened the Water of Leith by the colonists, lay to the north beyond the boundary of the landscape considered by this study. The Toitu, however, has a claim to fame within this landscape in that its estuary marked the landing place of the New Edinburgh settlers. Nothing tells us why that stream in particular acquired a name; Roberts has offered two translations, “uncultivated,” or “where the chief Toi stood,”\textsuperscript{43} neither of which tell us very much. Nor are there any local traditions to confirm either. Folk history has designated the mouth of the Toitu the regular landing place for canoes visiting Otepoti in Maori times, although, in reality, it was probably one of several small landing stages along that stretch of water.\textsuperscript{44} Despite its role in the history of their settlement, the Europeans did not give it any other name. Neither do they appear to have used or adapted the original, and it was eventually covered over to accommodate the layout of the streets, although its water can still be tasted today from a tap outside Speight’s Brewery, and the legacy of its presence can be seen in the lines of the High Street-Princes Street intersection, where it can be observed that High Street has been laid at an oblique angle to the main street. This was done in order to avoid the road traversing the stream itself.

\textsuperscript{42} Griffiths, 34.
\textsuperscript{43} Roberts, 3.
\textsuperscript{44} Griffiths, 144. See also discussion in Goodall and Griffiths, 14-15.
The name Toitu has also been associated with Bell Hill, but this is probably a case of confusing the word with toitoi, meaning a hilltop\textsuperscript{45}. This large hill, protruding into the harbour, was Nga-moana-e-rua (two seas), a straightforward topographical description, referring to the two deep inlets on either side of the point. This name was to change when the Free Church settlers arrived. Since the top of this hill was reserved as the site of the church they planned to build, it was renamed ‘the Church Hill’, a statement of faith and intent. Within a short time, however, it had become, instead, ‘the Bell Hill’. The bell from which the hill took its name was a gift from Burns’ former parishioners in Scotland to the congregation of the First Church of Dunedin in 1850. Pending the future building of the church on the hill, the bell was placed there. It would be many years before the magnificent new building stood there, but, in the meantime, it had its bell. It became the public timepiece, ringing the hours of the day, as well as calling the faithful to Sunday worship. The bell, silent now, still remains on the top of the hill that bears its name, carefully placed in the grounds of the now completed and well-used church. Both church and bell are testimony to a vision fulfilled.

The Landscape on Paper – Maps and Surveys

With the advent of Europeans in ships to the coasts of New Zealand, the landscape began to acquire a new form of identity, for not only were its features named, but they were also mapped, planned and surveyed with a view to appropriating its resources, and the land itself, for European expansion. With the first encounters, where descriptions were recorded and map outlines drawn, came a sense of impending change to the landscape. These were the observations of men who were beginning a process, sizing up the opportunities and potential and considering the means by which to effect the changes. Europeans came to Otago first to explore, and then to trade and exploit the marine and littoral resources. They came by water, and in ships. Accordingly, the landscape of these first encounters was the coastline. This was the “first frontier” of European occupation,\textsuperscript{46} which was drawn and described in journals and charts, and identified in the settlers’ own cultural terms. Gradually, the focus changed to one of expectation and a vision of the future.

The upper reaches of Otago Harbour are well hidden from view to ships sailing up the East Coast. But for this fact, Dunedin might have boasted Captain Cook as her founder and discoverer, but although the illustrious explorer sighted and named Cape Saunders during his

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{46} Mackay, 16.
voyage of February 1770, and was able to observe and record the “Saddle Hill” lying inland, he missed the harbour inlet entirely.\textsuperscript{47} The sealing and whaling activity of the early years of the nineteenth century were centred around the head of the harbour and the ocean coastline, and there appears to have been no interest or inclination in these early years to explore the possibilities of the landscape further up. Kent’s journal from the 1823 voyage of the \textit{Mermaid} (Figure 2), on a quest to source flax for the rope-making industry, provides the first precise observation of the harbour itself, although the weather prevented him from reaching the upper end.

Port Oxley lies on the S.E. side of Tavai Poenanoo [Te Waipounamu, the South Island] about twenty miles to the Northward of Cape Saunders in latitude 45° 43' 35" so and Longitude 170° 23' E, is a commodious well sheltered harbour running in a Southerly direction, navigable up about five miles, a sandy bar lies across the entrance, over which we carried 3 fathoms, the clearest channel is on the South Side as many sandbanks lie inside, covered at high water; the weather being very boisterous during my stay prevented me from going any distance up the river, for I suspected flax may be found at this head, the tide runs very strong, it is high water at 4 hours on the full and change of the moon, rise about 12 feet.\textsuperscript{48}

\textbf{Figure 2: The Mermaid.} Detail of watercolour by Philip Parker King. (Source: P. Entwisle, \textit{Behold the Moon}, 69, Mitchell Library, Sydney).

The first European exploration of the upper reaches of the harbour, and the first recorded view of the site were made in 1826. The barque \textit{Rosanna} journeyed to ‘Port Oxley’ on a survey expedition. Her captain, James Herd, not only produced the first chart of the harbour of which is known (Figure 3), but also, with some of his men and the journalist Thomas Shepherd, took a boat up the length of it to explore.\textsuperscript{49} Shepherd’s journal provides us with the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{47}Entwisle, 6-7.
  \item \textsuperscript{48}Kent Journal. Herries Beattie wrongly identifies Waikouaiti as Port Oxley in his \textit{European Place Names of Southern New Zealand} (Christchurch: Cadsonbury, 2000), 3. However, Kent’s recorded position and description clearly identify Otago Harbour
  \item \textsuperscript{49}Church, 22.
\end{itemize}
following description of the upper harbour landscape. He observed that a channel ran along its length,

... from 5 to 7 fathoms sufficiently large for ships of considerable burthen; the other parts are chiefly sandbanks which are dry at low water, but enough for boats at high water... When we reached the utmost extent of the harbour, we were agreeably surprised instead of woods on each side as we had all the way up, we saw a fine open country chiefly covered with flax plants, green grass, and a few small shrubs which might be easily burnt down and made ready for the plough... This land is of excellent quality being a rich brownish loam capable of producing any kind of grass and corn in the greatest perfection. It is singular that the appearance of the country should thus change all at once from woods to open land. The appearance of this part in every respect resembles some parts of good cultivated land of Scotland or England.50

Figure 3: “Map of Port Oxley” by James Herd, 1826. (Source: P.B. Maling, Historic Maps and Charts of New Zealand, Alexander Turnbull Library).

This provides the first indication of the intended future of the landscape. Seen through European eyes, the harnessing of its resources seemed an inevitable and admirable undertaking. Herd, the experienced seaman, was quick to note that the abundant timber was not “fit for masts,” but recognised, nevertheless, a potentially lucrative resource “for common

purposes." It is interesting to contrast these images, and the painstaking efforts to reproduce the lines of the landscape accurately on paper, with the economic and physical perspectives, shown in a Maori map of Murihiku drawn for Halswell in 1842, which pays less attention to scale, and shows the values accorded to the resources and features of the various localities in terms of Maori knowledge and understanding (Figure 4).

Figure 4: A section of the "Sketch of the Middle Island of New Zealand" drawn by Maori for Halswell, about 1841 or 1842. (Source: N. Bathgate, 370).

The year 1844 marked the real beginning of plans for major changes to the landscape, when the New Zealand Company entered the picture and added to it a new dimension. The Company was planning a new class settlement in the South Island, and sent its officers southwards to reconnoitre the territory and to search for a sizeable stretch of land suited for the purpose. In March the Deborah set sail from Nelson with the Company’s advance party among its passengers, including Government representative J.J. Symonds, Company surveyor Frederick Tuckett, his friend Dr David Monroe, as well as the Reverend Wohlers bound for Ruapuke Island in Foveaux Strait. After an inspection tour of the district (during which,
McLintock tells us, Tuckett and Symonds nearly came to blows over Tuckett’s wish to land surveying equipment in advance of any land purchase. Tuckett decided on Otago as the site for the new settlement.

From all accounts, the site upon which Dunedin was built was a picturesque location. It appears to have captivated Tuckett, whose journal records:

The harbour Otakou or Otago is thirteen miles long with an average breadth of two miles with six fathoms of water for seven miles up, and three fathoms for the remainder. On either side the forest remains unbroken; good timber is abundant and the soil appears to be fertile. A space of less than a quarter of a mile intervenes between the head of the harbour and the ocean; here is a water frontage of unwooded land rising gently inland. It offers an ornamental and commodious site for a town, most suitable in every respect save the distance from the deep water of the lower harbour.

Monroe’s description of the site, published in the *Nelson Examiner* in July 1844, confirms its beauty, but also adds a breath of caution about the possible problems with regard to access by water owing to the shallowness and mud at the point of landfall, a point that Tuckett seems to have disregarded, or seen as nothing more than a minor inconvenience. In fact, these drawbacks became major difficulties in the early settlement. It was these, together with the major obstruction to the practical growth of the town presented by Bell Hill, which were to form the basis for the modification that took place in the 1860s, creating a new landscape shape on the foreshore. In 1844, however, the New Zealand Company was delighted with the site that had been chosen, and was convinced it was ideal for its new settlement.

In July, the Deborah returned to Koputai (now Port Chalmers) carrying William Wakefield, the Company’s agent, who successfully negotiated the purchase of the 144,600 acres of the Otago Block. The arable potential of the land noted by Shepherd was echoed by Wakefield. “The land lies in long slopes or downs”, he reported to the Company Secretary, “upon which grows good grass mixed with shrubs, indicative of a strong soil.” Charles Kettle and his team of surveyors arrived in 1846 to begin the task of converting the landscape to a town on paper, and to lay the foundations of a new heritage upon the old.

The conception of the planned settlement was that it would focus on an urban centre from which the colony could radiate out into the rural margins. Each property offered for sale was to total sixty acres and a quarter, divided into an urban quarter acre, a suburban ten acres and

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53 McLintock, 135-6.
54 Tuckett Diary, 27 April, 1844, reproduced in Hocken, Appendix A, 213.
55 David Monroe, “Notes of a journey through a part of the Middle Island of New Zealand,” *Nelson Examiner*, 20 July 1844, et seq., reproduced in Hocken, Appendix C, 244.
56 Wakefield, quoted in Hocken, Appendix D, 243.
fifty rural acres. Kettle had instructions to plan and survey a town layout and the urban section allotments (Figure 5), and to provide in his plan “for public purposes, as Fortifications, Public buildings, sites for Places of Worship and Instruction, Baths, Wharfs, Quays, Cemeteries, Squares, a Park and other places for health and Recreation.”

![Figure 5: Plan of the Dunedin settlement 1848. The numbers denote the order in which the sections were to be chosen. (Source: McDonald, City of Dunedin).](image)

Three of these reserves are of particular interest here, as they lie within this study’s landscape. The school site, which was also to house the first, temporary Presbyterian church of the town was ‘a section fronting the beach near the point where the north side of Rattray Street bends into Lower High Street’, while the top of Bell Hill was to be the site of the great church building planned for the future. The waterfront was not originally laid out as a reserve. However, Cargill was adamant that the new world would not follow the pattern of the old in having private ownership denying public access to the waterfront. His influence on Company policy secured all the waterside areas for the use of the public.

Kettle was also asked to plan a town as much like old Edinburgh as possible. Therefore, regardless of the terrain, a version of the Scottish capital was drawn upon the landscape. It seems that Kettle was not completely unaware of the complexities of the task, for he wrote to Wakefield: “The survey of a town is a somewhat tedious process when due attention is paid to

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57 22nd Report of N.Z. Company, 1847, App. no. 12, quoted in McDonald, 4.
58 McDonald, 11.
59 Ibid.
the features of the land in running lines of streets so as to obtain accessible gradients." Kettle’s gradients and straight lines, when completed, may not have been an exact copy of Edinburgh, but assuredly they represented a fixed mental template of the type of urban design required (Figure 6). There is no sense of it working with the landscape, or dealing creatively with the very obvious geophysical constraints that were present. European design and technology forced itself onto the landscape at all costs, remaking it in a new image designed to serve the purposes of the plan.

![Figure 6: The site and plan of Dunedin, redrawn from Kettle's Plan, 1847. (Source: Forester, 18).](image)

**Occupation, Buildings and Structures**

There had probably been Maori camps and kaikas (dwelling sites) in the area in the past, for, as Goodall and Griffiths point out, it was an area rich in resources such as birds, eels, flax and fresh water. Several earlier writers have suggested that there was, in fact, a permanent settlement at one time by the “Ngai-ta-pahi hapu”, and defined the area of settlement as “its northern boundary up the Rattray and Maclaggan streets [sic] gully, striking in a southerly direction across the High, Stafford and Walker [now Carroll] streets to a creek called O-te-rara ....which ...ran into the bay just below Market street.” Alexander Bathgate placed it at “the beach which lay where the Post office [sic] now stands, extending thence along the shore to the mouth of the Water of Leith, and even beyond it to Pelichet bay.” One wonders how they might have coped with the very large obstruction of Bell Hill in forming such an

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60 Kettle to Wakefield, 10 Aug 1846, quoted in McDonald, 3.
61 Goodall and Griffiths, 13.
62 Roberts, 3.
63 A. Bathgate Neighbourhood, 5.
extended settlement – presumably Bathgate is using the term loosely, and, in reality, the ‘settlement’ would have comprised a collection of small kaikas at points along the shoreline. Durward also recounts a tradition of “one long extended settlement stretching for several miles along the harbour waterfront,” although it had been abandoned by the 1820s. Goodall and Griffiths have suggested that the names of hapu (family groups) given by Roberts and Bathgate indicate memories of much earlier times and the traditional rights to the area of certain groups. They also cite the evidence of the 1844 Deed of Sale which, although it ‘took care to specify and exclude kaikas and cultivated areas’, made no mention of any occupation at Otepoti, or name any individual Maori associated with it. It is clear that there was no Maori occupation site on, or near, the foreshore by the early nineteenth century, but that there quite probably was one in an earlier period. What, then, are we to make of the evidence of an unknown passenger from the Philip Laing who, in 1848 saw a “large pah with a number of whares . . . in Maclaggan Street”? Entwisle suggests that this was a cluster of huts built by Maori who were involved in the work of the survey, and who might then have reoccupied them when the settlers arrived, as there was much work to be done. According to one settler, local Maori were “very anxious to get work”, were “very handy in getting up houses”, and “[knew] the value of money well”. This seems a credible suggestion, and can be supported by the evidence of Ferens’ journal: “we went up to the bush, and slept in a rush house, where 4 or 5 others from the ship were stopping and 3 maoris [sic], also slept at the outskirts near the fire, with their blankets.”

European occupation of the harbour area during the early decades of the nineteenth century confined itself to the peninsula. No attempt was made to create a settlement on the foreshore of the upper harbour. However, there is evidence of at least one European structure in this period. The first European building to appear on the landscape was a hunting lodge. At the beginning of the 1840s, the ex-whaling colonists from the Heads and Waikouaiti were in the habit of travelling up there in the Autumn to obtain a supply of pork for the winter, which they would salt and store on the site. A hut for this purpose was apparently constructed on the site “in a gully between High and Rattray streets.” According to John Hunter of Waikouaiti, this hut continued to exist well into the surveying and settlement periods. It seems likely that

65 Goodall and Griffiths, 14. See Also Griffiths, 145.
66 Entwisle, 130-31.
68 Ferens’ Journal, 27 March 1848.
69 John Hunter, reminiscences recorded in the Evening Star (Dunedin) 25 October 1884, reproduced in Richards, Appendix H, 135. See also Entwisle, 119.
this was the same weatherboard hut that housed two runaway European sailors in 1844. Isabella Anderson, who befriended them, says it was the “only hut” on the site, and J.W. Barnicoat’s sketch of “New Edinburgh, June 22, 1844” shows a building in what looks like the right location, and no sign of any other (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Sketch by J.W. Barnicoat, showing hut on foreshore, probably by the Toitu estuary. (Source: Hocken Library).

In the 1840s, the New Zealand Company came to assess and purchase land for organised European ‘class’ settlement, and, in its wake, the surveyors moved onto the landscape. Its appearance began gradually to alter as they began to plan and prepare for the establishment of a town centred about the foreshore. One of the first surveyors, Richard Nicholson (later Sir Richard) began to build “a whare” at Dunedin as early as 30 July 1844. Kettle and his survey team arrived at Koputai at the beginning of 1846, and towards the end of the year he set up his office at the Dunedin site, near the harbour front between High and Water Streets, close to the Toitu which provided essential fresh water. Both the survey office, and Kettle’s own house are prominent on the foreshore of the earliest photographs of Dunedin.

Finally, in 1848, the first immigrants from Scotland arrived and set about organising the land to accommodate their needs and aspirations, erecting buildings and converting wilderness into a European-style urban environment. However, despite the long and careful planning that had gone into this venture, they arrived to discover that no accommodation for them had been prepared in advance. The women and children were forced to remain on their ships, anchored at Port Chalmers, while the men set about building a temporary barracks to accommodate them at Dunedin itself, and to begin work on the construction of a jetty at the landing place, in order that the baggage and supplies might be brought up the harbour and

70 Isabella Anderson to James Allen, 1887.
72 Roberts, 3.
unloaded. Thomas Ferens, along with Henry Monson (who later became the town gaoler) was one of the passengers who helped to erect these first buildings of the settlement, and his journal gives us a glimpse of the conditions under which they laboured. Living in a hut in the bush, plagued with sandflies, and battling inclement weather, he and his companions set to work to prepare piles for the jetty, build the storehouse, (with difficulty - at one point it fell down and had to be reconstructed) and construct living quarters for the immigrants, while the perishable stores had to be secured “under a tarpauling” against the weather. By June, all of the parties from the John Wickliffe and the Philip Laing were finally housed in two temporary buildings, located in what is now the Exchange. We have a description of one of these buildings from James Chisholm.

It was a low building, 60ft. long by 20ft. wide. Posts had been hastily cut in the bush and carried to a site on the beach ... they were sunk a short distance into the ground. On the top of the posts plates hewn from tall trees were laid, and there the ends of the rafters rested. Across the upright posts and rafters long wattles or saplings were tied with strips of flax. Then the rough framework was covered with grass and rushes. There was no window, no floor, no partition.

Strict morality governed the allotment of accommodation in this far from private environment. Single women were place at the far end of the building, and firmly separated from the single men at the lower end by the married couples who were housed in the middle. As Dr Hocken later observed, “The sight must have been as unique as it was busy and interesting.”

The settlers soon set to work creating more permanent dwellings and public buildings. Ferens’ temporary jetty was soon strengthened with a stone abuttment and a crane was added. Jetty Street, leading from the landing to Princes Street became the first Dunedin street to be properly formed and metalled. Thomas Burns’ Manse, brought from Scotland in prefabricated sections, was also speedily erected in a “commanding position at the very head of the harbour,” setting the ideological tone for the settlement. Until the permanent church could be built on the top of Bell Hill, a temporary wooden building, which served as church, school and public meeting-house was constructed on a small rise above the foreshore, at the

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73 Ferens’ Journal, entries 27 March – 24 May 1848.
74 James Chisholm Fifty Years Syne: A Jubilee Memorial of the Presbyterian Church of Otago (Dunedin: J. Wilkie, 1898), 72.
75 Hocken, 97.
76 McDonald, 15.
77 Thomas Burns, Letter to his brother, April 1848, Otago Journal 3 (November 1848).40.
north-west corner of the present Dowling Street car park (Figure 8).  

At the end of Bell Hill, right beside the mudflat, the settlers built their first gaol.

![Figure 8: Dunedin 1849, viewed from south-west, showing church on rise in middle distance. Detail from a sketch by Charles Kettle. (Source: I.W.G. Smith, "Archaeological Assessment Dowling Street Carpark," 2000, 4).](image)

The building of the town progressed rapidly. By December 1849, a settler was able to write home: “at present the settlement contains about 100 houses (you would call some of them sheds or barns), built of wood and clay, about seventy of which, dotted about on a green plain, form our town. We number about 700 inhabitants, have a newspaper, a church, a school … a gaol, two inns and a jetty.”  

Of these amenities, church, school, gaol and jetty formed a backdrop to the foreshore landscape. In 1850, the Otago Journal published an account of the settlement’s progress, which adds to our knowledge of the developing urbanisation of the foreshore landscape. It describes the increase of public and commercial building. The church had been enlarged to cater for increased numbers, and a courthouse had been added to the town. The report continues: “Two stone buildings have been added to the town – a wholesale store near the jetty, and a schoolmasters [sic] house, adjoining the schoolhouse and church.”

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79 ‘Extracts from Letters of Settlers’ Otago Journal 7 (November 1850), 86.
80 ‘Progress of the settlement ’, Otago Journal 7 (November 1850), 95.
Clearly, urban development had rapidly established itself on a site that had, a mere decade earlier, presented a natural environment, with only minimal impact and interference from the cultural activities of either Maori or Pakeha (Figure 9).

Figure 9: The oldest known photograph of Dunedin, Muir and Moodie, 1852. (Source: Otago Settlers’ Museum).

It is important to realise that the story of the Queen’s Gardens has its beginnings in this ‘pre-landscape’ period. It was an economic and cultural landscape long before the present ground was formed. Over the first fifty years of the nineteenth century, the landscape underwent changes to its functions, identity, and visual appearance as a result of the cultural dynamics of the period, and the interaction of Maori and Europeans. When the reclaimed landscape of Queen’s Gardens did appear, it already possessed an accumulated heritage of earlier cultural activities and the progress of ideas.
Chapter 3. Forming 'The Triangle': Reclamation and Transformation 1860-1870

The business part of the town was microscopic. A long jetty led from the harbour's mud to the police barracks, to a few merchant stores, two hotels, a stable a bank, two courts and the Provincial Council Chambers. Cows, pigs and fowls roamed everywhere. Rattray Street was a morass. Princes Street, an earthen thoroughfare lined for the most part with one-stories shops and houses in rough-sawn wood. Here and there was a railing to steady your progress, while empty cases, empty drays and boulders for foundations and chimneys lined the sides. This was Dunedin in 1861.1

The years from 1860 to 1870 brought a number of significant changes to Dunedin. This was the period of the Otago gold rushes, which had a major impact on the character and development of the town. At the end of the decade, Dunedin was no longer a struggling and unprepossessing little settlement, but the prosperous urban 'commercial capital' of New Zealand. During this period, the landscape itself also underwent a major transformation. This chapter will discuss the land modification that took place in the 1860s, and the forces that contributed to the reshaping of the foreshore and harbour area. The new design of the landscape was not only a response to the new circumstances in which the town found itself with the commencement of the gold rushes and resultant population increase. It was influenced as much by the theme of progress that characterised the age. Technological advances, commercial interests, and political visions of the town’s future development all played their parts. The first twelve years of the colony had been concerned with survival and initial establishment. The year 1860 began an era of change and improvement.

Political Background

The administration of government in Dunedin and Otago had changed hands several times between 1848 and the 1860s, and, with it, responsibility for practical matters such as land improvement, public works, rating and rents. Otago started life as a New Zealand Company class settlement, jointly undertaken with the Lay Association of the Free Church of Scotland. The kind of community it hoped to establish was one based on the Wakefield ideal of a land-owning class that would provide employment for merchants and labourers who would travel to the colony on assisted passages. It was a joint enterprise, in which the Lay Association’s role was to “sell the properties, select emigrants, and maintain the special Free Church

\[1\] J. Cresswell, Century: Dunedin after the First Hundred Years, ed. J. Scoular (Dunedin, N.Z: Junior Chamber of Commerce, 1948), 29.
principles of the scheme." It was the Company’s responsibility to provide the land, the surveys, and the transport, and also to develop and improve the public aspects of the site. This was the situation during the first two years of the settlement. However, in July 1850, the financial situation of the Company resulted in its collapse and the ceding of its colony interests to the Crown. The demise of the Company left Otago in a difficult position. The public works programmes were abandoned, the new jetties under construction still incomplete. Captain William Cargill, Company agent and ‘patriarch’ of the settlement, was now summarily unemployed, leaving the Resident Magistrate, Justice Strode, nominally in charge of the whole community. Much to the relief of the town, Governor Grey authorised the continuation of some specific works projects, including the jetty extension and the making of roads, to be carried out under the direction of the magistrate. It would be another two years before the *New Zealand Constitution Act* was passed establishing Provincial Government for Otago. In the interim, once the Crown-granted funding for public infrastructure had been spent, much of the essential work for roads and bridges was continued by means of private contributions from the wealthier settlers.

Once the Provincial Council was established, with Cargill elected as Superintendent, its members attempted to address the practical and administrative needs of Dunedin. In 1854, the *Dunedin Public Lands Ordinance* established a board of Commissioners comprising the Council members and six elected others to manage the public reserves (of which, one was the foreshore area), and carry out necessary maintenance and improvements. They were given the authority to lease reserves for up to nineteen years, with the revenue obtained to fund any improvements carried out. This, as McDonald points out, was effectively Dunedin’s first elected municipal body. In 1855 a further ordinance created the Dunedin Town Board, whose functions included those of the previous Commission, and to whom was also given the management of roads.

**Landscape Problems**

By 1859, the difficulties of living with the practical results of Kettle’s original town layout were apparent. The wisdom of establishing a standard grid pattern of streets on this difficult

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3 *Otago News*, 30 November, 1850.
4 McDonald, 21-22.
5 McDonald, 26
topography had begun to be called into serious question. "In the original survey", stated the Provincial Engineer,

...roads were run ...irrespective of the conformity of the country, consequently where running over hills and through swamps the original road lines are unavailable ... it now becomes a matter of serious condition in how far this Department can be made to serve to rearrange the road lines in the Old Surveys so as to render the same in the New Surveys of Public Advantage. 

In addition, no allowance had been made for adequate drainage and sewerage disposal, which had resulted in swampy and insanitary conditions and outbreaks of serious illness, exacerbated by the major population increase caused by the gold rush. Kettle himself fell victim to an epidemic of typhoid, and died of it in 1862. The state of the roads and streets of the town had become a major issue of discontent. Of the town in the pre-gold phase, historian A.H. McLintock wrote disparagingly,

After twelve years of settlement, Dunedin was still a straggling village of no beauty and less pretension with a population of about two thousand people. The so-called roads which served as thoroughfares...were unlighted and devoid of metal, with the consequence that, in times of rain, they became a treacherous morass of miry clay which merited for the settlement the name of Mud-Edin.

Letters to the newspapers, editorials and correspondence tabled at meetings of the Board show clearly the dissatisfaction and concern about the state of the streets and the sanitary conditions prevailing, situations with which the cash-strapped and overburdened Board seemed unable to deal. There were too many needs, too little finance and a lack of coordinated planning between provincial and municipal authority. The result was an institution rendered, by its circumstances, almost totally incapable of implementing any cohesive and systematic plan for public works. Instead, it proceeded on an ad hoc basis, tackling the most urgent tasks as they arose and funding allowed, generating dissatisfaction from all quarters in the process. To the public, it appeared that the Board was unwilling, or unable to attend to anything. For example, a typical letter to the town’s newspaper reads:

WHAT MAY BE DONE TO THE STREETS? – The recurrence of wet weather and muddy ways leads us again to enquire whether there are no means within the reach of the Town Board to make Manse-street somewhat navigable. At present the explorer whom dire necessity compels to venture on that via dolorosa must take the chance of being embedded beyond the hope of self-extrication, and indeed only those of our towns men endowed with specially courageous temperaments will be found to make the attempt. It may be true that the authorities are not in a position just at present to form and metal the street, but it must be known to the Town Surveyor that a comparatively small

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expenditure would made (sic) a high and dry pathway on both sides of the road, and provide a free and clean communication between Princes-street and High-street, besides enabling our townspeople to avail themselves of the trading advantage of Manse-street. Fifty or sixty loads of stuff from the beach, and a few planks for curbing would effect all that is immediately needed, and we commend the suggestion to the Board.9

Bell Hill had always been a problem for the development of the town, positioned as it was right in the centre of the main street, a major obstruction to access. Its only merit seems to have been the fact that the Church reserve on its summit was considered by Burns to be the ideal site for the imposing building that was planned, to stand aloft as a beacon of Presbyterian Christianity, visible for miles from all directions. The Town Board organised the first assault on the bulk of Bell Hill in 1858, when work commenced on a twenty foot wide cutting through the line of the hill which separated Princes Street from the Octagon and the north end of the town. However, possibly having by now got the measure of the Board’s public works performance, the Government took charge of the operations, and placed the work in the hands of the Provincial Engineer.10 Bell Hill was now breached, but the magnitude of this undertaking was to be superseded by a much more ambitious plan, that of removing the entire hill order to create new land and improve the harbour.

Factors of Progress and Change

1861 saw the Otago gold rush begin to bring major changes to the life and development of Dunedin and its landscape. It generated prosperity, expansion and a hugely increased population. It is generally supposed that the impetus for commencing the harbour improvements and the extension of the business area of the town also came as a result of this sudden influx of people and trade. Although the invasion by the gold-seekers clearly had a major effect on the town’s progress, and the presence of an enlarged labour force certainly facilitated the implementation of the work, it should not be overlooked, however, that Dunedin was already experiencing an upturn in population and economic growth in the years immediately prior to the gold rush. This was mainly due to a successful recruitment campaign initiated by the Provincial Government, which had encouraged a significant and steady increase in immigration during 1858 and 1859, resulting in a bolstering of the provincial purse through land sales and a corresponding increase in rural development and production.11

11 McDonald, 43-44.
In contrast to the descriptions by McLintock and Cresswell, the *Otago Witness* painted a far rosier picture:

The town of Dunedin is improving every day; new houses and shops of a superior character are springing up rapidly; notices of 'sites to let on building leases' are becoming numerous; the several vacancies in the main and lateral streets are being filled with handsome shops .... Chaise carts and dog carts frequently pass and re-pass, and the principal retail storekeepers and bakers have their carts for delivering their goods. A carrier cart has been started for delivering packages within the town and suburban districts, which is a great convenience to the public.\(^{12}\)

\(^{12}\) *Otago Witness*, 14 May 1859.
The Provincial Council had spent £20,000 on its immigration drive and, as a result, ship arrivals had increased considerably from 1858. As immigration increased, new people arrived to take advantage of the opportunities offered in the colony, altering the original character and composition of the town and its Free Church inhabitants, and making more ambitious demands on the town and its landscape. The scale and nature of commercial enterprise expanded and a variety of new business ventures began to flourish. The early years of settlement had been firmly rooted in the ideals and philosophies of the Scottish Free Church. It should be remembered that these did not automatically frown on commercial capitalism. Scotland, too, had undergone the effects and influences of Britain’s Industrial Revolution, which had radically altered the old communal social patterns of small church communities, and had seen the birth of a new ethos of “individualism and middle class affluence.” The members of the Lay Association were predominantly affluent merchants and businessmen. Accordingly, it is hardly surprising that the leadership of the Church encouraged individual enterprise within the framework of a general godliness and self-discipline. The enterprises of the small-scale merchants, farmers and tradesmen of the Otago congregation were encouraged with the assurance that “God rewarded the virtuous within the marketplace.” Nevertheless, the founders of the settlement could hardly have anticipated the scale of commercial capitalism that burst onto the Dunedin scene in the late 1850s.

Progress and commercial interests were major factors influencing the decision to modify the harbour landscape. Progress and technological advance were the keynotes of the late Victorian era, and these inevitably made their way to the new colony. The new ideas and technologies brought with them new opportunities to prosper. One of the key players in this new scene of commercial development was local merchant James Macandrew, commercial entrepreneur and the second Superintendent of the Province. He had arrived in Dunedin in 1851 with his own schooner, the Titan, and a quantity of merchandise, and immediately involved himself in both local business and local politics, establishing a store and providing coastal shipping services, initially with a string of schooners, and later with steamships. The advent of steam shipping, that major invention of the industrial age, to the Otago coast made a significant impact on the harbour activities, and marked the beginning of new era in transport and communications. Until the mid-1850s only sailing vessels had operated commercially.

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13 Cresswell, 28.
Otago's involvement with this transport revolution really began when Macandrew set his sights on the profitable trans-Tasman trade, and on 27 August 1858 he brought his first steamer, *Queen*, up the harbour, anchoring half a mile from the Dunedin jetty, providing a fine spectacle for the town. At about the same time, the New Zealand Government put the SS *White Swan* into service for the New Zealand inter-coastal trade. With Waikouaiti businessman, Johnny Jones, also operating his Harbour Steam Navigation Company, Dunedin became the main entrepot of the South, with links to all the southern ports. In the face of these new and expanding developments in commercial shipping, improvements to the harbour and its organization became a priority. In the interests of Dunedin's economic progress it was no longer deemed desirable to have the deep-water anchorage at Port Chalmers, and it was hoped that provision of improved access and new facilities would encourage more trading vessels right up the harbour, directly to the port of Dunedin.

Figure 12: “The Coming Man,” James Macandrew by James Brown, 1852. This is said to be New Zealand’s first political caricature. (Source: Ian F. Grant, The Unauthorized Version A Cartoon History of New Zealand (Auckland, N.Z.: Cassell, 1980), 9, original in Hocken Library).

James Macandrew was the new, up and coming man in the commerce and politics of Otago. He was a mover and shaker in the conservative small world of Dunedin, had great visions for Otago’s future, and held strong views on the central role that commerce should play in that future. Politically, he was a member of the Provincial Council, the House of

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17 Church, 14-15.
18 Olssen, 67.
Representatives and the Dunedin Town Board. He also served as an elder of First Church. When Cargill relinquished the Superintendency, shortly before his death in 1860, Macandrew had become his natural successor in office. Always one for ‘thinking big’, and proposing large and visionary schemes to further Otago’s future, as well as his own business interests, his position as Superintendent allowed him to further these goals by projecting his grand plan for major harbour development.

**Lowering Bell Hill**

The Provincial Government turned its attention to the task of reclaiming the harbour. Reorganising this sort of terrain to accommodate port activities was not a new idea. In Britain, waterfronts have been modified in this way since Roman times, and can be seen in towns such as Dartmouth, Gloucester and Newcastle, where the buildings of the town rise up a steep slope behind a level area, which has been artificially extended from the base of the hill to the water. From the seventeenth century onwards, drainage and reclamation of land for agricultural and building purposes was undertaken extensively in Europe, pioneered by the Dutch, and soon adopted in Britain. Kettle may have always intended that some reclamation would take place in this area. His original town survey map shows Lower High Street, and part of Princes Street drawn through the water, and he wrote to William Wakefield in 1846: “Along the water frontage there is a long flat, dry at low tide, which might easily be reclaimed.”

The Bell Hill project was the brainchild of Charles Robert Swyer, the Provincial Engineer. Swyer was an import from Melbourne, one of the founders of Purchas and Swyer, a prestigious firm of architects. Although there was not generally a need for the creation of additional land in nineteenth century Australia, a few significant reclamation projects of valuable waterfront land had been undertaken at Hobart, Sydney and Port Arthur during the 1840s and 1850s, of which he would presumably have had some knowledge. His comprehensive plan for the improvement of the harbour was ultimately intended to reclaim about 130 acres, creating space for buildings, extensions of the streets, new wharves and deep-water docks, using the material obtained from reducing the height and mass of Bell Hill

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22 Extract from Despatches, Kettle to Wakefield, August 10, 1846, published in *Otago Journal*, 2 (June) 1849, 22

23 McGowan, 10.
to form the infill. The estimated cost of the undertaking was £355,000, which it was intended to recover from the sale or lease of the newly created land.\(^{24}\) The plan appeared to kill two birds with one stone. It would create the much-needed harbour improvements, and extend the waterfront, while at the same time it would remove the stubborn obstacle that Bell Hill presented to the extension of the business area of the town (Figure 13).

![Figure 13: Provincial Engineer’s 1863 plan for reclamation. Shaded area indicates proposed initial reclamation. (Source: I.W.G. Smith, “Archaeological Assessment Dowling Street Carpark,” 2000, 2.)](image)

In October 1862 work began on the project, which was to recreate the waterfront landscape and lay the foundation of Queen’s Gardens. The first step was the removal of the buildings that were already erected on Bell Hill, duly authorised by Ordinance. Thirty-three houses (including the newly-completed Manse), “nine shops, eight stores or workshops, a church, and a hotel” were affected by the plan.\(^{25}\) Initially, unemployed labourers, many of whom had arrived in the colony to join the rush for gold in Central Otago, and required work and money

\(^{24}\) McDonald, 56.
\(^{25}\) Ibid.
to set them up for the journey, carried out work on the hill. Early on in the work, an article appeared in the *Witness* claiming that evidence had been produced to suggest the clay was gold bearing. This, however, appears to be the only reference to such a possibility, and the paper produced no follow-up. There was no Dunedin gold rush centred on Bell Hill. It remains an intriguing little story that might well have been intended as a motivation for the labour force to continue their efforts. Gold was, after all, a magical word in Otago at the time.

It is hard to imagine the sheer magnitude of the task. As the solid basalt rock came down, it was strewn at the bottom of the hill and over the mudflats to form a solid land base. Up to five hundred men were employed daily, at a rate of five shillings a day. Through picks and shovels and backbreaking labour, they whittled the hill away (Figure 14). The *Daily Telegraph* applauded this as a public service, which would keep them from starving and prevent them from turning to crime. However, in practical terms, the Government soon found this method to be manifestly inefficient, as well as an organisational and administrative nightmare. Within two months of the project’s commencement, it decided, instead, to offer the work for tender. The work on the south side of the hill was contracted out to McKenzie and Co. for the sum of £8,100.

Figure 14: Men excavating Bell Hill 1863. (Source: Otago Settlers’ Museum).

Work was carried out on the north side by prison labour under the supervision of the warders. The town’s gaol was a dismal and primitive building set at the tip of the Bell Hill, on

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26 Ibid.
27 *Otago Witness*, 1 November 1862, 5.
28 *Daily Telegraph*, 9 January 1863, 2.
the narrow headland of Nga-moana-e-rua, which allowed no access by foot at high tide. It was one of the first buildings to exist on the edge of the harbour, and it continued in its function while the hill was demolished around it. The courthouse, where the resident magistrate also continued his regular sittings throughout the reclamation period, stood adjacent to it (Figure 15). The gaol’s inmates provided much of the labour for the reduction of Bell Hill, and were responsible for the manufacture of the battery charges used in the blasting.29

Figure 15: The Gaol and Courthouse, early 1860s. The new manse, subsequently removed, can be seen on the hill above. Photograph is by William Melhuish. (Source: Otago Settlers’ Museum).

Judging by the amount of journalistic coverage of the topic, the work provided much public interest and entertainment. The newspapers of the time kept up a running commentary of the progress, giving detailed and entertaining descriptions of the work, which provide us with very clear pictures of the process of forming the new landscape, and the techniques used. The public were kept informed of any innovations of method, such as the contractor’s ingenious method of disposing of the debris.

The contractor appears pushing on the works for levelling Bell Hill. Tramways have been laid from the hill to the edge of the embankment at the edge of the bay. The trucks having been filled with earth, a horse is attached to them and they are drawn about half the distance when the horse flies off at a tangent and the trucks, by their own impetus, run along to the end of the tramway, and shoot their freight into the bay.30

29 Otago Witness, 6 August 1864, 14.
30 Daily Telegraph, 28 March, 1863, 5.
Figures 16 & 17: Two views of the truck and tramway system employed to remove the spoil from the hill excavation. (Source: Otago Settlers' Museum).

Figure 16.

Figure 17.

The Provincial Engineer also directed the blasting away of portions of the hill. As well as effectively and steadily reducing the hill mass, this served to provide a spectacle for the entertainment of the public. As the work progressed, the charges became bigger and better.
Swyer seems to have enjoyed experimenting with the engineering possibilities, and generally reported not only the amount of rock dislodged by each major blast, produced increasingly sophisticated charges and ideas. Newspaper accounts also itemised the materials used and their cost. For example, in April 1863, the _Witness_ reported:

A measurement was made of the quantity of debris which fell at the foot of the hill; and it was found to be about 688 tons, or equal to 343 cubic yards. ..... The cost of it was £8 11s 2d, thus composed – boring the hole, two men six days at 8s a day each, £4 16s; sharpening [sic] bits, 5s; fuse, 2s 6d; 58lb powder, at 1s 1 1/2d, £3 7s 8d; This makes the cost per cubic yard of the stuff brought down, just 6d.31

It seems clear from these reports that Swyer’s aim was to find the most cost-effective method of removing the maximum amount of material from the bulk of the hill. The explosions were treated as a public event, attracting large audiences. The _Daily Telegraph_ would publish details of these coming events, make helpful suggestions regarding safe and rewarding observation points for the spectacle, and report a faithful account of all the observable action after the event.

THE BLAST AT BELL HILL. – The announcement that a monster blast would take place on Saturday afternoon attracted a large assemblage of spectators to the vicinity of the Bell Hill about 4 o’clock p.m., the hour appointed for the experiment, when the Rattray street Jetty, and the various points from which a view of the proceedings could be obtained were crowded with persons desirous of witnessing the result of so formidable a blast. About half an hour afterwards the Provincial Engineer, Mr Swyer, under whose immediate superintendence the experiment was carried out, was seen, together with his assistants, moving hurriedly from the scene of action and very shortly afterwards a slight rumbling noise was heard, the huge mass of earth and rock immediately facing the water appeared to dissolve slowly and steadily, and at length scattered itself in one immense mass upon the esplanade before ... We understand that Mr Swyer, encouraged by the unqualified success which attended Saturday’s experiment, intends to commence preparations for another blast on a still more extensive scale, since he proposes by it to dislodge no less than 28,666 yards, equal to 43105 tons, so as to bring down the present face of the cliff in one mass. This will require six, perhaps eight, shots, and will, doubtless, take place on some public holiday, so as to give every opportunity to our citizens of witnessing so grand a spectacle.32

The entertainment was not always so successful. On one occasion, Mr Swyer, in his enthusiasm, apparently overreached himself. When almost a thousand people had gathered to witness the advertised firing of ‘six monster blasts’, the ‘largest ever made in New Zealand’, an embarrassing technical hitch occurred, and the explosion failed. The _Daily Telegraph_ recorded the moment:

There was a signal given for those in too close proximity to keep off, and everyone held his breath, momentarily expecting to hear a report reverberating through the air and to witness a moving wall of solid stone dashed into countless pieces. But, after the lapse of some time, the men were again

31 _Otago Witness_, 23 April 1863, 5. See also _Daily Telegraph_, 27 June 1863, 2.
appearing at the blasts. It was thought something had gone wrong, and this turned out to be correct, for at a quarter past five o’clock no report had been heard, and the face of the rock showed as firm and as solid as it probably did a thousand years since. Many people had by this time left their places of observation, believing that something had occurred to prevent the blasting operations from being proceeded with, when suddenly a bell pealed forth its warning note, and almost immediately afterwards a succession of reports were heard, when a large mass of stone was seen to move forward slowly, and then crumble away as it fell to the ground. This time the blasting did not answer so successfully as on the last. While the quantity of gunpowder was more than double that used on the previous occasion the quantity of stone and debris moved was less than half.\textsuperscript{33}

On other occasions, the nuisance aspects of the blasting were felt, and near disasters resulted from the work. In April 1864, the \textit{Telegraph} lamented the “decided want of consideration and respect” shown by the continuance of blasting during the sitting of the Provincial Assembly, especially, it seems, since “several loud explosions” accompanied the commencement of the Superintendent’s speech. The same article referred to a recent near miss during a sitting of the Supreme Court and the subsequent banning of the explosions during Court hours.\textsuperscript{34} Certainly, disruption and a degree of danger must have constantly attended the blasting work carried out at Bell Hill.

By 1864, enough land had been reclaimed for the Town Board to offer several sections for sale on ninety-nine year leases, at the rate of £1 per foot of street frontage.\textsuperscript{35} This reclamation was the first modest step towards the extensive expansion of the town into the harbour that is visible today. A new landscape had been formed. (Not the very expensive and extensive area originally proposed, although over the years that would also come) In this initial phase approximately ten acres extended from the foot of the hill, in a triangular shape, sitting in the angle formed by Rattray Street and Lower High Street. The community came to know it as ‘the Triangle’.

\textbf{The First Church Agenda}

The alteration of the landscape was bound to affect the fortunes and plans of the Church. It will be remembered that the four-and-a-half acres on top of Bell Hill constituted the “bold rocky prominence,” which Cargill had selected at the commencement of the settlement to be the site upon which a permanent church would eventually stand.\textsuperscript{36} The replacement of the tiny First Church with an imposing stone structure symbolising the successful establishment of the “Free Church Utopia” of the southern hemisphere was a dream carried by Burns throughout

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 19 February 1864, 4.  
\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 8 April 1864, 14.  
\textsuperscript{35} McDonald, 77. See also \textit{Otago Witness}, 12 March 1864.  
the years of his ministry.\textsuperscript{37} The little stone structure first erected by the settlers, and later enlarged with a semi-circular annex, was but temporary accommodation for his congregation. To see a substantial and suitably ornamental stone church standing in such a commanding position was his vision for the long-term.\textsuperscript{38}

Once the essential business of surviving the wilderness, and establishing the framework of a tolerably comfortable settlement with a church at its core had been attended to, the Deacons’ Court turned its attention to fundraising for its future plans. Contributions came by subscription from members of the congregation, and such revenues as pew rents. However, the composition of the church administration had also been changing and expanding during the years since arrival, and the First Church of Dunedin no longer held the only authority in clerical matters. As settlements had spread throughout the rural areas of Otago, new community parishes had sprung up and a Presbytery of Otago had formed to link them all. At the commencement of the gold rushes in 1861 the Presbytery oversaw the interests of some ten parishes. By 1866, twenty-one parishes had formed thirteen presbyteries, and an Otago Synod of the Presbyterian Church was established.\textsuperscript{39} In this structure, First Church ceased to be the church and became instead one of the churches of Otago. Consequently, when it came to the question of building a large and expensive church in the city, a certain amount of debate and compromise within the church hierarchy was inevitable, in addition to the bargaining that would have to be done with the secular authorities.

In 1861 the Deacons’ Court resolved to begin the planning of the project, and advertised a competition for an architectural plan. Almost immediately, however, they encountered controversy over the issues of land rights and ownership. It had been decided to finance the project with interest-free loans from affluent church members, and to repay these from rents obtained from the reserves.\textsuperscript{40} Then came the question of ownership. Did the Church or the collective Presbytery own the land? Neither, according to the editor of the \textit{Witness}, who asserted “these lands have nothing to do with the original Church properties selected under the terms of purchase. They were all public reserves, and hence they were dealt with by Crown Grants under the Public Reserves Act 1854.”\textsuperscript{41} In fact, this is absolutely correct. These sites

\textsuperscript{37} E.N. Merrington, \textit{A Great Coloniser – Reverend Dr Thomas Burns} (Dunedin, N.Z.: Otago Daily Times and \textit{Witness}, 1929), 262.
\textsuperscript{38} Salmond, 39-40.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid, 24-25.
\textsuperscript{40} These were the three additional reserves that the church had acquired from the NZ Company in the original survey, and comprised the Manses site, the school site and property on Bell Hill. See Salmond's diagram, Figure 18.
\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Otago Witness}, 15 June 1861, 4.
had been chosen by Burns and Cargill from the reserves on Kettle's original survey as additional to those to be chosen by the trustees in the selection process on arrival. They were thought of then as an extra gift from the Company to the Church, as aids to the setting-up of the Presbyterian community.\(^{42}\)

![Figure 18: The Church Reserves. (Source: A.L. Salmond, 19).](image)

As public property, the article continued, they should be returned to public use if the Church no longer wished to use them for church purposes but lease them instead. Moreover, the writer was unimpressed by plans to build the new church on Bell Hill, suggesting that there were options for the site that were far more appropriate to the public interest.

As to the Bell-hill, we consider that it is not the proper site for a Church – that the claimants have no just right to it, and that it is wanted for public purposes. If the harbour is to be reclaimed, it will be wanted to fill up the reclaimed portion; if not, it is the proper site for barracks as it is the only defensible position in the town.

Nevertheless, the Deacons' Court applied to the Provincial Council to resolve the matter by transferring the rights of management of the reserves in question to the Church. Whether by some oversight, or by intention, the transfer was not made to the Church but to the Presbytery, resulting in the Deacons' Court having to make an application to this body for a grant to begin the work. Consent was given grudgingly, and after some debate. After all, First Church was not the only congregation in Otago that might be in need of financial assistance. To some, it looked as if one church was intent on taking the lion's share of income intended for all. Consent was eventually given, however, and work could begin on the new manse on Bell Hill at the start of 1862.\(^{43}\)

\(^{42}\) McDonald, 11.
\(^{43}\) Salmond, 24-25.
Burns and his family moved to their new home in April, and a plan for the new church had now been found. The winning design, an imposing neo-gothic structure, had been submitted by a young Melbourne architect, R.A. Lawson, who arrived in Dunedin to supervise the work. Lawson’s architecture was to enhance Dunedin’s built environment for the next twenty years, and included other churches, the Boys’ High School, and the Seacliff mental hospital. He also involved himself in congregational life, and eventually held the office of Session Clerk of First Church.

Notification of the Provincial Council’s plan to demolish the hill and deprive them of their “conspicuous site” must have come as a severe disappointment to Burns and the Deacons’ Court. Their response, however, was balanced and conciliatory, indicating their support for the larger view of the town’s future interests and welfare. It should be remembered that the Presbyterian Church was well represented in the Council\textsuperscript{44}, and both parties were likely to be cooperative with the needs and goals of each other. Lawson proposed a compromise, namely, that a raised platform for the church might be left on the hill (Figure 19), and the Superintendent readily accepted this solution.\textsuperscript{45} Burns, however, was most unhappy at being evicted from his new home, which was one of the many buildings the Town Board required to be removed from the hill prior to the commencement of the reclamation work. He demanded, and eventually received, compensation for this inconvenience; he then removed himself to a new residence in London Street, where he remained until his death in 1871.\textsuperscript{46}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig19.png}
\caption{Drawing prepared by A. L. Salmond, which shows the massive amount of the hill that was demolished, and illustrates Lawson’s compromise plan for the church site. (Source: Salmond, 27).}
\end{figure}

In the meantime, while work on the hill demolition continued, the Council provided for the building of an interim two storey wooden church in Dowling street to house the congregation

\textsuperscript{44} J. McKean, The Road to Secularisation in Presbyterian Dunedin: The First Fifty Years of the Otago Settlement (Dunedin: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1993), 9.
\textsuperscript{45} Salmond, 27.
\textsuperscript{46} Merrington, 260.
until the new church could be built. The congregation vacated this building when the new church was completed in 1873. It subsequently served as a warehouse until 1878, when steam tram operator David Proudfoot purchased it and had its wooden superstructure moved to Fryatt Street to use as a workshop.\(^47\) The stone foundations survived until very recently at the back of the present-day Dowling Street car park (Figure 20).

![Figure 20: View of the interim First Church during the 1860s, Dowling Street entrance. The effect of the reclamation work is clearly visible in the foreground. (Source: Otago Settlers' Museum).](image)

Quarrying continued down the sides of the hill, even as the church began to rise. The foundation stone of the new building was finally laid on 15 May 1868. In those days it was not customary to mark the official founding stone of a building, and, therefore, we have no way now to identify the beginning of the building.\(^48\)

It was twenty years since the arrival of the settlers, and much had changed. The landscape was unrecognisable as the one that they had originally encountered, a thought that might well have crossed the mind of the elderly, ailing Burns, who was fortunately able to attend the occasion, despite his ill-health. Thomas Burns did not live to see his vision completed. He died in 1871. However, he seems to have been pleased to see the beginnings of his church's future. Of the perspective drawing of the new church, which Lawson had given him, he wrote:

> [it] ...graces the wall of my study......[and] certifies to me that the final effort of my earthly ambition is at length fulfilled, and I have lived to see the Congregation in a fair way to possessing a sacred edifice that is I every way so worthy of the site it occupies, and is so well entitled to assert and maintain all its own rightful claims as the metropolitan church of the Church of Otago.\(^49\)

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\(^{48}\) Salmond, 34.

\(^{49}\) Thomas Burns to R.A. Lawson, quoted in Salmond, 35-40.
First Church was completed in 1873 and remains today at the top of the hill overlooking the reserve and the waterfront, still a heritage symbol of the people whose faith ensured the building of it.

![Figure 21: Constructing First Church, June 1870. Photograph J.W. Allen (Source: Salmond, 36).](image)

Assessing the Changes

The harbour reclamation should not be viewed as a single event, or as a hiatus in the urban landscape between the period of no land and landform. During the decade of the 1860s the landscape underwent a continuous process of transformation, which is itself a major historical event. The Government’s intention was to progressively extend and reclaim the land between the harbour and the town. In order to do so, it set itself the incredible task of removing the entire mass of a substantial hill of solid basalt from the centre of the landscape. That it succeeded in doing so within a decade is an achievement worthy of remembrance. From the disappearance of its former structures and landmarks, to the later appearance of new ones the landscape was in a state of upheaval and flux. During the same period, a similar process of upheaval and transformation can be discerned occurring in the social culture. The Dunedin
The gold rush of 1861 was certainly the catalyst for much of this change. It brought new people and new ideas into the settlement, disrupting and challenging the old patterns and values of community. It also highlighted the urgent need for town expansion and development. However, it is doubtful that the old order would have continued for much longer, even without the discovery of gold at that time. The world was changing. There was a new global focus on capitalism and commerce, and innovations in shipping and transport. Men like James Macandrew were looking to the future, and setting new goals for themselves and the Province. Businesses boomed. The economy flourished. Communications became swifter and more reliable. The modern innovations of gas lighting and public transport began to transform the town. The nature and composition of the community was irrevocably altered by the mass arrival of new people, many of who had little respect for the piety of the Presbyterian Scots, and had no wish to be subjected to the moral leadership of the ‘old identity’.

The deaths of Cargill in 1860, and Burns in 1871, signalled that the old era had truly passed. Nevertheless, despite the rapid changes, it was clear that these pioneers had laid a firm foundation. Presbyterian influence still had a strong hold in Dunedin. The continuing commitment by the members of the First Church congregation, and the contributions of affluent members of the Dunedin community to the construction of a new church as an inspiring city landmark was a confident statement of faith. The degree of cooperation that existed between the Government and the Presbyterian congregation was reflected in the landscape by the retaining of a platform on the hill undergoing demolition, and the alteration to the planned shaping of the new landscape in order to accommodate the siting requirements for the splendid new stone church.

The new landscape that eventually emerged from this period changed the aspect of the town considerably. Bell Hill was truncated and decapitated, its former mass laid out to form flat ground, which served to extend the foreshore and distance the town from its original position on the water’s edge. The reclaimed area itself constitutes the first piece of material culture to lie within the new town landscape. It is a man-made foundation, upon which all that came after was built.
Figure 22: The reclaimed foreshore, Alfred Burton, 1875. (Source: Hocken Library).
Chapter 4. A Prosperous Landscape 1870-1885

Dunedin is a remarkably handsome town – and, when its age is considered, a town which may be said to be remarkable in every way. The main street has no look of newness about it. The houses are well built and the public buildings, banks and churches are large, commodious and ornamental.¹

By the beginning of the 1870s, Dunedin was beginning to reap the long-term economic and social benefits of the gold rush, and to reflect these in the material culture of its urban landscape. Many of its merchant traders and professional men had accumulated enormous fortunes. The population had increased significantly, and one quarter of the European population of the colony now resided in Otago, which was producing one third of New Zealand's total exports.² The city now entered the most prosperous and progressive phase of its existence. It possessed a major port and conducted a thriving sea trade, the harbour area a constant flurry of activity. The Otago Witness reported in 1873 that:

nearly all the city wharfs are busy with vessels alongside discharging. The jetty street wharf is heaped with goods of all descriptions, and in some parts of it there is barely room for a dray to pass between. The vessels unloading are chiefly cutters and small schooners trading to the other seaports of the Province.³

Dunedin was the undisputed commercial capital of the country.

This period is also significant in that during the course of it Dunedin truly became part of a wider New Zealand. The major political event of the decade was the abolition of Provincial Councils in 1876. For Dunedin, this seems to have brought about a more unified sense of colonial culture, and enhanced the role of the Mayor and the City Councillors in the planning of urban procedures and developments. Demarcation lines for administrative responsibilities became more defined from this point, and the process of urban growth, although still racked from time to time with controversy between central and municipal Government, became less of a maze of confusion. Reclamation continued to increase the flat area of land along the foreshore, and the Triangle landscape expanded. The Otago Harbour Board, which was founded in 1874, became the controlling body for the ongoing work,⁴ while the Provincial Government, during the remainder of its existence, continued to provide prison labour to

¹ Anthony Trollope, Australia and New Zealand, (1873), quoted in the Otago Daily Times, 21 June 1873, 3.
³ Otago Witness, 9 August 1873, 14.
tackle the infilling of the swampy areas which intruded on the lines of Castle and Cumberland Streets. The quality of roads and infrastructure gradually improved, and tram companies began operating throughout the city. One line traversed the Triangle to travel along Castle Street to the north end of town. Technological progress increased, and the streets now boasted gas lighting.

Most importantly, this phase saw the beginnings of Dunedin’s railway in the Triangle, accompanied by the appearance and rapid spread of newly constructed buildings on the reclaimed land. Therefore, focussing on these two themes, this chapter will examine how the City’s new economic prosperity, and the progressive technologies of the period were reflected in the developing Triangle landscape.

The Vogel Era of Rail

The establishment by the Government of a national railway network during the 1870s coincided with the new prosperity Dunedin was enjoying in the wake of the gold rush era. Railway dominated the area, and the activities in and around the Triangle, linking Dunedin with the resources of its rural hinterland and with other centres and ports of trade and commerce throughout the country. Although Britain had experienced its ‘great railway revolution’ some thirty years earlier, this method of transport was slower to develop in New Zealand. Building a railway system throughout the country would have been a very expensive undertaking, initially beyond the financial resources of the Colony. However, this was to change in 1870, owing to the vision and effort of newly appointed Colonial Treasurer, Julius Vogel.

Vogel became the founding father of nation-wide railways and other public works. He was also a figure with strong connections to the political life of Dunedin during the 1860s. Shortly after arriving in Dunedin from Melbourne, he had joined with W.H. Cutten in 1861 to found the town’s first daily newspaper, the Otago Daily Times. He quickly rose to prominence in public affairs, and by 1867 represented Dunedin in the Provincial Assembly. In terms of expansive schemes for promoting the interests of Otago, Vogel could match the supportive Macandrew’s wildest flights of fancy. However, Vogel had a better notion of how to turn his

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5 Otago Witness, 14 September 1872, 15; and 14 December 1872, 14.
extravagant visions to reality. His position as Colonial Treasurer in Fox’s Government allowed him the scope needed to develop his proposals for public works and railways on a grand scale. Vogel’s answer to a stagnating economy was to encourage immigration to provide labour and stimulate commercial activity, while making use of these same resources to develop an efficient transport and communications system. In his financial statement delivered to the House on 28 June 1870, he announced, “We recognize that the great wants of the Colony are public works in the shape of roads and railways; and immigration . . . The two are, or ought to be, inseparably united.”

His solution was to borrow £10 million to finance a comprehensive development package of railways, roads and immigration. The railway era of New Zealand had begun.

Scattered about the country, a few railway operations already existed. In the South Island, both Canterbury and Southland centres established limited local lines to meet their own needs. However, these could hardly be considered a national asset. Each operated independently, and, with no national regulations in existence, there was no conformity to a uniform track gauge. Similarly roads, rather than acting as a unifying infrastructure for the country, served local requirements. Dunedin, however, had not built a railway prior to 1870. Railway historian J.D. Mahoney suggests that this was due to the proximity of the town centre to the port. It is just as likely, however, that it was also due to the fact that the topography of the town prior to the foreshore reclamation was little suited to rail. It is difficult to envisage where a track might have been laid in the old landscape, if such a project had been attempted (or what the public reaction might have been to money and labour invested in the laying of rail when the streets were in such dire need of attention!). By 1870, however, there was a good flat area of reclaimed land lying adjacent to the harbour, providing a suitable and convenient site for a railway line. When Vogel began his campaign for railways, the Triangle was ready. It was an excellent setting. The railway was a new and exciting asset for Dunedin, complementing the new prosperity and ranking as New Zealand’s ‘commercial capital’. It generated a whole new set of activities in and around the urban landscape.

Vogel’s immigration policy now produced some positive effects. Navvies, labourers and former British railway workers arrived in the colony in large numbers. Over the next decade,
almost 23,000 were to settle in Otago, providing a necessary labour force for the construction of railways, roads and bridges.\textsuperscript{10} The \textit{Witness} reported:

The emigration fever has still firm hold of the working class population of Cornwall. In the face of a continually advancing scale of wages and abundance of work, hardly a week passes without a large exodus of the people, principally the adult male population. There was an exciting scene at the Truro railway station a day or two ago on the departure of 150 emigrants for New Zealand.\textsuperscript{11}

The first railway line constructed in the Triangle was to link Dunedin with Port Chalmers. Although approved by the Provincial Government, this line was planned and financed by a group of private businessmen.\textsuperscript{12} Construction commenced in 1872, introducing new port and foreshore activities. Timber for the construction of a station, some of the planks up to 60 feet long, was floated on the tide in the form of rafts from Port Chalmers to Dunedin, where it was unloaded and stacked ready for use. Stacks of rails imported from Britain, also occupied the area.\textsuperscript{13} The Dunedin–Port Chalmers line opened on 13 December 1872. Four months later, the Government purchased it from its private owners, and leased it to the Provincial Council on a year-to-year basis.\textsuperscript{14} The opening of the southern line to Abbotsford followed in 1874, and the link with Christchurch was completed in September 1878.

\textbf{The Railway Industry in the Triangle}

Railway services, projects and construction occupied the centre of the Triangle for more than a decade. It was the thriving core of the new prosperity and progressive outlook of Dunedin. Recurring changes in the layout contributed to its air of constant bustle and activity. Initially, the paraphernalia of the rail age — the rails, the locomotives and most of the carriages—were imported from Britain. So, too, were many of the engineers, who were former employees of British railways. The locomotive \textit{Josephine} was one such import. Now resting in splendid immobility in her glass case in the Settlers' Museum, she overlooks the area where she once was employed, drawing trains from the Triangle to Port Chalmers, "everything about her working smoothly."\textsuperscript{15}

Eventually, however, local manufacturers availed themselves of the opportunities offered by this new growth industry. As McDonald observes, "the air was full of railway projects; in

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{10} Olssen, 73-74.
\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Otago Witness}, 14 December 1872,15, quoting from \textit{The London Times}, 18 September 1872.
\textsuperscript{12} Mahoney, 29.
\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Otago Witness}, 13 April 1872, 15.
\textsuperscript{14} Mahoney, 31.
\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Otago Daily Times}, 7 May 1872, 3.
\end{flushleft}
the atmosphere of the time nothing seemed impossible."

The Hillside Railway workshops opened in 1875, beginning a long and honourable tradition of railway manufacture in Dunedin. This was not the only factory engaging in the building of railway stock, however. The *Otago Witness* reported that in October 1876, the firm of Findlay and Co. were carrying out trials on new carriages built in their factory in Cumberland Street, which the reporter praised for their quality, comfort and cost-effectiveness.

They are first-class carriages, having three compartments, and are 20 ft. long and 7 ½ ft. broad. The underframing and body consist of Jarrah, and the pannelling [sic] of cedar, both timbers being the product of Australia. Inside they are trimmed with blue cloth with the usual yellow cording, the seats and backs being excellently stuffed, and made very comfortable. The girders are of malleable iron, and consist of two pieces, bolted together, which increases their strength and renders them capable of sustaining a heavier weight than those of the Home built carriages, which are in one piece. Everything that enters into the composition of this work, except the wheels, has been manufactured here, and at a price, we believe, equal to the Home cost, with insurance, freight and expense of fitting-up added.

The Railway Stations of the Triangle

In the fifteen years of railway occupation of the Triangle the tracks were realigned on more than one occasion as the linking of the major lines and national networks developed. Railway planning was still in its infancy, and, in this period of the landscape, it is evident that the local administrators were operating on a learning curve of progress. Between 1872 and 1885, stations stood in three different locations within the Triangle. Each repositioning was designed accommodate some new aspect of the continuum of change and progress. The first railway station was erected in 1872 to serve the new Dunedin-Port Chalmers line, and stood on the site now occupied by the Queen Victoria statue, and although intended as a temporary structure, it was a well-constructed little building. It was modelled, as was all the railway culture of the time, on its British counterpart, both in design and interior spatial arrangement, although on a smaller scale to suit a smaller population. This first station had a short life, for soon after its completion, the Government purchased the line and, in accordance with Vogel’s new policy, plans were drawn up not only for a standardised rail network, but also for a standardised New Zealand railway station.

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17 *Otago Witness*, 10 June 1876, 3.

18 Mahoney, 24.

19 Ibid., 36.
The Triangle’s second station was built to standard Government specifications. According to Mahoney, it was much more cheaply constructed, and of far less architectural value than its predecessor. The Government relocated the new station to align it with the newly-constructed southern line from Clutha, which had been laid along the edge of Crawford Street. This line had caused some consternation within the City Council, which was unhappy with the appropriation of part of the carriage-way. Council members had also expressed some concerns as to the damaging effects of train vibrations on the adjacent buildings. However, the Government had its way, and the new station was erected on a different site, further down Rattray Street (Figure 23).

Figure 23: The first and second railway stations in the Triangle c. 1875. The original (1872) station is on the left, beneath First Church. The government-built station is opposite. In the background, a building is under construction at the base of the hill. (Source: Hocken Library).

Once again, the Triangle became a hive of industry, as the Railways Department set about reorganising and improving its operations. The *Otago Witness* described the scene:

The Dunedin Railway Station is now a centre of great activity, and the changes that have taken place within the last twelve months on that part of the reclaimed land enclosed for railway purposes are, we dare say, greater than those in any other part of Dunedin at the same time. In addition to the extensive traffic, the great improvements that are taking place form a noteworthy feature. The passenger station shows signs that it will be ere long completed, ...... Wagons are being built; carriages on the American principle – that is to say, with seats at the sides, passages through them lengthways, and communication from carriage to carriage – are being put together. Drains are being cut, and a perfect network of rails is being laid down. These works, and the numerous trucks of timber and coal, give to the Station an air of great business activity.22

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20 Ibid, 29.
21 McDonald, 128-129.
22 *Otago Witness*, 24 October 1874, 16.
The new station was built “of timber on brick foundations with roof of galvanised iron on timber framework.”\textsuperscript{23} It was a typically British style, characterised by a raised platform covered with a verandah and embellished with decorative wooden and iron bracket features. The interior layout was also influenced by English standards. A women’s waiting room occupied one side of a central lobby, with the ticket office and station administration on the other.

The relocation of the station positioned it on the harbour side of the yards, with the tracks running between the main building and the town. To overcome this difficulty, the footbridge from the first station was shifted and put into use, in conjunction with an “extraordinary gallery structure,” which provided pedestrian access from the platform to Cumberland Street.\textsuperscript{24} This station, too, was intended as a temporary measure. Certainly, it compared poorly with the buildings that were rising around the Triangle, most designed by international architects in stone and brick, and presenting material statements of confidence and affluence. Something more worthy of a place among Dunedin’s now impressive public buildings was envisaged for the future.\textsuperscript{25} In the meantime, however, it served the city, remaining on its new site until 1885, when, in the post- Vogel era, it was shifted again as the first stage of a new railway landscape plan.

This third station site was even further away. The line was repositioned once again, and the intention was to build a permanent main station facing Cumberland Street, now extended by the ongoing reclamation work, on the site now occupied by the Settlers’ Museum buildings. However, although the foundations were laid, the planned new building never proceeded. Meanwhile, the old station was moved to a position beside the unused foundations. This move took the bulk of the railway activities out of the Triangle’s central area, and marked the end of the first functional use of this landscape.

\textbf{Railway Occasions}

The railway was a great new social as well as technological phenomenon in Dunedin, providing occasions for public celebrations and festivities. Nineteenth century Dunedin

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{Otago Daily Times}, 3 June 1874, 4
\textsuperscript{24} Mahoney, 116.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., 29.
wholeheartedly enjoyed public spectacle and entertainment, as we saw in the previous chapter. The Dunedin-Port Chalmers railway opened with a great fanfare on New Year's Eve of 1872 and a carnival-like atmosphere prevailed, as hundreds took advantage of the public holiday to experience the thrill of a train ride.\textsuperscript{26} It proved to be a popular attraction, particularly for the children, most of whom, having been born in the colony, had never known the British railways their parents might have remembered.

Extravagant festivities also took place to celebrate the opening of the Christchurch-Dunedin line in September 1878. The inaugural trip began from Christchurch, the train packed with various dignitaries and celebrities, including Members of Parliament, Mayors of the main centres and a contingent of the Glee Club. As the train made its way south, Dunedin prepared a rousing welcome. The whole city celebrated. The station was decorated with bunting and greenery, crowds gathered and entertainment was provided in the form of the City Guards Band and a parade of representatives of the local military regiments, the Naval Corps and Naval and High School Cadets.\textsuperscript{27} The \textit{piece de resistance} of the occasion, however, was the Mayor's Banquet, a magnificent affair held that evening in the Guthrie and Larnarch factory in Princes Street, where the distinguished guests spent much time making mutually congratulatory toasts and speeches. Vogel's vision was not forgotten by those gathered at the celebration. The Mayor of Dunedin, R. H. Leary, paid the following tribute to the 'grand scheme':

\begin{quote}
His scheme was regarded by many as wild and extravagant ... He met the objections [and] ... passed the measure through parliament. He successfully floated the loan and the Colony entered upon its career of prosperity. Confidence was restored, trade has flourished, population increased, property risen in value tenfold, and prosperity has since reigned amongst all classes of the community.\textsuperscript{28}
\end{quote}

The significance of the event for the City was enormous, as may be measured by the amount of newspaper coverage it received. The \textit{Times} ran the story the following day (over nine columns of print, more than a full page), while a week later the \textit{Witness} produced pages of supplement. Under the heading of "Our Railways," these provided a detailed background history of the project from its inception, a station-by-station account of the celebratory train's progress south, and a verbatim report of every speech given at the banquet. It is clear that the opening of the new line was a major event, bringing an expectation that a new progressive phase of rail communication and transport had begun.

\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Otago Daily Times}, 3 January 1873, 2.
\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Otago Witness}, 14 September 1878, 9.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 10.
During the 1870s, formation of the Dunedin streets continued. The new landscape and its activities called for some adaptations to the original survey plan, and additional means of access to the area. As reclamation continued, the tidal swamp, which encroached in places on the lines of Cumberland and Castle Streets, was steadily filled with the spoil from the Bell Hill demolitions. By 1874 the east side of Crawford Street formed the straight line of the new waterfront. The approaches to the railway and the wharves attracted much traffic, and the road surfaces suffered from the heavy use. An editorial published in the *Witness* in September 1873 indicates that there was still much room for improvement in the maintenance of the City’s streets.

This discontent with the state of the streets may sound familiar, being reminiscent of the bitter complaints made during the previous decade, and might suggest that nothing had changed in the Council’s attitude to works and maintenance. In fact, however, this Council was far more competent and pro-active than its predecessors. In 1874 it had instituted a systematic plan for street formation and improvements, which, by 1878, saw many of the main streets metalled, kerbed and properly drained. Obviously, the matter that the authorities now needed to address was the question of adequate access to the station required by the high volume of traffic.

A solution was to extend Cumberland Street, which, on Kettle’s original map, had terminated at Stuart Street, and carry it on to High Street. In order to achieve this, however, yet another piece of the remains of Bell Hill, part of the First Church reserve, would have to be cut away. This plan did not appeal to the Church authorities, who had already offered the preferable alternative of opening an access way from Moray Place to High Street, and were untempted by the Government’s offer of a compensatory £300 to “erect a handsome iron

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29 McDonald, 138.
30 *Otago Witness*, 27 September 1873, 15.
31 McDonald, 176.
The Superintendent was approached to arbitrate the matter and, prompted by the Council's preference, chose Cumberland Street as "of much greater advantage to the city." The Moray Place suggestion, he agreed, could be abandoned, "but he supposed the church people would have no objection to allow a footpath to be made... seeing it would be a convenience to the congregation attending the Church...and would improve the church property." Accordingly, the Cumberland Street extension went ahead. The Council would also have liked the Government to close Gaol (now Dunbar) Street to facilitate the construction, but it declined to do so. However, in the course of the negotiations and adjustments to land titles, the Council was able to exchange a site it owned in Moray Place, for the small patch of reclaimed land where the statue of Dr Stuart now stands. Eventually, a further approach to the station was constructed, as the Church had suggested, linking Moray Place with High Street. This narrow access was originally, and for many years, named Macandrew Street, after the Superintendent. It is known now as Burlington Street.

**Buildings and Businesses**

The nature of the buildings and services that first operated around the Triangle were clearly associated with the trade and transport opportunities represented by the railway and the proximity to the wharves. As Dunedin's commercial fortunes rose, and it continued to be regarded as the premier trade and distribution centre of New Zealand, a new era of opportunity for commercial enterprise was born. The land reclamation had extended the City's business area seawards from its former cramped clustering in Princes Street. Past successes and future hopes were celebrated in a spate of new urban building and architecture. Around the Triangle in the 1870s, a variety of new and substantial buildings began to appear. These surrounded and complemented the railway yards, adding a new dimension to the Dunedin urban landscape.

**Import and Export**

It was a logical setting for warehouses and commercial trading enterprises, and these were among the first buildings to appear. One of the earliest warehouses recorded in the area was constructed in 1874. It was built for Neil Brothers in front of the Bell Hill rock face on the site

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32 *Otago Witness*, 16 May 1874, 20.
33 Ibid.
immediately beneath the First Church. In 1873 Bendix Hallenstein, a German immigrant and former storekeeper in the Central Otago Goldfields, established a clothing factory in Customhouse Square (the Exchange). Within two years his business had grown to such an extent that he was able to add a new warehouse to the property, fronting Lower High Street. It was built in the classical style, embellished with pillars, columns and arched entranceway, a handsome addition to the townscape. Unfortunately, the £4000 cost of the building overextended him financially, resulting in his having to sell the property shortly after its completion, and rent back the use of the factory in order to continue his business. Nevertheless, the New Zealand Clothing Company survived its retrenchment, and continued to prosper, eventually relocating to new premises and opening a retail outlet in the Octagon in 1883. Today, Hallenstein’s is a major national retailer of men’s clothing. The building is also still in existence. In its present incarnation it is known as the Duke of Wellington Hotel.

In 1879, Donald Reid, an ‘old identity’, and former Minister of Lands and Public Works, erected a large commercial building (now known as Cromwell Chambers) in the Triangle opposite the railway yard. This was a plain, but substantial, classic Victorian commercial structure, with a neutral brick façade finished in painted cement. Here he established Donald Reid and Co., Stock and Station Auctioneers, later to become Reid Farmers, another nationwide business. Another merchant company, Nimmo and Blair, the seed and grain specialists, took over the building in 1885, when Reid’s company moved to larger premises.

**Banks**

The business of banking was also bound to flourish in the commerce-driven 1870s. From small beginnings in the ’60s, both the Bank of New Zealand and the Dunedin Savings Bank expanded rapidly during the boom and outgrew their old accommodation. Both established themselves in new buildings appropriate to their position and role in the business community. These were constructed in the heart of the business area.

The Bank of New Zealand stood on the corner of Princes and Rattray Streets at the ‘gateway’ to the Triangle. It was constructed in 1882 at a cost of over £30,000. The Architect William Armson designed an impressive and ornamental building of Italian Renaissance

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34 New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Dunedin, “Queen's Garden's Files.”
36 New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Dunedin, “Queen's Garden’s Files.”
style. Built from Oamaru stone and brick, it presented “a certain appearance of massiveness.“ Its façade was set with Greek-style columns of Aberdeen granite. The exterior was richly decorated with detailed carvings of foliage, native flora and birds, the work of sculptor Louis Godfrey. Inside, the banking chamber boasted a white marble mantelpiece, carved cedar furniture and an ornate plaster ceiling. Everything about this building spoke of a solid and reassuring affluence, and a confident banking business (Figures 24, 25).

Figure 24: Armson’s Bank of New Zealand building, c.1884. (Source: Galer, 16).

Figure 25: Detail of ornately sculpted ceiling in the banking chamber. (Source: Galer, 17).

38 Knight and Wales, 77-79.
The Dunedin Savings Bank also established itself on the edge of the Triangle. In 1864 it had begun its operation in an upstairs room in Princes Street. A decade later the number of depositors had increased from 489 to 1437, the aggregate amount of deposits had risen from £8,742 10s 8d to £33,856 19s 11d, and the Bank had outgrown its original modest premises.\footnote{W.G. Hilliker, \emph{Dunedin Savings Bank Retrospect 1864-1948} (Dunedin, N.Z.: D.S.B., 1948), 38.}

In 1874 it commissioned a new building in Lower High Street, just beyond the Halenstein warehouse and factory. The design of the building was the work of R.A. Lawson, the architect of First Church. It was an elegantly simple two-storey Victorian classical style, with round arched windows and panelled timber doors (Figure 26). Fortunately, the building was captured in photographs of the period, for, although it still stands in the Queen’s Gardens landscape, it is now virtually unrecognisable. All the period ornamentation has been removed and its original attractive façade has been covered with a brick veneer.\footnote{Lois Galer, \emph{Bricks and Mortar} (Dunedin, N.Z.: Otago Daily Times, 1972), 48-49.} At present, it operates as a massage parlour. The Dunedin Savings Bank has continued to maintain a place in Dunedin’s story. Over the years it successively became the Otago Savings Bank, Trustbank Otago, and, eventually, was incorporated into the Westpac Banking Corporation.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Figure26.png}
\caption{Dunedin Savings Bank, 1874 (on right) R.A. Lawson architect. (Source: Galer, 49).}
\end{figure}

\textbf{Insurance Companies}

Insurance was another form of business that grew during this period. It was an unsurprising corollary to the growing accumulation of capital and property, and the escalating rail and shipping transport operations. As commercial capitalism grew and flourished in the Dunedin of the’70s, several major insurance companies established themselves in the business community, serving as underwriters for the various speculative business ventures and property investments, and adding new buildings to the urban landscape. The New Zealand Insurance Company was the first to arrive. Founded in Auckland in 1859, it opened its Dunedin office in 1861 in a building near what was then the seaward edge of the business
area, later to be flanked by Hallenstein’s new warehouse and the Dunedin Savings Bank. In 1876, competition arrived next door when the National Fire and Marine Insurance Company bought the warehouse, converted it to offices, installed a strongroom and a novel hand-operated lift, and opened for business.41

In 1886, New Zealand Insurance moved right into the Triangle, taking a 21-year lease on a piece of reclaimed land owned by the Harbour Board. On this site, at the corner of Crawford and Rattray Streets, the Company erected an elaborate building of Port Chalmers breccia and Oamaru stone to serve as its new premises, designed by renowned local architect, Nathaniel Wales. Now known as Queen’s Gardens Court, the building was, and still is, distinctive. It is the only major example of a Second Empire/ French Renaissance style building to have been constructed in Dunedin, and is described in the New Zealand Historic Places Trust records as “a three-storeyed building with a handsome façade with ornate pilasters around the door and windows, beneath heavy cornices... [it] has richly carved external ornament including Corinthian columns, masks and swags. The building’s ornamentation, intricate carvings and impressive plaster ceiling are important aspects of this structure.”42 As well as testifying to the skill and imagination of the architect, these features speak volumes about the self-image of the Company, and the impression that it wished to convey to its clients and the world at large. Solid and elaborate, covered with images of a majestic European heritage, the edifice was designed to impress, and made an unmistakable statement of wealth, security and status (Figure 27).

![Figure 27: Wales' New Zealand Insurance Co. building, corner Rattray and Crawford Streets, at about the turn of the century. (Source: Galer, 30).](image)

41 Ibid.
42 Defined in Knight and Wales, 248, as ‘a flat pier attached to a wall.’
43 Bruce Hall, “Queen’s Gardens Historic Area,” c.1994, NZHPT files, 72,74.
The nearby offices of another insurance firm, the Equitable Insurance Association of New Zealand, were similarly impressive. These were erected at about the same time, also on reclaimed ground, at the junction of Rattray and Vogel Streets. The building, (now Airport House), was designed by the celebrated European-trained architect Francis William Petre. He was Consul for Italy, and his design has been compared to Italian architecture of the post-Napoleonic period. The ornamental façade consisted of a ‘rusticated’ stone base (of Port Chalmers breccia) and a finely detailed first floor of Oamaru stone. Paired Ionic columns stood at the building’s corners and on either side of the central bay. Round arched openings were detailed with an unusual scalloped architrave. The use of poured concrete in building construction was a new technique in which Petre had a special interest, and tended to make use of in many of his building designs. This, coupled with his connection to the English peerage, had earned him the affectionate title of “Lord Concrete”. In this case, he designed the construction of the whole upper floor in concrete, which was particularly suitable for a commercial building that demanded ‘fire-proof’ construction. Thus, the building, itself, both advertised and promoted the benefits and attractions offered by the company (Figure 28).

![Figure 28: Petrie’s Equitable Insurance building. Rattray Street. This is a modern photograph, taken in the 1960s. (Source: McCoy & Blackman, *Victorian City of New Zealand*, 1968).](image)

**Accommodation**

A demand for convenient accommodation facilities accompanied the development of rail passenger transport services. Two hotels, the Terminus and the Leviathan, were constructed in

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45 “Rustication: masonry with sunk joints...or roughened surfaces. The back of the rustication is the face line of the wall,” Knight and Wales, 248.
46 Ibid., 198.
the Triangle to cater for this developing social requirement. By now, many people routinely travelled by train, for both personal and business reasons. Families, individuals, commercial travellers and professional practitioners all required clean, comfortable accommodation and a meal after a train journey. The fact that the two hotels were so closely juxtaposed is an indication of the volume of arrivals to Dunedin, both by rail and by sea. The first hotel to offer this service was the Terminus (now the Gresham), built in 1880, at the corner of Rattray and Cumberland Streets. It stood just a block away from the passenger station, and the name of the hotel reflects its place and role in the railway cultural landscape. This land had only just been reclaimed, and the building was commissioned almost immediately, despite some apparent concern that the new land might cause subsidence to the building. This was the first major independent project of the Dunedin-born architect John Arthur Burnside. It was designed in the Italian style, a popular architectural choice for commercial buildings of the time. The Terminus served the railway public until well into the next century, briefly using the alternative, user-friendly title of the ‘Philps Family Hotel’ in 1883.

The Leviathan Railway Temperance Hotel opened in 1884 at the northern end of the Triangle, diagonally opposite the Terminus, and also catered for the rail passenger trade. Designed by Henry Frederick Hardy, it was built for Mrs Silk, who continued as its landlady until 1911. The Leviathan was a much larger building than the Terminus. It was said to be the largest private hotel in Australasia, offering 150 bedrooms for new arrivals and visitors. It was also in the Italian style, with moulded architraves, cornices and parapet, while the corner facing the Triangle boasted a large arched window. Today, the building does not present quite the same impact as it must have done then, as many of these original external decorations have been removed, but it still operates as an accommodation hotel.

Other Buildings of Significance

If rail, shipping and commerce formed the heart of the Triangle landscape, then the pulse of the City must surely have been the daily newspaper. The Otago Daily Times, founded in 1861 by Vogel and Cutten, flourished and widened its circulation in the general tide of prosperity and increased population of the 1870s and early ‘80s. In 1879 the thriving Otago Daily Times and Witness Company erected new premises in the angle of Dowling and Burlington Streets. This building was another of Hardy’s designs. It featured an interesting
pattern of window spacings on the two street facades, which reflected the irregularity of the internal spaces, owing to the various functions of a newspaper office. The first edition from the new building was published on 16 August 1879, following the removal of the presses from the old Rattray Street premises. The company remained here until 1928, when it shifted to the larger Nimmo and Blair building across Burlington Street.  

No record of this phase of the landscape would be complete without mention of one of the most imposing buildings to be encountered on the approach to the Triangle from Princes Street. This was the splendid Post Office building which stood in the area we now call ‘the Exchange’ (and to which, when later functioning as the Stock Exchange building, it gave its name). William Mason had designed it in an approximation of the style of London’s General Post Office, and it was completed in 1868 (Figure 29). However, its size and architectural ‘beauty’ worked to its disadvantage; it was considered to be too good for the purposes of a post office. Consequently, its function in the landscape of the 1870s provided a marked contrast to the surrounding commercial activities. Initially, the City Council used a part of it for municipal offices, but in 1871, as a temporary measure until a decision could be made about a more permanent role for the building’s future, it was adapted to house the new

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Figure 29: Mason’s Post Office. (Source: Stacpoole & Beaven, Architecture 1820-1970, 26).

50 Hall, 35.
51 Knight and Weles, 173.
University of Otago. Town and Gown cohabited until 1879, when the University shifted to the site of the old Botanic Gardens, and the Colonial Bank acquired the building.

The Cargill Monument

Adjacent to this building stood the first memorial to the town’s past to enter the area. It was a very ornate monument commemorating William Cargill, who had died in 1860. The Provincial Engineer, Charles Swyer, was the designer, a fact which reminds us that this man was not merely an explosives expert but also an exceptionally able architect from a prestigious Melbourne firm. The style was of sufficient ornament and grandeur to have surely pleased the shade of Cargill. It rose in tiers of delicately carved stone lace to a pointed spire, embellished with gothic style gargoyle heads, and incorporating drinking fountains on each of its four sides. The Daily Telegraph considered that the monument had a decidedly fourteenth-century mediaeval appearance, while K.C. McDonald has noted that it resembles the Walter Scott memorial in Edinburgh. Originally placed in the centre of the Octagon in 1863, it was shifted to improve the traffic flow in 1872, and placed on the small triangle of ground at the junction of Princes, Rattray and High Streets (Figure 30). Today, a plaque on the monument also reminds us that this is also the site where the Salvation Army commenced its mission in New Zealand, beginning open-air Sunday services in 1883.

The Architects

These various buildings of the 1870s Triangle landscape are representative of the work of some of the most prominent architects to have practised in New Zealand during that period. Lawson and Swyer, as has already been mentioned, had come to Dunedin from Melbourne. Armson, too, was from Melbourne, and also a former employee of Purchas and Swyer. During his successful career, he designed many commercial and public buildings, of which Dunedin’s Bank of New Zealand building is regarded as the “grandest and finest,” although Armson did not live to see it completed. Petre, like Swyer was a qualified engineer as well as a trained architect, which, doubtless, explains his fascination with the building possibilities of concrete. Although his contributions to the Triangle were secular, Petre is chiefly

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52 McDonald, 100, 175.
53 Daily Telegraph, 14 March 1863.
54 McDonald, 101.
55 New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Dunedin, “Queen’s Garden’s Files.”
remembered today as the “Catholic church architect.” His work includes St Joseph’s Cathedral and Sacred Heart Church in Dunedin, and the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament in Christchurch. Hardy, who designed the Commerce Building and the Leviathan Hotel, had been trained in architecture in England and was also a master builder. He had arrived in Dunedin in 1853. Nathaniel Wales was also English-born and trained. In Dunedin, he went into partnership with William Mason, one of New Zealand’s earliest architects, and the designer of the Post Office (Exchange) building.

Figure 30: View of Customhouse Square and the Triangle, showing the Cargill Monument at centre. On the left are the Bank of New Zealand and the National Insurance buildings. In the background the railway landscape of the Triangle is visible. (Source: Galer, 47).

First Church

What of First Church? In the previous chapter we left it in the process of construction. Now completed, and standing on its raised platform of rock above the Triangle, it made an impressive centrepiece to the new urban environment. Stacpoole has rated it “the most impressive of all nineteenth century New Zealand churches.”

It was built of Oamaru stone, which must have shone brightly against the skyline when it was first erected. The tower and spire were constructed in advance of the main building. Although unusual, Knight and Wales have pointed out that this was a sensible precaution. The tower was the main feature of the building; by constructing it at the start Lawson ensured that it

56 Ibid.
would not be abandoned if the budgeted funds ran out (this later happened to Dunedin’s St Paul’s and St Joseph’s cathedrals, which were both originally designed with towers and spires that were unable to be completed). Skilfully executed stone and wood carvings decorated the building, inside and out. The stone sculptures were the work of Louis (Lewis) Godfrey, whose work may also be seen in Knox Church, St Joseph’s Cathedral and Larnarch’s Castle. Robert Francis executed the intricate carvings of the interior woodwork. Both men were experienced craftsmen who operated workshops locally. The original interior of the building was a single open space. A carved octagonal pulpit and a magnificent rose window of coloured glass above the communion table were its main ornaments.

Figure 31: Detail of the stone carvings by Louis Godfrey. (Source: Salmond, 10).

The symmetrical perfection of the First Church spire was an essential component of the building. Unfortunately, just prior to the official opening, it was discovered that an error in following the construction plan had made the tower fifteen feet shorter than it should have been, giving it an ungraceful squat appearance (Figure 32). Moreover, it had a slight tilt. It was a horrified Lawson himself who first noticed the blunder, as he viewed his work from the harbour when returning from Melbourne for the opening ceremony. Although the problem was later corrected, and the tower rebuilt, when the official opening of the building took place on Sunday 13 November 1873 an announcement had to be made that “owing to a misunderstanding” the spire was not as it should be.

Still one of the best known and loved buildings of Dunedin, the design, symmetry and setting of First Church combine to make it, of all Robert Lawson’s buildings, his recognised masterpiece, conveying simultaneously aesthetic beauty and an intense expression of devotion. Dominating the urban skyline and overlooking the secular activities of the

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58 Knight and Wales, 131.
59 Salmond, 38.
60 Knight and Wales, 128.
Triangle, it made a powerful statement in the midst of an era of commercial interests of the continuing relevance of the faith it represented.

Figure 32: The faulty spire, 4.5 metres shorter than Lawson intended. The reconstruction commenced after the official opening in 1873, and was completed by February 1875. (Source: First Church Archive).

Figure 33: First Church in 1873. Part of a panoramic photograph of Dunedin taken by the Burton Brothers. (Source: Salmond, 38, original in Hocken Library).
Summary

The Triangle landscape during the 1870s and early 1880s reflected the ongoing prosperity and buoyant expectations of Dunedin society. The new buildings that appeared on the reclaimed land during this period represented a significant change in the material attitudes from those of the earlier pioneers. The prosperity generated by the boom of the 1860s had created a society where wealth and status began to be expressed through ostentation in the built environment. The same boom period had also brought skilled architects from Melbourne and London to Dunedin, and encouraged the growth of architectural practice in New Zealand.61 Dunedin’s commercial interests expanded into the Triangle accompanied by a collection of ‘designer’ buildings. This group of architect-designed structures may be read as material expressions of the confidence and affluence of Dunedin’s business and professional leaders.62 Status was often symbolised by the liberally ornamented facades, such as Armson’s Bank of New Zealand.63 They also served as advertisements for the skill and creativity of the architects and popularised them. The right designer could also confer status on a building’s owner.

The style of these buildings was quite different from that of the functional Scottish vernacular structures of the earlier years of settlement. Instead, the various architectural styles and trends favoured by the wealthy European middle classes were reproduced here. They displayed no particularly New Zealand characteristics or adaptations.64 In short, the material culture of the new Triangle landscape developed as a cultural expression of European values and ideals and a familiar cultural heritage.

The advent of rail marked a new, progressive era, and the activities connected with this significant new transport system not only filled the new landscape, but also influenced the nature of the businesses and industries that developed in the immediate vicinity. Merchants, Banks, Insurance Companies and accommodation services occupied the Triangle around the railway. It was a dynamic and interactive landscape, filled with constant bustle of construction projects and activities, and providing employment for the large numbers of new

62 Olssen, 81.
63 Stacpoole & Beaven, 42.
64 Ibid.
immigrant labourers and railway workers whose presence also contributed to the thriving economy.

Figure 34: The Triangle landscape in 1875, showing the railway yards dominating its centre and the harbour activities. First Church stands on the truncated Bell Hill. Section of reproduction from original woodblock, “Dunedin in 1875”, prepared in Melbourne by Samuel Calvert and Albert Cook. First published in the *New Zealand Illustrated Herald*, July 2 1875. (Source: Otago Settler’s Museum).
Chapter 5. From Triangle to the Queen’s Gardens: 1890-1927

The period between the years 1890 and 1920 saw many changes in colonial and European society. The turn of the century ushered in an era of new technologies and ideas. Women were demanding the right to vote and other expressions of freedom. A flourishing interest in sciences and the cultural arts developed throughout the colony. With the death of the British monarch in 1901, the Victorian age gave way to the new Edwardian period. Thirteen years later, war on an unprecedented scale was to tear the comfortable fabric of British colonialism apart, and engender a new sense of nationalism and identity in European New Zealand. Nevertheless, by the time this occurred, the urban landscape had already developed its character and identity, which reflected the heritage of its creators and designers. It carried an image that was manifestly grounded in the styles and values of the affluent European middle class.

In this period, the Triangle’s landscape extended its periphery, acquired a new dimension of culture and heritage, and, eventually, a new name. The railway operation moved further to the North, extending the boundary of the area and making way for a new set of functions and activities in the space it had occupied. The International Exhibition, which was staged adjacent to the area, began a trend for ‘aesthetic improvements’ to the urban landscape, and the encouragement of cultural heritage interests. A formal space was created for leisure and entertainment, embellished with commemorative statuary. Buildings were constructed in this heart of the City’s business environment to house collections of art and items of historical significance.

According to anthropologist Amos Rapoport, the planned organization of space and material culture in the built environment is governed by sets of rules "which reflect the activities, values and purposes of the individuals or groups doing the organising."1 An urban landscape, its use of space, its material culture and the activities it fosters, can, therefore, be understood as an expression of cultural identity and a context for reinforcing cultural rules and social meanings. As the Triangle landscape developed during its late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries’ phase, it was manipulated both physically and ideologically to reproduce

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and reinforce a sense of identity and shared outlook which linked it to selected elements of a European cultural heritage. In recounting some of the key developments of this phase, I consider the role of this ideology in the construction and manipulation of the landscape’s features.

The Exhibition

On 26 November 1889, the First New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition opened in Dunedin. Its entrance was in Jervois Street, only a step away from the Triangle, and its presence impacted on the Triangle’s landscape, and extended its scope. It served as a catalyst for significant changes to the cultural arrangement and functional aspects of the urban landscape.

Industrial exhibitions punctuated the Victorian age of industry. They were, as Patrick Beaver has argued, “a natural outcome of the Industrial Revolution.”2 Exhibitions were a means of promoting trade and productivity. They acted as showcases for national products and achievements, providing both advertisement and spectacle. France introduced the first of such events in Paris in 1798, and the internationally renowned Paris Exposition of 1849 exceeded all its predecessors in terms of its size, scope and general magnificence.3 In Britain, one of the great wonders of the Victorian period was the Great Exhibition in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, London, which had opened in 1851, and successfully outdid the French efforts by exhibiting, in a unique structure entirely built of glass, the industrial and cultural products and achievements of all nations and their colonies. This Exhibition set a precedent. In its wake, the concept of the International Exhibition became, throughout the colonial world, a recognised vehicle for celebrating and representing the achievements of past and present, and establishing a sense of cultural, as well as economic, confidence.

The 1889-90 Exhibition was the second to be staged in Dunedin. The first, held in 1865, and featuring the industrial products of all the New Zealand provinces, as well as exhibits from Britain, Canada and Australia, had proved to be a resounding success, and unforgettable, as McDonald points out, “simply because of astonishment that such an event could have occurred so early.”4 The idea of staging the second was proposed in 1888, the fortieth

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3 Ibid.
anniversary of Otago’s settlement. What better way to commemorate forty years of hard work and effort, and the monumental economic and technological achievement of a City, grown from draughty communal barracks in a wilderness and a hotchpotch of Scottish immigrants armed with faith, hope and tenacity. There were also good economic reasons for staging an exhibition at this time. Initially cushioned by its wealth and productivity from the first effects of economic recession, which other parts of the country had been feeling since the late 1870s, the business community of Dunedin was now beginning to notice a definite decline. Dunedin’s status as the “commercial capital” of the country was eroding, as other ports increased their trade potential and the North Island began to open up for business opportunities.5 The proposal to hold the Exhibition was as much intended to revive confidence in the local economy, and ward off the slump, as to broadcast the City’s achievements.6 The idea originated from the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce, a “body of merchants, traders, bankers and others associated to promote the local and general interests of trade and commerce,”7 which had formed in 1861 and had become, by 1888, a group of some of the city’s most influential citizens. John Roberts, the Chairman of the Chamber endorsed the scheme. He was subsequently elected both President of the Exhibition Company and Mayor of Dunedin in 1889, a combination of offices exceptionally convenient for the project in hand.8

The project generated much support, both locally and nationally. The Harbour Board generously donated thirteen acres of reclaimed land, an area extending from Jervois Street to the present Anderson’s Bay Road. The buildings required for the whole of the Exhibition eventually covered nine-and-a-half acres of this ground. Local architect James Hislop, who favoured the lavish ornamentation of the Renaissance style in his work, was responsible for the design of the main Exhibition Building (Figure 35), the 154-foot façade of which fronted Jervois Street.9 The size, splendour, and visual impact of the completed structure, with its multitude of domes and towers, has been described as “a cross between St Peter’s and the Taj Mahal.”10 The Witness reported:

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7 From original Chamber of Commerce Charter, quoted by Anderson, 19.
8 McDonald, 189.
10 Ibid.
surprise is turned into delight when the interior is traversed and the skilful arrangement of bays and courts, avenues and annexes, fernery and gardens is realised .... it is indeed a scene of harmony and brightness, from the first glimpse of the softened light that streams from the lofty dome to the inspection of the decorations at the furthest ends of the far reaching avenues. Concert hall and art galleries add to the keen sense of pleasure which is aroused.11

![Image of the 1890 Exhibition Building](image)

**Figure 35: The 1890 Exhibition Building. (Source: Dunedin City Council Archive).**

This was the image of ostentation and affluence designed to greet the visitor. The remainder of the Exhibition’s buildings were plainer, constructed to house the exhibits, rather than thrill the observer. It was the first impression that mattered.

The Exhibition was a great success, attracting a record 628,458 visitors, and encouraging the image of a Dunedin on the brink of a new era of prosperity.12

In showcasing the achievements of a city, an Exhibition provided an opportunity to establish an acceptable image of both the present and the past. Especially in a young colonial country, it offered the opportunity to create and confirm a historical tradition, and establish an identity, even if this were a selective one. The 1889-90 Dunedin Exhibition may be viewed as a representation of cultural and class-related ideologies and values. Barbara Berglund has applied this approach to a similar event: the 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition. She argues that it presented a selective account of history, identities and achievement constructed by a white male elite. This served to reinforce the myth of the dominant white race and minimise actual diversity and disruption caused by class, race and gender issues occurring in the society.13 This argument can be applied equally well to the Dunedin Exhibition. It based itself upon its British-Celtic heritage, the concept of a tamed wilderness and pride in such progress. Maori culture and heritage were not featured as an

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12 Clark, 31.
integral part of the life of the City. Indeed, by this time, recognition of these had largely been eliminated from the urban environment. Instead, they were exhibited as exotic curiosities in the carefully constructed “South Seas Court”, which displayed an arrangement of artifacts, many of which had been loaned by noted Pakeha collectors such as F. Chapman and Dr Hocken.14

Dunedin’s Exhibition certainly presented an image of a cultured as well as prosperous Dunedin society, whose identity and heritage was firmly linked to the cultural standards and values of British society. Such cultural myths shape cultural environments. Over the next two decades, this representation of Dunedin’s identity, fostered by an elite group within the community, was transported from the halls of the Exhibition to become embedded in the public’s consciousness through the medium of the urban landscape.

‘Beautification’ and Leisure

Meanwhile, concern for the appearance of the city environment had led a similarly oriented group of citizens to form a new and significant organization, similar to Edinburgh’s Cockburn Society, “to preserve and increase the scenic attractions of Dunedin,”15 and to develop the kind of cultural space for leisure activities, which the community should be encouraged to use. The enthusiastic driving force behind the idea came from Alexander Bathgate, barrister, businessman and author of a book of anecdotes on the history of Otago.16 Bathgate, an ardent supporter of any cause that would promote and enhance Dunedin, had initially proposed the idea in a paper read to the Otago Institute. Shortly thereafter, a public meeting on 18 October 1888 endorsed his views by voting into existence ‘The Dunedin and Suburban Reserves Conservation Society.’ The new society did not adhere to its very formal title for long, however. In his original paper Bathgate had referred to ‘amenities’ for Dunedin, and it was this word that caught the imagination of the public. Accordingly, the ‘Amenities Society’ became the new organization’s preferred title by usage.17

14 Otago Witness, 12 December 1889, 18.
15 McDonald, 211.
16 Bathgate was also the editor of Picturesque Dunedin, a compilation of essays on aspects of the City, published in 1890 for the information of visitors to the Exhibition.
The impending opening of the Exhibition determined that the first project undertaken by the Society was the tidying up of the Triangle. At the time when the railway line was shifted in 1885, Premier Sir Robert Stout had officially declared it 'a reserve for public recreation.' However, since the railway and its trappings had moved from the space, nothing had been done to improve the appearance of the ground. It had remained unkempt and neglected, an unsightly tangle of weeds and rubbish, right in front of the main entrance to the new railway station on Cumberland Street, presenting a dismal picture to visitors arriving at Dunedin. With such a magnificent spectacle as the Exhibition about to open around the corner, something needed to be done urgently to improve its appearance.

The Society raised £200 and applied to the Dunedin City Council for permission to enclose and plant the area. Businessman Wolf Harris, of Bing, Harris and Co., offered to donate an ornamental fountain for the centre of the space. The members of the Council were wary at first of committing themselves financially in these difficult times, and Harris was obliged to assure them that he would pay for the fountain's installation himself. Meanwhile, another, potentially more lucrative, offer to pay the Council £500 a year for the use of the Triangle was placed on the table. However, the applicants Messrs. Stenford and Milne planned to erect buildings and establish a public market on the site, and a strong body of public opinion vetoed this proposal. At a heated public meeting called to discuss the issue, the citizens of Dunedin made it clear that they did not want any more buildings on the Triangle. It was to be 'reserved for recreation purposes.' This was confirmed by the results of a citizens' postal vote, which followed the meeting. Accordingly, the Amenities Society was given permission to proceed with the improvements, and create a suitable setting for public recreation.

The Society formally handed the refurbished reserve to the City on 28 May 1890. The area was grassed, paths were laid, and English elms and New Zealand cabbage trees (Cordyline australis) were planted around the border. The choice of the cabbage trees here for an ornamental surround is interesting. As anthropologist Helen Leach has pointed out, Europeans in New Zealand were slow to incorporate native plants in general into their gardens and floral displays (with the notable exception of the ferns, which were popularised in the Victorian garden fashion of ferneries). However, the cabbage tree was used more frequently than most natives. It was plentiful, easily obtainable, grew well in its native

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18 Special Powers and Contracts Act, 1885, Section 50, No. 21 (Local), quoted in McDonald, 212.
19 Jubilee, 37.
20 McDonald, 213.
environment and was strikingly ornamental and exotic.\textsuperscript{21} The ornamental fountain donated by Wolf Harris (now situated in the Botanic Gardens) graced the centre, and the whole space was enclosed with decorative wrought iron railings (Figure 36). The establishment of boundaries by enclosure of a formal space was usual at this time. In this space, it marked the transition between two different kinds of activity settings. The new setting introduced an atmosphere of leisure and relaxation to the centre of the active business area. The style of the reserve was typical of the newly popular public parks of the late Victorian era, intended as places where people could enjoy a leisurely afternoon stroll, or sit in the shade and enjoy the spectacle of a water feature.

\textbf{Figure 36:} View of the Triangle Reserve, showing Wolf Harris Fountain in centre. (Source: Dunedin City Council Archive).

The provision of an open leisure space, and the style of its layout, carried an implied expectation that activities in the space would conform to the appropriate codes of behaviour determined by those who had provided and financed it. A decade later, even after the enclosures were removed, the code still remained. Concerns were expressed in the newspaper that the removal of railings from around the Queen Victoria statue in 1906 might encourage "entirely undesirable" behaviour, in that "the steps at the base [might] become a congregating or resting place for 'tired' people."\textsuperscript{22}

Beyond the enclosure, the open space was also to be used in specific ways. In 1902, the Council petitioned the Government for the ownership of the remainder of the reclaimed land between the Triangle and the railway station, to use for public receptions, and, more

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Otago Daily Times}, 26 June 1906, 4.
significantly, to provide a larger area for the entertainment and cultural education of the people. It proposed to erect a band rotunda, and hold open air concerts, suggesting that “the effect of the bands playing on three or four evenings a week would tend to cultivate the taste for music amongst the people,” and would hopefully “attract loiterers from the streets,” presumably to advance their cultural improvement. 23 The petition emphasised comparison with other places, and the need to keep up appearances by raising Dunedin’s cultural profile to match them.

Overall, there was much anxiety to preserve the ‘tone’ of the place. A proposal in 1926 by the Council to erect a women’s rest room on a portion of the Rattray Street frontage of the reserve, and, in fact, to establish a new ordinance to allow them to do so,24 was greeted with horror by the (all-male) committee of the Amenities Society. In a carefully worded resolution, the members stated that while in principle they agreed with the necessity for a women’s convenience in the City, they did not want one intruding on the vision in an attractive public garden (although there had, in fact, been a men’s convenience on the same site for many years).25 The Council abandoned the idea.

Figure 37: Otago Jubilee Celebrations in the Triangle, 1898. Cumberland Street is in foreground. Terminus Hotel, Equitable Insurance and New Zealand Insurance Buildings are visible in Rattray Street on the left. (Source: Otago Settlers’ Museum).

23 Ibid., 26 June 1902, 2.
Culture and Heritage

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, two organizations devoted to the promotion of culture and heritage had formed. These were the Dunedin Art Gallery Society and the Otago Early Settlers’ Association.

The principal founder of the Art Gallery Society was William Matthew Hodgkins, a Dunedin solicitor and amateur watercolourist, whose daughter Frances was later to become an artist of international renown. Hodgkins dreamed of establishing an art collection of national significance in Dunedin. The small society that he encouraged into being began in October 1884 in borrowed premises, with a small stock of exhibits gleaned from local artists, a tiny budget of £20 to £30 a year for adding items to the collection, and a great deal of faith! Faith was eventually rewarded. The 1889-1890 Exhibition was to include among its exhibits a fine arts section, in which many fine paintings from all parts of the world were displayed. William Hodgkins was appointed Secretary of the Exhibition’s Fine Arts Committee. Eager to retain some of these excellent works in the city, he took this opportunity to renew his drive to interest the public, the Council and the Government in his idea of a national art gallery, and to appeal for funds. The Exhibition buildings were dismantled at the end of the event, and sold in forty-foot sections. The Art Gallery Society bought two of these, and erected them in the Museum Reserve. From 1890 to 1905 this far from suitable makeshift gallery of corrugated iron housed and displayed the Society’s collection of pictures. The Society, meanwhile dedicated itself to fundraising for a new and permanent premises.

The Otago Early Settlers’ Association was born during the festivities and celebrations of 1898, the Jubilee year of Otago’s settlement, as people looked back on the memories and achievements of the fifty years that had passed. Edward Bowes Cargill, the Mayor of Dunedin and son of Dunedin’s founder, was the Association’s first elected President. There was apparently some debate about what constituted an “early settler”, and who might qualify for membership, before it was eventually decided to confine membership to the ‘old identities’ - those whose families had arrived in Otago before the end of 1861. This condition, in effect, imposed a measure of exclusiveness on the membership. Much of Dunedin’s population was

26 The Centennial Year of the Dunedin Public Art Gallery (1984), McNab Pamphlet Collection, Dunedin Public Library, 3.
27 MacDonald, 256. See also W.M. Hodgkins, letter published in the Otago Daily Times, 14 December 1889, 10.
28 The Centennial Year of the Dunedin Public Art Gallery, 4.
29 McDonald, 286.
disqualified, having arrived in the ‘boom years’ of the ’60s and ’70s, and representing the ‘new iniquity.’ Maori, the earliest of all settlers, were not considered to qualify at all, despite their key role as supporters and enablers in the first years of the settlement’s establishment.

By 1904, both societies were seeking space for themselves in the City, and were exploring the possibility of collaborating to construct a building for their joint purposes.\(^{30}\) The Art Gallery Society’s building fund grew rapidly, rising from £25 to £2,000 due to the dedicated efforts of Mrs McLean, the President of the Society.\(^{31}\) Mrs McLean was a resourceful woman, organising a variety of fundraising events and unabashedly writing to the rich and famous for donations. Finally, in September 1905, she wrote to the Minister for Railways Sir Joseph Ward, requesting the lease of the abandoned second station site facing the Triangle to construct the new gallery. This land, originally owned by the Harbour Board, had been leased to the Government for the use of the Railways Department, and was now lying idle.

The agreement that was reached demonstrates a complex amalgamation of the interests of the three parties. The Art Gallery Society was granted a 21-year sub-lease of the site. New Zealand Railways, however, imposed two conditions. One was that a portion of the site be set aside for use by the Otago Early Settlers. The other was that the Railways, safeguarding its own economic interest, reserved the right to reappropriate the land for railway purposes if the need should arise.\(^{32}\) It should be said, however, that this eventuality was unlikely, for at the same time a magnificent and elaborate new station and operational centre was now under construction further north of the reserve.

Construction of a dual-purpose red brick building, designed by Dunedin architect John Arthur Burnside, began on the site in 1906, the Art Gallery wing being the first part of the project. The gallery was officially opened on 26 September 1906. The adjoining Early Settlers’ wing was added on its northern side during the following year (Figure 38). Burnside unified the different sections of the building using Roman Doric pilasters against the broad expanses of red brick. A Corinthian portico was used for the Art Gallery entrance, while the Otago emblems of flax and ponga log decorated the entrance of the Settlers’ Hall. Originally, this faced north, but was covered by the addition of a new wing in 1922, which necessitated moving the entrance to face Cumberland Street.\(^{33}\) This was the Donald Reid Gallery,


\(^{31}\) Ibid.

\(^{32}\) Ibid., 35.

constructed to house the Alexander Thomson collection of photographs and paintings connected with the history of Dunedin. This significant acquisition, still the nucleus of today’s museum archive, comprised almost 4000 items, the majority of which were early photographs, but also included “numerous paintings in oils and in water colours, prints and lithographs of all sorts, cartoons, maps, plans, papers and various curios.”

Figure 38: Art Gallery showing Settlers’ Wing shortly after completion, c.1908, with entrance facing north. (Source: Galer, 63).

Monuments and Memories

Memorial statues and monuments are public works of art that also communicate meanings beyond their visual images. They are “icons in the landscape,” which identify and articulate a society’s concerns, beliefs and values. These structures are erected to perpetuate the memory of some person, group, or event. Their placement in a public setting draws the living into an association with something of the past that has importance to the community. The particular memorials erected in the Triangle Reserve provide us with insight into who and what was considered important to the Dunedin community and the society of the late Victorian and early Edwardian colonial periods, and show us how they chose to mark events and honour people of significance. Between 1890 and 1905, three memorial statues were added to the landscape of the Triangle, with all three funded by public subscription.

34 Otago Daily Times, 2 September 1922.
The first was a marble bust of James Macandrew, the former Superintendent of the Province. From the subscriptions that funded it, a sum was also dedicated to the endowment of a University scholarship in his memory. It was mounted on a high plinth, and set at the north-east corner of the reserve in 1891, close to the site where the Millennium Celtic Cross now stands. The finished product was not above critical comment. According to the ‘Civis’ commentator of the *Otago Daily Times* it resembled “a cockatoo on the top of a pole.”

Certainly, the Triangle was an appropriate place to commemorate the man whose enthusiasm and vision had initiated the project that had produced this piece of land. Macandrew still remains in the landscape, although his position has shifted to a site beside the entrance of the Settlers’ Museum, and he is now mounted on a lower, and more substantial pedestal.

In 1898 a cast bronze statue of the first Minister of Knox Church, Dr Donald McNaughton Stuart, was erected in the Triangle. Dr Stuart was one of the most popular and loved identities in the Dunedin community. Countless stories are recounted of his kindness and practical Christianity. During the years of his Dunedin ministry, from 1860 until his death in 1894, his achievements were many and varied. He set up Sunday morning Bible classes, established the Knox Library, set up ministries in the goldfields of Central Otago, and built up one of the largest Presbyterian congregations in Australasia. He was also Chancellor of the new University of Otago, and Chairman of the Boards of Governors of both Otago Boys’ and Otago Girls’ High Schools. In 1872, the University of St Andrews conferred upon him an honorary Doctor of Divinity Degree.

In 1894, the *Otago Daily Times* made the sorrowful announcement:

> The Reverend Dr Stuart is dead. It seems almost trivial to say that it is with the deepest possible regret we make the announcement, charged as it is with the power to send a thrill of grief through a multitude of hearts, and to convey an abiding sense of loss into hundreds of Otago homes.

This was no mere lip service. The whole community mourned the death of this kindly man and the great outpouring of sorrow and tribute, which filled the paper’s pages during the following days, makes moving reading. The Mayor ordered a half-day holiday to be observed so that all could pay their last respects.

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36 McDonald, 218.
39 Obituary for Dr Stuart, *Otago Daily Times*, 14 May 1894, 2.
Funding for the memorial statue was raised by generous public subscription. W. L. Morrison, of Wellington, designed and executed it, and it has been suggested that the form derives from William Westmore Story’s 1869 statue of the American philanthropist George Peabody in London.\textsuperscript{40} It was a portrayal of Dr Stuart as many would remember him, with his familiar shepherd’s plaid wrapped about his shoulders, inscribed simply with his name and dates. It was cast in London, and the Shaw Savill shipping line added its own tribute by transporting the finished work back to Dunedin, free of charge.\textsuperscript{41}

![Figure 39: Stuart statue in Queens Gardens early 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Newly erected Queen Victoria statue is visible in background. (D.C.C. Archive).](image)

The presence of the statues of both Macandrew and Stuart in the Triangle is an indication of the regard in which the community held its local identities and public figures. Both men, in their different ways, had made an indelible impression on the City and its culture, and were honoured with a permanent place in the heart of the public landscape.

This small corner of the Empire also held a strong allegiance to Crown and Mother Country at the turn of the century. The death of Queen Victoria on 22 January 1901 warranted a public expression of mourning, patriotism and loyalty, and the citizens of Dunedin began a fund-raising campaign for the erection of a memorial statue of the late Monarch. The

\footnote{New Zealand Historic Places Trust files, ‘Proposal for classification – Stuart Memorial’, Otago-Southland Regional Office, Dunedin.}

\footnote{McDonald, 257.}
foundation stone of the statue was laid by HRH the Prince of Wales during his visit to the city in June 1901. The completed statue was unveiled on 23 March 1905. It was the work of sculptor Herbert Hampton, and cost approximately £3000. It depicted the monarch in her later years in a regal standing pose, wearing robes of state. The figure of the Queen was carved from white marble, while bronze figures, representing Wisdom and Truth, were set on either side of the granite base. Approximately 2.6 metres tall, on a pedestal 3.65 metres high, it made a notable feature on the western side of the reserve, facing Lower High Street. It was in honour of the Queen’s statue that the Triangle was officially re-named Victoria Gardens in 1904. However, the new name did not sit readily on the lips of the community, who compromised by referring to the reserve as ‘the Queen’s Gardens’, the name by which it has been known ever since.

A Multi-functional Cultural Landscape

The Triangle became, during this phase, a complex and multi-functional urban environment, encapsulating many aspects of the public life of the City, and extending its areal boundaries both into the town and out to the harbour, where continued reclamation had established a whole new waterfront landscape where warehouses and industrial workshops were proliferating closer to the water. The original Triangle had become effectively land-locked.

Surrounding the Reserve, commerce still continued. Changes occurred as businesses continued to establish themselves, expand and shift premises. Kaitangata Coal Merchants now traded on the site opposite the Leviathan Hotel. Reid Auctioneers moved further south of the Triangle, its Cromwell Chambers premises being taken over by Nimmo and Blair, seed merchants. This firm remained there until 1903. Then it built a new emporium on the site below First Church, formerly occupied by the Kaitangata Coal Company. The banks, the newspaper and the insurance businesses continued, the only change being the amalgamation of Equitable Insurance with the Phoenix Group in 1894, when the building was named Phoenix House, and the company became the Providential and Industrial Insurance Company of New Zealand. The Leviathan Hotel changed ownership in 1900, and underwent a complete renovation, proudly advertising itself as “second to none in the colony.”

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43 McDonald, 258.
Sunday worship continued at First Church, with an active congregation and administration playing a significant role in regional and national church affairs.

The Continuing Railway Saga

At the turn of the century, the Dunedin Railway Station was the busiest in the country as it continued to provide the main arrival point and gateway to the City. However, it was becoming apparent that a less constricted space than its Cumberland Street site would be required to accommodate its many activities, and the increasing flows of passenger traffic. Regular scenes of chaos and confusion occurred at the station with the arrival of each passenger train due to the volume of travellers and those who turned out to meet them. The police were obliged to step in, to control the crowds, while the newspaper castigated the Railways Department for its “disgraceful mismanagement of matters connected with the station arrangements.”

The Government proposed to build the new station further north, across Stuart Street, which drew heated objections from both the City Council and the Harbour Board as it would entail the closing of a main thoroughfare linking the City with the wharf area. Accustomed as we are today to the sight of Stuart Street with its station terminus, it is difficult to envisage it at a time when it extended on to the harbour, yet it is important to understand that in 1900, its closure was perceived as a real threat to those whose business interests depended on easy access to the waterfront. If Stuart Street could not be closed, then St Andrew Street was the alternative, which pleased them no better, as it was also a major access route to the Harbour and the wharves. The location of the new station generated considerable public debate and newspaper correspondence. However, the Government eventually overrode the objectors and confirmed the Stuart Street site.

In the new station building, designed by Edinburgh-trained George Troup, Dunedin acquired one of its most stylish and notable public buildings. It is still considered one of the greatest architectural achievements of New Zealand. Shaw calls it “the pinnacle of the

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44 New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Queen’s Gardens files
45 Advertisement, Otago Daily Times, 3 September 1900, 3.
46 Otago Daily Times, 30 January 1899, 2.
47 McDonald, 261-2.
48 Otago Daily Times, 3 September 1900, 4-5, et.seq.
Edwardian Baroque style, while architectural historians Stacpoole and Beaven have saluted it as:

a building of such impact in its bold shapes and contrasting materials that it must rank as the outstanding monument of Edwardian architecture in New Zealand.

The two-storied building was designed in the Flemish Renaissance style, an exuberant arrangement of turrets and towers, displaying an array of contrasting colours and materials to achieve maximum impact. Dark granite quarried at Lake Taieri was offset with facings of white Oamaru stone. The roofing tiles were terracotta from Marseilles, and the domes of the cupolas were of copper. The interior was also richly and colourfully ornamented, with a mosaic floor comprising 725,760 half-inch Royal Doulton porcelain tiles. Stained glass windows depicted approaching engines. The whole, including the station yards, was to be lit with electricity. (Figure 40) The structural design of the building required the sinking of approximately 600 ironbark and blue-gum piles, driven to bedrock to overcome the lack of consolidation, as the site was reclaimed land. Construction began in 1904, using the advanced technology of steam-driven mobile cranes, and the completed building opened in October 1906.

Figure 40: 1904 drawing of proposed Railway Station by the architect, George Troup. (Source: Galer, Bricks and Mortar, 8).

51 Shaw, 68.
52 Galer, Bricks and Mortar, 78.
53 Otago Daily Times, 10 February, 1906.
54 NZHP files.
55 Otago Daily Times, 24 March 1904, 7.
The opulence of the Troup Railway Station reflected the confidence of the rail transport system at this time and the status of Dunedin within it. As Mahoney points out, in 1906, rail "enjoyed an absolute monopoly of the country’s passenger trade, and its future was unquestioned." The style and size of the building signalled an expectation of continued and unrivalled progress into the twentieth century. Since the Railway was a vital part of the functioning of the Queen’s Gardens / Triangle landscape, this move, rather than removing it from the scene, extended the area of the precinct to incorporate the new site. The location of the station across the foot of Stuart Street formed a new landscape vista linking the Queen’s Gardens area to the Octagon (Figure 41).

![Figure 41: Street paving in Rattray Street 1922. This gives an excellent view of the extended boundary of the Triangle landscape. At top left, the new station is visible, and the outline of the gaol building can be seen. Further to the right, the roof of the Art Gallery appears above the trees of the Reserve. (Source: Dunedin City Council Archive).](image_url)

**New Gaol and Courthouse**

Other significant public buildings erected during this landscape phase were the City’s new Gaol and Law Courts. Both institutions had been present in the area for the majority of the Dunedin’s existence. The whole body of existing English law, and the operational codes of its penal institutions formed the basis for the identity and operation of both. The new Dunedin Gaol was built in 1895 on the site of the first courthouse. Its design, by Government architect

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John Campbell, was a departure from the classical and gothic styles, which had distinguished the landscape of the 1870s and ’80s. Instead, it followed a more functional style, influenced by the Victorian architect Norman Shaw, and the design is unmistakeably similar to that of Shaw’s New Scotland Yard in London.57 The highly visible siting of the Gaol, adjacent to the Court, Railway Station, Museums and public gardens suggests a social attitude to criminality and penal institutions that differed from that of today (Figure 42).

The new Law Courts building, adjacent to the new gaol and built on the site of the old one was officially opened in June 1902 (Figure 43). Here, Campbell used a mixture of the gothic and ‘Scots Baronial’ to produce a building of quite a different style from the Gaol.58 The styles of both buildings, consciously invoked the association of the City with the material cultural heritage of Britain and Scotland and reinforced the fact that these institutions were founded on and followed the justice system and practices of the Mother culture.

Figure 42: 1960s photograph of Campbell’s Gaol/ Police station, built in 1895. (Source: McCoy & Blackman, Victorian City of New Zealand, 1968).

57 Knight and Wales, 95-96.
58 NZHPT files.
Aftermath of War: The Cenotaph and Anzac.

The Great War of 1914-18 brought irreversible change to the secure and comfortable Edwardian world, throughout the British Empire. The British heritage, so proudly held by New Zealanders, demanded that many should give their lives for the British cause, on battlefields a world away. In the aftermath of the conflict, the layout of the Queen’s Gardens was rearranged to focus on a distinctive war memorial at its centre.

At a public meeting in 1920 it was proposed that a memorial should be erected to commemorate those from Dunedin who lost their lives in the War. A committee was established to consider its placement and design, and decided that it should be ‘non-utilitarian’, cost no less than £10,000, and be placed in Queen’s Gardens. The form chosen was an obelisk on an octagonal base, designed by William Gummer of Auckland, and constructed of concrete sheathed with white marble. The base featured a relief carving of a lion, and fern wreaths at its base, and the shaft terminated with four crosses and a bronze urn. The foundation stone was laid on Anzac Day, 25 April 1924, and the completed structure was unveiled on 17 March 1927 by HRH the Duke of York (Figures 44, 45). The raising of the
Cenotaph\(^{59}\) in the centre of the Triangle meant alteration to the layout of the reserve. The monument replaced the Wolf Harris fountain, which was shifted to the Botanic Gardens. It was to stand at the centre of “a cross made of footpaths.”\(^{60}\) Macandrew’s statue was moved, and several of the trees cut down to make way for the new path, which ran through the reserve from the northern end to Rattray Street.

How did this new heritage element change the intangible quality and meaning of the landscape? An aura of solemnity and remembrance, a permanent record of the impact of war on the community and a symbol of a nascent nationalism replaced the pleasant and leisurely ambience the reserve had developed over three decades. The Cenotaph was the focus of the city’s Anzac Day rituals, of services and the ceremonial laying of wreaths. Its simple inscription read *The Glorious Dead 1914 -1918*. It stood as a symbolic icon of patriotism, achievement and sacrifice, a shrine set in a new kind of sacred space, and beginning a new phase of the cultural heritage of Queen’s Gardens.

![Figure 44: The unveiling of the Soldiers’ Memorial 1927. The full extent of the reclamation work and its impact on the urban landscape is clearly seen in this photograph. (Source: *Otago Witness*, 22 March 1927, 47).](image)

\(^{59}\) As K. S. Inglis has pointed out in his *Sacred Places* (Melbourne; Melbourne University Press, 2001), 155-156, a cenotaph is a form distinct from an obelisk, but at this time the term was beginning to be more broadly applied to all forms of war memorial.

\(^{60}\) *Otago Witness*, 18 November 1924, 1.
In their study of the culture of Australian and New Zealand war memorials, Inglis and Phelps have argued that the form and nature of each memorial selected by a local community, and its chosen setting, embodies and reflects a variety of community values, power relations, and status perceptions.\textsuperscript{61} That Dunedin chose such an imposing structure as its official memorial to the dead, rather than a commemorative utility, and placed it in the centre of one of its most visible and accessible public spaces, surrounded by its most notable architecture is a further indication of the importance it placed on the display of achievement, cultural allegiance and heritage.

**Summary**

The development of the urban landscape of the Triangle and Queen’s Gardens between 1890 and the 1920s signified a progressively maturing society establishing its sense of identity and its heritage values through the treatment of its surroundings. The Queen’s Gardens landscape was reconfigured to provide space for leisure and entertainment, a water feature, and formal gardens. Embellishments were added to the space in the form of commemorative statuary, engendering a sense of patriotic loyalty and pride in local heritage figures and local achievement. Art and culture entered the space with the establishment in the early years of the twentieth century of the art gallery and museum building. Committees and interest groups, made up of wealthy, educated and influential members of the community determined the appearance and functions of the Queen’s Gardens landscape. Membership was almost exclusively male (Mrs McLean of the Art Gallery Society being a notable exception). It was an ideological landscape, expressing the owned heritage, and the tastes, standards, values and gendered expectations of a small and elitist section of the community. The public buildings and spaces and the ‘beautifications’ and encouragement of cultural activities reflected their self-identification with the achievements the Scottish settlers and as ‘children’ of the British Empire. Although the Queen’s Gardens landscape was an expression of the official identity of the Dunedin community this was not necessarily representative of the views of all its members.

Conclusion: “A Goodly Heritage”

The lines have fallen for me in pleasant places; yea I have a goodly heritage.1

In this study, I have traced the ‘biography’ of the Queen’s Gardens urban landscape from its initial encounters with Europeans in the early years of the nineteenth century to its fully formed setting in the central urban environment of the City of Dunedin by the end of the 1920s. Throughout these years, the spatial area of this landscape underwent a series of periodic and progressive changes in its patterns and formations, through various cultural interactions and activities, with the result that the landscape seen today shows traces of several landscapes phases, successively superimposed on each other.

Summary of Landscape Phases

The Queen’s Gardens landscape grew out of the ‘pre-land’ foreshore landscape. This phase provides a context for appreciating the ‘how’ and ‘why’ later development of the urban landscape occurred. During the first fifty years of the nineteenth century, it underwent changes to its functions, identity, and visual appearance as a result of the cultural dynamics of the period, and the interaction of Maori and Europeans. Culture impacted on the landscape in the form of new economic and extractive activities, the naming and re-naming of its features and locations by both cultural groups, the assigning of its features and boundaries to the European documentary record, through maps, drawings and written descriptions, and finally by human occupation of the site, accompanied by various buildings and structures, and future designs for ‘improvement’. When the reclaimed landscape of Queen’s Gardens eventually appeared, it carried an accumulated heritage of these earlier cultural activities.

The land modification and harbour reclamation project of the 1860s constitutes phase two. It was a response to the new circumstances in which Dunedin found itself, as a result of the gold rushes. The resultant population increase, and the introduction of new wealth to the Province also highlighted the urgent need for town expansion and development. Bell Hill was demolished in order to extend the foreshore and create level ground at the edge of the harbour. The reclamation was designed to improve the harbour’s facilities and increase the depth of its

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1 Psalm 16, (R.S.V.) David Lowenthal notes in his Introduction to *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), xiii, that this is the first known use of the term ‘heritage’ in literature.
waters to cater for the increasing volumes of shipping traffic. The growth of commercial interests and political visions of the town’s future development were major influences contributing to the landscape's transformation. This transformation was a continuous process. The harbour reclamation was not merely a hiatus in the landscape’s history; it was, itself, a major historical event. In order to carry out its intention to progressively extend and reclaim the land between the harbour and the town, the Provincial Government set itself the demanding task of removing the entire mass of a solid basalt hill from the centre of the town. That it succeeded in doing so within a decade is a memorable achievement. Throughout the decade, the landscape was in a state of upheaval and flux, which was matched, during the same period, by a similar process of upheaval and transformation in the social culture. The Dunedin community also encountered those forces of progressive change, which brought about the reshaping the landscape.

It is doubtful that the old order would have continued for much longer, even without the discovery of gold at that time. The world was changing to include a new global focus on capitalism and commerce, and innovations in shipping and transport. James Macandrew, and his like, were setting new goals and looking to the opportunities offered by the future. As the economy flourished, communications became swifter and more reliable, and modern innovations began to transform the town. The nature and composition of the community was irrevocably altered by the mass arrival of new people, many of who showed scant respect for the moralistic piety and leadership of the Presbyterian Scots. Nevertheless, it is clear that Cargill and Burns had laid a firm foundation, and that the Presbyterian faith still had a strong influence in Dunedin. This is seen in the continuing commitment of the members of the First Church congregation, to the construction of a new church as an inspiring city landmark, the contributions of affluent members of the Dunedin community and the degree of cooperation and respect that clearly existed between the Government and the Deacon’s Court, reflected in the landscape by the retention of a platform on the hill to accommodate the siting requirements for the new church. The new landscape that eventually emerged from this period changed the aspect of the town considerably. This reclaimed area can be considered to constitute the first piece of material culture of the new town landscape, a man-made foundation, upon which the subsequent landscapes were built.

By the beginning of the 1870s, Dunedin had become the prosperous ‘commercial capital’ of New Zealand. It began to reap the long-term economic and social benefits of the gold rush, and to reflect these in the material culture of its urban landscape. This third phase saw the
beginnings of Dunedin’s railway in the Triangle, accompanied by the appearance and rapid spread of newly constructed buildings on the reclaimed land. Both the City’s new economic prosperity, and the progressive technologies of the period were reflected in the developing Triangle landscape. It was a dynamic landscape, filled with constant bustle of construction projects and activities.

The railway was a great new social as well as technological phenomenon in Dunedin, providing occasions for public celebrations and festivities. The nature of the buildings and services that first operated around the Triangle were clearly associated with the trade and transport opportunities represented by the railway and the proximity to the wharves. Import and export merchants, banks and insurance companies all established themselves in the new landscape area, and accommodation establishments for rail travellers also appeared close to the station.

The prosperity generated by the boom of the 1860s had created a society where wealth and status began to be expressed through ostentation in the built environment. The same boom period had also brought skilled architects from Melbourne and London to Dunedin, and encouraged the growth of architectural practice in New Zealand. As a result, groups of buildings now appeared on the reclaimed ground that were of a much more sophisticated style than the functional vernacular structures of the earlier years of settlement. The Triangle landscape during the 1870s and early 1880s reflected the ongoing prosperity and buoyant expectations of Dunedin society. First Church, however, still dominated the urban skyline, overlooking the scenes of commercial activity in the Triangle, and asserting the continuing relevance of the faith it represented.

By the final phase, the urban landscape had developed a character and cultural identity that reflected the heritage of its creators and designers. It carried an image that was manifestly grounded in the styles and values of the affluent European middle class. As the Triangle landscape developed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was manipulated both physically and ideologically to reproduce and reinforce this sense of identity which linked it ideologically to selected elements of a European cultural heritage. The Jervois Street Exhibition of 1890 provided the catalyst for the creation of the landscape’s fourth phase. Cultural myth shaped the cultural environment. Over the next two decades, the representation of Dunedin’s identity and heritage, firmly linked to the cultural standards and
values of British society, was fostered by the community elite, and transported from the halls of the Exhibition to the public's consciousness through the medium of the urban landscape.

The development of the urban landscape between 1890 and the 1920s signified a progressively maturing society establishing its sense of identity and its heritage values in the material elements of its environment. Both the new Law Courts building and the adjacent new gaol were built in the styles of the buildings of Britain and Scotland, reinforcing the fact that these institutions were founded on the justice system and practices of the Mother culture. The Queen's Gardens landscape was reconfigured to provide space for leisure and entertainment, a water feature, and formal gardens. The 'beautification' of the surroundings became desirable, and much effort was made to preserve the 'tone' of the place and encourage specific behaviours and leisure activities.

Embellishments were added to the space in the form of commemorative statuary, engendering a sense of patriotic loyalty and pride in local heritage figures and local achievement. Art and culture entered the space with the establishment in the early years of the twentieth century of the art gallery and museum building. Committees and interest groups, made up of wealthy, educated and influential (almost exclusively male) members of the community, determined the appearance and functions of the Queen's Gardens landscape. It became an ideological landscape, the owned heritage, tastes, standards, values and gendered expectations of a small and elitist section of the community expressed in the public buildings and spaces, and the encouragement of selected cultural activities. The Queen's Gardens landscape reflected the 'official' identity of the Dunedin community.

The Triangle became a complex and multi-functional urban environment, encapsulating many aspects of the public life of the City, and extending its spatial boundaries both into the town and out to the harbour. The railway was an ongoing component of the of the Triangle landscape. The location of the new station and railway yards across the foot of Stuart Street extended the area of the precinct, and formed a new landscape vista linking the Queen's Gardens area to the Octagon. Continued reclamation had established a whole new waterfront landscape, and the original Triangle had become effectively land-locked.

In the aftermath of the War, an aura of solemnity and remembrance, a permanent record of the impact of war on the community and a symbol of a nascent nationalism replaced the pleasant and leisurely ambience the reserve had developed over the previous three decades.
The raising of the Cenotaph in the centre of the Triangle meant alteration to the layout of the reserve, and the beginning of a new phase of the cultural heritage of Queen’s Gardens. The new memorial became the focus of the City’s Anzac Day rituals, a symbolic icon of patriotism, achievement and sacrifice, and created a new kind of sacred space.

Discussion and Conclusions

This study has sought to analyze the organization of the landscape during specific time periods in order to discover the nature and meaning of the human interaction with this spatial environment. By separating and examining each layer of landscape in chronological sequence, I have here uncovered the cultural history of the landscape, and identified the traditions and aspirations of the people and groups who formed, manipulated and used it. This has clearly indicated that the meanings and functional uses attributed to this space changed over time in conjunction with broader social and economic events, developments and values, and was reflected in the material culture and spatial organization.

The features present in Queen’s Gardens embody a variety of cultural themes, reflecting aspects of the historic contexts in which Dunedin’s settlement and society developed. Through cognitive perspectives, symbolic perceptions, and stories, I have also explored the more intangible qualities of meaning and tradition attached to this heritage landscape and its material culture. These reflect a shifting sense of ideas and have become icons of heritage, and cultural identity, and show that the heritage value of place is closely allied with identification with a past both collectively by communities and personally by individuals. Over time, the significance and cultural expressions of this past change, developing or diminishing, and this is evident in the material culture, documentary, and photographic record of the evolution and cultural interactions of the Queen’s Gardens landscape.

I consider that stories are an essential and intangible ingredient in the creation of a place of heritage. Without the stories, associations, and memories, told and retold, a cultural landscape would hold no intrinsic meaning, as a place of social interest or importance. Stories are also used and manipulated to enhance perceptions, and become an active part of the creation of heritage, as both Tilley and Cosgrove have suggested. Cultural narrative and myth have always been a part of the human experience and understanding of the world. British novelist Terry Pratchett writes:
Stories are part of the history and heritage encapsulated in this space. Anecdotes tell of human endeavour in a sometimes frustrating and hostile environment, the high dramas and the lighter moments, the noble and the ridiculous. Each has its place in the overall meaning of the landscape. The cultural myths of heritage and identity, which the European settlers carried with them to Otago from the Old World, can be seen to have been key factors in the various design changes of the urban landscape, and the nature of the material elements that were introduced. In addition, the landscape also contains the intangible memories of people and events associated with it. The Queen's Gardens landscape remains a perpetual tribute to the lives of Thomas Burns, William Cargill, James Macandrew, Charles Swyer and the many others whose work, activities, lives and thoughts have passed through it, and contributed to its creation and memories. In this work I have endeavoured to tell these stories, wherever possible, using the words and pictorial images of the age, in order to enhance the understanding of the significance these had in their context.

I have interpreted this urban landscape not only through its material culture, documentary history, and progressions of form, but also its established traditions, and the variety of interpretations and perceptions that contributed to these. By synthesising the resulting data, interweaving the different strands of approach and materials of evidence into a holistic picture, I have shown how heritage meaning was progressively deposited and embedded in the landscape as it developed.

**Future Directions**

This study has shown that a holistic interpretive landscape approach can be successfully applied to an urban precinct, and that a wealth of information maybe gained from a variety of sources. However, within the constraints of an M.A. thesis it has not been possible to do more than begin to uncover the heritage and history of the Queen's Gardens landscape. The four phases I have identified here constitute the formative period of a continuing story. The urban

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environment of Dunedin changed progressively during the twentieth century, and the landscape was adjusted accordingly. Future research might address the history of these changes in the post-1930s era, and the impact of a second period of war on the landscape.

If we understand the historical contexts in which our urban cultural heritage was formed, it should enhance our understanding of how the historical past affects our present, and also increase our ability to appreciate the meaning and value of the cultural heritage of ‘others.’ The Queen’s Gardens landscape is a small, but significant, part of the urban history of New Zealand. It was initially built and shaped by the world of Victorian colonialism, and developed a focus based on the European ideologies of ‘civilisation’, capital development and technological progress. It holds the memories and material traces of the Scottish Free Church settlement, the sequential development of the City of Dunedin, and reflects the wider issues of the values and perspectives of the colonization of New Zealand by a migrant European culture. It is, indeed, the repository of "a goodly heritage."
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