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PLANNING NAPIER 1850–1968

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Abstract

In the context of New Zealand planning history, planning can be seen in two forms. Informal planning describes planning-related activities already taking place before the establishment of formal town planning in the early 20th century. Formal planning describes planning activities based on legislation, a developing body of knowledge, and a planning profession. Whether informal or formal, planning has been concerned with the arrangement and control of activities in space, with the objective of creating a better living environment.

For Napier, a provincial centre, the influence of planning on the growth and development of the town is discussed in terms of four principal themes, covering the period from the birth of the town in the 1850s until 1968. These themes are reclamation, reconstruction, suburban growth, and place promotion/civic improvement. Reclamation planning was important, given that the original town was almost totally surrounded by sea or swamp, with insufficient land for future expansion. A major earthquake in 1931 destroyed the business area of Napier, but helped solve the expansion problem by raising the level of land so that reclamation became easier or was now unnecessary. From the 1930s to the 1960s, new suburbs were planned and developed as single entities. Throughout its existence, the Napier Borough/City Council endeavoured to promote growth and improve town amenities. From about 1900, tourism became an increasing interest.

The planning associated with each of these themes was largely informal, with the focus on project and development planning. This is not surprising, given that legislation creating the need for formal planning was not enacted until 1926. The informal planning undertaken involved liaison among public authorities, particularly the Council, the Harbour Board, and the neighbouring County Council. While the earthquake provided Napier with an opportunity to create a town that might have been fully planned under the

new planning legislation, the Commissioners, who assumed control of Napier affairs for two years, opted to introduce a partial town planning scheme only. This set a precedent so that future town planning schemes were initially developed on a sectional basis, with the town not becoming fully covered until the 1960s.

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Note on Conversions

For the period covered by this thesis, imperial measures were used, along with the New Zealand Pound as the principal unit of currency. Conversions of these measures to metric terms, and to the New Zealand Dollar, are as follows:

Length

1 inch = 2.54 centimetres
1 foot = 0.305 metres
1 chain = 20.117 metres
1 mile = 1.609 kilometres

Area

1 acre = 0.405 hectares

Currency

When New Zealand adopted decimal currency in 1967, \$2 was equivalent to £1.

Scales Shown on Maps and Plans

Copies of maps and plans are on a much reduced size, and this should be noted when referring to scales shown on these documents.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Purpose of Study

Interest in planning history has grown considerably since the 1980s and now has a sizeable literature. In an international setting, the extent of this literature has been outlined in “state of the art” reviews covering Britain,¹ Australia² and the United States.³ The New Zealand scene has been covered by Caroline Miller who, in 1998, remarked that “planning history in New Zealand is still very much in its pioneering days and as such offers a fertile field for research and scholarship.” With respect to the history of New Zealand towns and cities, Miller acknowledges that while much has been written, these studies consider planning matters in passing and without sustained analysis.⁴

Apart from the dearth of scholarship about New Zealand planning history, an issue is the extent to which planning existed in New Zealand before the enactment of the Town and Country Planning Act 1953. Graham Bush⁵, Bill Williams⁶ and Ali Memon⁷ have created the impression that this Act effectively marks the start of comprehensive planning in New Zealand. Although the beginnings of statutory town planning can be traced back to the Town-planning Act 1926, Bush and Williams point to the apparent lack of progress made by cities and boroughs towards adopting town-planning schemes. Bush observes that by 1952, only 14 of the 110 local authorities required by the 1926 Act to have town planning schemes had prepared them.⁸ Williams comments that “the 1926 Act had little impact and was probably overshadowed by the effects of the Depression of the 1930s and the Second World War”, but he does note that, after the war, there was a growing appreciation for the value of town planning.⁹ Memon remarks that “the Act proved to be an innocuous, largely unworkable measure and its implementation fell far short of its stated intents.”¹⁰ Miller believes that some progress was made under the 1926 Act, particularly after World War II

when the Town Planning Board was active in approving town planning schemes and dealing with appeals.¹¹

This thesis examines the planning history of one New Zealand city, Napier. It tries to fill a gap in existing New Zealand scholarship suggested by Miller in her 1998 article, namely the lack of analytic writing on the planning history of any New Zealand town or city. Predominantly a study of a single town, it also draws on planning histories and theories from other places, both in New Zealand and the world. In doing so, it endeavours to establish, from a planning history perspective, what Napier has in common with other places and what makes the city distinctive in planning terms. It also seeks to establish the nature and extent of planning before the 1953 Act and add to the field of knowledge associated with the development of planning history covering earlier times.

This study recognises that planning falls into two categories, formal and informal. Formal planning has emerged only since the start of the 20th century, and is based on a distinct field of knowledge that has evolved from a mix of planning theory, practice and law. Informal planning, in contrast, has taken place since the time that city design began, and might be regarded as a precursor to formal planning. More is said about this distinction later in this introduction.

The research question addressed in this thesis is: *How has planning influenced the growth and development of Napier during the period 1850 to 1968?* The question is deliberately broad, because the thesis sets out to ascertain whether planning, during the mentioned period, did take place in some form, and if so, what was the nature of that planning and its significance.

Related questions include:

- What were the reasons for the planning?
- How was an awareness of planning ideas created?
- Were matters changed by the intervention of the public authority undertaking the planning?
- Were the planned actions successfully implemented?

In addressing the research question and the related questions, there is a need to establish what constitutes planning. The subject matter of planning is partly indicated by the content of textbooks on the subject. The 1951 Australian text by A.J. Brown and H.M. Sherrard identifies nine features of town planning that include:

- future size and function
- zoning – land use, density and building height
- communications and transport
- other utility services
- parks and open space
- neighbourhood development
- civic design and historic structures
- housing and residential areas
- implementation of the plan.¹²

The features listed above are relevant to this study because they suggest features that were applicable to the planning, growth and development of Napier. Some features might have been “planned” for Napier since the town’s early days, for example, communications, utility services and open space. Other features are of more recent interest, for example, zoning and neighbourhood development. The “future size” of the town has also figured strongly in local politics and administration from the late 1890s to the 1960s because of the realisation that Napier was continuing to grow, although for many years there were real concerns about how and where this growth could be accommodated.

In essence, this study is also about whether people were thinking about the future of Napier, with a view to making it a better and more attractive place, and whether such aspirations, if they existed, were of recent origin, or can be traced back to the beginnings of European settlement at Napier. Assessing possible outcomes, and making decisions about them, is fundamental to planning, which is a future-oriented activity. Further, there is the question of whether such concerns changed or intensified with the passing of time, and if so, what were the causes of this. Possible sources of change included the passing of town planning legislation in 1926 and 1953, a developing planning profession, and the 1931 Hawke's Bay Earthquake that provided opportunities for planning through post-earthquake reconstruction.

Planning, in this thesis, is defined in broad terms. It includes planning-related ideas and activities that were already taking place before the establishment of formal town planning and the planning profession in the early 20th century. Planning therefore is not restricted to work that might be undertaken by members of the planning profession nor do planning activities of the time need to have been described specifically as “town planning”. Rather, it is contended that planning of a more informal or rudimentary character has always been a feature of urban growth and development in New Zealand, even although there may have been no planning profession at the time to promote it or legislation to support it. More specifically, planning in this thesis is about the arrangement and control of activities in space, with the intention of creating a better living environment. The subject material of such planning, for example, could include the features identified by Brown and Sherrard, as listed above. A more extended discussion of planning, formal and informal, is included in Chapter 2.

Napier is a seaside city located on the east coast of the North Island of New Zealand. It has been and remains a provincial centre, as distinct from the four main metropolitan centres: Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin.¹³ Napier is the principal administrative centre and seaport for the Hawke's Bay region, even although the nearby town of Hastings now has a similar population. The location of Napier, in relation to Hastings and other nearby towns, is shown in Figure 1.1, a map produced in 1953 as part of the Hawke's Bay Extra-Urban Plan covering the Heretaunga Plains.

The period of study begins in the early 1850s with the establishment of a town on an unpromising site. The settlement was to be named Napier, and was initially laid out along the lines of a town plan produced by Alfred Domett in 1855. The period of study finishes in 1968, when Napier, now a city, merged with the neighbouring town of Taradale. Excluded from this study is the period of Māori occupation before the arrival of European colonists. Also excluded is the period after 1968, during which there has been a proliferation of other planning issues and developments.

Napier was chosen for this study initially because of its interesting and distinctive urban and planning history. Of greatest importance was the 1931 earthquake, which provided an opportunity to completely reconstruct central Napier, utilising prevailing planning

principles. The earthquake remains the most defining event in Napier's history, with distinctions often made about Napier pre and post-earthquake. Until the 2010 and 2011 Canterbury earthquakes, the Hawke's Bay earthquake was New Zealand's most significant natural disaster. Also important in Napier were historical debates about reclamation schemes, mainly before the earthquake, as these had enormous significance for the future of the town, and also became part of discussions about the location of the port. From a wider perspective, Napier is of interest because it is a medium sized provincial city. In New Zealand, the planning history of smaller cities may well differ from larger places such as Auckland, where the historical development of the city has been well addressed. For example, transportation has played a larger part in the main cities, along with the development of major satellite and suburban centres. In provincial cities, development has been shaped much less by urban transportation, and town centres have tended to retain a more central focus for the town as a whole.

Napier was also partly chosen for personal reasons, the candidate being a former resident. At the time he lived in Napier, he knew a little about the earthquake, but had no knowledge that the house he lived in and the school he attended were built on reclaimed land. This land, once part of a lagoon, had been reclaimed through carefully planned schemes that were instigated before the 1931 earthquake. Also charming was the seaside character of the town and amenities provided along the principal waterfront promenade, the Marine Parade.

The planning history of Napier has been touched upon or briefly presented in a number of books by historians and in other written materials, but not in a comprehensive, interpretative or integrated manner. It would seem that the wider history of Napier itself has not been especially well documented and its planning history even less so, and then mainly with respect to post-earthquake activities. In the absence of a definitive planning history of Napier, or indeed of any other New Zealand city or town, this thesis endeavours to fill that gap. Some of the findings are applicable to urban development and planning in the New Zealand context generally, but other findings recognise that Napier has some particular historical circumstances that distinguish the town from other urban places.

Establishment of Napier

Initial European settlement in Hawke's Bay was sporadic, with early activities focused on trading and whaling, supporting only a handful of buildings at what was to become the site of Napier. By the end of 1850, there were stores, an accommodation house and a post office.¹⁴ The potential for a town in the area received a major impetus with the purchase of land by colonial government from local Māori in late 1851, followed by smaller local purchases over the following decade in the immediate vicinity of the future site of Napier. The 1851 purchase, negotiated by Donald McLean, was for the Ahuriri Block, which was to remain largely rural, although the development of one or more towns was contemplated. Apparently, Māori also hoped for the establishment of a town, partly to promote trading possibilities.¹⁵ McLean, Lands Purchase Commissioner at the time,¹⁶ commented favourably on the future location of Napier, noting that it provided the only safe harbour on the eastern side of the North Island.¹⁷ In 1851, a report by Robert Park, surveyor, commented on the value of the harbour, protected by a shingle spit (Westshore) on which a small town could be built, with no bar, with a depth of not more than nine feet, and with potential for much of the lagoon to be reclaimed.¹⁸

In 1854, Alfred Domett reported on the suitability of Scinde Island as the site for a town. Domett had earlier that year taken up the position of Commissioner of Crown Lands and Resident Magistrate for the Ahuriri district. He had previously been Colonial Secretary for New Munster Province (the lower North Island and all of the South Island) and Civil Secretary for central government, holding both offices concurrently. Those positions ceased with the end of Crown Colony administration in New Zealand.¹⁹ In his new role in Hawke's Bay, he felt that there was insufficient suitable land available at Scinde Island and thought that the *principal* town should be located seven miles inland, to the south of the island. Domett suggested that the town at the island be named Napier, after Sir Charles Napier, a distinguished British General who had served in India and had just died.²⁰ Previously, the town and locality had been known as Ahuriri. He envisaged that the town would function as a small port town, subservient to a larger town to be established at Pakowhai about seven miles away on an inland site, where flat land was plentiful.²¹ While Napier flourished, Pakowhai never became a town, and its intended name of Clive (named

after an East India Company administrator and soldier) was given to a village located near the mouth of the Ngaruroro River.²² Clive, which was prone to floods, remained a village. Jeanine Graham writes that Domett's most enduring legacy in Hawke's Bay was his naming of Napier and its streets.²³ The town plan attributed to him would have been largely the work of surveyors working for the Crown in the area at the time, in particular, a survey team headed by Michael Fitzgerald. Several years earlier, Robert Park and Joseph Thomas had commenced surveys for McLean, but these were for the larger blocks of the Ahuriri District rather than for the town site itself.²⁴ While Domett had various careers, surveying was not one of them.

In supervising the production of the town plan, Domett was able to draw upon his wealth of administrative experience. In 1847-1848, he was Chairman of a Committee appointed by resident land purchasers of Nelson to choose a site for a shipping town in the Wairau District, located in the north-eastern corner of the South Island.²⁵ As Colonial Secretary and Civil Secretary, he became familiar with the detailed affairs of the Canterbury and Otago Associations, which like the New Zealand Company, had run into financial difficulties. At this time, he was also a member of both the Legislative Council and the New Munster Executive Council, and therefore liaised with other people important in government, in contrast to his later role in Hawke's Bay where he worked largely in isolation with very few staff to assist him. While Colonial Secretary, Domett had become interested in land questions, and had accumulated much information about land policies associated with the various new settlements. He was also responsible for much of the work in preparing the new constitution for New Zealand and for determining the boundaries of some of the provinces. Domett's stay in Hawke's Bay was short; he arrived in January 1854 and left in late 1856, having been appointed Commissioner of Crown Lands in Nelson. He had already been elected to the House of Representatives as the member for Nelson in 1855. He was appointed or elected to a number of other political or administrative positions in his later working life, and was Premier of New Zealand for a short time in the early 1860s. Both earlier in his career, and later in life, he was a creative writer, this perhaps partly explaining his use of English literary writers for street names of Napier.²⁶

The site chosen for the port town was not inviting. In 1860, several years after organised settlement had begun, Napier was described as “a precipitous island of barren, uninhabited ridges, covered with fern and rough grass, dissected by gorges and ravines, with a narrow strip of shingle skirting the cliffs, and joined to the mainland south by a five mile shingle bank.... A hopeless spot for a town site.”²⁷ Figure 1.2 illustrates the limitations of the site, showing Mataruahou or Scinde Island joined to the mainland by two shingle banks, the northern bank broken by a waterway that provided access to a lagoon. There was little flat land in the area, other than a triangular area at the base of the hill to the southeast. To the northwest, lay a wide expanse of water known as Ahuriri Lagoon. To the southwest lay an area of mudflats and swamps, and the estuary of the Tutaekuri River. This plan shows the area in 1865, when some roads had already been established on the island.

The town of Napier was formally established in 1855 with the release of the survey plan for the proposed town and the naming of the locality.²⁸ This was titled “Plan of the Town of Napier” and is shown in Figure 1.3. The plan included all the land that was reasonably available; otherwise settlement would need to take place on the western side of the Lagoon or to the southwest. When the Borough of Napier was constituted in 1874, all of the land and sections shown on the map were included in the Borough, apart from the Western Spit area, later known as Westshore. The plan for the proposed town of Napier probably involved two separate plans, the first of which is lost but which very likely covered only part of the area shown on the second plan.²⁹ The analysis and discussion that follows is based on the second plan, which in the context of Napier history is usually regarded as the First Town Plan, although preceded by earlier documents. The purpose of this plan was primarily to facilitate the sale of sections and promote early development.

The influence of the First Town Plan was considerable. Unlike some of the later maps in this thesis, which generally portray Napier as it physically was at the date of each map, the First Town Plan was a representation of what should or could happen for the future. It was therefore a deliberate tool of town building and development. At the time the plan was produced very few streets existed and European population was confined to several pockets of settlement located mainly at Western Spit and Onepoto.

The plan differs from most other New Zealand towns of the time in that the grid pattern was generally not used for laying out streets. Very few blocks were rectangular or square in shape. Those that were included in the plan, though, as in the case of Charles Kettle's early plan for Dunedin, lay under water or swamp, in anticipation of possible reclamation projects that might follow at a later date.³⁰ In the main, however, the dictates of the Napier topography and surrounding water expanses determined that the grid generally had no place in Napier. Instead, the streets comprise crescents and curves or simply flow with the topography. Thus the gentle slope of Shakespeare Road, the principal thoroughfare over Napier Hill, was suitable for electric trams that ran from 1913, and cable traction was not required. The street pattern has made for greater variety in the streetscape, and made Napier more diverse and arguably more interesting than Hastings or Hamilton or similar towns elsewhere in New Zealand, where the original street layout was predominantly based on a grid pattern. The surveyors in producing their plan for Napier were clearly sympathetic to the landscape in allowing roads to follow contours, and most of the plan in terms of street layout was implemented and remained intact up to 1968 and beyond. For a comparison with maps drawn at later dates, see Figures 1.6 and 1.7.

The First Town Plan was for a complete town, and laid down a pattern of roads and sections, with sites being reserved for public facilities. The report by Domett that accompanied the plan, as published in the *Wellington Gazette*, comprised four pages of detailed statements and explanation.³¹ Domett described the terrain and how the roads and sections would be accommodated. Roads, for example, were to connect as directly as possible, taking into account both terrain and pathways that were already in use. Public facilities were to include reserves and sites for a town hall, hospital, gaol, cemetery and schools. Streets were named after British persons prominent in literature, science or Indian history. The plan also foreshadowed a move of the centre of commercial activity from the Ahuriri port area to a location on the other side of Scinde Island, where the centre of Napier stands today. This is apparent from the density and location of the bulk of the smaller sized sections. The plan also recognised that reclamation could have a role in the development of Napier, and this was carefully noted on the plan. Domett, in his report, commented that some sections were drawn across a shallow lagoon "which may some day be filled up". He added that these sections were made much larger, and that the plan would clearly define those parts covered with water.³²

A short report prepared by the Napier City Council in 1974 on the development of town planning in Napier remarked that much of Domett's letter was similar in approach to the general instructions given to surveyors of the New Zealand Company. With regard to Domett's instruction about the slaughterhouse for which he proposed a secluded, remote location, the Council report stated that "This original policy to segregate undesirable activities proposed by Dommett [*sic*], is still the policy adopted by the City Council today in all planning matters."³³

However, the Town Plan also had its limitations. First, the streets were too narrow. The narrowness of Emerson Street was recognised in the early 1880s, before the arrival of motor vehicles, and in 1892 the *Hawke's Bay Herald* repeated the call for widening the street, following a serious buggy accident.³⁴ Writing in 1920, Bradbury comments that the streets in the original town plan were too narrow to cope with increasing traffic,³⁵ the problem now accentuated with the more widespread use of motor vehicles. Given the shortage of available land in Napier, and the light, non-motorised traffic of the time, it was not surprising that streets were originally designed in this manner. Street widening programmes later became a part of reconstruction after the earthquake and the Council's ongoing roading programme.

Second, many sections on the original flat areas of the town were too small to be useful. This meant that the dwellings were cramped, with very little space between residences. This contributed to poor living conditions and was also a potential fire risk because of insufficient space between neighbouring buildings. A few of these dwellings survive in 2011 in the Ahuriri and Marine Parade areas.

Third, there was no clearly defined town centre on the plan and for a few years there was some speculation about where the centre of the town would be. Clive Square was initially favoured, but businesses grew more rapidly in Hastings Street (the "White Road") and nearby parts of Emerson Street.³⁶ Clive Square was suggested as a centre by its link with Munroe Street, a broad boulevard in comparison to other streets, which could clearly feed in traffic from the south. However, the plan could not channel economic activity to particular locations, and businesses were sited to meet owner preferences. Further, much

of the land that adjoined Munroe Street initially lay under water, and was not reclaimed until the late 1870s.

Fourth, the street pattern did not take account of the “sweep of the Bay” and the town’s location on the seaside. The *Hawke's Bay Almanack and Business Directory* commented in its 1900 edition that, although Napier now possessed “the finest esplanade in the Australian Colonies”, in the original town plan “the beauty of the grand sweep of the bay seems to have been entirely overlooked, no road or street having been laid out overlooking the sea, this part of the town being the back boundary of sections.”³⁷ Within several decades, the sea frontage had become recognised as an important asset to the town. Land had to be acquired to construct the Marine Parade. The idea of Napier becoming a seaside resort was not contemplated when Domett submitted his plan in 1855. The seaside resort would have been a comparatively recent development at that time, the first purpose-built seaside resorts in Great Britain at Brighton, Weymouth and Scarborough being planned and built during the Regency era.³⁸

Fifth, insufficient attention was given to the possible site of a port, somewhat surprisingly given that the town’s principal function was to be a port. The plan gives no indication of a port site, apart from an area described as an anchorage, which was on the wrong side of the Inner Harbour. The location of the port was to become central to the debate about the town’s development up to the time of the 1931 earthquake.

Sixth, no thought was apparently given to the future expansion of Napier should all the sections on the town be allocated or further subdivided. Looking at the plan and the surrounding expanse of water as shown on Figure 1.3, there was nowhere else that was contiguous to the Napier site. However, it should be remembered that Domett’s future picture of Napier was as a port town. His expectation was that, in the future, major settlement would take place elsewhere. With the laying out of the town of Hastings 12 miles distant from Napier in 1883, he was proven partly correct, although the twin Hawke's Bay towns, throughout their history since, have been relatively equal and often rivals in their respective populations and importance in the Hawke's Bay region. Napier never became a subordinate port town, like Lyttelton is to Christchurch or Port Chalmers is to Dunedin.

Growth and Development of Napier

The population of Napier grew steadily from the time it was founded in the 1850s until 1968. Initially, the town grew to provide an urban centre and a port for the pastoralism that was developing in the hinterland. Later, the town was to grow in its own right, growth rates accelerating after the Second World War with increased national prosperity and the baby boom. Table 1.1 shows Napier population growth from 1858 to 1966. The population of suburban areas adjacent to Napier is excluded, until parts of those areas became incorporated into Napier Borough (Westshore in 1942) and Napier City (Taradale in 1968). Māori population was not included before 1926. Napier formally changed its status from borough to city in 1950 when it attained the requisite population of 20,000.³⁹

The physical size of Napier also grew, both in terms of its urban footprint and administrative boundaries. This urban expansion might be thought of as comprising three phases. These overlapped to a degree, reflecting different settlement processes, but are presented in this way to illustrate how the urban development of Napier has proceeded.

Table 1.1: Population Growth of Napier 1858-1966

<i>Census Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Census Year</i>	<i>Population</i>
1858	343	1921	14,346
1864	1,337	1926	15,134
1871	2,179	1936	15,302
1874	3,514	1945	17,243
1881	5,756	1951	19,709
1891	8,341	1956	21,270
1901	8,774	1961	24,579
1911	10,537	1966	28,645

Sources: Adapted from information in G.T. Bloomfield, *New Zealand: A Handbook of Historical Statistics*, Boston, Mass: G.K. Hall & Co, 1984, pp. 57-58; and M.D.N. Campbell, *Story of Napier, 1874-1974: Footprints Along the Shore*, Napier: Napier City Council, 1975, p. 237. Not all census years have been included.

Phase One involved the establishment, early settlement and development of the town on land that already existed as flat land adjoining Napier Hill and the Hill itself. This might be described as the *early settlement phase*. It began in the 1850s, and was largely complete by 1900. Initially, there were little clusters of settlement, which, as development

proceeded and streets were formed, gradually became linked together. The planning aspect of this phase was provided by the 1855 Town Plan, which defined and provided a mechanism for the sale of sections, prescribed a pattern of streets, and preserved sites for public amenities. The plan also established the outer parameters of the town, within which it was anticipated development would take place. As the more accessible land was developed, larger sites on the Hill were subdivided for housing. Until about 1900, Napier was accommodated within the land surveyed for the First Town Plan.

Phase Two comprised what might be described as the *reclamation phase*, in which endeavours were made to expand the town onto areas covered by lagoons or swamps. This phase began about 1860 with small reclamations and continued until the earthquake in 1931 and beyond. Closer and shallower areas were reclaimed first, more difficult areas later on. Reclamations, therefore, advanced into the lagoon at Ahuriri and across the swamp sections to the south of Clive Square and then into what became Napier South. Reclamations further from central Napier continued before and after the earthquake and are detailed and discussed in Chapter 4. In this phase, the planning element was facilitated by the coordinated actions of the Napier Borough Council and Napier Harbour Board, but was assisted by a private syndicate for the reclamation of Napier South, the largest pre-earthquake reclamation scheme. While the principal objective of the Harbour Board was to establish and maintain a port, the Napier Harbour Board was to become a significant developer of land around Napier, as most of the reclaimed land had previously been vested in the Board as owner. This also applied to land later uplifted by the 1931 earthquake. Planning for reclamations entailed a sequence of actions – development of a strategy or overall plan, financial and project planning, legislation, raising loans and, when completed, subdivision and settlement. Town development through Phases One and Two is shown in three Figures. Figure 1.4 illustrates the extent of urban development in 1875. There had been progress with road formation, section subdivision on Napier Hill, some reclamation of land in the Ahuriri area and a railway was now included. Figure 1.5 shows buildings of central Napier in 1887, displaying how Napier was already developing a focus on the Marine Parade overlooking the sea (located to the right-hand side of the map). Figure 1.6 illustrates the extent of the urban development of Napier in 1928, just three years before the earthquake. Nearly all land within the borough boundary (shown in red) had been

developed, including land reclaimed under various schemes. On this map, the business area is located centre-right.

Phase Three comprised the *suburban phase* in which systematic urban expansion spread to the south and west of central Napier after the 1931 earthquake and onto land that could be more easily settled because of the uplift of land. From the 1930s to the 1960s, new suburbs were established in a semi-linear pattern, generally on unoccupied land or land used for farming. This expansion finally slowed in 1968 when the growing Napier suburbs reached the independent town of Taradale and the two municipalities amalgamated. For this urban expansion, the planning element was similar to that for reclamation, but with the addition of more formal statutory planning through the adoption of planning schemes under the Town-planning Act 1926 and Town and Country Planning Act 1953. Once again, the developmental partners were the Council and Harbour Board, with central government becoming important through its provision of state housing from the late 1930s onwards. The surrounding Hawke's Bay County also had a role, often by agreeing to the extension of Napier's boundaries at the expense of the county. Figure 1.7, the complementary map to Figure 1.2, but drawn 100 years later in 1965, shows the extent of urban development three years before amalgamation with Taradale. By this time, the former Ahuriri Lagoon and other watery areas have nearly all disappeared, the result of both reclamation and earthquake. The urban area of Napier has a tidy appearance, with a relatively clear separation between urban and rural areas. The street pattern based on curves and angles is readily apparent, as are the parks and other green areas sprinkled across the city. Separating Napier and Taradale (partially shown as Greenmeadows at the bottom of Figure 1.7) is an area marked as a racecourse, which the Council had acquired several years earlier for an urban park.

The three phases represent the development of what were the fringe areas of Napier at the time. While parts of that fringe were immovable (the Pacific Ocean), other parts offered some potential for future development, as settlement of the fringe proceeded or was attempted. In the 1850s, the fringe included the Napier Hill, most of which was undeveloped. At that time, the core parts of the town were those clusters of buildings where settlement had already taken place. Much of the fringe was initially watery but reclaimable, with the cooperation of the Harbour Board. After the earthquake, the fringe

became the newly uplifted land around Napier, its development still requiring the cooperation of both Harbour Board and Hawke's Bay County Council. Jed Griffiths suggests that "In a sense, the urban fringe is planning's last frontier." Writing about the fringe from a British perspective, he notes that the urban fringe is a problem area, and recognises the need to keep this area attractive.⁴⁰ Around Napier, parts of the fringe were certainly problem areas, particularly swampy areas that were inadequately drained and a potential health hazard. Reclamation was also expensive and time consuming. But those parts of the fringe that could be reclaimed or settled were of enormous value to the future growth and development of Napier, and from 1900 onwards the fringe moved further from central Napier as the closer areas were systematically settled.

As these new suburbs were strung out in linear fashion in the direction of Taradale, it was perhaps inevitable that Napier and Taradale should eventually amalgamate into a single entity. A merger with Taradale had been suggested as early as 1948, but the idea was not seriously considered at the time.⁴¹ When the Hawke's Bay County Council prepared the Hawke's Bay Extra-Urban Plan in 1953 (see Figure 1.1) a stated intention was to create a green belt between Napier and Taradale, so that the undeveloped land between the two towns "should not be further encroached on."⁴² In the mid-1960s, the Napier Chamber of Commerce revived the push for amalgamation and, with the extension of City boundaries to Tamatea (adjoining Taradale), logical reasons for amalgamation were beginning to emerge. While some opposition remained, other Taradale residents and businesses saw advantages in amalgamation, including the possibility of better civic and cultural amenities. A central issue was road finance, a problem that, if Taradale were part of Napier, could be eased by the subsidisation of road costs by the larger single authority. Amalgamation was approved by a poll of Taradale residents in 1968, with 71 percent of Taradale voters supporting the proposal. The merger came into effect on 1 April 1968, at which time the population of Taradale was about 6,500.⁴³ The estimated population of the enlarged city was 37,050.⁴⁴

The overall urban pattern and its development is neatly summarised in the Napier Urban Growth Strategy Review completed in 1999:

Napier is unusual in the New Zealand context in that its development has been carefully planned and managed incrementally, suburb by suburb, on a linear growth form. While the character of each suburb reflects its timing, each has been planned to high standards of design and public amenity.⁴⁵

Overall, Napier's urban development and structure has discernable patterns that have been expressed both historically and geographically. The historical patterns are informed by successive waves of generally planned urban expansion, a defining turning point being the 1931 earthquake. The geographical pattern seen both in 1968 and today is a product and consequence of the planned and sequential growth and development of the city. Within the New Zealand context, the pattern of urban development in Napier during the 20th century was a little unusual, especially outside the four main centres. The general New Zealand pattern was typically more piecemeal, with a much higher participation of private entities as developers.

Governance of Napier

From early 1853 to late 1858, Napier was administered by the Wellington Provincial Council. Local residents, unhappy with this arrangement, petitioned for a local provincial council. They were assisted in their cause by the local newspaper, *Hawke's Bay Herald*, which began its life as a staunch advocate of separation. There was a feeling that the Wellington-based Provincial Council was giving insufficient attention to the area. In 1858, in response to such pressures, the Hawke's Bay Provincial Council was established.⁴⁶ Napier was designated Capital of the province and the site for its administration. While some progress was made in providing local amenities, the Hawke's Bay Provincial Council lasted only until 1876, when provincial government was abolished throughout New Zealand. In its final years, there was growing local demand for a separate municipal authority in Napier, and the Provincial Council itself felt that Napier citizens could do more to look after their own affairs.⁴⁷ The legacy of the provincial era for Napier was that the town's importance and growth was enhanced through being the administrative centre for the province. For many years to come, central government departments continued to base their regional offices in Napier, and the town continued to be regarded as the capital of the Hawke's Bay region.

In 1874, a petition was presented to Parliament seeking the establishment of a municipal council for Napier. The petitioners stated their belief that “the Town of Napier, and the comfort and prosperity of the Inhabitants, would greatly improve by an extension of the benefits of the Municipal Corporations Act to their town.”⁴⁸ The petition followed some months of local debate, culminating in a public meeting held in July 1874. The petition was granted, and Napier became a separate municipality in late 1874.⁴⁹ The Napier Municipal Council was to become and remains in 2011 the principal local government organisation for the administration of Napier. Responsibilities have included a broad range of activities, the enduring roles focusing on local infrastructure, amenities, bylaws and public health. Planning became a legal responsibility with the enactment of the Town-planning Act 1926. The Council was generally described as the Napier Borough Council until 1950, when it became the Napier City Council.

The first Municipal Council was elected early in 1875, with further elections taking place at regular intervals. From 1935, elections for Mayor and Councillors were held every three years, but different arrangements applied before that date.⁵⁰ Throughout its history, Council decisions have been implemented by its staff, the two principal officers being the Town Clerk and the Municipal, Borough or City Engineer. Council activities have been largely funded by rates, a charge imposed on landowners, with finance for major capital projects being supported by loans. The Mayor and Councillors of Napier, particularly in earlier years, were generally businessmen or people otherwise prominent in the local community.⁵¹

Structure of Thesis

This thesis is organised thematically. Accordingly, literature about themes more specific to Napier, such as reclamation, reconstruction and place promotion, is presented in relevant chapters later in the thesis, so that this information can be more easily related to the analysis and discussion of Napier that follows. Similarly, the thematic chapters include some assessment or discussion of the topic within the same chapter, in addition to the more

general assessment and discussion in Chapter 8. The thematic approach was chosen to highlight the continuing importance of aspects of Napier's growth and development over time, and the influence of planning in relation to each theme.

Chapter 2 comprises a review of relevant literature. It begins with a full discussion of how planning history might be defined and identifies issues regarding the outer boundaries of what planning might cover. The main focus of the review is on mainstream planning history literature relevant to Napier. Topics include the developing relationship between urbanisation and planning, colonial planning, public health and civic improvement, the City Beautiful and Garden City movements, the neighbourhood unit, and the diffusion of planning ideas. Coverage includes an outline of the evolution of planning legislation and the planning profession.

Chapter 3 provides an explanation of the research and sources used. Most of the research is based on the analysis of published materials and archival documents. The published items studied include local newspapers. This chapter also surveys and comments on what has already been written about Napier, and how this information might inform a study of the town's and New Zealand's planning history.

Chapter 4, entitled *The Quest for Land: Napier Reclamations*, surveys how Napier, over the years, addressed its principal problem, the shortage of land. The 1931 earthquake largely solved this difficulty by raising the level of surrounding land, previously lagoon and swamp. Before 1931, a series of reclamations were undertaken by the Borough Council, the Napier Harbour Board and, in the case of the Napier South and largest of these schemes, a private syndicate. Some reclamation activity continued after the earthquake. The planning of reclamation schemes at times generated considerable interest and debate, culminating in a Royal Commission of Inquiry in 1927. This chapter also includes some coverage of the debates concerning the location of the harbour and airport.

Chapter 5, entitled *The Phoenix City: Reconstruction of Napier*, considers how, from a planning perspective, Napier responded to its greatest disaster, the earthquake of 1931. The principal focus of the chapter is on the reconstruction of the central business area, which was almost totally destroyed by the earthquake and fire that followed. The

earthquake prompted immediate consideration of town planning ideas, but their implementation needed to be balanced by the financial constraints imposed by economic depression and the pressure to rebuild without undue delay.

Chapter 6, entitled *Greater Napier: Creating Suburbs*, examines a period of suburbanisation in which four new suburbs were planned, developed and completed as single entities. “Greater Napier” had become the slogan for extending the town’s boundaries and creating new suburbs, necessitated by rapid population growth. Building these suburbs was facilitated by the cooperation of various public authorities, including the Harbour Board, the owner of the land raised by the earthquake and now suitable for development.

Chapter 7, entitled *Sunny Napier: Place Promotion and Civic Improvement*, considers how Napier was promoted and the endeavours that were made to make the most of the town’s seaside location and favourable climate. Promotional and civic improvement activities to boost the town included publicity, providing amenities and holding festivals. While the Council was the principal instigator of this activity, other organisations such as the Napier Thirty Thousand Club assisted. An increasing number of attractions and amenities were provided, especially along the Marine Parade, a waterfront promenade. Leading annual events included a Christmas Mardi Gras and a “Sunshine and Business” shopping week.

Chapter 8, the *Conclusion*, presents an evaluation of planning in Napier for the period covered by this study. While specific themes are discussed within the appropriate chapters above, the conclusion integrates these and other themes into an overall picture in which some general statements can be made about Napier’s planning history. This integration is illustrated by means of a matrix that highlights the development of planning in Napier. Also included are some suggestions for further research.

Endnotes

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- ² Robert Freestone and Alan Hutchings, "Planning History in Australia: The State of the Art", *Planning Perspectives*, 8:1, 1993, pp. 72-91.
- ³ Patricia Burgess, "Should Planning History Hit the Road? An Examination of the State of Planning History in the United States", *Planning Perspectives*, 11:3, 1996, pp. 210-224.
- ⁴ Caroline Miller, "New Zealand's Planning History – Quo Vadis?", *Planning Perspectives*, 13:3, 1998, pp. 257-274.
- ⁵ Graham Bush, *Local Government & Politics in New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995. 2nd ed.
- ⁶ Bill Williams, *District Planning in New Zealand*, Auckland: New Zealand Planning Institute, 1985.
- ⁷ P. Ali Memon, "Shaking off a Colonial Legacy? – Town and Country Planning in New Zealand, 1870s to 1980s", *Planning Perspectives*, 6, 1991, pp. 19-32.
- ⁸ Bush, *Local Government & Politics in New Zealand*, p. 36.
- ⁹ Williams, *District Planning in New Zealand*, p. 1.
- ¹⁰ Memon, "Shaking off a Colonial Legacy? – Town and Country Planning in New Zealand, 1870s to 1980s", p. 22.
- ¹¹ Miller, "New Zealand's Planning History – Quo Vadis?", pp. 263-264.
- ¹² A.J. Brown and H.M. Sherrard, *Town and Country Planning*, Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1951, p. 209.
- ¹³ Hamilton and Tauranga are now often included in the list of New Zealand's main centres because the populations of their urban areas now exceed or are comparable with Dunedin, now the smallest of the original main centres.
- ¹⁴ Matthew Wright, *Napier: City of Style*, Napier: Napier City Council, 1996, pp. 38-39.
- ¹⁵ Waitangi Tribunal, *Napier Hospital and Health Services Report*, Wellington: Legislation Direct, 2001, pp. 93-115.
- ¹⁶ McLean had previously served the Crown as Sub-Protector of Aborigines, that appointment ending in 1846. He was appointed to a full-time role as Lands Purchase Commissioner in 1850. See Ray Fargher, *The Best Man Who Ever Served the Crown? A Life of Donald McLean*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2007, pp. 32-36, 82-83 and 399.
- ¹⁷ B.G.R. Saunders, *Back to the Beginnings: The Origins and Early Years of Settlements in Aotearoa-New Zealand*, Palmerston North: B.G.R. Saunders, 1995, p. 69.
- ¹⁸ Report by Robert Park, Surveyor, about the Ahuriri Block, sent by Donald McLean to the Colonial Secretary, 7 June 1851, cited by W.M. Hall, *The Growth and Development of Napier – Town, Borough and City: A Resource Unit for Social Studies on Urbanisation*. Napier: W.M. Hall, 1986, p. 11.
- ¹⁹ Jeanine Graham, "Domett, Alfred", in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: Volume One: 1769-1869*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin and Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, pp. 109-111.
- ²⁰ Letter, A. Domett to Provincial Secretary of Wellington, about the sale of sections, site and naming of a town, 20 March 1854, reproduced in Ian L. Mills, *What's in a Name: A History of the Streets of Napier*, Napier: Thinker Publications, 2007, pp. 75-78. Enlarged reprint, originally published 1999.
- ²¹ Matthew Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994, p. 52.
- ²² M.D.N. Campbell, *Story of Napier, 1874-1974: Footprints Along the Shore*, Napier: Napier City Council, 1975, p. 5.
- ²³ Graham, "Domett, Alfred".
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- ²⁵ *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 12 February 1848, pp. 197-198.
- ²⁶ Horsman. E.A. (ed.), *The Diary of Alfred Domett: 1872-1885*, London: Oxford University Press, 1953, especially the introduction, pp. 1-43. See also Graham, "Domett, Alfred"; David O.W. Hall, "Domett, Alfred", in A.H. McLintock, (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1966, vol. 1, pp. 494-496; Jenny R. Jones, *Writers in Residence: A Journey with Pioneer New Zealand Writers*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004, pp. 128-145; Peter B. Maling, *The Torlesse Papers: The Journals and Letters of Charles Obins Torlesse Concerning the Foundation of the Canterbury Settlement in New Zealand: 1848-51*, Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1958, pp. 36-37; and *Evening Post*, 6 July 1932, p. 7.
- ²⁷ Cited in J.G. Wilson and others, *History of Hawke's Bay*, Christchurch: Capper Press, 1976, p. 413. Reprint, originally published in 1939. The source of the quotation is not stated.
- ²⁸ Letter, A. Domett to Superintendent of Wellington, about the completed plan of Napier, 28 September 1855, *New Zealand Government Gazette (Province of Wellington)*, 20 November 1855, pp. 133-136. Proclamations, by Superintendent of the Province of Wellington, about the sale of lands, and the naming

- of the town and reservation of lands for purposes specified, follow in the same edition of the *Gazette*, pp. 136-143 and p. 148. See also *Daily Telegraph*, 7 September 1938, p. 9; and Mills, *What's in a Name: A History of the Streets of Napier*, pp. 80-84.
- ²⁹ Mills, *What's in a Name: A History of the Streets of Napier*, pp. 78-80.
- ³⁰ James Forrest, "Dunedin and the Otago Block: Geographical Aspects of a Wakefield Settlement", *New Zealand Geographer*, 20:1, 1964, pp. 10-29, at p. 19; and K.C. McDonald, *City of Dunedin: A Century of Civic Enterprise*, Dunedin: Dunedin City Corporation, 1965, p. 7.
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- ³³ Napier City Council, Town Planning Department, *Development of Town Planning in the City of Napier*, Napier: Napier City Council, 1974, p. 1. Unpublished paper. Held at Napier City Council, Box NCC 156, File TP 1/3.
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- ³⁵ E. Bradbury, (ed.), *The Settlement and Development of Hawke's Bay, New Zealand: Early History, Industries and Resources, Scenic Attractions*, Auckland: E. Bradbury & Co, 1920, p. 51.
- ³⁶ "Town of Napier" in Cyclopaedia Company Limited, *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand: Industrial, Descriptive, Historical, Biographical*, Christchurch: Cyclopaedia Company Limited, 1908, vol. 6, Taranaki, Hawke's Bay and Wellington Provincial Districts, pp. 304-306.
- ³⁷ *Hawke's Bay Almanack and Business Directory for 1900*, Napier: Dinwiddie, Walker & Co, 1899, pp. 297-298.
- ³⁸ John Soane, "The Origin, Growth and Transformation of Maritime Resorts since 1840", *Built Environment*, 18:1, 1992, pp. 12-26, at pp. 14-15.
- ³⁹ Notice, Proclaiming the Borough of Napier to be a City, given by B.C. Freyberg, Governor-General, *New Zealand Gazette*, 9 March 1950, p. 244.
- ⁴⁰ Jed Griffiths, "The Last Frontier", *Planning Week*, 17 March 1994, p. 14-15, at p. 14.
- ⁴¹ *Daily Telegraph*, 31 August 1948, p. 4, 21 September 1948, p. 6, and 1 December 1948, p. 4.
- ⁴² *Daily Telegraph*, 7 November 1953, p. 5.
- ⁴³ Janet Gordon and Shirley Spence, *Taradale: The Story of a Village*, Taradale, Napier: Janet Gordon and Shirley Spence, 2000, pp. 166-170; and Order in Council giving effect to the merger, *New Zealand Gazette*, 28 March 1968, p. 496. See also Campbell, *Story of Napier, 1874-1974: Footprints Along the Shore*, pp. 206-207; and *Daily Telegraph*, 21 July 1965, p. 8, 12 October 1967, p. 12, 24 November 1967, p. 8, 6 February 1968, p. 11, 18 March 1968, p. 8, and 1 April 1968, p. 8.
- ⁴⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, 18 March 1968, p. 8.
- ⁴⁵ Sylvia Allan, *Napier Urban Growth Strategy Review*, Napier: Napier City Council, 1999, appendix.
- ⁴⁶ Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province*, pp. 67-68.
- ⁴⁷ Campbell, *Story of Napier, 1874-1974: Footprints Along the Shore*, pp. 37-38. See also "Provinces of New Zealand", from Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia. Retrieved 25 March 2011, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provinces_of_New_Zealand
- ⁴⁸ The text of the petition and a list of those who signed are reproduced in Campbell, *Story of Napier, 1874-1974: Footprints Along the Shore*, pp. 215-219.
- ⁴⁹ Campbell, *Story of Napier, 1874-1974: Footprints Along the Shore*, pp. 37-38.
- ⁵⁰ Municipal Corporations Act 1933, sections 23 and 44, Municipal Corporations Act 1954, section 40, and Local Elections and Polls Act 1953, section 4. Before 1935, Mayors were elected for terms of one year from 1876 to 1920, and for two years from 1920 to 1935. Councillors were elected on a rotational basis from 1876 to 1900, and for terms of two years from 1901 to 1935. See Municipal Corporations Act 1876, sections 51 and 65-67, Municipal Corporations Act 1886, sections 77 and 94, Municipal Corporations Act 1900, sections 34 and 57, Municipal Corporations Act 1908, sections 25 and 48, and Municipal Corporations Act 1920, sections 24 and 47.
- ⁵¹ See, for example, biographies in "Napier Corporation", "Ex-Mayors" and "Ex-Councillors", in Cyclopaedia Company Limited, *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand: Industrial, Descriptive, Historical, Biographical*, Christchurch: Cyclopaedia Company Limited, 1908, vol. 6, Taranaki, Hawke's Bay and Wellington Provincial Districts, pp. 306-315.

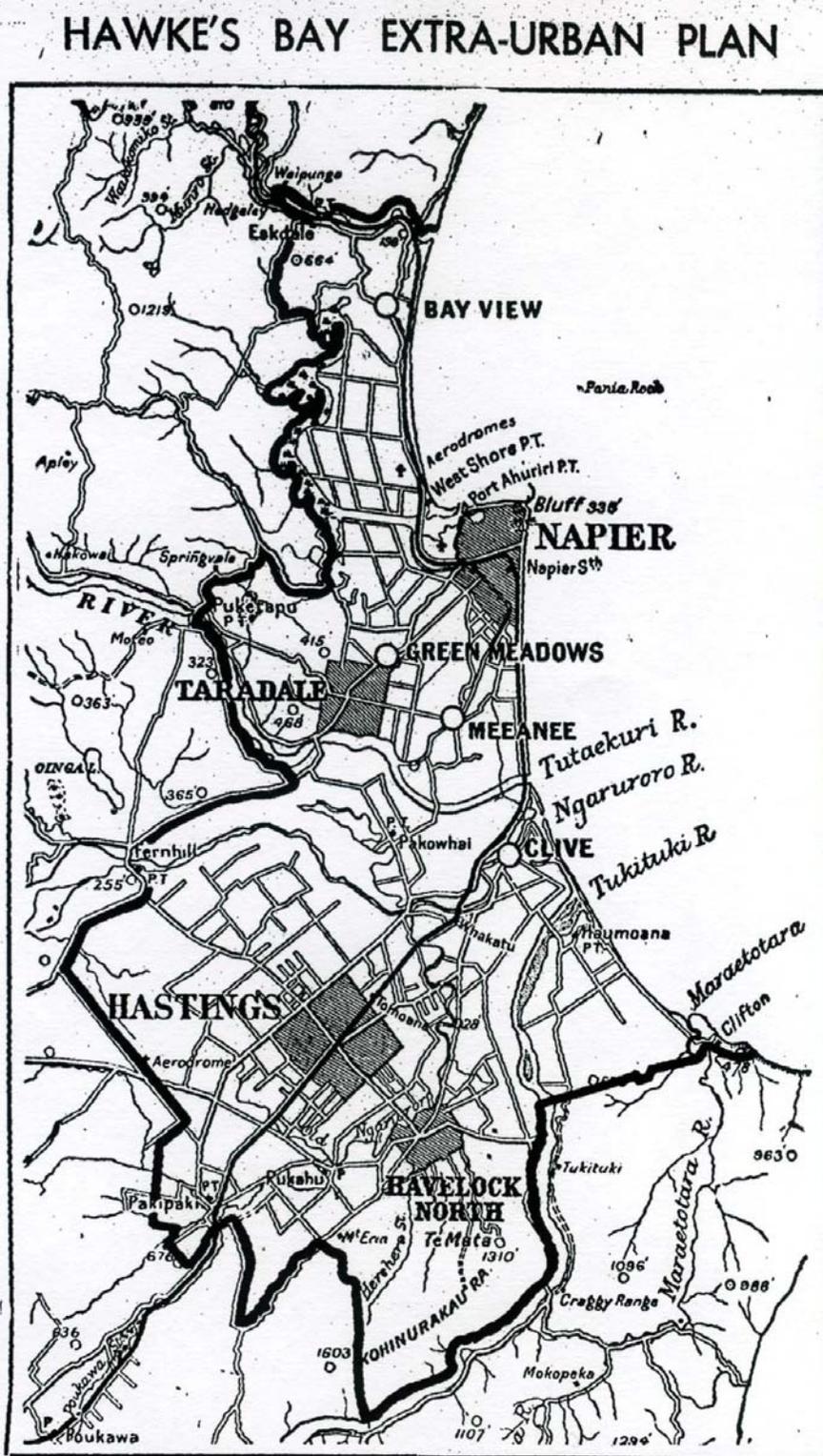


Figure 1.1: Map showing the area of the Heretaunga Plains affected by the Hawke's Bay Extra-Urban Plan, prepared in 1953.

Source: Daily Telegraph, 17 November 1953, p. 7.

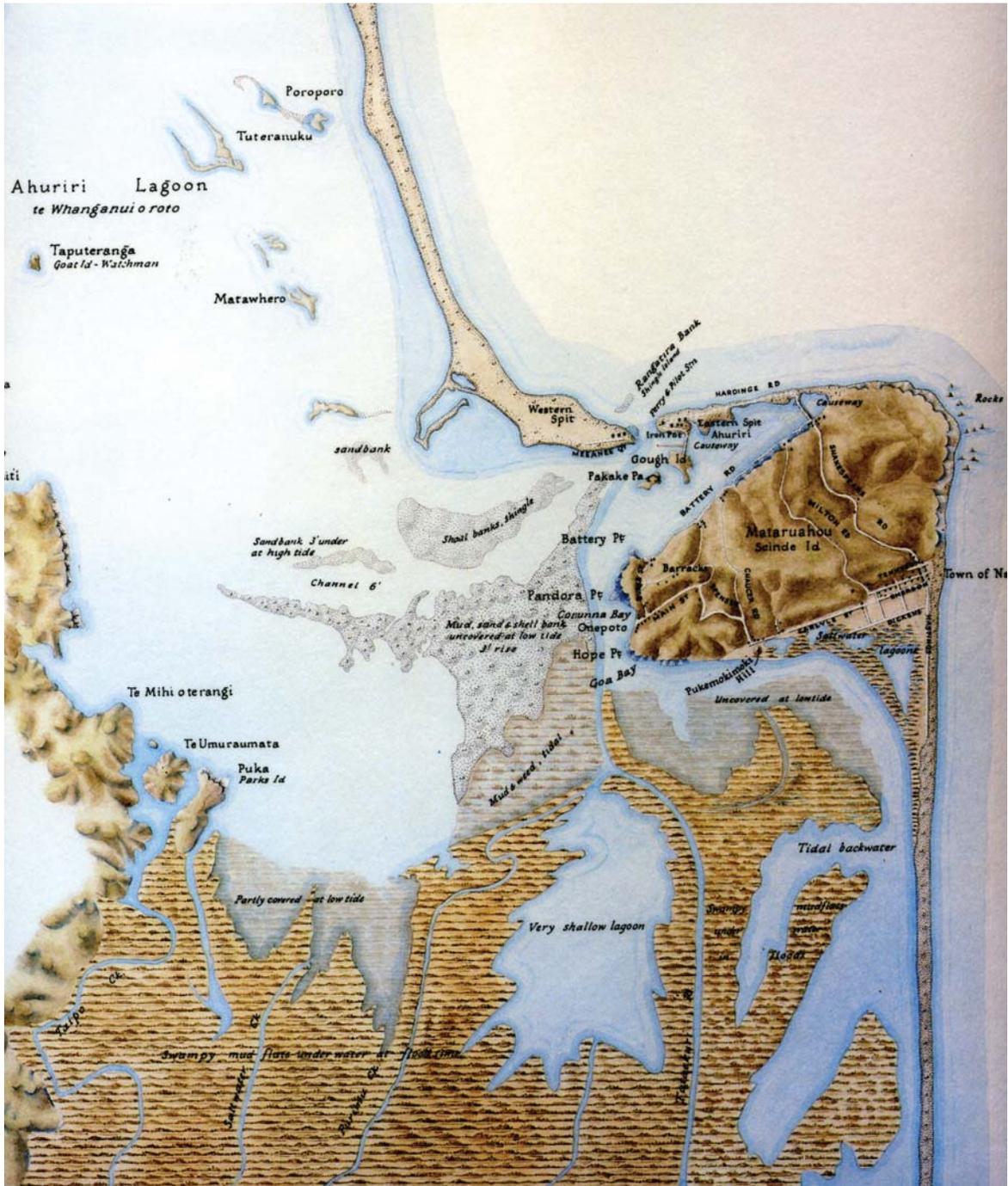


Figure 1.2: Plan showing Ahuriri Lagoon, Scinde Island and surroundings - about 1865.
See Figure 1.6 for same area 100 years later.

Source: Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust - Hawke's Bay Museum & Art Gallery, Napier, New Zealand.



Figure 1.3: Plan of the Town of Napier, 1855.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Cartographic Collection, MapColl 832.395bje/1855/Acc.7948. The plan held by the library is a facsimile drawn by Ian L. Mills, of Napier, who reproduced the 1855 plan from photostats held at Hawke's Bay Museum, Napier.



Figure 1.5: Map Showing Buildings in the Borough of Napier, 1887, R.B. Bristed.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Cartographic Collection, MapColl 832.395gbbd/1887/Acc.8124.

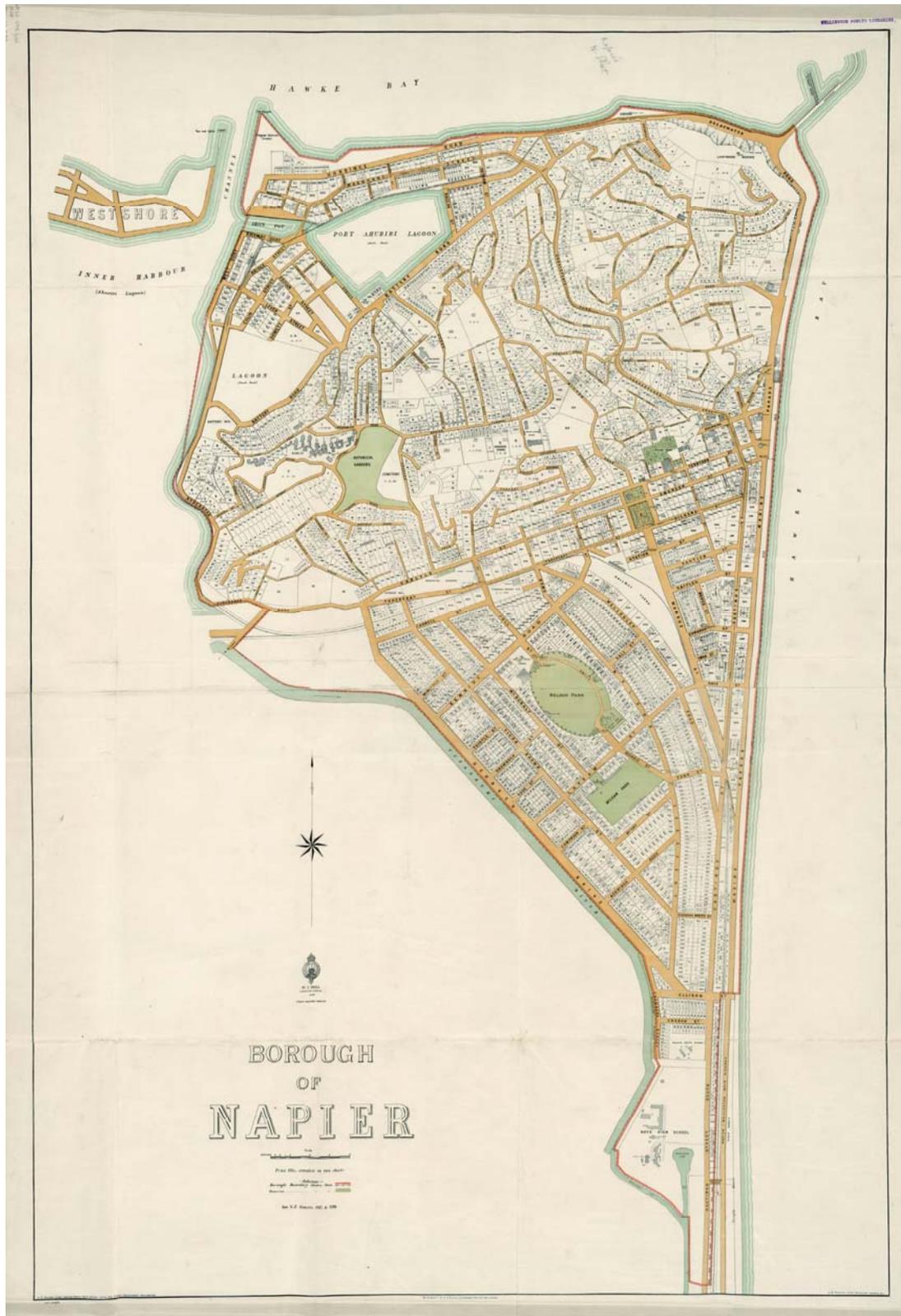


Figure 1.6: Borough of Napier, 1928, Lands and Survey Department.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Cartographic Collection, MapColl os832.395gbbd/1928/Acc.23288.

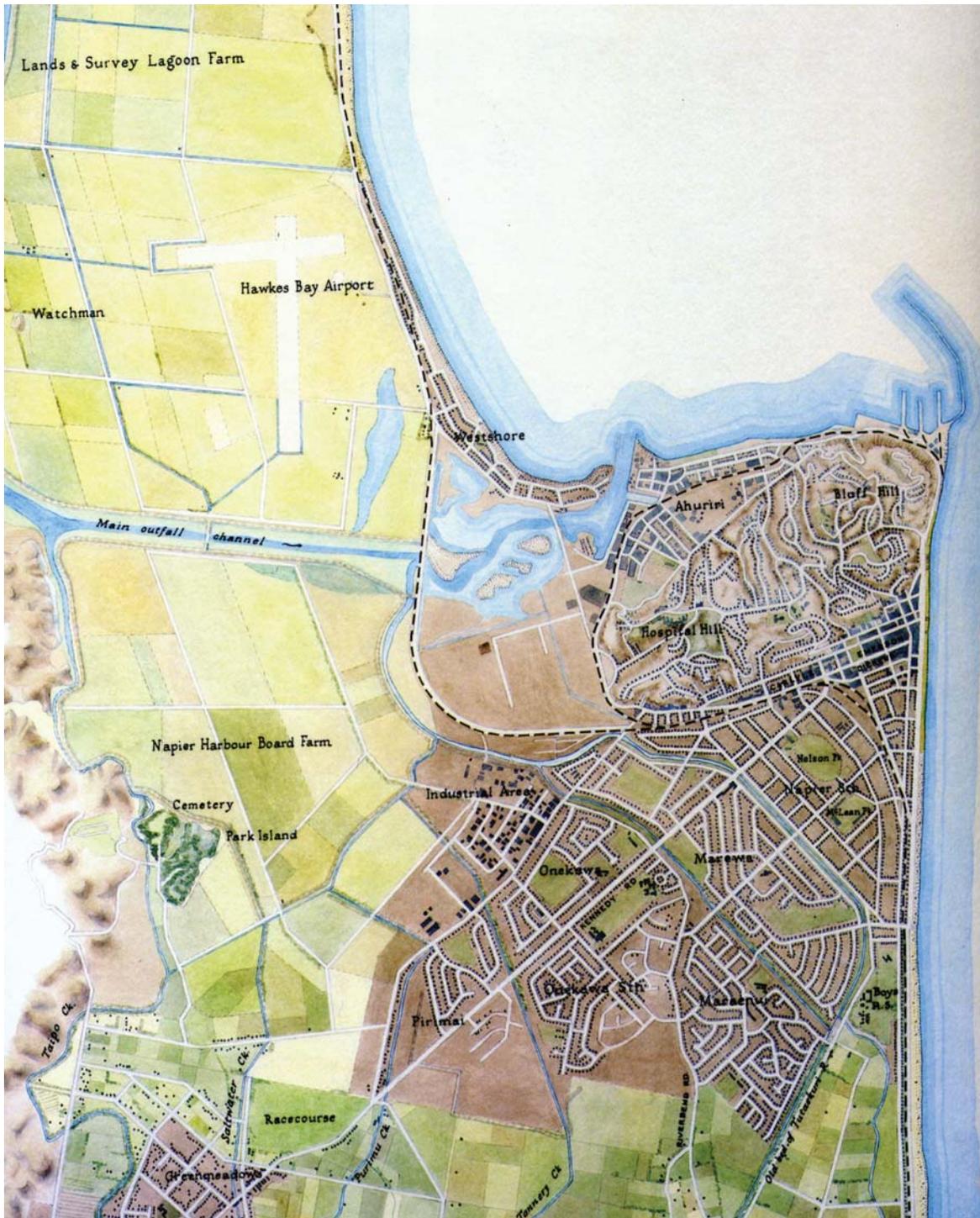


Figure 1.7: 100 years of progress - Napier and surroundings after reclamations and earthquake action - 1965. See Figure 1.1 for same area 100 years earlier.

Source: Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust - Hawke's Bay Museum & Art Gallery, Napier, New Zealand.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter includes a discussion of how planning history might be defined and how planning has evolved and developed during the period covered by this study. It also provides an outline of the evolution of planning thought and legislation, and the development of planning as a distinct field of knowledge and as a profession. Particular attention is given to mainstream planning ideas that are relevant to Napier, such as the City Beautiful and Garden City movements. The purpose is to provide a backdrop that might help in identifying and discussing the nature of planning in Napier, as considered more fully in the following chapters.

Defining Planning

In the widest sense, planning is about how people make decisions about the future. At a personal and simple level, suggests Barry Cullingworth, planning could be a decision to visit a library the following day. This represents a plan, made after looking at options which could also have included staying at home or doing something else.¹ This example also demonstrates that a plan need not necessarily be a document portraying a map, drawing, sketch, or written description of the desired product or outcome. Planning can be an idea or a concept that usually deals with aspects of the future. It is also a process that Peter Hall believes can be applied to most aspects of human activity.² More formally, Cullingworth states that planning may be defined or described as the process of setting

goals or objectives, and agreeing on how these will be achieved. This definition underlines that planning is about the future, about possible choices, and making decisions.³

Lewis Keeble, in his textbook on town and country planning, reflects the view of planning in the 1950s when the focus was on spatial matters and physical design. His definition states:

... Town and Country Planning might be described as the art and science of ordering the use of land and the character and siting of buildings and communication routes so as to secure the maximum practicable degree of economy, convenience and beauty.⁴

Some authors have endeavoured to draw distinctions between town planning and related fields. For example, in 1972, Michael Hugo-Brunt distinguished between town planning, regional planning, civic design, landscape architecture, and landscape gardening. Historically, he says that these activities “originated as the stepchildren of architecture”⁵ and reflect the design-led aspects of planning. These descriptions are of interest, as one might expect to find examples of each of these activities in Napier for the period covered by this study.

Anthony Sutcliffe, writing in 1981, provides a broad definition that recognises that planning has two aspects, positive and negative, and cannot be divorced from economic and social considerations. In an introduction to a collection of essays on the early development of British town planning, he writes:

Town planning is the concerted intervention by public authority in the development and subsequent use of urban land. The intervention takes positive and negative forms. Positively, the planning authority draws up a programme of development for publicly-provided facilities such as thoroughfares, sewers, and water supplies. Negatively, it imposes restrictions on the development and use of private land, in such forms as use zoning, density limits, reservations of open space, and wayleaves for privately-provided facilities. Both modes of intervention are based, on the one hand, on a scientific analysis of the urban area’s current condition and future prospects, and on the other, on certain standards of environment and amenity that are considered essential or desirable for the effective operation of the area as an economic and social unit. Thus carefully interrelated, both modes are incorporated into a single programme or plan.⁶

Sutcliffe adds that, while public authorities have controlled or influenced urban development on a partial basis for some thousands of years, the idea that such development could be managed and controlled in a comprehensive manner for the benefit of the community did not crystallize until about 1900. Further, the principle of planning control of new development was not completely enshrined in statute in the United Kingdom until the passing of the Town and Country Planning Act 1947.⁷ Sutcliffe's definition, while embedded in a post-war British model dominated by new towns, still has much to offer to a study of Napier's planning, given the positive participation of Napier public authorities in planning and providing infrastructure and other amenities.

Writing in 1997, Eleanor Smith Morris identifies two principal planning streams – the physical planning approach and the policy planning approach. The former, with an emphasis on design, can be traced back to medieval times and continues into the 20th century with the Garden City model. The latter has developed since the Second World War, and promotes plans that are not just physical, but take into account economic and social factors.⁸ This reflects a trend apparent from the 1950s onwards in which planning became increasingly based on a model founded on social science approaches. It raises the issue of whether planning in Napier was solely concerned with the physical planning stream, or whether the policy planning approach came to have some relevance from the late 1940s through to the 1960s. In other words, were the planning influences on the growth and development of Napier purely about physical planning or was policy planning included as well? While planning in Napier has been based on physical design to a large degree, economic and social concerns have increasing relevance, particularly with regard to planning suburbs after the Second World War.

Hall observed in 2002 that planning has a scientific basis, in which problems requiring a solution or plan are addressed in a sequence or cycle of events that includes option identification, analysis of options, choice of solution or plan, implementation, and monitoring or review. This mode of planning was derived from cybernetics and became increasingly accepted from the 1960s onwards. Planning practice in the period from the 1920s to the 1960s was based on the survey-analysis-plan model, developed by Patrick Geddes in the context of his study of regional settlement patterns.⁹ The Geddes approach is relevant to a study of planning activities at Napier, especially following the 1931

earthquake, to ascertain whether his model was used for the reconstruction planning. The formal options model described by Hall may be of little relevance, because this thesis does not extend beyond the 1960s. However, there may be situations where decisions were made about the location of infrastructure and other amenities after several different options were considered.

Writing in 2009, Stephen Marshall, in his book *Cities, Design & Evolution*, considers that city planning comprises four classic elements – intention, design, ordering and instruments. Planning intention is about formulating a desired future state, usually expressed as objectives for future outcomes. Design is about how a city or a part of it might appear at a particular time, as might be represented on a map or plan. Urban ordering is about how component parts of the city relate to each other, such as patterns adopted for street layouts and relationships between buildings. Planning instruments include the actual planning documents that might also include regulatory controls governing the use of land.¹⁰ The various elements, of course, relate to each other, and should not be considered in isolation.

To summarise thus far, there is no simple and commonly accepted definition of planning. The search for a concise definition is difficult and may be counter-productive because a brief statement of what planning is might suggest that some activity that does not quite fit within the definition is automatically excluded. It also has the risk that 21st century concepts might be used to define what occurred in the 19th and 20th centuries. Moreover, the definition of planning, when used in a historical context, is likely to be shaped or compromised by knowledge of the outcomes. As E.A. Powdrill remarks, “almost every thinking planner has his own ideas, and that is as it should be. To lay down a precise meaning for it is to limit in some way its scope for the individual.”¹¹ Instead, it is better to describe planning in terms of characteristics or aspects, following the approach of Sutcliffe already referred to.

For this thesis, planning is therefore defined as an activity that is concerned with the arrangement and control of activities over space, with the intention of creating a better living environment for the inhabitants of the area concerned. The different parts of this definition bring in the classic elements of planning, as described by Marshall. Planning as

such is future-oriented and is largely, but not exclusively, carried out by public authorities. It is acknowledged that such planning may take a number of forms or cover broad subject areas, so planning might be more specifically concerned with land use and design controls, the provision of housing and infrastructure, and future urban development. Moreover, planning is seen as being not confined simply to the work undertaken by personnel designated as “town planners” or similar descriptions. Instead, planning has many nuances, and involves a wide range of participants including politicians and members of the public, as well as professionals working for public authorities or private firms. Those professionals, for example, could include surveyors, civil engineers and architects. As Patricia Burgess comments in her study of planning history literature relating to the United States, “there was planning before there were planners and individuals who were not planners planned.”¹² The term *formal planning* refers to a distinct field of knowledge that has evolved from a mix of planning theory, practice and law, and which has developed in the early part of the 20th century. The term *informal planning* covers those activities that have occurred since the time that city design began, and might be regarded as a precursor to *formal planning*. Both types of planning could coexist together, as indeed did occur in Napier during the first two decades of the post-earthquake era.

The definition adopted for this study anticipates that planning is to be carried out for the benefit of the wider community of the area within which the planning takes place. It is acknowledged, nonetheless, that the individual inhabitants need not each necessarily benefit from such planning to the same degree. However, planning is not intended to be just for the benefit of business interests, specific organisations, or individual persons or elite groups that make up the wider community. Rather, those who benefit from the implementation of planning include the wider community, or at least significant parts of it. The definition suggested embraces not just formal planning, but also includes informal planning activities, as mentioned above.

Robert Freestone comments that the aspirations of planning “have always soared above the practicality of their implementation, as a constant stream of good city theories have been buffeted by broader economic, political and social constraints.”¹³ He acknowledges that while planning sometimes has had its darker side, with outcomes that have worked against rather than for the benefit of the community, planning has also produced many positive

outcomes that have led to more liveable communities. Examples of these accomplishments include the better supply of open space, housing, transit and basic services, enhanced protection of resources, and improved decision-making about the use of land. Freestone also refers to observations made by David Harvey, who comments as follows with regard to planning in the 20th century:¹⁴

There are plenty of contemporary critics, of course, who, armed with their techniques of deconstruction and of Foucauldian analysis, might look back upon this period with jaundiced eye as a classic case of progressive reformism disguising capitalist plans for capital accumulation and speculative land development, a mask for concealing bourgeois guilt, paternalism, social control, surveillance, political manipulation, deliberate disempowerment of marginalized but restive masses, and the exclusion of anyone who was “different.” But it is undeniable that the aggregate effect was to make cities work better, to improve the lot not only of urban elites but also of urban masses, to radically improve basic infrastructures (such as water and energy supply, housing, sewage, and air quality) as well as to liberate urban spaces for fresh rounds of organized capital accumulation in ways that lasted for much of the twentieth century.¹⁵

Within the New Zealand context, the governance model for local authorities has been founded on the principle of community benefit, whether undertaking planning-related or other functions. Throughout the period studied in this thesis, the mayor and other councillors have been specifically required by legislation to act diligently and fairly, and have been forbidden from acting in a manner that would provide them individually with any personal financial advantage. In particular, the Municipal Corporations Act 1876 required members of Councils, following their election, to make a statutory declaration in which they pledged to carry out their statutory duties “faithfully and impartially, and according to the best of [their] skill and judgment”.¹⁶ Further, no councillor could “vote upon or take part in the discussion of any matter before the Council in which he has directly or indirectly, by himself or his partners, any interest”, nor could anyone be elected to or hold office as councillor if they were interested in any contract or work to be undertaken for the council, unless as a shareholder in a company or partnership comprising more than 20 persons.¹⁷

The effect of these statutory provisions, which have generally been carried forward in all subsequent legislation, is that the mayor and councillors of New Zealand local authorities cannot act in their own personal interest if they are able to derive some financial benefit

from doing so, unless the financial interest is one that is shared with members of the public generally.¹⁸ Decisions made, therefore, including planning decisions, should be made for the greater public benefit. Indeed, the very reason for the establishment of a municipal council for Napier, as mentioned in the previous chapter, was the mutual desire of the petitioners to greatly improve the “comfort and prosperity” of the town’s inhabitants.¹⁹ However, for special purpose authorities, such as harbour, education, electricity, hospital and river boards, decisions would be made to further the interests of the particular board, rather than the interests of citizens generally. This meant that, on occasions, differences could arise between territorial (borough, city and county) councils on the one hand and special purpose boards on the other. In Napier, the Napier Harbour Board was to become involved in reclamation and land development projects that had a community impact well beyond the immediate port areas, so the emergence of competing interests and benefits was to become a major issue in the developmental planning of Napier, particularly from the late 19th century until the 1940s. Such conflicts were primarily between the Harbour Board and Napier Borough Council, and are discussed in Chapters 4 and 6.

Planning and History

Planning history is the study of planning over time, usually undertaken with a view to identifying how planning has developed and evolved. Robert Freestone and Stephen Hamnett comment that planning history is traditionally seen as part of the wider field of urban history, which is concerned with “the physical, demographic and cultural transformations of cities”.²⁰ Equally, planning history might be better considered as a part of planning, as books and articles on planning history topics are probably intended to better inform readers interested more in planning than in the urban past. Planning history, comments Seymour Mandelbaum, might focus on the history of the planning profession, or more broadly might consider planning processes and social knowledge, adopting either a radical or conservative perspective.²¹ Leonie Sandercock, for example, has been critical of traditional approaches to the writing of planning history. In her introduction to a collection of essays published in 1998, she challenges the traditional history about the rise of planning and the emergence of the planning profession in which planning is seen as the

hero and has no flaws. She identifies gaps in planning history literature that might focus, for example, on social aspects of planning and the contribution made to community building by women, indigenous and other minority groups. Planning should not be defined in such narrow terms as to exclude these broader issues.²²

The justification for planning history is discussed by Carl Abbott and Sy Adler who observe that such history might be good for the planning profession in maintaining a professional identity that is linked to planning accomplishments from the past and for providing background to particular planning issues and problems.²³ Planning history is also clearly useful for the wider community generally, providing interested citizens with information about how their towns and cities have been established, planned and developed. Lessons learnt from the past might also suggest solutions for the future. As Robert Freestone and Alan Hutchings remark, “an understanding of planning history can help define precedents, expand humility, and lead to more considered environmental assessments. It can even add a healthy skepticism to the tool kits of planning professionals and urban administrators”.²⁴

In this thesis, the planning focus is largely about how public authorities, particularly the Napier Borough/City Council, set out to develop and manage the physical environment. Not too much can be said about the planning profession, because few professional planners made contributions during the period of study. Nonetheless, the contributions of those planners that do appear are discussed as appropriate. The historical focus is upon how planning endeavours have changed and have evolved with the passing of time, and how these have affected the growth and development of Napier, and how planning might have been affected by events such as earthquake, war and depression.

Planning and Urbanisation

Prior to the 20th century, planning was not a universal or comprehensive process. Where it was undertaken, it was informal in nature, and tended to be dominated by design concerns. The planners in these earlier times were often architects, engineers or surveyors, or sometimes visionaries of other professions. Ancient cities, including those of Greece and

Rome, had planned features such as streets, public buildings and fortifications. Sites were often carefully chosen to facilitate transportation and the supply of water and food.²⁵ In Georgian Britain, developments in planning were illustrated, for example, in Bath and Edinburgh, where elegant urban estates were built in attractive surroundings and, for Edinburgh, were part of a deliberately planned new town.²⁶ In pre-European New Zealand, the planning contributions of Māori are shown in terms of site selection and how Māori settlements, especially pa, were designed. Although their individual designs varied considerably to reflect topography and other matters, each pa generally bore a design best suited to provide fortifications, sleeping accommodation, eating and food storage facilities, and a marae. There may have been as many as 4,000 to 6,000 pa in New Zealand²⁷ with several located near or on the present site of Napier.²⁸

Planning therefore has always been a part of urban growth and development, although its nature and importance has varied considerably over time and space. As mentioned previously, a distinction can be made between informal and formal planning, the latter characterised by the arrival of town planning about the start of the 20th century, although the transition date from informal to formal planning is approximate. Gordon Cherry, for example, contends that the “birth period” for British town planning was in the years 1895 to 1910, or possibly could be widened to cover the period from 1885 to the start of the First World War.²⁹ Robert Home, in his study of British colonial planning, comments that town planning “emerged as a new area of knowledge in the decade before the First World War” but also notes that the term “town-planning” was first used by John Sulman, an Australian architect and later planner, at a conference held at Melbourne in 1890.³⁰ This was 15 years before the first reported use of the term in Britain, Sutcliffe commenting that the term “town planning” was first used in Britain 1905 by John Sutton Nettleford, a Birmingham City Councillor at the time.³¹ Clearly, there is not precise agreement about when the term was first used, but the enduring nature of planning is recognised by Miller who writes:

In the first years of the twenty first century it is comforting to believe that we are using concepts and tools that represent the zenith of planning knowledge and commitment. The reality is, however, that urban areas in New Zealand have been subject to some form of planning from as early as the nineteenth century. Furthermore in each period those doing the planning are likely to have been motivated by much the same concerns – that is to create a pleasant, healthy and workable urban environment.³²

The evolution of planning has been dominated by the needs and concerns of urban areas. In this regard, a distinction should be made between two types of urbanisation, namely European-style cities and those of the “New Urban Frontier”. Lionel Frost, an urban historian, supports this distinction. His study of city building in Australasia and the American West remarks that these cities were low-density, better planned, and avoided problems seen in the more crowded and congested European cities, such as slums, public health issues and the risk of fire. But even within Australia, Frost identifies differences between cities. Whereas Adelaide, and Melbourne and Perth to a lesser extent, show some evidence of early planning, Sydney developed in a more chaotic, haphazard and unplanned manner, partly because it was established earlier.³³

Another urban historian, David Hamer, has written about urbanisation in the North American West, Australia and New Zealand. In *New Towns in the New World*, Hamer recognises that the growth of towns in these regions collectively made up the 19th century urban frontier, but claims that the nature of that frontier differed from one country to another. In North America, new towns and cities were established as the frontier moved farther and farther to the west. In Australia, the founding cities in each colony remained predominant, and there was no comparable process with new cities being established as new parts of Australia were settled. In New Zealand, there was neither a westward moving frontier nor dominance by one major city. Instead, a multiplicity of ports and regional towns developed, encouraged in part by a mountainous topography and forest cover that made communication between regions difficult. In the latter part of the 19th century, Napier was one of eight leading New Zealand towns in terms of population.³⁴ In a separate article, Hamer compares town planning in the United States and Australia in the 19th century. For many towns established along the urban frontier in the American West, there was an initial plan, almost always based on the grid pattern. Few towns began spontaneously. After initial settlement, however, there was little regulation of future growth and development. In Australia, after the colonial capitals were planned and established, there was more interest in subsequent development and planning than in the United States.³⁵

North American urban development is explored by John Reps in depth in three books illustrating the early plans of hundreds of towns and cities. His proposition is that most towns in the American West were planned rather than having developed spontaneously, with the promoter (public or private) selecting a suitable site of virgin land, which was surveyed into sections before building commenced. The development of towns therefore stimulated rather than followed agrarian settlement.³⁶

Towns that were developed in New Zealand as a result of European settlement reflected a considerable variation in the extent and nature of planning. Cyril Knight remarks that towns did not appear spontaneously, but were often the result of planned activities by government or private organisations. They therefore differed from English towns that had often grown haphazardly from small villages located on riverbanks or at major road intersections.³⁷ Knight had been Professor of Architecture at the Auckland University College and was a proponent of town planning.³⁸ L.L. Pownall, in his study of the origins of New Zealand towns, states that the most significant of the private organisations were the New Zealand Company (which founded Wellington, Wanganui, New Plymouth and Nelson), and the Otago and Canterbury Associations (which founded Dunedin and Christchurch respectively). These towns were designed in advance of settlement, with the purpose “of imitating or spreading European rural settlement.”³⁹ Government-initiated towns included Auckland, Palmerston North and Invercargill. These towns were not planned or organised to the same extent as the private settlements, although the government chose their site, and surveyed and sold the land.⁴⁰

Colonial Planning

In Home’s study of British colonial cities, reference is made to the “Grand Modell” of colonial settlement that was used as the basis for planting new colonies from the early 17th century until the middle of the 19th century. This model supported deliberate urbanisation, based on towns that were planned before settlement began, and in which town was separated from country, usually by a green belt. Within the town, streets would be laid out in the gridiron pattern, with spaces being reserved for squares and other public purposes.

Parts of the model survived through the latter part of the 19th century and also influenced the Garden City movement.⁴¹ The sites chosen for towns were not always suitable, as was the case of Wellington, where the original site chosen was abandoned because of the risk of flooding.⁴² Home also introduces the “shapers” of colonial landscapes - land surveyors, engineers, public health specialists, and architects and town planners - and discusses their roles and influences. The land surveyors had a pivotal role in establishing spatial order in colonial towns. As well as making possible the allocation or sale of land to individuals, their plans defined the location of streets and other public amenities. Engineers had a major role in planning and establishing the supporting infrastructure, which included roadways, bridges, water supply and drainage, fortifications and public buildings. Public health specialists were important advisors on medical matters and in prescribing legal and other remedies to deal with plagues and other sanitation issues. Like the surveyors and engineers, they became multipurpose experts, and might become involved in matters such as town planning, diplomacy and dealing with indigenous people. Architects, while largely responsible for planning individual buildings, were also involved in public works and layout plans for towns. After town planning became recognised as a separate field of expertise and profession in the early 20th century, town planners became important advisors, often as planner-architects or in conjunction with another profession or background.⁴³

In New Zealand, most towns appear to have begun with a town plan of some description, usually a document that portrayed proposed roads, sections, open spaces and other amenities. The land was acquired from the Māori, with the intention that much of it would be sold to settlers. The surveyor prepared a plan of the town, and this product was presented to the rest of New Zealand, if not the world, to entice and encourage settlement, and to provide order and possibly land for those who arrived. Because New Zealand was a later colony, it was able to benefit from the knowledge obtained by surveyors and engineers who had worked in other parts of the world. The early town plans of the 19th century, therefore, became tools of settlement and colonisation,⁴⁴ and were beachheads for the subsequent colonisation and development of their hinterlands.⁴⁵ Like their counterparts in other colonial lands, remarks Giselle Byrnes, surveyors were often multi-talented men with other technical skills and interests, some taking on political roles. Many surveyors

were fluent in Māori, with their knowledge of the language and culture being an asset when negotiating the survey or purchase of Māori land.⁴⁶

Town designs based on the grid were almost universal, judging from the plans of early towns presented in a comprehensive study by B.G.R. Saunders.⁴⁷ Many of these plans had limitations, such as having insufficient regard to the terrain of the town site. Byrnes comments that, although the grid was criticised, “the inscription of parallel lines and right-angled streets remained the dominant practice.”⁴⁸

The laying out of New Zealand towns in the 19th century was underpinned by some acceptance of what would make for good civic design. Such ideals and concepts, of course, bear little comparison to the planning that developed in the 20th century. The extent of such early informal planning is illustrated by instructions given by the New Zealand Company to Captain R.A. Smith, Surveyor-General, in 1839, when he set sail from London to found Wellington:

The Directors wish that, in forming the plan of the town, you should make ample reserves for all public purposes, such as a cemetery, a market-place, wharfage, and probable public buildings, a botanical garden, a park, and extensive boulevards. It is, indeed, desirable that the whole outside of the town, inland, should be separated from the country sections by a broad belt of land which you will declare that the Company intends to be public property, on the condition that no buildings be ever erected upon it.

The form of the town must necessarily be left to your own judgment and taste. Upon this subject the Directors will only remark, that you have to provide for the future rather than the present, and that they wish the public convenience to be consulted, and the beautiful appearance of the future city to be secured, so far as these objects can be accomplished by the original plan,- rather than the immediate profit of the Company.⁴⁹

These instructions clearly reflected aspects of the “Grand Modell” of colonial settlement that was used as the basis for planting new colonies from the early 17th century. Although they were never fully realised in Wellington or elsewhere in New Zealand, they still influenced the planning of towns. In Wellington and in Dunedin, the Town Belt is a significant legacy.⁵⁰ In Christchurch, the town belt was sacrificed on three of its four sides so that the proceeds from sale could help meet the debts of the Canterbury Association.

The fourth side, Hagley Park, remains today as a large park and gardens. In New Plymouth, most of the town belt has gone, sold to meet financial difficulties.⁵¹

The original surveys of New Zealand towns gave each town unity and a distinctive pattern, as each plan was usually for a complete town rather than part of it. Some plans were more imaginative than others. Felton Mathew's plan for Auckland was a geometric pattern of squares, quadrants, circuses, and crescents, partly to take advantage of the topography. His spiderweb design was implemented only in part. At the time, the plan was sternly criticised, and described as a grotesque imitation of Bath, where Mathew was born.⁵² A.W. Reed comments that his plan was better suited to the plains of Christchurch than the steep slopes of Auckland's Albert Park and Constitution Hill.⁵³ Charles Kettle's plan for Dunedin was also unsympathetic to topography. A rectilinear grid pattern was used throughout, apart from some roads being drawn diagonally to follow spurs and gullies. The rigid plan required much cutting and filling, and steps replaced street where the slope became too steep. Such earthworks resulted in the loss of many beautiful features of the original landscape.⁵⁴

R.P. Hargreaves remarks that the grid pattern for laying out streets was almost universally used because it was simple, cheap, and quick. It followed the principle adopted for laying out colonial towns in the New World, and provided a sense of order. There was also the belief that straight streets, if aligned to the direction of prevailing winds, would help "offensive and possibly dangerous stench" to be blown away.⁵⁵ Byrnes adds that the use of the grid plan based on sections of equal size promoted the quick sale and swift settlement of the land. Critics of the grid pattern, observes Byrnes, felt that surveyors should have been more willing to take advantage of geographical features, particularly where sea and river frontages would have provided ready access. She also refers to the difficulties posed by rough topography, waterways and swamps.⁵⁶ Hamer also discusses this issue, commenting that it appeared extraordinary that roads should be excavated at some considerable expense in order to maintain straight lines rather than allowing roads to follow the terrain. Hamer also refers to Captain H. Butler Stoney who, in writing about Tasmania in 1856, asserted that streets laid out as terraces and crescents could facilitate the movement of traffic, equalise the value of properties and enhance the beauty of the town.⁵⁷

In New Zealand in the 1870s, W.D. Ross observes that some principles for laying out towns became part of legislation, albeit in a very restricted manner. The Plans of Towns Regulation Act 1875 required streets to have a minimum width of 99 feet and, as far as practicable, to be laid out in straight lines, with intersections set at right-angles. One-tenth of land was to be set aside for public purposes and open space. The application of the act, however, was limited to Crown lands, and had been diluted down from the wider provisions included in the proposed legislation initially considered by Parliament. Ten years later, the act was repealed, although most of its provisions were included in the Land Act 1885.⁵⁸ Hargreaves, in his discussion of this legislation, notes that, by the end of the 19th century, many streets remained too narrow, and the arrival of the motor vehicle was to exacerbate the problem.⁵⁹

Napier's experience partly followed the colonial pattern. Land was acquired for establishing a town at a chosen site, which was surveyed so that sections could be sold to settlers. Where the pattern differed was that central government had taken the initiative to found Napier, as opposed to private companies that had founded many of New Zealand's principal towns, including the New Zealand Company towns and nearby Hastings. Hamer comments that central government initiated "the founding of a few towns designed to be the principal towns of newly opened regions such as Napier in Hawke's Bay and Invercargill in Southland."⁶⁰ Hamer notes that surveyors played a key role in the selection of sites for government-initiated towns.⁶¹ Another difference was that the town plan prepared for Napier was generally not based on the grid-iron pattern at all, but represented an endeavour to adapt to the limitations of the site – the rough terrain and the surrounding sea, lagoons and swamps. Nonetheless, for the triangular flat area adjacent to Napier Hill, a gridiron pattern was imposed, this area including part of the town that became known as the swamp sections, which required reclamation before settlement could proceed.

Public Health and Civic Improvement

In the 19th century, the purpose and nature of informal planning began to be transformed, as the state showed an increasing willingness to pass legislation for promoting

improvements to towns. Clara Greed suggests that a prime concern was to address ills caused by industrialisation and rapid population growth of urban centres. Previously, planning was largely about architecture and design, and building towns or estates that were pleasing or beautiful. Now, there was a need to address more immediate social needs such as housing, public health and sanitation.⁶² Typically, writes Yvonne Rydin, urban living conditions in England and Wales were “cramped, damp and unsanitary” with inadequate water supply and wastewater disposal. Epidemics were rife and mortality rates high.⁶³ Cherry states that the growing concern for public health dates back to the 1830s, when reports and other information began to be prepared on the sanitary conditions and health of towns. An important outcome was the Public Health Act 1848 that widened powers given to local authorities and established them as health authorities. The additional powers dealt with cleansing, paving, sewerage, and water supply. Further legislation, including the Nuisance Removal Acts of 1855, the Sanitary Act 1866 and the Health Act 1875, facilitated further improvements, coupled with advances in public engineering, but Cherry considers the 1840s to be “a watershed in this aspect of urban development.”⁶⁴ Hall reports that, from the 1870s onwards, local authorities began making bylaws regulating building construction, while the Cross Acts permitted local authorities to prepare improvement schemes for blighted areas.⁶⁵ There were comparable responses to public health matters in other European countries and in the United States.⁶⁶

In the latter part of the 19th century in New Zealand, some public health and building matters became a concern to both local and central government, but solutions were not simple. Some regulation was possible through the making of local bylaws. In Timaru, a fire in 1868 that destroyed 39 major commercial buildings prompted the Borough Council to lay down strict controls for the reconstruction that followed.⁶⁷ In Hamilton, bylaws were passed to “halt existing abuses and forestall future development of others. An important early example was the bylaw requiring brick or concrete structures in the main commercial area.”⁶⁸ But sanitation and public health remained a problem, vividly described by Pamela Wood in her study of dirt in the 19th century, based predominantly on Dunedin. She also comments that, while early town plans usually provided for public spaces and other amenities, waste and sewage facilities were not included.⁶⁹ This observation was not surprising, given that waste and sewage facilities were the

responsibility of engineers, rather than surveyors who prepared the early plans. Further, these facilities were largely networks that followed roadways anyway.

The City Beautiful Movement

The City Beautiful movement, which had its beginnings in the final decade of the 19th century, inspired planning thought and development throughout the world during the opening decades of the 20th century. The City Beautiful movement was closely linked to civic design and its focus was on beautification of cities. This could range from plans of whole cities on one hand to minor beautification activities on the other. The inspiration for the movement was provided by the neo-classical architecture of Europe and the reconstruction of Paris by Haussmann. The movement received its widest support in the United States and its ideas were represented in the design and layout of buildings constructed for the World Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893.⁷⁰ Jon Peterson writes that the City Beautiful movement was a popular cause, and not simply a passing phase in the history of architecture and design. The movement emerged in the midst of an economic depression in the United States, with a mission to upgrade the appearance of American cities and towns “by drawing eclectically from virtually the entire national stock of urban aesthetic ideas.”⁷¹

William Wilson, in *The City Beautiful Movement*, writes that “the City Beautiful movement was a political movement, for it demanded a reorientation of public thought and action toward urban beauty.”⁷² He identifies ten aspects of City Beautiful ideology, as follows:

- The finding of solutions within existing social, economic and political arrangements.
- The recognition of aesthetic and functional shortcomings of cities.
- Environmentalism.
- The synthesis of beauty and utility.
- Efficiency.
- Expertise in solving problems.

- Class consciousness, in a non-Marxist sense.
- Fervent optimism.
- The American discovery of European cities.
- Enthusiasm for the city.⁷³

Leading advocates for the City Beautiful included Charles Mulford Robinson and Daniel Burnham. Robinson published books promoting City Beautiful ideas, including *The Improvement of Towns and Cities* (1901). Burnham produced plans for a number of cities and projects, including plans for San Francisco (1905) and Chicago (1909). The plan for San Francisco preceded the earthquake of 1906, but was not implemented because of a desire to rebuild the central city as soon as possible, largely along the existing street pattern. The plan for Chicago was implemented in part only, these including some road improvements, a pier and a lakeshore park. The overall plan was soundly criticised at the time, partly because of its extravagant civic centre proposals and also its disregard for housing issues.⁷⁴ Burnham, however, was a person with wide vision, reflected in his oft-quoted statement:

Make no Little Plans; They have no magic to stir men's blood and probably themselves will not be realized. Make big plans; aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting itself with evergrowing insistency.⁷⁵

Wilson states that the aesthetics of the City Beautiful were wide, and could be classified into three categories. The first category, natural beauty and naturalistic construction, was concerned with natural landscape features, such as gardens, parks and trees. The second category, classic beauty, was concerned with classicistic architecture, particularly with regard to public and semi-public buildings. The third category, civic centres, was concerned with grouping public buildings together. An ensemble of civic buildings provided unity, as well as a symbolic and actual statement of urban government.⁷⁶

Freestone, from an Australian perspective, identifies six recurring themes in the City Beautiful: the civic centre, railway station, ceremonial boulevard, outer parkland, parkway, and playground. In addition, there were a myriad of minor improvements including public

squares, war memorials, fountains, arches, street furniture, tree planting and controls on building-height and billboards.⁷⁷ In Australia, the building of Canberra, based on the plan prepared by Walter Burley Griffin, embodied the City Beautiful idea. Other Australian projects completed during the early part of the 20th century and which followed the City Beautiful tradition included boulevards in Melbourne, Sydney and Perth, war memorials in Melbourne and Brisbane, Forrest Place in Perth, Hyde Park in Sydney, and a civic centre in Geelong.⁷⁸ The influence of the City Beautiful movement in New Zealand and Napier is discussed in Chapters 5 and 7. The ideals of the City Beautiful movement continued for many years after the demise of the movement, with the phrase *The City Beautiful* being used for a variety of improvement projects and concerns.⁷⁹

The Garden City Movement

Like the City Beautiful, the Garden City movement was also to inspire planning thought and development throughout the world during the early part of the 20th century. The Garden City movement originated in Britain and was based on the ideas of Ebenezer Howard, as expressed in his book *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, first published in 1898. His vision was to combine the best elements of town and country into a self-contained and planned community. Each community or garden city was to be located within farmland, with its population limited to about 30,000. Within each garden city, there would be a number of smaller neighbourhoods of about 5,000 people. Howard envisaged that the garden cities could be linked to a central city by a rail network, his proposal pre-dating widespread motor vehicle transport. Collectively, these cities formed a larger “social city”. To implement his ideas, Howard formed a development company named Garden City Company Limited. Letchworth was to become the first garden city, built largely between 1905 and 1910. Work on a second garden city, Welwyn, began in 1920. Both cities were located just north of London and now lie within the London commuter belt.⁸⁰

Freestone, in an Australian context, states that the “garden suburb” concept evolved out of the Garden City idea, and typically had a number of common features. Each garden suburb was to be a distinct physical and social entity, which included public open space

and often an internal reserve. Land use was to be zoned for specific purposes. Roads were to be classified into a functional hierarchy, with street layouts being curvilinear or following natural contours. Homes were to be primarily single-family detached units, surrounded by ample yard space, both front and back. Throughout the suburb, beauty was to be enhanced through front gardens, trees and lawns.⁸¹

Peter Hall and Colin Ward have assessed the legacy of Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City movement on the centenary of the movement's foundation in *Sociable Cities*.⁸² They acknowledge that Howard's book became a powerful influence on planning in the 20th century, providing a template for towns and cities throughout the world. In Britain, the new towns built following the Second World War are seen as being derived from the Garden City idea, partly because they were built as new communities physically distinct from existing towns and partly because they were financially successful. However, apart from one exception, the new towns did not form Social City clusters as was envisaged in Howard's original proposal. Hall and Ward comment that some of the later towns vary from the earlier towns in being designed to better meet the needs of the private car. With respect to developments in Continental Europe, Hall and Ward are quite critical, claiming that mainland Europe has either misunderstood or deliberately misinterpreted Howard's message. They state that European garden cities and satellite towns have been extensions to existing urban areas, with little or no physical separation, and often with minimal employment opportunities. The Garden City idea, however, was to create new towns or groups of towns that were largely self-contained, and that lay outside the sphere of influence of the metropolis.⁸³ In a separate article, Hall remarks that the Social City idea is often overlooked, the original principle being that, as each Garden City reached a population of 32,000, another city would be established nearby, with further cities as necessary.⁸⁴

Howard's contribution to planning, according to Greed, "was greater in what he wrote than what he built." Greed explains that those aspects of Howard's work that have influenced modern town planning include the creation of neighbourhoods and a hierarchy of amenities and facilities. Other legacies included the separation of uses, provision of parkland and emphasis on medium to low-density cottage type housing with gardens. Some of Howard's other ideas have not survived, particularly co-operative housekeeping

arrangements.⁸⁵ The impact of his ideas in New Zealand and Napier is discussed in Chapter 6.

The Radburn Neighbourhood Unit

Planning on the basis of neighbourhoods was to develop as a design concept in its own right, and to some extent replaced the Garden City idea as a model for the development of suburban communities. The concept was that an urban area should be developed on the basis of units or groups, each of a sufficient size to provide many community needs and to create an identity with the locality. Ideally, residents would need to travel outside the unit only for special purposes such as employment and entertainment.⁸⁶ It was also a response to the intrusion of the motor vehicle into residential areas and was the first design approach that endeavoured to separate pedestrians and motor vehicles from each other. Schubert writes that “the first definitive expression of the neighborhood unit” was in the plan developed by Clarence Perry in 1929 for Radburn, as part of the work being carried out for producing a regional plan for New York.⁸⁷ Perry was concerned with the impact of the automobile. His plan was based on a community or estate with a maximum population of 5,000 that surrounded a neighbourhood school. The estate was bounded by principal roads, which carried through traffic. Services were also located along these roads, but were also within easy walking distance for residents. The estate included numerous parks and walkways, with an irregular and curvilinear street pattern.⁸⁸ Larry Lawhon states that the neighbourhood unit idea was shaped by a number of influences, which included the Russell Sage Foundation, sociologist Charles Horton Cooley, and the Settlement House, Community Centre and Garden Cities Movements. The Russell Sage Foundation, established for the purpose of improving social and living conditions in American cities, was Perry’s principal employer. Through his employment, Perry came into contact with these issues and with individuals who became prominent in the field of community design. Cooley developed the theory of “primary groups”, which included the family, play group and neighbourhood. The neighbourhood unit idea sought to promote social interaction through a physical design and layout that encouraged personal contacts in schools, parks, shops and community centres.⁸⁹ Dick Schubert comments that the idea of structuring the

city on the basis of “smaller, cellular urban units - was widely accepted”, and was applied internationally in many different locations. However, there was more debate about the actual form such units should take, and, from the 1960s, studies suggest that the “anticipated strengthening of community has rarely happened.”⁹⁰

The neighbourhood unit model is of some relevance to New Zealand and Napier, given that the size of suggested units is similar to the size of typical New Zealand suburbs. The application of the model to the New Zealand and Napier setting is considered in Chapter 6.

Diffusion of Planning Ideas

It is useful to consider the spread or diffusion of planning ideas from where they were originally developed to other countries, and how this has taken place over the years. A.D. King, in an article about exporting planning, outlines how English ideas about informal and formal planning spread from Britain to other parts of the British Empire, and identifies three relevant periods. The first was up to the early 20th century, where new towns and cities “were consciously laid out according to various military, technical, political and cultural principles, the most importance of which was military-political dominance.” The second period began in the early 20th century, coinciding with the development of town planning, ideas and concepts of which were exported “on a selective and uneven basis.” The third period began from the late 1940s, when planning ideas were exported “within a larger network of global communications.”⁹¹ Up until the early 1960s, British planning was regarded as reasonably exportable to former British colonies, but was about to lose its influence as planning transitioned from being a “technical expertise” to an activity that became “highly politicized and value-laden”.⁹²

Stephen Ward addresses diffusion in a case study in which he develops a typology or spectrum of diffusional events, described as authoritarian imposition, contested imposition, negotiated imposition, undiluted borrowing, selective borrowing, and synthetic innovation. Each situation reflects a difference in the relationship between the “exporter” and “importer” nation. In his study of planning in Vancouver, Ward observes that the

pendulum of dominant influence has swung between British and American influences, and that, over the years, Canada has moved from undiluted to selective borrowing and synthetic innovation. In the same article, Ward also comments on how some British planners, including Thomas Mawson (whose son John became significant in Napier during the post-earthquake planning of the 1930s), promoted American ideas.⁹³ In an earlier article about the Garden City movement, Ward explained how the Garden City idea has spread and has been reinterpreted. He referred to the work of the Garden City Association, which developed into a professional and mainstream lobbying organisation. Its word was quickly spread through lecture tours and international conferences. Many people visited Britain and Letchworth to learn more and in 1913 the International Garden City and Town Planning Association was formed. As the idea spread, variants developed that placed an emphasis on garden suburbs, residential layouts and town planning. Land reformist elements that were part of the original idea, however, were minimised. Ward mentioned specific examples in Europe, the United States, and the British Empire and beyond, including Japan.⁹⁴

In New Zealand, the diffusion of planning ideas and practices mirrors to some extent the Vancouver experience discussed by Ward. Miller comments that, in the early part of the 20th century, there was a progression that “largely reflects the move from uncritical borrowing of overseas concepts to one where overseas concepts informed the debate and created a process of syntheses whereby these concepts were given a New Zealand context.”⁹⁵ For a time, this process was facilitated through the activities of New Zealand planning enthusiasts who, as well as promoting planning locally through lecture tours and other activities, maintained overseas contacts and received planning literature.⁹⁶ New Zealand’s leading enthusiast was Hurst Seager, an architect, who during the first two decades of the 20th century visited Europe and the United States on a regular basis to learn about town planning developments. On his return to New Zealand, the material collected on these trips was often presented as a lecture, illustrated with lantern-slides.⁹⁷

Planning Legislation

The adoption of specific town planning legislation was a 20th century development, but legislation passed in the 19th century indicated an increasing willingness for the state to intervene, particularly with regard to public health matters as discussed above. Rydin writes that the first British statute that included the word “planning” in its title, the Housing, Town Planning etc Act of 1909, was prompted by continued concerns about public health and housing. Other influences she identifies include the Garden City movement and planning developments elsewhere.⁹⁸ Cherry comments that the demand for planning had arisen from a backdrop of various influences that included rapid urban growth and growing housing and social problems on the one hand, and the ideas suggested by industrial philanthropists (for example, Port Sunlight and Bournville) and overseas experiments with planning in a number of European cities on the other. He notes that new settlements such as those proposed by Ebenezer Howard were viewed with much optimism for addressing urban problems, which included poor living conditions, overcrowding and pollution.⁹⁹ The 1909 Act was reasonably modest, giving local authorities permissive (not mandatory) powers to prepare schemes applicable to new housing developments. The act was apparently a little cumbersome and only 13 schemes were submitted by 1919. The Housing and Town Planning Act 1919 simplified procedures but extended the breadth of planning control. Boroughs and urban areas having a population over 20,000 were now required to produce schemes for new developments.¹⁰⁰

However, it was the landmark Town and Country Planning Act 1947 that introduced comprehensive statutory planning in Britain for the first time. That act required all local authorities to produce development plans and all development required planning permission. The development plans were to be produced by mid-1951, and were to indicate the location of uses, transport routes and other infrastructure, and mineral and parkland areas.¹⁰¹

New Zealand legislative developments in planning followed the British framework. During the opening decades of the 20th century, interest increased in formal town planning, and led to the enactment of the Town-planning Act 1926. Leading up to the

1926 Act, planning interest was heightened through the work of beautification societies, planning enthusiasts, parliamentary bills, and the 1919 Town Planning Conference and Exhibition held at Wellington. This conference was the first of its type in New Zealand, and was attended by 300 delegates representing over 100 organisations, including attendees from Napier. The content of the conference included sessions about possible legislation, and also covered Garden Cities, the City Beautiful, housing, streets, and parks. The conference itself, however, provided few tangible results, with the recommendations made to central government not being acted on. Afterwards, public support for town planning waned, as housing and public health issues were addressed by separate measures. Planning legislation was eventually passed in 1926, and a Town Planning Board and Director were subsequently appointed. Miller contends that developments from 1900 to 1926 represented significant progress in establishing formal planning in New Zealand.¹⁰²

The Town-planning Act 1926 required every borough council with a population of more than 1,000 to prepare a town planning scheme and to submit it to the Town Planning Board by the start of 1930. Progress in implementing the Act's requirements, however, was a little slow. Keith Robinson comments that, although time extensions were initially granted, by 1953 only one city and 12 boroughs had schemes finally approved, although a number of other schemes had been provisionally approved. He attributes this sluggish response partly to the depression of the 1930s and the Second World War.¹⁰³ However, planning in the broader sense received a major boost through state housing schemes commenced by central government in the late 1930s, which continued into the 1950s and beyond.

Miller acknowledges that, for New Zealand, the Town and Country Planning Act 1953 introduced comprehensive planning. For the first time, *all* territorial authorities (cities, boroughs and counties) were required to prepare district schemes, which were usually based on zonings that grouped like land uses together. An independent Appeal Board was constituted to resolve disputes associated with the preparation and operation of schemes. Overall, this act was far more detailed than its predecessor, and also reflected a transition in which the responsibility for planning moved from central to local government.¹⁰⁴ For example, central government approval was not required for district schemes. Under the 1926 Act, such approval was required. Bill Williams observes that, while much of the

1953 Act was based on British experience, the grouping of land uses into predominant and conditional use categories reflected American practice.¹⁰⁵ The act was amended at regular intervals, until replaced by the Town and Country Planning Act 1977. In 1970, 111 district schemes were operative, of which 34 had been reviewed for the first time as required by the 1953 Act. In total, 256 Councils were obliged to have prepared schemes.¹⁰⁶

From a planning perspective, the fragmented nature of local government in New Zealand has meant that councils have been slow to embrace planning ideals and the legislative framework. This is partly because of the lack of resources, in terms of knowledge, staff and finance. Following the abolition of provincial government in 1876, New Zealand local government involved a multiplicity of organisations that included borough, city and county councils, along with special purpose boards that looked after rivers and drainage, rural roads, harbours, health, education, pests and other matters. There had also been a history of competition between neighbouring councils for the control of land, in which urban authorities had sought to acquire land from their immediate rural neighbours to permit urban expansion. In a sense, counties regarded themselves as protectors of the land, with a desire to prevent urban sprawl and other ills of urban development. Indeed, an amendment to the Town and Country Planning Act in the 1960s required land suitable for the production of food to be protected from urban expansion. This fragmented pattern of local government was still in place in 1968 and persisted beyond this time, despite attempts to rationalise local government structures from time to time.¹⁰⁷

Planning Profession

The development of the planning profession in New Zealand in its earlier years is closely associated with Britain. In Britain, there were only four people practising as planners in 1909, but this number grew in the following decades as new legislation and evolving planning ideals prompted local authorities to engage planning experts. The first university qualification in town planning was offered by the University of Liverpool, where a Department of Town Planning and Civic Design was established in 1909. The Town Planning Institute was established in 1914, as a body to represent the interests of

professional planners. Initially, those wishing to be admitted to the profession were required to have a professional qualification in architecture, engineering or surveying. From 1931, the Institute provided a full qualification in town planning, so a prerequisite qualification was no longer necessary.¹⁰⁸ While planning in Britain had developed steadily and significantly during the first part of the 20th century, its role, importance and scope were to increase considerably after the Second World War. As the war drew to a close, participant nations were planning how to rebuild their battered cities and, at the same time, provide better urban communities than those of the past. With this began what has been described as the “golden age” of planning, a period of about 25 years in which, writes Helen Meller, there “was an almost mystical belief that somehow planning would provide all the answers.”¹⁰⁹ Immediately after the war, planning played a major role in reconstruction and in new towns and suburbs designed to accommodate rapidly expanding populations. Some authorities were involved in the establishment of New Towns, or became locked in debate with neighbouring authorities about the use of greenfields for urban development.¹¹⁰ Throughout this period the role and acceptance of the planning profession grew steadily, their participation in planning being seen as apolitical and technical.¹¹¹

The rise of the planning profession in New Zealand to some extent mirrors the British experience and is outlined in Miller’s history of the New Zealand Planning Institute.¹¹² There were very few planners in New Zealand in early years and those with formal qualifications had obtained them overseas. The New Zealand Planning Institute was formed in late 1946, initially as a branch of the Town Planning Institute in London. In 1950, there were seven professional planners in New Zealand, increasing to 41 in 1959. The rapid growth of the profession in the 1950s was prompted by improving economic times and by the additional work generated by the passing of the Town and Country Planning Act 1953. Some New Zealand towns and cities were expanding at a rapid rate to accommodate high population growth. Many local authorities were either too small or unwilling to employ their own planner, preferring to engage an external consultant planner instead. In 1957, a formal town planning qualification was introduced at the then Auckland University College. Previously, those seeking qualifications did so through the Town Planning Institute in Britain.¹¹³ Up until the 1960s and beyond, it remained common for local authority officers to practise planning without any formal planning qualification.

Conclusion

In summary, planning has always been part of the story of urban development. Until the start of the 20th century, planning was informal in nature, and did not possess the breadth of purpose or power found in formal planning that developed during the first part of the 20th century. Informal planning was typified by activities that, in the New Zealand setting, included the establishment and laying out of towns, then later supplying them with infrastructure and other amenities to ensure their survival and to promote a better and healthier living environment. Formal planning, both in New Zealand and overseas, became established with the emergence and acceptance of town planning as a distinct field of knowledge and as an activity designed to produce more livable towns. Ideals of planning were incorporated into legislation and became a profession, legislation being passed in 1926 and 1953. The development of planning in New Zealand was an evolutionary process that was stalled to some extent by the depression of the 1930s and the Second World War. While it is true that planning in New Zealand did start to blossom from the 1950s, the need for formal planning was well established before that time, along with a statutory framework for planning.

Endnotes

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- ¹ Barry Cullingworth, *Planning in the USA: Policies, Issues, and Processes*, London: Routledge, 1997, p. 6.
 - ² Peter Hall, *Urban and Regional Planning*, London: Routledge, 2002. 4th ed., p. 1.
 - ³ Cullingworth, *Planning in the USA: Policies, Issues, and Processes*, p. 1.
 - ⁴ Lewis Keeble, *Principles and Practice of Town and Country Planning*, London: Estates Gazette, 1959. 2nd ed., p. 9.
 - ⁵ Michael Hugo-Brunt, *The History of City Planning: A Survey*, Montreal: Harvest House, 1972, pp. 1-2.
 - ⁶ Anthony Sutcliffe, "Introduction: British Town Planning and the Historian", in Anthony Sutcliffe, (ed.), *British Town Planning: The Formative Years*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1981, pp. 2-14, at p. 2.
 - ⁷ Anthony Sutcliffe, "Introduction: British Town Planning and the Historian", p. 3. The statement about the first use of the term "town planning" has been qualified so that it refers to Britain, the term "town-planning" having been used earlier by John Sulman in Australia.
 - ⁸ Eleanor Smith Morris, *British Town Planning and Urban Design: Principles and Policies*, Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1997, p. xiii.
 - ⁹ Hall, *Urban and Regional Planning*, pp. 5-6 and 42-44. See also Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*, London: Ernest Benn, 1968. First published 1915.

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- ¹⁰ Stephen Marshall, *Cities, Design & Evolution*, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2009, pp. 24-33.
- ¹¹ E.A. Powdrill (1975) cited in Morris, *British Town Planning and Urban Design: Principles and Policies*, p. xiii.
- ¹² Patricia Burgess, "Should Planning History Hit the Road? An Examination of the State of Planning History in the United States", *Planning Perspectives*, 11:3, 1996, pp. 210-224, at p. 205.
- ¹³ Robert Freestone, "Learning from Planning's Histories", in Robert Freestone (ed.), *Urban Planning in a Changing World: The Twentieth Century Experience*, London: E & FN Spon, 2000, pp. 1-19, at p. 8.
- ¹⁴ Freestone, "Learning from Planning's Histories", at pp. 8-9.
- ¹⁵ David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*, Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1996, p. 406.
- ¹⁶ Municipal Corporations Act 1876, section 62.
- ¹⁷ Municipal Corporations Act 1876, sections 61 and 75.
- ¹⁸ See Local Authorities (Members' Interests) Act 1968.
- ¹⁹ The text of the petition and a list of those who signed are reproduced in M.D.N. Campbell, *Story of Napier, 1874-1974: Footprints Along the Shore*, Napier: Napier City Council, 1975, pp. 215-219.
- ²⁰ Robert Freestone and Stephen Hamnett, "Introduction", in Stephen Hamnett and Robert Freestone (eds), *The Australian Metropolis: A Planning History*, St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2000, pp. 1-10, at p. 1.
- ²¹ Seymour J. Mandelbaum, "Historians and Planners: The Construction of Pasts and Futures", *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 51:2, 1985, pp. 185-188.
- ²² Leonie Sandercock, "Introduction: Framing Insurgent Historiographies for Planning", in Leonie Sandercock, (ed.), *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1998, pp. 1-33.
- ²³ Carl Abbott and Sy Adler, "Historical Analysis as a Planning Tool", *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 55:4, 1989, pp. 467-473.
- ²⁴ Robert Freestone and Alan Hutchings, "Planning History in Australia: The State of the Art", *Planning Perspectives*, 8:1, 1993, pp. 72-91, p. 83.
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Chapter 3

Approaching Sources

Introduction

This chapter considers sources used for writing this thesis. It also surveys and assesses the existing written material on Napier from a planning history perspective. The historical nature of the topic has inevitably meant that this study is largely based on contemporaneously published and archival documents. Primary sources of information included locally published newspapers, archival documents, visual items and field research, and reports prepared for the Council by staff or consultants. Secondary sources of information have included an extensive selection of books and articles, together with several unpublished papers. The usefulness of some of these items, and their relevance, is also considered.

Research

This study is based on written and, to a lesser extent, visual materials. Written documents included books, articles, reports, and legislation. Visual items included maps, plans and photographs, some historical and others recording field research. Collectively, these materials comprised a mix of sources that were both primary and secondary. Primary sources were used to study Napier in depth, and to develop and discuss themes of planning interest. Secondary sources, mainly books and articles, provided an overview of the history of Napier, including aspects of its planning history.

The historical period covered limited the choice of research methods. No interviews or surveys were undertaken because there are few survivors who could usefully contribute from their knowledge of or participation in planning issues of the time. The most recent events studied took place over forty years ago, so there was also the risk that participants or observers at the time may no longer recall all relevant detail. The candidate, as a child, lived in Napier from 1948 to 1955 but has only partial recollection of the town at the time.

In some instances, the boundary between primary and secondary sources was indistinct. This applies, for example, to articles by authors who reported on matters in which they personally played a major part. A leading example is an article written by J.S. Barton, one of two Commissioners responsible for the administration of Napier for two years immediately following the 1931 earthquake.¹ In this instance, the information was both useful and reputable, and the distinction between primary and secondary sources was blurred. However, because the article was written while the author was still Commissioner, it might have lacked the reflectiveness of a document written in retrospect after his term of appointment had been completed.

The collection and analysis of material generally comprised five stages. First, a preliminary survey of available materials, primary and secondary, was undertaken. Some of these materials were read in detail to provide an overview and context for this thesis, both specific to Napier and to planning history generally. Second, Napier-published newspapers were perused and searched in a systematic manner to locate potentially useful items, the study of which would provide a platform of core information for this thesis. Third, for important issues, for example, post-earthquake reconstruction and planning, research was extended to cover other sources, including official records and archives, and alternative newspapers if available. Official records were particularly useful for research on developments from 1931 onwards and also for sourcing maps and plans. Fourth, copies made or notes taken of relevant information obtained during the preceding three phases were sorted into categories according to the various topics and sub-topics covered by the thesis. The individual items sorted in this manner included over 8,500 newspaper items alone. Fifth, the sorted copies and notes were studied again and relevant items were further analysed and synthesised as each chapter of this thesis was written. The writing

process also included the preparation of a number of conference papers, the contents of which were subsequently interwoven into this thesis, but in a rewritten and modified form.

Newspapers

Two newspapers, both published in Napier, provided much information for this thesis. The *Hawke's Bay Herald* was researched in detail for the years 1857 (the year publication began) to 1904. In early years, the *Herald* was published once or twice a week,² but from 1871 it became a daily paper published each morning, other than on Sundays or public holidays. *The Daily Telegraph* was researched for the years 1891 to 1968 and was published each afternoon or evening, other than Sundays or public holidays. There were some gaps in the holdings of both newspapers, particularly the *Hawke's Bay Herald* for the years 1871 to 1876. For most of that period, another Napier newspaper, the *Hawke's Bay Times*, was used until late 1874 when it ceased publication. A Wellington published newspaper, *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, was researched for the years 1854 to 1857, covering a period when there were no locally published newspapers. That newspaper included regular reports from Ahuriri, the name commonly used for the Napier locality at that time. For the period immediately following the 1931 earthquake, other New Zealand newspapers were consulted as normal production of Napier newspapers was temporarily halted. Another Napier newspaper, the *Marewa Maraenui Messenger*, was published as a community newspaper from 1971 to 1978. Although the publication dates were just outside the period of study, the *Messenger* included some historical items and other insights about new suburbs in Napier. Overall, about 32,000 newspapers were consulted for this core research. Most were read from microfilm records, but original newspapers were examined when microfilm records were not available.

The large number of newspapers meant that they could not be read in depth, but were rather scanned for major news items, relevant editorials, meeting reports and correspondence. Items that were potentially useful were then noted or copied for later analysis. Typically, such items ranged from detailed reports of two or more columns of text, to items of just one or two paragraphs. Very occasionally, official reports were

published in full, as well as proposed municipal bylaws or similar information. Special editions of the *Daily Telegraph* were also particularly useful, and those relevant are listed in the bibliography. At the time of analysis, more information was searched as necessary or appropriate, either from official records such as reports and meeting minutes, or from other newspapers, including whichever of the *Herald* and *Daily Telegraph* had not been already been consulted for the date or dates concerned.

Some writers of local history have used the newspaper approach. Jim McAloon, an academic who has written a scholarly regional history of Nelson, acknowledges his reliance on local newspapers as the principal source for information, this statement being made at the commencement of an extensive bibliography that included a wide range of primary and secondary sources.³ David Johnson and H.K. Stevenson, in their histories of Wellington and Napier harbours, also highlight the usefulness of newspapers. Johnson, in a note at the start of his bibliography, comments that newspapers were the best source of information for meeting reports before 1950. This was because reporters recorded matters almost word for word, whereas official minutes usually reported decisions only. His footnotes, therefore, referred to newspaper reports rather than minutes, although minutes were searched for major events.⁴ Stevenson used newspaper reports extensively, and commented that he sometimes tested one newspaper against another for authenticity.⁵ This approach was also used in this study for some important relevant events where multiple reports were available.

The use of local newspapers as a principal source of information had a number of important advantages. First, newspapers provided a rich variety of information, including not just news and meeting reports, but also editorial comment and correspondence from readers. They also included, especially in earlier years, extensive coverage of reports considered by public authorities such as the Hawke's Bay Provincial Council, Napier Municipal Council and Napier Harbour Board. The leading issues of the day were reported in a manner and depth far greater than would be expected today. For example, the harbour debate and reclamation featured regularly in newspaper reports of the 1920s, as did news about the earthquake and reconstruction in the 1930s.

Second, meeting records or minutes were not always legible in several senses. Early minutes were handwritten and sometimes difficult to decipher. Council minutes usually referred to reports (by committees or officers) that were simply adopted or amended, and separate records would then need to be consulted to verify exactly what had been decided. Further, unlike early newspaper reports, full discussion points raised in council or board debate were not included in official minutes. Sometimes, newspaper reports were so detailed that speeches made were cited verbatim. Much useful information was derived from meetings reported in this manner.

Third, newspapers portrayed a unique perspective of the time and, in a sense, functioned as community advocates and leaders. National and international developments in urban issues and in planning were reported on from time to time and became the subject of editorial comment. When the *Hawke's Bay Herald* was founded, its stated intention was to promote the establishment of a separate Hawke's Bay province. After the earthquake, the *Daily Telegraph* remained intensely positive in its comment about reconstruction matters.

Fourth, newspapers were readily available for reading and copying, either at Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington or the Public Library at Napier. Microfilm images could be quickly and effectively printed for relevant items, and, for a time at Wellington, printed copies could be obtained for useful items identified in original newspapers but not available on microfilm. Later, this printing service was discontinued, and notes were made by hand by the candidate.

Newspapers, nonetheless, have their limitations as a source of information. Information reported in newspapers, in common with other written sources, is selective and stories or news items that are more mundane or have less interest to readers are less likely to be reported. In hindsight, items not reported at the time may have become important in the future. There is also the risk that, in searching thorough a large number of papers on microfilm, a relevant item could easily be missed, often because of the small size of the item on the page, or use of an unhelpful headline. This applies especially to newspapers published before 1900, when headings were used sparingly and sometimes not at all, in which case a column of unrelated stories followed on from each other with no separation other than a paragraph break. On the other hand, reports of municipal meetings were

reasonably comprehensive until about the outbreak of the First World War, but after that become much briefer and less informative.

Shortly after the Napier newspapers were researched as described, newspapers published up to 1901 became searchable electronically and online under the *Papers Past* project initiated by the Alexander Turnbull Library.⁶ Had these been available earlier, this mode of searching for information, based on key words, would have been used much more extensively for the first 50 years covered by this thesis, and possibly as a substitute for perusing individual newspapers. This search mode, however, was used to check and supplement some earlier manual searches.

Archives

Official records held by Archives New Zealand in Wellington and the Napier City Council were consulted with respect to specific aspects of this thesis. Much valuable information was discovered at these locations. Suitable files were identified from indexes provided by the two organisations. The records studied included a mixture of minutes of meetings, reports, plans, correspondence, memoranda, telegrams, newspaper cuttings and file notes, and provided a valuable supplement to earlier research from newspapers and other publications. Note taking was permitted and a photocopying service was available for items other than those that were too difficult or too fragile to copy, such as the minute books at Napier City Council that were stored and individually packaged in archival paper.

While the archives in Wellington and Napier provided a rich source of information, archival research has some limitations. First, the indexes might be incomplete or, more likely, may not have been adequately searched by the researcher. Second, files may be incomplete because not all documents created at the time have been retained. Third, files often will not document any oral debate or discussions that might have taken place at the time. As Keith Jacobs comments, files of public authorities are sanitised “and much of what is written is clearly intended to construct an impression of the policy process as linear, systematic and rational.”⁷

Visual Studies

Visual studies were used extensively and cover two distinct categories of information. First, there was information in the form of maps, plans, drawings, photographs, and other ephemera such as posters, pamphlets, programmes and souvenir booklets. This information already existed and was usually available in printed or sometimes electronic format. Second, there was information that the candidate derived from fieldwork, and recorded by taking photographs or making notes or sketches.

Maps and plans were particularly invaluable with several hundred being viewed as part of the research for this thesis. These documents ranged from large maps of Napier as a whole down to plans of small subdivisions. Some were street plans; others were planning maps indicating zones and related information. The maps and plans provided evidence that enabled statements to be made in this thesis about such matters as street layouts, location of community facilities, zoning and the like. A sequence of maps of Napier over the years illustrates how the town has grown and its boundaries extended, providing information that would have been more difficult to disentangle from textual sources. Unfortunately, some valuable or interesting maps could not be reproduced in this thesis because of their size, amount of detail shown, or quality of reproduction, but they have often informed what has been written.

Visual studies also included the candidate's own observations, both in the 1950s as a resident and in recent years as part of the field research undertaken for this thesis. Memory recalled the cultural landscapes seen and observed in the 1950s, and photographs taken at the time and published in newspapers or travel brochures corroborated this. The specific research included taking hundreds of photographs and making notes. The focus of this activity was on landscapes or features that were largely unchanged from the period covered by this study. This field research included travelling along most streets in Napier, including every road in the newer suburbs built following the earthquake. Many walkways and pathways were traversed on foot, as were all the streets in inner city area and around

suburban shopping precincts. The candidate also participated in Art Deco weekend activities for several years. The programmes for these included organised historical walks and tours, lectures, and a host of entertainment activities designed to recreate Napier as it was in the 1930s.

The rationale for carrying out some of this field research was to enable the candidate to better understand matters written about in the various publications and archives. Further, present-day structures and streetscapes, to some extent, are manifestations of past decisions and planning. More generally, this is what historical geographers have termed as the existence of the past in the present. Most streets retain their original location, although they may now be wider and better paved. Most houses remain on their original sites, although there have been additions to dwellings and some sites subdivided. In the central city, the majority of buildings erected in the 1930s following the earthquake remain intact. In a number of locations, important events in local history are acknowledged by commemorative plaques or on information boards. Seven such boards, for example, illustrate the earthquake and Art Deco Napier. Gavin McLean, in his book about writing local history in New Zealand, strongly urges would-be writers to explore their local communities on foot so that they may better understand the place they intend to write about.⁸ This advice would equally apply to planning historians, particularly when writing about built environments or landscapes that have been modified over time.

Reports

A number of published reports include useful planning-related historical information. For example, the Royal Commission report on *Harbour Board Matters at Napier* of 1927 includes a brief summary of the various plans that had been proposed for port development and reclamation schemes.⁹ An *Urban Growth Strategy*, published by the Napier City Council in 1992, includes a concise but useful history of urban development in Napier.¹⁰ The *Te Whanganui-a-Orutu Report*, issued by the Waitangi Tribunal in response to a Māori claim to Napier's Inner Harbour, presents historical information about port

development and reclamation,¹¹ while the Tribunal's *Napier Hospital and Health Services Report* includes useful information about the choice of site for the town.¹²

General Histories

Comparatively few general and scholarly histories have been written about Napier or Hawke's Bay. Several general histories, nonetheless, include valuable information. Most useful is the centennial history of Napier, commissioned by the City Council to commemorate the centenary of municipal government in Napier in 1974. Written by M.D.N. Campbell, it covers the history of Napier from the establishment of the Borough in 1874, but also includes introductory chapters covering earlier events from the arrival of James Cook in 1769 to a description of Napier in 1874.¹³ The book, just over 250 pages, is shorter and less academic than some local histories, but this comment is not intended as a criticism. The author mentions in his *Acknowledgments* that his brief “did not ask for a scholarly treatment of Napier’s history”, and restricts his footnotes to providing additional information.¹⁴ The absence of scholarly detail limits the book’s usefulness in providing links to more detailed or primary source material. Nonetheless, the book remains the only definitive history of Napier, and is invaluable in providing an overview of planning-related issues and themes, such as reclamation, port development, reconstruction, beautification, and suburban growth. This information, however, is scattered throughout the book amongst a plethora of events and personalities, so that themes, and analysis of them, become a little obscured by detail. There are no specific references to “planning” or “town planning” in the book’s index.

The only other general history of Napier, by Matthew Wright, was published in 1996.¹⁵ This book was also commissioned by Napier City Council, the brief being to add to Campbell’s earlier history, as well as to present a contemporary picture of Napier, both in words and photographs. With only 112 pages, no footnotes or index of any description, and a further reading list of only two items, the book is even less scholarly than its predecessor. This is doubtless the result of the commission, because Wright is a qualified historian and accomplished writer, and has written other books that adopt all the scholarly

conventions. While some useful information is included for pre-earthquake times and reconstruction immediately following, coverage of more recent developments is sparse. Some planning-related issues are well highlighted, however, including the harbour debate, the reclamation of Napier South, and reconstruction.

In contrast, the neighbouring town and district of Hastings is covered in greater depth. Mary Boyd, in her history of Hastings published in 1984, adopted an academic style that included full notes on sources, and discussions of themes that related to or ran parallel with events in Napier.¹⁶ She was a former resident of Hastings and was Reader in History at Victoria University of Wellington when the book was produced. Particularly useful for this thesis are sections on reconstruction after the earthquake, the rivalry between Napier and Hastings, and urban expansion. In 2002, an updated history of Hastings and district was published, written by Wright.¹⁷ Unlike his earlier study of Napier, this work of about 750 pages was, by comparison, monumental and scholarly. Like Boyd's tome, topics relevant to Napier were included, covering reconstruction, town promotion and local government restructuring.

Three principal provincial histories of Hawke's Bay include relevant information about Napier. The earliest of these was written by J.G. Wilson and others and was originally published in 1939.¹⁸ It includes a brief section of about 12 pages on Napier, although material contained in earlier parts of the book is relevant to the founding and early development of Napier. A.H. Reed's 1958 account was not intended as a formal history, the author remarking that his purpose was "to entertain as well as inform".¹⁹ Reed has written a number of historical or descriptive books on New Zealand topics, but is not recognised as a scholarly or academic writer. For reasons that are a little unclear, his historical narrative finishes at about 1888, although information on the dust jacket comments that by that time a prosperous community had been established, supported by a harbour and many other amenities. Several chapters focus on Napier, and describe early difficulties associated with water supply, drainage, the swamp, and street conditions. Much more recently, the 1994 provincial history by Wright includes discussion of some Napier topics.²⁰ With proper endnotes and bibliography, and coverage of the full time-span of provincial history, this is the most useful of the three histories.

Many specific items listed in the bibliography cover planning-related matters. These include a large number of books and articles about the 1931 earthquake and, more recently, the rediscovery of Napier's Art Deco heritage. The three principal books about the earthquake have been written by Geoff Conly²¹, Matthew Wright²² and the *Daily Telegraph*.²³ The first two include detailed chapters about recovery and reconstruction, but do not delve deeply into town planning matters, apart from the desire for a particular architectural style to be followed in rebuilding. The *Daily Telegraph* publication, while including many earthquake photographs, is of greater interest because of information included in earlier chapters about early settlement, reclamation, and disasters brought by fire and flood. This book was originally published in July 1931, so a full statement on reconstruction was scarcely possible. However, a facsimile edition published 50 years later partly fills this gap, including additional material that provides an overview of town expansion and civic improvements following the Earthquake, and discusses the historical rivalry with Hastings. The Art Deco revival is probably best covered by Peter Shaw and Peter Hallet in a study originally published in 1987, and now in its fifth edition.²⁴ While most of this book comprises photographs of Art Deco buildings, an excellent introductory chapter covers reconstruction and the search for an appropriate architectural style.

Three other books about Napier were invaluable. *Port and People*, by Stevenson, includes a history of the Napier Harbour Board and, while much of the book is about shipping and port management, it also covers the debate on whether the harbour should have been developed in a lagoon or behind a protective breakwater, various reclamation schemes, and the Harbour Board's role in suburban development.²⁵ A history of Napier street names, by Ian Mills, includes early historical information on Napier and on the original town plan produced by Domett.²⁶ A study by W.M. Hall, published as a resource unit for use in local schools in 1986, identifies and introduces some of the themes discussed in this thesis, particularly relating to early settlement on a difficult site, reclamation, reconstruction, port development, and flood control.²⁷ Hall does not discuss these themes in depth, but instead presents an excellent compilation of maps, plans, and photographs, together with extracts from newspapers and diaries. His study is stronger on the development of Napier before the earthquake, but overall makes little specific comment on town planning.

Unpublished Papers

Three unpublished papers deal specifically with Napier's planning or development history, but not in detail. In 1972, J.B. Childs presented a dissertation to the University of Auckland on a case study of planning in Napier after the 1931 earthquake.²⁸ His study briefly discusses the development of Napier to 1931, and then outlines the role of planning in Napier since. His focus is on the legislation, regulations, development of new suburbs, and planning schemes developed to cover Napier in sections rather than as a whole. Also briefly described are three visionary plans that did not materialise, but did indicate the scope of planning thought at the time. These included a plan for the development of the Marine Parade, and a plan for a new suburb in northwest Napier based on the Lagoon area, including a marina. The plan for this suburb, prepared by Napier architect, Louis Hay, is discussed in Chapter 4. The dissertation has much useful planning information, but insufficient coverage was given to plan outcomes and to the success or otherwise of developments that resulted.

In 1974, the Napier City Council prepared its own notes outlining the historical development of planning within Napier.²⁹ Coverage includes discovery by James Cook, early settlement, the first town plan and sale of sections in 1855, and control through bylaws from 1865 to 1926 when it was suggested that a town planning scheme be prepared. Development after the earthquake is outlined, referring to the uplifted land, and to the various planning sectional schemes that did not become a unified scheme until 1973. The notes conclude with brief statements on matters that were planning issues at the time, including urban expansion, transportation, and regional planning.

In the same year, Ian Dally and Alan Galletly completed a manuscript about the impact of the earthquake on the development of Napier.³⁰ The focus of this study is on the growth of Napier, of how the town adapted to a difficult site before the earthquake, and then took advantage of opportunities provided by the 1931 disaster and the land that was uplifted. The subsequent expansion of Napier is briefly outlined, but not with specific reference to the town planning schemes discussed by Childs. The authors also comment on what might have been had there been no earthquake suggesting that the neighbouring town of Hastings

might have become pre-eminent, leaving Napier as a much smaller port town, as originally envisaged by Domett when founding the town.

Conclusion

There is an inherent difficulty in carrying out historical research of the kind envisaged by this thesis. As Alan Baker remarks:

One of the paradoxes encountered by historical geographers is that evidence about the past is both very fragmentary and extraordinarily capacious. The historical record is incomplete and, while old data can be analysed in new ways to yield additional information and genuinely new data about the past are discoverable in hitherto underused, totally neglected or even unknown sources, that record cannot be extended by the historical scientist in the way that new data can literally be generated by the natural or social scientist working in the laboratory or in the field. Our knowledge of the past will, therefore, always be incomplete.³¹

This thesis likewise is a partial reconstruction of the past, based on an examination and analysis of a plethora of published and unpublished or archival documents. Although a mixture of primary and secondary source materials was used, much greater emphasis was given to primary resources. Important sources of information included newspapers published in Napier and archival documents held by Napier City Council and Archives New Zealand. Information obtained from visual studies was also useful, such as maps and plans, and the candidate's field work. Other research methods were inappropriate, given the historical nature of the research topic. Much has been written about Napier over the years and some of this literature has also helped inform this thesis. However, a scholarly history of Napier or of its growth and development or planning history has, to date, not been published.

Endnotes

- ¹ J.S. Barton, "The Re-planning of Napier", *Community Planning*, 2:3, June 1932, pp. 73-78.
- ² Published once each week to 1861, twice each week until 1870.
- ³ Jim McAloon, *Nelson: A Regional History*, Whatamango Bay, Queen Charlotte Sound: Cape Catley and Nelson City Council, 1997. See author's comment at the commencement of his Bibliography, p. 253.
- ⁴ David Johnson, *Wellington Harbour*, Wellington: Wellington Maritime Museum Trust, 1996, p. 505.
- ⁵ H.K. Stevenson, *Port and People: Century at the Port of Napier*, Napier: Hawke's Bay Harbour Board, 1977, p. 89.
- ⁶ The home page for online searches of New Zealand newspapers held online by the Alexander Turnbull library at Wellington is <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast>
- ⁷ Keith Jacobs, "Historical Perspectives and Methodologies: Their Relevance for Housing Studies?" *Housing, Theory and Society*, 18:3/4, 2001, pp. 127-135, at p. 132.
- ⁸ Gavin McLean, *How to do Local History: Research*Write*Publish: A Guide for Historians and Clients*, Dunedin: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 38-42.
- ⁹ "Report of Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into and Report upon Harbour Board Matters at Napier", in *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand*, 1927, H-15A, see especially pp. 6-12.
- ¹⁰ Sylvia Allan, Brian Knowles and Judith Davey, *Napier City Urban Growth Strategy: Final*, Napier: Napier City Council, 1992, pp. 20-24.
- ¹¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui-a-Orutu Report*, Wellington: Brooker's Limited, 1995.
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- ¹³ M.D.N. Campbell, *Story of Napier, 1874-1974: Footprints Along the Shore*, Napier: Napier City Council, 1975.
- ¹⁴ Campbell, *Story of Napier, 1874-1974: Footprints Along the Shore*, pp. ix-x.
- ¹⁵ Matthew Wright, *Napier: City of Style*, Napier: Napier City Council, 1996.
- ¹⁶ Mary B. Boyd, *City of the Plains: A History of Hastings*, Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 1984.
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- ¹⁹ A.H. Reed, *The Story of Hawke's Bay*, Wellington: Reed, 1958, p. 8.
- ²⁰ Matthew Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994.
- ²¹ Geoff Conly, *The Shock of '31: The Hawke's Bay Earthquake*, Wellington: Reed, 1980.
- ²² Matthew Wright, *Quake Hawke's Bay 1931*, Auckland: Reed, reprinted with changes, 2006.
- ²³ Daily Telegraph, *Hawke's Bay "Before" and "After" the Great Earthquake of 1931: An Historical Record*, Napier: Daily Telegraph. Facsimile edition with additional chapters by D.G. Conly, 1981. Originally published in 1931.
- ²⁴ Peter Shaw and Peter Hallett, *Art Deco Napier: Styles of the Thirties*, Napier: Art Deco Trust, 2002. 5th ed. Originally published in 1987.
- ²⁵ Stevenson, *Port and People: Century at the Port of Napier*.
- ²⁶ Ian L. Mills, *What's in a Name: A History of the Streets of Napier*, Napier: Thinker Publications, 2007. Enlarged reprint, originally published in 1999.
- ²⁷ W.M. Hall, *The Growth and Development of Napier – Town, Borough and City: A Resource Unit for Social Studies on Urbanisation*. Napier: W.M. Hall, 1986.
- ²⁸ J.B. Childs, *A Town Planning Case Study: Napier Since the Earthquake*, Auckland: Dissertation for Diploma in Town Planning, University of Auckland, 1972.
- ²⁹ Napier City Council, Town Planning Department, *Development of Town Planning in the City of Napier*, Napier: Napier City Council, 1974. Unpublished paper. Held at Napier City Council, Box NCC 156, File TP 1/3.
- ³⁰ Ian H. Dally and Alan Galletly, *The Impact of a Natural Disaster on the Form and Function of Napier*, 1974. Unpublished paper. Held at Hawke's Bay Museum & Art Gallery, Napier.
- ³¹ Alan R.H. Baker, "The Dead Don't Answer Questionnaires": Researching and Writing Historical Geography", *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 21:2, 1997, pp. 231-243, at p. 235.

Chapter 4

The Quest for Land: The Napier Reclamations

Introduction

The enduring problem in Napier's planning history has been a shortage of land. This was particularly so before the earthquake when the town was almost completely surrounded by sea or swamp. In response to this problem, public authorities over the years have undertaken a number of reclamation projects to expand the size of the town. Other objectives have also been pursued, such as providing suitable land for port and airport developments, and also reclaiming areas in response to concerns about public health issues and the perceived risks posed by stagnant and polluted water bodies. Reclamation projects have been used throughout Napier's history to achieve a wide spectrum of outcomes.

In this thesis, planning is concerned with the arrangement and control of activities of activities in space, with the intention of creating a better living environment. This includes planning of a more rudimentary or informal character before the emergence of more formal town planning in the early 20th century based on a distinct field of knowledge that had evolved from a mix of planning theory, practice and law. The reclamation developments in Napier generally fall into the informal planning category. These projects reflected the desire of public authorities to improve or enhance the urban environment by providing or facilitating amenities for the benefit of the community, particularly with regard to the provision of infrastructure.

The type of planning discussed in this chapter has its genesis in what Jon Peterson describes as "special-purpose planning", a term he used to describe certain activities that predated the arrival of city planning in the United States about 1900.¹ Such activities were concerned particularly with services that private enterprise would not normally provide,

such as water supply, the disposal of sewage, and the establishment of urban parks. The need for these, as in Britain, arose out of cities that had become crowded and unhealthy. Other amenities provided by public authorities included transport facilities and harbour developments. Some coastal cities embarked on reclamation schemes, notably Boston which converted a noxious bay into a quality residential area, and Washington D.C. which transformed malarial tidal flats into what eventually became a mall, park and tidal basin.² Anthony Sutcliffe, writing in 1981, also recognises the role that infrastructure has in planning, noting that the planning authority is responsible not just for regulating the use of land, but also for producing “a programme of development for publicly-provided facilities such as thoroughfares, sewers, and water supplies.”³ The Napier reclamations became a major ongoing civic project that was designed to influence the location of activities in space, primarily by providing land for the town on which development could take place.

Generally, the material on reclamation in New Zealand is scattered, fragmentary and partial, and takes the form of isolated studies that do not establish clear links with the planning history of the areas concerned. This chapter, within the context of Napier, endeavours to provide a fuller account of how reclamation fits into the bigger picture of the growth and development of the town, presented from a planning history perspective.

Reclamation: The Wider Context

The term *reclamation* is used to describe “the winning of dry land from large water bodies such as the sea, lakes, rivers, estuaries and wetlands of different kinds” and may be distinguished from the process associated with the recovery of degraded land such as found on the margins of deserts or former industrial sites. This description is provided by Brian Hudson, who also introduces the concept of the *urban littoral frontier*, “the expansion of development into areas formerly permanently or periodically under water.”⁴ In Napier, reclamations were generally of lagoons, swamps and mudflats rather than the open sea. The original terrain before any significant reclamation activity is illustrated in Figure 1.2 (Chapter 1).

The traditional view of reclamation in urban areas is that this activity occurs only in a limited number of places, and is relatively unusual. Hudson contends that this process is

more common than generally realised, and “far from being a phenomenon which occurs only in special circumstances, is a normal process of city expansion.”⁵ He adds that reclamation to some extent has played a part in the urban development of most cities built alongside water, whether sea, estuary or lake. Examples of cities where reclamation has been important include Venice, Boston, San Francisco and Hong Kong, and London in relation to its Thames shoreline. Even reclamations of a very small size might have their significance greatly magnified by the value of additional land provided or the environmental impacts created.⁶

In New Zealand, reclamation works have been part of the development of some coastal towns and cities. Outside Napier, the most extensive works have been in Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin, where a long history of reclamation begins with early settlement and continues into recent times. The original shorelines of these cities bear little resemblance to what can be seen today. The first town plans for both Auckland and Dunedin envisaged that some reclamation might take place. The reclamations undertaken in these three cities have been piecemeal and evolutionary, rather than part of a single overall plan. While port activity has featured in many reclamation schemes in these cities, the reclaimed land has been used for other purposes, especially for commercial activities and transportation. In earlier days, wharves, warehouses and railways were typical uses, but in more recent times, reclaimed land has been used to store shipping containers and other commodities, as well as to provide roads and sometimes recreation facilities.⁷ Earthquakes have also affected or facilitated reclamation activity, with land in Wellington and in Napier being raised by major earthquakes in 1855 and 1931 respectively.⁸ There also appears to have been a strong desire for reclamation in these New Zealand cities, rather than searching for more suitable town sites elsewhere or promoting the establishment of satellite towns. In brief, those involved in building the larger New Zealand towns were prepared to remake or reshape the land through reclamation where necessary to facilitate urban growth. In other New Zealand towns, reclamations have generally been associated with harbour works, the most striking reclamation being the creation of an island harbour at Bluff, completed in 1960 and providing berthage for local and overseas shipping.⁹ Earlier reclamation projects of particular interest include the Taupo Quay reclamation in Wanganui from 1878 to 1881¹⁰ and the reclamation of land near Invercargill that was eventually used for agricultural purposes and an aerodrome.¹¹ A

port was also proposed for Invercargill at the New River estuary, but was not successfully established.¹²

The processes for planning and approving reclamations in New Zealand have changed over the years. Early reclamations were sometimes approved by local legislation that had the effect of vesting the land in a public authority, but until the 1970s little consideration was given to assessing environmental effects. In any case, in Napier reclamations were seen as a sign of progress and development, and not as an activity that had adverse consequences for nearby residents or the community generally. For minor reclamations, formal approval was sometimes overlooked or not sought. Reclamations were governed by the Harbours Act 1950 and earlier legislation. These statutory provisions generally required smaller reclamations to be authorised by an Order in Council, with a Local Act of Parliament being required for larger reclamations.¹³ Napier reclamations were generally authorised by local legislation that specifically vested this function with the Napier Harbour Board or Borough Council.

David Pinder and Michael Witherick have suggested a typology for urban wetland reclamation that can also be applied to the reclamation of seawater and lagoon areas.¹⁴ They identify three types of reclamation, derived from a comparison of land uses on the original and the reclaimed land. *Expansion* reclamations are those where existing activities need more space, and those activities have simply expanded or extended onto the adjacent reclaimed land. Examples include Tokyo and San Francisco. *Clean-break* reclamations are those where the new land is used for quite different purposes, such as for highways, airports or other infrastructure projects. *Remedial* reclamations are those that are designed to address a major environmental or urban problem, such as a new road being located offshore to alleviate congestion.¹⁵ The Napier reclamations were principally for expansion, with a view to providing more land for urban growth and housing for the town's growing population. But several of the reclamations also had a *remedial* aspect, there being a desire to improve community health through better disposal of sewage, and to minimize the risk of further floods. The health aspect was particularly important in the 19th century when there was a real concern about the unhealthy condition of the swamps.

In contrast to the functional definition devised by Pinder and Witherick, Hudson suggests a classification based on motivation.¹⁶ This has the advantage of providing greater insight

into the objectives underlying particular reclamations. First, the purpose of reclamation might be for the disposal of waste material, which includes not just domestic refuse, but debris, dredgings and industrial waste. Second, the purpose may be to provide space for urban development. Third, the purpose may be to develop port facilities for wharves and other port amenities. Fourth, reclamation might be motivated as a public health measure, as polluted areas have in the past sometimes been regarded as unhealthy.¹⁷ All of these purposes are planning concerns, the overriding objective being to create a better living environment. In Napier the principal reason for reclamation has been to promote more space for urban development, or, later in the case of the post-earthquake Ahuriri Lagoon project, more land that could be used for agriculture. Some reclamation activity was intended to improve port facilities, while the Ahuriri Lagoon project provided land that could later be used as an airport, although that was not contemplated when plans were first produced for this reclamation. Most early Napier reclamations, in providing space for urban development, were also pursued simultaneously as a public health measure, there being a belief that the swamps at the edge of the town were responsible for illness and death. After the earthquake, reclamation also was useful for the disposal of rubble, in particular the expansion of the Marine Parade area towards the sea, discussed in Chapter 7.

Hudson has also proposed a model for urban reclamation that explains the direction and sequence of reclamation developments for an existing city. In this model, reclamation proceeds in stages, the resulting pattern and order of development being dependent on whether the city is on a straight coast, an embayed coast, or on an estuary. In the estuary situation, for example, reclamation development usually begins upstream near the city, and then moves downstream where water is likely to be deeper and reclamations larger.¹⁸ The reality is that those reclamations that are smaller, less expensive, technically easier to carry out, and located closer to an urban centre will usually be completed first. This is consistent with Hudson's model. For Napier, the estuarine variation of that model is relevant, given that all pre-earthquake reclamations were carried out in an estuary or an inlet, rather than in open water. As time passed, reclamations in Napier became more ambitious. Napier South, of about 300 acres, was the largest project before the earthquake. The water and swamp of the Whare-o-Maraenui reserve, as it was known at the time and part of which became Napier South, was quite suitable for reclamation because the water was shallow and mainly stationary.¹⁹ Like Napier South, the later Ahuriri Lagoon reclamation also follows the estuarine model. The Ahuriri Lagoon reclamation, of about 7,500 acres, was to

become the largest reclamation in the area.²⁰ While the Hudson model does to some extent present a morphological explanation for reclamation activity, it also presents some logic for project planning in making decisions about the location of possible reclamation projects and the sequence in which projects are undertaken. Much of the debate in Napier was about the choice of reclamation sites and the timing of reclamation projects. The general pattern in Napier was that smaller and easier reclamations were planned and completed first.

Reclamation can also be considered within the broader historical framework developed by Eric Pawson. He sees the history of New Zealand urban places as being about towns that were “on the edge.” In particular, there were three ways in which towns might be regarded as being on the edge. First, there was the progressive town, “built boldly on the edge of wilderness.” These typically were towns that were determined to grow or promote themselves to the outside world. Napier is mentioned as an example for its positive response to the 1931 earthquake and also for the more recent rediscovery of its Art Deco architecture in the 1980s. Second, there was the vulnerable town, “placed unwittingly on the edge of unpredictable nature.” Floods are discussed in some detail, and other hazards such as earthquakes and fogs are referred to, although Pawson does not specifically mention Napier in this context. Third, there were suburbs, built “in search of environmental amenity on the edge of town.” Particular reference is made to the outskirt suburbs of Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin. Pawson concludes his discussion with a brief study of Timaru, a seaside and port town that, he considers, combines all three of these themes. He also mentions how a breakwater, constructed to help trade, resulted in the unexpected formation of a golden beach at nearby Caroline Bay, but has also caused problems elsewhere because other beaches have been starved of gravel.²¹

Reclamation: Napier Overview

Reclamation in Napier falls into two very distinct time periods, before and after the 1931 earthquake. The plan in Figure 4.1 illustrates the progress of reclamation from its beginnings until about 1920. Up until the time of the earthquake, the focus of reclamation was on the immediate edges of a growing town, in which a number of smaller reclamations in the 19th century led to the much larger reclamation of Napier South at the start of the

20th century. Just before the earthquake, work was in progress on several smaller reclamations that are not shown in Figure 4.1. The pre-earthquake reclamations were motivated by a desire by the Napier Borough Council and the Napier Harbour Board mainly to provide space for the town to expand and to address public health concerns, although some reclamation activity was to help develop harbour facilities at Ahuriri and later at the Breakwater. With the earthquake and the uplift of land, the scene changed instantly. Reclamation, nonetheless, remained relevant to Napier, but was to occur in places a little more removed from central Napier.

Table 4.1 presents a summary of the 12 major Napier reclamation projects covering the town's history up to 1968. A small number of minor reclamations have not been included in the table. The omissions are minor projects that are not discussed in this thesis. The years shown for each relate to the period of carrying out the reclamation, but do not include the period covering the subsequent development of the reclaimed land for its eventual use. The typology is based on the classification proposed by Pinder and Witherick.²²

Table 4.1: Major Napier Reclamations 1860s to 1960s

<i>Reclamation</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
Ahuriri	1860s-1870s	Expansion/Remedial	Harbour, Mixed
Swamp Sections	1870s	Expansion/Remedial	Commerce/Residential
Breakwater Harbour	1885 to 1960s	Clean Break	Harbour
Napier South	1900-1908	Expansion/Remedial	Residential
Whare-o-Maraenui Block	1908 to 1930s	Expansion	Rural
28 Acre Block	Late 1920s	Expansion	Residential
Te Awa Block	Late 1920s	Expansion	Education/Residential
North and South Ponds	Late 1920s and 1930s	Expansion/Remedial	Reserve/Mixed
Greater Napier Suburbs	Late 1920s to 1960s	Expansion	Residential
Marine Parade	Early 1930s	Expansion	Reserve
Ahuriri Lagoon	1930s	Expansion/Clean Break	Rural/Airport
Inner Harbour	1960s	Expansion/Remedial	Mainly Industrial

Source: Partly adapted from information in *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 22 November 1924, p. 9, *Daily Telegraph*, 17 September 1954, p. 8, and W.M. Hall, *The Growth and Development of Napier – Town, Borough and City: A Resource Unit for Social Studies on Urbanisation*. Napier: W.M. Hall, 1986, pp. 61-76.

Early Reclamation Projects

The potential for reclamation in the Napier area was recognised from the time the town was established. In 1851, Robert Park, surveyor, suggested that about 18 acres could be reclaimed at the base of Mataruahou (Napier Hill), land on which part of a town could be built. He also thought that other parts of Ahuriri Lagoon could also be reclaimed.²³ Alfred Domett, in the letter that accompanied his 1855 plan of Napier, commented that some sections had been drawn across a shallow lagoon “which may some day be filled up”. He added that these sections were made much larger, and that the plan would clearly define those parts covered with water²⁴ (see Figure 1.3). These sections are listed as “Swamp Sections” in Table 4:1, the type of reclamation envisaged by Domett being one of expansion to provide more land for urban development. At the time, Domett may not have been aware of potential health issues arising from stagnant ponds in populated areas.

The early reclamation projects were usually planned and implemented by the Hawke's Bay Provincial Council (established in 1858 and abolished in 1876), the Napier Borough Council (established in 1874), or the Napier Harbour Board (established in 1875). While the principal function of the Harbour Board was to improve and manage the Harbour of Napier, it was also empowered by legislation to reclaim from the sea any land vested in the Board and to lease land.²⁵ The need for reclamation was not just to secure more land for commercial, residential or harbour purposes, but also to address what was seen at the time as a public health issue. The still water of ponds became polluted with decaying vegetation, rubbish and wastewater from poorly drained buildings and streets nearby, creating unpleasant odours and the risk of disease. These reclamations were proposed and carried out in two parts of the town – Ahuriri, where port facilities were being established at the time, and a site at what was to become the business area of Napier, located on the opposite side of Napier Hill. The pivotal role of the Napier Harbour Board in many of the future reclamation schemes was created through legislation that both established the Harbour Board and vested in it an endowment of about 10,000 acres, although most of this lay under sea water or swamp at the time.²⁶

Reclamation activity in the Ahuriri and Port areas is shown in Figure 4.1 as being carried out from 1875 to 1878, although some of this work was commenced before 1875. The

Provincial Council had looked at reclamation as early as 1859, when it was first proposed that land in the area should be reclaimed, using soil dredged from the entrance to the Iron Pot. Some reclamation work was also carried out at Ahuriri in the 1860s.²⁷ The initial reclamations were undertaken partly to provide berthing facilities for shipping, including the formation of the Iron Pot as a calm enclosure for ships. Spoil for these projects was generally removed from nearby hillsides, altering the landscape and making parts of it more level. The first auction of 29 sections at Gough Island took place in 1876, but only three sections were sold at the initial sale.²⁸ The nature and extent of reclamation work undertaken at Ahuriri is illustrated by Figure 4.2. This shows the plan produced for the sale of 66 Town Sections at Napier and Western Spit in 1889. When compared with Domett's 1855 Plan (Figure 1.3, Chapter 1), it can be seen that an open inlet has become an enclosed Ahuriri Lagoon, itself divided into two parts later known as North and South Pond. The irregular shoreline in the area has been straightened. Collectively, the reclamation works at Ahuriri were used to provide harbour and transportation facilities, as well as sections for commerce and residences. Up until the 1880s, port development in Napier was solely focused on the Ahuriri area, and the need to develop these port facilities provided much of the impetus for reclamation activities in the area. But the future of the port was about to become a little more complicated, with rival factions within the community either supporting the continued development of the existing Inner Harbour at Ahuriri, or preferring a new harbour to be sited at the Breakwater.

Meanwhile, from 1877 to 1880, reclamation work was completed in central Napier, as shown in Figure 4.1. This area included what became known as the "swamp sections" which had been included in Domett's Town Plan. With the building of a railway embankment in the early 1870s, the tides were no longer able to flush out the water, which became stagnant and a breeding ground for fever and disease. The Napier Swamp Nuisance Act was passed by the Provincial Council in the early 1870s to address the issue. While the Act provided penalties for people not abating nuisances, it lacked real teeth and could not be used to compel reclamation.²⁹ More stringent provisions were contained in the Napier Swamp Nuisance Act, passed by Parliament in 1875 and twice amended over the next few years. This legislation had been instigated by the recently established Napier Borough Council, which had taken into account concerns raised by the town's inhabitants. Under the act, owners were compelled to raise the level of their land, guarantee the costs of reclamation, or sell their land to the Council.³⁰

From late 1875 onwards, the swamp sections were a regular item on the agenda for Council meetings, and the public participated through correspondence in the *Hawke's Bay Herald* and attendance at several public meetings. At a meeting of ratepayers held in November 1875, those present agreed that the Council could impose a special rate to fund the reclamation of the swamp. The *Hawke's Bay Herald* reported one attendee's remarks as follows:

There could be no question that this putrid swamp was detrimental to the public health. He thought no man with a family should object to pay a rate for the removal of the nuisance. The swamp in its original state might not be unhealthy, but there could be no doubt it was so now, and the death rate last year proved it.³¹

At a further public meeting held in July 1878, those present unanimously resolved that the immediate reclamation of the swamp was “of vital importance to the health and prosperity of the community, and that the Corporation should at any cost ensure the completion of the work.” At the meeting, the principal speaker reported that the typhoid epidemic of early 1875 had claimed 140 lives, the epidemic being attributed to “noisome emanations from the swamp”, also described as “that pestiferous, that feculent pool”. Since the epidemic, death rates in Napier had remained high when compared with other places. Another speaker claimed that the animal and vegetable matter in the swamp was constantly decaying, and the situation would not be improved by providing better drainage.³² Dysentery also resulted in loss of life, it being claimed, for example, that of 31 deaths in Napier in April 1878, 23 resulted from dysentery in parts of Napier near the swamp. Public concern about the swamp nuisance was also expressed in letters written to local newspapers.³³ The Borough Council, at a meeting held in late July 1878, set in motion steps to have specifications drawn up for the reclamation work and tenders invited.³⁴

The result of public agitation, legislation, and Council deliberations and decisions was that the swamp sections were reclaimed within several years. In November 1878, it was reported that the appointed contractor was making good progress in filling in the sections and steps were being taken to make claims against section owners.³⁵ By 1881, the Borough Council, having acquired most of the sections, subdivided them into allotments and placed them on the market for sale by auction (see Figure 4.3). The Council was anxious to defray its costs on the reclamation of the sections, having spent £7,000 on the

project. Of the 53 sections available, only four were sold at the initial auction³⁶ although others sold shortly afterwards. The slow sale of sections, compared with the strong expressions of health concerns that prompted the reclamation of the swamp sections, indicates that the reclamation was motivated primarily by public health concerns. The sale of sections was not just to provide more sections as an incidental outcome, but also to reimburse some of the Council's costs in carrying out the work

Towards the end of the 19th century, localities other than Ahuriri and central Napier that were suitable for reclamation were being considered. In particular, the focus was on land to the west and south of Napier, known as the Whare-o-Maraenui Block, part of which was to become the Napier South scheme. While there was an increasing need for town expansion as the town continued to grow in population, concerns about the nuisance created by stagnant and foul water persisted, for which reclamation was seen as a possible solution. During the 1880s, there were numerous reports and letters in the *Hawke's Bay Herald* about the unsatisfactory and unhealthy state of the lagoon and swamps abutting Napier. In 1886, for example, the Borough Council received a letter from Dr Menzies complaining that the smell from the swamp to the northwest of the town was worse than ever before, and had resulted in illness "of a distinctly malarious type."³⁷

The Napier Harbour Board Amendment and Endowment Improvement Act 1887 also recognised that the condition of swamps and part of the lagoon surrounding Napier might endanger the health of the town's inhabitants if this nuisance was not abated. The act therefore authorised the Harbour Board to reclaim parts of the Whare-o-Maraenui Block and the Ahuriri Lagoon, and provided the Board with financial powers to facilitate this. On moving the second reading of the Bill in Parliament, J.D. Ormond, Member of the House of Representatives for Napier, explained that the Harbour Board was endowed with the watery reserve, part of which "had become a menace to the health of the Town of Napier" through the mixing of floodwater and vegetable matter. As a result, the Napier Harbour Board had been served with a notice from the Borough Council requiring the Board to abate the nuisance. He added that the "plan of the Bill was that a system of reclamation should be adopted which would assist the rapid recovery of the whole of this land."³⁸

No major reclamation schemes were successfully completed before 1900, but two related projects are of interest. First, in the 1880s, the Harbour Board Engineer, John Goodhall, had proposed that the area to be reclaimed could be divided into compartments bounded by stopbanks, so that the settling water would deposit silt and gradually raise the level of the land. When attempted, the scheme was not a success because less silt was trapped than expected, but the scheme “recognised the principle on which further reclamation work was to be based – that the rivers had made a good job of it in the past and that it made sense to work with the forces of nature than against.”³⁹ This approach to reclamation used less technology than other methods and therefore was likely to be more affordable. Second, in 1891 the principal river that flowed through the area, the Tutaekuri, was diverted to sweep alongside Wellesley Road, the urban perimeter of Napier at the time. This project was known as Carr’s Cut and it successfully cleared Napier’s sewer outlet and took its contents out to sea. The new river channel, 120 feet wide, silted up in the 1897 flood and the river reverted to its former course.⁴⁰ While the diversion did not provide any further reclaimed land, it demonstrated that the Tutaekuri River could be diverted, as was to occur with later schemes.

When compared with the reclamation projects that were to follow, the early reclamations may appear a little ad hoc with respect to their planning and subsequent development. Nonetheless, the overall planning intent was present – a desire to win more land from lagoon or swamp, for the sometimes overlapping purposes of harbour facilities, urban purposes, or addressing public health issues. Indeed, the reclamation of the swamp sections in central Napier was motivated more by a concern about health than the need for land, and in the years that followed, reclamation was seen as a possible means to eliminate polluted waters. Further, reclamation works were sometimes reasonably large undertakings that needed to be carefully located, designed and financed. Loans often needed to be raised and special legislation sometimes passed before projects could proceed.

Napier South

The Napier South reclamation scheme (see Figure 4.1) was the largest of the pre-earthquake reclamations, the reclamation work being undertaken from 1900 to 1908.

Napier South, adjacent to the Borough, was part of the larger Whare-o-Maraenui Block (see Figure 4.4). The idea for this reclamation evolved after the Easter Flood of 1897. The flood showed how the nearby Tutaekuri River had spread silt over a wide area and how, if tamed, this could be used to help reclamation by depositing silt in a controlled manner.⁴¹ Apart from the possibility of reclamation, there was also concern about the threat to flat areas of Napier, should there be another major flood.⁴² The 1897 flood had caused widespread damage in Hawke's Bay and had also flooded streets in central Napier.⁴³

The Napier Harbour Board, as owner of the Whare-o-Maraenui Block, drove the search for reclamation possibilities. From August 1898, the Napier Borough Council corresponded with the Harbour Board, requesting it to sell or lease a part of the land to the Council for reclamation, sanitation and other purposes. At about this time, the Harbour Board had begun a separate dialogue with a private syndicate, Langlands and Co, which had its own proposals for reclamation.⁴⁴ In December 1898, the Harbour Board reported that negotiations were proceeding with both the Borough Council and the syndicate, but from the tenor of the discussion at a Borough Council meeting in early February 1899, the tide was turning against Council participation in the reclamation project. John McVay, Borough Councillor, in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, commented that, in recent times, the Council had effectively been excluded from discussions about the proposed reclamation.⁴⁵

Later that month, the Napier Harbour Board adopted a scheme for reclaiming the Whare-o-Maraenui Block. In essence, the block would be leased by public tender or auction for 21 years, with conditions that included the reclamation of 300 acres of land. The reclamation was to be completed within six years, with temporary banks to be built to ensure that Napier was protected from flooding, but with a continuous stream of water passing by the town's sewer outfall. The necessary ground equipment, including a suction plant, was to be on site within 12 months of the agreement being signed, this requirement indicative of the higher level of technology to be used than for earlier reclamations. When the land had been reclaimed, it was to be surveyed into sections, of which the lessee would receive 200 acres as freehold in part payment for work performed. Of the remaining 100 acres, 50 acres was for the Harbour Board, 20 acres for a park, and 30 acres for roads. Other conditions included a right of renewal of the lease, and the future reclamation of other parts of the Whare-o-Maraenui Block.⁴⁶

A sub-committee's report outlined the scheme's advantages. For the Harbour Board, income would be obtained from the lease or sale of the reclaimed land. Harbour facilities would also be improved through a diminished need for dredging. For the Borough Council, a public park would be established. The realignment of the Tutaekuri River would ensure a constant water flow past the sewer outfall and protect the town from flooding. The Chairman of the Harbour Board explained that it would be better for the scheme to be carried out by private people rather than the Borough Council. This would reduce the financial risk to the Board and avoid the need for a large loan to meet the costs of reclamation before properties were leased or sold.⁴⁷

Before tenders were invited, empowering legislation was passed and there were further negotiations with the private syndicate. In October 1899, the Napier Harbour Board Amendment and Endowment Improvement Act 1899 was passed to allow the reclamation and improvements to proceed as planned and to enable the Board to sell or dispose of land. The land this legislation covered is shown edged in red in Figure 4.4, the Napier South portion being the area marked "300 ac" in the northern part of that land. The syndicate also made it clear to the Harbour Board that it would tender for the project only if the terms suggested by the syndicate were included in the lease.⁴⁸ In December 1899, tenders were invited for the project, which included the reclamation of 300 acres of land and the diversion of the Tutaekuri River to facilitate reclamation work.⁴⁹

In January 1900, the Napier Harbour Board accepted the only tender for the lease and reclamation of the Whare-o-Maraenui reserve. This tender was received from Langlands and Co, the private syndicate that had been negotiating with the Board.⁵⁰ The *Hawke's Bay Herald* editorial was positive, stating that the decision (carried by six votes to four) was the most important business transacted by the Harbour Board for many years. The newspaper applauded the Board for adopting a scheme that would transform land that had been largely idle, and which was an eyesore and a menace to community health. The scheme, the newspaper commented, would enable several hundred acres to be profitably occupied at no financial loss to the Harbour Board or to ratepayers. The proposed reclamation would also help reduce the silting of the Inner Harbour, an issue that had become a major annual expense for the Board. The newspaper observed that the syndicate would be recompensed for its endeavours, but added that the syndicate would also be taking a material risk,

whereas the people of the district could lose nothing. The editorial concluded: “We congratulate the Board upon its wise decision, believing, as we do, that the work will prove of the greatest advantage to the community.”⁵¹

Some doubted the decision. J.N. Williams, member of the Harbour Board and also Chairman of the Hawke's Bay County Council, resigned from the Board, advising the Council that the scheme ignored the likelihood that the Tutaekuri River might change its course, so that the river channel created by the syndicate might instead “be filled by the inflow of the tide from the inner harbor [*sic*] and the contents of the Napier sewer” rather than a flowing river. He also believed that the financial arrangements for the scheme were detrimental to the Board. John Bennett, another Board member and also a County Councillor, but who was unable to be present at the meeting, informed the County Council that “the reserve was practically a gift to the syndicate”, for, given time, reclamation by nature would greatly enhance the value of the land.⁵² Indeed, a historical sign states that the reclamation of the area began in 1874 when the formation of the Taradale road linking Napier to Taradale trapped silt that would otherwise have flowed downstream to Ahuriri Lagoon.⁵³

Work began on the reclamation in 1900. At the time, the syndicate partners were William Langlands and C.D. Kennedy, but in early 1901 the Harbour Board lease was transferred to a new syndicate, C.D. Kennedy and Co, after Langlands encountered financial difficulties. The new partners were Charles Kennedy, engineer and lawyer, William Nelson, sheep farmer and industrialist, and George Latham, contractor. Nelson was responsible for overall management and control, with Kennedy looking after engineering matters. It was Kennedy who had closely observed the effects of the 1897 flood, and who had planned the reclamation scheme. The position of Kennedy raised possible conflicts of interest, given that he was Engineer for Hawke's Bay County Council, and was also a Napier Borough Councillor for a short time from September 1899 until early in 1900 when he resigned. He acknowledged that his resignation was advisable, in view of negotiations that were about to take place between the syndicate and Borough Council. George Nelson, son of William Nelson, also assisted the syndicate as engineer, and in the years to come became prominent in promoting ideas for port development and further reclamations.⁵⁴

The principal mode of reclamation was to be the siltation method, which had been attempted unsuccessfully on a limited basis by Harbour Board Engineer John Goodhall in the 1880s. Engineering plans prepared for the project in an early planning stage are shown in Figure 4.5. The area to be reclaimed was initially part of a larger settling basin. An embankment was built along the Wellesley Road side, the existing water frontage, and a stone weir was constructed at the lower or northwestern end of the basin. The purpose of the weir was to slow the flow of water, giving silt the chance to settle in the basin, rather than being washed out to sea. The Tutaekuri River, which was especially diverted for the project, fed the upper or southwestern end of the basin through a channel of about 2.5 miles in length. Most of this watercourse was artificial “and, by being quite straight and having no bends, sufficient head was gained on the river to carry its load of silt straight into the settling basin where it was needed.”⁵⁵ Two suction dredges were used to form the entry channel, the adjoining banks, and the numerous side channels within the basin area were constructed. Water was fed into these channels, from which sand pumps “shot vast quantities of silt out on either side.”⁵⁶ As the water flowed slowly through the channels, silt was deposited, so that when the water eventually left the basin at the exit weir, it flowed out into the Inner Harbour and sea having lost most of its silt. Meanwhile, the silt that had been deposited within the basin and channels was redistributed by manual and mechanical means, so that the level of the land slowly rose.⁵⁷ When the reclamation was nearly finished, the Tutaekuri River was diverted alongside the western side of the reclaimed area. For a while, the new river channel was used to provide fill, which was transported away to build up lower places that remained on parts of the reclaimed land.⁵⁸ While siltation was the predominant method of reclamation, dredging activities were estimated by George Nelson to have assisted the process by about 15 to 20 percent.⁵⁹

The positive aspect of the Napier South scheme was that a large area of land was reclaimed and prepared for urban development. The scheme was much larger and more carefully planned than any earlier reclamation in Napier, in terms of both the size of the reclamation as an engineering project, and in the subsequent layout and design for the new suburb created on the reclaimed land. The scheme also provided local employment for some years, with over £70,000 paid in wages. The scheme was labour intensive with most of the work being carried out manually, with horse and cart. This was a time before heavy machinery, the work being carried out by labouring gangs who were sometimes employed in three shifts, working day and night.⁶⁰ But there were negative aspects. The project took

longer than planned, largely caused by dry weather and a series of droughts.⁶¹ Reclamation by siltation required a plentiful supply of water. The amount of silt deposits was also less than expected. This led to suggestions that the syndicate was using the silt that was available to reclaim, as first priority, land that would pass to the syndicate, in preference to land that would remain with the Harbour Board.⁶²

The principal concern, however, was the risk of flooding arising from the reclamation work. As the work proceeded, the protective banks were raised progressively until water levels within the settling basin and contained by the protective banks were several feet higher than the surrounding land. As George Nelson commented some years later, the reclamation “was an anxious job with the water pent up by the embankments of the settling basin to a height of four or five feet above the adjoining streets of Napier. Only the watertightness of a bank of earth stood between us and ruin. An accident could have drowned Napier.”⁶³ Although there was no disaster, there were many complaints from persons inconvenienced by the work or those who felt threatened by it. There were many reports of water flowing over roads or property, or silt being deposited in places outside the settling basin.⁶⁴

Meanwhile, plans were developed for roads, sections and other amenities. These were included on a plan produced for the syndicate and Harbour Board in March 1906, shown in Figure 4.6. The roads that were subsequently constructed combined a grid and crescent pattern, partly following the original shoreline, which fronted onto Wellesley Road. Sections were planned in a number of sizes, including some half-acre lots, but were typically quarter-acre lots. The plan clearly delineated which sections were to pass to the syndicate and those that would remain with the Harbour Board. Responsibility for road formation was indicated in the same manner, with nearly five miles of road to be formed by the syndicate and just over one mile by the Harbour Board. Land was also set aside for two parks. The area of land, excluding roads, to pass to the syndicate was 186 acres, with 46 acres remaining with the Board. These arrangements generally followed the original scheme. Streets in Napier South were named after syndicate members Nelson, Kennedy and Latham, and several Harbour Board members.⁶⁵ Later, several additional streets were added, permitting some half-acre sections to be replaced by smaller sections.

In April 1908, 200 sections were placed on the market at a public auction sale. The plan produced for the auction is shown in Figure 4.7, with the available sections coloured red. The auctioneers, C.B. Hoadley and Son Ltd, proclaimed that the properties being sold were high, dry and free from floods, had good natural drainage, and were blessed with highly fertile soils, ideal for growing vegetables. They added that roads were being formed, properties could be supplied with artesian water at moderate expense, and no Borough rates were payable. At the time, Napier South was sited just outside the Borough boundary. The auctioneers asserted that every section was within walking distance of the Napier Railway Station, and the auction provided an excellent opportunity for purchasers to acquire freehold land that was almost unobtainable elsewhere in Napier.⁶⁶ The *Daily Telegraph* described the auction as “a wonderful success”, with 119 sections being sold.⁶⁷

Within two years of the auction sale, progress was such that the *Daily Telegraph* described Napier South as “a new, flourishing and splendid suburb [that] had arisen to shed further lustre on the prestige of Napier as one of the prettiest and most pleasant residential centres in the Dominion.”⁶⁸ It asserted that the views were pleasing, and the streets were well laid out, adorned with homely villas freshly painted and most with gardens. The picture presented was one that praised the new suburb as an escape from the established but less desirable parts of the town, albeit on a modest scale. The report, however, also observed that there were no formed footpaths, and services such as drainage and channelling had yet to be provided.⁶⁹ Open drains were a feature of the streetscape for some years. In April 1911, there were 120 homes in Napier South, increasing to over 200 by 1913. The increasing population led to the opening of Napier West School in 1914 adjacent to Nelson Park, later renamed Nelson Park School. In keeping with the raw appearance of Napier South in its earlier years, the school grounds at first were rough, poorly drained, and often flooded.⁷⁰ The picture of Napier South in reality, therefore, was quite different to the positive picture presented in the auctioneer’s puffery when the building allotments were first marketed.

Two parks were to become principal features of Napier South, and compensated for the shortage of recreation space in other parts of Napier. The Borough Park, later to be named Nelson Park in honour of the Nelson family, was purchased by Napier Borough Council in 1909. While part of the park had been already been reclaimed at the time of purchase, the remainder of the park was swampy and covered with large rocks and tree stumps. Within a

year, the park had been levelled, grass and trees planted, and an access road provided. An artesian bore for water supply was also installed, but plans to include a three-acre lake in the park did not proceed. The intention was to use the park for field sports that included cricket, football and hockey, and cricket matches were played there from 1915. The visit of the Prince of Wales in 1920, as part of an Empire tour, prompted work to make the park more presentable.⁷¹ About 90 years later, the park is mainly used for hockey and cricket, but in emergencies has been used for other purposes. After the 1931 earthquake, 500 tents were erected there for temporary accommodation, and the army used the park during the Second World War.⁷² Sir Donald McLean Park, usually referred to as McLean Park, was eventually donated to the Borough Council. The 20-acre park was originally purchased from the syndicate by a trust that had been established in 1905 to honour Donald McLean, who had been prominent in the early settlement of Hawke's Bay and who later became a member of both the Hawke's Bay Provincial Council and Parliament. When offered to the Borough Council in 1910, the park was accepted once some legal issues were resolved. At that time the park had only partly been reclaimed, but within two years two playing fields were ready for use.⁷³ A century later, the park's principal uses are for rugby and cricket, including international fixtures.⁷⁴

When settlement of Napier South began in 1908, it was part of Hawke's Bay County. It did not become part of Napier Borough until 1915, apart from a minor boundary adjustment in 1910 when a slice of Napier South adjoining Wellesley Road was incorporated in the Borough to settle a boundary road dispute.⁷⁵ In 1911 the Napier South Town District was constituted for the remainder of Napier South, with the first election of board members held later that year.⁷⁶ The life of the Town Board was only four years, as the Board did not have the resources that were adequate to deal with Napier South issues. The merger of Napier Borough and Napier South Town District in 1915 followed an extended debate, which took place in public meetings and in the correspondence columns of local newspapers. In this public discussion, doubts were expressed about a viable future for the Town District, the principal issues being water supply and sewerage disposal. While the Town Board might have been able to provide these services, the costs were likely to be much greater for ratepayers than would have been the position if Napier South became part of the Borough. In March 1915, *The Daily Telegraph* urged its Napier South readers to vote for the merger, commenting that the costs to install a sewerage and water supply system would be at least £25,000, with other ongoing costs as well. The newspaper

was also opposed to sewage being discharged into the Tutaekuri River rather than the sea, which would have been the position if the Napier South Town Board implemented its own scheme.⁷⁷ The next day, Napier South electors voted in a poll, with 290 electors voting for the merger and 84 against. *The Daily Telegraph* headline proclaimed: “*Greater Napier: Napier South Joins the City by Large Majority.*”⁷⁸ Shortly afterwards, the Napier Borough Council approved the merger proposal, with the union of Borough and Town District finally completed by a proclamation issued on 13 April 1915.⁷⁹ The demise of the Town Board was not surprising, given that the population of a single suburb, even if fully developed, was never going to be sufficient to sustain the administrative and other costs required in providing a full range of local government services. These could be provided more economically if Napier South were part of the much larger Borough.

By 1930, Napier South was largely developed, with its services and amenities having been upgraded and integrated with those provided for the rest of Napier. The 1931 earthquake did not markedly alter the landscape of the suburb. The predominantly wooden houses withstood the earthquake well, apart from their brick chimneys. In 2011, after a century of development, the suburb retains a mainly residential character, apart from parks, several schools, and several small clusters of shops or other businesses on principal roads. Over the years, many sections in Napier South have been subdivided, allowing houses or units to be built on rear sections, or in some instances complete redevelopment of the original site.

The Napier South reclamation was quite different to reclamations carried out elsewhere in New Zealand. First, private enterprise rather than public authorities promoted and implemented the scheme. A syndicate conceived the scheme, suggested it to the Napier Harbour Board, tendered for the scheme after ensuring that the terms of tender would be in their favour, then completed the project. In the spirit of private enterprise, the syndicate also took the risks, and could have flooded much of Napier had they been less fortunate and their engineering works proved insufficient to withstand a major flood. The Harbour Board as owner of the land was reluctant to carry out the scheme itself because of the financial risk and the need for a large loan. Second, the purpose of the reclamation was almost exclusively to provide for residential land and accompanying uses that included parks, schools and corner shops. Otherwise, no port or commercial developments were envisaged for the land reclaimed. Third, siltation was the predominant method of reclamation used, in which the level of the land was raised through the deposition of silt

brought down from the hills and deposited by river action. Nature therefore assisted with the reclamation. Admittedly this was an easier and cheaper option, but carried substantial risk. In other New Zealand cities, the usual method has been for spoil and rock to be pushed into the sea, often at the expense of nearby hills. Sometimes, seawalls have been constructed, with land subsequently being built up behind. Fourth, the Napier South reclamation scheme was comprehensive. It did not finish with the handing over of 300 acres of reclaimed land, but also included street formation, and the laying out and sale of sections for housing, although water and drainage services were not provided.

The success of the Napier South reclamation and its subsequent development can be attributed to three principal factors - vision, planning and co-operation. The syndicate lobbied the Harbour Board with their proposal and a means by which it could be achieved. The planning element was demonstrated by the agreements entered into by the various parties, the passage of the required legislation through Parliament, and later in the street and section plans produced for the development of the suburb. Cooperation was illustrated by the willingness of the Harbour Board and the syndicate to achieve an outcome advantageous to both parties. Later, the Napier Borough Council participated when it purchased a park and assumed responsibility for Napier South after the Town Board was dissolved. But the reclamation also had several negative aspects. There was considerable risk involved in the reclamation process itself. Once the reclamation was completed, there were open drains in the streets for some years and no connections for the supply of water or disposal of sewage. The Town Board specifically established for Napier South also ran into difficulties and was dissolved. When the first sale of sections took place in 1908, despite the promotion of the new suburb as an ideal place to live, the availability of basic services was still some years away. Although the Garden City idea was starting to spread internationally at this time, there is no evidence to show that this had any influence on the development of Napier South, although civic improvement ideas became relevant to the extent of demand for better services. This was also evident in planting programmes and park improvements, particularly associated with the establishment of Nelson and McLean Park. Some of the early improvement activities of the Thirty Thousand Club, established in 1913 to promote Napier, related to Napier South, and included garden festivals, with gardens located in Napier South winning all the prizes in 1914.⁸⁰

Reclamation and Port Debates

The period from the completion of the Napier South scheme until the 1931 earthquake was one of much debate and discussion but only modest progress in carrying out further reclamation work. In the 1920s, the reclamation issue became inextricably linked with the harbour debate. The principal parties that disagreed with each other were the Harbour Board and the Borough Council. The Board, as owner of the land that had potential for reclamation, generally wished to make its decisions cautiously, taking into account its limited financial resources and the need for any reclamation project to pay for itself. Further, the principal function of the Board was to provide and maintain harbour facilities, so reclamation activity was of secondary importance. The Council, on the other hand, had become increasingly concerned about the shrinking supply of land and was keen for more land to be made available for development. The Borough was becoming a little crowded as the supply of Napier South sections dwindled.

The Harbour Board, nonetheless, had some good intentions. A plan produced in 1919 outlined the Board's proposals for both an extended Inner Harbour and possible reclamation areas (Figure 4.8). The parts of the map coloured red were the priority areas for reclamation, these being smaller in size and sited closer to the town and the proposed harbour works. Extending to the west and south of Napier were other Board endowments, marked on the plan as areas either being reclaimed or to be reclaimed. Parts of this land that lay to the west of Napier South were already suitable for rural use, with 565 acres of the Whare-o-Maraenui Block available for lease from late 1908. Individual lots varied in size from 5 to 200 acres, described as being suitable for dairy farms.⁸¹ In 1913, Harbour Board ratepayers in a poll approved a £30,000 loan for reclamation work for areas totalling about 2,000 acres, but it transpired that this sum could only cover a part of the overall cost.⁸² In a 1919 report to the Board, work on the reclamation areas was ongoing, often with a view to raising the level of the land or improving stopbanks, as flooding was a problem.⁸³ At the time, these lands were suitable only for farming.

In the 1920s, the reclamation issue became part of the debate about future port development, and whether the principal harbour at Napier should be sited at the Breakwater or at the Inner Harbour. The location of the principal port had been an issue since 1873 when John McGregor, engineer and designer of the Oamaru Breakwater,

recommended that a breakwater harbour be built at a site a little to the west of the Breakwater shown in Figure 4.1. But the preference for the already established Inner Harbour remained, and was endorsed in 1880 by Sir John Coode, an eminent British harbour engineer, when he condemned the breakwater harbour idea and instead proposed improvements to the Inner Harbour. By now, the debate had gathered momentum and was further complicated with a proposal that a port be established some miles south of Napier at Cape Kidnappers, although this idea faded after several years. However, in 1884, John Goodhall, designer of the Timaru Harbour, reported in favour of a breakwater harbour at the base of Bluff Hill, and the Harbour Board adopted his recommendation. The matter appeared to be resolved in early 1885 when electors in Hawke's Bay voted by a substantial majority to approve a loan for building a breakwater port. This followed a month of intense local lobbying and meetings to debate the proposal. Goodhall was appointed Board Engineer in January 1885. A breakwater and wharf were subsequently built and were officially opened in 1896, but the issue still remained. In 1912, Keele and Cullen, Australian engineers, recommended that the Inner Harbour be developed instead and a poll held in 1920 supported this. The debate continued as rival plans were presented and promoted a port based either on an open-sea breakwater or an inner lagoon, and members elected to the Harbour Board in the 1920s generally held an allegiance to one of the two factions. In 1924, F.W. Furkert, Engineer-in-Chief of the Public Works Department, recommended that the Board should put its resources into developing the Breakwater Harbour and either cease or minimise activities associated with reclamation. His plans for the development of the Breakwater Harbour are shown in Figure 4.9 and did include some modest reclamation work for the suggested additional wharves. The Board requested Keele and Cullen to report again, but this time, in late 1925, the engineers supported the Breakwater, partly because underlying hard rock near the Breakwater harbour, thought to be a barrier by the engineers when they prepared their earlier report, did not actually exist. They also pointed out that the Inner Harbour would require a considerable amount of dredging to keep it open, whereas the Breakwater Harbour would need only minor and occasional dredging. At this time, the Inner Harbour faction still had a majority on the Harbour Board, and the dispute was eventually referred to a Royal Commission in 1927.⁸⁴

The harbour debate was paralleled with further reclamation discussions. George Nelson suggested a possible solution to the reclamation problem in 1922. His report proposed new reclamations of about 2,700 acres in the Napier area, but urged the abandonment of the

silting method. He said that this method was “too costly, too risky and uncertain ... [and] takes far too long.” His preferred solution was dewatering, supplemented by spoil from dredges. The required drainage works involved a system of channels or canals surrounded by levees or banks, from which water could either be pumped out of the drainage area or released through sluice gates at low tide.⁸⁵ The *Daily Telegraph* reported that, “although the scheme is quite new to New Zealand, it is based on the Dutch system of dykes” with water being drained by pumps instead of the land being raised. While it was maintained that an immense bank built as part of the scheme would provide immunity from floods, a fear remained that such a bank could still be breached, as occurred in the 1897 flood.⁸⁶ The scheme was discussed locally over the next year, but was not implemented.⁸⁷ In 1926, William Nelson, former member of the syndicate that reclaimed Napier South, issued a statement in a broadsheet supporting Inner Harbour Party candidates for the Harbour Board elections. In the broadsheet, Nelson reiterated the advantages of the Inner Harbour and reclamation, and outlined a plan for both an Inner Harbour and the reclamation of about 500 acres of nearby land (Figure 4.10). The costs of the harbour project were to be partly met from the sale of 440 acres of reclaimed land, with the balance of 60 acres to be used for roads.⁸⁸

In the mid-1920s, relations between the Board and the Borough Council deteriorated. In April 1925, the Council wrote to the Prime Minister asking for about 2,000 acres of swamps adjacent to Napier to be “placed in the hands of the Napier City Council” so that that Council itself could carry out the reclamation of the area. The letter added that the Board “which has been entrusted with this work of reclamation has absolutely failed in its duty.”⁸⁹ Later that year, O.N. Campbell, Chief Government Drainage Engineer, was commissioned by central government to report on the reclamation problem.⁹⁰ He reported that Napier, with 977 persons per 100 acres, was the second most densely populated town in New Zealand, exceeded only by Auckland, with 1,003 persons per 100 acres. He agreed that reclamation of lands just outside Napier should be “undertaken without further delay”, with a definite programme to be prepared for reclaiming 1,500 acres in five years and the whole Harbour Board endowment lands (2,045 acres) within 10 to 12 years.⁹¹ He also recommended that the endowment “should first be sub-divided in keeping with modern town planning ideas” and that any waterways, artificial lakes or serpentines could be arranged to become a central feature of a town planning scheme. He envisaged that the area would be reclaimed by redistributing spoil excavated from the sites of the artificial

lakes and waterways to raise the level of the adjacent lands. He added that to facilitate the preparation of a comprehensive scheme, the Harbor Board should consider acquiring title to the relevant land.⁹² The planning ideas expressed in the report focused on the physical design of the built landscape, which included the layout of sections, roads, and water features. Campbell's intention was to produce an attractive urban community.

In 1926, the Borough Council petitioned the Governor General requesting certain land be incorporated into the Borough. A Commission was duly established and in 1927 decided that two areas were to be included in Napier Borough, having previously been part of Hawke's Bay County.⁹³ The boundaries of Napier, as modified to include the new areas, are shown in Figure 1.6 above (Chapter 1). One of these areas lay to the south of Napier and included the "imposing" Boys' High School and its beautifully laid out surroundings, which some people considered "to be a big step forward towards the ideal of the 'city beautiful' referred to by Mr B.L. [*sic*] Hammond, Director of Town Planning, in his recent address."⁹⁴ This area also included a small subdivision of six acres for residential sections.⁹⁵ The other area included land known as the 28-Acre Block. Reclamation work was almost complete, and so the block, which was owned by the Harbour Board, was nearly ready for subdivision and development.⁹⁶

Meanwhile, the reclamation debate, along with the location of the harbour, became a substantive part of the terms of reference for the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into Harbour Board matters at Napier. The Commission comprised J.S. Barton of Wanganui, Magistrate, as Chairman, who later became a Napier Commissioner following the 1931 earthquake, A.C. Mackenzie of Melbourne, a leading Australian civil engineer, and J.B. Waters of Dunedin, former President of the New Zealand Chamber of Commerce.⁹⁷ The Commission sat for seven weeks, hearing evidence from 47 witnesses. It generated considerable local interest, with extensive daily reports on proceedings and evidence published in the *Daily Telegraph*. When the Commission's report was released in October 1927, it was published in full by three Hawke's Bay newspapers, occupying ten complete pages in the *Daily Telegraph*.⁹⁸

The Commission heard detailed evidence about reclamation. Guy Rochfort, surveyor of Napier, presented a scheme for reclamations around Napier that would make available nearly 1,500 sections. He explained how the scheme would be carried out in stages, and

the reclamation methods that would be used. His preferred method of reclamation was by dewatering, for reasons of cost, expediency, and leaving land at its existing level would better suit the surrounding areas. He remarked that dewatering was used throughout the world and commented that if the pumps failed, little water would accumulate because no part of the land was below sea level. He acknowledged that although the sections in his scheme “were not divided according to the Town Planning Act [*sic*]... he had worked on his own scheme of town planning.”⁹⁹ This aspect of his evidence was not elaborated on in the newspaper report, but probably related to the manner sections were organised on subdivision plans, for example, the size of sections and the width of frontages. George Latham, former member of the syndicate that reclaimed Napier South, addressed a range of issues, including the demand for and pricing of properties. He also remarked “that the same people who condemned the reclamation in Napier South when it was started said that the promoters should have a monument erected to them when it was finished.”¹⁰⁰ J.H. Oldham, President of the Hawke's Bay Land Agents' Institute, pointed out that since 1912, the Harbour Board had provided only 10 acres of land for residential purposes, representing an average annual addition of less than three-quarters of an acre. He acknowledged that other sections had become available through the subdivision of Napier South sections. He thought that Napier needed forty additional acres of land each year to meet the town's residential needs.¹⁰¹ G.F. Clapcott, Borough Engineer, stated that the Council's objective was to acquire 700 acres of land known as the Richmond Block and to raise the level of the land so that the lower levels were at least 5 feet 5 inches above mean sea level. While he accepted the use of dewatering for reclaiming rural land, he thought it inappropriate for closely populated or town areas because the water table was too close to the surface of the land, and created difficulties for dealing with stormwater. He also supplied detailed costs for reclaiming and developing 500 acres of the Richmond Block, including roading, water and drainage.¹⁰² J.A. Miller, Chairman of the Hawke's Bay Rivers Board, believed that the Harbour Board should confine its attention to land required for harbour-related purposes such as warehouses, with residential reclamation to be placed in the hands of private enterprise. He admitted that he and others were endeavouring to form a company that would carry out reclamation work.¹⁰³ The Rivers Board had been constituted in 1910 for controlling the three principal rivers in the area, the Tutaekuri, Ngaruroro and Tukituki Rivers (Figure 1.1) and for improving unproductive lands.¹⁰⁴

The Commission report recommended in favour of the Breakwater Harbour and outlined a reclamation policy. With respect to the Harbour question, the Commission determined that, after taking into account engineering, navigational, economic and other factors, the Breakwater was “the best and most suitable harbour”. Of particular concern to the Commission was that the Inner Harbour relied on an outer entrance channel that extended outwards from the entrance moles for about one mile in open sea. This “transgresses a fundamental principle of marine engineering.” However, the Commission recommended that, in the short term, the Harbour Board should endeavour to consolidate its financial position and continue to operate as a composite port based on its existing facilities at the two locations.¹⁰⁵ With regard to the reclamation problem, the Commission recommended a sequence in which reclamations should take place, beginning with the 28-Acre block, to be followed by the Richmond Block, both these areas contiguous to Napier South. The Commission preferred reclamation by raising the level of the land rather than by dewatering, as the former method was more suitable for residential areas. In contrast, areas reclaimed by dewatering might be more prone to flooding because of their lower elevation, and therefore would be unsuitable for residential development. Raised areas were better suited for the use of town planning ideas, because of the greater likelihood of urban development. The Commission noted that dewatering had been used for some reclamation work, but regarded this method as both wasteful and a temporary expedient. It did, however, acknowledge that the primary use of the Board’s endowments was to help the Board financially, but a very strong secondary factor was to use those lands taking into account the interests of the Borough. Further, any reclamation carried out should be part of an overall reclamation policy.¹⁰⁶

In early 1928, the Harbour Board voted to “receive” the Royal Commission report, a very lukewarm response, although the *Daily Telegraph* report on the Board meeting suggested that a majority of its members supported proceeding with reclamation.¹⁰⁷ The Commission’s report, nonetheless, did provide valuable insights about reclamation, in terms of the location, method and development of reclamation projects. In some respects, the Commission itself had functioned as if it were an independent planning expert. It identified the issues and subsidiary questions, gathered information from experts, looked at the options, and made recommendations on both the location of the port and reclamation policy. However, the Commission stopped short of recommending that some of the endowment lands vested in the Harbour Board be transferred from the Board to the

Council, which would have eliminated in one simple step the need for Board and Council to negotiate an agreement for the reclamation and subsequent development of the chosen land, an exercise that had not been undertaken easily in the past. During the Royal Commission hearing, H.B. Lusk, Counsel for the Borough Council, had raised this possibility, but it appears from statements made by the Commission at the hearing that existing endowments would not be interfered with. The Chairman of the Commission recognised that, while the Council was anxious to reclaim and develop some of the Harbour Board's land, this could be achieved without the need for the Board to part with its endowment land.¹⁰⁸ A transfer of this nature did eventually occur in 1989 when, following the reorganisation of local government throughout New Zealand, Harbour Boards were abolished. For the Hawke's Bay Harbour Board, as it was known at the time, interests in land beyond port facilities were transferred either to the City Council or to the Hawke's Bay Regional Council.¹⁰⁹

Despite the continuing reluctance of the Harbour Board to promote reclamation schemes, some progress was made before the 1931 earthquake. In preparing for the development of the 28-Acre-Block and a much smaller block near the Boys' High School, the Borough Council decided in October 1927 to invite the local Institute of Surveyors to comment on proposals for the development of the two areas. This request was made specifically "with the object of embodying the latest ideas in town planning"¹¹⁰ and reflected some interest on the part of Councillors in town planning. That request was, however, made on the assumption that surveyors possessed the most up-to-date knowledge about town planning. The response included some detailed comments on the proposed layouts, together with a suggestion that the Council should prepare a comprehensive town planning scheme for Harbour Board lands that became part of the Borough. Otherwise, there was the risk that if smaller areas were considered in isolation, the development of larger areas could be prejudiced in terms of achieving coordinated roading and recreation areas.¹¹¹ Several different street layouts for the 28-Acre Block were looked at before the earthquake, including a proposed subdivision plan dated March 1929 (Figure 4.11). This plan included 127 residential allotments, sandwiched between the railway line and the Tutaekuri River. In late 1930, a proposal and subdivision plan was lodged for the 28-Acre Block to include a modern open-air stadium.¹¹² A private syndicate promoted the stadium proposal, their application for a lease of seven acres having been approved by the Harbour Board. The Council approved the new subdivision plan, although the view was expressed at the

Council meeting that the new plan was inferior to the earlier plan.¹¹³ On 3 February 1931, the earthquake intervened. The 28-Acre Block was not subdivided and developed until the late 1940s when it had become part of the new suburb of Marewa. The stadium was never built.

At the time of the earthquake, several other reclamation projects were underway or being planned. Inside the Borough at Ahuriri, work had commenced on reclaiming North Pond, the larger of the two lagoons located near the Inner Harbour, as shown on Figure 4.1.¹¹⁴ The motivation for this work, apart from providing more land, was likely to address a public health concern. Some years earlier, complaints had been made to the Council about the unsanitary nature of the two port lagoons, partly the result of these being used as a place to dispose of waste matter.¹¹⁵ Reclamation of the ponds was accelerated by the earthquake, and completed in the 1940s.¹¹⁶

Outside the Borough, reclamation work was being carried out in the Awatoto Block and being planned for the Richmond Block. These were part of the Harbour Board endowments shown in Figure 4.8 above. The Awatoto Block was located to the south of Napier, lying between Hawke's Bay and the Tutaekuri River. At the time, an area of 500 acres was being reclaimed by dewatering, the project including the construction of levees and pumping facilities. It was intended that the area would be generally divided into small farms.¹¹⁷ The Richmond Block was located south west of Napier, lying immediately to the west of the Tutaekuri River. The initial plan was that 164 acres of land adjoining Napier South could be reclaimed for urban development, with the land to be raised by pumping silt from the river.¹¹⁸ The overall project, including the development of the land, was subject to a comprehensive agreement between the Harbour Board and the Council, and also required statutory approval.¹¹⁹ The Borough Council and the Harbour Board, however, were still having their difficulties. In January 1931, in breach of the agreement, the Harbour Board formally stalled plans for this reclamation, with the dredge that was to do the work being shifted to a site near the Inner Harbour.¹²⁰

In his thesis about the Napier Harbour Board, Gunter Warner points out that there was potential for difficulty between the Harbour Board and the Borough Council because the Council was forced to rely on the Harbour Board making land available for the borough's

growth and development.¹²¹ The borough was surrounded either by sea or Harbour Board endowments. There were no other options for acquiring land. As Warner states:

In fact, during the 'twenties reclamation became the central theme of harbour board operations, so much so that frequently the building of a harbour was lost sight of. In spite of grandiose plans very little reclamation was actually done because it was thought if land was reclaimed too rapidly the market would become glutted and the price of sections drop.¹²²

From 1910 until the 1931 earthquake, reclamation progress was much less than might have been expected, especially after the substantial and successful Napier South project. The intent to reclaim more land certainly remained, as shown in the 1919 Harbour Board Plan outlining the proposed Inner Harbour Extension and Reclamation Areas (Figure 4.8). While several projects were underway or had been completed at the time of the 1931 earthquake, none of these matched the Napier South project in terms of vision or scale. Part of the difficulty was that the land with reclamation potential had been vested in the Harbour Board, which therefore had the ultimate responsibility of deciding when, where and how reclamations would take place. The exercise of this responsibility was further confused when the Harbour Board itself was divided on whether the principal port at Napier was to be at the Breakwater or the Inner Harbour. Both issues – reclamation and port location – were about to be settled by earthquake.

Reclamation and Port Development after the Earthquake

The earthquake of February 1931 dramatically changed plans for future reclamation and port development. The overall impact of the earthquake and Napier and its surrounds is illustrated in Figure 4.12, a diagrammatic map published in 1954. Throughout this area, the level of the land was raised between three to eight feet.¹²³ This meant that certain reclamations planned before the earthquake were no longer necessary or became much reduced in scope, while potential emerged for other schemes that would not have been contemplated before. Overall, it was estimated that nearly 10,000 acres of land that had lain under water, or had been swampy or poorly drained, became useable after the earthquake, or as soon as appropriate development work had been completed.¹²⁴ At the time of the earthquake, the Harbour Board owned most of this land, which had been vested in it when the Board was established in 1875. For the area on the 1954 map marked

“Extensions since quake now incorporated in City of Napier”, lying to the south-west of the town, the earthquake substantially completed the reclamation projects that were in progress or planned, some of the land being made available for urban development within two or three years of the earthquake. Three other areas on the map comprised the former Ahuriri Lagoon, shown as market gardens and property now belonging to the Department of Lands and the Harbour Board. Extensive reclamation works were required to bring these areas into production.

The uplift of land was the principal positive outcome of the earthquake. It had three impacts. First, for three decades after the earthquake, the suburban development proceeded outwards from the town as a number of new suburbs were established and, in time, settled. Their development, along with the adjacent light industrial area, is discussed in Chapter 6. The earthquake meant that future urban development could take place freed from the constraint of having to reclaim the land beforehand. This was to make it a little easier for the Harbour Board and the Borough Council to agree on the development of land still owned by the Harbour Board but for which little reclamation work was now required. Second, through the reclamation of the Ahuriri Lagoon, land became available for an airport and farming, and, to a lesser extent, for industry and other uses.¹²⁵ In 1968, only part of the former Ahuriri Lagoon had been absorbed into the City. Third, the earthquake settled the future of port development at Napier. Napier, represented on a map in 1965, had a very different appearance to pre-earthquake times, as shown in Figure 4.13.

At the time of the earthquake, the future of a port at Napier was uncertain. Although the 1927 Royal Commission had recommended that, in the longer term, the Breakwater Harbour be developed rather than the Inner Harbour, an Inner Harbour faction still had a majority on the Harbour Board.¹²⁶ The earthquake effectively settled the debate between the rival factions, but not quite immediately. With the uplift of land, there was little prospect of a viable Inner Harbour, and within several years, the Breakwater was confirmed as the appropriate site for the harbour. This outcome followed the recommendations of the Furkert and Holderness Report, which presented a comprehensive plan for the Breakwater Harbour and urged the abandonment of the Inner Harbour for commercial shipping. The report was commissioned after an approach was made to central government. F.W. Furkert was Engineer-in-Chief of the Public Works Department and D. Holderness was a maritime engineer with the Auckland Harbour Board. They observed

that the dredging required to maintain an adequate Inner Harbour had increased markedly because of the earthquake. On the other hand, the uplift of land meant that the Breakwater was now higher, and offered better protection from stormy seas.¹²⁷ While initial work at the Breakwater Harbour focused on restoration or replacement reconstruction, the continued development through the 1950s and beyond represented a developmental project that was immensely important to both Napier and Hawke's Bay. For a time, plans were for an extended series of finger wharves as shown in Figure 4.13, but by 1968 these had changed, so that the port now required extensive storage areas with adjacent breastwork, rather than wharves alone. The immediate demand for this change was the growing timber export trade to Japan and the growth of container traffic. Plans approved by the Harbour Board in 1967 included reclamation works of nearly 40 acres adjacent to the existing wharves.¹²⁸ Just over 40 years later, these plans had been implemented and the Port of Napier is today a significant export harbour. After 1968, reclamation activity in Napier was almost exclusively associated with the development and expansion of the Breakwater. The evolution of reclamation activity at Napier had gone full circle. It began in the early 1860s associated with the construction of Napier's first berthing facility at the Iron Pot. After that, reclamation activity became increasingly expansive, reaching a high point with the Napier South reclamation, but dwindling back to port projects once the post-earthquake reclamation projects had been completed.

Ahuriri Lagoon

The Ahuriri Lagoon was modified substantially by the earthquake. Previously, this was mainly a shallow tidal lagoon of about 7,500 acres. The earthquake uplift partly drained the Lagoon, leaving the remainder "covered with shallow brackish water."¹²⁹

Shortly after the earthquake, the Napier Harbour Board began looking at its options for the reclamation and development of the Ahuriri Lagoon. The Lagoon was vested in the Board as endowment property.¹³⁰ Reclamation options were presented to the Board from late 1931 onwards, with agreement being reached with the Government in 1934. The Crown would lease the area for 21 years, and would be responsible for both its reclamation and its development.¹³¹ Reclamation was to be by dewatering, with the drained water being pumped into a main gravity outfall. The extent of the required reclamation and drainage

works is illustrated in Figure 4.14. In addition to the main drains shown, a labyrinth of subsidiary drains was required to help remove salt from the soil. Overall, the project included two pumping stations, 11 miles of stop banks and nearly 400 miles of drains. The Public Works Department carried out the reclamation works and made rapid progress. From the late 1930s onwards, livestock was added to the land and farm development was underway.¹³² The Ahuriri reclamation was a substantial and largely successful scheme, illustrating what could be achieved through large-scale project planning. Such was the magnitude of the reclamation project, it was most unlikely that it could have been undertaken by the Harbour Board either by itself or with the help of the Borough Council. The Harbour Board had previously been involved only in modest scale projects, while the Borough Council was preoccupied with reconstruction following the earthquake.

In 1950, arrangements with the Crown were re-negotiated, the outcome represented on Figure 4.12. From 1951, the southern part of the former Lagoon, of about 2,000 acres, reverted to the Harbour Board for the future urban and industrial development of Napier. The northern part, of about 4,800 acres, was transferred to the Lands and Survey Department. This land, generally lower lying, has been suitable only for farming¹³³ and some remains below sea level to this day.¹³⁴ The original intention was to provide up to 300 homesteads on small farms on the old Lagoon site,¹³⁵ but the only legacy of this vision is a small area of market gardens in the very north, as shown on Figure 4.12. These farms were made available to ex-servicemen from the Second World War.¹³⁶

An airport was also established on the northern part of the former Lagoon. From the 1930s, aerodromes, the term of the time, were initially established at two locations on reclaimed land, as illustrated in Figure 4.15. The Beacons site, adjacent to Westshore, was eventually preferred. The site was less prone to fog, had excellent landing approaches, and could be expanded if necessary.¹³⁷ From 1959 to 1961, there was much debate about the location of an airport in Hawke's Bay. Hastings City Council disapproved of the Beacons aerodrome and wanted an airport more central to both cities.¹³⁸ In 1961, central government appointed an independent Committee of Inquiry to investigate the matter and to make recommendations to government. In doing so, the committee looked at a number of sites, invited submissions and heard evidence. The decision of the committee, and approved by government, was that the established airport at Beacons would remain the airport for Hawke's Bay, subject to conditions that included building a motorway linking

Hastings with Napier and the airport.¹³⁹ The indicative location of the motorway through the Napier urban area is shown in Figure 4.13. The Hawke's Bay Airport was officially opened in 1964.¹⁴⁰ The motorway, downgraded from four to two lanes, was finally completed in early 2011, having been built in sections over many years. Had there been no earthquake, the airport probably would have been built on land much closer to Hastings, because of the unavailability of suitable flat land for an airport near Napier.

That part of the Ahuriri Lagoon closer to Napier has been more directly involved in the town's growth and development. Shortly after the earthquake, the new landscape arrangements prompted a visionary plan produced by Louis Hay for a site of a major suburb on the Ahuriri Lagoon near Pandora.¹⁴¹ Hay was a leading Napier architect at the time. A copy of his plan is shown as Figure 4.16. Hay's vision is reflected in the title of the plan – *Scheme for Development of Sand Flats North West of Napier Making this the Finest Seaside Town in New Zealand*. The date of this plan is unknown, but was possibly drawn in the mid-1930s, judging from features such as the aerodrome and the principal waterway shown on it.¹⁴² His plan included some features of the Garden Suburb model in that most of his streets were curvilinear, radiating around a central area, and there were several boulevards as well as parks and commercial areas. It also included a substantial marina development adjacent to Westshore on the opposite side of the inlet. The scheme was also endorsed with a statement of its benefits, in which Hay acknowledged that the level of the area would need to be raised by sand pump rather than being drained artificially by perpetual pumping. Hay's scheme was not implemented, but development of part of the area shown in his plan began in the 1960s. This was a lost opportunity at the time, but would have been a difficult option to implement, and would have required much more reclamation work than for the new suburbs that were to be developed to the southwest of the town.

In 1961, the boundary of Napier was enlarged by 664 acres to include the Inner Harbour area of the former Lagoon.¹⁴³ This area, shown in Figure 4.17, comprised a residential area, a boating pond and sites for heavy industry. The diagram illustrated the intentions of a development project agreed upon by the City Council and Harbour Board in 1963. The southern side of the waterway or boating pond was to be developed for heavy industry, with a smaller triangular area on the northern side set aside for residential sections. It was proposed that the residential area of about 50 to 55 acres would be transferred to the City

Council, which would become responsible for developing the site that would provide about 170 sections. The intention of the project was to meet a demand for sites for both heavy industry and for seaside sections. The project involved reclamation work, in which soil was to be taken from the waterway and used to build up the land on either side. The *Daily Telegraph* described the area to be developed as 400 acres of wasteland that had lain idle for 30 years following the earthquake.¹⁴⁴ Before the earthquake, it had been planned to develop this area as a full port, but with the complete abandonment of those plans shortly after the earthquake, the area was now available for other uses.

A similar development had been suggested in 1953 when Gabites and Partners, town planning consultants for the Council at the time, produced a plan covering the same location. Their plan involved the reclamation of land to provide for a new residential area, heavy industry, reserves adjoining the waterway, and a new bridge linking Napier with Westshore. Apart from building the bridge, the concept languished until its revival ten years later.¹⁴⁵

In the 1960s, the Inner Harbour was the fringe area of Napier for both reclamation and industrial development. It also brought to an end an era of reclamation that had begun over 100 years earlier. Further, as the *Daily Telegraph* commented when details of the Lagoon project were announced:

Reclamation of part of the old lagoon area with material grabbed from the bottom of the inner harbour marks the beginning of the end of the development on a 10,000 acre expanse gifted to Napier by the earthquake.¹⁴⁶

In the later 1960s, development of the industrial part of the former Lagoon went ahead but the proposed residential development stalled. By 1967, the residential ideal had become the Westshore marina proposal, in which 100 of 190 sections were to have water frontages supported by canals. Plans were partly based on the Sylvania Waters subdivision near Sydney, recently visited by the Council's City Planner, E.W. Clement.¹⁴⁷ The following year, the Mayor Peter Tait visited Sylvania Waters and other Australian marinas, and was apparently convinced that the Westshore marina should be Napier's next major project.¹⁴⁸ But in 2011, the site proposed for the marina is little changed from its appearance 80 years earlier, just after the earthquake – tidal waters, mudflats and estuarine vegetation, now known as the Ahuriri Estuary Wildlife Refuge. In a sense, this little part of Napier remains

a living memorial to the days of reclamation opportunity and how Napier appeared at its fringe.

Reclamation: Assessment and Influences on Growth and Development

Napier, like some other New Zealand cities, has relied on reclamation to facilitate growth and development, but Napier differs from other places because of the enormous reliance the town came to place on reclamation. Even in larger New Zealand cities, reclamation has been largely incidental to the growth and development of those centres when compared with their overall urban footprint. In contrast, for Napier it can be fairly said that all flat areas of the city, apart from the shingle banks that met Napier Hill and a small piece of land in the centre of town, came from areas that were reclaimed from the sea or swamp either by act of deliberate reclamation or act of nature through siltation or the uplift of land by earthquake.

Of the various schemes discussed in this chapter, one scheme stands out. This was the Napier South scheme undertaken from 1900 to 1908. It was also the largest scheme until the reclamation of the Ahuriri Lagoon just after the earthquake. The latter scheme, however, is not quite so important because the land reclaimed was only partly included in Napier in 1968, and not fully included until a nationwide reorganisation of local government throughout New Zealand in 1989. The Napier South scheme happened at a time when space for residential development was short. In contrast, the Ahuriri Lagoon project was more like a bonus extra, and the urban development of Napier could have continued adequately without much of this land, although the airport would have had to be sited further away from central Napier.

The planning aspects of reclamation could be represented in a model that included the following steps:

- Establishing the intention to reclaim land, as an idea in principle.
- Choosing a suitable site or sites for reclamation, or choosing between options.

- Planning the reclamation as a project, in terms of participant parties, method of reclamation, financial arrangements, and the development of land, which includes street layout and the provision of services.
- Negotiating with parties, including other public agencies.
- Making a decision about the project, including consultation, obtaining permissions, and statutory approval.
- Constructing and implementing the project.
- Reviewing the project, as it proceeds through the planning and implementation stages.

The various Napier reclamations, to some extent, followed this model, with the steps causing the greatest difficulty being the detailed planning of each reclamation and reaching agreement with other interested parties. This was best illustrated for the Napier South reclamation, where the choice made was between schemes initiated by public authorities (the Harbour Board and Borough Council) and one largely promoted and carried out by private enterprise (the syndicate). The selection of the syndicate, and later friction between the Harbour Board and Council in the 1920s, represented low points in the relationship between the Board and Council.

From 1876, when the Board was first constituted, until 1968, there was some overlap in membership between the Board and Council, that is, a particular person or persons were, at the same time, both a member of the Harbour Board and the Municipal Council. However, this overlap or common membership was not of a sufficient extent to ensure that the Board and Council shared the same or similar outlook on reclamation and port development. This is because most members of the Board were elected from different parts of Hawke's Bay. Thus, for example, for the 1911 election, three members were elected from Napier, three from Hawke's Bay County, three from the southern area of the Board's district, and one each from Hastings and Taradale. In addition, central government appointed two members at that time. Apart from the government appointees, the members were elected by the voting populations from the different geographical areas that made up the Board's district or hinterland. Further, the Board members were neither appointees of the individual Councils nor needed to be a councillor, except that the Mayor of Napier was an ex officio member of the Board in earlier years.¹⁴⁹ These electoral arrangements largely

explain that while seven of 14 Napier Mayors (up until 1968) were members of the Harbour Board at same stage of their political careers, only 21 of 184 Councillors also served on the Board. Only two Napier Mayors held office as Chairman of the Harbour Board concurrently, these being F.W. Williams (from 1902 to 1904) and J. Vigor Brown (from 1907 to 1911).¹⁵⁰ At the meeting of the Harbour Board held in January 1900, at which the syndicate was awarded the Napier South tender, only two current members of the Napier Borough Council were present as Board members: G.H. Swan, who voted to accept the tender, and J. Vigor Brown, who voted against its acceptance.¹⁵¹ At that very important Board meeting, the Borough Council clearly had little influence on the outcome. For the 1926 election, held in the middle of the turbulent twenties when debates about reclamation and port location dominated local politics, Napier was represented by just four of 13 Harbour Board members. Of those elected to represent Napier on the Board that year, only J.C. Bryant was a Borough Councillor at the time, although two more became members of the Council the following year. In the 1920s, Harbour Board members were usually supporters of the Inner Harbour Party or Breakwater Party, according to their preference for future port development. While Napier representatives tended to support the Breakwater Party and other representatives the Inner Harbour Party, support along these lines was by no means universal. The 1926 elections in fact saw the Inner Harbour Party win back a controlling interest on the Board by eight seats to five, with a similar outcome repeated in the 1929 elections.¹⁵² The Chairperson of the Board from 1911 to 1932, except for two years in the mid-1920s, was A.E. Jull, who was elected to the Board from the Waipawa and Patangata area in the southern part of the Board's district. Overall, Jull served 39 years on the Board and gained the reputation of being "the Breakwater Harbour's most ardent opponent."¹⁵³

The benefits of reclamation to the Napier community were considerable. In the short term, the reclamation schemes initiated by the Harbour Board were beneficial to the Board in that they provided land directly to the Board for harbour activities or revenue to the Board from rents or sale of land. Indeed, the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into Harbour Board matters at Napier acknowledged that the primary use of Board endowments was to help the Board's financial position, although a strong secondary factor was to take account of Borough Council views on the use of such lands. In the case of the Napier South scheme, the syndicate most likely made profits from its part in that scheme. In the longer term, however, there were wider community benefits. These included the

mitigation of health or other environmental hazards, for example the central area swamp sections and the Ahuriri pond reclamations, and, for most schemes, the provision of land to support a growing town. Extra space was needed not just for houses, but to provide areas where businesses, schools, parks and other amenities could be located. While the 1931 earthquake was a major tragedy in terms of loss of life and damage to property, it has also been regarded as having gifted land to Napier that, before the earthquake, could have become available only by reclamation. The importance of reclamation to the future of Napier was especially highlighted in the 1920s when the relationship between Board and Council became strained because of the apparent reluctance of the Board to make more land available for reclamation. Had there been no reclamations of any kind in Napier, all housing and commercial building would have been largely confined to Napier Hill, apart from a small flat area that accommodates a part of the central business district in 2012. There would also have been no port, as both the Breakwater and Ahuriri facilities required reclamations to establish and maintain them. Without a port, of course, the principal reason for the establishment of Napier at its present site could not have been satisfied.

In terms of the framework proposed by Pawson as an explanation of the development of urban places in New Zealand, the Napier reclamations may fairly be regarded as reflecting progressive, vulnerable and suburban attributes. The various schemes were progressive in that they sought to expand the size of the town for future growth and development, while two of the schemes were particularly innovative but carefully conceived – the Napier South and Ahuriri Lagoon projects. The vulnerable aspect of the reclamations was particularly evident with Napier South. This reclamation was seen as a means to better protect the town from flooding as well as provide more land for housing. Yet, as the land was being reclaimed, there was the real risk that much of Napier might have been swamped if the stop banks built to facilitate reclamation proved insufficient to hold back floodwaters in the event of a major flood. The siltation method of reclamation was not seriously considered for future reclamations, partly because of this risk. Similarly, earlier reclamation schemes were partly concerned with addressing public health concerns. Finally, some of the schemes were suburban. The Ahuriri Lagoon projects, before and after the earthquake, took place on the outskirts or fringe areas of Napier, while the Napier South project gave people the option of either living in an overcrowded borough, or setting up in a new home on more spacious sections. In some respects, Napier South represents the pre-earthquake prototype of later suburban development for Napier, in that each new

suburb was planned and developed as a single, integrated entity, so that 100 years later, the Napier urban pattern comprises suburbs that are relatively well defined, each having its own distinctive and cohesive character.

Conclusion

The influence of reclamation projects on Napier's growth and development as an urban centre has been profound. This influence began almost from the beginning of Napier's European history and continued for the next 100 years. Although the earthquake diminished the need for reclamation, projects continued, notably those associated with the Ahuriri Lagoon. The historical maps tracing the town's growth and development present a picture of land expanding at the expense of water, so that what was largely water is now largely land. For Napier, reclamation was deliberate and planned. It was not a story of private enterprise expanding the available land in an ad hoc or uncoordinated manner, but rather represents the energies of public authorities in trying to provide more land for expansion and growth. This was the almost unwavering strategy of the Napier Borough and later City Council, but there were times when the Napier Harbour Board, as owner of the reclaimable or reclaimed land, was reluctant to participate in an exercise of geographical expansion.

While Napier is best known for the 1931 Hawke's Bay Earthquake and its subsequent reconstruction, the story of reclamation and the desire to acquire land on which to build a town is one of similar importance. Over the years, there were a series of reclamations, the most significant one being the Napier South scheme in which a complete suburb was planned, reclaimed and developed. Collectively, the various reclamation projects over the years have been promoted by public authorities to improve or enhance the urban environment. As such, these reflect a genuine planning concern in providing an adequate and proper urban infrastructure.

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- ¹⁴⁰ Waugh (ed.), *Early Risers: The Pioneering Days of Gisborne and Hawke's Bay Aviation*, p. 48.
- ¹⁴¹ J.B. Childs, *A Town Planning Case Study: Napier Since the Earthquake*, Auckland: Dissertation for Diploma in Town Planning, University of Auckland, 1972, p. 24.
- ¹⁴² Enquiries at Napier City Council have not been able to produce a more definite date for Louis Hay's 1930s plan, *Scheme for Development of Sand Flats North West of Napier Making this the Finest Seaside Town in New Zealand*, illustrated as Figure 4.16.
- ¹⁴³ *New Zealand Gazette*, 31 March 1960, p. 416, and 1 September 1960, pp. 1316-1318.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, 25 May 1963, p. 10.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Daily Telegraph*, 27 January 1953, p. 6.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Daily Telegraph*, 25 May 1963, p. 8.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Daily Telegraph*, 18 November 1967, p. 16.
- ¹⁴⁸ *Daily Telegraph*, 11 July 1968, p. 13. See also File, Napier Harbour Board-NCC Marina Development Ahuriri Lagoon, 1959-1975, Napier City Council, Box NCC 571, File 099-1294-01.
- ¹⁴⁹ Stevenson, *Port and People: Century at the Port of Napier*. See pp. 92-93 for electoral arrangements for Harbour Board election held in 1911.
- ¹⁵⁰ The observations about the overlap of membership between the Harbour Board and the Borough/City Council were made by comparing the membership of those entities, as listed in Appendices I and III of Stevenson, *Port and People: Century at the Port of Napier*, pp. 334-341 (for the Harbour Board) and Appendices B and C of Campbell, *Story of Napier, 1874-1974: Footprints Along the Shore*, pp. 220-227 (for the Council).
- ¹⁵¹ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 17 January 1900, p. 4.
- ¹⁵² Stevenson, *Port and People: Century at the Port of Napier*, pp. 107-157 and Appendix III, pp. 338-341; Campbell, *Story of Napier, 1874-1974: Footprints Along the Shore*, Appendices B and C, pp. 220-227.
- ¹⁵³ Stevenson, *Port and People: Century at the Port of Napier*, p. 223. See also Appendices I and III, pp. 334-341.

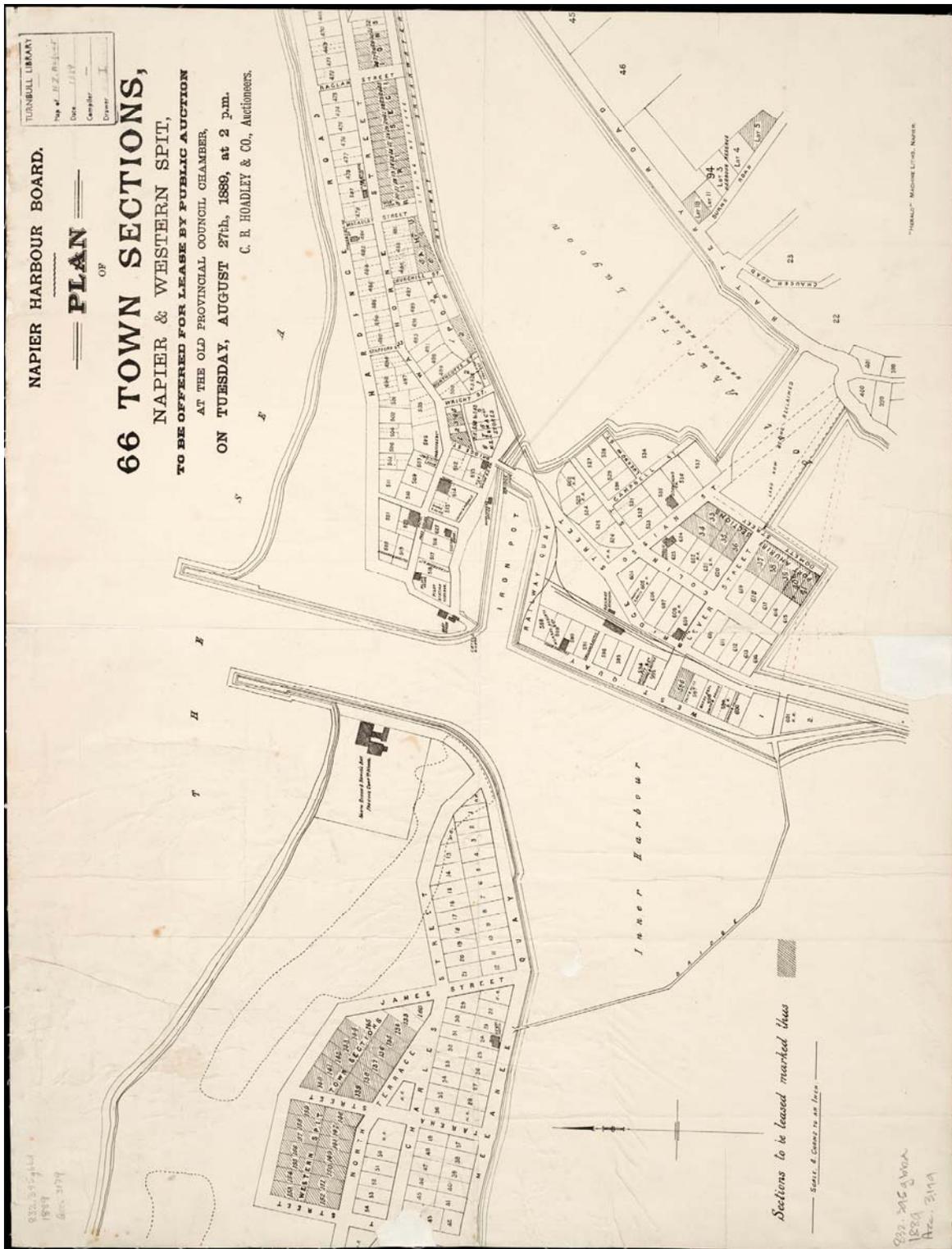


Figure 4.2: Plan of 66 Town Sections in Napier and Western Spit, to be offered by the Napier Harbour Board for lease by public auction, 1889.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Cartographic Collection, MapColl 832.395gbbd/1889/Acc.3179.

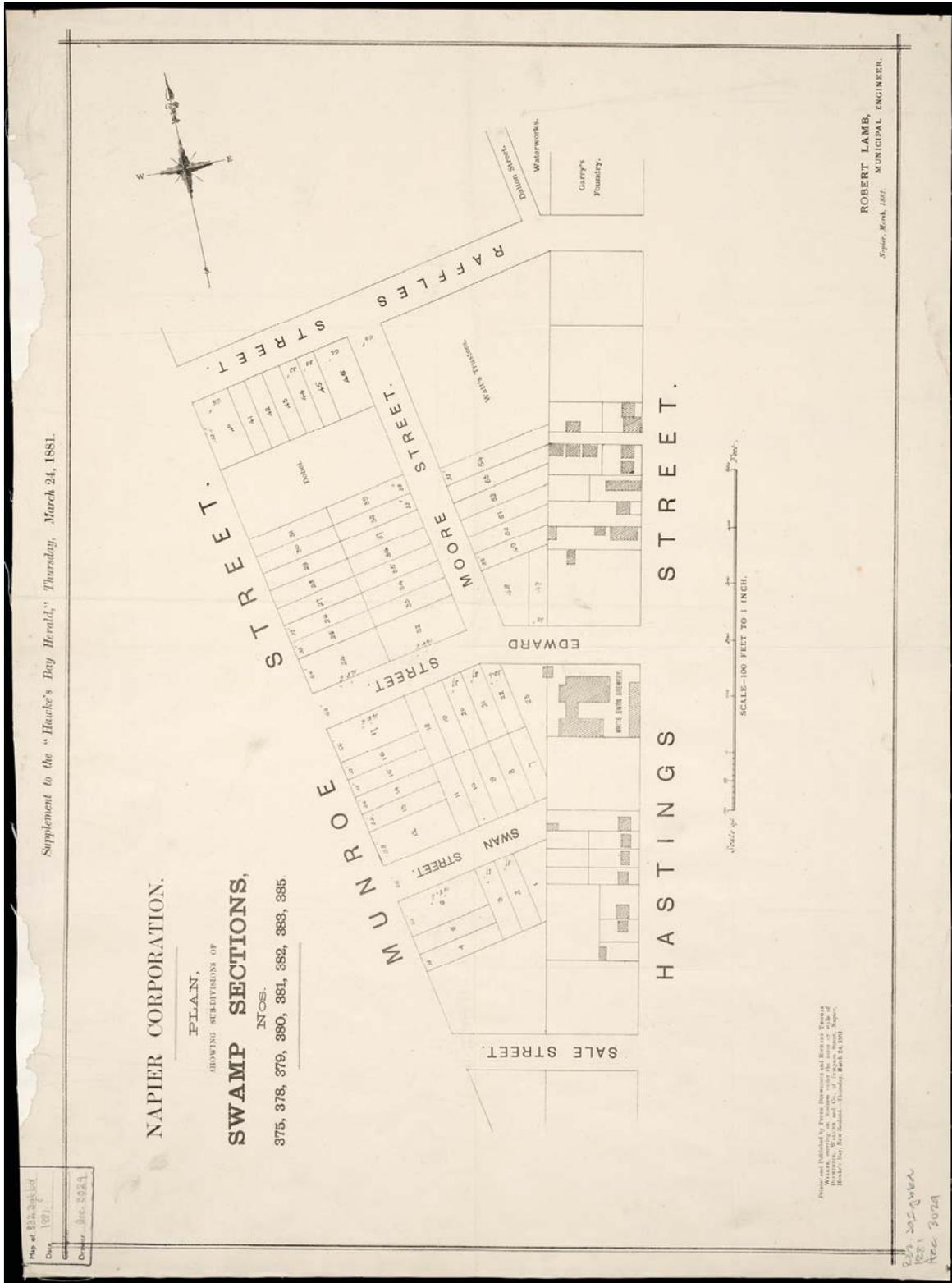


Figure 4.3: Plan showing Subdivision of Swamp Sections by Napier Corporation, 1881.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Cartographic Collection, MapColl 832.395gbbd/1881/Acc.3029. Supplement to the *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 March 1881.

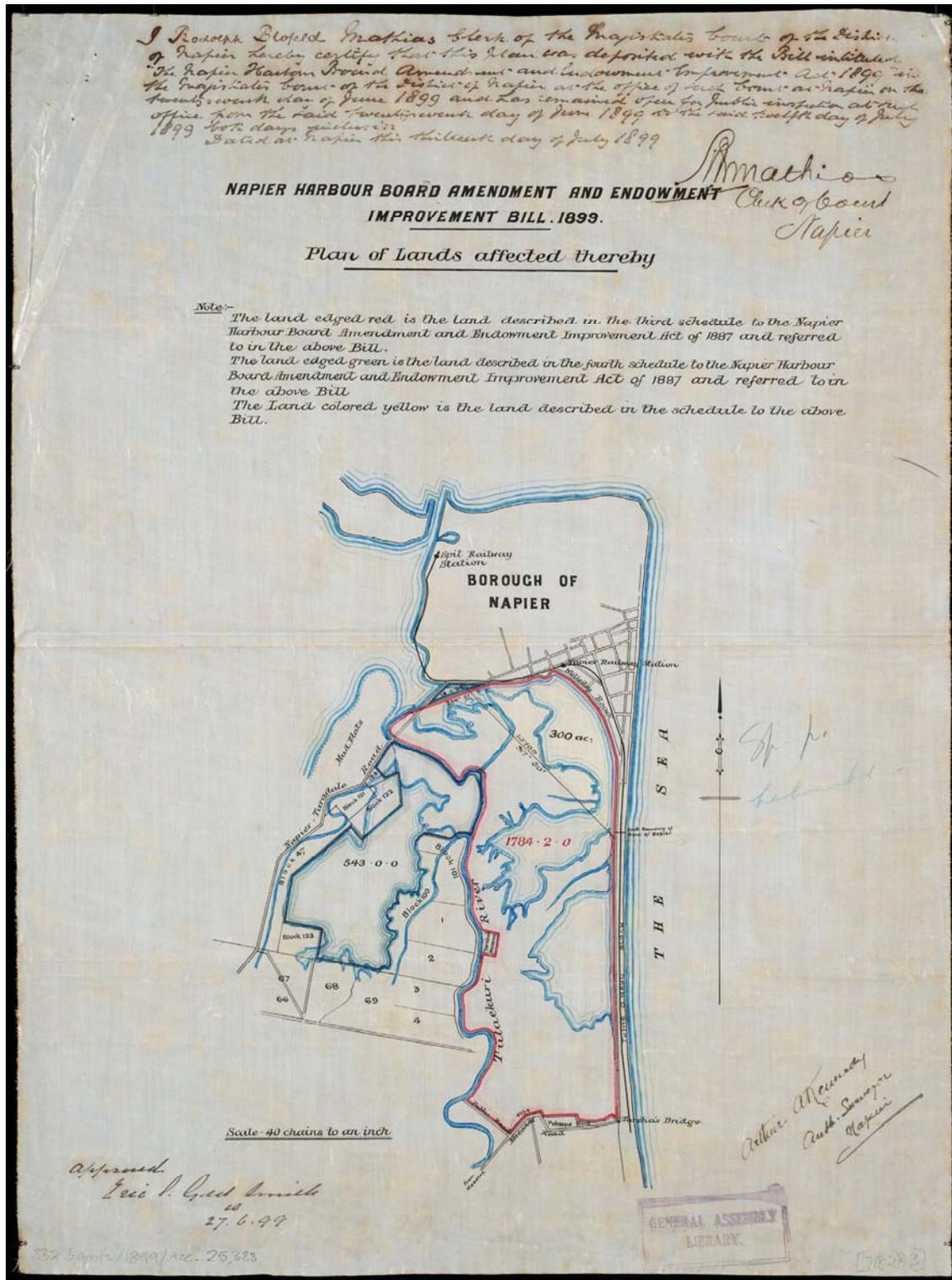


Figure 4.4: Plan of lands affected by Napier Harbour Board Amendment and Endowment Improvement Bill 1899, generally known as the Whare-o-Maraenui Block. Napier South is a small part of the relevant area, marked 300 ac.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Cartographic Collection, MapColl 832.3gmfs/1899/Acc.25388.

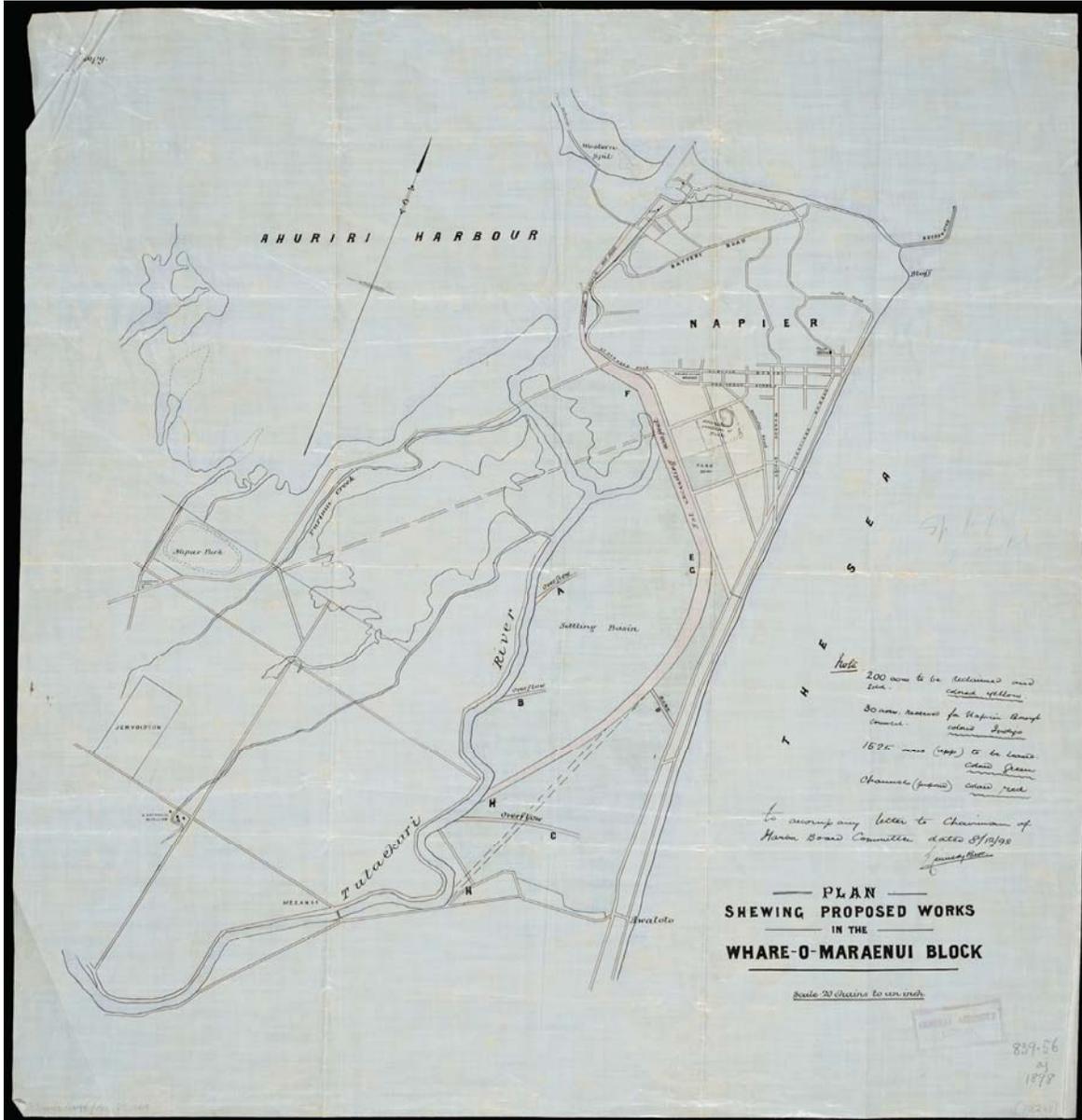


Figure 4.5: Plan showing proposed works in the Whare-o-Maraenui Block, 1898. Napier South is the part marked generally marked in buff.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Cartographic Collection, MapColl 832.3gmfs/1898/Acc.25389.

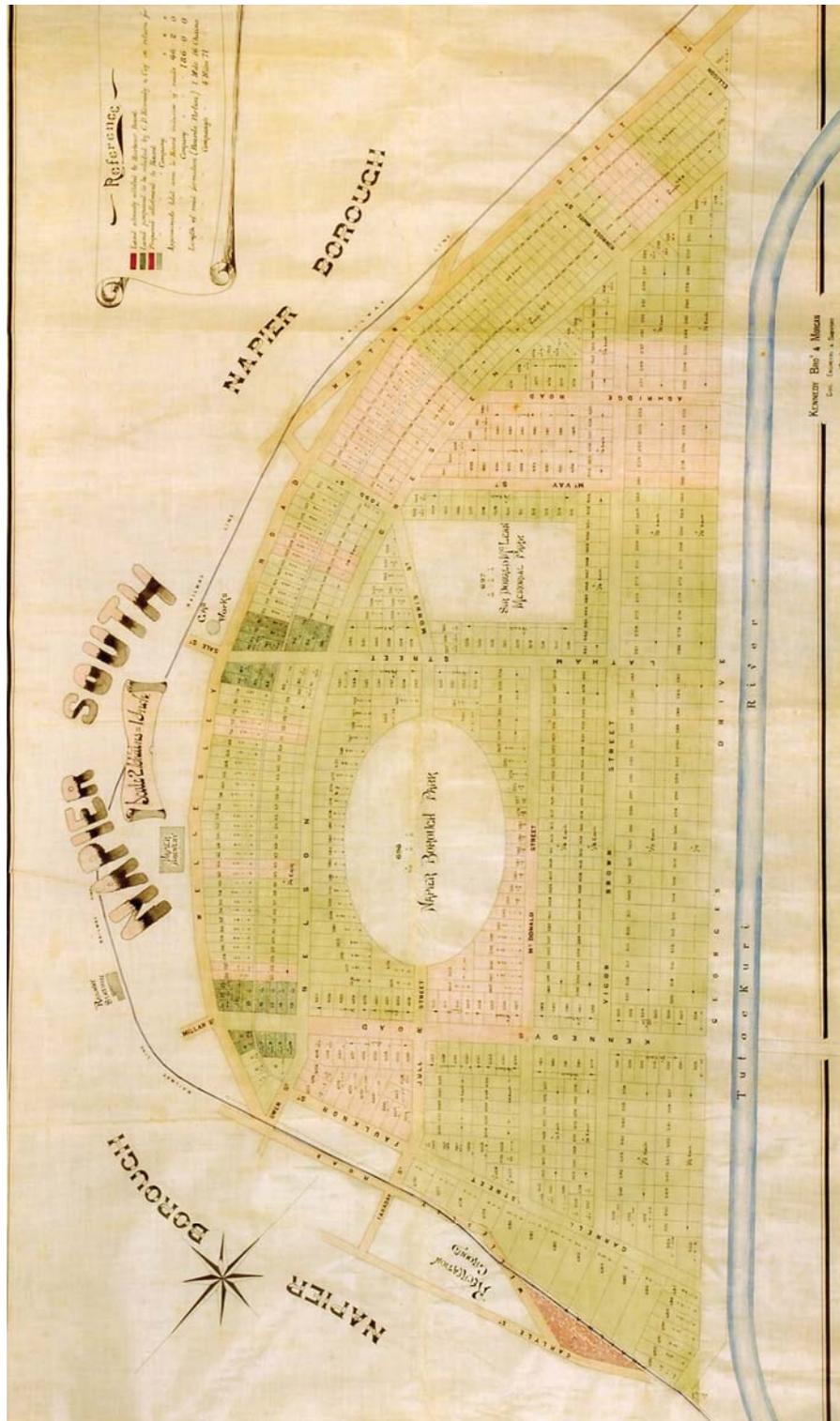


Figure 4.6: Plan of Napier South for development of suburb, prepared by Kennedy Brothers & Morgan, 1906.

Source: Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust - Hawke's Bay Museum & Art Gallery, Napier, New Zealand, Map 5514.

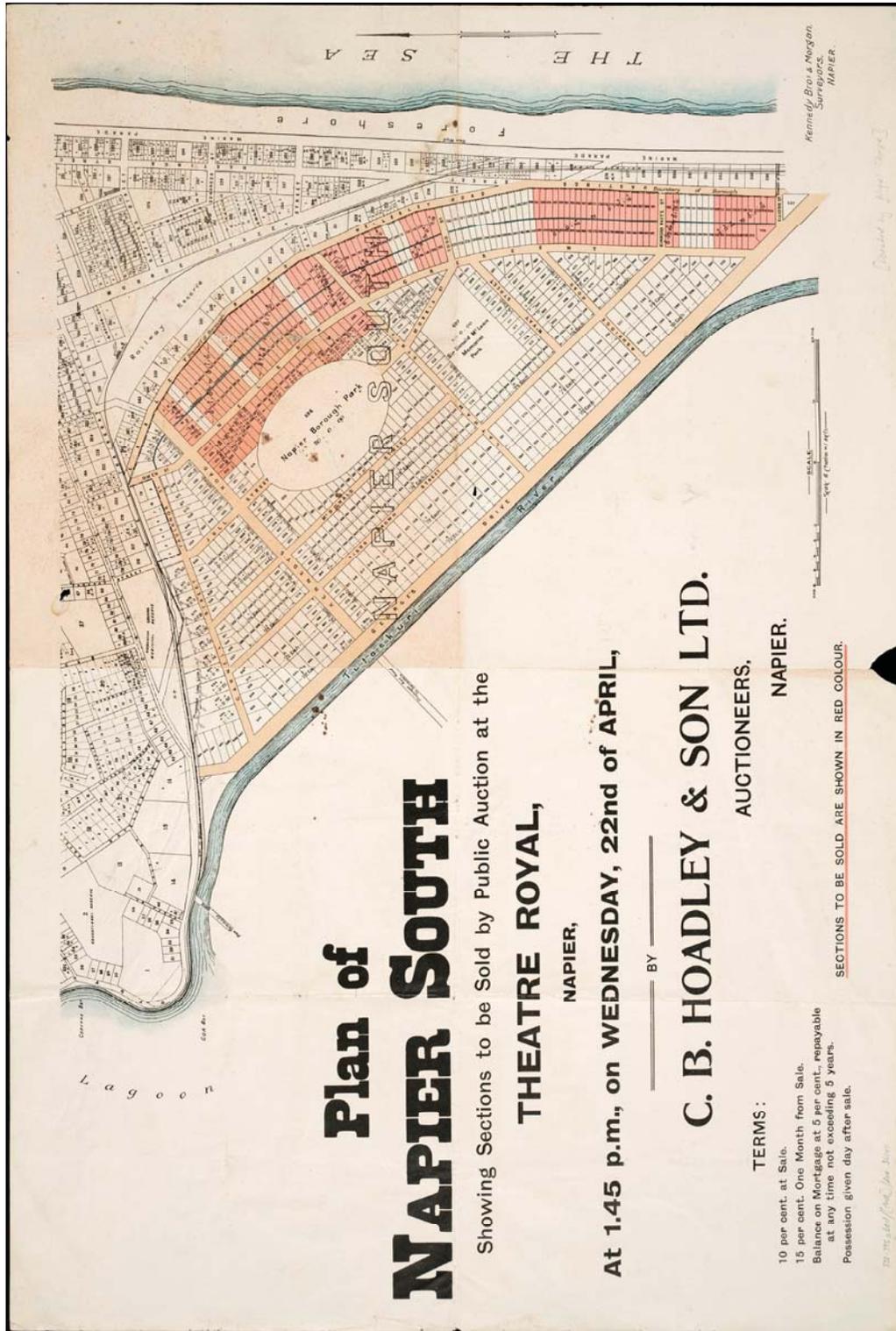


Figure 4.7: Plan of Napier South, prepared for sale of sections by public auction, 1908.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Cartographic Collection, MapColl 832.395gbbd/[1908]/Acc.36747.

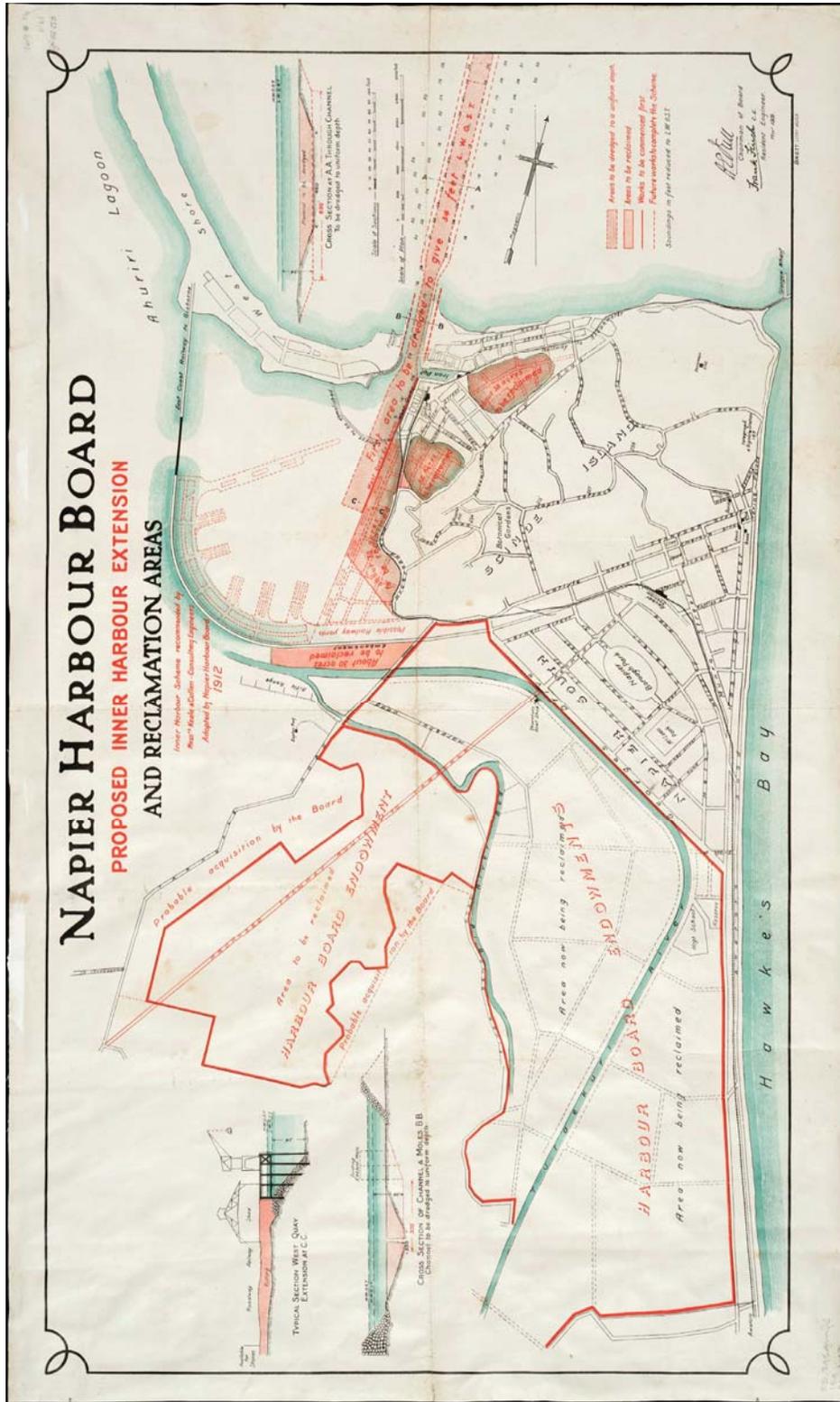


Figure 4.8: Napier Harbour Board proposed Inner Harbour extension and reclamation areas, 1919.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Cartographic Collection, MapColl 832.395gmfs/1919/Acc.6193.

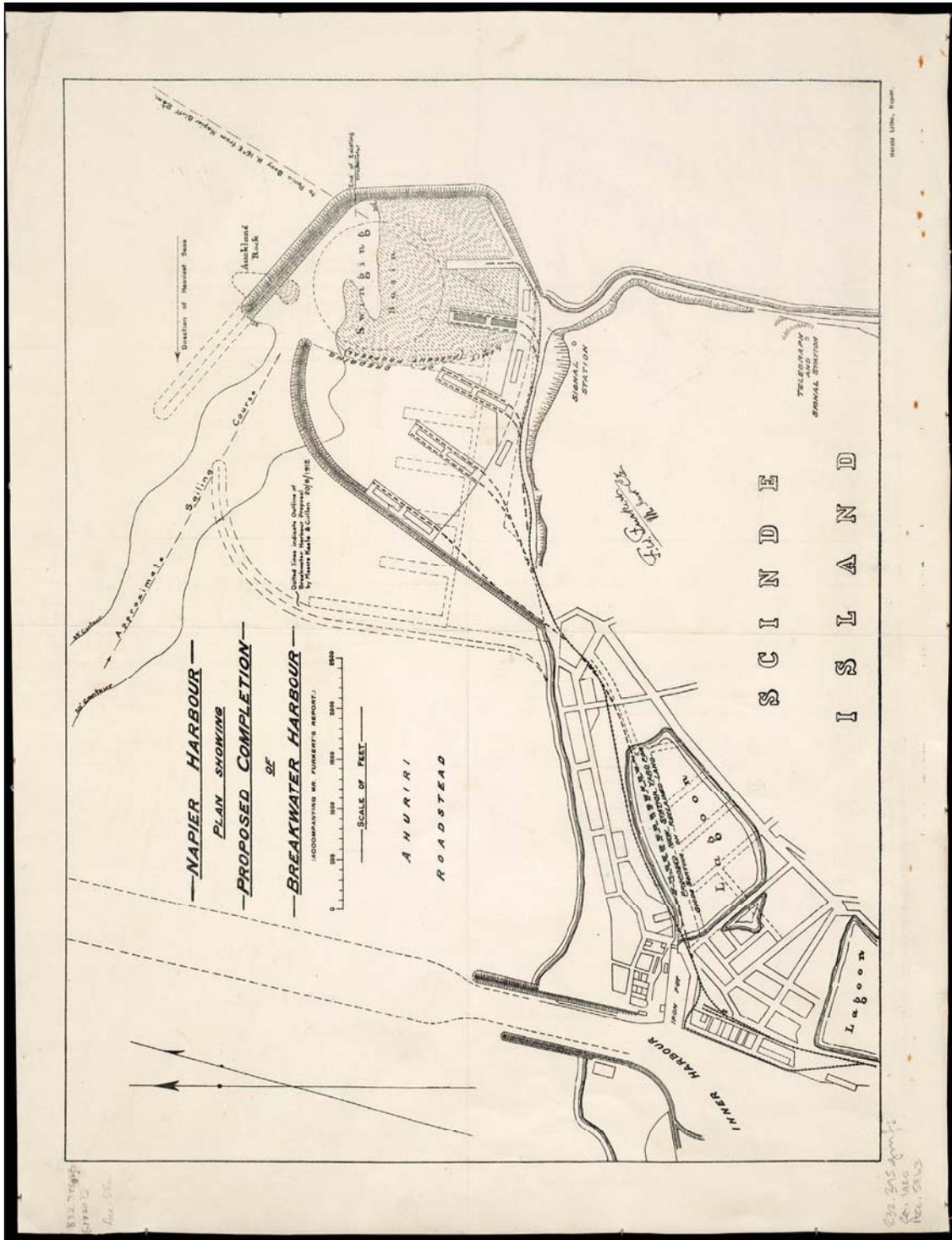


Figure 4.9: Napier Harbour plan showing proposed completion of Breakwater Harbour, about 1924.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Cartographic Collection, MapColl 832.395gmfs/[ca. 1920]/Acc.5863.

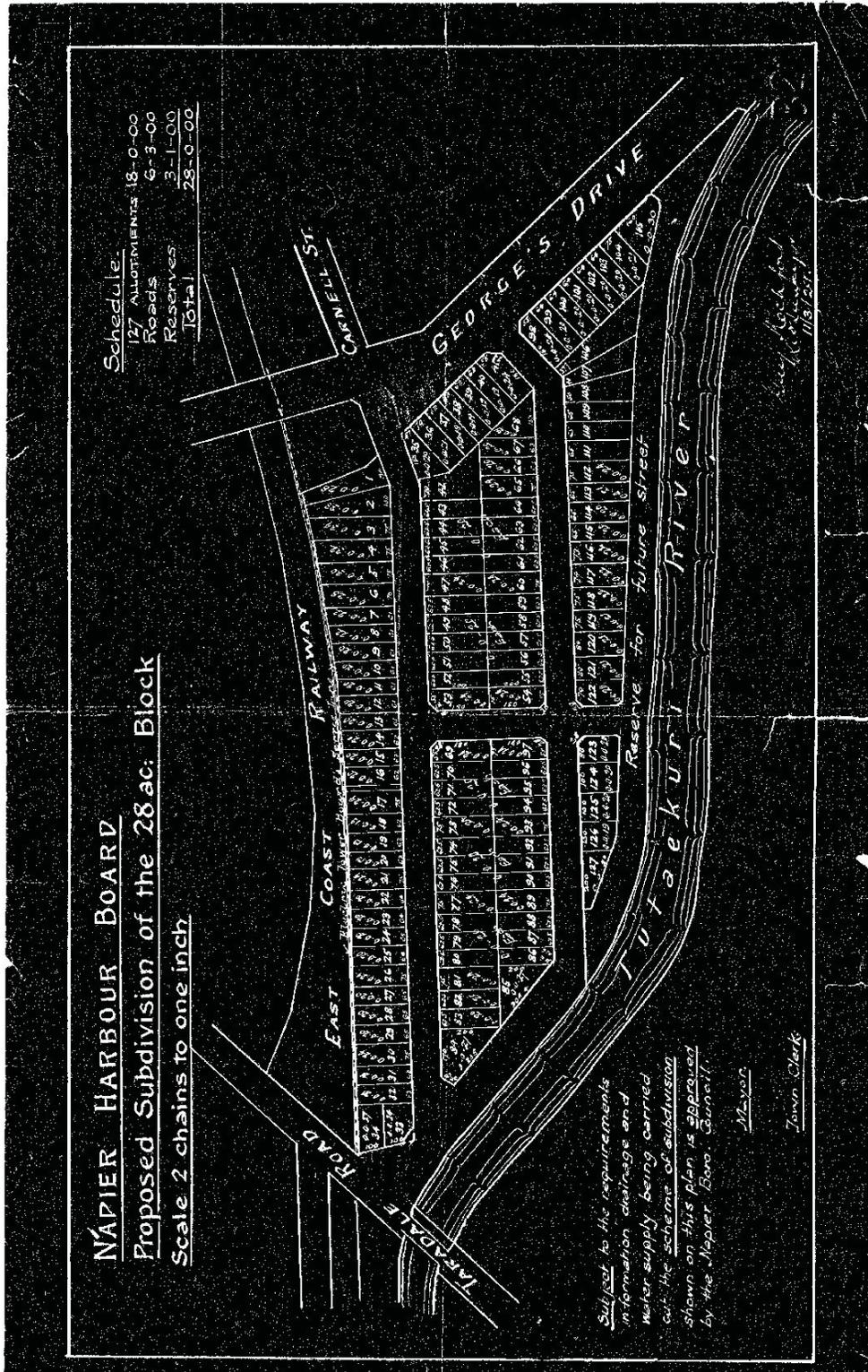
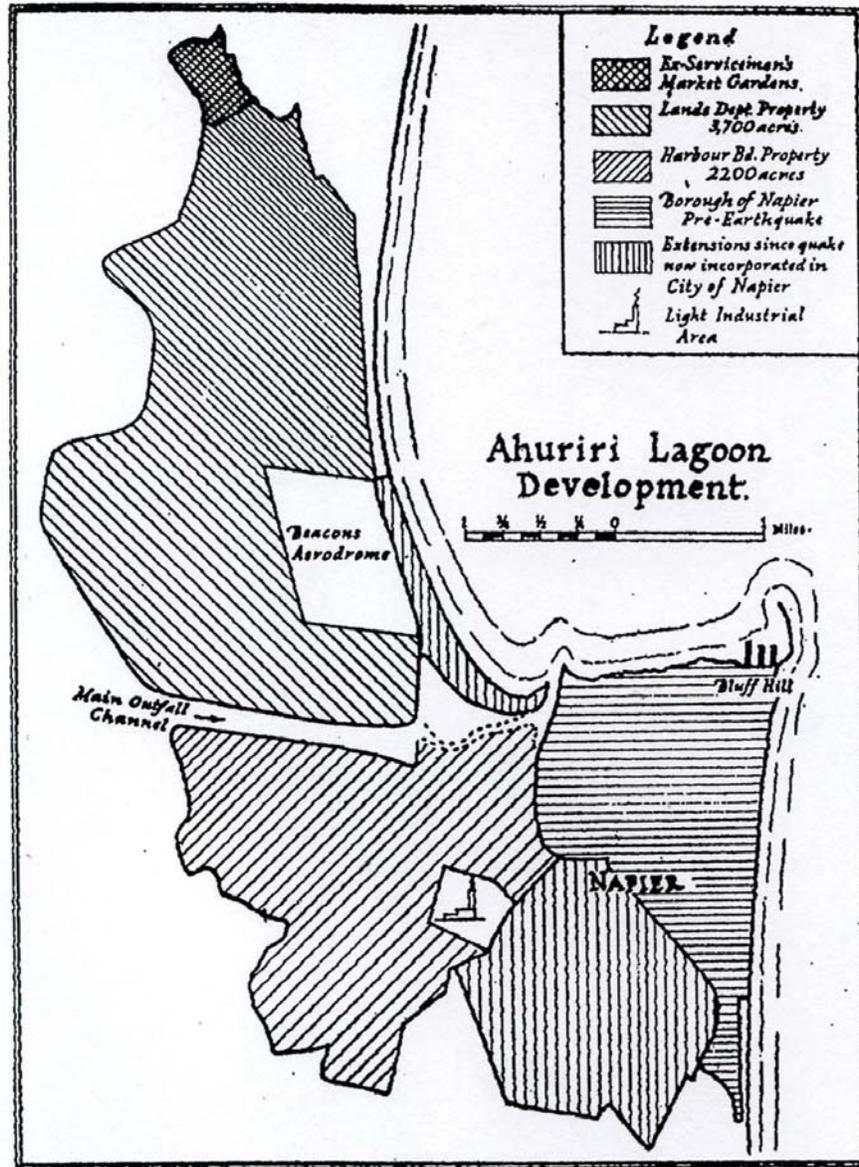


Figure 4.11: Napier Harbour Board Proposed Subdivision Plan of the 28-Acre Block, March 1929.

Source: Napier City Council, Box NCC 716, File B.21.



ADDITIONS TO NAPIER since the 1931 earthquake are illustrated in the above map-diagram, which shows the various blocks described in the article on this page.

Figure 4.12: Additions to Napier since the 1931 earthquake.

Source: Daily Telegraph, 17 September 1954, p. 8.

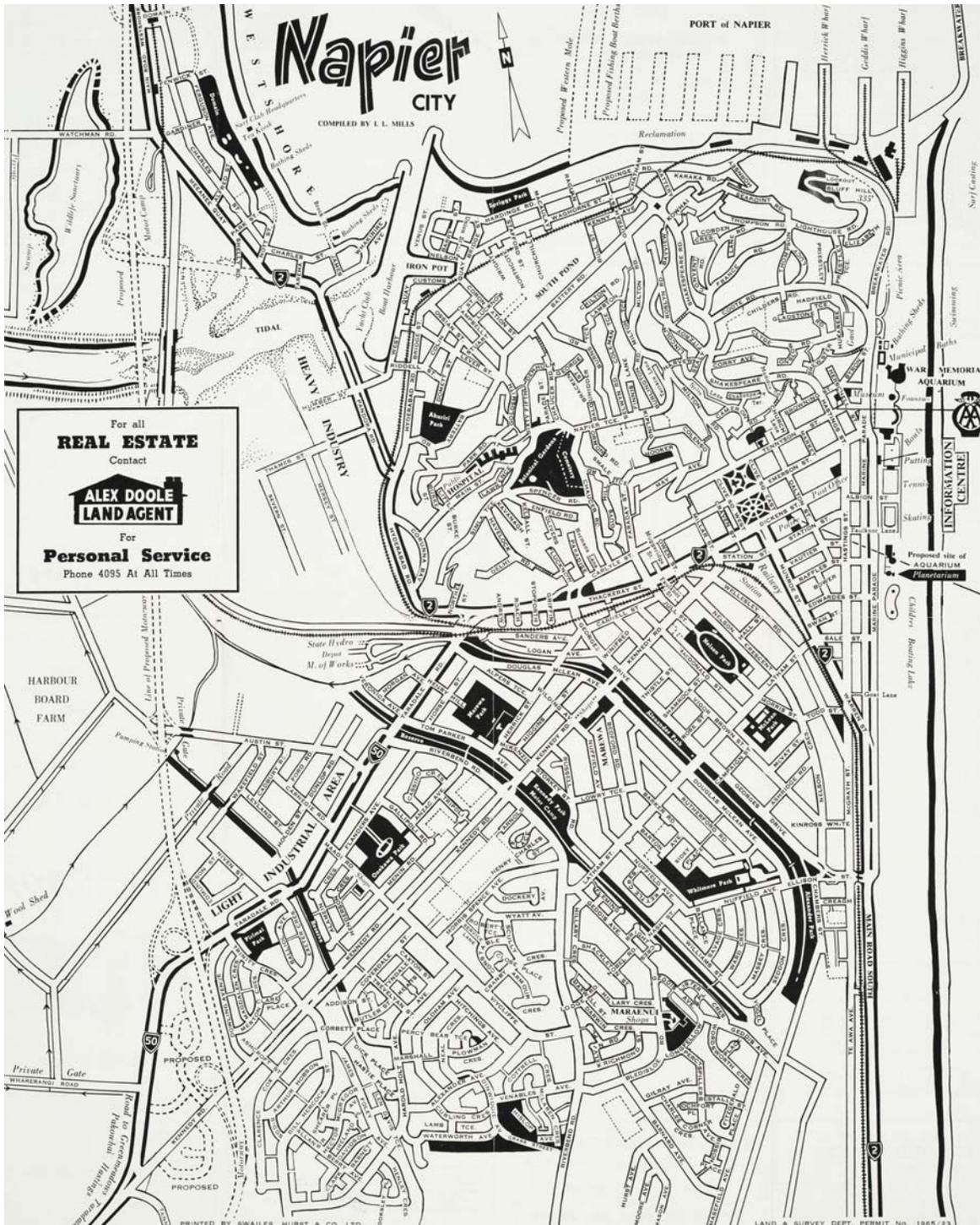


Figure 4.13: Map of Napier City, about 1966, compiled by Ian L. Mills. Includes proposed Port development and motorway planned to link Hawke's Bay Airport with Hastings.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: New Zealand, Cartographic Collection, MapColl 832.395atu/[1966?]/Acc.26547.

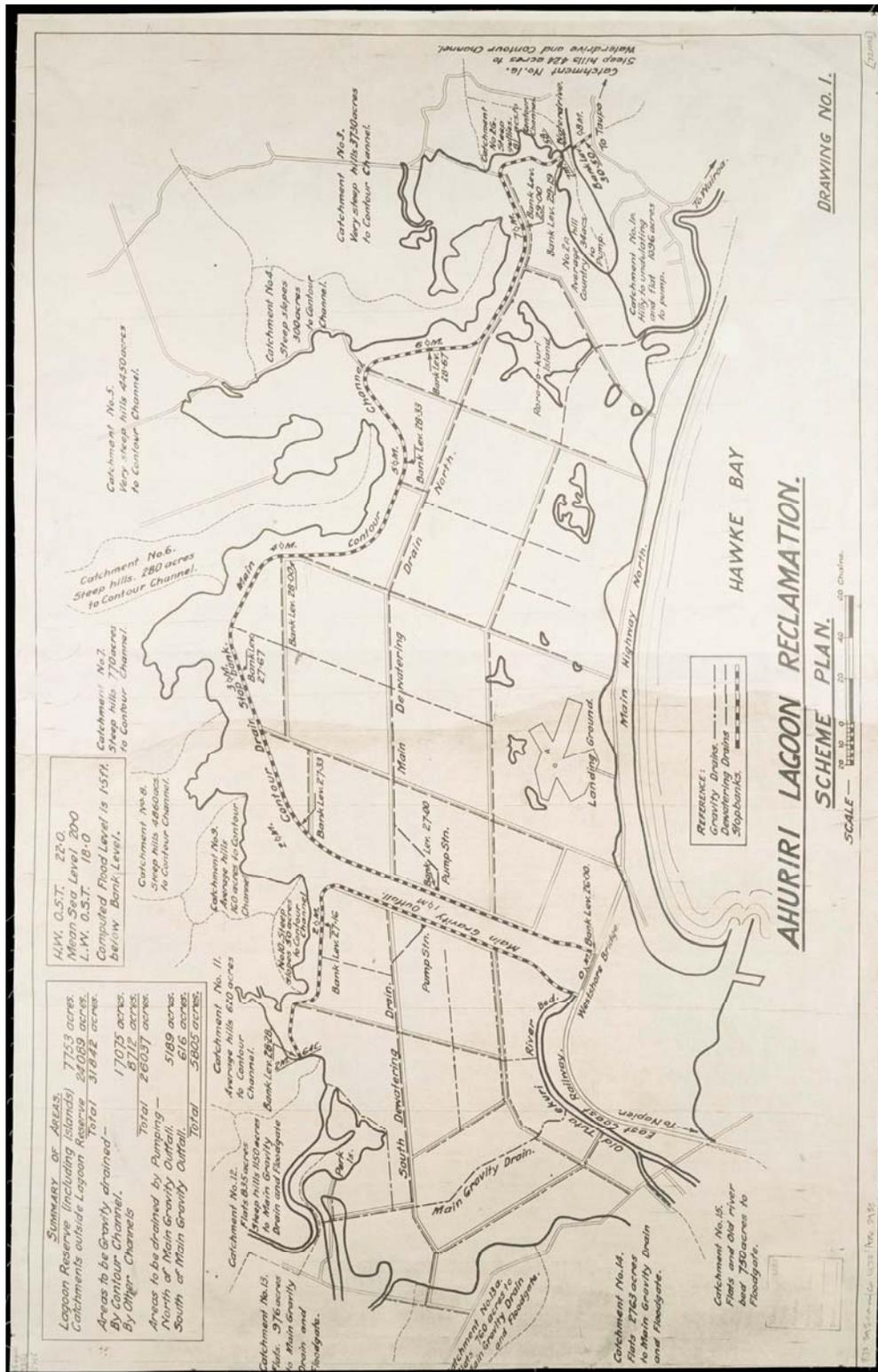


Figure 4.14: Scheme Plan for Ahuriri Lagoon Reclamation, drawing no. 1, about 1932.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Cartographic Collection, MapColl 832.395eam/[ca. 1932]/Acc.2755.

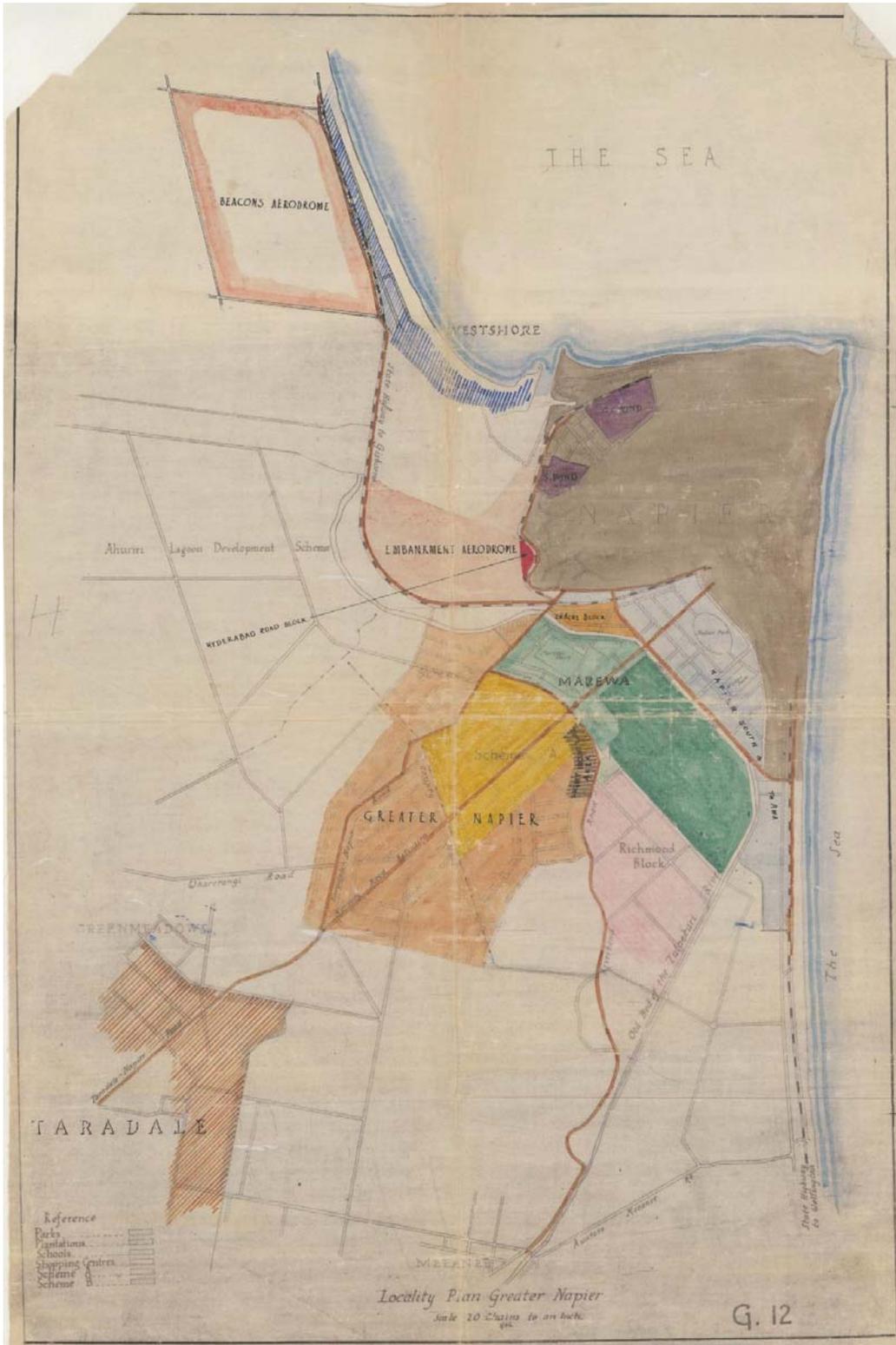


Figure 4.15: Locality Plan of Greater Napier, 1946, the sites of Beacons Aerodrome and Embankment Aerodrome shown in top part of plan.

Source: File, Planning Onekawa Section, 1946-1966, Napier City Council, Box NCC 344, File 61/14/1, Plan G.12.

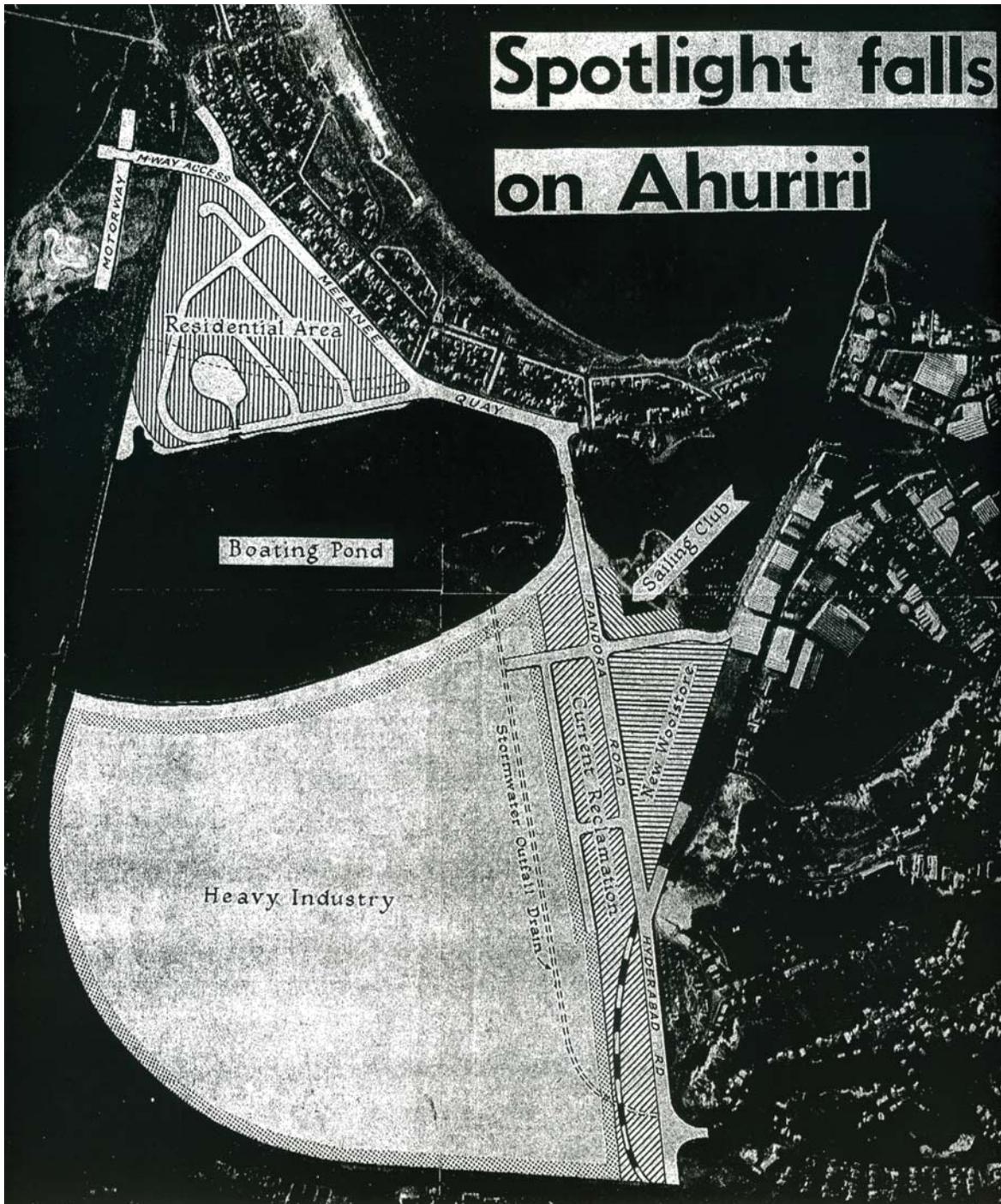


Figure 4.17: Development Project Plan for the former Inner Harbour, 1963.

Source: Daily Telegraph, 25 May 1963, p. 10.

Chapter 5

Phoenix City: The Reconstruction of Napier

Introduction

On 3 February 1931, a major earthquake devastated the twin Hawke's Bay towns of Napier and Hastings. Damage was greatest in the central business areas of both towns and, in Napier, was exacerbated by fire. In some cases, buildings that had survived the earthquake in Napier succumbed to the conflagration that followed. In both towns, many commercial and public buildings were completely destroyed, although the damage was much less in residential areas. As a result of the earthquake, 256 lives were lost, 161 of these in Napier, 93 in Hastings and two in the northern Hawke's Bay town of Wairoa.¹ Photographs of Napier taken shortly after the disaster show parts of the central area laid waste, reminiscent of towns in Europe that had been left in ruins after battles during the First World War. In the days that followed the earthquake, New Zealand newspapers were filled with photographs from the earthquake area, along with extensive stories and editorial comment about the earthquake, the emergency effort and initial steps being taken towards recovery. There was also some public discussion about the possible role of town planning in reconstruction.

From an international perspective, the death toll was in hundreds, rather than in thousands as has been the case for major historical earthquakes elsewhere. Nor were the towns totally destroyed. But in the New Zealand setting, the Hawke's Bay earthquake was, at the time, New Zealand's greatest natural disaster and this remained the position until the Canterbury earthquakes of 2010 and 2011. Apart from the Hawke's Bay and Canterbury earthquakes, major reconstruction following a disaster has not been a major issue in New Zealand. Over the years, more localised damage has arisen from floods, fire and less

damaging earthquakes. The 1855 Wairarapa earthquake, which affected the Wellington area, remains New Zealand's strongest recorded earthquake with a magnitude of 8.1 on the Richter scale. There were less than ten fatalities, and damage was less severe because buildings were mainly of wooden construction and therefore more resistant to earthquakes. At that time, Wellington was a town of about 6,000, and had been partially rebuilt in wood following a major earthquake in 1848. In 1929, the Murchison earthquake resulted in 17 fatalities. The severity of that earthquake was 7.8 on the Richter scale, the same as the Hawke's Bay earthquake. Loss of life and property damage was much less, however, because of the rural location of the earthquake, Murchison being a small inland town located in the upper part of the South Island.² The recent Canterbury earthquakes, although of lesser magnitudes, caused more widespread damage than any other New Zealand earthquake because of their proximity to Christchurch, a city of about 375,000. No lives were lost in the 2010 earthquake, but the death toll for the February 2011 earthquake was 182 confirmed fatalities.³ In terms of loss of life, therefore, the Hawke's Bay earthquake remains New Zealand's greatest natural disaster.

Despite the devastation and loss of life, the citizens of Napier responded positively to the earthquake and the opportunities it provided. Within a few years, Napier had been largely rebuilt, and the town had embarked on a number of developmental projects that would scarcely have been imagined before the earthquake. The reconstruction of Napier is partly considered in terms of a disaster recovery model developed by Robert Kates and David Pijawka that recognises different phases of activity following a disaster. The model begins with an *emergency* period immediately following the disaster, and is followed by periods characterised by *restoration*, *replacement reconstruction* and *developmental reconstruction*, the overall process concluding many years later when all aspects of reconstruction and recovery are complete.⁴ In Napier, while much of the reconstruction was completed within two years, some rebuilding occurred into the later 1930s. At the same time, other developmental projects were initiated, largely in response to the opportunities provided by the earthquake. These projects continued well beyond the 1930s, and included major urban development, and waterfront and transportation improvements. Within the framework of the Kates and Pijawka model, the relevance and role of planning is considered. This is of particular interest, given that New Zealand had passed its first planning statute in 1926, five years prior to the earthquake, and, during the

decades just before the earthquake, interest in planning ideas was growing, not just because of the legislation, but because of the spread of planning ideas and developments from other parts of the world. In the years after the earthquake, officials and professionals involved in rebuilding Napier sometimes looked overseas for ideas and inspiration, particularly to the western coast of North America, where cities had been rebuilt following major earthquakes.

After much of the rebuilding had been completed, Napier presented itself to New Zealand and the world as a town that was planned, attractive and beautiful, and for some years justified its description as the “Newest City on the Globe”, the name Napier was sometimes called in the 1930s.⁵ The same title was later given to a television documentary made in 1985 about the rebuilding of Napier and celebrating the Art Deco townscape that had become the outstanding legacy of the reconstruction.⁶ Within two years of the earthquake, a carnival was held to celebrate rebuilding, and, in the years immediately following, Napier received considerable publicity about how, phoenix-like, a new town had emerged from ruins.⁷ From a planning perspective, however, not everything was perfect. Napier could have achieved more from the opportunities provided by the earthquake, particularly from the mid-1930s onwards. After the early years of reconstruction, there was a slowing of planning progress, which largely stalled during the years of the Second World War. From the 1950s, there was renewed interest in planning ideas, but it was not until the 1960s that Napier was finally covered by district schemes as required by planning legislation.

Reconstruction: The Wider Context

Reconstruction, as a planning-related theme, has a broad literature, although theoretical concepts are not widely discussed. Much of this writing has been prompted by the devastation brought upon towns and cities by two world wars, although studies of reconstructions following earthquake and fire are of special interest to Napier. Many studies focus on particular cities, with reconstruction added as an epilogue following a chronology of the disaster concerned and emergency steps taken to combat any continuing

danger and rescue survivors. However, there is a growing literature in which the principal focus is on recovery and reconstruction, rather than the disaster itself.

Several studies set the scene for reconstruction, and provide a basis for considering events in Napier. Jelle Zeilinga de Boer and Donald Sanders consider the study of earthquakes as a blend of the sciences and humanities.⁸ They note that earthquakes are usually treated descriptively, with accounts mainly concerned with damage and casualties, but that the effects of earthquakes can last many years. They therefore introduce what they describe as the “vibrating string” model in which there is a sequence of earthquake related phases or events that can last for many years after the original earthquake. The initial vibration is short but sharp, while later vibrations are less intense but of longer duration. These include, in a slightly modified form:

- Earthquake, lasting for seconds or minutes.
- Aftershocks, landslides, tsunamis and fire, lasting for hours, days, or sometimes months.
- Epidemics, social distress and unrest, and economic decline, lasting weeks or months.
- Reconstruction and economic revival, lasting years or decades.
- Commemoration, through books, poetry, plays and films, lasting decades or centuries.⁹

Robert Kates and David Pijawka have developed a model for recovery following earthquakes or other major disasters. The concept is that events after a disaster follow a similar pattern, although the overall time required for complete reconstruction will vary. In particular, they explain that post-disaster activity passes through four distinct stages or periods.¹⁰ In the *emergency period*, the focus of recovery is on attending to the deceased and the needs of those who are injured or homeless. Some debris is also cleared from principal streets. This period might last just a few days, or much longer. In the *restoration period*, attention is given to the repair or patching up of utility services and buildings that can be restored. Other indicators include the return of refugees and the removal of rubble. This period may last from a few months to over a year. In the *replacement reconstruction*

period, the emphasis is on rebuilding capital stock to its pre-disaster or greater level. This includes all residential, commercial and industrial structures destroyed or beyond repair. The population of the devastated area and other activities return to normal. The time required for this period may be a period of up to ten years or more. Finally, in the *commemorative, betterment and developmental reconstruction* period, major projects are the theme. These are usually major undertakings that are financed by government, their purposes being “to memorialize or commemorate the disaster; to mark the city’s post-disaster betterment or improvement; or to serve its future growth or development.”¹¹ For simplicity, the use of the term *developmental reconstruction* in this thesis is intended to cover all three purposes for the final period of reconstruction. This model can be represented diagrammatically, with each period shown as a parabolic curve. Time is represented on a logarithmic scale, so that the different activities can be more clearly shown. Generally speaking, the second and third periods are about ten times longer than the previous period. There is some overlap between periods, because the reality is that different activities may be addressed at the same time, so while rubble still waits to be cleared, planning may already be underway for long-term reconstruction.¹² The recovery and reconstruction of Napier is presented below in a manner based on this model, including a table that clearly delineates the different periods, the time taken, and their overlaps.

The Kates and Pijawka model has generated some discussion and debate. Clifford Oliver comments that the recovery process is complex, with many variables that affect how easily and how fast different communities and groups respond to disaster. Some groups are better equipped to cope, because socially they are less vulnerable, or are better prepared for disaster because of pre-event planning designed to mitigate disaster and facilitate recovery. Further, the recovery process may not follow a linear progression of activities, as this may, for example, be frustrated by the extent and timing of financial and other assistance.¹³ David Edgington observes that the four phases may not be easy to distinguish and might all take place at much the same time. He acknowledges, nonetheless, that the model “is useful as a starting point for understanding the dynamics of community recovery.”¹⁴ Kates and Pijawka did acknowledge, however, that recovery activities do overlap to some extent, and that the timings required for the different periods can differ markedly from one disaster to another. For example, if any developmental reconstruction is to take place at a later date,

planning for it might need to take place much earlier. Lawrence Vale and Thomas Campanella criticise the model because the analysis it provides about recovery is incomplete.¹⁵ They comment:

This sort of analytical framework is certainly a valuable contribution to the task of explaining post-disaster urban recovery, yet it masks as much as it reveals. It is not enough to pose general models for urban recovery; in this book we have been asking *who* recovers *which* aspects of the city, and by what mechanisms.

The extent, pace, and direction of urban recovery are chartable only in very general terms and present a woefully incomplete picture of reality. Moreover – even if every disaster follows a predictable pattern of rescue, restoration, rebuilding and remembrance – it is not this generality that is interesting; what matters are the variations.¹⁶

The criticism made by Vale and Campanella is probably too strong. The Kates and Pijawka model is only intended as a starting point for the study of post-disaster recovery, and, in any event, the general pattern and the extent and time taken for it does matter. Following a disaster, the affected community needs to have or would appreciate having some idea or understanding of the recovery and reconstruction steps that will follow, together with likely timeframes for key milestones along the way. Furthermore, the recovery model is not just a tool for looking at the past; it can help with predictions for the future. As well as looking at completed recoveries, the model can and should be used to project timelines for those disasters where recovery is still in progress. It is desirable to be able to estimate the time required for recovery and its constituent activities, so that appropriate arrangements can be made to administer, plan and finance the recovery, and ensure that the required resources are available when they are needed. Recovery is an interdisciplinary process, but planning has a central role because of its future-oriented focus and underlying concern to promote a living environment better than pre-disaster conditions. Obviously, as progress is made through the different recovery periods, the focus of planning will change, with increasing attention being given to longer-term projects and concerns as time passes.

In Jeffrey Diefendorf's collection of essays about the reconstruction of European cities after the Second World War, most of the essays are about individual cities.¹⁷ The chapter by Stanislaw Jankowski on Warsaw, for example, mentions that, although 90 percent of buildings had been destroyed during the war, Warsaw remained the capital of Poland, and

residents began to return spontaneously. Reconstruction proceeded, with land becoming municipal property to avoid ownership difficulties, a step facilitated because of communist rule. This also enabled the street system to be improved. Jankowski lists the successes and failures of the reconstruction, noting that there was one basic question – could more have been achieved?¹⁸ Other questions to consider in the context of reconstruction are suggested by Diefendorf in his introductory chapter. Some of these include, in slightly adapted form:

- How should debris be removed?
- How should reconstruction be financed?
- Should streets and uses of land be planned on new lines?
- Should historic areas be rebuilt in original character?
- What new facilities and amenities should be provided?
- Who should make decisions about reconstruction?¹⁹

A prime question, however, is whether or not a devastated city should be rebuilt. Dennis Mileti, in a paper presented at a conference on rebuilding Wellington after an earthquake, remarks that almost without exception, cities rebuild on their existing site, no matter how many times they have been damaged.²⁰ His paper outlines a typology for reconstruction and relocation following an earthquake. The first option is relocation to a new site. Examples are rare, although a recent instance is Valdez, Alaska, where the decision to relocate after the 1964 earthquake was prompted by fears that the town's original site had become extremely hazardous. There was a possibility of future damage from unstable ground and coastal erosion. The second option is intra-urban relocation, in which part of a city might be relocated to another site within the city's existing boundaries. This option is more common than full relocation and typically may occur in response to floods. An earthquake example is Leninakan, Armenia (population 250,000), where as a result of the 1988 Spitak earthquake, more than one half of the city's buildings were destroyed or damaged beyond repair. The reconstruction authority, based in Moscow, decided that part of the residential area should be relocated to the rural fringe, an area thought to be less susceptible to future earthquake activity. The third and most common option is where there is no relocation whatsoever, and damaged buildings are repaired or rebuilt on their

former sites. Mileti explains that this option is usually preferred because people wish to return to pre-earthquake conditions as soon as possible. Funding may not be available for full relocation, and in most cases damage is partial rather than complete. It is easier, cheaper and quicker to repair a town rather than start afresh. Pre-disaster planning is largely based on this concept. People also have some attachment to their city and would be reluctant to abandon its pre-earthquake site.²¹

Some cities have been rebuilt more than once. Corinth has been rebuilt three times after devastating earthquakes in 1858, 1928 and 1981.²² Before the earthquake of 1906, San Francisco had been burnt and rebuilt six times, and there had also been major earthquakes in 1865 and 1868.²³ Such rebuilding is partly explained by the resilience and determination shown by communities in their desire to survive and triumph over disaster, a theme partly explored by Mark Pelling in his study of social response to natural disasters.²⁴ This illustrates that people can become quite attached to their existing communities, making them reluctant to leave even in adversity. This attitude is at odds with a rational planning model, but has been the dominant approach to reconstruction.

Reconstruction of cities and towns after disaster takes many different forms. In some cases, there is a desire to restore the old, with parts of city centres being restored to their former glory. The Belgian town of Ypres was totally destroyed in the First World War by bombardment, but some public buildings were rebuilt and restored to their original designs.²⁵ At the same time, there may be a golden opportunity to plan anew, although possible visions of the future are often constrained by circumstances of the time. Three famous cities devastated by disaster in different centuries, London, Lisbon and San Francisco, illustrate this.

In 1666, central London was laid waste by the Great Fire. After the disaster, a ban was put on ad-hoc rebuilding while plans were drawn up for reconstruction. Ideas for rebuilding London had existed since at least 1662 when a Royal Commission had been established to improve the city's streets and buildings. A number of people therefore had been working on plans before the Fire, and were able to present them within a few weeks. The chosen plan was practical rather than grandiose. Robert Hooke, as City Surveyor, had a leading role in reconstruction, assisted by specially appointed commissioners and legislation in the

form of the Rebuilding Act 1667. The intention of that act was to facilitate the building of a city that was better regulated, more uniform, beautiful and graceful, and less susceptible to fire.²⁶ Christopher Wren had produced a more extravagant plan. The narrow and winding medieval streets were to be replaced with a completely new street pattern in which the principal streets radiated outwards from a group of civic buildings. William Ramroth comments that while the plan was “rational, geometric, and grand” it was a plan that could not work.²⁷ Its implementation would have required the Crown to take over large parts of the city, lay out the new streets, and somehow reallocate property or pay compensation to former landowners. This would take time, require funds and cause much debate, “none of which the Crown could afford.”²⁸ Christopher Wren did make some contribution to the rebuilt London, most notably through his design of St. Paul’s Cathedral and 51 other churches.²⁹

In 1755, central Lisbon was devastated by earthquake, tidal wave and fire. John Mullin writes that it was decided to rebuild, despite concerns about the possibility of more earthquakes.³⁰ One person, the Marquis de Pombal, appointed by the King, was in charge of the reconstruction. Initially, four options were considered - rebuilding the city as it was, rebuilding with street improvements, undertaking a complete rebuilding on the existing site (the option which was chosen), or rebuilding on a new site. After that decision was made, six further plans were considered, before one was finally chosen. The rebuilt Lisbon featured public squares and a grid of streets.³¹ Considerable thought and planning was shown in the reconstruction of the city. Models of replacement buildings were tested for resistance against earthquakes by using marching troops to simulate tremors.³² The Marquis de Pombal looked after many aspects of the post-earthquake recovery. Immediately after the earthquake, he issued the command: “Bury the dead and take care of the living.” Later, he initiated a survey to ascertain the effects of the earthquake in other parts of Portugal.³³

In 1906, San Francisco was devastated by earthquake and by fire that followed. Even in the difficult days immediately after the disaster, there was little doubt that San Francisco would be rebuilt and “rise like the Phoenix from its ashes”³⁴ as had happened earlier in the city’s history. A Committee of Forty Notable Men was entrusted to facilitate the rebuilding process. Daniel Burnham had developed a plan for the city in 1905 applying

City Beautiful ideas, but his grandiose plan went largely unimplemented because of the desire to rebuild the city as quickly as possible. Some streets were widened and graded, but at the expense of narrower pavements.³⁵ Kates and Pijawka, in presenting their model of disaster recovery activity, specifically refer to San Francisco. They state that the emergency period was about four weeks, during which time emergency commissions ceased and some commercial activity began. Restoration was about nine months (40 weeks), followed by replacement reconstruction, which lasted nine years (400 (*sic*) weeks). The developmental reconstruction began with buildings associated with the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915, and finished in 1929 with the completion of the civic centre complex. The second and third periods, as indicated by the model, lasted ten times longer than the preceding period.³⁶

In the decade before the 1931 Hawke's Bay earthquake, two other cities were rebuilt after earthquakes. The Great Kanto earthquake of 1923 devastated Tokyo, but reconstruction was largely completed by 1930 and celebrated by a reconstruction festival that year.³⁷ Reconstruction projects were led by central government in a "top-down" approach, and included a new road system and many new parks, as well as the replacement of buildings that had been damaged or destroyed.³⁸ In 1925, Santa Barbara in California, badly damaged, was rebuilt, largely in Spanish Mission style.³⁹ Few changes were made to the existing street pattern, but architectural or design guidelines were produced and applied to individual reconstruction projects. Immediately after the earthquake, the Santa Barbara City Council established a Board of Public Safety to oversee demolitions and reconstruction. The Board formed an Architectural Advisory Committee, which strongly supported Spanish architecture and believed that the earthquake provided Santa Barbara with an opportunity to create a distinctive locale. Within a week of the earthquake, the Advisory Committee had established an Architectural Board of Review, which was empowered to examine all building plans before building permits were given. For nine months, the Board of Review supervised rebuilding. Buildings were required to have low-pitched roofs built with red tiles, and walls were to be built with plaster and painted in warm Mediterranean tones. Patios were also part of the accepted style, along with the use of wrought iron decorations. Anyone dissatisfied with a decision made by the Board of Review could appeal to the City Council. Santa Barbara business interests opposed the new building requirements, because they believed that they, rather than the Board of

Review, should be able to make decisions about their own businesses. Accordingly, the Board was dissolved in March 1926, but it had already issued 1000 permits and many Spanish Mission-style buildings had been completed or were under construction. This style was also followed by those who wanted their buildings to fit in with surrounding buildings and this helped promote Santa Barbara's image as a tourist destination.⁴⁰ Santa Barbara was to provide some inspiration for rebuilding Napier, in particular with regard to the style of architecture that should be used in reconstruction.

Also useful to consider is the rebuilding of European cities after the First World War, given that this activity had commenced within 15 years of the 1931 earthquake. Hugh Clout, in a study of reconstruction in France during the years 1918 to 1935, explains how the challenge of reconstruction was met through legislation, compensation and town planning.⁴¹ Of the towns and villages that were devastated, all were rebuilt apart from "a score of villages". The widespread devastation also provided an opportunity to experiment with the Garden City model. Clout's article includes detailed coverage of Rheims, and discussion of reconstruction as heritage, both shortly after the Armistice, then in more recent times from the 1980s. In the years between, little interest was taken in the rebuilt townscapes.⁴²

Not so successful was a replanning programme for Eastern Macedonia initiated by the Greek government for the reconstruction of villages destroyed during the First World War. Kiki Kafkoula writes that some 130 to 150 villages and towns were involved, but after a promising start, the programme stalled and only one of a number of plans produced was implemented. Of interest was the involvement of John Mawson, who was appointed to lead the programme and who endeavoured to plan the villages and towns along Garden City lines. Mawson was later to make planning contributions to both New Zealand and Napier. Kafkoula comments that the Garden Suburb attributes of the few plans that survived indicated that the gridiron street pattern was generally abandoned, roads were of different widths, and ample provision was made for "public spaces around the centre, providing vistas for the carefully arranged public buildings."⁴³

The above studies suggest a series of questions that should be considered by any agency having responsibility for the possible reconstruction of a devastated town. First, should the

town be rebuilt? The existing location or any nearby substitute location may be totally unsuitable, because of the threat of a repeated disaster event. It might be that the surviving population can be housed in other nearby towns. Second, if a town is to be rebuilt, should it be rebuilt at its existing location, a new location, or be partly relocated? The above studies show the overwhelming preference for towns to be rebuilt, with there being little or no change in location. This is not surprising, as there are immense barriers to relocation, including cost and the abandonment of the established identity of the former town. Third, if reconstruction does proceed, what changes or improvements should be made? Instead of replicating the old town, there may be a desire to adopt new ideas embodying planning principles and eliminate what might have been seen as limitations of the town prior to disaster. Generally, it appears that disasters are initially seen as an opportunity to make improvements, but the extent of these is moderated in due course by more practical considerations. Both London and San Francisco, for example, had visionary plans available for their reconstructions following fire and earthquake respectively, but in both cities the reconstructions that followed were based largely on pre-disaster conditions so that the cities could be rebuilt as quickly as possible. Fourth, what will be the nature of the reconstruction plan or plans? This could be in the nature of a comprehensive structure plan that outlines the proposed final structure of the town once reconstruction is complete, or the plan might be a process document that enables more detailed decisions and plans to be developed as reconstruction proceeds. Fifth, who should make decisions about reconstruction and how will the work be financed? While these decisions are of an administrative nature, the decision-making process and finance available can place enormous limitations on what can be achieved through reconstruction. It might be desirable to modify existing administrative arrangements, so that decisions can be appropriately resourced and be focused on recovery. A devastated community will invariably look to outside its boundaries for support, because it lacks the finance and expertise required to facilitate reconstruction.

Closely associated with the above questions is the relationship between reconstruction and planning. Several different viewpoints are possible. On the one hand, reconstruction could be seen as a specialised form of planning, in much the same way as one might talk about tourism planning, transportation planning and the like. On the other hand, planning and reconstruction might be regarded as largely separate processes. Whereas planning in a

post-disaster situation might be associated with the production of a document that prescribes the desired outcome, reconstruction is an ongoing exercise that draws together different disciplines, practices and procedures. Planning therefore is about the organisation and development of activities over space, whereas reconstruction is about the development of activities over time. Reconstruction planning endeavours to reconcile and integrate both processes.

Several papers explore the relationship between reconstruction and planning. Brett McKay, writing in 2005 as manager responsible for the District Plan at Wellington City Council, commented that city planning is an important component in post-disaster recovery and reconstruction, but doubts that this role is fully appreciated. While the Wellington City District Plan included some earthquake mitigation measures, he doubts that these would be sufficient for a major earthquake event.⁴⁴ He also referred, approvingly, to a conference paper given in 1981 by Adolf Ciborowski, who at the time was associated with the Institute of Urban Design and Planning at Warsaw Technical University. The conference was about large New Zealand earthquakes, and was held in Napier as part of the 50th anniversary of the Hawke's Bay earthquake.⁴⁵ In that paper, Ciborowski identified planning and design measures that should be considered after a major earthquake, with the objective of producing a better, healthier and safer city. These measures included the following:

- Population and building densities should be lower in more vulnerable areas. Ciborowski commented that downtown Napier, with 90 percent site coverage, was a disaster risk because inner parts of city blocks could be difficult to reach.
- Sufficient parks and open space should be provided, these areas helping to prevent the spread of fires following disaster and also function as a shelter for refugees.
- Streets should be wide enough to facilitate access and evacuation in an emergency.
- Buildings should be sited and designed to minimise damage, facilitate evacuation, and protect people from falling debris, especially by ornamental motifs or overhanging structures.
- Infrastructure should include more than one source of supply, and electricity lines should be underground.⁴⁶

However, the reality of the New Zealand planning system is that both the community and individual landowners have the right to be consulted, and also have extensive rights of appeal. Consequently, the implementation of the above suggestions can be frustrated because parties are unable to agree on outcomes or the community cannot meet the costs of the improvements. Decision-making about the above suggestions might also take into account the low possibility of an earthquake taking place or doubt about where fault lines lie.

In this thesis, the recovery and reconstruction of Napier after the earthquake is partly assessed in terms of the Kates and Pijawka model. Table 5.1 later in this chapter clearly delineates the different periods, the time taken, and their overlaps. In the following analysis, the model is used as an overall framework, but because of the overlapping of recovery activities, matters common to several periods may be discussed more fully either in an earlier period or that period which seems most appropriate. This applies particularly to some of the planning aspects of recovery that, in the broadest sense, are relevant to all or most of the four periods. Further, the model is used as a starting point for a fuller discussion of other earthquake recovery and reconstruction questions. As a refinement to the model, the terms *period* and *phase* will be used, each having a specific meaning. The term *period* is used in relation to each of the four recovery activities – emergency, restoration, replacement reconstruction, and developmental reconstruction – to denote that *period* of time where the particular recovery activity is the dominant or the most important activity. The term *phase* is used to indicate the total time span for a particular recovery activity. On this basis, there is no overlap of periods given that only one activity can be the dominant or most important at one time. The phases, however, do overlap, as envisaged by the Kates and Pijawka model. For the dates shown in the headings below, the outer dates for each *phase* are used, rather than just referring to the shorter time or *period* when the particular recovery period was dominant.

The application of the Kates and Pijawka model to Napier has previously been considered by Melanie Hollis in her Master of Science thesis about formulating disaster recovery plans in a New Zealand setting. Hollis used Napier as a case study and her observations about each of the four recovery periods are discussed more expansively below

in relation to each of the four post-earthquake activities.⁴⁷ While her use of the model was appropriate to her study, her observations about each of the periods, including the duration of each period, was limited.

Earthquake: 3 February 1931

At 10.47 a.m. on Tuesday 3 February 1931, Hawke's Bay was hit by a massive earthquake. There were two principal shocks, lasting about two and a half minutes altogether, but with about 30 seconds of stillness separating the two shocks. The first was a violent upward movement, the second a downwards movement as the level of the land returned part of the way to its original position. Such was the force of the earthquake that people found it difficult to remain standing as the ground continued to shake. There was also some liquefaction as sand and mud were forced above ground level. In Napier, the most severe damage was in the central business district, at Port Ahuriri and at the Hospital on Napier Hill (Figure 5.1). In these areas, many buildings collapsed or were damaged beyond repair. Fire broke out almost immediately. The fire started in two chemist shops, and could not be contained because of the damage to water pipes. In the central area, most commercial buildings were destroyed, if not by earthquake, by the fire that followed. A fire at Port Ahuriri similarly destroyed most business premises in the area. There was much less damage in residential areas. Most houses were constructed of wood and therefore coped better with earthquake stresses. Even so, about 90 percent of houses sustained chimney damage. Some houses that were two-storied or built of materials other than wood suffered some structural damage but relatively few were completely destroyed or sustained serious damage. The underground reticulation systems for water and sewage were also extensively damaged, so that for a time houses were without essential services. There was similar but less extensive damage in other parts of Hawke's Bay, including the neighbouring town of Hastings, located 12 miles to the south of Napier. The land in and around Napier was raised from three to eight feet (one to three metres) and much of the Inner Harbour was drained of water. Of the 256 lives lost in Hawke's Bay, those who died were either outside on the pavement and killed by falling masonry, or were trapped in collapsing buildings. Some people who had survived the first shock lost their lives when

caught by the second.⁴⁸ In addition, medical teams in Napier and Hastings treated about 450 people with injuries, many of whom were evacuated to hospitals in other North Island towns.⁴⁹

The magnitude of the earthquake was 7.8 on the Richter scale.⁵⁰ Its epicentre was on the coastline five to fifteen miles north of Napier, and its depth was about 20 miles. Aftershocks continued for some time after the earthquake, although seismic activity declined reasonably quickly. In February, there were 595 aftershocks. In March, the number of aftershocks had dropped to 79. The largest aftershock was on 13 February.⁵¹ It had a magnitude of 7.3 and caused further damage.⁵²

The earthquake was not the first time that Napier had faced disaster. Over the years, there had been floods and fires. Because of the recurring nature of these events, steps had been taken to reduce risk for the future. Stopbanks had been constructed along the Tutaekuri River and a seawall had been built along the Marine Parade to prevent the town being invaded by seawater. Fire brigades had been established at Napier and Ahuriri, with fire hydrants providing ready access to water. Further, after a major fire in December 1886 in which 33 shops and offices located in Emerson and Tennyson Streets in central Napier were totally destroyed or badly damaged, the Council confirmed an earlier bylaw requiring new buildings in the central area to have exterior walls of brick, stone or concrete.⁵³ When the bylaw was originally proposed in 1880, the *Hawke's Bay Herald* reported that its purpose was to prevent the spread of fire from one building to another, noting that there had been major recent fires of this type in other towns. The newspaper also observed that the reason for building in wood was a concern about earthquakes, but believed that this risk had now passed “and there will never again be earthquakes of the severity of those which occurred in early days of the colony.”⁵⁴

Emergency: February and March 1931

The emergency response to the earthquake was almost immediate. Amid the falling debris, people tried to help each other and rescue those who were trapped or otherwise needed

assistance. Fire brigade personnel attended fires, but were generally unable to fight them because of damaged pipes and limited water supplies. Hospital staff set up temporary medical facilities at several different locations in Napier, the Hospital itself being destroyed by the earthquake. Later on the day of the earthquake, a temporary hospital was set up at Napier Racecourse, several miles out of town. By good fortune, the naval sloop *H.M.S. Veronica* was moored at Port Ahuriri at the time of the earthquake. Through wireless communication, the ship was able to arrange for two naval cruisers, *Dunedin* and *Diomedé*, to bring supplies and other provisions to Napier, the vessels leaving Auckland within four hours of the earthquake. The crew from the *Veronica* helped with rescue and other activities on land. The fires took 36 hours to extinguish, at which time eleven blocks in central Napier had been burnt out. Late on 3 February, a special train left Wellington for Hawke's Bay, with 500 tents and other supplies. When news of the earthquake became known, offers of assistance were made from all over New Zealand, including temporary accommodation in towns just outside the earthquake area. On the first night of the earthquake, most people opted to sleep outdoors because of continuing tremors and the lack of services.⁵⁵

The organised response to the earthquake began the next morning with the formation of the Napier Citizens' Control Committee. A meeting of officials and residents formed an executive committee, together with a number of subcommittees responsible for matters that included sanitation and water supply, safety of buildings, food distribution, shelter, communications, hospital and transport. The executive committee functioned for five weeks as the body primarily responsible for rescue and initial restoration activities in Napier. Its membership, once settled, included J. Vigor-Brown, Mayor of Napier, and other leading citizens. From 6 February, the committee was constituted as a sub-committee of Napier Borough Council. Immediate attention was given to the supply of food and water from various locations around the town, and a headquarters camp was set up at McLean Park, which could accommodate 2,500 people and where meals and other facilities were provided. Efforts were also made to remove debris from principal streets. Arrangements were made to evacuate women and children to Palmerston North and other places, with over 5,000 being evacuated by 7 February.⁵⁶ The evacuation continued until 16 February, when 200 people or less were leaving Napier each day. After that date, only the injured were evacuated. Overall, 6,700 were evacuated through organised means, and

another 2,000 are thought to have left Napier privately.⁵⁷ These numbers accounted for about half of the town's population. The reason for the evacuation was the possibility of disease, because there was no water supply or sewerage system. The decision to evacuate was made very shortly after the earthquake.⁵⁸

Thought about the future of Napier, however, was never far away. The *Daily Telegraph*, through its editorials and other reports, exuded optimism and confidence. Just eleven days after the earthquake, the *Telegraph* declared that there were two tasks. The first task was to ensure that the victims of the earthquake were cared for – “nursed in sickness, provided with homes, or helped to resume their normal activities.” The second task was to build a new Napier, which “must also be more spacious, more dignified, and more beautiful.”⁵⁹ Outside Napier, offers for support and planning for the future are illustrated by two cartoons published by the *New Zealand Herald* on consecutive days about one week after the earthquake (Figures 5.2 and 5.3).

In her study, Hollis suggests that the duration of the emergency period was about three days. That was barely sufficient time to complete the rescue mission. This period is probably better extended to the time evacuees stopped leaving Napier, this date being just under two weeks from the date of the earthquake. At that time, restoration activities were well underway, although the emergency phase could not be regarded as complete until more formal administrative arrangements were put in place for restoration and reconstruction, through the appointment of Commissioners. Until that time, the town and its earthquake response were managed on an ad hoc basis that, although approved by the Borough Council several days after the earthquake, was still an emergency arrangement.

During the emergency phase, the focus of activity was on meeting immediate needs. The relationship of the various aspects of an integrated recovery programme, covering both short and longer-term activities, was clearly set out in a memorandum prepared by John Mawson for the Department of Internal Affairs two days after the earthquake. His specific intention was to show how town planning fitted into the overall recovery framework. At the time, Mawson was Director of Town Planning for the New Zealand Government, and in his memorandum he also referred to his experience as Director-General of the destroyed towns of Macedonia. He believed that central government should assume full control of

the situation for at least twelve months, this work to be headed by an officer possibly designated as Director or Commissioner of Reconstruction, responsible directly to the Cabinet. Mawson envisaged three stages in this work, emergency, intermediate and final. In the emergency phase, naval and military authorities would be primarily responsible for a range of activities that included communications, medical, food, evacuation, temporary housing and demolishing dangerous buildings. In the intermediate phase, responsibility passed to civilian authorities and focused on restoration of services, clearing debris, issuing permits for building repairs, and assisting with the resumption of economic activities. A preliminary survey of the devastated area would also be carried out. In the final stage, detailed surveys would be undertaken, model bylaws would be drafted to improve building stability and minimise the risk of fire, and schemes would be prepared “where the destruction of buildings presents the opportunity to bring about desirable improvements in accordance with modern town-planning principles.” After the schemes were prepared, further steps would address financial issues and legislation.⁶⁰ While many of tasks outlined by Mawson were eventually completed, the centralised reconstruction agency was not created and the planning-related surveys and schemes that transpired were to be more modest. However, the memorandum underlines the importance of a coordinated approach to recovery and reconstruction, and the recovery process includes steps or stages – this is similar to parts of the Kates and Pijawka recovery model.

Restoration: 1931-1933

The restoration phase began on the day of the earthquake, initially overshadowed by emergency activity. The immediate focus was on the restoration of essential services and the removal of debris. Clearing up was accomplished relatively quickly, which was an achievement given that those were the days before heavy machinery.⁶¹ By late February, it was thought that about 95 percent of houses in Napier were habitable, at least to some extent.⁶² Many residents had temporarily left Napier after the earthquake, but most returned as their houses were made habitable or were restored. Their wish was to resume their normal life to the extent that it was possible, and to be reunited with family members (mainly men) left in Napier. In March, numbers of those staying in two refugee camps in

Palmerston North steadily declined, and both camps were closed by the end of the month.⁶³ A temporary community shopping centre was opened in Clive Square, adjacent to the business area of town, on 11 March 1931.⁶⁴ The centre, known as Tin Town, remained open until early 1933. Arrangements for its construction were initiated by businesses and the Borough Council at a joint meeting, held two weeks after the earthquake. There was competition for places available in Tin Town, and a ballot was held to determine who would be allocated a place.⁶⁵

On 11 March 1931, the administration of town affairs became the responsibility of two specially appointed commissioners. The Commissioners were the two members of a Special Committee of Management appointed by the Borough Council on 2 March 1931, and were delegated all the powers and duties of the Council. Their appointments and responsibilities were later confirmed by the Hawke's Bay Earthquake Act 1931, which became law on 28 April 1931. The act also stated that the next elections for Napier Borough Council would be delayed until May 1933, and, in the meantime, the existing Council was expressly forbidden from exercising any control over the Commissioners or revoking their appointment. The power to discharge the Special Committee, or change its membership, was vested in the Governor-General.⁶⁶ The Chief Commissioner, John S. Barton of Wanganui, was a stipendiary magistrate and was well-known throughout New Zealand as an administrator, with expertise in both law and finance. He had held appointments as Chairman of a number of commissions of inquiry, including the Royal Commission on the Napier Harbour in 1927 and a commission on Auckland public transport the following year. The other Commissioner, Lachlan B. Campbell, was Inspecting Engineer in the Public Works Department. Much of his career was associated with railway construction, and at the time of his appointment as a Commissioner, he was already on site in Hastings assisting with the removal of debris.⁶⁷ The Earthquake Act in effect gave the Commissioners complete power and they were accountable only to central government. As a team, Barton assumed responsibility for the administrative and financial work, with Campbell concentrating on technical problems associated with the reconstruction. *The Dominion*, a Wellington newspaper, commented that civic control in this manner was "rare, if not unique, in New Zealand" and drew a parallel with "the town manager system followed successfully by some centres in the United States."⁶⁸ In terms of

the Kates and Pijawka model, the role of the Commissioners was to oversee the restoration and replacement reconstruction phases of the recovery process.

Very shortly after the earthquake, it became clear that Napier would be rebuilt, with no change to its location. This is in line with the observation of Dennis Mileti that, almost without exception, cities rebuild on their existing site following a major disaster.⁶⁹ The *Evening Post*, another Wellington newspaper, reported on 10 February 1931:

A few people are still asking whether Napier will be rebuilt, but the majority have stuck to the obvious from the first – that the town must be rebuilt. There are millions of pounds worth of house properties but little damaged, and the port and town facilities represent a capital sum far too great for abandonment to be seriously considered for a moment. The whole history of earthquakes is a repetition of wrecked towns and cities being reconstructed on the old sites.⁷⁰

There were several alternative proposals for the future of Napier, but these were not seriously pursued. One proposal was that the central business area should be relocated to Pandora, just north of the Napier Hill, but this idea was not taken up by the Commissioners. The town centre was to be rebuilt on its existing site, probably for reasons of cost and a reluctance to move.⁷¹ Another proposal was that a new harbour should be built some miles south of Napier at Clifton near Cape Kidnappers, with a new town to be built on Grange Hills nearby. It was suggested that a loan could be raised in London to purchase 5,000 acres for the town, but this might not have been realistic during the difficult economic times of the Depression. The idea for relocating Napier reflected some concern that the town, if rebuilt on its existing site, might, sometime in the future, sink and finish up lying beneath the sea. A related proposal was that Napier should be abandoned altogether, with Hastings to become the principal commercial and administrative centre for Hawke's Bay. At a meeting at which the Grange Hills idea was discussed, there was much applause when a motion to rebuild Napier on its existing site was carried.⁷² There was no need for the existing town site to be abandoned, because severe damage was largely confined to the business area. Napier's housing stock was restorable, but if abandoned by the move to Grange Hills, the cost of reconstruction would have substantially increased. Commissioner J.S. Barton apparently had no fears that Napier might be invaded by the sea. When giving evidence to the Parliamentary Select Committee about earthquake relief, he explained: "If you read the history of the whole island you will find that there is a

continuous record of rises in the surface, but no record of a fall.”⁷³ A. S. Mitchell, consulting engineer and architect, expressed confidence in rebuilding Napier. He, along with several other members of the Earthquake and Building Construction Committee of the New Zealand Institute of Architects, visited Napier several days after the earthquake, and had no doubt that the town would be rebuilt. They noted in particular that damage, although substantial, was not complete, and that a number of buildings built in permanent materials had survived the earthquake. They believed that, with the enactment and enforcement of a building code in the future, public safety would be enhanced.⁷⁴

The restoration of services was a major task for the Commissioners, but this work was largely completed when the Borough Council resumed its normal operations in May 1933. Restoration work included the repair of roads, pavements and kerbing, and replacing much of the network that supplied water and drained sewage and stormwater. The water supply network had also been damaged at its source, and new artesian bores had to be sunk. Nearly all streets needed major excavations to allow sewer breakages to be located and repaired. Overall, 26 miles of sewers were reconstructed and five pumping stations built – an almost entirely new network. A difficulty with sewer restoration was that the uplift of land varied from about three to eight feet, so in some places the natural fall in pipes was now in the wrong direction. For stormwater drainage, reinstatement involved six miles of drains. Meanwhile, the removal of debris continued and was still in progress in some parts of Napier in early 1933.⁷⁵

Inside the central business area, a number of buildings survived earthquake and fire to the extent that they needed restoration rather than replacement. The Fire Station and Post Office, built in 1926 and 1930 respectively, survived the earthquake but were extensively damaged by fire. Both buildings were reconditioned in 1932 and reopened for their original purposes.⁷⁶ The same applied to a number of other buildings in the central area, including Trinity Church in Clive Square (a wooden structure built in 1876) and the Williams’ Building in Hastings Street, completed in 1911 (Figure 5.4).⁷⁷ This is the only structure in central Napier that, after the earthquake, still had its verandah supported by poles. The most famous of the surviving buildings was the Public Trust Building in Tennyson Street, built in 1921. This landmark building also required some reconstruction after the earthquake and was reopened in January 1932 (Figure 5.5).⁷⁸ Outside the central

business area, Port Ahuriri and the hospital, restoration rather than reconstruction was required. Although many houses had been built on reclaimed land, they sustained less damage than hill residences. However, the sewerage system suffered more damage in flat areas.⁷⁹

In terms of the recovery model, there is an unresolved issue about infrastructure that needed to be replaced or reconstructed rather than “patched up”. For simplicity, it is easiest to treat essential services as restoration, regardless of the extent of repair or replacement required. Hollis did not specify the start and finish dates for restoration in her study of Napier. The restoration phase began almost immediately after the earthquake, with initial work including the reinstatement of communications with the rest of New Zealand. Those aspects of restoration that took much longer included the installation of replacement sewers and the reconditioning of buildings that required more extensive repairs. Restoration work was largely complete by the end of 1933.

During the restoration phase, the focus of planning was on making decisions that would enable the town to start functioning with some normality, with particular emphasis on the restoration of services and repair of building and other structures that could be repaired. The appointment of Commissioners to oversee and coordinate the restoration of services and rebuilding of Napier was fundamental to this process. To carry out their responsibilities, they needed to be able to make decisions rapidly, and often with no precedent to guide them. Where necessary, advice was sought from experts outside Napier. While the Commissioners were to produce ideas and plans that covered many different aspects of recovery, they did not produce a written plan that, within a single document, set out their vision and complete plans for the future of Napier. However, their objective was to carry out a range of recovery-related activities and, on various occasions during their term of appointment, they issued regular progress reports to local newspapers on aspects of infrastructure restoration, including plans for the immediate future. In April 1931, for example, the Commissioners released a statement outlining plans for a pan collection system, intended to operate while sewer lines remained out of action.⁸⁰

Replacement Reconstruction: 1931-1939

Replacement reconstruction was closely related to town planning, particularly during the time when decisions were being made about the influence town planning should have on rebuilding and on the future development of the town. Such planning potentially included the introduction of a formal town planning scheme, as well as carrying out major civic improvement projects that would enhance the liveability and beauty of Napier. At the time of the earthquake, there was already a growing awareness of town planning in Napier. Planning ideas had been talked about from time to time since the First World War, particularly with regard to civic improvement projects and the activities of the Napier Thirty Thousand Club.⁸¹ After the earthquake, knowledge about planning was further enhanced by central government officials and local committees. Newspapers were also making their own suggestions for the reconstruction of Napier. An Auckland newspaper, the *New Zealand Herald*, on 7 February 1931, stated with optimism that “Many a city has risen phoenix-like from its ashes – an improved and more vigorous city” and referred to the example of San Francisco. The *Herald* also suggested that, in view of “the extent of the damage there is presented a favourable opportunity for something useful in the way of town planning.”⁸² Three days later, *The Dominion*, from Wellington, in an editorial titled “Scope for the Town Planner”, published a similar message. The newspaper reported that rebuilding Napier and Hastings “in conformity with modern principles of town-planning has already been discussed” and referred to the example of the 1925 Santa Barbara earthquake that had given the Californian town a great opportunity to build a dream town. *The Dominion* identified two main questions, one concerned with building construction in earthquake areas and the other with the layout of towns. In respect of the second question, the newspaper noted an observation from a writer who had visited the ruins of Tokyo and Yokohama after the 1923 earthquake: “How many thousands of victims of that earthquake might have been saved had these cities been constructed on modern lines, with wide streets and plenty of open spaces!”⁸³ *The Dominion* suggested that a commission should be established before any permanent rebuilding took place, with the purpose of addressing the above questions, along with others about the stability of land for building and actions that could be taken to reduce the threat of fire after earthquake.⁸⁴ While Commissioners were appointed to oversee the rebuilding of Napier, their role was more to manage the

restoration and reconstruction of the town, rather than to advise on key questions that would have been relevant to both Napier and Hastings.

The Napier Commissioners took a pragmatic approach in facilitating and planning the reconstruction of Napier. Neither Commissioner was trained in town planning, but in his 1932 article entitled “The Re-planning of Napier”, Commissioner John Barton mentioned in the opening paragraph that he was a recent “addition to the ranks of ardent town planners”.⁸⁵ With his legal background, he was able to quickly comprehend the requirements of the Town-planning Act 1926 and assess how the legislation might be able to be applied to Napier. The term “re-planning” is a period term and is not part of contemporary planning vocabulary. Its use in the 1930s was perhaps an acknowledgement that towns were already based on an existing plan of some description, even if just a street layout plan, therefore any changes or substitution of it would be in the nature of “re-planning”.

While the Commissioners had been given extensive powers to undertake their duties, they readily received advice from Borough Council staff, local committees and government officials. The Borough Council staff did not include a planner in the 1930s, but the Borough Engineer, W.D. Corbett, undertook some of the planning work, along with surveyor Edward Clement, who was later to become Town Planner. This arrangement was not unusual in New Zealand local authorities at the time, as the planning profession did not start to expand until the post-war years of the late 1940s and 1950s.⁸⁶ About the time the Commissioners were appointed, a local Town Planning Committee was established to assist the Commissioners. During 1931, the Committee was active in liaising with property owners in connection with proposals to improve the street layout. For a time, Louis Hay, a prominent local architect, chaired the Committee.⁸⁷ From mid-1931 until 1933, the Napier Reconstruction Committee, a voluntary group of local citizens representing prominent local organisations, also assisted the Commissioners. The Reconstruction Committee’s objectives were, broadly, to advise on matters relating to the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Napier, including liaising with the Commissioners, public authorities, and business interests in Napier.⁸⁸ The Committee was formed on the initiative of the Rotary Club of Napier, with 12 of the Committee’s 14 members being Rotarians. For about two years, the Committee met on a weekly basis, with leading

agenda items including the rebuilding of the business area, town planning, and Marine Parade improvements. The membership of the Committee largely came from local business and professional interests, together with representation from the Borough Council, Harbour Board, Town Planning Committee, Chamber of Commerce, Rotary Club and Thirty Thousand Club.⁸⁹ The composition of the Committee essentially represented business and property interests in the town rather than the community as a whole. The Reconstruction Committee was a separate entity to the Town Planning Committee, which was also closely linked with the Commissioners' work.

An important external advisor was John W. Mawson, Director of Town Planning for the New Zealand Government from 1928 to 1933. Mawson was a trained planner, obtaining qualifications in civic design from the University of Liverpool. Before taking up the position of Director, he had obtained extensive overseas experience in the practice of planning. Initially, he was associated with his family's town planning firm in its Canada office, after which he worked in Greece and Britain.⁹⁰ Mawson advised both the Commissioners for Napier and the Borough Council at various times during the 1930s, including in a private capacity after he left the government position. He had limited resources, and in some respects was not just a government official, but was also "a commercial traveller for town planning."⁹¹ He was also a keen advocate of zoning as an integral part of comprehensive planning and a means to ensure that towns grew in an orderly and systematic manner.⁹²

Within a week of the earthquake, he was invited to visit Napier to confer with both the Council and the Special Citizens Committee about the reconstruction of the business area.⁹³ Mawson responded shortly afterwards advising that he was happy to accept the invitation, subject to Cabinet approval, and referred to his experiences in connection with the reconstruction of towns in the Macedonian war zone and the replanning and reconstruction of Salonika after a major fire in 1917. In the meantime, he also urged the Council not to approve any permanent rebuilding.⁹⁴ However, Cabinet approval was not immediately forthcoming, his first post-earthquake visit to Hawke's Bay not taking place until 10-12 March 1931. There was apparently some criticism at the time that the services of the Town Planning Board had not been enlisted earlier. The Prime Minister (Right Hon. G.W. Forbes) replied that the priority "had been to care for the survivors and to see that

those who had been reduced to extreme want were not left without the necessities of life.”⁹⁵ He added that it was not reasonable to involve the Board until the need for purely emergency measures had past. He acknowledged, however, that the Government and affected local authorities were beginning to give more thought to the future, the first significant step being the appointment of the Napier Commissioners. He concluded: “When the time is ripe it will be reasonable to expect that the services of the Town Planning Board will be secured.”⁹⁶ It is also of note that the Prime Minister referred to the services of the Board being made available, rather than those of the only trained town planner in central government, Mawson. None of the Board members possessed planning qualifications. The Prime Minister’s statement was reported on 7 March 1931, more than a month after the earthquake. Within a week, however, Mawson was in Hawke's Bay, but it appears strange that the resources of the Town Planning Board were withheld so long, particularly when other agencies including the local Councils were already making plans for longer-term restoration and rehabilitation.

After his first visit to Hawke's Bay, Mawson recommended that a Regional-planning Advisory Committee be established, to be based in Wellington, and that the various local authorities in the earthquake area form regional committees, but these recommendations were not implemented.⁹⁷ However, he did establish connections with the Napier Commissioners, and as a starting point furnished them with literature relevant to town planning, and agreed to meet with them.⁹⁸ He visited Napier several times during 1931 to assist with planning matters and, later in the year, he visited California to study how San Francisco and Santa Barbara were rebuilt after major earthquakes. This was part of a three-month overseas trip gathering information about town planning, other destinations including Canada, New York and Britain. His principal purpose was to discover anything that might be of use for rebuilding Napier, but he reported on his return that he “did not learn anything of great value there ... but what I did see confirms my belief that we are going on the right principles here.”⁹⁹ Mawson also attended public meetings in Napier and spoke about town planning. In an address given in February 1932, he outlined the principles and practice of zoning. He suggested that Napier could have three zones - residential, commercial and industrial. Each zone could also have a number of subdivisions.¹⁰⁰ In May 1934, Mawson addressed about 200 residents on town planning ideas. Topics he spoke about included the development of the suburb later named Marewa,

and seaside resort schemes overseas that he felt could be applied to Napier. Mawson thought that Napier had three principal points of attraction: it was a port; it was, along with Hastings, the commercial and social centre of Hawke's Bay; and it accommodated residents other than those involved in industry and commerce.¹⁰¹ Mawson was appropriately qualified to discuss resort schemes, his family firm in England having been extensively involved with them.

Writing about the re-planning of Napier in 1932, Commissioner J.S. Barton acknowledged that “the clean sweep of the earthquake and fire” provided in the first instance “a glorious opportunity to correct the errors of the past and to have a well-laid-out town”, but this possibility was severely limited by two factors, finance and time.¹⁰² First, the earthquake had taken place at the same time as the impact of the Great Depression had become apparent. It was the worst economic crisis New Zealand had ever experienced. Finance for rebuilding, therefore, was destined to be in short supply. Second, some time was required if town planning ideals were to be fully implemented, as this would require a specific sequence of activity in the restoration and development of Napier. However, time was not available in abundance, because business people wanted to get their commercial premises rebuilt and operating as soon as possible. As it was, the business community had to shoulder both existing financial obligations and new ones created by the need to establish new premises. Therefore, some of the suggested town planning improvements could not proceed because of the need for economy and the urgency of rebuilding.¹⁰³ Barton adds:

Much good work was done, and we think it can be safely claimed that the public-spirited portion of the citizens of Napier who took an interest in this subject are better informed on real town-planning principles than any corresponding body of citizens in any other town in New Zealand. When, however, their town planning ideals for Napier came to be expressed in a feasible town-planning scheme within their means, it was proved to be limited to street-widening, splaying of street corners, opening a few new streets, and opening service lanes in city blocks so as to give back entrance to business premises and relieve the front streets of sewerage and other services.¹⁰⁴

In any event, it appears that there may have been no great need to refashion the street layout of Napier. This would have involved greater and more complex negotiations over land ownership and compensation for land acquired. The *New Zealand Institute of*

Architects Journal reported at the time that “the original plan of Napier was quite sound and on reasonably good lines”, but commented that the earthquake and resulting damage provided an opportunity to make “some necessary improvements in the lay-out” that included the widening of several streets and the provision of service lanes.¹⁰⁵ In March 1931, the Commissioners had indicated that rebuilding on some sites could not proceed until further consideration had been given to possible alterations in the layout of Napier. The Town Planning Committee was currently preparing a town planning scheme to give effect to these alterations.¹⁰⁶

The legislative basis for the planning related work undertaken by the Commissioners was provided by the Town-planning Act 1926 and the Hawke's Bay Earthquake Act 1931, the latter act being passed into law in late April 1931. The Town-planning Act required every borough council with a population of more than 1,000 to prepare a town planning scheme and submit it to the Town Planning Board for approval. However, the Commissioners did not wish to prepare a comprehensive town planning scheme that would cover all land within Napier Borough. They believed that it would take at least two to three years to complete such a scheme, but Napier businesses could not wait that long before rebuilding commenced. Instead, the desired outcome was a scheme that would apply only to the central business area and which could be approved as soon as possible.¹⁰⁷ The making of regulations that could give effect to such outcomes was permitted by the Hawke's Bay Earthquake Act 1931. The act empowered the Governor General to make regulations that would modify or extend “all or any of the provisions of the Town-planning Act, 1926, and making any provision which may be deemed necessary or expedient with respect to the planning or replanning of any area or areas affected by the earthquake”.¹⁰⁸

Shortly after the Earthquake Act became law in late April 1931, Mawson, the Town Planning Board and Crown Law officers began preparing regulations designed to assist in the planning or replanning of areas affected by the earthquake, particularly the devastated area of central Napier. The first draft of the regulations, which were confidential at the time, comprised 351 clauses and in effect set out a comprehensive code for town planning. These were titled “The Hawke's Bay Urban Land Development Regulations, 1931” and focused primarily on the content, procedure and enforcement of development schemes. Such schemes could be prepared with the approval of the Town Planning Board and could

cover the whole or part of the local authority area. In the first instance, a provisional scheme would be prepared, comprising two maps and a development bylaw. The first map was to be a survey of existing conditions, and the second was to show proposed new roads, roads to be widened or stopped, proposed open spaces, land to be acquired for the purposes of the scheme, and the classification of neighbourhoods, including bulk and location controls. Five classes of neighbourhoods were permitted – special residential, general residential, commercial, light industrial, and heavy industrial. The development bylaw was to be read in conjunction with the second map, providing the matters of a legislative nature to give effect to the scheme. Development schemes could also cover historic buildings, places of natural beauty, advertising, and dilapidated or unsightly buildings. The provisional scheme was to be publicly notified for fourteen days so that people could make “representations”, which the local authority was to take into account “and shall take all reasonable steps by conference, negotiation or otherwise to secure so far as may be possible the agreement or co-operation of all persons and bodies concerned in the development area.”¹⁰⁹ The local authority was then to modify the provisional scheme and submit it to the Town Planning Board for holding a public inquiry. The Board also could direct the local authority to hold a poll on any provision in the scheme. The scheme was then to be returned to the local authority for modification as directed by the Board, then returned to the Board for final approval.

Meanwhile, the Napier Commissioners were preparing their own regulations, which were much more limited in scope and addressed only those matters that were of immediate concern to the Commissioners. As a result, in mid-October 1931, the Napier Town-planning Regulations 1931, comprising 50 clauses, were made by the Governor General. These permitted a town planning scheme to be prepared for part of the area of a local authority only, it not being necessary for the land in any scheme to be one conterminous area. Each scheme was to have a distinctive name that referred to the relevant locality, and in addition to the content permitted by the Town-planning Regulations 1927, could also include “any provisions designed or intended to secure uniformity of contiguous buildings in any one or more respects.”¹¹⁰ The Governor General could also, by proclamation, declare any scheme to be urgent, in which case two periods for giving public notice were both reduced from three months to three weeks. Most of the provisions in the regulations, however, covered betterment, compensation and the assessment of claims, as these matters

were relevant to street widening proposals to be included in the first town planning scheme. The Commissioners were keen for these matters to be covered on a fair basis, recognising that widened streets would give adjoining properties an enhanced value (betterment) but this would need to be offset by the value lost (compensation) for land acquired by the Borough Council to make the street widening possible. This represented the standard understanding of compensation and betterment at the time. A valuation date was set at 4 February 1931, with jurisdiction to settle claims given to the Hawke's Bay Adjustment Court, which had been established to determine other matters arising from the earthquake.¹¹¹ The confidential draft regulations prepared by the Town-planning Board were therefore never passed, but did become a valuable resource document for provisions that could be included in the shortened regulations. Barton comments that Mawson initially did not wholly agree with this approach, but he later saw the Commissioners' "point of view in the light of the special needs of Napier" and cooperated in having the shorter regulations enacted. Barton added that, while the first scheme was only about street improvements, later schemes could cover other matters such as zoning, open spaces, and building harmony.¹¹²

The first town planning scheme for Napier was confined to the business area of Napier, which was generally defined to include the commercial area of Napier as shown in Figure 5.6, as well as a small area at Ahuriri. Parts of the map that formed the scheme adopted are shown in Figure 5.7, known as the Napier Business Area Town Planning Scheme 1931. Negotiations with landowners began while the scheme was being prepared. Many were happy to forgo compensation for land that was to be taken for street widening, partly because a widened street would result in some betterment or increase in the value of the remainder of their land, or was for the general good.¹¹³ By December 1931, the provisional scheme was open for public inspection and the making of objections.¹¹⁴ The scheme was concerned solely with street improvements in the business areas of central Napier and Ahuriri. These included widening Emerson and Tennyson Streets by ten feet and Dalton Street by 24 feet, forming two new streets, providing two service lanes to be located at the rear of properties, and splaying back numerous street corners.¹¹⁵ The reason for the street improvements was to provide wider carriageways, improve access to properties, and assist firefighting. Narrow streets had been a problem in Napier for many

years, and the earthquake and replanning of the business area now provided an opportunity for these difficulties to be addressed.

The Town Planning Board considered three objections at a hearing held in Napier in February 1932. A special committee of the Board conducted the hearing, the committee's members being S. Blakeley (Chairman of the Board) and J. Mawson. The essence of the objections was landowners' concerns about land that would be lost to each of them and its impact on the potential use of the remaining land. The Napier Fire Board objected because the loss of ten feet off its frontage in Tennyson Street would make it difficult for the Board to recondition its existing property. The South British Insurance Company objected because its frontage on one street of a corner property would be reduced to less than seven feet, this resulting from the proposed splaying of the corner. The third objector, R. Saunders, was concerned that, after the street widening, he would be left with a strip of land that was only seven feet wide, quite unsuitable for any type of building.¹¹⁶ Final Board approval was given in March 1932 after consideration of several other written objections, the various objections being disallowed.¹¹⁷ A *Daily Telegraph* editorial acknowledged that although the adopted scheme was much less than what might have been originally contemplated, the street widening and related improvements would allow rebuilding to proceed in the business area and, when completed, would benefit both traders and shoppers.¹¹⁸ Although the Commissioners anticipated that further town planning schemes could be established in the business area covering other matters such as zoning, a comprehensive scheme for the business area was not adopted until the 1960s. Looking back, the town planning scheme that was adopted in Napier in 1932 represents a partial defeat for the development of town planning in New Zealand. The limitation of the scheme to specific parts of Napier and to content that dealt only with road improvements meant that the scheme included very little of what might otherwise have been covered and what Mawson would have originally anticipated.

In early 1932, it was announced that, in the business area, power and telephone lines would be placed underground. Verandah poles were also to be prohibited, with verandahs to be supported by suspension stays instead. The intention was to give the shopping area a clean and tidy appearance, as well as create an impression of increased spaciousness.¹¹⁹ The undergrounding of services began later in 1932. Cables were usually buried in trenches

beneath footpaths formed of concrete slabs, so that repairs could be made easily by removing the slabs, avoiding the need to excavate in the middle of streets. The *Daily Telegraph* commented that these improvements, along with the construction of new buildings, “would add greatly to the increased beauty and safety of Napier.”¹²⁰ The appearance of the streetscape was further enhanced when tram rails were finally removed from the streets in 1937. Trams ceased running at the time of the earthquake and there was some uncertainty about their future. Revenue from tram services had been falling before the earthquake, and the revival of the service would have required some expense in restoring the trams, track, plant and overhead wires.¹²¹ A problem created by the removal of poles meant there was no suitable place for street names at intersections. A solution developed by the Borough Engineer in 1936 was to place street names on plates fastened to kerbing faces at intersections.¹²² Street names were also placed in the pavement (Figure 5.8). Neither approach was satisfactory, because the signs were difficult for motorists to see.¹²³

An early suggestion was that the business area of Napier should be rebuilt in a definite style. The *Daily Telegraph*, in an editorial in April 1931, commented favourably and referred to Santa Barbara which, after its earthquake, had adopted a Spanish Mission style of architecture with pleasing results. The *Telegraph* declared that Napier, as well as being a city that was safe, should also be “one that is in every way beautiful and should, for all time, be regarded as one of the show towns of New Zealand.”¹²⁴ Some Napier people had also visited Santa Barbara. P.W. Peters explained the rationale for uniform architecture at a meeting of property owners held later that month. He stated that, by adopting one style of architecture, Santa Barbara had become a distinctive city. He commented:

If you look at a photograph of Emerson Street before the earthquake, it might be a snap of anywhere from Timbuctoo to Eketahuna. But if you show anyone a photograph of the Marine Parade, they say “That’s Napier”. To my mind, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that, if we adopt this idea, people who come to New Zealand to see Rotorua and Taupo and other wonderful sights, will feel compelled to make a trip to see the model city of Napier. To do this, no regulations or by-laws will be necessary, and there will be no expense, but merely co-operation among the property owners as needed. It is so easy so long as we have the final vision in mind.¹²⁵

The rebuilding of the business area started later in 1931 with the Market Reserve Building, owned at the time by the Napier Borough Council (Figure 5.9).¹²⁶ As part of the reconstruction, 168 buildings were constructed in the central area during the 1930s, with 100 of those buildings completed within a period of 16 months that began in late 1931. The style of buildings to some extent chose itself. It was inexpensive, built of concrete, and was of the fashion of the time.¹²⁷ Design was simple and there was an absence of cornices and other projections that had caused some loss of life in the earthquake. The style was not embodied in any planning document, but rather reflected contemporary design ideas and the preferences of the architects and presumably their clients. Cross-fertilization of design ideas was to be expected, given that Napier architects pooled their resources after the earthquake and operated as Napier Associated Architects in an endeavour to meet the demand for rebuilding. Coordination of their ideas helped ensure that, in the business area, verandahs were uniform in height and self-supporting. Safety of buildings was enhanced with the passing of the Building Construction Act, which imposed a uniform code on building construction throughout New Zealand from 1932.¹²⁸ Further examples of post-earthquake buildings are illustrated in Figures 5.10 to 5.14.

During 1932 when many buildings were being constructed, the *Daily Telegraph* published regular reports that highlighted the design features of individual buildings. Nearly every report emphasised that the building concerned would be constructed to meet new building code requirements, and many added that the Spanish mission style would be followed. For example, the Napier Club on the Marine Parade was to be built in “a quiet and reserved adaptation of the Spanish style of architecture”. The building was to be constructed of reinforced concrete, with its exterior walls “coloured in conformity with the colour scheme being adopted by property owners of Napier.”¹²⁹ In January 1933, the *Daily Telegraph* commented that, although almost every style of modern architecture could be found in Napier, the various styles all blended together. This was partly because the cement plaster used for exterior walls was coloured in different hues and tints, and produced pleasing contrasts.¹³⁰

Although much of the business area had been rebuilt by the end of 1933, reconstruction continued throughout the 1930s. In the 1940s, building in central Napier came largely to a standstill with the advent of war. In any event, nearly all damaged buildings had been

replaced, the notable exception being the Anglican Cathedral. Replacement reconstruction was the dominant recovery activity from late 1931 until about the middle of 1933. This timing is similar to that suggested by Hollis, who defines this period as being from the start of work on the Market Reserve Building in August 1931 until the time of the New Napier Carnival, held in January 1933.

During the replacement reconstruction phase, planning took several different forms. In relation to street improvements, a town planning scheme was adopted to facilitate street widening and forming new roads and access lanes. Harmony in building design was not the result of a town planning scheme, but happened to a large extent because of cooperation between architects and the reality that they generally chose building designs that complemented each other anyway, without there being any need for regulation. The poleless street environment in the business area was also a major improvement. While this was not the product of a town planning scheme, it was largely a local authority-inspired activity which, in conjunction with the wider streets, amounted to a major civic improvement project that helped transform Napier from its pre-earthquake appearance. If the streets had not been widened, and poles had been reinstated, the visual landscape of the business area would have appeared much more cluttered and congested. The buildings themselves reflected the style of the times, presenting an element of uniformity as in Santa Barbara, but achieved largely by coordination and cooperation, rather than compulsion. In Santa Barbara, for nine months after its earthquake, buildings constructed were required to conform to the Spanish Mission style. Outside the business area, planning had a minimal role, as no town planning scheme was put in place and replacement reconstruction was much less extensive. In suburban areas of Napier, the focus of recovery after the earthquake was on restoration and repair, rather than on rebuilding destroyed homes and premises.

Developmental Reconstruction: 1931-1968

The developmental reconstruction phase began about a week after the earthquake when discussion began not just about rebuilding Napier, but about rebuilding the town with

improvements. Developmental reconstruction became the dominant recovery activity from about the middle of 1933 when replacement reconstruction was largely completed. The focus of developmental reconstruction was on a number of major projects, generally on a scale that would not have been possible before the earthquake. The business area needed to be rebuilt and land was no longer scarce. The uplift of land would provide an additional 10,000 acres once development work was completed.¹³¹ Most projects began within several years of the earthquake, and some continued or were not completed for many years beyond the 1930s. Several of these projects are discussed in other chapters in the context of reclamation schemes, urban expansion and civic improvement projects. These projects also included further development of the port, establishment of an airport, and construction of a number of significant public buildings. The phase had no definitive completion date, and some projects continued into the 1950s and 1960s.

In the early 1930s, developmental projects were sometimes promoted as a package. The *Daily Telegraph*, in its special editions that were published reasonably frequently at the time, often featured a group of projects in the same issue. Topics included Marine Parade improvements, town expansion and suburban growth, development of the Breakwater Harbour and the reclamation of Ahuriri Lagoon. The regular reporting of these projects not only kept the public informed, but helped people to maintain optimism in times that were otherwise difficult, and also emphasised that the earthquake had some positive outcomes.

Following the earthquake, four buildings, once completed, might fairly be regarded as coming within the developmental reconstruction category. These were buildings that either did not exist before the 1931 earthquake, or the replacement building was on a scale that greatly exceeded its predecessor. These included, in order of completion, the Museum and Art Gallery (1933-39), the War Memorial (1939-56), the Cathedral (1931-65) and the Civic Centre (1930-1968). The dates shown include the planning and construction period, the initial date representing the date the need for the building was first identified, with the other date indicating when the building was opened for use. These buildings have had a major public role in Napier to this day, and public participation was involved to some extent in their planning and funding. Each building was in effect an individual civic improvement project, having the dual purpose of both contributing a visual statement to

the built townscape, as well as providing a valuable amenity for citizens. Art galleries, museums, memorial buildings and civic centres have all been highlighted as desirable component parts of towns designed along City Beautiful or Garden City lines. Civic buildings of this type were always a feature of both movements as they were seen as central to providing a liveable and attractive city. The desirability of all four buildings was recognised in the 1930s, but planning and construction of three of the buildings was severely delayed by the Second World War.

The Hawke's Bay Museum and Art Gallery (Figure 5.15) opened in progressive stages in 1936, 1937 and 1939, and was designed by prominent Napier architect Louis Hay. It should be regarded as a developmental project not so much because of the building's appearance, but because an integrated museum and art gallery was an amenity Napier did not have before the earthquake. The Athenaeum, sometimes regarded as a precursor to the museum, had more limited objectives.¹³² When the Bishop of Waiapu, the Rt. Rev. Herbert Williams, opened the first stage of the Museum and Art Gallery in 1936, he declared a hope that the building "will always be regarded as one of the town's most important buildings".¹³³ Construction of the building was supported by public fundraising, which also included a grant from the Carnegie Trust.¹³⁴ Over the years, it lost its original character as ill-fitting extensions were made, but in 2011 a major upgrade was underway, partly with the objective of restoring some of the building's lost character.

The Napier War Memorial (Figure 5.16) was originally planned in the late 1930s as a memorial to New Zealand, marking the country's centennial in 1940. There was considerable public discussion at the time about the form the memorial would take. The building as originally envisaged was to function as a Winter Garden, located on the Marine Parade. Plans were drawn up, but fell into abeyance during the Second World War.¹³⁵ When the idea of a memorial was revived in the early 1950s, it was as a combined War and Centennial Memorial. The building had a completely new design, and the idea of a Winter Garden was abandoned. This was a major project to which the public contributed ideas as well as funds, the project being overseen by the War Memorial and Centennial Committee. This building fits the disaster recovery model as a developmental project, because the building's prime purpose when opened in 1957 was commemorative, although the building

was also functional. Its practical amenities included a ballroom, and conference and refreshment rooms, all with commanding views of the sea.¹³⁶

While the new St John's Anglican Cathedral (Figure 5.17) might be regarded as a replacement rather than a developmental project, it was a much superior structure to its predecessor, which was destroyed in the earthquake. Its very appearance and size make the Cathedral a landmark in the central business area. The rebuilding project, covering an extended area based on the original site, took some time and was supported by extensive fund-raising. Immediately after the earthquake, the Borough Council gave permission for a temporary wooden church to be built in the brick area, initial plans for a replacement cathedral not being announced until late 1949.¹³⁷ The foundation stone was laid in 1955, with the replacement cathedral completed in 1965 and consecrated in 1967. The cathedral was, and remains, the leading church in Napier.¹³⁸ It was also the centre of the Waiapu diocese, although there had been an unsuccessful attempt to relocate the cathedral site to Hastings in 1948.¹³⁹

The Civic Administration Building (Figure 5.18) was another developmental project, significant partly because of a protracted debate about its location. Its opening in 1968 also symbolically brought the reconstruction of Napier to a close. A new civic centre had been needed for some time. The existing Council buildings on the Marine Parade had been in use since the 1880s and had become too small for staff. These buildings had survived the earthquake, but the Council had just before the earthquake decided that new premises should be built. Not surprisingly, the Council was very busy attending to other facets of reconstruction in the 1930s and, because of the Second World War and other priorities, the replacement building idea was not revived until the 1950s.¹⁴⁰ When the matter was considered, the issue generated much Council and community discussion. To help resolve the location issue, the Council requested a report from Professor Robert Kennedy, the foundation Professor of Planning at the University of Auckland. The *Daily Telegraph* commended Council on its decision to seek expert advice, adding that Professor Kennedy was "an authority of wide renown in the sphere of town planning".¹⁴¹ In his report presented in late 1959, he rejected the options previously suggested by the Council and instead proposed a new site on the Marine Parade, adding that the centre could form part of future Marine Parade improvements. He dismissed the other sites largely because they had

insufficient space for off-street parking and, for the site suggested at Clive Square West, because of the character of surrounding land, which also included the Railway Station.¹⁴² Business interests had other views about the most suitable site, and sought to have a greater say in the decision-making process. Both the Chamber of Commerce and the Real Estate Institute preferred the Clive Square West site, because it was more central to the city than the site recommended by Professor Kennedy. The Institute also thought that the Clive Square site would help rejuvenate an area that was run down, whilst the President of the Chamber noted that this site had been supported by a Swedish town planning expert, unnamed in the newspaper report, who had visited a little earlier.¹⁴³ The Council's final decision supported neither expert, with the Council deciding that the Civic Centre was to be built in Hastings Street, although not too distant from the Marine Parade site recommended by Professor Kennedy. The Professor was a little disappointed with the decision, as he believed that the Council had missed out on an opportunity "for adding a building of architectural distinction and merit to the Marine Parade."¹⁴⁴ The building was opened in September 1968, and has been joined since by the Public Library and other public buildings on the same block. In his report, Professor Kennedy expressed the view that the Civic Administration Building would be greatly enhanced if other important public buildings were located on adjacent sites. Just before the building opened, the *Daily Telegraph* published the following words as part of a feature on the new building:

The opening of Napier's Civic Administration Centre on Monday is symbolic of the complete re-birth of a city, like the fabled rise of the phoenix from the ashes. From the rubble of the 1931 earthquake, the spirit, faith and courage of the citizens of Napier have re-created a city more expansive, vigorous and progressive than most would have envisaged. The Civic Centre, with its soaring walls and gleaming surfaces, seems to complete a process of reconstruction that has engaged the citizens of Napier for more than a generation.¹⁴⁵

Several other buildings could also have been regarded as developmental rather than replacement. These include the Municipal Theatre on Tennyson Street, and the iconic T&G Building with its dome clock (Figure 5.19), located on the Marine Parade. There was considerable public participation in planning the replacement theatre, including a competition to design the building, won by Louis Hay, but the theatre that eventually opened in 1938 was designed by the Council's architect J.T. Watson.¹⁴⁶ In contrast, the T&G Building, completed in 1936, was planned and built with minimal Council

involvement other than the approval of building plans.¹⁴⁷ Nonetheless, the building has assumed a public role because of its distinctive dome structure and the inclusion of a clock for the benefit of those visiting downtown Napier.

The commemorative aspect of recovery began shortly after the earthquake, with the holding of funerals for the deceased and other memorial services.¹⁴⁸ One year after the earthquake, a memorial service was held at McLean Park.¹⁴⁹ If the focus, however, is on building commemorative structures, then the commemorative aspect of the developmental reconstruction phase began much later, probably with the planning and building of the colonnade and memorial arches on the Marine Parade (Figure 5.20). The Marine Parade improvements were formally opened in 1934, but additions continued thereafter, and epitomize City Beautiful and civic improvement ideas (see Chapter 7).

In January 1933, the rebuilding of Napier was celebrated by the New Napier Carnival. Although reconstruction was incomplete, the intention was to show New Zealand what Napier had achieved in the two years immediately after the earthquake.¹⁵⁰ The *Daily Telegraph* described the Carnival as a magnificent spectacle, comprising a week of celebration that focused on the beauty of new buildings, the planning of streets, and other improvements.¹⁵¹ At the Carnival, the Governor-General, Lord Bledisloe, commented positively on the attractiveness of the reconstructed town – “the widened streets, the tasteful colours and the pleasing homogeneity of the buildings themselves.”¹⁵²

Earthquake commemorations have continued over the years, and from the 1980s have been augmented by activities undertaken by the Art Deco Trust.¹⁵³ In February 2006, the 75th Anniversary of the Hawke's Bay Earthquake was held, with various events taking place throughout Hawke's Bay, and, in 2011, the 80th Anniversary was commemorated in Napier and Hastings. Over the years, the earthquake and its aftermath have resulted in various books, fact and fiction, and other memorabilia (Figure 5.21). The display about the earthquake at the Hawke's Bay Museum remains the museum's principal attraction. The commemorative activity that has continued over the last fifty years supports the contention by Zeilinga de Boer and Sanders that commemoration of a major earthquake, through books, poetry, films and other activities, can last for decades or even centuries.

The work of the Art Deco Trust has focused on the preservation of buildings erected in the 1930s, some of which have been demolished but most of which are intact. The collection of Art Deco buildings in Napier was proposed as a possible World Heritage Site in 2007, with a decision still to be made.¹⁵⁴ The Trust and City Council were also collaborating on ways in which the Art Deco character of central Napier can be maintained. In the 1950s and 1960s, when the buildings that made New Napier in the 1930s were starting to lose a little of their gloss, there was little to indicate that, some fifty years later, the same buildings would be a central part of the city's heritage and also a magnet for tourism. This was, in some respects, an accidental outcome of the reconstruction of Napier, and one that was not evident until many years after reconstruction was complete.

Despite the various post-earthquake accomplishments, some matters were not pursued as vigorously as one might have expected. This applied particularly to the preparation of a town-wide town planning scheme under the Town-planning Act 1926, or district scheme under the Town and Country Planning Act 1953. It is true that most other New Zealand local authorities that were required to prepare schemes were a little slow in getting started.¹⁵⁵ Napier was given a golden opportunity to do this after the earthquake, but was only partly successful. As explained above, Napier's first town planning scheme was very limited in scope, applying only to the business area and to road improvements. The Council adopted a similar philosophy in producing sectional schemes for new suburbs, but included in each of them a much broader range of planning provisions. However, the established part of Napier was left without a proper scheme for over 30 years.

In the early 1940s, some preliminary work was carried out for a scheme that would cover the established area of Napier. In a report considered by the Council in 1940, the Borough Engineer, W.D. Corbett, explained how Napier could be zoned into separate areas as a preliminary to preparing a full town planning scheme. The report outlined the location of the separate areas, which generally correspond to those shown in Figure 5.22, produced shortly afterwards. That map divided Napier into eight zones: shopping, light industrial, heavy industrial, dangerous goods, residential, schools, open space, and beach improvements. Residential areas were further classified into six categories. The map, to a large extent, reflected existing use patterns, although an underlying intention was to prevent future mixing of incompatible uses.¹⁵⁶ The *Daily Telegraph* commented that the

final scheme would differ in two respects to the scheme adopted for the business area shortly after the earthquake. First, it would be a long-range scheme, the benefits of which might not become apparent for many years. Second, it was unlikely to involve extensive property transfers, with compensation and betterment issues to consider, as was the position for the development of the Business Area Town Planning Scheme.¹⁵⁷ The newspaper added:

... the opportunity should not be lost to apply to Napier a proposal of such long-range advantage. Napier was proud, in consequence of its rehabilitation following the earthquake, to call itself “the newest city in the world.” Its restoration embodied many developments which would never have been attainable without the new approach which the earthquake itself made possible. But much of great value which was accomplished as a result of the earthquake will be vitiated if development and progress in future years are allowed to follow ill-conceived or even haphazard lines.¹⁵⁸

Subsequent progress in developing a full scheme was slow, partly caused by the advent of the Second World War. In 1950, the Council engaged planning consultants, Patience and Gabites, to prepare a complete a town planning scheme, following advice received from the Ministry of Works that the Council would not be able to second a planning officer from the Ministry to assist with the preparation of the scheme. The Council had also advised the Ministry that it did not wish to appoint a qualified planner for this task, partly because once the scheme was completed, there would be insufficient work to justify their ongoing employment.¹⁵⁹ The consultants carried out some work in preparing documents for the scheme but, for reasons not publicly known, the Council discontinued their services in 1954. As part of their work, they had prepared text to accompany a draft plan, but the document read as if it could have been applied to any number of local authorities, and said little about Napier itself.¹⁶⁰

After that, the City Engineer, W.D. Corbett, assumed responsibility once again for preparing the scheme. In a report on town planning in 1956, he explained that, although no district scheme was in place for much of Napier, planning decisions for the previous 15 years had been made on the basis of an “undisclosed scheme” that was in effect the equivalent of planning provisions that applied in those suburbs, Marewa and Onekawa, that did have schemes. He added that, by agreement with the Ministry of Works, the same or very similar principles were being applied to planning in Maraenui. Under section 38 of

the Town and Country Planning Act 1953, a council could refuse anything that might contravene an undisclosed scheme, prior to the completion of a full scheme. The City Engineer said that the Council's solicitors believed that the Council did not need to take any action to have an undisclosed scheme, which could merely be the views of the planning officer, although Council approval would be required if those views were to be enforced. He added that section 38 recognised that the preparation of a scheme could take some time, and that in the meantime, nothing could be built that contravened the undisclosed scheme.¹⁶¹ The advice given, however, did overlook a qualification made in section 38 that a refusal could not apply after two years unless ministerial approval had been given. Further, an amendment to the Town and Country Planning Act in 1957 modified the definition of an undisclosed scheme, so that a prior Council resolution to prepare a scheme was now required. In contrast, the broader provision in section 34 of the Town-planning Act 1926 had permitted local authorities to refuse consent where a building or other work "would not conform to recognized and approved principles of town-planning, or would interfere with the amenities of the neighbourhood", although an aggrieved person could appeal a refusal to the Town Planning Board.¹⁶²

Further sectional schemes were adopted in the 1960s, so that for the first time the city was completely covered, the business area becoming part of the City-Westshore section, which was approved as part of the City-Westshore-Maraenui-Onekawa South Scheme in 1964. This scheme attracted 41 objections prior to approval, most of these being concerned about the impact the scheme would have on properties owned or leased by individual objectors. Decisions made by the Council allowed some objections in whole or part and disallowed the remainder. The reasons given by the Council for allowing objections in whole or in part recognised that an alternative zoning was appropriate in some circumstances, or that ordinance requirements, such as the maximum permitted site coverage or off-street parking, could be relaxed in specific cases, for example, for wool stores where employee numbers were low. The reason given by the Council for disallowing some of the objections was that the locality concerned was largely residential and spot zoning to another land use would be contrary to town and country planning principles.¹⁶³

Statements made up to the early 1960s about Napier being a planned town, therefore, were only partly true. The earlier town planning or district schemes covered only the newer

parts of the town, while the original Business Area Scheme was solely concerned with street improvements. Nonetheless, town planning principles were being applied in making decisions on development throughout Napier from the early 1940s, regardless of whether or not a town planning scheme was in force for the part of the town concerned.¹⁶⁴ A city-wide district scheme was adopted and made operative in July 1973. This was the first scheme to cover all of Napier, replacing the sectional planning schemes that had been developed from the 1930s onwards.¹⁶⁵

Another matter that was slow in being resolved was the location of the sewage outfall which had become an issue in the 1950s, when the Council decided to replace the outlet that discharged directly into the sea at Perfume Point, Ahuriri. Initially, it was proposed to site the sewage outfall at the Breakwater Harbour, but this could have polluted the harbour and contaminated cargo. In 1962, the Council announced that oxidation ponds were planned for a site a little north of the Hawke's Bay airport.¹⁶⁶ When it was pointed out two years later that the ponds would attract bird life and become a hazard to aircraft, a new sea outfall was chosen, located some distance south of the city at Awatoto. Although the site for the outfall had been chosen by 1968, it was not opened until 1973.¹⁶⁷

The location of the railway line and marshalling yards in central Napier was another ongoing planning-related issue. This matter had been raised at various times, based on complaints made about unsightly railway facilities, overnight shunting and the danger created by a series of level crossings in the central parts of town.¹⁶⁸ An alternative route was apparently looked at, as illustrated in an Outline Plan prepared about 1950 (Figure 5.23), where the railway line is shown further out from the town centre together with relocated marshalling yards, following the former bed of the Tutaekuri River. The plan is also of interest as it presented tentative zoning for uses of the land, proposed by-pass roads on the perimeter of the town, together with plentiful green space including what appeared as an extensive public open space along the town boundary. Apart from the eventual shifting of the marshalling yards, the other suggestions were not generally implemented. In 1952, the Minister of Railways, in response to a Council proposal for a railway diversion to eliminate dangerous crossings, replied that no action would be taken other than to install flashing light signals at nine level crossings.¹⁶⁹ In 1967, the issue was revived, with a proposal for the railway to be diverted around the western limits of the city.

While the Council, New Zealand Railways and Ministry of Works of Works agreed that the relocation was possible, the proposal was abandoned in 1968 because of the reluctance of the Council to pay a reasonable share part of the anticipated cost of the project.¹⁷⁰

In summary, there was considerable developmental reconstruction in Napier initiated in response to the earthquake. This was in part a response to the opportunities and options provided by the earthquake. The busiest time for this activity was in the 1930s, but some aspects continued until the late 1960s. Some of the projects might have happened regardless of the earthquake, but even so, the earthquake will have had some impact, particularly in terms of the location of projects. While the earthquake did give statutory planning a boost with schemes covering the town on a partial basis, full coverage was not achieved until the 1960s and even then Napier was covered by a series of separate schemes rather than a single scheme. It seems that much planning energy was being put into other projects, especially the expansion of the town and the physical development of new suburbs. Staff resources were also limited, the principal staff contributor being Edward Clement who served the Council for nearly 40 years. He joined the Council as a survey cadet in 1932, and was City Surveyor and Planner from 1955 until his retirement in 1969. He had a major part in the planning of all post-earthquake suburbs and was also responsible for preparing the various sectional district plans.¹⁷¹ Before 1955, the Borough/City Engineer was the principal advisor to the Council about planning matters, but had only a limited knowledge about planning techniques and law.

Hollis suggests that the starting date for developmental activity was about the time of the New Napier Carnival in early 1933. However, some major projects were about to get underway or had already begun (Marine Parade in late 1931), so the developmental reconstruction phase began well before that date. However, from late 1933, developmental reconstruction became the dominant recovery activity. Overall, the developmental projects covered nearly four decades, concluding with the opening of the Civic Administration Building in 1968.

During the developmental reconstruction phase, planning took a number of forms, but the main emphasis was on civic improvement projects, discussed in this chapter and in other parts of this thesis. The importance of the developmental phase is that it highlights

endeavours to improve on pre-disaster conditions as well as memorialise the event. Such developments do not happen in a vacuum, but are a response to a genuine desire to reshape aspects of the built environment for the benefit of citizens.

Reconstruction: Assessment and Influences on Growth and Development

The recovery of Napier following the earthquake can be presented in diagrammatic format, as shown in Table 5.1. This is an adaptation of the Kates and Pijawka model. The purpose of the table is to indicate the respective importance of different recovery activities relative to time following the earthquake.

Table 5.1: Napier Earthquake Recovery Time

<i>Date Phase</i>	1931 Feb	1931 Feb	1931 Feb	1931 Mar	1931 Mar	1931 May	1931 Aug	1932 Mar	1933 Jun	1935 Dec	1940	1968
Emergency	■			▨	▨							
Restoration	▨	▨	▨	■				▨	▨			
Replacement Reconstruction		▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	■		▨	▨	
Developmental Reconstruction			▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	■		
<i>Weeks Elapsed</i>	0.5	1	2	4	8	15	30	60	125	250	500	1975

KEY	Minimal Activity		Some Activity	▨	Dominant Activity	■
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The four phases listed on the table are the same as the four periods identified by Kates and Pijawka, but the term *phase* is preferred because of their overlapping nature. In contrast, periods are usually regarded as covering distinctly separate units of time. In this study, the term *period* has been used to indicate when the particular activity is the dominant or most important activity at the time. On the table, each cell represents time as a number of weeks elapsed following the earthquake. The length of time approximately doubles as one moves from left to right across each column on the table. This is similar to the logarithmic approach taken by Kates and Pijawka. It also reflects the “vibrating string” concept introduced by Zeilinga de Boer and Sanders, who note that post-earthquake events become

less intense and more widely spaced apart in terms of time. Within each cell on the table, the corresponding activity for each phase is shown as *minimal*, *some* or *dominant*. *Dominant* activity applies only where, for the unit of time, the activity associated with that phase is more important than for the activity associated with any of the other phases. *Some* activity applies where, for the time units shown, there has been some activity for the relevant phase, but it was not the dominant activity. *Minimal* activity applies where the level of activity for the corresponding phase has been extremely low or non-existent. As can be seen from the table, there is only one dominant phase at any time. However, the overlaps are considerable. In February and March 1931, all four phases overlapped, reflecting the reality that within a very short time of the earthquake, recovery was being planned or implemented across a wide breadth of activities. This is a modification of the Kates and Pijawka model where overlaps are less intense, particularly for developmental reconstruction. Nonetheless, the model can be presented for Napier, and four different periods of recovery can be identified.

Applying the Kates and Pijawka model to Napier, the emergency phase focused on rescue, immediate relief, and establishing administrative arrangements for recovery. The restoration phase covered the repair of utility services, roads, houses, and a few buildings in the central area. The replacement reconstruction phase applied primarily to commercial and public buildings in the central area and, to a lesser extent, Port Ahuriri and the hospital. The developmental reconstruction phase covered major projects including urban and waterfront development, the Ahuriri Lagoon reclamation, airport and port projects, and the building of a number of significant public buildings.

The table above also suggests three significant transitions in Napier's reconstruction, in which there was a change in the dominant recovery activity. First, in February 1931, and within two weeks of the earthquake, restoration had become more dominant than the emergency phase, although at that time administrative arrangements for the recovery of Napier were still being worked out. Second, by about August 1931, replacement reconstruction was taking over as the most important activity, paralleled by a wave of building reconstruction in the central area that was at its peak for much of 1932. Third, in the middle of 1933, developmental reconstruction took over. This followed the reopening of the New Napier celebrations held earlier in 1933, and the return to normal municipal

administration in May 1933, when elections were held for a new Council and Commissioner control ceased. These transition dates also define when one *period* finished and the next began.

The use of the model has two advantages. First, it helps identify the various components of a successful recovery. Second, it can be used to indicate the overall speed of recovery and reconstruction through the individual phases and related activities. Moreover, the first advice provided by J.W. Mawson to central government shortly after the earthquake was in the nature of a recovery plan that identified a broad range of tasks, rather than having an exclusive focus on what town planning could contribute to the recovery effort.

But the model has its disadvantages. It is sometimes difficult to work out how to classify some recovery activities. Consider, for example, some buildings that were much better than the ones they replaced, such as the Municipal Theatre. These could have been included in the developmental rather than replacement category. There is also the problem of how to deal with utilities where they needed to be completely replaced or even enhanced, as was the case for street widening and undergrounding in the business area, and much of the sewerage network. It might also be suggested that the developmental reconstruction phase is unnecessary and is really outside the bounds of what is required for a completed or successful reconstruction. Including the developmental reconstruction phase makes the overall reconstruction process considerably longer. Napier citizens are proud of the view, as expressed in some publications, that the town was largely reconstructed within two years of the earthquake.¹⁷² This claim is to a large extent correct. However, if the Kates and Pijawka model is applied, the time taken for reconstruction is extended into the 1950s and 1960s. While the model has been criticised because it represents only one aspect of disaster response, its use in a planning history study is appropriate, given that planning history focuses on the built environment, as does the model to a large extent.

In a broader perspective, planning associated with the reconstruction of Napier following the 1931 earthquake has had a significant impact on the town's recovery and subsequent development. Planning suddenly had a much more elevated profile in Napier, with town planning being talked about on a frequent rather than a very occasional basis as in the past.

During the reconstruction period, planning ideas and practices were applied with considerable, but not complete, success. Five principal factors contributed to the reconstruction, each of which had some link to planning.

First, and probably most important, was the positive and resilient spirit of the people. This was despite the devastation, the Depression and the woefully inadequate financial recovery package. While there was a temporary drop in population with the partial evacuation of Napier immediately after the earthquake, the order for evacuation was countermanded several days after the earthquake, and in the weeks that followed, the town's population returned to its pre-earthquake level. Most homes became habitable with minor repairs and new chimneys. Those with businesses wanted to re-open them and rebuild their premises as soon as possible. The local newspapers were also unfailingly encouraging and optimistic. The *Daily Telegraph* contributed with extensive coverage of the restoration and rebuilding of Napier, including the publication of the views of other people, either as letters to the editor or as reported comments or observations. Some issues generated much public debate. For planning ideas to have any chance of success during the recovery period, there needed to be a stable but positive view of the rebuilding of the town.

Second, there were the Commissioners. Their appointment to manage the affairs and rebuilding of Napier for two years enabled decisions to be made quickly and economically. There was no need to navigate decisions through the political structure of committee and council meetings, nor did the Commissioners need to worry about the outcome of the next Borough Council election. Their appointment was for a finite term. Fundamentally, their role was to plan and manage a gigantic civic improvement project. In carrying out this responsibility, they were constantly thinking about the future of Napier, with a view to making the town a better and more attractive place than it had been immediately before the earthquake. The Commissioners played their roles admirably and without any significant criticism from the citizens of Napier, other public authorities or the *Daily Telegraph*. Indeed, when their term of office approached completion, suggestions were made that their term of appointment be extended.¹⁷³ Such had been their success after two years that an extension of their term was not really necessary. Besides, a return to ordinary municipal government through holding an election and having a democratically elected council making decisions would mark yet another step towards normalcy and full recovery.

Third, there was the volunteer and cooperative ethic. Members of the local community who helped out in various ways illustrated this ethic. Some volunteered their time and ideas as members of the Napier Reconstruction Committee. Others supported the initiatives and fund raising activities of the Thirty Thousand Club. Some property owners were happy to forgo claims for compensation for land taken to implement the street improvement programme. Napier architects collaborated by pooling their resources and taking steps on their own initiative to achieve some harmony in building design. The post-earthquake landscape was therefore partly the result of collaborative and voluntary endeavour, rather than the product of people and businesses following statutory obligations or detailed requirements imposed by a comprehensive town planning scheme.

Fourth, there was significant outside assistance and advice. This help came in different forms. Immediately following the earthquake, central government advisors were dispatched to Napier, along with teams to assist with the early stages of recovery. One person who became important giving advice on town planning was John Mawson, Director of Town Planning, although some of his ideas were moderated by the shortage of finance and the desire of the business community to rebuild without undue delay. Central government also assisted with the passing of appropriate legislation and regulations, including the Hawke's Bay Earthquake Act 1931 and a rehabilitation package.

The impact of the earthquake can also be considered with regard to what might have happened had there been no earthquake. Dally and Galletly considered this question in an unpublished paper about the earthquake and concluded that there were four plausible lines of development.¹⁷⁴ First, higher density development could have taken place within the existing town site, perhaps giving Napier a Mediterranean resort appearance. Second, residential development could have occurred on the hills west of Napier overlooking Ahuriri Lagoon or around Taradale. Third, without available land, Napier may have stagnated, with people and their businesses preferring to locate in Hastings. Fourth, reclamation projects could have continued, providing more land for development. Dally and Galletly thought the most probable outcome would have been stagnation,¹⁷⁵ but, given Napier's history of adaptation to a difficult site, any of the other outcomes or a hybrid could have occurred. Whatever the outcome, Napier would have been vastly different to

the town it had become by 1968, indicating the immense influence the earthquake has had on the growth and development of Napier.

The impact of the earthquake and the role of planning had three broad outcomes, these covering the business area of Napier, other established parts of the town, and civic improvement and development projects. First, within the business area, the built landscape after the earthquake was almost entirely new. When reconstruction was largely complete in the later 1930s, the area was both attractive and had the appearance of being planned. The buildings, most of which had been built within a period of about five years, reflected the prevailing styles of the time - Spanish Mission and Moderne. The homogeneous appearance of the streetscape was further enhanced because buildings were generally two-storied and of compatible design. There were no verandah poles or overhead wires for electricity and telephones. All of these features to some extent embody elements of City Beautiful ideas. This new urban landscape can be partly attributed to formal planning. The Town-planning Act 1926, in conjunction with the Hawke's Bay Earthquake Act 1931, statutory regulations, and the Napier Business Area Town Planning Scheme 1931, was used to facilitate street improvements in central Napier and at Ahuriri. Indeed, the 1931 Napier Business Area Town Planning Scheme was the first scheme to be approved by the Town Planning Board in New Zealand under the Town-planning Act, although the scheme was limited in area and scope.¹⁷⁶ Other central area improvements, such as undergrounding of utility services, were simply the result of good decisions made by the Commissioners or Borough Council. Nonetheless, they typified the desire to manage or at least coordinate urban activities, with the overall intention of creating a better living environment. Some of these improvements – street widening, undergrounding of services, and better designed buildings with minimal ornamentation – are indicative of design features recommended by Ciborowski for a safer and more earthquake resistant city. Within the Kates and Pijawka model for recovery, most of this activity is designated as replacement reconstruction. The rebuilding of central Napier became the most visible aspect of recovery in Napier, and the Art Deco buildings, as they are now known, have become the most significant and distinguishing feature of Napier in the 21st century.

The second outcome was that, outside the business area but within existing residential areas, the impact of post-earthquake reconstruction and planning was much less apparent.

The damage to residential dwellings was minor in comparison to commercial buildings, largely explained by the predominantly wooden housing structures. The main repairs required to make homes habitable was to replace chimneys and restore services. With a focus on restoration rather than reconstruction, there was little immediate demand formally to plan residential areas, even on the limited basis undertaken in the business area. The restoration of infrastructural services, nonetheless, did require careful project planning, particularly for the severely damaged drainage systems. Within the Kates and Pijawka model, the focus of this second outcome activity was largely on restoration, and therefore did not contribute to major changes in the urban landscape of Napier.

The third outcome was the substantial progress on various developmental projects that were either initiated or substantially facilitated by the earthquake. These included urban expansion and new suburbs, port and airport development, and civic improvement projects based substantially on the Marine Parade, as discussed in other chapters. This also involved, from the 1930s, the introduction of more comprehensive town planning schemes in new suburbs. Within the Kates and Pijawka model, the focus of this activity was on developmental reconstruction, that is, providing amenities that either did not exist before the earthquake, or, if already present, were developed to an extent that significantly exceeded replacement reconstruction. Indeed, many civic improvement projects fall into this category, the Marine Parade improvements being the outstanding Napier example. A real difficulty with the Kates and Pijawka model is that the overall recovery process can be distorted by developmental reconstruction which greatly extends the timeline, whereas it could be said that effective recovery and reconstruction is complete once the work associated with the first three periods of the model have been completed. While a case can be made for stating that reconstruction was largely complete by 1933 (when the rebuilding of Napier was celebrated) or a date later in the 1930s, a completion date some decades later does seem questionable. However, as mentioned, some projects were not completed until the 1960s, while suburban development on land raised by the earthquake, and Marine Parade improvements, are still works in progress eighty years after the earthquake.

But the earthquake had negative outcomes as well. The original town planning scheme was quite minimalist, with a focus on the business area and applying only to street improvements. It was not until 1964 that a comprehensive district scheme applied to all

those parts of Napier existing at the time of the earthquake. While the reluctance of the Commissioners to prepare a comprehensive town planning scheme was explained by them at the time and can reasonably be understood, the disappointing aspect of the development of planning in Napier was the time taken subsequently to prepare a scheme that covered the town as a whole. Other issues not fully addressed by 1968, nearly forty years after the earthquake, included the possible relocation of the railway or railway station, and the installation of a more satisfactory outlet for the treatment and discharge of sewage.

Conclusion

The reconstruction and planning of Napier in the 1930s has had a profound impact on the town's heritage and subsequent history. Such activity was particularly marked in the years immediately following the 1931 earthquake. The recovery of Napier also follows the Kates and Pijawka model for different phases of activity following a disaster – emergency, restoration, replacement reconstruction, and developmental reconstruction. However, it is suggested that, whenever the model is used, a clearer distinction be made to delineate times when a particular recovery activity is dominant, as opposed to being partly present. This recognises that recovery activities can overlap, so that two or more activities will be in progress at the one time, as happened in Napier after the 1931 earthquake.

From a town planning perspective, the Town-planning Act 1926 was used to make improvements to streets in the business area. While the Napier Business Area Town Planning Scheme 1931 was the first town plan to be produced in New Zealand under the Town-planning Act, that plan was limited in area and scope. Only the central business area and part of Port Ahuriri were covered, and the plan focused on street-widening proposals and alterations to building lines. Other improvements, such as undergrounding of services, were largely the result of good decisions made by the Commissioners or Borough Council, or the coordinated work of the Reconstruction Committee and architects, and did not rely on statutory processes to produce the desired outcomes. Overall, planning undertaken was a mix of formal and informal practice, but shared a common objective of

producing a better living environment. Formal planning was destined to have a greater part in shaping the development of new suburbs.

In summary, the Hawke's Bay earthquake was followed by some years of intensive planning, reconstruction and development in Napier. The 1930s were years of depression in New Zealand and town planning was very new. But the progress made in Napier during the 1930s, and especially during the two years of Commissioner administration following the earthquake, laid the foundations for further planning and development after the Second World War. However, the overall introduction of a formal planning framework was slow, so that in 1968 Napier was still administered by a patchwork of sectional schemes, rather than a single scheme that covered the city as a whole.

Endnotes

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- ² Geoff Hicks and Hamish Campbell (eds), *Awesome Forces: The Natural Hazards that Threaten New Zealand*, Wellington: Te Papa Press, 1998, reprinted with corrections, 2003, pp. 59-70; and Andrew Stone, "Our Shaky History - The Big Ones that Really Shook Us", in Jo Elwin et al. (eds), *Our Shaky Isles*, Auckland: New Zealand Magazines, 2010, pp. 12-39. See also Rodney Grapes, *Magnitude Eight Plus: New Zealand's Biggest Earthquake*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2000.
- ³ Chris Moore and The Press journalists, *Earthquake: Christchurch, New Zealand: 22 February 2011*, Glenfield, Auckland: Random House, 2011, pp. 188-192. The final number of fatalities may increase, as several deaths had been referred to the Coroner as being possibly earthquake related.
- ⁴ Robert W. Kates and David Pijawka, "From Rubble to Monument: The Pace of Reconstruction", in J. Eugene Haas, Robert W. Kates and Martyn J. Bowden, (eds), *Reconstruction Following Disaster*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1977, pp. 1-23.
- ⁵ Shaun Barnett, "The Architecture of Tragedy", *New Zealand Geographic*, 67, January-February 2004, pp. 64-79, at p. 69.
- ⁶ *Newest City on the Globe! Art Deco Napier*, A Peter Wells - Stewart Main Film, 1985. Videorecording. See also Peter Wells, "Making Newest City on the Globe", *Historic Places in New Zealand*, December 1985, pp. 8-10.
- ⁷ For a recent article on rebuilding see Denis Welch, "Shake, Rattle & Roll: Hawke's Bay's Day of Horror 75 Years Ago", *New Zealand Listener*, 4 February 2006, pp. 29-30.
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- ⁹ Zeilinga de Boer and Sanders, *Earthquakes in Human History: The Far-Reaching Effects of Seismic Disruptions*, pp. x-xi.
- ¹⁰ Kates and Pijawka, "From Rubble to Monument: The Pace of Reconstruction".
- ¹¹ Kates and Pijawka, "From Rubble to Monument: The Pace of Reconstruction", p. 3.
- ¹² Kates and Pijawka, "From Rubble to Monument: The Pace of Reconstruction".

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- ¹³ Clifford E. Oliver, *Catastrophic Disaster Planning and Response*, Boca Raton, Florida: CRC Press, 2011, pp. 283-285.
- ¹⁴ David W. Edgington, *Reconstructing Kobe: The Geography of Crisis and Opportunity*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010, pp. 17-21.
- ¹⁵ Lawrence J. Vale and Thomas J. Campanella, "Conclusion: Axioms of Resilience", in Lawrence J. Vale and Thomas J. Campanella (eds), *The Resilient City: How Modern Cities Recover from Disaster*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 335-355.
- ¹⁶ Vale and Campanella, "Conclusion: Axioms of Resilience", pp. 337-338.
- ¹⁷ Jeffrey M. Diefendorf, (ed.), *Rebuilding Europe's Bombed Cities*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1990.
- ¹⁸ Stanislaw Jankowski, "Warsaw: Destruction, Secret Town Planning, 1939-44 and postwar Reconstruction", in Jeffrey M. Diefendorf, (ed.), *Rebuilding Europe's Bombed Cities*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1990, pp. 77-93, see especially pp. 91-92.
- ¹⁹ Jeffrey M. Diefendorf, "Introduction: New Perspectives on a Rebuilt Europe", in Jeffrey M. Diefendorf, (ed.), *Rebuilding Europe's Bombed Cities*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1990, pp. 1-15, see especially pp. 1-2.
- ²⁰ Dennis S. Mileti, "Urban Relocation After Earthquakes: Why Do Cities Stay Where They Are No Matter How Many Times They Are Damaged?" in Earthquake Commission and Centre for Advanced Engineering, *Wellington After the 'Quake: The Challenge of Rebuilding Cities: Proceedings of a Conference held in Wellington, March 1995*, Wellington: Earthquake Commission and Centre for Advanced Engineering, 1995, pp. 41-46.
- ²¹ Mileti, "Urban Relocation After Earthquakes: Why Do Cities Stay Where They Are No Matter How Many Times They Are Damaged?"
- ²² Nancy E. Drew et al., "Corinth", in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, London: International Learning Systems, 1968, vol. IV, pp. 125-126. New revised ed.; Lance Chilton et al., *The Rough Guide to Greece*, New York: Rough Guides, 2008, pp. 171-172. 12th ed.; and Korina Miller et al., *Greece*, Footscray, Victoria: Lonely Planet, 2009, pp. 177-178.
- ²³ Zeilinga de Boer and Sanders, *Earthquakes in Human History: The Far-Reaching Effects of Seismic Disruptions*, p. 143; and William G. Ramroth, *Planning for Disaster: How Natural and Manmade Disasters Shape the Built Environment*, Kaplan Publishing: New York, 2007, pp. 97-99.
- ²⁴ Mark Pelling, *The Vulnerability of Cities: Natural Disasters and Social Resilience*, London: Earthscan Publications, 2003. See especially pp. 47-49.
- ²⁵ E.A. Gutkind, *International History of City Development: Urban Development in Western Europe: France and Belgium*, New York: The Free Press, 1970, vol. 5, pp. 393-395.
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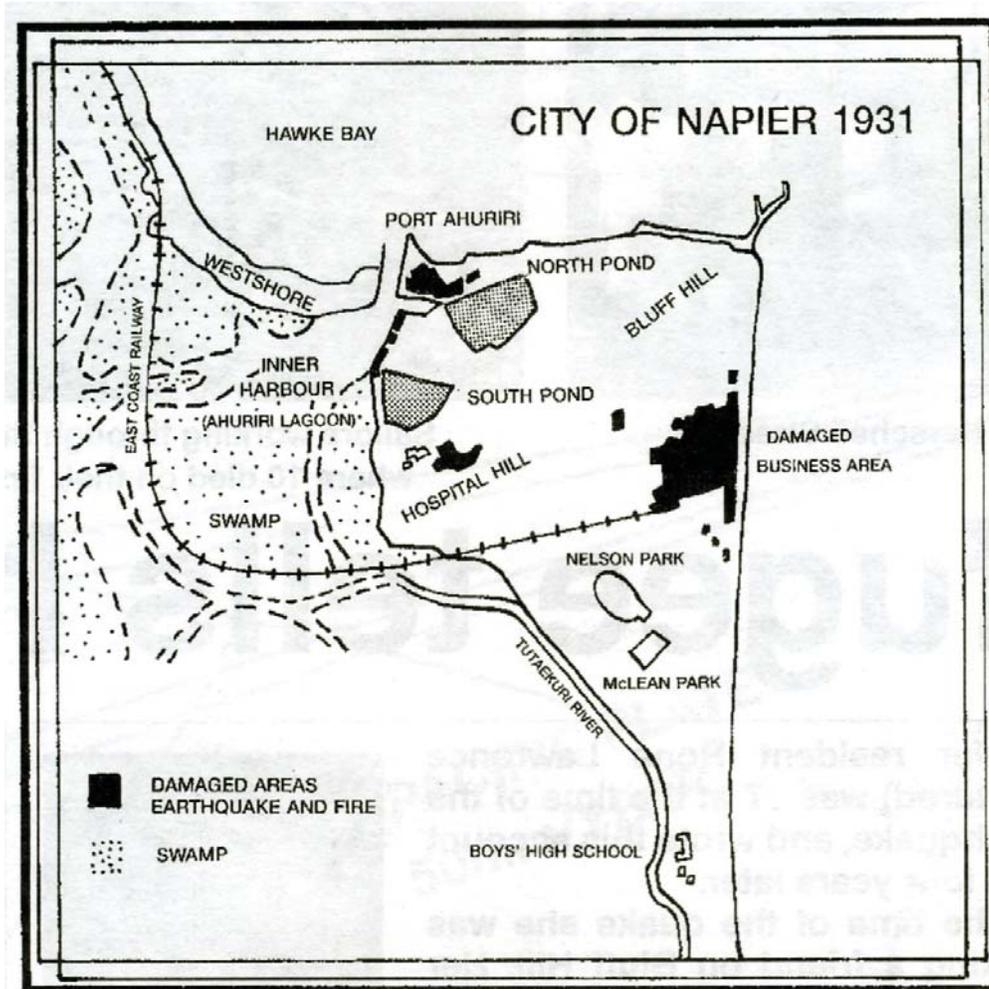


Figure 5.1: Map of Napier showing areas damaged by earthquake and subsequent fire in February 1931.

Source: Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust - Hawke's Bay Museum & Art Gallery, Napier, New Zealand. Published in *The Hawke's Bay Earthquake 1931*, Hastings: Hawke's Bay Today and Hawke's Bay Cultural Trust, 2001, p. 12.

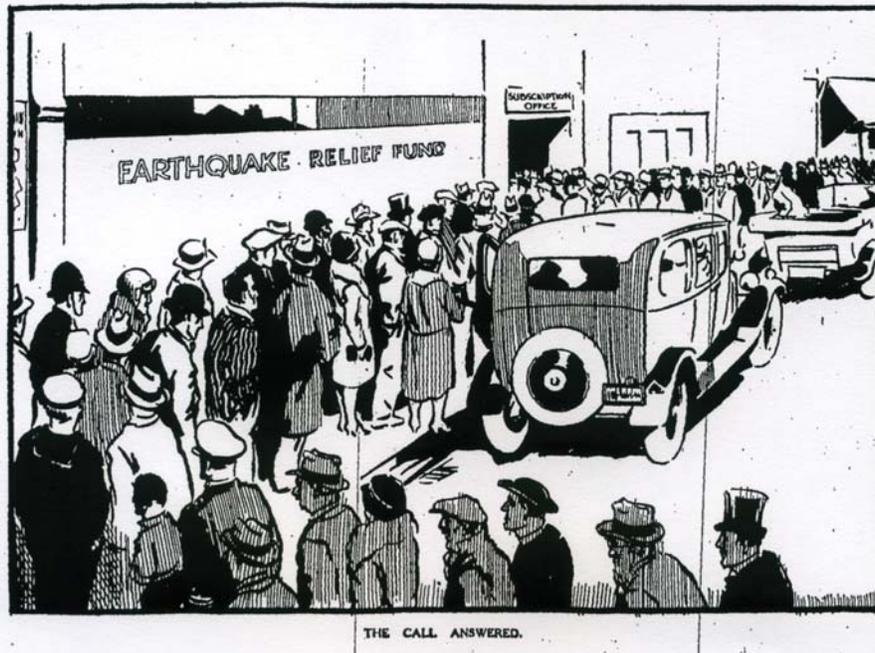


Figure 5.2: The emergency response.

Source: New Zealand Herald, 11 February 1931, p. 12.

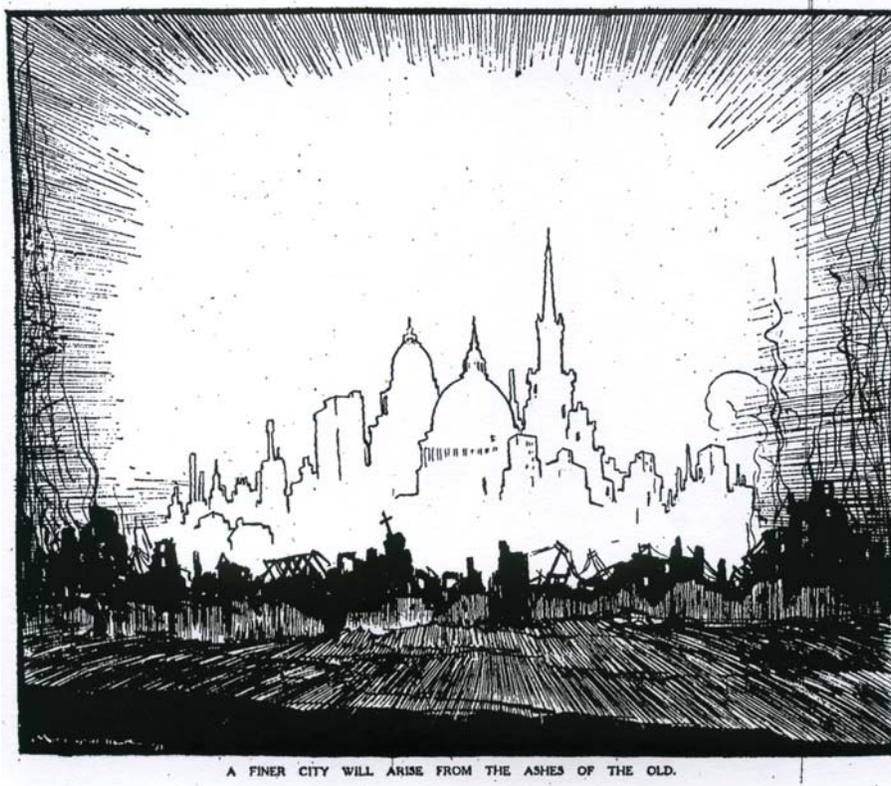


Figure 5.3: Rebuilding Napier.

Source: New Zealand Herald, 12 February 1931, p. 12.



Figure 5.4: Williams' Building, Hastings Street, built in 1911 and survived the earthquake.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2009.



Figure 5.5: Public Trust Building, Tennyson and Dalton Streets, opened in 1922 and survived the earthquake.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2009.

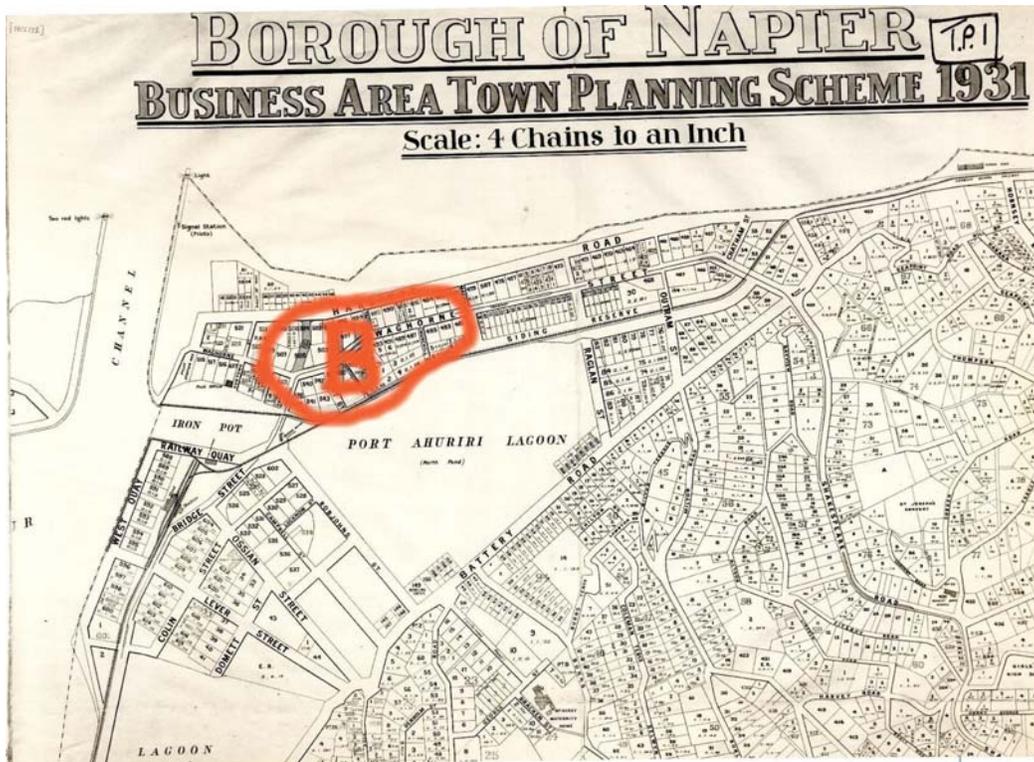


Figure 5.7: Parts of the map comprising the Borough of Napier Business Area Town Planning Scheme 1931, the top part showing Port Ahuriri (the area marked B) and the bottom part central Napier (the area marked A), colour added.

Source: Napier City Council, Box NCC 172, File T.P.1. See also Box 324 File 170/17.



Figure 5.8: Street nameplates, as installed during the post-earthquake reconstruction, for Hastings Street and Dalton Street.

Source: John Annabell photographs, 2003 (Hastings Street) and 2010 (Dalton Street).



Figure 5.9: Market Reserve Building, Tennyson and Hastings Streets, the first significant post-earthquake building.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2011.



Figure 5.10: Daily Telegraph Building, Tennyson Street.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 1998.



Figure 5.11: Criterion Hotel, Emerson Street.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2006.



Figure 5.12: Former Hotel Central, Emerson and Dalton Streets.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 1999.



Figure 5.13: Masonic Hotel, Marine Parade.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2011.



Figure 5.14: Former Bank of New Zealand Building, Emerson and Hastings Streets.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2004.



Figure 5.15: Hawke's Bay Museum and Art Gallery, Herschell Street.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2010.



Figure 5.16: Napier War Memorial, with Floral Clock in foreground.

Source: Image from Opening Programme, 1957. Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust - Hawke's Bay Museum & Art Gallery, Napier, New Zealand.



Figure 5.17: St John's Anglican Cathedral, Browning Street.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2001.



Figure 5.18: Civic Administration Building, Hastings Street.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2011.



Figure 5.19: The T&G Building, Marine Parade.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2000.



Figure 5.20: New Napier Arch, part of Colonnade, Marine Parade, with the Veronica Sun Bay in the background.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2009.



Figure 5.21: Contemporary bollard installed in Emerson Street Mall, commemorating the rebuilding of Napier after the earthquake.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2009.

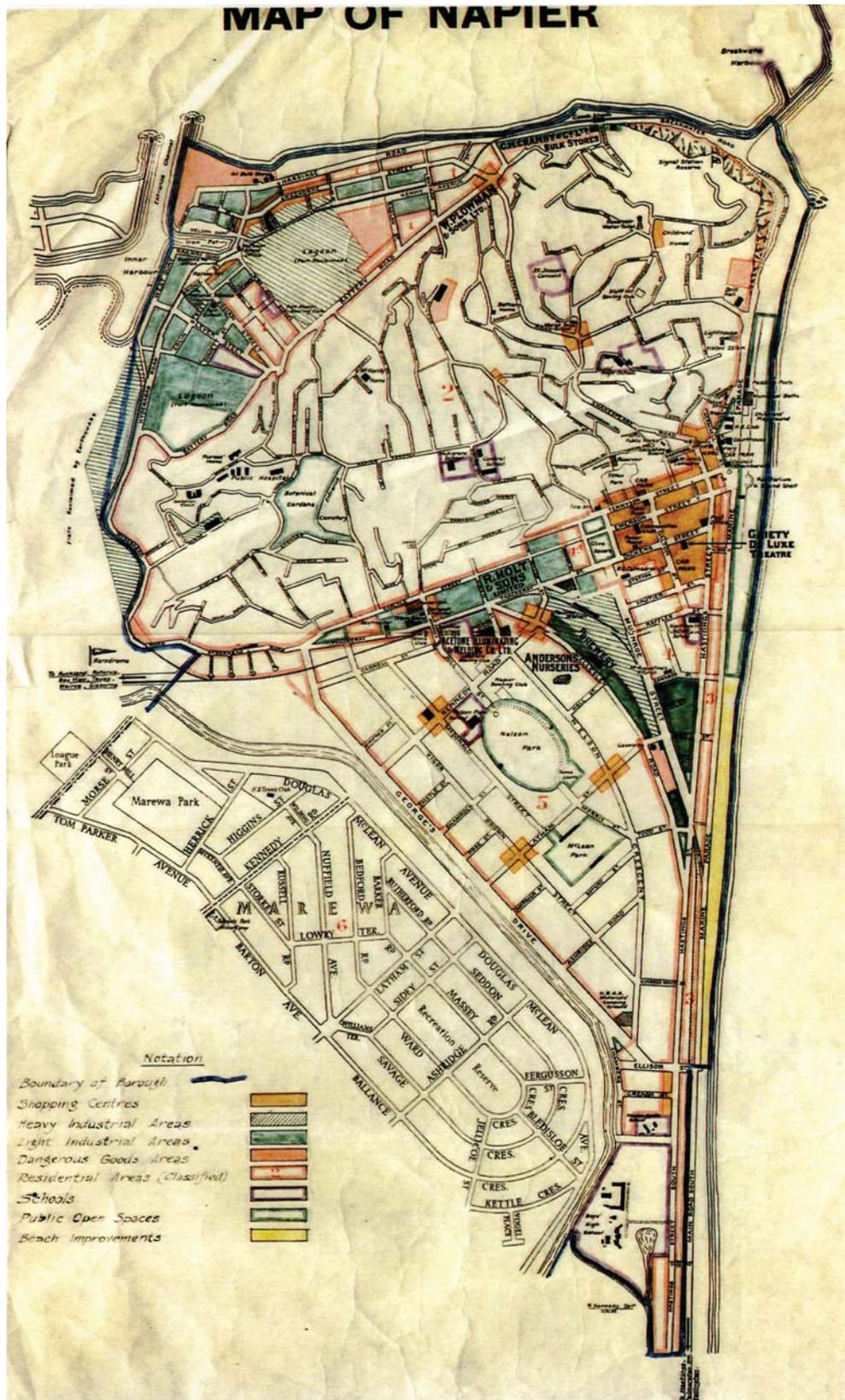


Figure 5.22: Interim Zoning Scheme for Napier, early 1940s.

Source: Napier City Council. For related content see *Daily Telegraph*, 1 October 1940, p. 8.

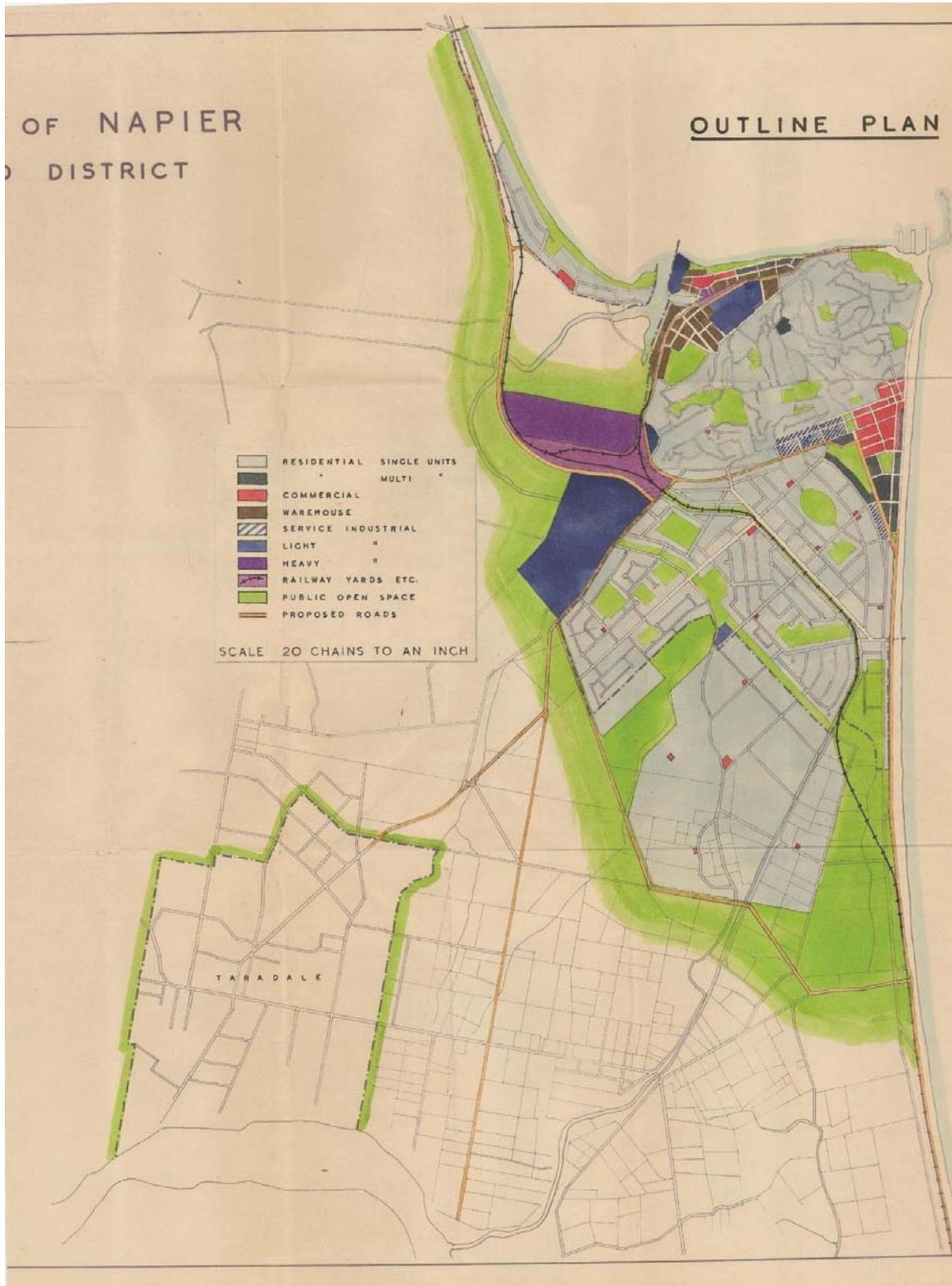


Figure 5.23: Outline Plan of Napier, about 1950.

Source: File, Napier District Scheme, Scheme Statement and Code of Ordinances, Maraenui-Onekawa South and City Westshore Sections, 1961, Napier City Council, Box 345.

Chapter 6

Greater Napier: Creating Suburbs

Introduction

During the first half of the 20th century, the slogan “Greater Napier” was used to promote the growth and expansion of Napier. This slogan appeared both in newspapers and as a title on some Council planning maps.¹ It represented the local aspiration to expand the size of the town and create new suburbs. The desire for growth was also embedded in the name of Napier’s premier progress league, the Napier Thirty Thousand Club, established in 1912, when the population of the town was less than half that size. At the time of formation, there was much debate about a suitable name for the Club, other suggestions including a 20,000 Club and a 50,000 Club. The founders pledged that the Club would function until the population of 30,000 was attained.² At the time, a population of 20,000 was required for city status. After 1950, “Greater Napier” was used less frequently as the names of new suburbs took over, although the underlying vision of an expanding city remained.³ The growth objective was shared with many other New Zealand towns, which strove to become larger and more important nationally, attracting not just people but new businesses and community amenities. The nearby town of Hastings was also following an expansionist path, and in the 1950s and 1960s, Greater Hastings Incorporated was active in promoting the town and making it a more attractive place, partly in competition with Napier.⁴

This chapter considers how planning influenced the growth and development of four Napier suburbs from the early 1930s to 1968. This expansion was systematic and organised, and was in the nature of a suburban developmental fringe that moved in a southwest direction from central Napier for nearly forty years after the earthquake. During

this period, four new suburbs - Marewa, Onekawa, Maraenui and Pirimai - were established and substantially developed by the Napier Borough/City Council and the Napier Harbour Board. Central government also participated through state housing projects. Planning for Greater Napier began in the aftermath of the 1931 earthquake. Reclamation projects had given Napier more land over the years, but it was the earthquake that, within a few minutes, reclaimed much more land than 75 years of human effort. Land was now readily available for housing and industry, and there was an opportunity for planning to play a major role. The focus of this chapter is on the role of the public authorities in planning, promoting, guiding and managing growth and development on the suburban fringe of Napier.

The location of the new suburbs is shown in Figure 6.1, which portrays Napier some years after amalgamation with the neighbouring borough of Taradale in 1968. An expanded part of the map shows how the four suburbs relate to each other, as well as to the earlier suburbs of Napier South and Te Awa. In 1931, the population of Napier Borough was just over 16,000. During the Depression and the Second World War, population grew slowly, reaching 20,000 in 1950 when Napier attained city status, a milestone celebrated with considerable civic pride and satisfaction at the time. Population growth subsequently accelerated, caused by the post-war baby boom and migration to Napier, so that as one suburb was being developed the next was being planned. Just before amalgamation in 1968, Napier's population was nearly 30,000, an increase of about 85 percent from 1931.⁵ The growth objective set by the Thirty Thousand Club 56 years earlier was finally attained. Most of this growth was accommodated in the new suburbs.

Suburbs

The term *suburb* can be defined in terms of four principal characteristics, as listed and discussed by Mark Clapson⁶ and sociologist David Thorns.⁷ First, while the suburb is located outside the centre of a city or a major town, the suburb remains within its sphere of influence. Second, the suburb has an urban geography that is intermediate between the geography of the town centre and the rural countryside beyond the suburbs. Third, suburbs

generally lie within commuting distance of the city or town centre, important because suburbs have been established largely as locations for residential communities, separated from commercial and industrial areas that provide employment. Fourth, suburbs look to the city or town centre to provide certain goods and services, including shopping and leisure activities.⁸

This statement of characteristics provides a useful starting point for studying New Zealand suburbs, but some general comments should be made. The New Zealand suburb, unlike in some parts of the world, may not necessarily be located some distance from the central business area. Some New Zealand suburbs are located almost immediately adjacent to the city centre, so that suburban housing begins where retail and commercial activities end. Further, New Zealand suburbs are administered within much larger local government units. This differs from North America, where suburbs are often administratively autonomous. Typically, the population of the New Zealand suburb is less than 10,000. Auckland, a city of about 1.4 million residents, was said to have over 200 suburbs in 2008,⁹ representing an average population of 7,000 per suburb. In 1968, just before amalgamation with Taradale, Napier's population of 30,000 was spread over ten suburbs, an average population of 3,000 per suburb.

New Zealand suburbs are generally residential. The suburban landscape is usually low-density housing, either owner-occupied or rented. In some suburbs, central government has provided state housing. Typically, New Zealand suburbs are identified by names that are shown on maps and listed in directories, although the use of suburban names is much more widespread in the larger cities. Many of the suburban names used have no official recognition. They represent geographical areas, the boundaries of which are often indistinct and ill defined. While some boundaries are clearly demarcated by geographic features such as rivers, parks or major roads, other boundaries are loosely drawn through homogenous residential landscapes in which many inhabitants themselves are uncertain about which suburb they belong to.

New Zealand suburbs may either be planned or unplanned. A planned suburb is one where physical development has been deliberate, organised and controlled. An unplanned suburb is one that develops more slowly and spontaneously, and often involves a village or town

being absorbed into the expanding urban area.¹⁰ The planning of suburbs might be regarded as part of town extension planning, the term used by Stephen Ward to cover developments in planning associated with the expansion of towns and resulting suburbanisation.¹¹ For Napier, much of the history of its urban development has been about extending the size of the town, both before and after the earthquake. Projects before the earthquake were associated with reclamation schemes, whilst those after it looked to embody contemporary planning ideas, as explored in this chapter.

Numerous studies have endeavoured to outline and explain suburban history. The classic American study is *Crabgrass Frontier* by Kenneth Jackson, who sees suburbanisation as a two-stage process in which suburban residential areas were established first, followed by industry and commerce later.¹² Richard Walker and Robert Lewis, however, have challenged this two-stage process. They believe that industry and residences have developed in suburbs together, rather than residential development taking place first.¹³ Jackson also proposes a ten-phase model for urban evolution in the United States, as follows:

Phase One	Habitation by nomadic Indians
Phase Two	Agricultural Settlement
Phase Three	Suburban Development
Phase Four	Annexation to Large City; Emergence as Neighborhood
Phase Five	Maturation and Stabilization of Density
Phase Six	Aging of Population; Decline in Density
Phase Seven	Population Succession by Lower-Income Groups
Phase Eight	Abandonment of Some Residences; Crisis Mentality
Phase Nine	Emptying of Neighborhood; Reversion to Recreation
Phase Ten	Urban Redevelopment or Gentrification ¹⁴

The ten-phase model does not accurately represent the history of urban development in Napier. First, the model envisages that suburban development takes place first, and then the area concerned is annexed to a larger city. In New Zealand, suburban development usually takes place within the boundary of the city, although earlier boundary extensions may have taken place to make this possible. Nonetheless, there are some exceptions to this. In Napier, the established residential areas of Westshore (see Chapter 7) and Taradale were added to Napier in 1942 and 1968 respectively, generally because the residents of both areas believed that they would receive a higher standard of local government services

if associated with a larger municipality. Second, while many established New Zealand suburbs have suffered decay and population decline, there has not been the emptying of suburbs and the reversion to other uses to the extent envisaged by Jackson's model. Later in this chapter, a simplified model for suburban development, adapted from Jackson, is proposed and explained for the New Zealand setting, as informed by the growth and development of suburbs in Napier.

Influences

The establishment and design of the new Napier suburbs was influenced by developments elsewhere in New Zealand and in other parts of the world. Civic leaders and Council staff advising on planning matters looked outside Napier for inspiration and ideas. The new suburbs were to be properly planned and were intended to function as model residential communities. From the 1930s through to the 1960s, three principal influences helped shape the development and structure of the new suburbs – the Garden Suburb, state housing, and neighbourhood unit ideas. Whereas the Garden Suburb and neighbourhood unit ideas were of international origin and diffused into New Zealand and Napier, state housing planning was distinctively New Zealand in character.

In New Zealand, there had been some interest in garden suburbs. The Garden Suburb idea was based on the Garden City, but was a much-scaled down model of Howard's original vision. Sometimes, the two terms have been used interchangeably. John Sulman, an Australian architect/planner, commented in 1921 that the terms were not easy to define, but observed:

The special characteristics which differentiate them from the ordinary town or suburb are the allocation of special quarters or sites for each kind of building, the absence of congestion of dwellings and their better arrangement, the ample provision of parks, playgrounds, and open spaces, the planting with trees and grass of part of the width of the roads where not required for traffic, and the provision of greater opportunities for social intercourse.¹⁵

Freestone acknowledges that the above statement came close to explaining what was meant by "town planning on garden city lines". He remarks, however, that there "were no hard

and fast criteria, no definitive theoretical expositions, no practice manuals”, adding that garden communities in Australia combined a mix of British, American (to a lesser extent) and Australian elements.¹⁶ Miller, writing about the influence of the Garden Suburb idea in New Zealand, identifies three conditions that were essential if a Garden Suburb was to be regarded as a success. First, the project must be sponsored and directed by a committed organisation or individual, from either the private or public sector. Examples included the group of enthusiasts associated with Letchworth in England and the government-sponsored Thousand Homes Scheme in Adelaide, South Australia. Second, the relevant site must be of sufficient size for a complete suburb to be built, including supporting facilities. The development needed to be larger than a subdivision involving only a handful of streets. Third, there must be widespread public support for the project and the suburb must be regarded as a desirable place in which to live.¹⁷ Combining the views expressed by Sulman, Freestone and Miller provides a workable statement of the features that would constitute a successful garden suburb in the antipodean setting.

Ben Schrader comments that the Garden Suburb idea did not greatly change New Zealand’s urban landscape, and that enthusiasm for the concept fell away after 1920, the high point for the movement being the 1919 Town Planning Conference. Before the conference, the Garden City idea had been promoted by enthusiasts such as Charles Reade who, in 1911 and 1914, spoke about garden cities and town planning on lecture tours of New Zealand.¹⁸ The 1914 tour included a free public lecture given by Reade in Napier, the address illustrated by lantern slides of European cities. The British Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, as organiser of the lecture tour, received a subsidy of £10 from the Borough Council.¹⁹ Several papers presented at the 1919 Conference also focused on Garden City style developments, including a proposal from Samuel Hurst Seager, the Conference organiser and Christchurch architect, for a model garden village. This was a coordinated plan for town and country, the village itself surrounded by land set aside for horticulture and industry, with dairy farms and other agricultural activities sited further afield. Schrader’s study also discusses Durie Hill in Wanganui and Orakei in Auckland. Both were promoted at the time as garden suburbs, but neither fulfilled the expectations of the original schemes prepared for them.²⁰

Durie Hill was designed by Seager in 1920 as a small hilltop suburb, its development prompted by the construction of an elevator that could transport passengers between the crest and base of the hill, which otherwise was located close to downtown Wanganui. Seager's plan included streets that followed natural contours, plenty of space for reserves and community amenities, including a community centre. Sections varied in size, with the expectation that this would attract people with a range of incomes. It was also envisaged that housing would be owned on a partnership basis, with each shareholder holding a proprietary interest in not just his or her own home, but also in those belonging to their neighbours. The developer, however, sold sections as freehold properties and without restrictions, so that Durie Hill became a middle-class community rather than one with a broader social mix. The garden suburb elements that did survive from Seager's original plan included curvilinear roading, parks and a church, but not a community centre.²¹ Miller writes that Durie Hill failed to meet any of her three tests – no organisation or person remained in place to facilitate the growth of the suburb after its initial establishment, the site was inadequate for full suburban development, and there was no enduring public interest that recognised the location as a special place.²²

The Orakei scheme in Auckland was a much larger development, based on a design prepared by Reginald Hammond, a town planner, architect and surveyor who played a leading role in the pioneer years of the New Zealand town planning movement and later became the first Director of Town Planning. The Orakei site adjoined Waitemata Harbour and comprised about 630 acres of undulating land that had excellent views across both city and harbour. The land had been acquired by the Department of Lands over the years with the intention of developing the area as a model garden suburb for Auckland, and with this in mind, a competition was held inviting design plans. The competition laid out certain requirements about roading, reserves, a foreshore esplanade, a university site, and other civic amenities. There were 42 entries, Hammond's plan being judged the winner, but with the caveat that the final plan for Orakei might not include all of the details in his plan. Hammond's plan included curvilinear roads and cul-de-sacs, complemented with street trees and grass verges, all designed to fit in with the difficult terrain, with housing sections provided in various sizes. There was also generous provision for civic and community amenities, part of which was a civic centre, town hall and associated monuments. Indeed, the New Zealand Institute of Surveyors criticised the plan because its effect was to create a

“micro city” rather than function simply as a suburb that was part of a larger urban area. Hammond’s plan was implemented in part only. The proposed civic centre and central recreational reserves did not proceed, and much of the land was made available for mass state housing projects from the later 1930s. From about that time, the description of Orakei as a “garden suburb” was used much less frequently. Miller remarked that, while Garden Suburb ideals could produce a better living environment, they “could never successfully address the quantitative housing issue, the increasing need to physically provide sufficient quantities of basic housing.”²³ With regard to her criteria for the success of garden suburbs, Miller comments that Orakei came closest to satisfying the three conditions. The organisations responsible for the development of Orakei, the Department of Lands and later the Housing Construction Branch of the State Advances Corporation, were of sufficient stature to develop a garden suburb. The site was extremely suitable for the Garden Suburb style plan originally prepared by Hammond. However, the introduction of mass state housing and the abandonment of plans for many of the community amenities meant that Orakei became just another suburb, rather than a sought-after residential location.²⁴ Although Miller doubts that there were any true Garden Suburb developments in New Zealand, she nevertheless acknowledges that Garden Suburb principles were sometimes applied in New Zealand in developing and selling suburbs into the 1940s. The Garden Suburb elements in such developments were sometimes minimal, perhaps including a few curvilinear roads and a reserve or two, with the Garden Suburb label being used predominantly as advertising rhetoric rather than as a true description of urban design.²⁵

Much more significant in the New Zealand context was the state housing scheme which commenced in the late 1930s and which continued into the 1950s and beyond. This scheme was originally initiated by the Labour Government elected to power in 1935, replacing a Coalition Government that had endeavoured to deal with a worsening Depression in the early 1930s through retrenchment policies and a reduction of public spending. The newly-elected Labour Government, on the other hand, writes Gael Ferguson, “was determined to use all the resources of the state to ensure an improved standard of living for all of its citizens, and not just workers.”²⁶ When Labour assumed office in 1935, the new government did not have a definitive housing policy apart from state lending, but over the next two years developed new policies for housing, the principal

innovation being a state housing scheme in which the government built and retained ownership of houses that were rented to those in need, particularly young families. It was claimed at the time that there was a shortage of accommodation, some of it being too expensive, sub-standard or overcrowded. A nation-wide survey of accommodation was also carried out from 1935, but the new housing policy was already settled and underway when some results of the survey were finally released in 1939.²⁷ At the time, the Labour Government claimed the national shortfall of housing to be almost 22,000 homes, although Penny Isaac and Erik Olssen, in their detailed study of housing in the Dunedin suburb of Caversham, suggest that the extent of the problem might have been exaggerated. They also point out that the focus of the new housing policy was on creating new state housing areas, rather than improving or repairing existing accommodation.²⁸

The state housing scheme began in 1936 when the government announced that 5,000 homes would be built in the first year. John A. Lee, the Ministerial Under-Secretary who assumed responsibility for the scheme, identified three objectives for the housing policy – building quality houses “in accordance with the best town planning principles”, using unemployed labour for house construction, and using New Zealand materials for building wherever possible. State houses were generally comfortable and well built, and in the early years of the scheme were typically three-bedroom detached dwellings, maintaining the established suburban tradition in which each home was surrounded with sufficient land to maintain a vegetable garden or a few trees. To ensure variety in appearance and design, over 400 different house plans were originally commissioned.²⁹ From the start of the scheme until 1968, approximately 70,000 state houses had been built, of which 20,000 had been sold to tenants in a home ownership scheme introduced by the National Government in 1950.³⁰

The state housing projects sometimes included designing and building new suburbs, particularly when associated with the larger cities. These schemes gave planning in New Zealand a major boost, as the desire of government was not simply to provide homes but also to establish communities complete with appropriate facilities. Some of the planning principles that applied to state housing are summarised by Cedric Firth in a book published by the Ministry of Works in 1949. These principles covered an array of planning matters, including housing density, roads, services, reserves, landscaping and other community

facilities. Roads were divided into three classes, with loop roads, cul-de-sacs and recessed courts to be used extensively. Reserves were to account for about 15 percent of the gross area of subdivision and a full range of services was to be provided. Front and dividing fences were removed from state housing areas, as the “front garden, although an expression of individual ideas, is not viewed from the cottage garden aspect alone, but as part of a large community garden, each unit being a co-ordinated part of a community whole.”³¹ Some aspects of the Garden Suburb ideal were incorporated into these schemes. Schrader, in his history of state housing, considers community planning for the larger areas involved, including the Lower Hutt suburb of Naenae, which he claims to be the “best expression of garden city ideas in New Zealand”.³² Ferguson writes that there was some interest in Garden City ideas in earlier state housing areas, reflected in designs that emphasised curving streets and open space.³³ From the 1950s, central government became involved in developing mass housing suburbs, prominent examples being the Auckland suburbs of Mangere and Otara, and Porirua, north of Wellington. Although the Minister of Housing had declared in 1956 that suburbs should be developed along “sound town-planning principles”, the emphasis was on preparing land and services, but town centres were sometimes included, especially shops.³⁴

Meanwhile, the neighbourhood unit idea had gathered support in the years immediately following the Second World War and was to play an increasing role in the design of New Zealand suburbs. The neighbourhood unit was originally based on a concept developed by Clarence Perry in 1929 as part of a regional plan for New York. The essence of the concept was the creation of an ideal residential neighbourhood of sufficient size (about 5,000 to 9,000 residents) to meet immediate local needs, including a school, shopping facilities, churches and other community amenities. Through streets were discouraged, making it easier for pedestrians to move within the neighbourhood, and at least ten percent of land was to be set aside for parks and open space. The concept was applied in a plan produced by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright shortly afterwards for Radburn in New Jersey, and later became prominent in the planning of the post-war British New Towns, with 11 of the 14 “mark one” towns being planned on the basis of neighbourhood units, each unit generally separated from the others by major roads or other topographical features.³⁵ One of the intentions of neighbourhood unit planning was to promote the development of communities that were relatively self-contained and included a broad

cross-section of society and housing styles.³⁶ The concept was used much less extensively for later New Towns after attracting criticism for reasons of both design and social outcomes. Some critics observed that the neighbourhood unit principle had created low-density residential areas, which were sometimes quite removed from the central town area, while others doubted that the neighbourhoods had produced better communities with greater social interaction amongst residents.³⁷ Maurice Broady, planner and sociologist, remarks that the neighbourhood unit idea was an example in which “dubious social theory was grafted on to a reasonable technical solution”.³⁸ Nonetheless, the neighbourhood unit concept did provide some planning successes. Anthony Goss commented in 1961 that the majority of the neighbourhood units built as part of the British New Towns were “a qualitative advance over most pre-war housing estates” and represented “the first real attempts on a nation-wide scale to plan residential areas comprehensively with shops, schools, community buildings and open spaces fitted into residential areas as part of a planned pattern.”³⁹

In the later 1940s, contemporary planning thought in New Zealand was succinctly stated in *Better Towns*, a booklet published by the Ministry of Works in 1948, intended primarily for secondary schools. The booklet included an outline of planning objectives and observed that the planning of towns should focus on the development of neighbourhoods with plentiful parkland and open space. Residential use of the land should be clearly separated from other uses. The traditional gridiron pattern for street layouts should be abandoned, having produced streets that were monotonous and sometimes dangerous because they facilitated speeding traffic. Curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs, on the other hand, promoted traffic safety and provided a better living environment. But the booklet reminded readers that the idea of planning towns in New Zealand was not new, as nearly every town “was laid out on paper before the first sod was turned”. Included was the plan for Victoria, a grid-based town proposed for the Bay of Islands, but never built. Hastings, New Plymouth and Invercargill were cited as outstanding examples of grid towns. Also included were contemporary plans for Upper Hutt, based on the town planning scheme prepared by the Ministry of Works, and a photograph of a central Napier street accompanied by the suggestion that it could become a mall.⁴⁰ With its emphasis on plans of towns and street layout, the booklet bore the imprint of surveyors and traffic engineers, but its focus overall was firmly on planning associated with civic design and the

development of neighbourhoods and communities. The booklet also illustrated how elements of Garden Suburb and neighbourhood unit ideas had become fused together to produce what were considered at the time to be ideal design principles for New Zealand towns. It also complemented the ideas about planning presented by Cedric Firth in his 1949 book published by the Ministry of Works.⁴¹ The ideas presented in *Better Towns* continued to influence planning in New Zealand in the 1950s and 1960s when urban growth and suburban development was rapid. Ferguson comments that Ministry of Works design staff began to explore and apply neighbourhood unit ideas in planning the manner in which housing and local services were related to each other.⁴²

It is useful to consider the diffusion and spread of planning ideas relating to suburbs, both to and within New Zealand, and how this has taken place over the years. Planners, and those who planned, did not do so in isolation, but developed their ideas within the context of the work and ideas of others. Central government officials became important conduits of town planning knowledge, because they were among the few personnel in New Zealand at the time with expertise and experience in this discipline. In the early 1930s John Mawson, Director of Town Planning, provided Napier Borough Council with some town planning advice and also gave public addresses in Napier on the principles and practice of town planning. He suggested the town should have three principal zones, residential, commercial and industrial. He also promoted a plan for the development of a new suburb, later named Marewa.⁴³ External planning advice was still important in the 1940s and the early 1950s, particularly as the Council did not employ full time specialist planning staff. During these years, several staff shared town planning with other roles. For a time, the Borough/City Engineer was the Council's principal planning advisor, but his knowledge about planning was acquired as part of his work for the Council, rather than from training as a professional planner.⁴⁴

In summary, principal influences on suburban development in Napier from the 1930s included international ideas based on Garden Cities and neighbourhood units. These became fused with New Zealand developments, particularly state housing, which was to play a leading role in much of Napier's suburban development from the late 1930s into the 1960s. While state housing developments looked to create attractive communities and included design features from both the Garden City and neighbourhood unit model, state

housing areas in New Zealand never became attractive places in which to live. Ferguson comments that the rapid growth of large-scale suburbs led to criticisms about the poor design of housing and suburbs, especially those that included low-cost multi-unit dwellings, part of the state housing programme from the mid-1950s. In many areas, there was a perceived lack of community services, while other critics “were distressed by the ‘dull’, ‘boring’, ‘bland’ quality of the suburban environment.”⁴⁵ Although these observations focused to a large extent on suburban areas that were part of New Zealand’s main urban centres, they were to become challenges for Napier as well, where new suburbs were also to be mass produced within increasingly shortened timeframes to meet the demand for housing.

Greater Napier

The Greater Napier idea materialised in the creation and development of four new suburbs from the early 1930s to 1968. The new suburbs - Marewa, Onekawa, Maraenui and Pirimai - were generally planned before houses were built, although these plans sometimes changed as time progressed. Robert McGregor comments:

Such large-scale planned developments, in which the house styles are almost without exception harmonious and representative of their period, are unique in New Zealand, at least in provincial centres. In most cities, development was more piecemeal, as farmland was subdivided in an ad hoc way. The fact that Napier, because of its geography, was able to expand only to the south-west, further concentrated its suburbs into larger areas, and their division by artificially created drainage reserves defined them more precisely.⁴⁶

A number of public authorities were involved in creating the new Napier suburbs, each authority having distinctly different roles. First, there was the Napier Borough/City Council as developer, which was anxious to have more land made available for residential and industrial development. The Council was also happy to assume the responsibility for building roads and providing other services, although in early years some amenities were not established as quickly as residents would have liked. Second, there was the Napier Harbour Board, which had become owner of endowment land, much of which once lay under water and had been vested in the Board by legislation.⁴⁷ Third, there was the

Hawke's Bay County Council, which had jurisdiction as a local authority over the land because it was originally located within County boundaries. Finally, there was central government, housing provider, which, through state housing programmes initiated from the late 1930s, provided much residential accommodation in the new suburbs. Central government, as legislator and commissioner, also gave effect to boundary alterations that increased the geographical area of Napier and provided the town with land on which to build the new suburbs. Private developers were not involved in creating the new suburbs apart from building houses on individual sections or participating in a group building scheme, the ownership of the relevant land otherwise either vested in the Harbour Board or transferred to the Council as part of the development process.

Generally, these parties cooperated, although there were sometimes differences of opinion. Negotiations among the parties were undertaken formally through correspondence and informally through discussions involving elected representatives or senior staff. Mutually agreed arrangements were usually recorded in agreements that stated responsibilities, settled costs and defined the geographic area concerned. Between the Council and the Harbour Board, the usual arrangement was for the Council to develop the land and provide roads and services. The Council's costs were then reimbursed through the sale of leasehold or freehold sections to the public, a proportion of which were given to the Council by the Harbour Board for this purpose. The remaining sections were retained by the Board and leased to the public. The proportion of sections provided to the Council was not fixed, but varied from one agreement to another.⁴⁸ A joint committee of both Council and Harbour Board was established to plan and oversee the development of Mārewa, and functioned in the 1930s and 1940s. Local legislation (mentioned below) was also required. The arrangements between the Harbour Board and the Council reflected the reality that the principal function of the Napier Harbour Board was to provide and maintain harbour facilities. The Borough Council, on the other hand, was much better equipped to develop the land, a major part of which activity was building roads and providing other essential services such as water supply, drainage and providing parks and reserves. These were long-established core Council functions.

Table 6.1 presents information about the four new suburbs. The table shows the starting date for developmental planning in each suburb, the estimated population once fully

developed (recent data is used because of availability), the estimated number of residential sections made available, and the principal characteristic. Onekawa is shown as divided into three parts, because each part was developed at different times. Onekawa West, originally known as the Light Industrial Area, began its development about 1950, when it was still located within Hawke's Bay County. Apart from Maraenui, which was to become largely a state housing area, the Council had no preconceptions about the style or standard of housing development that would take place. These locations were, after all, the only greenfield sites available for residential development in Napier at the time, and available sections attracted steady interest from purchasers when placed on the market by the Council.⁴⁹ The four suburbs, however, are now regarded as poorer parts of Napier, particularly Maraenui.⁵⁰

Table 6.1: Napier Suburbs 1931-1968

<i>Suburb</i>	<i>Date Started</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Residential Sites</i>	<i>Characteristic</i>
Marewa	1934	4650	1600	Residential
Onekawa Central	1945	1254	440	Residential
Onekawa West	1950	123	Not applicable	Industrial
Onekawa South	1953	4191	565 plus	Residential
Maraenui	1953	3468	900	Residential
Pirimai	1961	3294	920	Residential

Source: Population data was adapted from Napier Population by Area information, which was published on the Napier City Council website. Retrieved 1 September 2009 from http://www.napier.govt.nz/index.php?cid=napier/stats/stats_pop_area&mid=311 Residential site data was adapted from information in *Daily Telegraph*, 17 September 1954, p. 8; M. D. N. Campbell, *Story of Napier: Footprints Along the Shore*, Napier: Napier City Council, 1974, pp. 177-178; and H.K. Stevenson, *Port and People: Century at the Port of Napier*, Napier: Hawke's Bay Harbour Board, 1977, p. 283.

Marewa was the first of the four suburbs to be planned and developed. The possibility of a new suburb being established was raised by the *Daily Telegraph* in late 1931 when the newspaper commented that a bridge should be built across the Tutaekuri River linking Napier to the land uplifted by the earthquake. This land, the editorial remarked, could now be occupied at little cost and without undue delay. Once the bridge was built, “there is not the slightest doubt that the closely congested town area would force its way across to the endowment land beyond.”⁵¹ The suggestion was considered initially by Chief Napier Commissioner J.S. Barton⁵² and later by the Napier Borough Council. In November 1933, the Borough Council and Napier Harbour Board finally reached agreement for the lease and development of 492 acres of land, for residential purposes.⁵³ In drawing up plans for

the new suburb, John Mawson remarked in December 1933: "It is not difficult for me to visualise an entirely new garden city on the reclaimed area." He said that the area would not only provide Napier with much-needed land for expansion, but also offered "great possibilities for the future."⁵⁴ In the same newspaper report, he mentioned the importance of planning a coordinated roading system, and providing for recreation parks and shopping areas: "These should all be planned now, so that there will be no waste of money and time when the increase in the population warrants the establishment of these facilities."⁵⁵ In March 1934, Mawson, when addressing the Borough Town Planning Committee, reiterated the need for the Council to adopt "some definite plan" before development work commenced. He also mentioned that a trend of town planning in other parts of the world was to plan for self-contained communities of about 200 homes, each with its own shops and other facilities, with schools sited so that children would not need to cross main highways to reach them.⁵⁶ While Mawson's ideas for the future of Marewa were clearly shaped by Garden Suburb principles, he already had in mind principles associated with neighbourhood planning. More definite plans were adopted for Marewa later in 1934 and the Borough Council began work on developing the northern part of the new suburb. The first group of sections was offered for lease in early 1935⁵⁷ with more sections being made available in the following years as developmental work for new parts of the suburb was completed. By the end of 1940, about 370 houses had been built in Marewa or were being constructed.⁵⁸

By the early 1940s, it had become apparent that the Marewa extension to the town was insufficient. The future expansion of the town was raised with the Harbour Board in September 1942 when the Board was in the process of leasing land adjoining the borough for purposes other than urban development. A dialogue of correspondence and meetings between the two bodies was begun, and the Internal Affairs Department suggested that the two entities, along with the Hawke's Bay County Council and Taradale Town Board, might like to collaborate in the preparation of an Extra-Urban Scheme under the Town-planning Act 1926.⁵⁹ Later that month, the Mayor (T. Hercock) and other Councillors attended a meeting of the Harbour Board, at which they explained that no houses were currently available in Napier, but a minimum of 1000 houses would be required when the Second World War concluded.⁶⁰ No progress was made with these discussions. In 1943, the Borough Council established the Greater Napier Committee, with the intention of

exercising more control over Harbour Board land. Relations between the Council and the Board had now become a little strained. The Council wanted to be able to sell more freehold properties, so that the proceeds could be used to develop more land for urban purposes and provide amenities. The Harbour Board, on the other hand, was reluctant to part with too much land and thereby reduce the income from rentals that would be paid to it for leases.⁶¹

The Council therefore presented a petition to Parliament in 1943, asking for a commission to be established to inquire into Napier's expansion problem and the difficulties created by the borough being surrounded by Harbour Board land over which the Council had no control, the petition also suggesting that an outcome might include the need to prepare "a long distance comprehensive and broadly based planned scheme to provide for the expansion of a Greater Napier."⁶² The Parliamentary Committee that considered the petition, in an interim decision, urged both bodies to "make every endeavour to reconcile their differences with a view to the production of a common plan for the future development and expansion of Napier."⁶³ The expansionist aspirations of the Napier Borough Council are illustrated on a map published in 1944 entitled *Greater Napier*, showing six blocks of land that could be added to the town and developed for residential or other purposes. Rather unimaginatively, most of the blocks were indicatively broken up into a gridiron street pattern. A small number of curvilinear roads were included to better align with existing roads or other features (Figure 6.2). This map was prepared as a basis for ongoing discussions among the parties, it being envisaged that the plan could yield 4,245 sections across the six blocks shown, such development likely to take about 35 to 40 years if 100 sections were made available each year.⁶⁴

After extensive negotiations, the Greater Napier debate was finally settled in 1945 when the Harbour Board agreed to release 1050 acres of land. Of this area, 278 acres was added to the borough for immediate development and became the suburb of Onekawa. The remainder was to be held for the future urban growth of the town, to be included in the borough when needed. The Council would also be able to sell the freehold in eight out of every ten sections developed.⁶⁵ In early 1949, the *Daily Telegraph* reported that 35 building sites at Onekawa had just been offered to the public. Like Marewa, the level of the streets would be a little lower than the surrounding sections, the soil excavated to form

the streets being redistributed to build up lower areas. Section sizes ranged from about one-quarter to one-fifth of an acre. Overall, the “new suburb has been town-planned on modern lines and will be wholly devoted to residential purposes, except for community buildings and a small shopping centre.”⁶⁶ The published plan for the first part of Onekawa (Figure 6.3) shows the arrangements of sites, areas reserved for community facilities, and the plantation strip separating Onekawa from Marewa. The street layout, with the absence of the curvilinear streets that were a feature of the original Marewa plan, was more grid-like, although cul-de-sacs were included and cross-intersections avoided.

In the mid-1950s, development of Maraenui, the third post-earthquake suburb, began. This was in response to the continuing demand for residential land and accommodation. The new suburb covered about 245 acres and was planned to provide 850 homes, 800 to be built as state houses or under a group-housing scheme, with the remainder comprising existing dwellings associated with small farms settled in the 1930s. The *Daily Telegraph* reported that the new suburb would “have its own shopping area and parklands, sealed streets and tree-lined avenues and – above all – the fresh charm of a new community blueprinted by experts along the most modern town planning lines.”⁶⁷ Because of the size of the state housing project, developmental work at Maraenui was carried out jointly with the Ministry of Works. Unlike the two earlier suburbs, a full range of services, including sewage disposal, a shopping centre and a school would be immediately or soon available.

In the early 1960s, development of Pirimai began. This was a City Council project covering 406 acres of rural land, with developmental work being programmed over a number of stages. E.W. Clement, City Planner, reported that part of the development could not be settled until the location of the motorway linking the airport at Westshore with Hastings had been finalised. When complete, the suburb was expected to provide sections for about 3,000 homes. The City Planner said that the new suburb would resemble Onekawa in appearance, although the streets would be wider. Plans for the new suburb also included provision for parkland, shops and a school.⁶⁸ Even as the Pirimai plans were being announced, thought was being given as to where Napier should expand next, possibilities being to develop further towards Taradale, or to the north or south of the present urban area. The *Daily Telegraph* commented that, whatever decision was made, it

would be made “in the next few years. For invariably development lags some years behind planning.”⁶⁹

The process of establishing each of the new suburbs generally included the following sequence of steps, partly based on a pattern for development of Harbour Board land presented by J.B. Childs in his dissertation on post-earthquake planning in Napier:⁷⁰

- Agreement in principle by Napier Borough/City Council and the other parties, being the Harbour Board, County Council and central government as appropriate.
- Making and giving effect to boundary alterations to include the relevant land within Napier.
- Planning through various stages, as outlined below.
- Subdivision of land and provision of services, usually just a part of each suburb at a time, including the sale or lease of sections.
- Construction of houses and other amenities such as parks and shopping centres.⁷¹

The above sequence was not always followed, particularly with regard to the provision of services. In Marewa, for example, new residents sometimes had to wait for some years for roads to be sealed and a sewerage system to be provided. When plans were announced in 1948 for the development of Onekawa, a *Daily Telegraph* editorial, while welcoming the prospect that land would become available for residential development, questioned whether the project was “being undertaken in accordance with a thoroughly prepared plan. Has such a plan been prepared and made available for public inspection? Has the council calculated in detail the financial aspect of the proposal?” The newspaper’s concern was that early development was to be to “county standard” only, so residents initially would need to provide their own septic tank for sewage disposal. The *Daily Telegraph* did not want to see the mistakes of Marewa repeated, and urged that that “the proposal should be undertaken with businesslike thoroughness. Civic enthusiasm should not be allowed to cloud civic judgment.”⁷² The type of planning the newspaper was advocating would today form part of a Council’s asset management and long-term plans, as well as project and resource management consents and plans that might apply to the proposal itself. The editorial was also recognising that some element of public participation in the planning process was called for. It was not sufficient for the Council to make a decision on the basis

of the technical expertise of its staff and then expect everyone to be happy with the outcome. The development of Marewa had been plagued with problems for some years, and when the Onekawa proposal was first presented at a Council meeting, there was a detailed and searching discussion of the proposal, which was to be reported on in greater detail at a future meeting.⁷³

The Greater Napier idea was about planning in the broadest sense, that included the project development of building sites and services, as well as the formulation of town planning or district schemes to regulate the use of the land. The desired outcome was a much-expanded town that could comfortably accommodate a growing population and demands for industrial land. At the same time, there was a wish for the new areas of Napier to be planned, and help make Napier a better place in which to live and work. The process to achieve that result was going to be a little more difficult, taking into account the different roles of the public authorities involved and their own separate aspirations and responsibilities. The principal advocate of growth and expansion was naturally the Napier Borough/City Council, but a successful outcome was always going to depend on the positive contribution of the Harbour Board, the County Council (if the relevant land was located within the County), and central government through legislation, Town Planning Board and Local Government Commission activities, and the provision of state housing from the late 1930s.

Boundary Alterations

Boundary alterations became an integral part of planning the four new suburbs. This was because land required for urban development was originally located within Hawke's Bay County. The County Council itself neither wished, nor had the resources to develop land for urban or other non-rural purposes. Legislative authority would also have been required, as was the position for developments undertaken jointly by the Borough/City Council and Harbour Board. There was also little debate between the two councils when boundary alterations were promoted, the proposals usually being mutually agreed upon.

Table 6.2 presents information about Napier boundary alterations made from 1931 to 1968 relating to the new suburbs. The only part of the new suburbs area that was within the Borough boundary at the time of the earthquake was the 28-Acre Block, which was later to become part of Marewa. Some boundary alterations were made by legislation. The Napier Harbour Board and Napier Borough Enabling Act 1933, which included the Marewa land within the Borough, also empowered the Harbour Board and Council to enter into an arrangement for developing and subdividing the land. This legislation was necessary to give effect to an agreement the two entities had already entered into, public authorities at the time having only those powers that were specifically given to them by legislation. The Napier Harbour Board and Napier Borough Enabling Act of 1945 similarly applied to land at Onekawa. A.E. Armstrong, Member of Parliament for Napier, explained to the House of Representatives that the proposed legislation would permit the Council “to plan for the building of a greater Napier, on a zoning principle. It could set aside certain areas as playing-grounds, shopping places, industrial or residential areas.”⁷⁴ The act provided for about 278 acres to be included in the Borough immediately, and a further 787 acres, in whole or part, to be included in the Borough at a later date. As discussed below, zoning of land for uses became an integral part of town planning and later district schemes prepared for the new suburbs.

Table 6.2: Napier Boundary Alterations 1931-1968

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Mode</i>
Marewa	1934	456 acres	Legislation
Onekawa	1945	279 acres	Legislation
Maraenui/Onekawa South	1953	530 acres	Local Government Commission
Onekawa West	1958	284 acres	Local Government Commission
Pirimai	1961	406 acres	Local Government Commission

Source: Date and area information adapted from W. M Hall, *The Growth and Development of Napier – Town, Borough and City: A Resource Unit for Social Studies on Urbanisation*, Napier: W. M. Hall, 1986, p. 111.

The boundary alterations made in 1953, 1958 and 1961 followed a process overseen by the Local Government Commission, a statutory body established in 1946 with responsibility for certain constitutional matters affecting local government, including the approval of boundary adjustments.⁷⁵ Both Borough and County Councils agreed to these boundary alterations, and there was little public opposition.

The boundary alteration process is illustrated, as an example, by the 1953 addition that incorporated 530 acres into the City. This area became known later as Maraenui and Onekawa South. The Napier City Council petitioned central government to transfer 255 acres from Hawke's Bay County to the City. The area was known as Richmond Block at the time and had been subdivided into five-acre blocks under the Small Farms Act 1932-33. The two Councils, after further consultation, decided that the area to be transferred should be increased by a further 275 acres. This was to avoid creating “an irregular, saw toothed boundary” between the city and county. In its supporting information, the Council statement indicated that the land would be used for three classes of development – state housing, private enterprise and Council development. The Council also thought that the boundary alteration would give it sufficient land to accommodate city development for a further 25 years, although this assessment was to be proved wrong within a few years. The Local Government Commission agreed with the proposal and issued Provisional and Final Schemes to give effect to the proposal. The Provisional Scheme covered 550 acres, but this was reduced to 530 acres in the Final Scheme after the Commission decided to uphold the one objection that was received.⁷⁶

In the development of Napier, the location of the town boundary was always important. In some respects, the boundary line was also the outer margin of the suburban fringe. On the town side, urban development was definitely possible. On the rural side, urban development was much less likely, at least until a new boundary arrangement was made. Before the earthquake, the boundary was to a large degree determined by the immediate proximity of water, and, therefore, moving the boundary outwards needed to be accompanied by appropriate reclamation activity. Boundary alterations were thus uncommon. After the earthquake, land became more readily available, so boundary adjustments could be made as the need emerged. In this respect, Napier became more like other New Zealand towns that were surrounded by relatively flat flood plains, providing ample room for urban expansion. The Napier Borough/City Council and Hawke's Bay County Council appeared to cooperate reasonably well in dealing with proposed boundary adjustments, these generally being agreed upon by the two Councils before being implemented by legislation or the Local Government Commission. Sometimes, preliminary discussions were necessary where a proposed boundary change needed some refinement, but there was no outright opposition to Napier's expansionist plans nor was

any contested claim advanced before the Local Government Commission. The cooperation between the Napier Borough/City Council and Hawke's Bay County Council was in part a natural result of the two Councils having collaborated to some extent on planning matters since 1949 when an Extra-Urban Planning Committee was established, comprising representatives of the Borough and County Councils, together with the Napier Harbour Board, Taradale Town Board, and relevant government departments. The various member organisations were represented by a mix of councillors and senior staff. The committee functioned into the 1950s, its principal role being to coordinate the development plans of local authorities in areas adjacent to Napier Borough and Taradale Town.⁷⁷ The planning component in the boundary adjustment process was the preliminary work carried out in deciding exactly where the new boundary line should be drawn, and in preparing the necessary documentation for the ultimate decision maker, being either Parliament or the Commission.

Planning

The planning of the four suburbs took place at three different levels. First, and at the broadest level, there was the concept plan, an initial or preliminary plan. It was usually a single page map, illustrating a proposed street layout and other significant features. These were invariably informed by town planning ideas in vogue at the time. Second, there was the statutory town planning scheme (later, district scheme), which comprised both a land use map specifying zoning and a written code of ordinances. For Napier, there were a series of sectional schemes, as shown in Table 6.3, rather than a single scheme for the town as a whole. Napier was unusual in this respect, as other local authorities invariably prepared a single town planning scheme or district scheme that covered each authority's entire territory. The geographic arrangement of these schemes is shown in Figure 6.4, illustrating the boundaries for the various sections together with planning detail for the Ahuriri Lagoon and Pirimai sections. Earlier schemes were prepared under the Town-planning Act 1926, later schemes under Town and Country Planning Act 1953. Third, at the lowest and most detailed level, there was the scheme plan of subdivision. This

typically covered only part of each suburb or even just a few streets, and was in effect a subdivision plan that defined boundaries of sections and the location of roads and reserves.

Table 6.3: Napier Town Planning Schemes 1931-1968

<i>Scheme and Original Date</i>	<i>Dates of Additions or Reviews</i>
The Napier Business Area Scheme 1932	
The Napier (Marewa) Scheme 1938	1945,1948.1961
The Napier (Onekawa) Scheme 1948	1961
The Napier (Onekawa West) Scheme 1956	1961
The City-Westshore-Maraenui-Onekawa South Scheme 1964	
The Ahuriri Lagoon-Pirimai Scheme 1966	

Source: Adapted from information in *Development of Town Planning in the City of Napier*, an unpublished paper prepared by the Town Planning Department, Napier City Council, 1974, p. 2, Box NCC 156, File T.P. 1/3.

The relationship of these plans to each other is illustrated by reference to Marewa and Maraenui. For Marewa, the concept plan for the proposed suburb, illustrated in Figure 6.5, showed streets and other features. The proposed layout of roads abandoned the traditional gridiron style in favour of square, angular and circular roads, and three major parks were also proposed. A town planning scheme followed soon afterwards and, along with a map, included detailed ordinances that placed restrictions on the use of property. Shops were permitted at two specified sites, but could not be established elsewhere. Dwellings were also to be regulated to ensure a high standard, and provisions in the scheme would cover matters such as the position of houses on sites, fencing, garages and outbuildings.⁷⁸ Building lines required residences to be set at least 25 feet back from the street boundary, and walls, fences and planting within that space could not exceed three feet six inches in height unless Council consent was obtained. The town planning scheme also required Council approval for the type of architecture and design of buildings, the main building on each site being required to have a minimum value of £650, including architect's fees. The Council's Building Inspector was to be the sole judge of value.⁷⁹ The contents of the Marewa Town Planning scheme, as originally prepared in 1936, reflected the Council's wish to create an attractive environment for what was regarded at the time as a model suburb, requiring buildings to be set back from the road, placing height restrictions on fences, and requiring buildings to be of an acceptable style and value. These requirements codified to an extent some of the Garden Suburb principles. The Town Planning Board approved the scheme in November 1938.⁸⁰

Two further town planning schemes were produced for Marewa. The No. 2 Scheme (1945) covered what was known as the 28-Acre Block, replacing the northern part of the original scheme.⁸¹ The No. 3 Scheme (1948) replaced the southern part of Marewa with an entirely new roading layout. This was mainly to meet central government wishes for state housing planned for that part of Marewa. The new layout included streets that were more angular, replacing three circular streets in the original scheme that formed concentric half-circles around a central parkland area (Figure 6.6).⁸² It appears that the circular streets were much harder to survey and provide with infrastructure. As central government had become the principal supplier of housing in Napier, the Borough Council was hardly in a position to oppose plans for the state housing area of Marewa. With the removal of the circular streets, Marewa possibly lost some of its potential charm. This layout pattern has been used elsewhere. Examples include Prince George, British Columbia, Canada, where a similar layout was well established by the 1930s,⁸³ and to a lesser extent, the Auckland suburbs of Orakei and Tamaki.

A number of scheme or subdivisional plans were also produced for Marewa, an interesting feature of some of these being proposals for sites for communal garages in the state housing area.⁸⁴ This idea followed state housing proposals in other parts of New Zealand, such as the Savage Crescent state housing precinct in Palmerston North, where eight communal garages were proposed for 48 vehicles, but only one garage was built.⁸⁵ The Napier City Council opposed communal garages, partly because the Council was doubtful that the garage sites would be properly maintained.⁸⁶ One of these scheme plans for the state housing area is shown as Figure 6.7. On this plan, communal parking areas were proposed for five locations. For some vehicle owners, there would have been a considerable walk between their home and the communal garage, a problem if they wished to use their vehicle for the carriage of goods. There was also the risk of damage to vehicles if parked in an unsupervised area and the prospect that the number of parking spaces available would be insufficient to meet the rapidly increasing rate of car ownership. Firth reports that provision was made for communal garages in earlier plans, with a few actually being built. However, their unpopularity was recognised and in later planning it became the practice to leave sufficient space on properties so that a garage could be placed at the rear of the property.⁸⁷ The Council was able to have some say in these plans, as

those for the state housing areas were usually submitted to the Council for its views and approval.

In Maraenui, the concept plan was annexed to an agreement made by the Council and the Minister of Works to jointly develop the area, as shown in Figure 6.8. This plan divided the area, known as the Richmond Block at the time, into six areas labelled A to F.⁸⁸ The intention was that the areas were to be developed progressively in stages. The Housing Division of the Ministry of Works prepared scheme or subdivisional plans for Council approval for each of these areas, and sometimes sub-areas, as most of the suburb was to be used for state housing. However, unlike Marewa and Onekawa, there was no applicable town planning or district scheme for some years. At that time, town planning legislation did not bind the Crown. In 1964, when Maraenui was largely developed, the suburb was finally covered by a district scheme that applied to some other parts of Napier. The relationship between the Council and central government for the development of Maraenui appeared to function relatively smoothly, with no major disputes being reported by the *Daily Telegraph* or in the archival records consulted.

The town planning schemes for Marewa and Onekawa were prepared under the Town-planning Act 1926. The Borough Council wanted these areas to have approved schemes in place for before significant development took place. Under the 1926 Act, which continued in force until superseded by the Town and Country Planning Act 1953, these schemes required Town Planning Board approval. Where the Board thought it was appropriate, changes were recommended before this approval was given. In several instances, there was some correspondence between the Board and Council before approval was given.

When the Onekawa scheme was being prepared in 1946, the correspondence between staff of the Board and the Council about the proposed town planning scheme was quite extensive. Board staff also prepared their sketch plans for Onekawa, including a proposed layout of Block A (later to be named Onekawa), the layout for a typical cul-de-sac, and a locality plan showing how the development fitted in with other Napier suburbs. These plans are shown in Figure 6.9. Board staff were of the opinion that a higher proportion of land should be set aside for reserves, and that several reserve strips should be established so that children would be able to walk to school through parkland rather than along

roadways. They also believed that there should be no vehicular access onto Kennedy Road, intended to become the principal thoroughfare. This reflected the planning thought of the time that traffic should be able to flow freely on major roads, unimpeded by vehicles joining or leaving the roadway from private properties. These suggestions were incorporated into the layout plans prepared by Board staff, but were opposed by the Council. After further correspondence, a delegation from the Council and Harbour Board met with the Chairman and other representatives of the Town Planning Board and Department of Internal Affairs. A compromise was reached in which the Council agreed to increase the percentage set aside for reserves, but vehicular access onto Kennedy Road would be permitted and there would be no requirement for walkways. It was pointed out to the Council and Harbour Board representatives at the meeting that, although the Council had agreed to submit the plan to the Board for its approval, there was no legal obligation to do so, and if the Council and Harbour Board had agreed upon a plan themselves, the Board could not oppose it. This was because the plan submitted by the Council was in the nature of a concept plan for establishing the suburb, rather than being a statutory provisional town planning scheme that prescribed zones and ordinances.⁸⁹

For Maraenui and Pirimai, district schemes were not completed before development proceeded. Maraenui became part of the City-Westshore-Maraenui-Onekawa South Scheme that covered much of the established area of Napier and which became operative in 1964, while Pirimai was part of the later Ahuriri Lagoon-Pirimai Scheme, becoming operative in 1966. The Marewa, Onekawa and Onekawa West District Schemes (as they were then termed) were reviewed under the Town and Country Planning Act 1953 through a process that permitted the public to make objections, but none were received. The reviewed schemes came into force in 1961.⁹⁰ In 1958, the Commissioner of Works had written to the Council suggesting that, in light of the reviews being undertaken, the time was opportune for a single code of ordinances to be prepared that could cover the whole city.⁹¹ A single city-wide district scheme for Napier did not become operative until 1973.⁹²

From the above discussion, it is readily apparent that much planning was undertaken in creating each of the four suburbs. This took place at different levels – conceptual planning at the outset, more detailed planning through town planning and district schemes as

development proceeded, and detailed localised planning through scheme or subdivisional plans. This was not just about producing a better living environment by separating incompatible uses through zoning and establishing certain site requirements for buildings, but was also about physically designing communities by planning and providing roads, water supply, waste disposal and other amenities. The Napier Borough/City Council carried out much of this planning as both regulator and developer, with central government becoming a major player from the late 1930s through its planning and provision of state housing developments in Napier.

Streetscapes and Services

Street layouts throughout the new suburbs featured crescents and cul-de-sacs. Traditional crossroad intersections were avoided wherever possible. This is in contrast to the gridiron pattern used in some older parts of Napier, although contoured streets, largely through necessity, predominate in the Napier Hill area. Roads in the new suburbs were generally divided into three categories according to importance and expected traffic density. The original concept plan for Marewa was prepared with the assistance of John Mawson, and it appears that the Council itself wished to adopt contemporary planning ideas, as presented to the Council by Mawson. Mawson explained these ideas when interviewed by the *Daily Telegraph* in 1937. He said that in the residential areas of Marewa, streets with widths of one chain or 66 feet were not necessary, and that, in his view, a considerable amount of money had been wasted in New Zealand through building streets that were too wide. Mawson thought it more sensible to extend gardens nearer to the centre-line of roadways, with the distance between houses to be regulated. The essence of town planning was to first establish the use of the land, then calculate the required traffic capacity for streets having regard to population and the density of buildings.⁹³

In the new suburbs, street widths were specifically defined by the Marewa and Onekawa town planning schemes, but the widths of the narrower streets were found to be insufficient and were broadened from 40 feet in Onekawa to 50 feet in Pirimai.⁹⁴ This reflected increasing rates of car ownership and usage. In the early 1970s, Councillor C.M. Jeffery,

Chairman of the Napier City Council Traffic Committee, declared that 22-foot carriageways in Marewa and Maraenui streets were “just tragic and the result of bad planning” but noted that wider standards applied to newer suburbs. At the time, some thought was being given to the removal of grass verges to widen the narrow carriageways in some streets.⁹⁵

The road layout plans for the new suburbs included a number of walkways that were designed to reduce the walking distance between nearby streets and other amenities. But these were not on a scale to create neighbourhood units, in which pathways between residences and shops or schools were predominantly across green space or along walking tracks. Many of these pathways today are paved narrow alleys that have become unkempt, uninviting and possibly unsafe. Streetscapes are generally tidy and functional, even in streets where housing is plainer. All streets have footpaths and kerb-and-channelling, and most have grass verges and street trees. The majority of properties have low front fences and many have attractive gardens. Street poles that once carried electricity and telephone cables have been largely removed through the undergrounding of these services. The overall picture is one of space and plentiful greenery, apart from a few rougher spots where overhead lines remain or street trees have been removed. Part of this picture is the result of planning, but part is also the result of the tendency of New Zealanders to maintain ample lawns and trees around their homes.

In the early years of Marewa and later Onekawa, the picture was very different. Initially, Marewa streets were formed to County standard only. The streets were unsealed and dusty and there were no footpaths. For some time, there was no drainage system and houses needed septic tanks. These sometimes overflowed into gardens.⁹⁶ In 1939, a Special Committee of the Board of Health met local body representatives in Napier and later determined that the Borough Council should provide a proper sewerage scheme for Marewa.⁹⁷ The *Daily Telegraph* in the 1940s published many letters from disgruntled residents complaining about conditions in Marewa.⁹⁸ At this time, the Marewa Ratepayers' Association was also active in lobbying the Council on a variety of concerns, including poor drainage, the dust nuisance from unsealed roads, inadequate footpaths and street lighting, and trees in the plantation strip that needed topping because of the danger to nearby properties and residents.⁹⁹ In Onekawa, there was some Council debate in 1948

about whether the area should be subdivided before a sewerage system was available. Pipes and other equipment were not going to be available for several years because of post-war shortages, but it was agreed that development should proceed anyway because of the unsatisfied demand for sections.¹⁰⁰ All these issues were addressed in due course, partly through the passing of special legislation that allowed the Council to raise a loan to carry out some of the work.¹⁰¹ These difficulties indicated that the residents of the new suburban areas were not entirely happy with the developmental time frames followed by the Council and its expert staff, and were prepared to express their dissatisfaction individually by lobbying the Council or writing letters of protest to the local newspaper, or collectively through the activities of progress organisations established in the suburbs.

Some of the streets in the new suburbs were adorned with a maze of telephone and electricity lines. In Marewa and Onekawa, some utility poles were placed at the rear of properties rather than on street verges.¹⁰² As well as improving the appearance of property frontages by the relocation of poles, this also had the practical advantage that a single row of poles could service two rows of houses. When the Council reviewed the Marewa and Onekawa District Schemes in the late 1950s, a Council proposal prohibiting the placing of new electricity lines over streets was opposed by the Hawke's Bay Electric Power Board and was not included in the final reviewed schemes. The purpose of the Council proposal was to compel the Board to site poles at the rear of properties. The Board was now apparently unwilling to continue this practice, and wanted to place poles along footpaths and verges in front of properties. The Board contended that the Council had no legal power to stipulate this as a requirement in a district scheme, and wished to be free to make its own decisions about how electrical reticulation was carried out and where power poles and pylons would be sited. A. Eaton Hurley, Counsel for the Municipal Association of New Zealand, who was asked to advise on the matter, agreed, pointing out that the location of poles was a predominant use in a district scheme and the provision of transmission lines could not be controlled as if they were a conditional use.¹⁰³ The debate continued on a modified basis in the early 1960s when the Power Board indicated that it would be happy to provide underground reticulation in the new areas of Napier, provided the City Council would pay the full difference in cost between underground and overhead reticulation. The Council was reluctant to pay the full price difference, as it believed that there would be some maintenance savings for the Board, for example, by not having to pay for storm

damage. The Council was also aware of other power boards that made some contribution to the price difference.¹⁰⁴

Several arterial roads link the new suburbs with the rest of Napier. These include Taradale Road, Kennedy Road and Latham Street, all aligned in a southwesterly direction and all three streets bisecting the communities they pass through. This departs from the neighbourhood idea where streets were supposed to follow outer boundaries of neighbourhoods, so that there would be less traffic in central areas where local people travelled to schools or other community facilities. From a planning perspective, Kennedy Road generated much publicity and debate. In 1948, the Borough Council considered a suggestion from the Ministry of Works that Kennedy Road should ultimately be a divided highway, with a central median strip that included trees. The wider roadway was considered necessary to cope with future traffic demand. If the roadway was to be widened for its entire length, that part of the road passing through Marewa and Napier South would have had to be substantially modified, where the road was already lined on both sides by palm trees and generous grass verges. The Council decided at the time to approve the central strip proposal for that part of Kennedy Road in Onekawa but not for other parts of the road.¹⁰⁵ In the early 1950s, the road was increased to four lanes in Onekawa and the same was proposed for that part of the road passing through Marewa. In January 1951, the Council adopted a resolution to this effect, but the resolution was repealed the following month, the matter decided by the casting vote of the Mayor. In debate, it was noted that the roadway could be widened to 46 feet without interfering with the palm trees, while there was also a concern that a four-lane highway would encourage traffic to speed and create a danger for children. The same meeting also repealed an earlier Council resolution to remove gum trees from Tom Parker Avenue, another Marewa street that was proposed to be widened. It appears that the Council listened to the residents, many of whom had signed a petition opposing the removal of the trees in Tom Parker Avenue.¹⁰⁶ The sketches shown in Figure 6.10 indicate how Kennedy Road appeared in the two formats. Both formats remained in 2011, except that the palm trees were very much taller. The widening of Kennedy Road represented the desire to build bigger and might have been seen by some as a symbol of progress and growth. But clearly there were other people who preferred a natural landscape of grass verges and trees, and who were unwilling to see it sacrificed to a wide expanse of paved roadway.

The influence of planning ideas on roading was considerable. The acceptance of a hierarchical arrangement of roads in the new suburbs reflected contemporary planning and engineering thought, and signified a wish to abandon the traditional gridiron pattern of streets that had dominated the New Zealand urban landscape until the 1920s. However, in the earlier days in Marewa and Onekawa there were delays in providing a full range of infrastructural services, including sewage disposal, sealed roadways and proper footpaths.

Housing

The growth and development of the new suburbs was largely driven by the need for more housing. Napier in the 1930s and 1940s was seriously short of accommodation and some existing housing was sub-standard.¹⁰⁷ The housing shortage had become a national problem after the First World War, its extent confirmed by a nation-wide housing survey carried out in the late 1930s.¹⁰⁸ In Napier at that time, few properties were available for rent and in particularly short supply were larger homes.¹⁰⁹ A newspaper report remarked in 1937 that in the “newest city in the world” where people could admire the reconstructed business area, there were other parts of the town where houses lacked proper bathroom and washing facilities or were otherwise in a state of disrepair.¹¹⁰ A progress report on the housing survey as it applied to Napier in early 1938 commented that, while there was little sign of overcrowding, there was a demand for cheaper rental houses, and of 654 dwellings inspected to date, 73 were fit only for demolition.¹¹¹ In 1943, the *Daily Telegraph* reported that, according to a real estate agent, “a minimum of 250 houses was required to ease the position in Napier, with a maximum of 500 to meet nearly all requirements.”¹¹² The report added that Napier was attracting new residents because of its better climate, but of greatest concern was that “there was nothing to offer returned servicemen who were marrying and wished to settle down.”¹¹³ In 1945, the *Daily Telegraph* reported that a recent sale of sections in part of the 28-Acre Block had not eased the problem, although the Mayor of Napier, T.W. Hercock, acknowledged that there was no actual record of accommodation requirements.¹¹⁴

The nation-wide response to the housing shortage was the state housing scheme introduced by the Labour Government in 1936. In Napier, this accounted for about two-thirds of houses built in Marewa and most of those in Maraenui. In Marewa, land was acquired under the Public Works Act in 1937, with the first state houses built in Napier officially opened the following year.¹¹⁵ By 1954, 600 state houses had been built in Marewa,¹¹⁶ and the state housing project was completed in that suburb several years later. From the late 1950s and into the 1960s, Maraenui was the principal site of state housing in Napier. In Maraenui, the state houses were built on land in which the freehold was acquired from the Napier Harbour Board and the leasehold from the Lands and Survey Department. That Department had subleased five-acre allotments to individuals as small farms from the 1930s as part of a nation-wide scheme supporting the establishment of small farms. Existing houses and residential sections in the area were excluded from the acquisition¹¹⁷ so that the otherwise uniform landscape of state houses was occasionally broken by older style houses.

The state housing areas in Napier were largely planned by central government staff, although subdivision plans were submitted to the Council for approval. It appears that careful thought was given to the location of houses on properties and to ensuring that houses with the same design did not appear in the same street. Most state houses were built as single units on separate sites, although some multi-units were constructed, particularly near the shopping centre in Maraenui. While the hallmark of the state house in Napier, like other places in New Zealand, was the red tile roof, walls were variously constructed of brick, wood, concrete and, very occasionally, asbestos-cement board. The building of single and double storied multi-units reflected a growing concern in the 1950s that residential communities should include higher density housing to help reduce the sprawl of single dwellings over the countryside. From 1957, central government policy required 50 percent of state houses being built to be in multi-unit format.¹¹⁸ See Figures 6.11 and 6.12.

Outside the state housing areas, houses in general were relatively modest, recognising that much of the new housing provided mainly for younger, growing families. Sections were developed by the Council and made available to the public from time to time, as illustrated by the advertisement (Figure 6.13) for a sale of freehold of a selection of residential

sections in Pirimai in 1962. Houses built immediately after the war in Marewa and Onekawa were usually plain because of a nation-wide shortage of building materials, although Tom Parker Avenue in Marewa was for some years Napier's showpiece street. Lined with gum trees, it presented "a look that would not have been out of place in Hollywood."¹¹⁹ Some other houses in Marewa now have iconic status because of their Art Deco character¹²⁰ particularly those in the 28-Acre Block developed in the late 1940s and now zoned as Art Deco Advocacy or Marewa Art Deco Character (Figures 6.14 and 6.15).¹²¹ Otherwise, houses within the new suburbs generally have a similar appearance, reflecting the prevailing architectural styles and practices of the time. In the 1960s, some coordination of housing styles resulted from the activities of Napier Group Builders Ltd, which subdivided and built houses on land in Onekawa South for the company's clients.¹²²

Several areas of pensioner housing were also established in the new suburbs, the largest being a complex of 80 units located at Onekawa. The Council and local benefactor H. A. Charles jointly funded this project, the first 44 units being opened in 1958. The intention was to create a community in miniature, the project being jointly planned by the City Planner E.W. Clement and the New Zealand Institute of Architects.¹²³

An issue that was not apparent at the time but which has emerged more recently is that houses in the vicinity of Onekawa Park have been built on the site of a former landfill that could contain contaminants and cause some subsidence in buildings. The landfill was used for municipal waste and earthquake rubble, and operated before Onekawa was developed as a residential suburb. In 2011, the Hawke's Bay Regional Council sent letters to 125 households advising them that their land was on the site of the landfill. Several properties had already suffered some subsidence.¹²⁴

The influence of planning on housing, for the Napier Borough/City Council, was to ensure that there was an adequate supply of sections for sale or lease and to plan and develop suitable subdivisions. This objective appears to have been met, with there being a reasonable balance between the demand for and supply of sections. Media stories about housing shortages became much more rare in the 1950 and 1960s. The Council also had a role in placing controls on housing through the town planning and district schemes. Central government had a housing role through its state housing schemes, both in

providing housing and in helping plan communities in which the houses were sited. Like most state housing schemes, individual houses were well constructed and very few had been demolished or replaced by 2010.

Shopping and Commercial Centres

Each suburb has at least one shopping centre. Larger centres are located in Marewa, Onekawa and Maraenui, with smaller centres or clusters of shops sited at four other locations. All of these centres were established by 1968, except for the Pirimai shopping centre, which was still in the planning stage. All shopping facilities in the new suburbs were purpose-built: none were converted from houses or other premises. The three larger shopping centres were carefully planned, with the intention that each centre would include a variety of shops and ample parking. The location of the various shopping centres was defined by the zoning maps and related provisions of the appropriate town planning or district scheme, with retail shops generally being excluded from the categories of buildings that were permitted in residential districts or zones, but listed as a permitted use in commercial districts.¹²⁵ Unlike older parts of Napier, no corner dairies were ever built in the new suburbs, even though shops selling groceries and dairy products were allowed in the residential districts of Pirimai and part of Onekawa if conditions were met to the satisfaction of the Council, as provided for in district schemes adopted for parts of Napier in the 1960s.¹²⁶

Detailed planning of a shopping centre in Marewa began in 1945, when the Council and Harbour Board decided that a shopping centre should be built in Kennedy Road, at one of the two locations identified in the Marewa Town Planning Scheme. There had been calls to build a shopping centre in Marewa in the late 1930s, shortly after housing construction began,¹²⁷ but little progress had been made, largely because of the Second World War and the substantial decline in building activity. The plans adopted in 1946 proposed a strip of shops, most of which were set back from the roadway by a 15-foot wide recess strip for angle parking and a 25-foot wide pavement. The purpose of the recess and wide pavement was partly to reduce the size of backyards that might otherwise become untidy and

unsightly, as the full yards were unlikely to be required for shop buildings themselves.¹²⁸ It was proposed that a theatre be sited at one end of the centre and a garage at the other, these being seen as activities that would draw the community to the shopping centre and make it something more than simply a collection of shops. Before plans for the shopping centre were approved, the Borough Engineer suggested two alternative formats for the shopping centre, one of these being a courtyard arrangement in which all shops would face inwards to the central court rather than look outward onto Kennedy Road. The Engineer's other proposal was to provide for a light industrial area behind the shops, but neither of these alternatives was pursued. The reasons for not adopting either of the Borough Engineer's proposals are not apparent from Council records, other than it appears that the ongoing preferred choice of both the Council and Harbour Board was for a strip-style shopping centre.¹²⁹ See Figure 6.16.

Interested people and businesses were invited to take up leases for the Marewa shop sites, but it was not until 1951 that all sites were leased.¹³⁰ Several shops were constructed and opened for business in 1950, but most were built and opened in 1951. More shops and some commercial premises were added in later years¹³¹ but a theatre planned for the site never proceeded, despite the attempts of the Council to attract a suitable person or organisation that held a licence for screening cinematic films.¹³² Although individual lessees usually built their own shops, there were strict requirements to ensure that shop frontages aligned with each other, without gaps between buildings. While the shop frontages retain an integrated and attractive character 60 years later, the rear sites, which are reasonably accessible from a service lane, make up an untidy jumble of assorted ill-fitting structures. The shops in the Marewa centre included a wide range of generally small businesses. The first three shops to open in 1950 were a drapery, grocer's shop and butcher's shop; a milk bar, chemist and another grocery shop soon followed. Fifteen years later, there were nearly 30 businesses in the shopping centre, many of which had not changed hands since first opened. The ongoing development and promotion of the centre was overseen by the Marewa Businessmen's Association, of which most retailers were members.¹³³ See Figure 6.17.

The plans for the Marewa shopping centre were influenced by overseas ideas. The *Daily Telegraph* reported in 1946 that the concept of recessed shop frontages was "based on the

ideal of Swedish and other cities of the New and Old Worlds”, particularly England. As well as breaking up “the long, stereotyped frontage of a shopping area”, the design promoted safety because there would be no conflict between shoppers and passing traffic.¹³⁴ In another report published about the same time, the *Daily Telegraph* referred to a study carried out by the Regional Planning Association in America about populations required to sustain different types of retail stores in the Chicago area. For example, a population of 328 persons could support a butcher, grocer, baker and delicatessen. Larger populations would be required to support other stores such as a shoe store, hairdresser and chemist. The newspaper was confident that Marewa could support stores of the kind mentioned in the Chicago study.¹³⁵ More recently, Robert McGregor observes that the concept on which the shopping centre was based was the Park and Shop complex, located in Cleveland Park, Washington DC.¹³⁶ Park and Shop was opened in 1930, but was a little different to Marewa in that the parking area was much larger and was in a bay, completely separated from the adjoining roadway. In this regard, the Onekawa shopping centre is a closer match, with a planted median strip separating the parking area from the roadway. Park and Shop did become the model for other shopping centres. Its own success was not so much from local shoppers, but from the heavy traffic using Connecticut Avenue, the road on which the complex was sited. Richard Longstreth writes that Park and Shop was a fusion of two models, a neighbourhood centre and a drive-in. Park and Shop included a service station, and later centres sometimes included a theatre.¹³⁷ Marewa tried to have both of these facilities. In terms of the typology developed by Stephen Ward for the diffusion of planning ideas, the Marewa shopping centre represents an example of selective borrowing, in which some overseas ideas have been incorporated into a design adapted for a New Zealand situation.¹³⁸

The Marewa shopping centre became the prototype for a similar, but smaller, shopping centre at Onekawa (Figure 6.18). Both these centres appear reasonably prosperous some 50 to 60 years later. The success of the Marewa centre is partly because of its location on Kennedy Road, a principal thoroughfare, while the Onekawa centre benefits from a supermarket added to the shopping centre in 1966.¹³⁹ Both centres, consequently, serve areas beyond the suburb in which they are located. Their accessibility and greater use of the motor vehicle for shopping purposes have contributed to this pattern. In contrast, the Maraenui shopping centre has been less successful. Despite its central location in the

suburb and careful planning that included internal shops, parking areas, and an adjoining park and playground, the Maraenui centre is now only partly used for shopping. When planned in the mid-1950s, it was envisaged that the centre would have 26 shops and a community centre.¹⁴⁰ The centre was later reduced to 17 shops, and in early 1961 included two grocery shops, two fruit and vegetable shops, a butchery, delicatessen, milk bar, chemist, hardware shop, clothing store, drapery, stationery and fancy goods store, and a post office. Shops yet to open included a fish and chips shop, a home bakery and a dairy, along with a doctor's surgery. The types of shops followed the Marewa and Onekawa pattern, with the intention that the shopping centre would be largely self-contained, providing a comprehensive selection of retail outlets for the surrounding suburban community.¹⁴¹ Initially, the Maraenui Progressive Society and Businessmen's Association also worked together to support the shopping centre and to improve amenities in the suburb generally.¹⁴² Nearly fifty years later, most of the Maraenui businesses have gone. The environment of the centre has looked unwelcoming in recent years, but appeared a little better in 2009 when parts of the complex had been leased out to community organisations or were being used for civic purposes, including tertiary education facilities, a community police station, and a community information centre. See Figure 6.19.

The influence of planning was twofold. First, the town planning and district schemes placed limits on where shops and other commercial buildings could be built. Shops were not permitted in the residential zones, except for a partial exemption for dairies mentioned above. This reflected the Council's desire to maintain a clear separation of uses in the new suburbs and to avoid the mixing up of land uses that had occurred in older parts of Napier, particularly Ahuriri. Second, the Council helped establish shopping centres by making arrangements with businesses. This indicated that the Council recognised that the establishment of shops in suburbs was a useful and needed community facility. In Marewa, the Latham Street site never developed as a shopping centre and in Maraenui, the centre that was built was possibly too large for the population it was designed to serve, as well as not being sited on or near a major road. The neighbourhood unit idea was obviously a factor in planning community shopping centres, but with increased mobility and car ownership, residents are now able to travel greater distances to what they may perceive to be more attractive shopping places. In the 1950s and early 1960s, being able to walk to shopping centres was much more important than 50 years later. As well as being

close to residential areas, each of the shopping centres established by the 1960s included a diverse range of shops, and greatly reduced the need for residents to travel to central Napier for their shopping needs.

Parks and Community Amenities

An important part of planning each of the four new suburbs was providing for adequate parks and open spaces. Marewa is the best-endowed suburb, with two major parks and other green areas. Onekawa has one major park, along with the green areas associated with several major schools. Parks in Maraenui and Pirimai are much smaller, although Anderson Park, a large parkland area, is situated nearby and is readily accessible to residents in Onekawa and Pirimai.

Marewa Park and Whitmore Park, located at opposite ends of Marewa, provide fields for traditional sporting activities. Both of these parks are largely surrounded by houses. When planning Marewa Park in the later 1930s, the Borough Council considered a suggestion that the park should be surrounded by a road on all four sides rather than on just one side. There was a concern that backyards facing onto the park would make it less attractive. Further, with an encircling road, the perimeter of the park could be planted with trees, without depriving residents of sunlight. The Council did review plans for the park, but eventually decided to retain the original plan. If the plan were changed, the park would no longer conform to the town planning scheme that had already been agreed upon for Marewa, and would further delay the process of obtaining Town Planning Board approval of the scheme. As Councillor P.F. Higgins had commented in an earlier debate, “many layouts had been suggested previously ... [but] the one now in existence was the one which had been agreed upon. It was rather late in the day for new proposals to be brought forward now.”¹⁴³

Other open spaces which were developed included reserve strips on boundaries between suburbs – Alexander Park, separating Marewa from pre-earthquake Napier, and reserve strips separating Marewa from Onekawa (Figure 6.20) and Maraenui, and Onekawa from

Pirimai. Each reserve strip includes a waterway or drain, this being the principal purpose of each reserve strip. Alexander Park is mainly treeless and was a former bed of the Tutaekuri River. Work began on the park in 1937¹⁴⁴ but was not completed for another 30 years. The other strips were originally planned as plantation reserves and shelterbelts that were planted alongside the associated drain. At first they were quite densely populated with pines, eucalypts and other varieties.¹⁴⁵ The reserve strips now have fewer trees but more walkways and grassed areas. An early concept plan drawn up for Maraenui by the Housing Construction Division included a reserve strip along Riverbend Road that would have separated the suburb from Onekawa, but this was never established.¹⁴⁶ The strip separating Onekawa from Pirimai was also significantly shortened from that originally planned, partly to make space for a primary school.¹⁴⁷

The waterways and drains, nonetheless, created problems from time to time. In 1939, the Council received a letter of complaint from the Marewa State House Progressive Association about two women who fell into the Tutaekuri drain due to poor weather and visibility and who were severely bruised and shaken. The Association was concerned that the accident could have been more serious. The Town Clerk responded by advising that the Borough Engineer was making a new and wider path further away from the drain.¹⁴⁸ The drain remained a hazard to young children, a fatality being reported in 1950 and a near drowning the following year. Other similar accidents had also been reported. It was suggested at the time that the drain could be fenced, its banks could be flattened out, or the drain could be removed altogether by replacing it with large concrete pipes. The Mayor commented that the Council had considered replacing the drain with pipes, but the cost was exorbitant, while a fence would not stop someone trying to climb over it.¹⁴⁹ The open drains remain sixty years later, still unfenced, although the surrounding areas are flatter and more open. Over the years, there has also been a problem with litter and refuse accumulating in the waterways and drains, causing unpleasant smells when exposed by low water levels in dry weather. The drains have been inspected and cleared from time to time by Council staff.¹⁵⁰

Other amenities that were provided by the Council in the new suburbs included a motor camp, motels and rose gardens at Kennedy Park in Marewa, and an Olympic swimming pool at Onekawa Park. These amenities were for the benefit of both residents and visitors

to the city, and are discussed in the context of place promotion in Chapter 7. In 1962, the Council acquired the nearby Anderson Park under public works legislation, the land having previously been owned by the Napier Park Racing Club.¹⁵¹ In 1965, it was planned to develop the 87-acre site for a mix of sports fields, water features and trees. The area was as large as the combined area of McLean, Nelson, Marewa, Whitmore and Onekawa Parks. The interest in water features was also partly inspired by a similar development at Cornwall Park in Hastings.¹⁵²

From time to time, community groups looked to the Council to assist with establishing or finding a suitable site for community facilities. Maraenui provides some examples. In 1959, the local branch of the New Zealand Carpenters' & Joiners' Union wrote to the Council about the lack of playing areas in the suburb, particularly in the vicinity of multi-unit blocks that were being built at the time. There was concern that children played in the streets, at risk to their safety. The Council initially replied that no playing areas were proposed for the suburb, but a large reserve would be developed nearby in Onekawa and could meet the needs of children in both areas. Representatives of the Carpenters' Union, unhappy with this response, met with the Mayor to discuss the situation. The Ministry of Works was approached and agreed to establish three playing areas in Maraenui, one to be centrally located at the shopping centre. From 1960, the Maraenui Progressive Society was active in lobbying the Council for improvements in the suburb. The society's concerns were largely about providing facilities in the play area adjacent to the shopping centre. A request by the society to construct, at its own expense, a paddling pool in the play area was refused by the Council, which saw many difficulties with the project. However, a later request by the Society to install a tractor in the playground was accepted.¹⁵³

Apart from amenities provided by the Council, numerous other facilities were established by other agencies and organisations. By 1968, five primary schools had been opened, along with an intermediate and a secondary school in Onekawa. Eight churches had also been established, along with a miscellany of other community and sporting facilities.¹⁵⁴ While each suburb included at least one primary school (the Pirimai school was still in the planning phase in 1968), thereby reflecting this aspect of the neighbourhood principle, the

other amenities had wider catchments and potentially relied on clientele from a number of suburbs.

The relevance of planning to parks is about determining their location and future uses. It does seem that as each suburb was planned, provision for parks was less than for the previous suburb. For Onekawa, when the Council was challenged by the Town Planning Board to provide more open space, the Council made a concessionary response, increasing the area set aside for reserves from about five to eight percent, although Town Planning Board staff had suggested a higher percentage. The Council's initial reluctance to set more land aside for reserves was that this would reduce the land available for sections, this being a problem for the Council as it already had an agreement with the Harbour Board based on assumptions about the number of sections likely to be produced. However, by narrowing some of the planned roads from 66 feet to 40 feet, it was possible to increase the area set aside for reserves without serious difficulty.¹⁵⁵ The discussion and outcome about reserves in Onekawa demonstrated that the Council's developmental motives were sometimes inconsistent with contemporary planning ideas, in this instance the differing views being resolved to some extent by a compromise. No major parks were planned or established in Maraenui or Pirimai, the Council preferring to establish much smaller neighbourhood-style parks, reflecting planning practice of the late 1950s and 1960s. In any event, larger green areas were available in nearby parts of Napier or were being developed, particularly Anderson Park. The waterway reserves defining the suburbs were novel and have all been developed into walkways, although the "plantation" idea has long gone and the length of several of the strips has been shortened. The Council has also had a role in finding suitable locations for facilities sponsored by community organisations.

Industry

Industry was generally not included in plans prepared for residential areas, but a light industrial area was established adjacent to Onekawa and later became known as Onekawa West. Planning for the Onekawa West area began shortly after the Second World War. The Napier City Council, in conjunction with the Harbour Board, developed the light

industrial area,¹⁵⁶ but the land was not included in the City until 1958. Until that time, planning had been controlled by the Hawke's Bay County (Heretaunga Plains) Extra-Urban Planning Scheme No. 1. The Town Planning Board had provisionally approved this scheme in 1953. A joint committee, comprising representatives mainly of Napier Borough/City Council and Hawke's Bay County Council, was established to oversee planning matters in those urban parts of the County adjacent to Napier, including matters related to the light industrial area.¹⁵⁷

The arrangements made by the Council and Harbour Board for the development of the light industrial area were similar to those made for residential areas. The Council, in return for developing the land, retained a proportion of sections it developed, to sell as freehold to meet its own costs. The Harbour Board retained the remainder of the developed land for leasing. In the mid-1960s, the Board was entitled to retain 52 percent of sections developed in the light industrial area. The Council was concerned that the proportion retained by the Harbour Board was too high. In 1966, the Council had only 70 acres left for development. It was running out of land to sell as freehold, whereas the Board maintained an ample supply of land for leasing. At the time, freehold land was more in demand for the establishment of light industry than was leasehold land.¹⁵⁸

The area specifically zoned for industrial purposes reflected current planning thought that this activity should be separated from other uses. Nonetheless, the close proximity of the light industrial area to the new residential suburbs meant that significant employment was available to nearby residents, without the need for workers to travel into central Napier or to more distant parts of the city. The area was also ideally sited for transportation purposes, with a seaport, airport and railway facilities located nearby. The industrial streetscapes were understandably more basic than the residential areas. Power was distributed by overhead wires and there was a general absence of vegetation in the form of grass verges or street trees. In 1964, the Onekawa Light Industrial Area housed 80 industrial and commercial enterprises, covering a wide range of site sizes and business activities.¹⁵⁹

The influence of planning on industry has been to facilitate a suitable location and ensure that there is minimal conflict with residential areas. From Figure 6.1, it can be seen that

industry (shown as dark green) in Napier is largely confined to a single location, part of which had its beginnings as the Onekawa Light Industrial Area. Its initial development involved some complex relationships, given that the land was owned, administered and developed by three separate local authorities. The separation of uses reflected the planning thought of the time, and was enshrined in zoning arrangements prescribed by the extra-urban planning scheme originally prepared by the Hawke's Bay County Council and endorsed by Napier City Council when the land was eventually included within the city.

Identity

In planning the new suburbs, some endeavour was made to create an individual identity for each suburb. This process was partly successful, but was not completely new to Napier. Napier South, about three decades before development began in Marewa, was itself planned and promoted as a distinct entity and was still recognised as a separate suburb of Napier 100 years later. Five features suggest that there was some form of individual identity for each of the new suburbs.

First, each suburb was initially planned as a single complete unit, or in several units as was the case for Onekawa. This initial plan was generally followed by coordinated staged development within each suburb, rather than random development taking place at different locations within each suburb. Adjacent streets were usually constructed and their sections sold or leased and houses built at the same time, the principal developers being the Borough/City Council or central government through state housing projects. The styles of houses therefore generally complement each other and reflect the prevailing styles of the time. The suburban landscape throughout the new suburbs is coherent, organised and tidy, although not necessarily visually exciting or attractive.

Second, the suburbs have some clear physical boundaries in the form of open spaces or strips of parkland, as mentioned above, so that people readily notice when they pass from one suburb to another. These boundaries are generally crossed only by principal roadways. However, there is no distinct boundary between Maraenui and Onekawa, apart from

Riverbend Road, a principal road that once followed a former course of the Tutaekuri River but now has houses on both sides with no visual reminders of the former waterway. A distinctive feature of Riverbend Road is that it is lined with a number of villas and bungalow houses from the 1930s and earlier, surviving from pre-suburban days when Maraenui was a farmland, and providing some contrast to suburban and state houses built several decades later.

Third, each suburb has a somewhat central focus, based around its respective shopping centre, although the Pirimai centre was still to be built in 1968. The Maraenui centre, despite appearing less prosperous, is a home for other community amenities as mentioned above. A subsidiary focus in each suburb is provided by primary schools (at least one in each suburb) and, to a lesser extent, kindergartens, halls, churches, sporting facilities and other community amenities. The specific names of suburbs have been applied to some of these institutions and amenities. For example, primary schools and parks have been named after each of the four suburbs.

Fourth, the Borough/City Council has followed a street naming policy over the years so that the streets in each suburb are named in a consistent and themed pattern. In Marewa, streets have been generally named after famous local and sometimes national identities. In Onekawa, names that were famous from the two world wars were used for the residential area (for example, see Figure 6.3). This was appropriate, given that the suburb's development began shortly after the Second World War had ended. For the light industrial area, names associated with great industrialists were chosen. In Maraenui, streets were mainly named after people who had been famous in literature, medicine, science or exploration.¹⁶⁰ See Figure 6.21. In Pirimai, names to the north of Kennedy Road feature English university colleges (Oxford and Cambridge) and public schools, and those to the south have been named after local identities.¹⁶¹ The naming of streets in Napier, from its earliest days, has usually followed specific themes or patterns, rather than being left to a process of random selection.¹⁶²

Fifth, the individual names of each suburb remain widely used today on maps, in directories and by real estate agents. A 1970 map of Napier indicates that the suburban names were given to shopping centres, post offices, primary schools, kindergartens,

Plunket rooms, parks and a number of local clubs and organisations.¹⁶³ Many businesses in the shopping centres also used suburban names.¹⁶⁴ Each suburb name is also Māori, and has a symbolic meaning. Marewa means “raised from the sea”, an appropriate name for land that once was under water and was won from the sea or swamp by action of reclamation or earthquake. Onekawa means “sour swamp”, referring to land that once was mud flats and was sometimes unpleasant to smell. Maraenui means “the wide expanse”, a reference to the time when most of this locality was a large and shallow swamp or lagoon. Pirimai means “to join up close”, indicating that the suburb lay adjacent to the neighbouring borough of Taradale, which, shortly after Pirimai was named, was to amalgamate with and become part of Napier.¹⁶⁵

Apart from an individual identity, the four new suburbs also have a collective identity within Napier, primarily illustrated by their similarities in road patterns and streetscapes, housing, parks and open spaces, and community facilities such as shopping centres. Nothing is more than about 75 years old, apart from a few older houses near Riverbend Road. There has been some infill development, especially in Marewa, but very few original houses have been demolished to make way for new dwellings or commercial development. The built landscape is partly a product of the flat topography and the architectural style, but also a response to planning endeavours of the time. The collective identity of the suburbs was partly recognised by a local newspaper, the *Maraenui Marewa Messenger*, published from 1971 to 1978. This fortnightly newspaper focused its distribution, stories and advertising on the suburbs named in its title, and endeavoured to promote a positive community interest.

Planning an identity for each suburb was partly by design and partly an outcome of the development and evolution of the suburb concerned. The choice of suburb and street names, for example, was coordinated and planned. The widespread and continued use of suburban names indicates their public recognition and acceptance. The names of the suburbs were required by the Council both to be Māori and to have a meaning that states, in some way, something about the nature of the land concerned. Identity does matter, because it creates a sense of place and difference. Residents can more readily identify the part of town they live in, and planners can more easily recognise distinct communities of interest when addressing local concerns. It also means that there are some differences

among the four suburbs, particularly with regard to the architectural style of housing. In other New Zealand cities, individual suburbs often lack distinct boundaries. Residents are sometimes unclear as to which suburb they belong. Napier's position, with its clearer suburban boundaries, is different. Residents are more likely to be able to name their suburb. This is a positive outcome from planning suburbs as singular units.

Napier Suburbs: Assessment of and Influences on Growth and Development

In the widest sense, the four new Napier suburbs studied in this chapter - Marewa, Onekawa, Maraenui and Pirimai - were products of planned urbanisation. It was the growing population and the continued demand for low density housing that transformed the landscape from rural or unused land and swamp to an extremely uniform vista of residences and supporting uses. The role of planning was to facilitate the development and provide some order to it. The participation of a number of public authorities made this reasonably possible.

The principal feature of Napier suburbs established between 1931 and 1968 is that they were each planned and developed as distinct and separate modules or urban "cells". This pattern is specifically noted in the *City of Napier District Plan* (2011), which states:

Historically Napier has developed as a distinct series of urban "cells", often separated or bordered by the open drainage network which characterises the City's urban form. As a result of the staged "cell" development of the City, most areas have developed with a distinctive period character. This character derives from a range of factors including building heritage or design, site layout, topography, vegetation and fencing (or lack of it). The period housing stock within each cell largely corresponds with the investment in a new drainage corridor at that time.¹⁶⁶

This analysis to some extent applies to most of Napier, and not just the four suburbs studied in this chapter. Earlier, Napier South had been planned and developed as a separate unit, and is very similar in size and population to the newer suburbs. Napier South was also a collaborative project, in which the Council, Harbour Board and a private syndicate were the developmental partners. Similarly, the earlier established areas of Napier Hill, Westshore, Ahuriri and central Napier itself have each developed separately

and exhibit their own individual identities. More recently, but outside the time span covered by this thesis, Tamatea was planned and developed on a collaborative basis very similar to the four suburbs that preceded it. Taradale merged into the city in 1968 and likewise might be regarded as a single unit in its own right. At the time of the millennium, another new suburb, Orotu, was being started, again on land reclaimed from Ahuriri Lagoon after the 1931 earthquake. The cellular planning and development of Napier is distinctive in the New Zealand setting, and distinguishes Napier from other New Zealand cities, where urban expansion has been more piecemeal, largely because urban development elsewhere, unlike Napier, has been promoted by private rather than public enterprise.

The singular character of the suburban cells has to some degree been eroded subsequently by site redevelopment, infill housing, and additions and modifications to buildings and to allied structures such as fences and garages. Nonetheless, the *District Plan* observes that, in several distinctive cells or remnants of cells, the “dominant period character” survives and is worthy of special recognition and protection. These locations include art deco and early state housing in Marewa, bungalow housing in Napier South, and “the diverse urban form” of housing on Napier Hill.¹⁶⁷

The four Napier suburbs studied in this chapter, covering the 1930s through to the 1960s, were typical of suburban developments in other parts of New Zealand at the time. These years saw the demise of the grid and the rise of the cul-de-sac, following current subdivisional design and engineering practice. Endeavours were also made to plan and establish model communities in which a full range of suburban services and amenities were provided within each suburb.

The planning of Marewa, the first of the post-earthquake suburbs, drew heavily on Garden Suburb ideals. In outlining plans for the new suburb in 1934, Councillor A.B. Hurst, Chairman of the Town Planning Committee for Napier Borough Council, stated:

The whole plan is based on experiences of older parts of the world in the establishment of garden cities. The step which has been taken by the council in acquiring the land has offered to Napier an opportunity which is unique for New

Zealand and the plans which have been adopted by the committees are ideal in every respect.¹⁶⁸

The Chairman's reference to "garden cities" probably should have been a reference to "garden suburbs", although the two terms were sometimes used interchangeably. Overall, the claim by Hurst that the plans for Marewa were "ideal in every respect" was an optimistic overstatement when reviewed in hindsight. Marewa never became totally self-contained, nor did all of its streets become tree-lined spectacles of splendour. The original plans for the suburb were also significantly modified by state housing projects, producing a less imaginative street layout. There were also problems in providing the suburb with basic services such as sealed roads and sewage disposal. Nonetheless, Marewa included many Garden Suburb features. The Garden Suburb model, as described by Robert Freestone, envisaged each suburb to be a distinct entity, with land zoned for specific purposes, curvilinear roading, predominantly single-family detached houses, and plentiful open space and greenery.¹⁶⁹ For Marewa, Garden Suburb features included:

- A single, integrated plan prepared for the suburb as a whole.
- A street pattern based on streets of varying widths, curves or crescents replacing the grid pattern.
- The clear separation of residential from other uses.
- Controls placed on residences, including site location and fencing.
- Planned provision of community facilities such as shopping centres and schools.
- Provision of parks and open spaces.
- The use of a green belt or open space to separate the suburb from other areas.

The first two of the three conditions for Garden Suburb success, as suggested by Miller, were also largely met. First, the Napier Borough Council, in partnership with the Napier Harbour Board, provided the necessary control and direction. Second, there was sufficient land for a complete suburb and associated facilities. The third condition, whether Marewa was seen by Napier residents as a desirable place to build or settle into a home, is more problematic. As mentioned, there were difficulties in the early years of development and because of these the suburb could hardly be described as a model suburb. Apart from Tom Parker Avenue, the suburb never seemed to acquire a reputation as being one of Napier's leading places in which to live. In 1965, the *Daily Telegraph* described Marewa as

“Napier’s garden suburb” and attributed this to good planning, the attractively laid out houses and gardens, the suburb’s parks and trees, and the almost complete elimination of power lines and poles.¹⁷⁰ In 1973, the Mayor, Peter Tait, described Marewa as a “garden suburb” and said he was “hopeful that the standard set there would be the guideline for other parts of the city...”¹⁷¹ His comments, however, were in the context of beautification, planting and gardens, rather than theoretical principles distilled from the Garden City movement.

The other three suburbs lack some of the charm of Marewa, although parts of those suburbs are still quite presentable today. That certainly was the intention of the Borough/City Council and others who were responsible for planning the suburbs fifty years earlier and who had a vision of creating a Greater Napier. With each new suburb, planning was deliberate and careful, and was undertaken with an intention to learn from mistakes and improve on earlier suburbs. While Garden City ideals were not expressly spoken about when referring to these other suburbs, these suburbs were still touted as being planned and being desirable places in which to live. Planning in these suburbs was also influenced by state housing ideas and the concept of the neighbourhood unit. Adopted aspects of the neighbourhood unit idea included the building of communities based on a local primary school, shopping centre and neighbourhood parks. A street pattern with angular streets, cul-de-sacs and the elimination of cross-intersections was the norm. All of these ideas followed those expressed in government publications of the time, although the extent of walkways and park areas appears to be much less than envisaged in *Better Towns*. Wallis, in a populist description of post-earthquake urban development in Napier in the early 1960s, remarks that in Maraenui:

Planning has been good; special shopping areas, special residential areas, parks, asphalted roads, kerbing, channelling, formed footpaths, sewerage, and town water supply all following within keeping of progress of areas. What a big development! What a lot in comparatively so few years!¹⁷²

Nonetheless, planning alone does not make for attractive suburbs, or suburbs that might be regarded as more affluent and a better place in which to live. The most sought-after places in which to live in Napier today are located on Bluff Hill, Hospital Hill or along streets overlooking the sea. These areas were largely settled before the advent of planning

legislation from 1926 onwards. Many Napier Hill streets are narrow and lack pathways and grass verges, but these appear small detriments when compared with vistas of the city, sea or nearby houses that differ richly in architectural style. Napier Hill also used to be the site of a major hospital, and it was probable that doctors and other senior staff chose to live nearby on the Hill in reasonably comfortable homes rather than in more modest houses in distant suburbs. In 2005, the average capital values of properties in the four new suburbs were the lowest in Napier, varying from \$171,000 in Maraenui to \$266,000 in Onekawa. In contrast, the most valuable properties in Napier were those on Napier Hill (an average value of \$442,000) and in the seaside suburbs of Ahuriri and Westshore (an average value of \$524,000).¹⁷³ Maraenui in particular in 2005 was the poorest suburb in Napier, with high unemployment and crime rates and a reputation as a tough neighbourhood. In response, seven government agencies initiated planning of a different kind, the Maraenui Urban Renewal Plan, which sought to improve health, reduce crime, and revitalise the shopping centre. The plan also envisaged that some of the multi-storied state housing units might be demolished and be replaced with single-storey dwellings.¹⁷⁴

The planning and development of the four suburbs can be presented in an evolutionary model, adapted from Jackson's model proposed for the United States and outlined above. A simplified model, that could be applied to Napier in particular and New Zealand in general, might have the following seven phases:

- Phase 1 Pre-suburban state, agricultural, inhabited by Māori, or uninhabited
- Phase 2 Site selection, initial planning, administrative and boundary arrangements
- Phase 3 Subdivision of land and provision of roads and other basic services
- Phase 4 Building of houses and amenities and growing population
- Phase 5 Maturation and stable population
- Phase 6 Decay and decline in population
- Phase 7 Rejuvenation

Each of the four Napier suburbs studied in this chapter has passed through the first four phases. Marewa, Onekawa and Pirimai currently lie in Phase 6, with Maraenui in Phase 6 but showing a trace of Phase 7 through attempts to rejuvenate the suburb, particularly the shopping centre. The model above has fewer phases than Jackson's model, partly because

New Zealand's suburban history is shorter than in the United States, and New Zealand suburbs are smaller and have not experienced the same degree of suburban change. Of Napier's other suburbs, Ahuriri is the one suburb that best illustrates all phases, as mentioned in the next chapter. This is because Ahuriri is Napier's oldest suburb, and over the years has functioned as a port, residential and commercial area.

The four suburbs can be compared with suburban developments in other parts of New Zealand. The similarities are evident in housing styles, streetscapes and the sprinkling of smaller suburban shopping centres and other community facilities. The grid pattern of streets has largely disappeared, replaced by curved or angular streets and cul-de-sacs. State housing may feature in suburbs that date back to the 1950s or earlier. The differences in Napier stem from the scale of planning and development and the participation of Council and Harbour Board. Entire suburbs were planned and built on land where there was very little existing development. The waterways and drains provided clearly defined cells for each suburb, unlike in other New Zealand towns and cities where new development is often mixed with existing buildings, and suburban boundaries are scarcely discernable. Planning was also founded initially upon town planning schemes that applied to individual suburbs or parts of Napier, rather than the city as a whole. In contrast, most New Zealand cities prepared and adopted city-wide district schemes. While the sectional approach of Napier may have facilitated the planning and development of individual suburbs, it effectively displaced the production of a single city-wide district scheme for many years and thereby limited the ability of the Council to plan coherently for the whole city. Suburbs are part of a greater whole, and while suburbs themselves were being planned, their city-wide connections and impacts were not. In 1968, Napier was covered by a mosaic of separate schemes.

From 1968, following amalgamation with the adjoining borough of Taradale, and slowing population growth, suburban planning and development in Napier changed. Smaller subdivisions and infill housing would become the norm, with much greater private sector participation. Planning was to become concerned with mixing and integrating the new developments with older, unplanned communities. Apart from Tamatea in the 1970s, major suburban developments on largely unsettled lands were at an end.¹⁷⁵ Planning and

development of suburban areas in Napier became much more similar to other New Zealand urban areas.

Conclusion

Town expansion dominated Napier planning and development from the 1930s through to the 1960s, its manifestation being the creation of four new suburbs. Initially, “Greater Napier” was the slogan for suburban growth. The principal participants were the Napier Borough/City Council as developer and planner and the Napier Harbour Board as landowner. The Hawke's Bay County Council assisted through allowing land within its boundaries to become part of the municipal area, and central government injected major housing development through its state housing schemes.

Planning the new suburbs was pragmatic and deliberate. The Council wanted the new suburbs to be planned and, for Marewa and Onekawa, adopted sectional town planning schemes before significant development began. Later suburban development was a little ahead of town planning schemes, but planning practices and concepts could still be applied in approving subdivisions and other projects that needed Council approval. Suburban growth and development followed the cellular model approach foreshadowed by Napier South, in which suburbs were generally planned and developed as single entities within boundaries that were geographically recognisable.

Planning of the new suburbs in Napier was strongly influenced by contemporary town planning ideas. The detail or theoretical base of such ideas was seldom stated, although Garden City principles were referred to in the early stages of planning Marewa. Later planning was influenced by state housing ideas and the concept of the neighbourhood unit. The resulting suburbs are now regarded as representing poorer areas of Napier, but nonetheless house a significant part of the city's population and enabled the provision of homes or land on which to build during a period of rapid population growth.

Endnotes

- ¹ For example, see *Daily Telegraph*, 12 December 1905, p. 4, and 10 March 1948, p. 4; and Figure 6.2.
- ² “Napier Thirty Thousand Club”, in Napier Thirty Thousand Club, *Sunny Napier: The Gem of the Pacific: Mardi Gras Souvenir Programme*, Napier: Napier Thirty Thousand Club, 1962, pp. 19-49, at p. 19; and Mary B. Boyd, *City of the Plains: A History of Hastings*, Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 1984, pp. 351-353. For a fuller discussion of these organisations within the context of civic improvement and place promotion, see Chapter 7.
- ³ The Napier City Council was still looking at future expansion plans in the 1970s. The final report of a regional study concluded that existing urban boundaries were adequate to meet all foreseeable population growth in the Hawke's Bay area. This was because of falling population growth rates. Future urban growth within existing urban areas could be met through implementing a consolidation strategy. See Ministry of Works and Development, *Hawke's Bay Area Planning Study: Urban Development Directions: Final Study Report*, Wellington: Prepared for the Hawke's Bay Area Committee by the Town and Country Planning Division, Ministry of Works and Development, 1982.
- ⁴ D.G. Conly, “The New Beginning: Hastings” and “Napier v Hastings”, in *Daily Telegraph, Hawke's Bay “Before” and “After” the Great Earthquake of 1931: An Historical Record*, Napier: Daily Telegraph, Facsimile Edition with additional chapters by D.G. Conly, 1981.
- ⁵ *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, Wellington: Government Printer. Population data derived from editions for years 1931 (p. 100), 1950 (p. 34) and 1968 (p. 66).
- ⁶ Mark Clapson, *Suburban Century: Social Change and Urban Growth in England and the United States*, Oxford: Berg, 2003, pp. 2-5.
- ⁷ David C. Thorns, *Suburbia*, London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1972, pp. 31-34.
- ⁸ Clapson, *Suburban Century: Social Change and Urban Growth in England and the United States*, p. 2.
- ⁹ Suburb Guides - InSuburbia Auckland Suburb Guide. Retrieved 14 September 2009, from <http://insuburbia.marketeer.co.nz/category.pasp?categoryid=2>
- ¹⁰ Thorns, *Suburbia*, pp. 77-78.
- ¹¹ Stephen V. Ward, *Planning and Urban Change*, London: Sage, 2004. 2nd ed., pp. 36-47.
- ¹² Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- ¹³ Richard Walker and Robert D. Lewis, “Beyond the Crabgrass Frontier: Industry and the Spread of North American Cities, 1850-1950”, in Nicholas R. Fyfe and Judith T. Kenny (eds), *The Urban Geography Reader*, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2005, pp. 121-127.
- ¹⁴ Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, pp. 283-287.
- ¹⁵ John Sulman, *An Introduction to the Study of Town Planning in Australia*, Sydney: Government Printer, 1921, p. 106. Cited in Robert Freestone, *Model Communities: The Garden City Movement in Australia*, Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1989, p. 87.
- ¹⁶ Freestone, *Model Communities: The Garden City Movement in Australia*, p. 87. For a fuller statement of Garden City and Suburb characteristics, see Chapter 2 of this thesis..
- ¹⁷ Caroline Miller, “Theory Poorly Practised: The Garden Suburb in New Zealand”, *Planning Perspectives*, 19, 2004, pp. 35-53, at p. 38.
- ¹⁸ Ben Schrader, “Avoiding the Mistakes of the ‘Mother Country’: The New Zealand Garden City Movement 1900-1926”, *Planning Perspectives*, 14, 1999, pp. 395-411.
- ¹⁹ *Daily Telegraph*, 3 June 1914, p. 2, and 6 July 1914, p. 6. These newspaper reports were in advance of the lecture, the lecture itself not being reported by the *Daily Telegraph*.
- ²⁰ Schrader, “Avoiding the Mistakes of the ‘Mother Country’: The New Zealand Garden City Movement 1900-1926”.
- ²¹ Schrader, “Avoiding the Mistakes of the ‘Mother Country’: The New Zealand Garden City Movement 1900-1926”, pp. 404-405.
- ²² Miller, “Theory Poorly Practised: The Garden Suburb in New Zealand”, pp. 41-46.
- ²³ Caroline Miller, “Reginald Hammond and the Planning of Orakei”, in *Proceedings of the Third Australian Planning History/Urban History Conference*, Melbourne: Monash University, 1996, pp. 53-63, at p. 61.
- ²⁴ Miller, “Theory Poorly Practised: The Garden Suburb in New Zealand”, pp. 46-49.
- ²⁵ Caroline Miller, “Images and Reality: Selling Suburbia”, in Michael Roche, Megan McKenna and Patrick Hesp (eds), *Proceedings of the Twentieth New Zealand Geography Conference*, Hamilton: New Zealand Geographical Society, 2000, pp. 223-226.
- ²⁶ Gael Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994, p. 117.

- ²⁷ Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, pp. 117-120.
- ²⁸ Penny Isaac and Erik Olssen, "The Justification for Labour's Housing Scheme: The Discourse of 'the Slum'", in Barbara Brookes (ed.), *At Home in New Zealand: Houses History People*, Wellington: Bridget William Books, 2000, pp. 107-124, especially at p. 114 and p. 123.
- ²⁹ Ben Schrader, "Labour at Home: The First Labour Government and the Familial Suburban Ideal", in Barbara Brookes (ed.), *At Home in New Zealand: Houses History People*, Wellington: Bridget William Books, 2000, pp. 125-139, especially at pp. 125-126.
- ³⁰ Ben Schrader, *We Call it Home: A History of State Housing in New Zealand*, Auckland: Reed, 2005, pp. 45-53. The number of state houses built and sold is estimated from the data shown on pp. 52-53.
- ³¹ Cedric Firth, *State Housing in New Zealand*, Wellington: Ministry of Works, 1949, p. 13.
- ³² Schrader, *We Call it Home: A History of State Housing in New Zealand*, p. 170.
- ³³ Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, p. 146.
- ³⁴ Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, pp. 200-202.
- ³⁵ Larry L. Lawhon, "The Neighborhood Unit: Physical Design or Physical Determinism?" *Journal of Planning History*, 8:2, 2009, pp. 111-132. See also Andrew Horner, "Creating New Communities: The Role of the Neighbourhood Unit in Post-War British Planning", *Contemporary British History*, 14:1, 2008, pp. 63-80; Eleanor Smith Morris, *British Town Planning and Urban Design: Principles and Policies*, Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1997, pp. 138-142; and Frank Schaffer, *The New Town Story*, London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1970. For a fuller discussion of the neighborhood unit concept and the Radburn layout principle, see Chapter 2 of this thesis.
- ³⁶ "Post-War Housing, 1945-1960s - Introduction", Domestic Architecture 1700 to 1960, University of the West of England. Retrieved 26 April 2011, from http://environment.uwe.ac.uk/video/cd_new_demo/conweb/house_ages/flypast/
- ³⁷ Horner "Creating New Communities: The Role of the Neighbourhood Unit in Post-War British Planning", pp. 70-77.
- ³⁸ Maurice Broady, *Planning for People*, London: NCSS, 1968, p. 14, cited by Horner "Creating New Communities: The Role of the Neighbourhood Unit in Post-War British Planning", p. 77.
- ³⁹ Anthony Goss, "Neighbourhood Units in British New Towns", *Town Planning Review*, 32:1, 1961, pp. 66-82, at p. 80.
- ⁴⁰ Ministry of Works, Town Planning Section, *Better Towns*, Wellington: School Publications Branch, Department of Education, 1948, p. 2.
- ⁴¹ Firth, *State Housing in New Zealand*.
- ⁴² Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, p. 202.
- ⁴³ *Daily Telegraph*, 10 February 1932, p. 8, and 2 May 1934, p. 8.
- ⁴⁴ For example, see Report, City Engineer to Town Clerk, 25 June 1956, File, Town Planning Scheme Napier City and Westshore, 1931-1959, Napier City Council, Box NCC 324, File 170/17.
- ⁴⁵ Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, p. 203.
- ⁴⁶ R. McGregor, "Modern Marewa", *New Zealand Historic Places*, November 1996, pp. 9-11, at p. 10.
- ⁴⁷ Napier Harbour Board Act 1874.
- ⁴⁸ S. Allan, B. Knowles and J. Davey, *Napier City Urban Growth Strategy: Final*, Napier: Napier City Council, 1992, p. 15. Freehold became the norm for sections sold by Napier Borough/City Council from 1945. For a sample agreement setting out the detailed arrangements between the Napier Harbour Board and the Council, see File, Pirimai Block Adjacent to Taradale, 1962-1977, Napier City Council, Box NCC 571, File 099-1295-01.
- ⁴⁹ For information about section sales in Onekawa and elsewhere, including methods, and terms and conditions of sale, see File, Particulars of Freehold Sections Sold in Onekawa since 1959 and Town Clerk's Report on methods of sale, Napier City Council, Box NCC 564, File 099-1263-01.
- ⁵⁰ See P. Crampton, C. Salmond and R. Kirkpatrick, *Degrees of Deprivation in New Zealand: An Atlas of Socioeconomic Difference*, Albany, Auckland: David Bateman, 2004. 2nd ed. Refer to Plate 46 (Napier and Hastings) and statistical data at p. 125. Maraenui and Onekawa South are the most deprived areas in Napier, with the state housing part of Marewa not far behind.
- ⁵¹ *Daily Telegraph*, 20 November 1931, p. 6.
- ⁵² *Daily Telegraph*, 10 November 1932, p. 9, and 6 December 1932, p. 8.
- ⁵³ *Daily Telegraph*, 10 October 1933, p. 9, 17 October 1933, p. 8, and 7 November 1933, p. 8. For the full Terms of Agreement, see *Daily Telegraph*, 2 October 1933, p. 10.
- ⁵⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, 5 December 1933, p. 9.
- ⁵⁵ *Daily Telegraph*, 5 December 1933, p. 9.

- ⁵⁶ *Daily Telegraph*, 29 March 1934, p. 9.
- ⁵⁷ M. D. N. Campbell, *Story of Napier: Footprints Along the Shore*, Napier: Napier City Council, 1974, pp. 158-159; and *Daily Telegraph*, 25 January 1935, p. 12.
- ⁵⁸ H.K. Stevenson, *Port and People: Century at the Port of Napier*, Napier: Hawke's Bay Harbour Board, 1977, pp. 247-248.
- ⁵⁹ *Daily Telegraph*, 1 September 1942, p. 4.
- ⁶⁰ *Daily Telegraph*, 21 September 1942, p. 4.
- ⁶¹ Campbell, *Story of Napier: Footprints Along the Shore*, p. 173.
- ⁶² *Daily Telegraph*, 23 February 1943, p. 2.
- ⁶³ *Daily Telegraph*, 29 June 1943, p. 4.
- ⁶⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, 7 September 1944, p. 6.
- ⁶⁵ Campbell, *Story of Napier: Footprints Along the Shore*, pp. 173-175; and *Daily Telegraph*, 17 January 1949, p. 3.
- ⁶⁶ *Daily Telegraph*, 17 January 1949, p. 3.
- ⁶⁷ *Daily Telegraph*, 5 November 1955, p. 8.
- ⁶⁸ *Daily Telegraph*, 4 November 1961, p. 10.
- ⁶⁹ *Daily Telegraph*, 4 November 1961, p. 10.
- ⁷⁰ J.B. Childs, *A Town Planning Case Study: Napier Since the Earthquake*, Auckland: Dissertation for Diploma in Town Planning, University of Auckland, 1972. For a brief outline of this study, see Chapter 3.
- ⁷¹ Childs, *A Town Planning Case Study: Napier Since the Earthquake*, pp. 9-11.
- ⁷² *Daily Telegraph*, 10 March 1948, p. 4.
- ⁷³ *Daily Telegraph*, 9 March 1948, p. 3.
- ⁷⁴ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 1945, vol. 272, p. 55.
- ⁷⁵ Local Government Commission Act 1946.
- ⁷⁶ File, Local Government Commission - Alteration of boundaries - Hawke's Bay County - Napier City, Archives New Zealand, Agency IA, Series 1, Record 197/557. The quotation about the boundary line is from a letter sent by the Hawke's Bay County Council to the Commission, 13 March 1952.
- ⁷⁷ See File, Hawke's Bay County/Heretaunga Plains Extra Urban Planning Scheme No. 1, 1946-1965, Napier City Council, Box NCC 318, File 170/20, especially the minutes of the first meeting of the Extra Urban Planning Committee, held on 4 July 1949.
- ⁷⁸ *Daily Telegraph*, 23 July 1934, p. 9, and 4 September 1935, p. 7.
- ⁷⁹ *Daily Telegraph*, 17 December 1936, p. 23; and the Napier (Marewa-Area) Town Planning Scheme 1936, File, Marewa Town Planning Scheme, 1939-1950, Napier City Council, Box NCC 319, File 462.
- ⁸⁰ For final approval dates for all sectional town planning schemes approved under the Town-planning Act 1926, see File, Town Planning Scheme Napier City and Westshore, 1931-1959, Napier City Council, Box NCC 324, File 170/17, particularly the Public Notice given by the Town Clerk on 29 July 1954.
- ⁸¹ File, Marewa Town Planning Scheme, 1939-1950, Napier City Council, Box NCC 319, File 462. See especially correspondence between the Council and the Town Planning Board in 1944 and 1945. The Board finally approved the Marewa No. 2 Town Planning Scheme in March 1945.
- ⁸² File, Marewa Town Planning Scheme, 1939-1950, Napier City Council, Box NCC 319, File 462. See especially correspondence between the Council and the Town Planning Board from 1946 to 1948. The Board approved finally the Marewa No. 3 Town Planning Scheme in September 1948.
- ⁸³ Visited by the candidate, June 2010. For an aerial photograph showing the street layout at Prince George, see "Prince George, British Columbia" from Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia. Retrieved 14 May 2011, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prince_George,_British_Columbia#History
- ⁸⁴ For examples of Marewa Scheme Plans that included communal garages, see Files, Scheme Plan Part Marewa Block, 1945-1948, Napier City Council, Boxes NCC 725 and 728, File B.14.
- ⁸⁵ Caroline Miller, " 'Its Most Ambitious Town Planning Scheme': The Savage Crescent State Housing Precinct, Palmerston North", *Planning History*, 20:3, 1998, pp. 12-24, at p. 20.
- ⁸⁶ File, Richmond Block Housing Construction Division, 1956-1965, Napier City Council, Box NCC 336, File 250. See especially Memorandum, City Surveyor and Town Planner to Town Clerk, entitled "Richmond Block E: Napier", 4 March 1958.
- ⁸⁷ Firth, *State Housing in New Zealand*, p. 13.
- ⁸⁸ File, Maraenui Agreement, 1956, Napier City Council, Box NCC 564, File 099-1261-01.
- ⁸⁹ File, Planning Onekawa Section, 1946-1966, Napier City Council, Box NCC 344, File 61/14/1, see especially the correspondence between the Town Planning Board and the Council in 1946 and 1948, and

- notes on the outcome of a conference held on 25 July 1946, attended by representatives of the Town Planning Board, Napier Harbour Board and Council.
- ⁹⁰ See File, Napier (Marewa) Town Planning Scheme, 1958-1965, Napier City Council, Box NCC 318, File 170/19, and File, Onekawa West Town Planning Scheme, 1958-1964, Napier City Council, Box NCC 318, File 170/21.
- ⁹¹ Letter, Commissioner of Works to Council, about the Town and Country Planning Act 1953, 3 September 1958, File, Napier (Marewa) Town Planning Scheme, 1958-1965, Napier City Council, Box NCC 318, File 170/19.
- ⁹² Napier City Council, *City of Napier District Scheme: Scheme Statement, Code of Ordinances, Planning Maps*, Napier: Napier City Council, 1973. The Scheme became operative on 26 July 1973.
- ⁹³ *Daily Telegraph*, 12 November 1937, p. 9.
- ⁹⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, 4 November 1961, p. 10.
- ⁹⁵ *Maraenui Marewa Messenger*, 27 January 1972, p. 3.
- ⁹⁶ *Daily Telegraph*, 8 March 1938, p. 11.
- ⁹⁷ *Daily Telegraph*, 30 January 1939, p. 9, and 10 May 1939, p. 9.
- ⁹⁸ For example, see *Daily Telegraph*, 17 May 1947, p. 3, 29 May 1947, p. 2, and 18 July 1947, p. 3.
- ⁹⁹ For correspondence between the Marewa Ratepayers' Association and the Council, see File, Marewa Town Planning Scheme, 1939-1950, Napier City Council, Box NCC 319, File 462, and File, Marewa Block/Maraenui, 1934-1948, Napier City Council, Box NCC 320, File 439.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Daily Telegraph*, 9 March 1948, p. 3.
- ¹⁰¹ Napier Borough (Marewa Area) Empowering Act 1946.
- ¹⁰² *Daily Telegraph*, 17 January 1949, p. 3.
- ¹⁰³ For correspondence between the Hawke's Bay Electric Power Board and the Council, see File, Napier (Marewa) Town Planning Scheme, 1958-1965, Napier City Council, Box NCC 318, File 170/19; and File, Onekawa Town Planning Scheme, 1960-1964, Napier City Council, Box NCC 324, File 170/18. Note the A. Eaton Hurley legal advice, 3 December 1958, on the Onekawa file, and the reviewed Napier (Marewa) Scheme without provisions re reticulation on the Marewa file.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, 27 June 1961, p. 16.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Daily Telegraph*, 10 February 1948, p. 4, and 24 February 1948, p. 4.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Daily Telegraph*, 27 February 1951, p. 4.
- ¹⁰⁷ Campbell, *Story of Napier: Footprints Along the Shore*, p. 159.
- ¹⁰⁸ Firth, *State Housing in New Zealand*, pp. 5-6.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Hawke's Bay Herald-Tribune*, 15 March 1937, p. 8. See also *Daily Telegraph*, 24 November 1936, p. 9.
- ¹¹⁰ *Hawke's Bay Herald-Tribune*, 14 April 1937, p. 6.
- ¹¹¹ Progress Report on Housing Survey, by Buildings and Sanitary Inspector, 30 January 1938, File, Napier Borough Council Housing Survey/Government Housing Department, 1936-1939, Napier City Council, Box NCC 138.
- ¹¹² *Daily Telegraph*, 26 November 1943, p. 2.
- ¹¹³ *Daily Telegraph*, 26 November 1943, p. 2.
- ¹¹⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, 17 November 1945, p. 4.
- ¹¹⁵ *Daily Telegraph*, 21 August 1937, p. 7, and 22 June 1938, p. 7.
- ¹¹⁶ *Daily Telegraph*, 17 September 1954, p. 8.
- ¹¹⁷ File, Housing Construction - Napier Housing Situation, 1936-1964, Archives New Zealand, Agency HD, Series 1, Accession 1521, Record 3/36. See particularly the Memorandum by the Commissioner of Works about Land for Housing in Napier, with reference to the Richmond Farm Block, 26 November 1953.
- ¹¹⁸ Ferguson, *Building the New Zealand Dream*, p. 195.
- ¹¹⁹ Matthew Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994, pp. 176-177.
- ¹²⁰ R. McGregor, "Modern Marewa", at p. 10.
- ¹²¹ Napier City Council, *City of Napier District Plan*, Napier: Napier City Council, 2011. See Planning Map G7. Retrieved 17 January 2012, from <http://www.napier.digidocs.com/userfiles/file/g7.pdf>
- ¹²² File, Richmond Block Housing Construction Division, 1956-1965, Napier City Council, Box NCC 336, File 250. See especially Report by Ministry of Works (Housing Division) to the Council's Works Committee, January 1962. See also *Daily Telegraph*, 28 September 1962, p. 5, for advertisement for sale of sections under the scheme.

- ¹²³ Campbell, *Story of Napier: Footprints Along the Shore*, p. 193; and *Daily Telegraph*, 19 December 1958, p. 3.
- ¹²⁴ *Manawatu Standard*, 8 September 2009, p. 4; and *Dominion Post*, 5 April 2011, p. A2. For an earlier report about subsidence to residential properties, see *Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune*, 15 December 1964, p. 13.
- ¹²⁵ For example, refer to Clauses 26 and 27 of the Napier (Marewa) Town Planning Scheme 1936, File, The Napier (Marewa) Town Planning Scheme 1936 with Amendment up to 31st December 1956, 1936-1956, Napier City Council, Box NCC 320, File 170/19. Also in File, Napier District Schemes Section, 1936-1967, Napier City Council, Box NCC 201.
- ¹²⁶ City of Napier District Scheme: Sections 3 and 4, Maraenui-Onekawa South and City-Westshore: Scheme Statement and Code of Ordinances, 1964, Fourth Schedule, Ordinance II, Clause 2, File, Napier District Schemes Section, 1936-1967, Napier City Council, Box NCC 201; and City of Napier District Scheme: Sections 6 and 7, Ahuriri Lagoon and Pirimai: Scheme Statement and Code of Ordinances, 1966, Fourth Schedule, Ordinance II, Clause 3, File, Napier District Schemes Section, 1936-1967, Napier City Council, Box NCC 201.
- ¹²⁷ File, Marewa Shopping Area, 1935-1951, Napier City Council, Box NCC 319, File 462A. See especially correspondence between Marewa State House Progressive Association and the Borough Council in 1939.
- ¹²⁸ *Daily Telegraph*, 5 August 1946, p. 6, and 19 August 1946, p. 4.
- ¹²⁹ Memorandum, Borough Engineer to Town Clerk, 7 May 1946, about the Marewa Shopping Area, File, Marewa Shopping Area, 1935-1951, Napier City Council, Box NCC 319, File 462A.
- ¹³⁰ File, Marewa Shopping Area, 1935-1951, Napier City Council, Box NCC 319, File 462A.
- ¹³¹ *Daily Telegraph*, 13 December 1960, p. 5.
- ¹³² File, Marewa Shopping Area, 1935-1951, Napier City Council, Box NCC 319, File 462A. Refer to Letter to the Town Clerk about a Proposed Marewa Theatre, 17 November 1945, and subsequent documents until 1952 when a lease that had been granted for the theatre was cancelled.
- ¹³³ *Daily Telegraph*, 21 November 1960, p. 4, 7 December 1965, p. 10, and 7 December 1967, p. 9.
- ¹³⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, 23 July 1946, p. 4.
- ¹³⁵ *Daily Telegraph*, undated clipping but probably published in 1946, on File, Marewa Shopping Area, 1935-1951, Napier City Council, Box NCC 319, File 462A.
- ¹³⁶ R. B. McGregor, *Take an Art Deco Marewa Meander: Explore Domestic Deco in Napier's Art Deco Suburb*, Napier: Art Deco Trust, 1995. Reprinted 2007, booklet, pp. 7-8.
- ¹³⁷ Richard Longstreth, "The Neighborhood Shopping Center in Washington, D.C., 1930-1941", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 51:1, 1992, pp. 5-34.
- ¹³⁸ See chapter 2 for a discussion of diffusion and a brief outline of Stephen Ward's typology.
- ¹³⁹ *Daily Telegraph*, 3 June 1965, p. 8.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Daily Telegraph*, 5 November 1955, p. 8.
- ¹⁴¹ *Daily Telegraph*, 4 February 1959, p. 6, 16 February 1961, pp. 6-7, and 19 September 1962, p. 6.
- ¹⁴² *Daily Telegraph*, 12 December 1963, p. 21.
- ¹⁴³ *Daily Telegraph*, 6 October 1936, p. 9. See also 2 February 1937, p. 9, and 8 March 1938, p. 11.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, 27 November 1937, p. 9, and 11 June 1938, p. 9.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Daily Telegraph*, 6 July 1939, p. 8.
- ¹⁴⁶ See Plan G.1533, submitted by the Director of Housing Construction to the Local Government Commission, 5 May 1953, File, Local Government Commission - Alteration of boundaries - Hawke's Bay County - Napier City, Archives New Zealand, Agency IA, Series 1, Record 197/557.
- ¹⁴⁷ See documents, including plan, relating to a change made to Section 3 (Maraenui - Onekawa South) of the City of Napier District Scheme, the proposed change publicly notified in 1965, File, Ex County Planning Files (property files) Hawke's Bay Harbour Board, 1965-1988, Napier City Council, Box NCC 409, File 1802.
- ¹⁴⁸ Letter, Marewa State House Progressive Association to Napier Borough Council, 9 June 1939, and letter in reply, 27 June 1939, File, Marewa Block/Maraenui, 1934-1948, Napier City Council, Box NCC 320, File 439.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Daily Telegraph*, 26 September 1950, p. 6, 31 October 1950, p. 6, and 15 September 1951, p. 6. See also correspondence to the *Daily Telegraph* about the Old Riverbed danger, 14-18 September 1951.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Maraenui Marewa Messenger*, 11 January 1973, p. 2, and 23 April 1975, p. 2.
- ¹⁵¹ *Daily Telegraph*, 2 February 1962, p. 8.
- ¹⁵² *Daily Telegraph*, 13 January 1966, p. 8.

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- ¹⁵³ See correspondence and reports on File, Maraenui - General suburb development, 1955-1978, Napier City Council, Box NCC 564, File 099-1261-01.
- ¹⁵⁴ See *Map of Napier and Taradale*, Wellington: Department of Lands and Survey, 1966, 4th ed. Held at Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington NZ, Cartographic Collection, Reference MapColl 832.395gmbd/1966/Acc.7091.
- ¹⁵⁵ File, Planning Onekawa Section, 1946-1966, Napier City Council, Box NCC 344, File 61/14/1, see especially the correspondence between the Town Planning Board and the Council in 1946 and 1948, and a Note, entitled “Greater Napier”, 25 July 1946, on the outcome of a conference held the same day and attended by representatives of the Town Planning Board, Napier Harbour Board and Council.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Daily Telegraph*, 28 September 1948, p. 4, and 13 September 1949, p. 4.
- ¹⁵⁷ File, Hawke's Bay County (Heretaunga Plains) Extra Urban Planning Scheme, 1946-1965, Napier City Council, Box NCC 318, File 170/20.
- ¹⁵⁸ File, Light Industrial Area 129/5/5 NCC and Harbour Board New Agreement, 1964-1971, Napier City Council, Box NCC 523, File 099-1096-01. See in particular copy of the 1964 Light Industrial Area Agreement between Napier Harbour Board and City Council, and letter from the Council to the Harbour Board, 18 March 1966.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Daily Telegraph*, 30 September 1964, p. 6.
- ¹⁶⁰ *Daily Telegraph*, 31 October 1950, p. 6, 27 September 1955, and 5 November 1955, p. 8.
- ¹⁶¹ *Daily Telegraph*, 4 November 1961, p. 10.
- ¹⁶² For the First Town Plan of 1855, streets were named after British persons prominent in literature, science or Indian history, as mentioned in Chapter 1.
- ¹⁶³ See *Map of Napier Taradale*, Wellington: Department of Lands and Survey, 1970, 5th ed. Held at Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington NZ, Cartographic Collection, Reference MapColl 832.395gmbd/1970/Acc.9694.
- ¹⁶⁴ For examples, see Figures 6.17 and 6.19 illustrating local suburban shops, and newspaper advertisements in *Daily Telegraph*, 19 September 1962, p. 6 (Maraenui), and 28 November 1968, p. 8 (Marewa).
- ¹⁶⁵ Ian L. Mills, *What's in a Name: A History of the Streets of Napier*, Napier: Thinker Publications, 2007, p. 8 and p. 212. Enlarged reprint, originally published 1999.
- ¹⁶⁶ Napier City Council, *City of Napier District Plan*, Napier: Napier City Council, 2011, p. 4.0-2. The reference is to Chapter 4, “Residential Environments”. Retrieved 17 January 2012, from <http://www.napier.digidocs.com/userfiles/file/ch04.pdf>
- ¹⁶⁷ Napier City Council, *City of Napier District Plan*, p. 4.0-2. See also previous endnote.
- ¹⁶⁸ *Daily Telegraph*, 13 September 1934, p. 9.
- ¹⁶⁹ Freestone, *Model Communities: The Garden City Movement in Australia*, pp. 87-94. See chapter 2 of this thesis for a fuller description.
- ¹⁷⁰ *Daily Telegraph*, 16 December 1965, p. 7.
- ¹⁷¹ *Maraenui Marewa Messenger*, 11 January 1973, p. 2.
- ¹⁷² J.V. Wallis, “Napier’s Happy Position”, in Napier Thirty Thousand Club, *Sunny Napier: Napier – Gem of the Pacific*, Napier: Napier Thirty Thousand Club, 1961, pp. 15-23, at p. 19.
- ¹⁷³ *Hawke's Bay Today*, 10 November 2005, p. 3.
- ¹⁷⁴ *Dominion Post*, 11 August 2005, p. 3.
- ¹⁷⁵ See endnote 3 above for a brief explanation of falling population growth rates and its impact on future urban development.

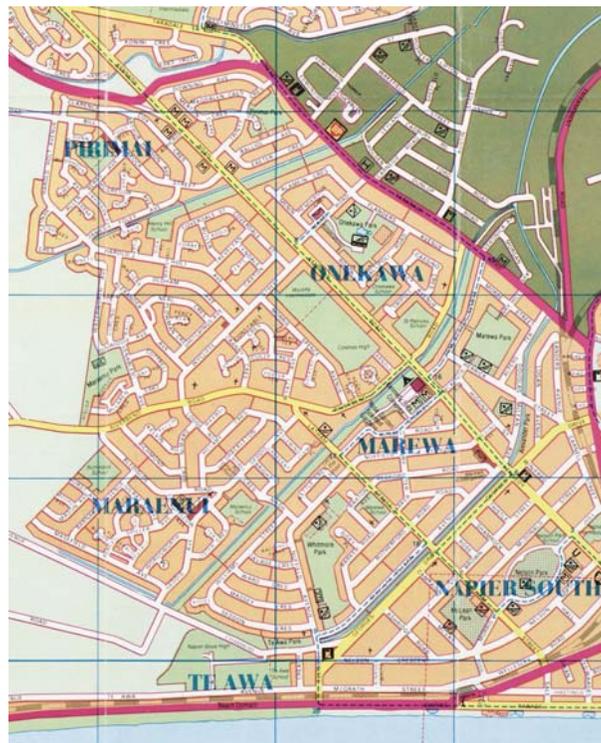
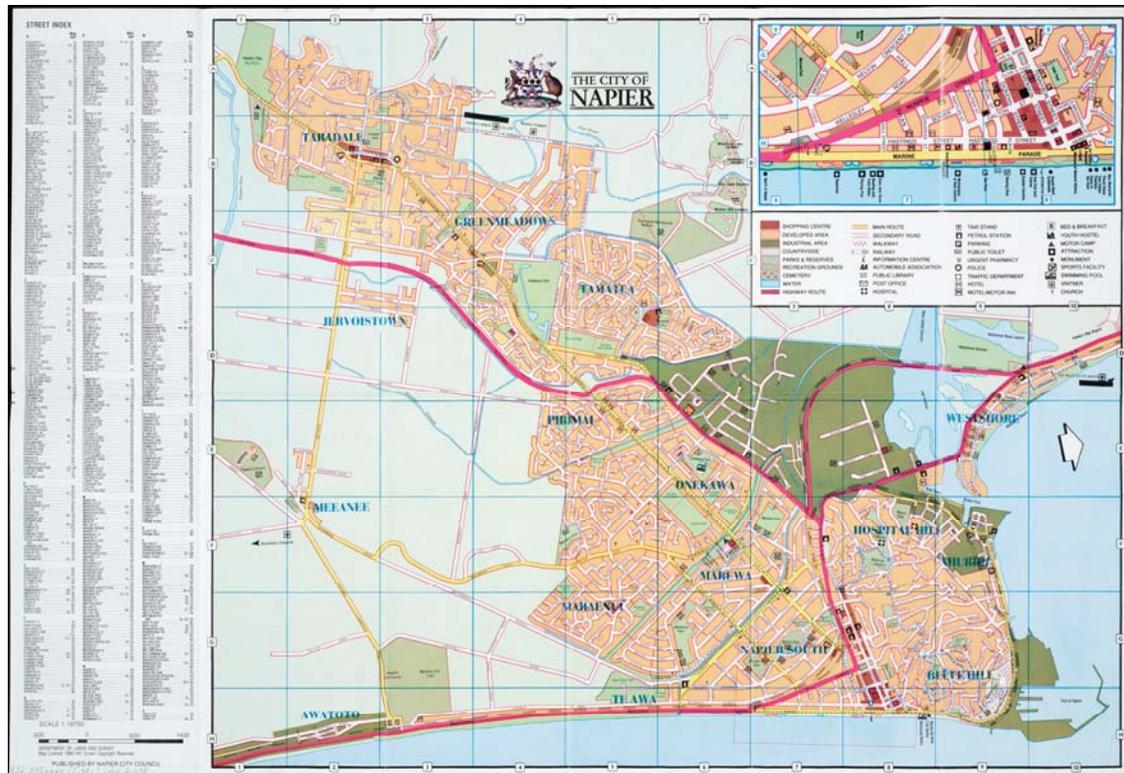


Figure 6.1: Map of the City of Napier, about 1985, with the Greater Napier suburbs of Marewa, Onekawa, Maraenui and Pirimai shown on the enlarged part below.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Cartographic Collection, MapColl 832.395gmbd/[198-]/Acc.21038. The map was published by Napier City Council.

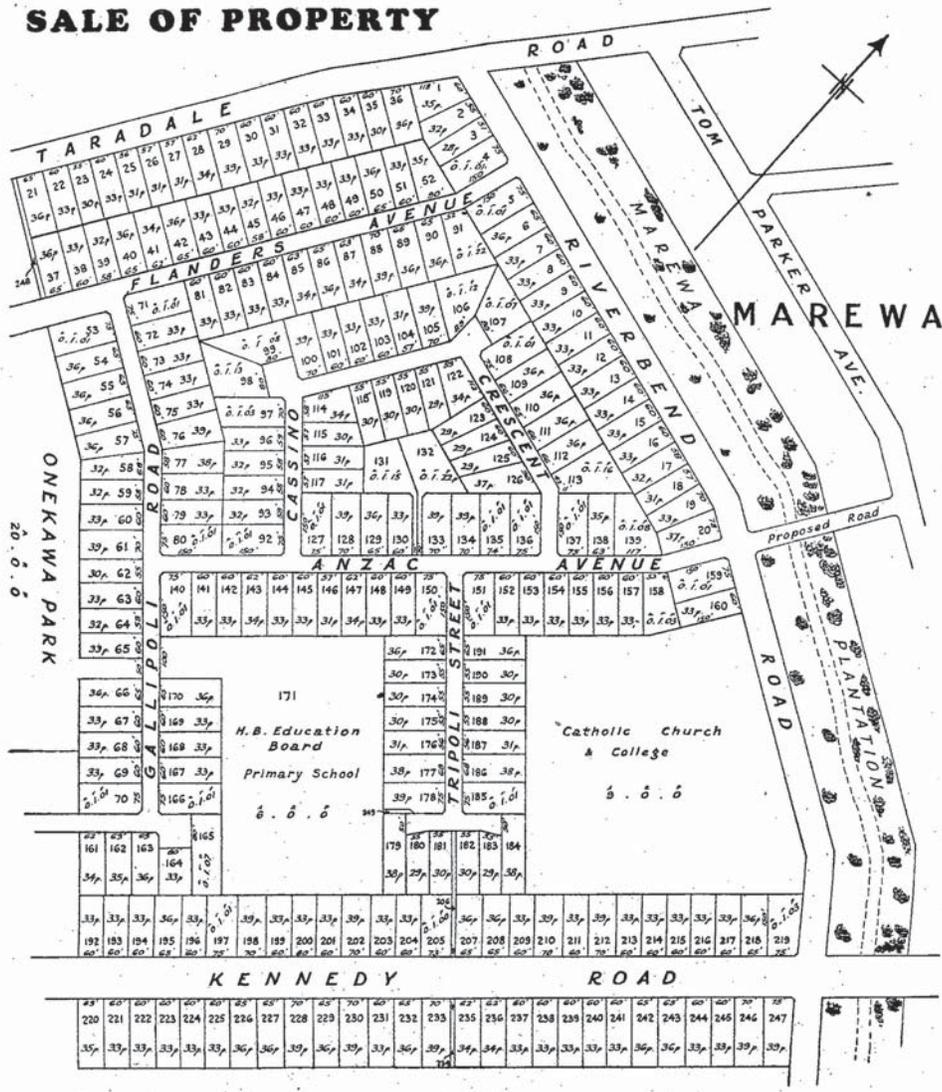


Figure 6.2: Map of Greater Napier, showing six blocks of land that could be developed as part of Napier, featuring the extensive use of the grid pattern for roads, 1940s.

Source: File, Planning Onekawa Section, 1946-1966, Napier City Council, Box NCC 344, File 61/14/1.

SUB-DIVISION OF ONEKAWA SUBURB

SALE OF PROPERTY



PLAN OF PART OF THE ONEKAWA RESIDENTIAL BLOCK

THE SECTIONS BEING OFFERED IN THE FIRST SALE ON JANUARY 27 ARE ALL FACING ANZAC AVENUE, EXCEPT LOT 160.

AREAS AND DISTANCES ARE SUBJECT TO SURVEY.

NOTE.—Tenders for sections must be in by 4 p.m. on MONDAY, JANUARY 24th.

Figure 6.3: Subdivision of part of Onekawa Suburb for sale of sections, separated from Marewa by a plantation strip, 1949.

Source: Daily Telegraph, 17 January 1949, p. 3.

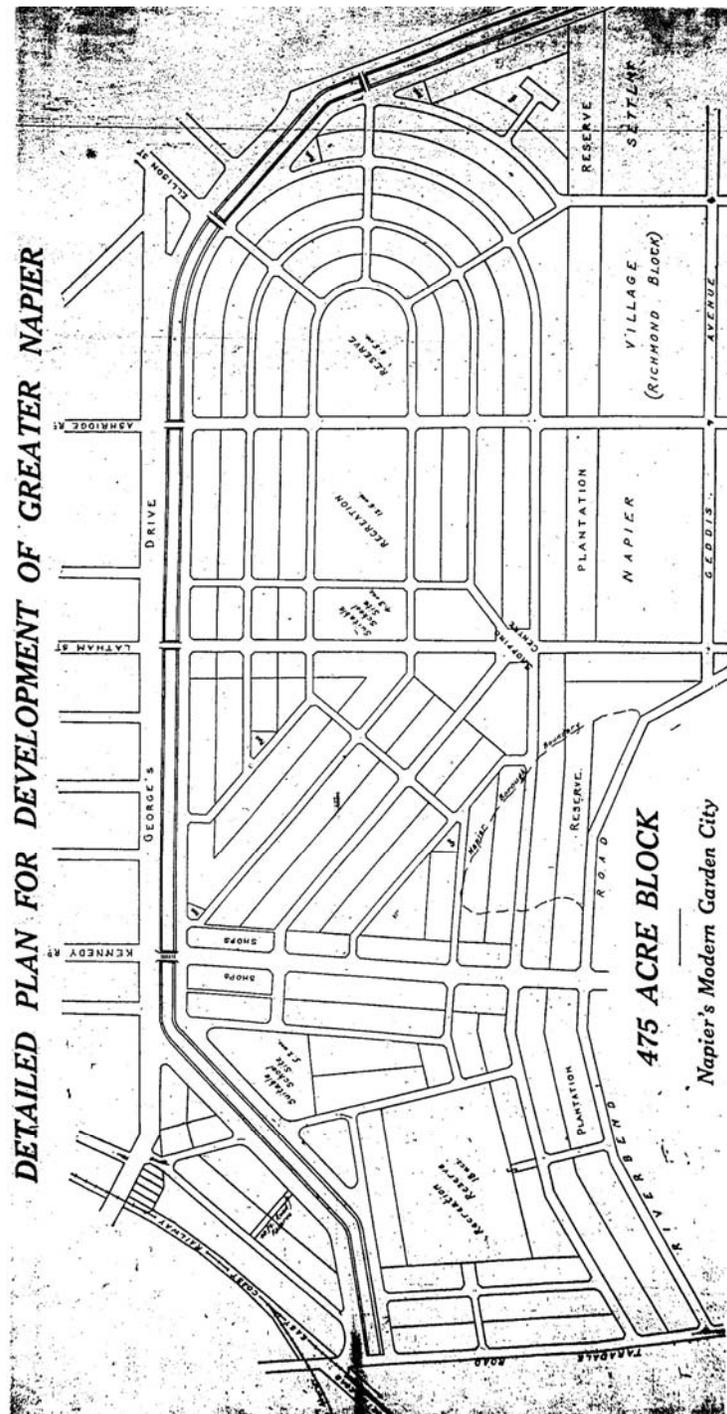


Figure 6.5: Plan of Greater Napier, later named Marewa, 1934. Note the “Modern Garden City” description.

Source: *Daily Telegraph*, 24 December 1934, p. 10.

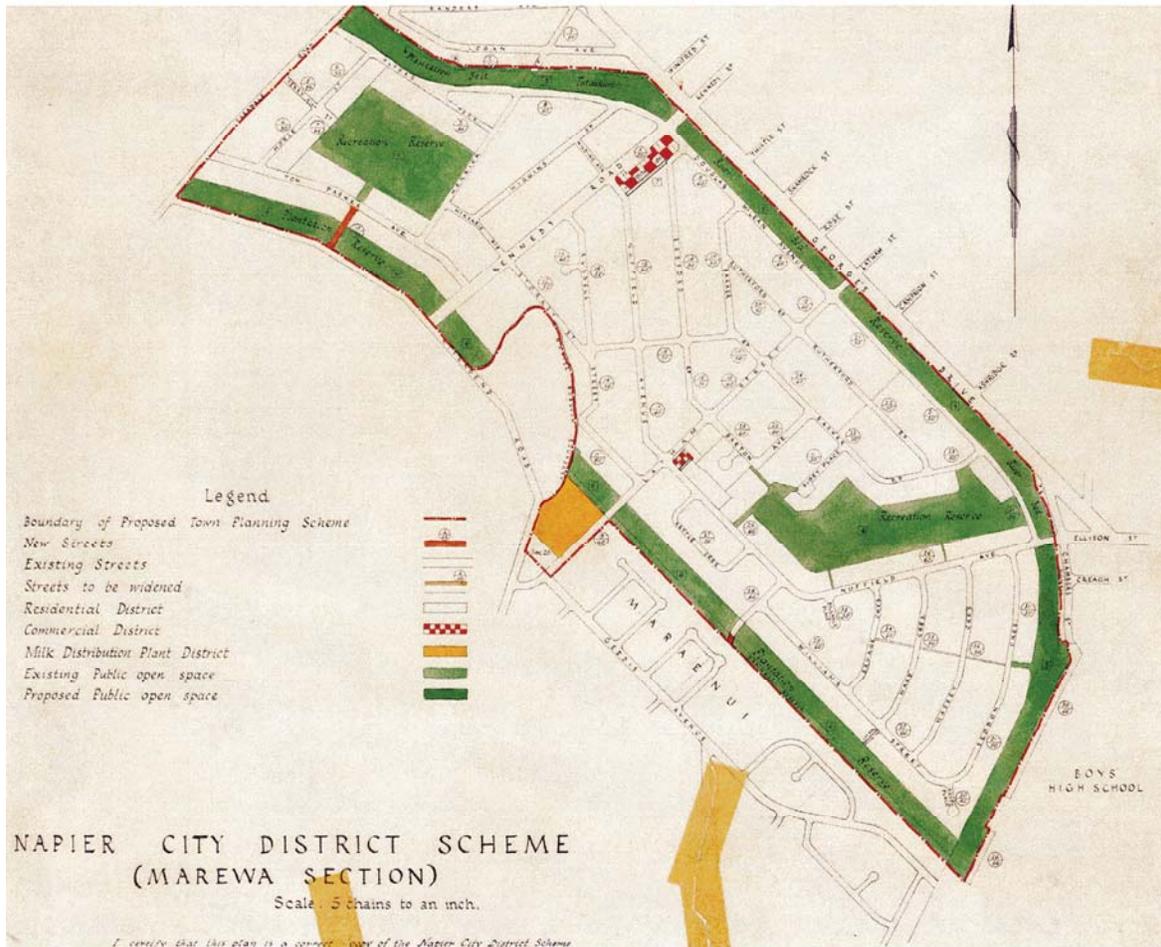


Figure 6.6: Napier City District Scheme (Marewa Section), showing the revised road layout adopted in 1948 and continued in the reviewed scheme that became operative in 1961.

Source: File, Marewa (Marewa) Town Planning Scheme, 1958-1965, Napier City Council, Box NCC 318, Files 099-0220 and 170/19.

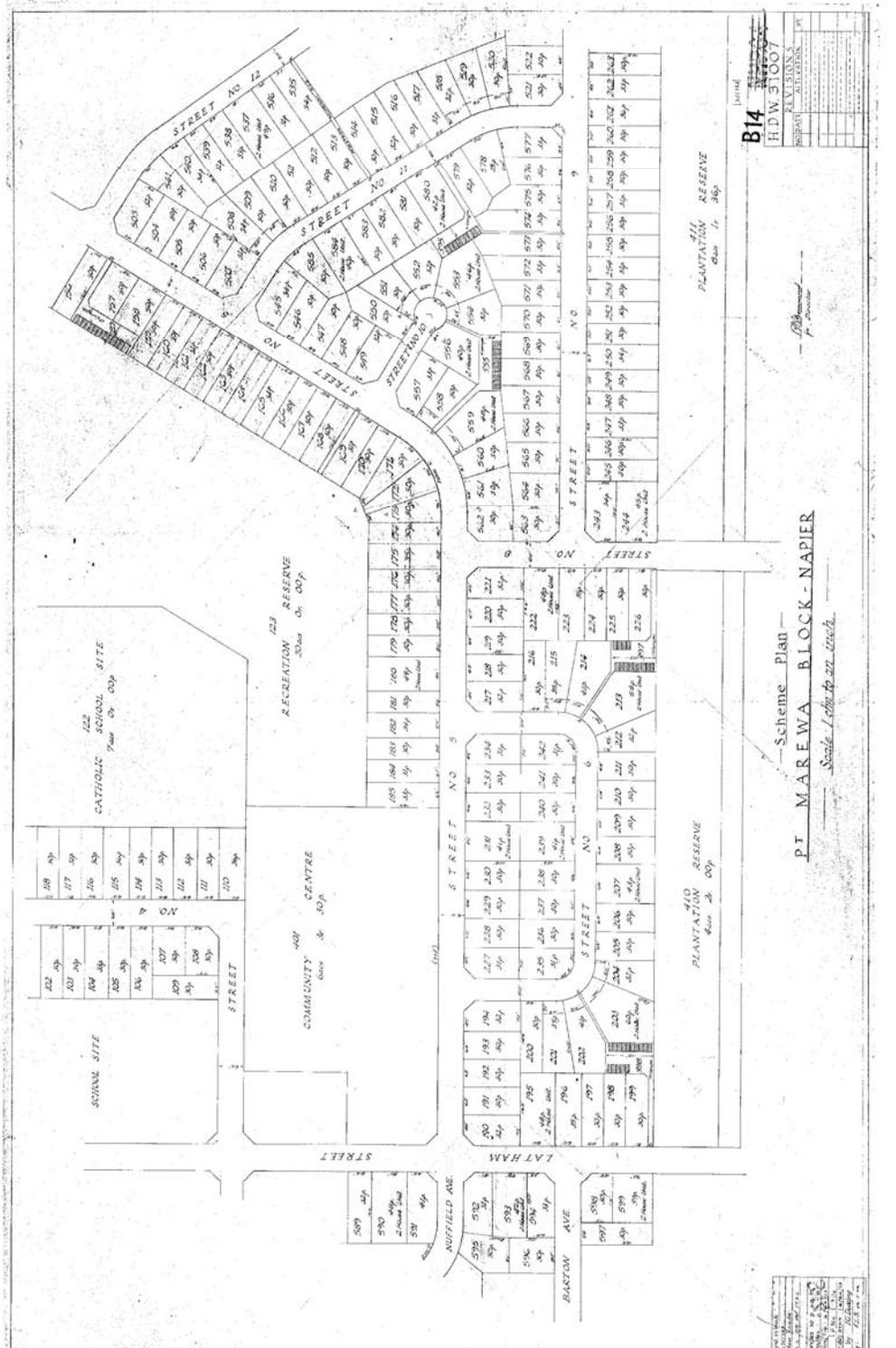


Figure 6.7: Scheme Plan for Part Marewa Block, 1945, showing communal parking locations as dark shaded areas.

Source: Napier City Council, Box 725, File B.14.

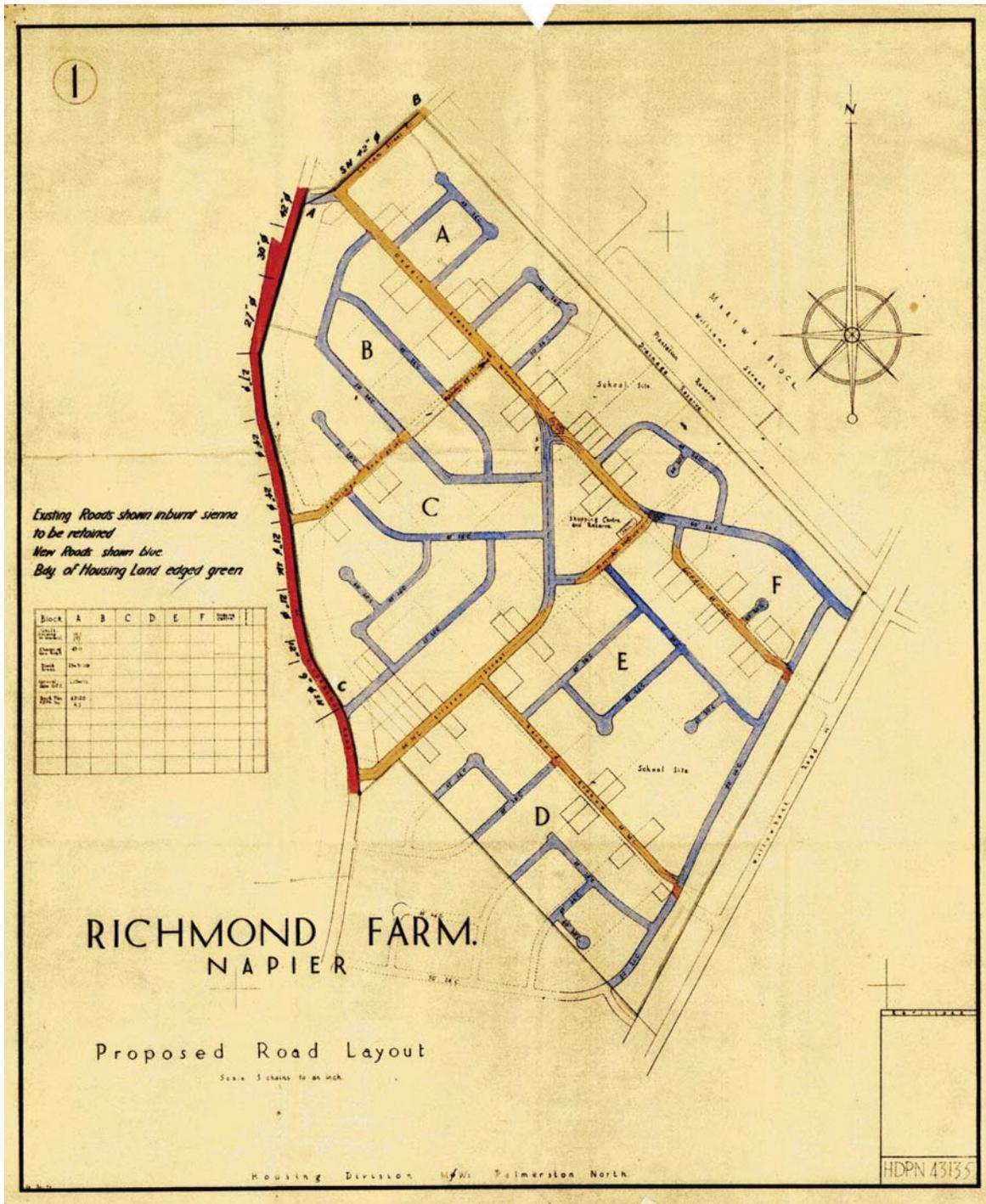


Figure 6.8: Early Plan of Richmond Farm, later named Maraenui, about 1956. This plan shows Areas A to F, which were to be progressively developed. The proposed roads are shown in blue.

Source: File, Maraenui Agreement, 1956, Napier City Council, Box NCC 564, File 099-1261-01.

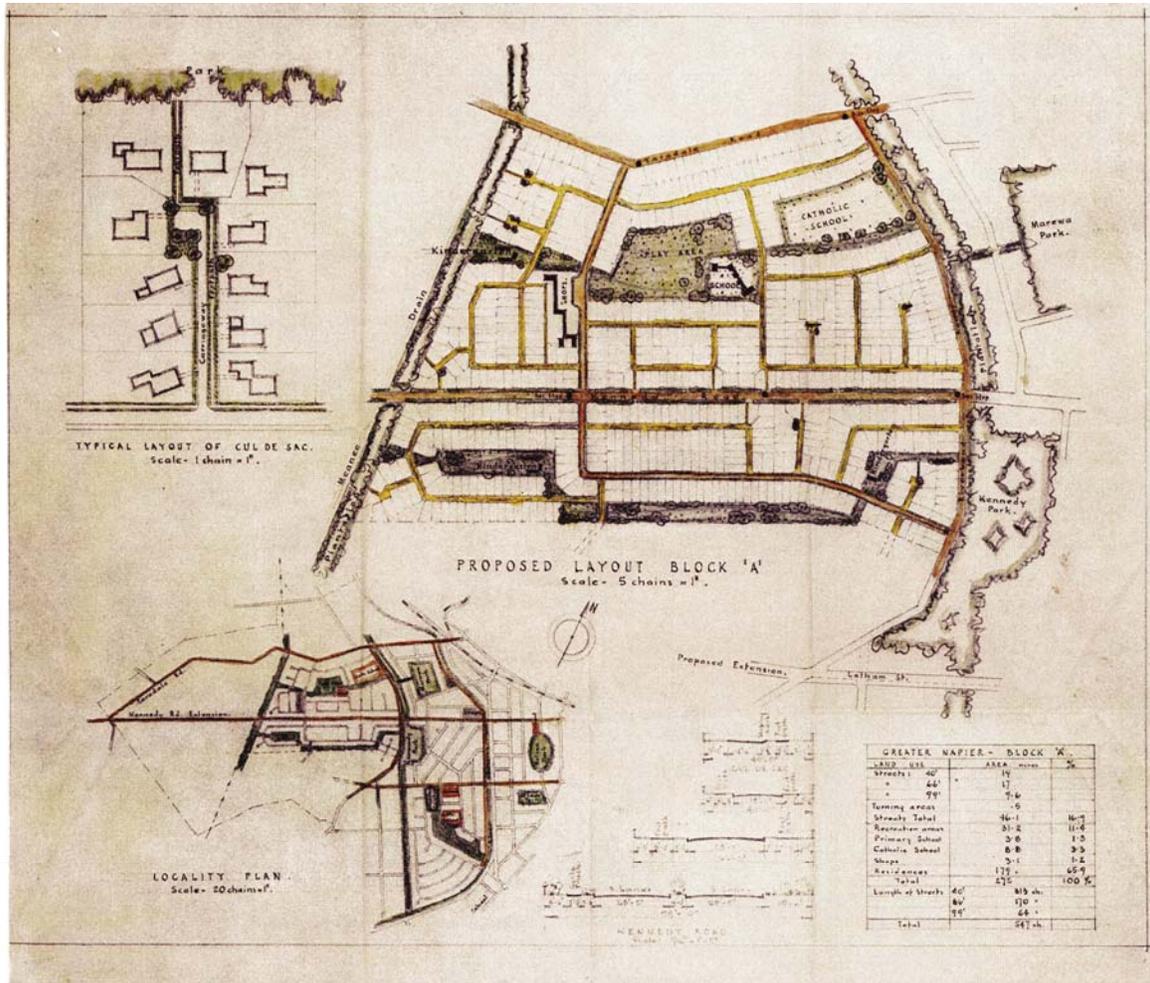


Figure 6.9: Plans prepared for Onekawa by Town Planning Board staff in 1946. The principal plan was the Proposed Layout for Block A. The other plans were for a Typical Layout of a Cul-de-sac and a Locality Plan, with Onekawa adjoining Marewa.

Source: File, Planning Onekawa Section, 1946-1966, Napier City Council, Box NCC 344, File 61/14/1. The plans were sent to the Council in conjunction with a letter from the Town Planning Board, dated 18 April 1946.



Figure 6.10: Cross Sections illustrating Kennedy Road in Napier South and as proposed for Onekawa, about 1948.

Source: File, Planning Onekawa Section, 1946-1966, Napier City Council, Box NCC 344, File 61/14/1.



Figure 6.11: State Housing, single unit accommodation in Russell Road, Marewa.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2003.



Figure 6.12: State Housing, multi-unit accommodation in Bledisloe Road, Maraenui.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2009.

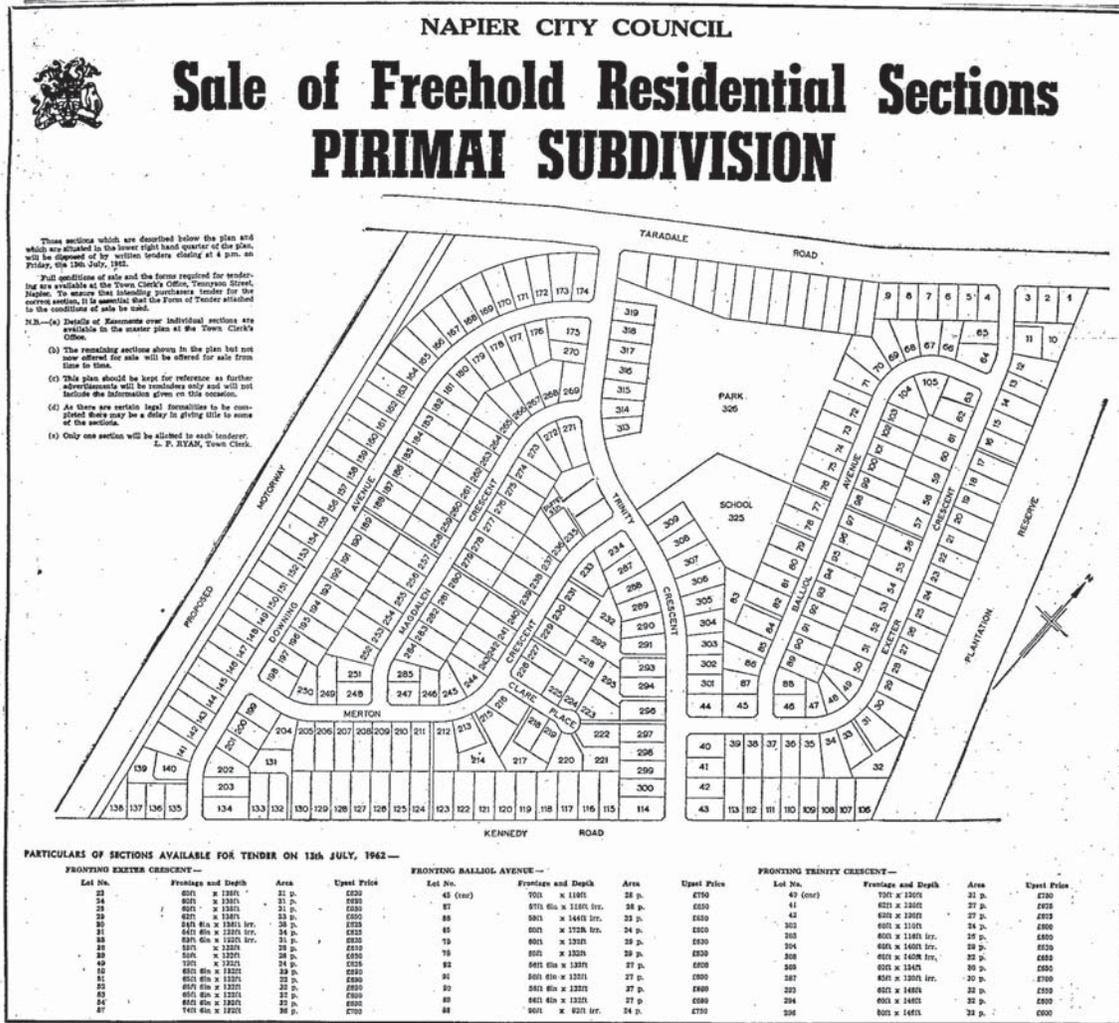




Figure 6.14: Art Deco houses in Georges Drive, in the 28-Acre Block, Mārewa.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2009.



Figure 6.15: Art Deco houses in Logan Avenue, in the 28-Acre Block, Mārewa.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2009.

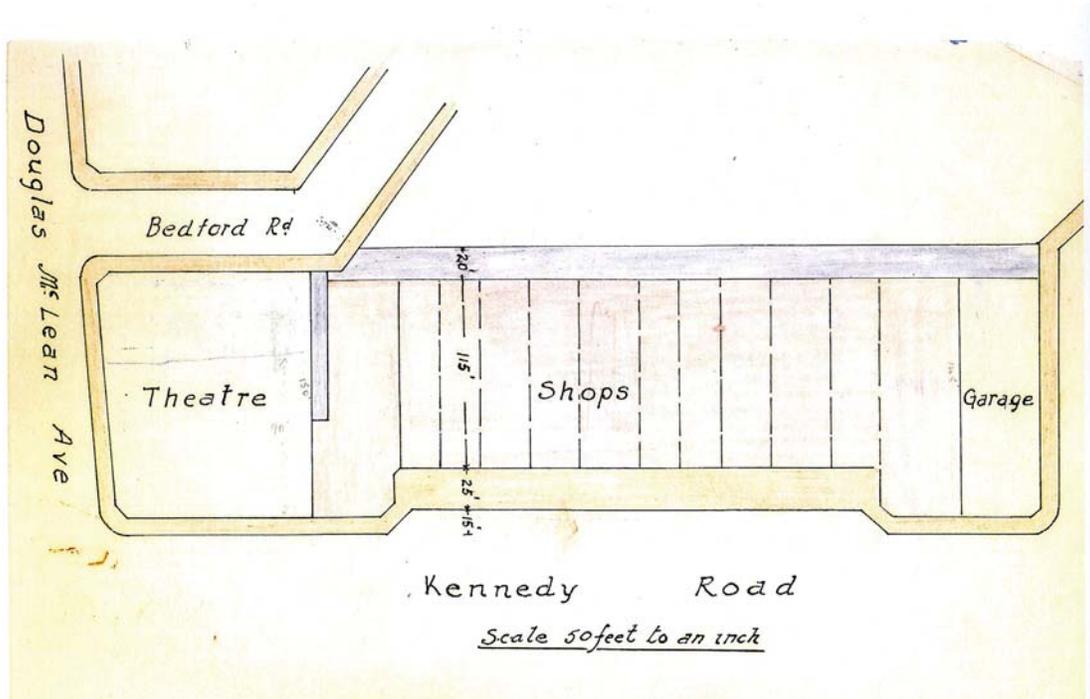


Figure 6.16: Layout Plan for Marewa Shopping Centre, Kennedy Road, about 1950, showing recessed parking area and suggested locations for a theatre and garage.

Source: File, Marewa Shopping Area, 1935-1951, Napier City Council, Box NCC 319, File 462A.



Figure 6.17: Marewa Shopping Centre, Kennedy Road.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2000.



Figure 6.18: Onekawa Shopping Centre, Maadi Road.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2009.



Figure 6.19: Maraenui Shopping Centre, Bledisloe Road.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2009.



Figure 6.20: Reserve strip and waterway separating Marewa from Onekawa.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2009.



Figure 6.21: Street names in Maraenui, featuring famous explorers.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2009.

Chapter 7

Sunny Napier: Place Promotion and Civic Improvement

Introduction

Sunshine and sea have been significant factors in the place promotion and civic improvement of Napier, as the values of a seaside location and favourable climate have become increasingly recognised as assets by residents, visitors, and those who have written about the town. Over the years, deliberate endeavours have been made to boost the town through improvement and promotional activities based, at least in part, on Napier's sunny climate and coastal location. Place promotion focused largely on providing publicity and advertising material about the town and its attractions, and holding events and festivals. Civic improvement included providing or enhancing amenities. Much of this activity was concerned with the design and building of attractions that, in the years that followed, would be enjoyed by residents and visitors. In the latter part of this chapter, these amenities and attractions are considered with regard to three separate parts of Napier – first, the Marine Parade in the central part of the town; second, the wider sea fringe area that extends to the north of the Marine Parade; and third, those inland parts of town that lie beyond the Marine Parade and the sea fringe. Much of this development took place after the 1931 earthquake and was partly associated with the reconstruction of the town. While the Napier Borough Council (later Napier City Council) was the prime mover in planning and implementing much of this activity, it was assisted by other local organisations, particularly the Napier Thirty Thousand Club, which advocated for new amenities and helped raise funds for them.

Civic improvement and place promotion are two closely interlinked concepts. Civic improvement has been an enduring feature of Napier's growth and development,

particularly from the time the Napier Borough Council was established in 1874. Place promotion is a little more recent in origin, and is associated with a developing interest in tourism from the start of the 20th century. Initially, Napier was regarded as a gateway town to other scenic areas of the North Island, particularly the thermal area in the central part of the island. But for much of the 20th century, Napier was both promoted and improved to make the most of the town's sunny climate and close proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Towards the end of that century, as the traditional appeal of sunshine and sea was starting to fade, Napier was able to reinvent itself as the "Art Deco City".

Place Promotion

Place promotion is about the endeavours of towns and cities to place themselves to the fore in their immediate regions, nations, and sometimes the world. In a New Zealand context, Harvey Perkins and David Thorns explain that it is the process in which landscapes, buildings and cultural practices are advertised, packaged and marketed, and "are potentially available for sale" to investors, tourists and residents.¹ Kotler, Haider and Rein provide an overview of place promotion in *Marketing Places*.² They illustrate how places market themselves, how they develop strategies for place improvement, and how they endeavour to attract tourists and residents. They observe that place improvement strategies cover urban design, infrastructure, basic services (police, fire, education), and attractions, all of which need to be addressed if a place wishes to successfully sell itself. Attractions are classified to include aspects of the environment, which may be natural, historical, cultural, recreational, marketplaces, buildings, monuments or events.³

Place promotion is linked to planning in two ways. First, both generally share the common goal of producing a better environment through the arrangement and control of activities in space. If a place is to successfully promote itself, appropriate spatial arrangements for built attractions and supporting infrastructure are desirable. Such arrangements typically might be expressed in the various town planning and strategic planning documents produced by the controlling local authority. Second, place promotion and planning are both future-oriented activities, based on a vision of how a place should appear or be

controlled at some future date. Both usually involve public policy processes, and employ similar means of decision-making involving steps of problem identification, options, choices, implementation and review. This often includes input from the public, either formally through a submission process or informally through ad hoc communications between decision makers and the public.

Ward, writing in 1994, comments that almost every town and city was trying to promote itself through slogans and other forms of advertising. His article provides an illustrated outline of place marketing, and discusses such matters as place marketing regimes, the nature of imagery, and the effectiveness of place marketing.⁴ He also comments that much of the history of place marketing was closely linked with planning history, particularly “in North America, where urban ‘boosterism’ has long been acknowledged as a powerful formative factor in the city planning movement.”⁵ In his later book, *Selling Places*, Ward remarks that place selling can be seen as a part of local public policy. He discusses how decisions made might benefit local residents, especially those in need, rather than being made purely to secure some economic or competitive advantage over other towns. He considers the experiences of many towns, and classifies them as selling different types of places - the frontier, the resort, the suburb, the industrial town and the post-industrial city. His chapter about seaside resorts reproduces advertising material and presents some promotional slogans, including “Atlantic City: The Playground of the World”, “Blackpool: Health & Pleasure, Glorious Sea”, “Bright Breezy Bracing Bridlington” and “Torquay: the English Riviera”. The slogan “Sunny Southport, England’s Seaside Garden City” combined the town planning concept of “Garden City” with a promotional label.⁶

In New Zealand, place promotion, write Perkins and Thorns, can be traced back to the endeavours of the New Zealand Company “to attract immigrants to the new colony from the late 1830s.”⁷ They add that by the start of the 20th century, place promotion had expanded to attract tourists as well as immigrants, with promotional booklets, photographs and postcards being used to entice international and domestic tourists to various parts of New Zealand.⁸ Part of this tourism was prompted by central government, which established the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts in 1901, the first government tourist department to be established anywhere in the world.⁹ Much more recently, the use

of promotional slogans and icons to promote towns and cities has become the norm. Examples include “Auckland, The Gateway to New Zealand”, “Absolutely Positively Wellington”, “Christchurch the Garden City: The City that Shines”, “Gisborne: The California of New Zealand” and “Timaru by the Sea: Seaside Holidays Sunny and Safe”.¹⁰ Individual New Zealand towns, including Napier, through their slogans and related advertising, have endeavoured to establish their own point of difference or distinctiveness.

From a more theoretical conceptualisation, Chris Cooper looks at coastal resorts in terms of both the life cycle of the resort and strategic planning, and outlines an alternative way of thinking about types of growth.¹¹ In similar vein, Brian Goodhall discusses the lure of the seaside, resort development, the resort cycle, and future directions for coastal resorts, remarking that diversification or fresh approaches may be necessary to sustain the prospects for coastal resorts.¹² Ian Gordon and Brian Goodhall present tourist area life cycles, resort cycles and development models. They introduce three theoretical models of resort cycles, based on products, buildings and the environment, and consider related policy and planning implications.¹³ These ideas are relevant to Napier, given that the town saw itself as possessing tourism possibilities from the start of the 20th century when it was only a relatively small town, and since that time has endeavoured to promote itself on the basis of both its natural environment and the provision of an increasing array of attractions. The promotion of Napier was also related to the economic growth and expansion of the town, and for the Borough Council it became a means of enhancing the town’s amenities.

The essence of the resort cycle is that each town or resort progresses through a sequence, beginning with an idea and then proceeding through stages of development, maturity, and decline. The problem for these places is to retain their powers of attraction. This might mean developing new products or reinventing themselves as something new or completely different to their origins. John Soane, in a brief history of maritime resorts, observes that traditional seaside resorts are likely to become a distant memory. Travellers have become more discerning and more mobile. Resorts, if they are to survive, will need to rely on a broader base of economic support.¹⁴ The decline of the seaside resort was a problem faced by Napier during the latter part of the 20th century, but this had not become apparent by 1968, the finishing date for the period covered by this thesis. Studies of Nice are of

particular interest, given that Napier, during the early decades of the 20th century, was promoted as “the Nice of the Pacific”. Helen Meller’s study of European cities includes a chapter on the seaside resorts of Blackpool and Nice. She remarks that, during the period between the two world wars, both cities did much to reinvent themselves.¹⁵ While the dominant objective was to attract tourists, attention was also given to local problems, which included economic depression and unemployment. The revival of the two cities was facilitated by municipal reform and the adoption of town planning ideas. Meller writes:

Both Blackpool and Nice embraced town planning on a scale that was quite remarkable for the time in established towns. With a weak or non-existent industrial base, public works created employment as well as made the towns more attractive. Both towns were also very conscious of the need to *appear* modern.¹⁶

Richard Butler, a significant figure in the field of tourism, has written in detail about what has become known as the tourist area life cycle. In this evolutionary model, which is based on the product life cycle, the development of a tourist area passes through six stages – exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, and decline. During *exploration*, tourist numbers are low and there are no specific facilities. As the number of tourists increases, the local community enters the *involvement* stage and starts to provide suitable facilities, supported by some advertising. During the *development* stage, the number of tourists increases, as does the participation of larger external organisations delivering the tourism product. The attractions provided may change, as may the type of tourist. When the *consolidation* stage is reached, the rate in increase of tourist numbers starts to fall, and there will be few additions to tourism facilities. In the *stagnation* stage, tourist numbers have peaked and, while the area will now be well known, it will no longer be fashionable. In the *decline* phase, the area starts to lose tourists and attractions, unless it is able to rejuvenate itself by establishing new attractions.¹⁷

In this study, which concludes in 1968, the resort cycle is considered only in terms of Napier’s evolution and development as a tourist resort until that time. At the start of the 21st century, Napier had to some extent lost its status as a seaside resort, but had been rediscovered for other reasons. Urban tourism is discussed in a number of New Zealand books, including two by Julie Warren and Nicholas Taylor who introduce typologies for urban tourism and heritage urban tourism. Under their typology for heritage tourism,

Napier, along with Vienna, Rome, Bay of Islands, and Oamaru, was classified at the start of the 21st century as belonging to the built or architectural heritage class.¹⁸ Michael Hall and Geoff Kearsley, in their study, classify Napier as an historic city or town, along with Akaroa, Lyttelton, Oamaru and Dunedin.¹⁹ These classifications reflect Napier's current claim to fame as "Art Deco City", and indicate that Napier has moved on from the days of promoting itself as a sunny seaside resort.

Civic Improvement

The idea of civic improvement has its beginnings in the later part of the 19th century. It was associated with a growing realisation that towns and cities could be made better places in which to live and work. Freestone comments that, at the start of the 20th century, the central business areas of Australian cities "were a chaos of uncoordinated building designs and heights, fire escape stairs, street awnings, advertising signs, and tram, telegraph and telephone wires."²⁰ New Zealand towns and cities similarly had developed environments that raised public concerns, creating a growing awareness and interest in civic improvement ideas, particularly in the main cities. With regard to Christchurch, Thelma Strongman writes that although the Canterbury Association had carefully planned the original city, by the start of the 20th century it was growing with little control, and the establishment of new industries and services was adversely affecting the environment. Some sites within the city had become derelict wastelands.²¹ In the early 20th century, these concerns became associated with City Beautiful ideas.

The extent of this interest and its influence in New Zealand, however, is a little difficult to determine. Miller, in her study of the City Beautiful in New Zealand, considers the contribution of beautifying societies as well as several larger scale projects.²² She notes that the first beautifying society to be founded in New Zealand was in Dunedin in 1887. In 1915, after several name changes, the society had become the Dunedin Amenities and Town Planning Association, its work at the time focused on planting and improving reserves in the city and its Town Belt. Like other beautifying societies, the Dunedin society became less active and faded from the scene. The most successful society, the

Christchurch Beautifying Society, was formed in 1897 and still functions today. Part of its early activities included lobbying the Christchurch City Council and other organisations on civic design issues and its concerns about billboard advertising. Members were also actively involved in a range of planting projects. The Society, for a time, ran a regular lecture programme and from 1924 published its own journal, appropriately named *City Beautiful*. In Wanganui, a smaller North Island provincial town, the Wanganui Scenery Preservation and Beautifying Society was formed in 1910, and became active in planting, a major project being Virginia Lake, which was transformed over the years through planting and the establishment of walkways, a playground and a winter garden. Miller also discusses three civic design projects, none of which came to fruition. In Christchurch, the Beautifying Society promoted a scheme to improve tramway facilities in Cathedral Square. A design competition was held in 1915, but the winning entry was rejected by the City Council. In New Plymouth, William Davidge produced an improvement plan for the town, much of it concerned with the seafront, which he thought could be developed as an attraction based on a marine parade that included parks, a pier and a promenade. The First World War and the need for the local Council to provide better basic services intervened. In Auckland in the mid-1920s, a competition was held by the City Council to produce plans for a civic centre project, comprising a number of public buildings located on a four-acre site. The winning plan was not adopted, and eventually the project lapsed. Miller comments that New Zealand “was too small economically and socially to support large scale City Beautiful projects.”²³ However, she accepts that there was a City Beautiful movement in New Zealand, but on a much reduced scale. In particular, its modest but achievable goal was based on tree planting, undertaken by citizens with the object of producing a better living environment.²⁴

In this chapter, Miller’s views are considered in the context of Napier, partly from the perspective of how City Beautiful ideals might be promoted by community organisations that embrace such ideals, but as part of a broader range of objectives. With the destruction of the central business area of Napier after the 1931 earthquake, conditions were conducive in the town for civic improvement works on a major scale, possibly with input from City Beautiful ideas. In Chapter 5, it has already been noted that an objective of rebuilding in

the central area was to produce a clean and tidy environment, with the myriad of poles for power, communications and verandah supports being removed in their entirety.

Sunshine and Sea

Napier's physical attributes include a sunny climate and seaside location. The site for the town was chosen because of its suitability as a port on the eastern side of the North Island. Napier's prospects as a seaside resort had not been contemplated when the town was established in the 1850s, but this changed during the latter part of the 19th century. Indeed, land needed to be acquired from private owners to construct the Marine Parade along the foreshore. This pattern of development reflected the initial colonial imperative that focused on the establishment of a serviceable town with roads and allotments set aside for building houses and businesses, rather than looking to the future through planning a streetscape that had more sympathy with the landscape and its environmental setting. In 1908, *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* acknowledged that "Napier's crowning beauty is the Marine Parade, and the Bay, which resembles somewhat that of Naples."²⁵ The adjoining beach itself was not a splendid expanse of sand, but was and still is a gentle shingle slope. Nonetheless, on a fine sunny day, when sky, sea, surf and shingle glisten in bright sunlight, the vista is particularly attractive. Similarly, the beaches of Brighton and Nice, towns sometimes compared with Napier, comprise small stones or pebbles rather than sand, but this does not appear to have detracted from their success as resort towns. While Napier's principal beach is one of shingle, the beach at Westshore, a suburb to the north of the town, developed into an expansive sandy beach after the earthquake.

Over time, Napier has become particularly proud of its sunny climate. From 1935 to 1960, Napier experienced an average of 2,280 hours of bright sunshine each year, and was ranked as the fourth sunniest place in New Zealand.²⁶ The town's excellent climate was recognised as early as 1889:

Napier is the hottest place in New Zealand; but the climate is so dry and the sea breezes so pleasant that the heat is not felt as an inconvenience. On the contrary,

Napier is a notable health resort, especially for consumptive patients, many of whom have experienced wonderful cures there.²⁷

The promoters of other New Zealand towns and cities have boosted their towns because of proximity to sea or favourable climate. Timaru, on the east coast of the South Island, developed as a seaside resort in the early 20th century because a sandy beach was created at Caroline Bay as an accidental product of building a breakwater harbour. For some time, the beach was promoted as sandy, sunny and safe, with the destination becoming popular for train excursions from other parts of the South Island in the 1920s. In more recent times, the popularity of Caroline Bay has waned. This is partly in response to changing tourism preferences, with overseas and adventure tourism becoming more popular, and partly because the continued build up of sand has resulted in the seaside facilities now being a kilometre or more from the water's edge.²⁸ Nelson, located on Tasman Bay on the top of the South Island, has over the years been one of the sunniest places in New Zealand. Not surprisingly, the town has been promoted as "Sunny Nelson" to attract visitors, residents and businesses, and has been growing faster than most other South Island centres. In the 1960s the beach at Tahuna was the leading attraction. The holiday camp by the sandy beach became the largest in New Zealand, and "there were few beaches in New Zealand as safe and warm and as close to a reasonable-sized city as Tahuna."²⁹

Sunshine and sea feature on many images of Napier. Their proximity and relevance to Napier are illustrated in Figure 7.1, an extract from the *Daily Telegraph* in 1928. The printed image, an art deco sunburst, is not unlike the Sound Shell that was constructed on the Marine Parade a few years later (see Figures 7.3 and 7.9) in that the curved structure of the building looks out over grassed and paved areas in front, which is sometimes populated with people assembled to witness or participate in community events or activities. Just as the sun is the centre of the solar system, the Sound Shell has become the ceremonial centre of Napier, at the point where land and sea meet.

Promoting Napier

The promotion of Napier has been strongly influenced by themes associated with sunshine and sea. In the 20th century, the town has tried to establish and maintain itself as a leading New Zealand seaside resort. This is illustrated by what was written about Napier in promotional material and other publications, and also by the activities and initiatives of both the Council and the community.

Napier's attractions and appeal were increasingly highlighted from the early 20th century. In 1903, the *Hawke's Bay Herald* published several editorials on tourism and resorts, and reminded readers that Napier "was the prettiest town in the colonies, with a climate that will compare with the finest in the world." The town, the newspaper declared, was ideal for fishing, boating and sunbathing, and was also located near to other tourist attractions.³⁰ Similar sentiments of praise were expressed in a feature article originally published in the *Dunedin Star* in 1905, entitled "The Riviera of New Zealand". The author was impressed with both climate and town, especially the Marine Parade.³¹ In the 1920s and early 1930s, the promotional slogan for Napier was "the Nice of the Pacific", and this featured as a caption to some published photographs of the town and other publicity material.³²

From time to time, it was suggested that the Council should do more to foster tourism and publicity. For example, in 1903, the Council decided to set up a committee with the purpose of reporting on how Napier could be promoted as a health and holiday resort. At the time, Napier was seen not just as a tourist destination in its own right, but also as a stopping-off place for travellers visiting other nearby tourist destinations, notably Lakes Taupo and Waikaremoana and the thermal area centred on Rotorua. More particularly, there was a concern that Napier was being ignored by the Tourist Department, which had refused to establish an agency office in Napier.³³ Nearly a year later the Council and Tourist Department were still at loggerheads, the Council complaining that a report prepared by the Department was unfair because it did not mention the Napier-Wairoa road as providing a means of access to Lake Waikaremoana.³⁴

In 1927, the Council was urged to initiate an organised publicity campaign for both Napier and its hinterland, Hawke's Bay.³⁵ Early in 1929, Hawke's Bay local authorities and the Chambers of Commerce for Napier and Hastings agreed to prepare a promotional pamphlet highlighting Hawke's Bay attractions. The pamphlet was to be distributed both in New Zealand and overseas, with 20,000 copies to be printed. It was also agreed to secure framed illustrations of Hawke's Bay scenes for display in shipping and tourist offices.³⁶ After the Second World War, the Napier Chamber of Commerce generated greater interest in tourism and the advancement of Napier and, after some discussions with the Borough Council, a publicity office was finally established within the Council. An appointment for the initially combined position of Public Relations Officer and Assistant Town Clerk was made in December 1948, with the appointee to assume the position from February 1949.³⁷ Since then, the Council has played an increasing role in encouraging tourism. The focus at first, however, was primarily on local and domestic tourism, rather than attracting international visitors.

Promotional brochures and pamphlets have all highlighted sunshine and sea. Four pamphlets present Napier at different times in the town's development, each reflecting what the publicists thought important at the time. The cover of the 1930 brochure, *Napier New Zealand: Sunshine and Sea Breezes*, (Figure 7.2) shows the Marine Parade as it was just before the earthquake.³⁸ The dominant feature is the line of Norfolk Pine trees. On the seaward side of the Pines appears the seawall, built to protect the town from the sea, and the paddling pool, the prettiest of the pre-earthquake Marine Parade features. On the other side is the Parade itself, a private hospital that was wrecked in the earthquake, and the granite obelisk Flood Monument in the immediate foreground, built to commemorate the heroism of ten people who drowned in the 1897 floods at Clive attempting to rescue others trapped in the flood waters.³⁹ Apart from the buildings, these features survive in 2011. This eight-page brochure is probably not what was envisaged at the 1929 meeting mentioned in the previous paragraph. The brochure states that it is issued by Napier Borough Council and compiled by the Thirty Thousand Club. While its content includes text and photographs of Hawke's Bay generally as well as Napier, Hastings does not feature in any of the pictures and only briefly in the text. The cover of the 1938 pamphlet, *Napier: Famed Seaside City of New Zealand*, (Figure 7.3) features the recently constructed

Sound Shell hosting a civic event. The pamphlet content asserts that Napier, because of its “salubrious climate” and sunshine, “has long been regarded as the premier seaside resort of the North Island of New Zealand.”⁴⁰ The cover of the 1944 pamphlet, *See Napier and Live!* (Figure 7.4) has an Italianate appearance, suggested by the pillars of the Veronica Sunbay and a threatening pink-tinged cloud billowing out of Napier Hill in a manner that might be mistaken for an erupting Mt Vesuvius.⁴¹ The title appears to be a play on the statement “see Naples and die”, meaning that before one dies, they “must experience the beauty and magnificence of Naples.”⁴² In the centre is a realistic image of the Tom Parker Fountain, and in the background are beach tents (not typical of New Zealand) and people on the beach. The 1955 pamphlet, *Sunny Napier: New Zealand’s Ocean Play Ground*, (Figure 7.5) features more photographs and less text than the other pamphlets, but like all the others, the Marine Parade features on the cover, and the content generally is an outline of Napier’s leading attractions, particularly those sited on the Marine Parade. The centre-point of the Marine Parade photograph in the 1955 pamphlet is the Sound Shell and the T&G Building, although the young woman shown on the cover appears to be sitting on a flat sandy beach, rather than the shingle Marine Parade beach.⁴³ All four pamphlets included illustrations. The covers of each pamphlet featured elements of the built environment as key features, many of the buildings and other structures shown being public rather than private, and which were constructed as part of a series of civic improvement projects undertaken on the Marine Parade since the 1880s.

Although a public relations office was not established within the Napier Borough Council until 1949, there had been some considerable interest and coordinated activity in promoting Napier over the previous fifty years. Much of this integrated activity was through the efforts of the Napier Chamber of Commerce and the Napier Thirty Thousand Club, as discussed within the context of civic improvement immediately below. Both organisations liaised with the Council and local newspapers on a regular basis, all these parties seemingly agreed on the need to promote Napier, and in a manner that highlighted the town’s favourable climate and proximity to the sea.

Improving Napier

Closely related to place promotion is civic improvement. An improved and apparently prosperous and progressive town was an easier town to promote, and often improvement and promotion coalesced with similar or identical outcomes. Pivotal to civic improvement was the Napier Borough Council itself, through its ability to plan and fund civic improvement proposals. In this regard, three Mayors made notable contributions.

In the last two decades of the 19th century, the leading local personality was George Henry Swan, Mayor from 1885 to 1901. He was a strong advocate for the future development of Napier, and felt that the town had a great future as a health and pleasure resort because of its seaside location and climate. He promoted Marine Parade improvements, supported the building of the Breakwater Harbour, and helped establish the Napier Beautifying Association.⁴⁴ When his death was announced in 1913, the *Evening Post* commented that he “was associated with every forward movement for the advancement of Napier, and it was through his initiative that the Marine Parade was constructed and Clive Square beautified.”⁴⁵

During the early decades of the 20th century, John Vigor Brown was the leading local personality and had considerable influence on the development of Napier. He was first elected to both the Napier Borough Council and Napier Harbour Board in 1898. Mayor of Napier for 17 years, he served in this role over three separate periods from 1907 to 1933. As Mayor, he promoted many public works and amenities, including the combined electricity/tramway system, bathing facilities on the Marine Parade and the Municipal Theatre. He was Harbour Board member or chairman for 23 years, during which time he strongly supported the Breakwater Harbour. The earthquake did not dampen his positive spirit. A little after the earthquake, he declared: “The Napier of the future will be far finer than that of the past.”⁴⁶

After the earthquake, Sir Peter Tait made major contributions to the planning and development of Napier. Mayor from 1956 to 1974, he was involved in or promoted many projects, including various Marine Parade attractions, and the improvement of Napier’s

water supply and sewerage system. He was the principal mover for the establishment of Marineland, a marine park that was to become home to dolphins, seals and sea lions and was Napier's leading attraction for many years. He advocated for the merger of Taradale Borough with Napier City Council, and the moving of the city's sewer outfall from Perfume Point at Ahuriri to Awatoto some distance away. He also helped oversee Napier's rapid growth during his mayoralty.⁴⁷

In addition to the contribution of the Council and its leading personalities, a number of community organisations achieved much in their endeavours to either improve or promote Napier. These are considered in order of their respective formation dates. First, the Napier Chamber of Commerce was established in 1882⁴⁸ and remained active through to the 1960s and beyond. The focus of Chamber activities was largely on the economic planning and development of Napier and its district, rather than on providing civic amenities or entertainment and competitions for the general population. It, for example, advocated strongly for port development and various railway matters, including the building of the East Coast Railway north of Napier to Gisborne.⁴⁹ The Chamber also encouraged the establishment of new industry in Napier.⁵⁰ From time to time, the Chamber was also an advocate of tourism, helping with the production of publicity material and negotiating strongly for the formation of a public relations office. In 1948, the Chamber produced a 16-page booklet entitled *Napier: The Sunny City by the Sea*.⁵¹ The booklet outlined the town's attractions, commenting that Napier, having been rebuilt after the 1931 earthquake, "expresses a pleasing freshness unique in New Zealand towns to those seeking a restful holiday haven."⁵² The increasing interest of the Chamber in tourism was natural, given that tourism was a business in Hawke's Bay, and increased tourism would also lead to economic growth for other businesses. In December 1968, the Chamber had become concerned about the lack of accommodation for tourists, particularly motels, and set up a sub-committee to consider the issue.⁵³ The Chamber, still active in 2011, is now known as the Hawke's Bay Chamber of Commerce.

Second, the Napier and Suburbs Beautifying and Improving Association was established in 1900, but functioned only for a short time. At a public meeting convened to consider the formation the Association, the Mayor (G. H. Swan) explained that he had called the

meeting with a view to forming an association similar to those established in other cities, having as their principal object the beautification of “the town to a greater extent than at present.” He believed that there were hundreds of places in Napier that could be made more attractive, but the Borough Council itself did not have the resources to carry out all this work itself.⁵⁴ At a later meeting, those present agreed to form the Association, appoint a committee, and adopt rules, which were largely based on those of the Christchurch Beautifying Association. The Mayor became President of the Association, as provided for in terms of the constitution, with three of the 22 committee members also being Borough Councillors at the time.⁵⁵ Early activities included a fund-raising concert held in collaboration with the Hawke's Bay Cricket Association,⁵⁶ and for a while the Beautifying Association corresponded regularly with the Napier Borough Council, making numerous suggestions and comments about planting and other streetscape improvements. For example, in 1901 the Association wrote to the Council asking it to fence off part of a reserve on Napier Hill, after which the Association would plant the reserve with trees. At the same time, the Association requested the Council to write to the local member of the House of Representatives about the desirability of improving the appearance of railway and other government reserves.⁵⁷ The Association also became concerned about billboards, writing to the Harbour Board about advertisements on Board property, and to the Borough Council urging the Council to adopt a bylaw prohibiting unsightly advertisements.⁵⁸ After a period of initial enthusiasm, the Association faded from the scene, its activities rarely reported in Napier newspapers after 1904. While it does not appear to have left any lasting evidence of its contribution, the Association did establish a community awareness that aspects of the townscape should be improved or beautified. What might have contributed to the early demise of the Association was the loss of its founding President in late 1901, with the Mayor leaving office and moving to the Taranaki town of Hawera to pursue a new business venture.⁵⁹

Third, and particularly significant, was the Napier Thirty Thousand Club, established in 1912 to promote Napier to residents and visitors. For the next sixty years, the club raised funds for community projects and initiated many civic improvements.⁶⁰ Members included business people and other civic-minded citizens. The Club's constitution listed 12 specific aims and objects, which collectively were to further the “advancement and

expansion” of Napier and the development of Hawke's Bay. The specific objectives expressed a mix of progress and tourism aspirations. The progress objectives focused on commercial and industrial development, including improved transportation, and mirrored the interests of the Chamber of Commerce. The tourism objectives included attracting visitors to “Sunny Napier”, arranging tours around Hawke's Bay, and showing “the citizens of the Dominion and the outside world that Napier – Bright, Breezy, Beautiful – is an ideal spot to live in, excellent in its health records, municipal enterprise, scholastic organisations, and for its natural beauty of situation, which has gained for it the reputation of being the ‘Nice of the South’.”⁶¹ The Club’s principal annual activity became the Mardi Gras festival, but it also assisted in organising Napier’s Shopping Week.

The Thirty Thousand Club achieved much for Napier in promoting the town, planning and fund-raising for civic projects, and organising events. “Sunny Napier” became the Club-inspired slogan for Napier from the time the Club was formed, and continued to feature on publicity material throughout the years of the Club’s existence. Some of the New Zealand firsts arising from Club activities, as mentioned by the Club in publicity material, included the first paddling pool, the first sound shell, the first outdoor skating area, the first statue recording a Māori legend, and the first queen carnival, held as part of the Mardi Gras festival in 1913.⁶² The Club, in some respects, took over some of the work of the Napier Beautifying Association, becoming involved in tree planting in its early years, and pursuing other beautification activities during its lifetime.⁶³ Indeed, in late 1912 shortly after the Club was established, it was decided that an approach be made to the Beautifying Association to ascertain whether the Association would be happy to act as a sub-committee of the Thirty Thousand Club.⁶⁴ The links to beautification were further illustrated when, again in late 1912, the Club corresponded with the Wanganui Beautifying Association, which provided extensive information about the Association’s funding and beautifying work carried out.⁶⁵ The Chairman of the Thirty Thousand Club “referred to the Wanganui efforts as somewhat of an eye-opener. The letter ought to shame the Napier residents into enthusiastic action.”⁶⁶ At the time, the Thirty Thousand Club was intending to carry out similar work in Napier. Local nurserymen had offered trees, shrubs and seeds, and a garden fete was to be organised to raise funds.⁶⁷ The garden fete held shortly afterwards raised over £300, which was to be applied to advertising the town and town

improvement.⁶⁸ Some of the Club's contributions to Napier over the years are elaborated on later in this chapter. The Club, active in 1968, was wound up in 1975, with surplus funds being donated to local organisations at that time.⁶⁹

Improving the town was also closely associated with the developing knowledge about town planning at the time. Town planning became an agenda topic for the Napier Borough Council towards the end of World War I. In May 1917, the Council held a special meeting to consider town planning. A.W. Buxton, a landscape gardener from Christchurch, addressed the meeting about plans he had agreed to submit for improving Napier, the cost of which would be met by J.A. Macfarlane, a Napier resident who had agreed to sponsor them.⁷⁰ The focus of the proposed plans was likely to be based on improvements to the built environment produced by landscape gardening. Some concern was expressed at the time that the plans might be in code and therefore incomprehensible to any contractor other than Buxton's own firm. This could have been a problem if the Council decided to have the work specified in the plan carried out by someone else.⁷¹ One irate citizen complained to the *Daily Telegraph*, stating that the Council should avoid non-essential expenditure.⁷² This remark indicated that there was not complete public support for Council projects with a civic improvement flavour and that work of this nature was not seen as core Council business. Nothing specific resulted from Buxton's proposals for Napier. There are no further newspaper reports about his plans for Napier, nor is there any reference to them in a detailed biography covering Buxton's life and work as a landscape gardener. While the biography mentions some projects in the Hawke's Bay area, Napier Borough Council is not mentioned as a client for whom plans were prepared or work undertaken.⁷³ While the outcome of this dalliance with civic improvement was not significant, it was the first occasion that the Borough Council specifically considered and discussed the preparation of a coherent plan for improvements to the town environment.

Town planning was further considered by the Borough Council in relation to the New Zealand Town-Planning Conference and Exhibition, held in Wellington in May 1919. Delegates from the Napier area included representatives of the Napier Borough Council (the Borough Engineer and a Councillor), the Thirty Thousand Club, and the Garden City Project. The Club and Project were both classified at the Conference as Civic and Progress

Leagues.⁷⁴ That there was a Garden City group linked to Napier confirms that there was some knowledge and interest about Garden City ideas in Napier at the time, but the group left no accessible records. The following month, E.A. Williams, Borough Engineer, presented a report to the Council with suggestions for beautification projects associated with landscaping and the planting of trees. Norfolk Island Pines should be planted wherever possible, he said, because they impressed visitors to the town. A permanent war memorial should be provided, and an ornamental Japanese lake and fountain feature should be established at McLean Park, which was also a source of the town's artesian water supply. At a later date, the lake could be modified to a pond for raising trout. A modern hotel should be erected with accommodation for women and children, to be built on the site of a former gaol. Planning in the surrounding communities of Taradale, Greenmeadows, Petane and Eskdale could also follow garden suburb lines, ensuring that "all roads and subdivisions may be incorporated in the Greater Napier ideal."⁷⁵ The Borough Engineer's report also suggested that the Council should initiate the formation of a Town-Planning Association, following the example of some other New Zealand cities.⁷⁶ Had the Council initiated the formation of such an association, it would have been an unusual step in terms of what had happened elsewhere in the country, where the origins of such associations had their beginnings outside formal local authority structures. However, once established, these associations often collaborated with councils in local improvement projects. While many of the Borough Engineer's suggestions were never implemented, a conference of local authorities and the Thirty Thousand Club was held in June 1920 with the objective of improving the approaches to Napier, through tree planting and road improvements.⁷⁷ Several Napier South residents were unhappy with this suggestion and, in letters to the *Daily Telegraph*, expressed their view that priority should be given to providing better footpaths, and kerb and channelling in the new suburb.⁷⁸ Once again, this protest indicated that support for Council participation in civic improvement and beautification projects was not universal.

In 1926, the same year as the Town-planning Act 1926 was passed, members of the Borough Council supported the preparation of a Town Plan for Napier, but no scheme was prepared under that legislation before the earthquake of 1931.⁷⁹ The Borough Engineer, C.F. Clapcott, in 1926, addressed a luncheon of the Rotary Club at Napier during which he

outlined the objectives of town planning, commenting that a scheme need not necessarily be implemented at once but might be planned for the next 25 or 50 years. He said: “Town-planning should aim at providing future citizens with a healthy, well-designed, well-laid-out town, and the people with cheap homes, with modern conveniences.”⁸⁰ Until the passing of the legislation, the perception of town planning was that it was to some extent about civic improvements that could be carried out on an ad hoc basis, rather than in accordance with a legally required plan that stipulated a comprehensive package of town improvements. The plans proposed by A.W. Buxton in 1917 for improving Napier would have been based on landscape gardening ideas and, predating the Town-planning Act 1926, would not have entailed the preparation of a formal town planning scheme as was to be required by the Act. In some ways, the plans might have been an extension of improvement ideas previously suggested by the Napier Beautifying Association and later the Thirty Thousand Club, but presumably on a more comprehensive and coordinated scale.

In the 1920s and early 1930s, there was some interest in the City Beautiful. During these years, the *Daily Telegraph* published a number of items about beautification and civic improvements, in which the newspaper reports at the time were headed “The City Beautiful” or “Napier Beautiful” and outlined plans for improvements or work that had been carried out. Examples of these included tree planting, street improvements and new buildings. The Thirty Thousand Club advocated for and funded the planting of more Norfolk Pine trees along the Napier foreshore.⁸¹ The Thirty Thousand Club and local residents collaborated on plans for beautifying Kennedy Road, in which limestone rock borders in cement were to be placed alongside the roadway and running parallel with the kerb, enclosing areas 18 feet wide which could be levelled and sown in grass.⁸² Other street improvements included plans for the widening of Emerson Street and a bylaw requiring a definite height and width for verandahs in the business area, as well as a fixed cornice. The *Daily Telegraph* commented in August 1928 that these requirements would improve the beauty of the town, the appearance of which, in the past, had “to a certain extent, been rather spoilt by the wide diversity in the respective heights of adjoining buildings.”⁸³ New buildings referred to in a newspaper report titled “The City Beautiful” included the Nurses Home, the Public Trust Office, the Technical College, the Women’s

Rest, Fire Station and St John's Cathedral. The *Daily Telegraph* remarked: "Well and truly does Napier go a long way to filling the idealist's bill – the City Beautiful."⁸⁴ Some of these buildings were damaged or destroyed in the 1931 earthquake, which provided an opportunity for rebuilding the business area of Napier, adopting ideas for improvements that had already been recognised during the 1920s, albeit on a modest scale.

In the context of civic improvements, these can be considered in relation to three separate parts of Napier – first, the Marine Parade in the central part of the town; second, the wider sea fringe areas that extends to the north of the Marine Parade; and third, those inland parts of town that lie beyond the Marine Parade and the sea fringe. While improvements to the Marine Parade and, to a lesser extent, the sea fringe, provided principal attractions, the overall infrastructure needed to provide a range of other amenities and facilities to support tourists and residents.

Marine Parade

From the 1880s to the 1960s, the Marine Parade was the defining feature of Napier. The coastal roadway of several miles, adorned by an increasing array of amenities set against the backdrop of the Pacific Ocean, provided a focus for residents and visitors. People came to the Parade to be entertained, to bathe in the sea or the sunshine, or to admire the view.

In 1876, the Municipal Engineer had suggested that an esplanade be levelled in front of the Court House, with a few donated seats, "so as to make it fit for a promenade for the townspeople of Napier."⁸⁵ This area was later developed as the Marine Parade. It was G.H. Swan, Mayor from 1885 to 1901, who encouraged early Parade development. He had visited seaside promenades in England. His vision for Napier included planting Norfolk Pines along the Parade and providing footpaths, gardens and a band rotunda. A sea wall was also built to prevent the town from flooding in high seas. Most of these improvements were carried out in the 1880s and 1890s.⁸⁶ Early 20th century improvements included the Municipal Baths, opened in 1909, and a paddling pool for

children, completed in 1917 (Figure 7.6). In the 1920s, the Thirty Thousand Club established a children's playground and had developed plans for expanding the esplanade area by reclamation. However, the earthquake of 1931 intervened.⁸⁷

The earthquake facilitated major development of the Marine Parade in the 1930s. The land rose by over six feet and the beach area became broader. Rubble and spoil from the earthquake was used to develop a flat area alongside the Marine Parade for gardens, tennis courts and other works (Figure 7.7). An open-air auditorium was constructed, and was complemented with the building of the Veronica Sun Bay and the Sound Shell. The Sun Bay, named after *H.M.S. Veronica* which was in Napier at the time of the 1931 earthquake, (Figure 7.8) was a pergola structure where people could sit and watch the ocean, protected from the prevailing wind by glass windows. The Sound Shell (Figure 7.9) was a stage within a semi-circular dome, intended for concerts and other civic activities. At the time, there was much public debate about whether the building would "decrease visibility of the open sweep of the bay." Consequently, Borough Council permission was given on the basis that the Sound Shell would be moved to a new site if the existing site was found to be unsuitable.⁸⁸ These improvements were officially opened just before Christmas in 1934. The ceremony was attended by a large crowd and, after the speeches, featured fireworks, the playing of "The New Napier March" by a massed band, and dancing on the new outdoor auditorium.⁸⁹ The Sound Shell was an immediate success, and the Council soon confirmed that the "temporary" structure could remain where originally built. In the later 1930s, the Sound Shell area was complemented with the construction of colonnades and memorial arches. The western colonnade included three arches, the principal central arch named the New Napier Arch, in recognition of the courage displayed by Napier at the time of the earthquake. The other two arches were named in the honour of Harold Latham and Robert C. Wright, members of the Thirty Thousand Club who had seen the possibility of making the Marine Parade an outstanding seaside resort.⁹⁰

Other nearby features provided in the 1930s included a sundial and colour fountain both funded by private donors. The sundial, completed in 1933, was designed by Napier architect J.A. Louis Hay and featured a plinth with arrows that indicated distances to important British Empire cities.⁹¹ The Tom Parker Fountain (Figure 7.4) was completed in

1936 and at the time was the largest electric fountain in New Zealand. It was named after its donor who had been impressed by a similar fountain seen at Bournemouth in Britain.⁹² Tom Parker was also an active member of the Thirty Thousand Club.⁹³

Marine Parade developments in the 1930s continued the civic improvement theme, with an emphasis on gardens, monuments and public spaces. The Borough Council, the Thirty Thousand Club and private individuals provided both ideas and funding for these works. There was much public discussion and debate about Parade proposals at the time. During the two years immediately following the earthquake, the Napier Commissioners and Reconstruction Committee were also involved. *The Daily Telegraph* also contributed through publishing news, editorials and letters about Parade proposals. In August 1931, the *Daily Telegraph* reminded readers in an editorial that the Marine Parade was Napier's outstanding feature, and urged further development and beautification of the Parade to proceed. The newspaper also referred to similar developments at Caroline Bay in Timaru as an example of what could be accomplished.⁹⁴

Proposals that did not proceed included Louis Hay's design for an entertainment centre, which would have straddled the Marine Parade roadway, and plans for a pier, which possibly could be used for fishing and pleasure boats.⁹⁵ Finance was not available to fund projects of this magnitude. Another proposal was to move the existing South African War Memorial statue to a new site on the Marine Parade, overlooking the sea and surrounded by colonnade structures. This would have continued the classical theme for Marine Parade improvements, but it did not proceed. The elevation drawing prepared for the proposed structures is shown in Figure 7.10. A relocation of the statue damaged in the 1931 earthquake was necessary, as its former site, at the intersection of the Marine Parade and Emerson Street adjacent to the Masonic Hotel, was a traffic hazard. The Council eventually opted for a site nearby, alongside the Parade rather than in the middle of the roadway. The reinstated statue involved a remodelled base but without the surrounding colonnade structures. This work was completed in early 1947.⁹⁶

There was little development of the Marine Parade in the 1940s because of war, but the 1950s brought major additions. These included the Pania of the Reef statue in 1954, a

floral clock and outdoor skating rink the following year, and the Napier War Memorial and an aquarium in 1957.⁹⁷ The floral clock was donated by Mr and Mrs A.B. Hurst and featured the description “Sunny Napier” in its earlier years. Hurst was also a Patron of the Thirty Thousand Club.⁹⁸ The Pania statue has become the leading iconic feature of Napier. The statue features a young Māori woman who, according to Māori legend, was lured into the ocean by sea people. The statue was donated by the Thirty Thousand Club, which commented shortly before the statue was unveiled that some day “Pania will in effect be a symbol of Napier – pictures of her statue will bring Napier and its bay to mind, just as Copenhagen has its mermaid and London its Eros in Piccadilly Circus.”⁹⁹ In 1958, a boating lake was established with boats provided by the Thirty Thousand Club.¹⁰⁰ In 1965, Marineland was opened on the Marine Parade. For some years, it was Napier’s principal attraction, with large crowds assembling to watch the performing dolphins. Average annual attendance figures for Marineland in its early years were about 200,000.¹⁰¹

There were advantages in having many attractions close together on the Parade, but, by the 1960s, projects in other parts of the city were proceeding, reflecting the rapid growth and expansion of Napier at the time. The Marine Parade itself was also getting a little cluttered with the increasing number of attractions and other amenities. Collectively, these did not sit comfortably together as an example of good design. The original attraction of the 1880s, the view of “the sweep of the Bay”, had become greatly obscured by the vegetation and structures that had developed between the Marine Parade roadway and the sea. In recent times, this limitation has been partly addressed with the construction of a pathway next to the water’s edge. When completed, the pathway will include not just the Marine Parade, but most of Napier’s waterfront. But without a doubt, the centre of the Marine Parade remains the Sound Shell, Colonnade and Veronica Sun Bay, little changed in appearance from the 1930s when constructed after the earthquake.

The Marine Parade illustrates the application of the tourist area life cycle, having passed through the earlier stages of Butler’s model and reached consolidation with the opening of Marineland in 1965. The progress of the Marine Parade since has followed stagnation and decline, but with some efforts at rejuvenation. Late in 2010, the Napier City Council announced that Marineland, once the flagship of the Parade, was to be permanently closed,

having been unable to replace performing dolphins that some decades earlier had thrilled residents and visitors alike.¹⁰²

The development of the Marine Parade is also of interest because it demonstrates elements of the City Beautiful. This applies particularly to the core features constructed during the 1930s, being the Veronica Sun Bay, Sound Shell, Colonnade, Tom Parker Fountain and the adjacent gardens. These structures have a classical elegance, typified by the 1944 pamphlet inviting people to see Napier and live, and the later decision to rebuild the Sun Bay rather than demolish it. The planning and construction of these features was also the result of a collaborative partnership between the Borough Council and the Thirty Thousand Club, in the pursuit of following a largely undocumented plan for civic improvements on the Parade. From the 1880s, plans for Marine Parade improvements were produced from time to time, but the end result was that planning was generally incremental rather than comprehensive, in that the various features were planned, approved and constructed one by one rather than as part of a comprehensive scheme. However, there was always the overall vision that the Marine Parade was to be a public place for residents and visitors to enjoy, as identified by G.H. Swan in the 1880s, and ever since, Parade developments have generally followed that ethos.

The Sea Fringe

The sea fringe loosely describes all parts of Napier that adjoin the sea. Moving from north to south, these include the seaside suburbs of Westshore and Ahuriri, then the Breakwater Harbour area and the Marine Parade. Each of these parts has had a different role in the place promotion and civic development of Napier.

Westshore, a seaside residential community located several miles north of central Napier, was partly developed as a seaside resort from the 1930s. The earthquake helped transform the beach from a shingle bank to an inviting, gently sloping sandy area that was ideal for safe bathing and also led to many seaside houses being built in the area.¹⁰³ The *Daily Telegraph* reported that, on one February Sunday in 1935, “1100 cars drew up to the beach

and discharged their loads of happy holiday makers by the side of the wide expanse of sand.”¹⁰⁴ At that time, Westshore was not part of Napier Borough, although its inclusion in the Borough had been suggested from time to time. The same year, A.B. Hurst, Chairman of the Borough Council Town Planning Committee, remarked that Westshore had much to offer:

The preparation of a comprehensive plan would ensure the development of the resort upon the best lines and the provision of required facilities and services with a minimum of waste. Any small expenditure in this direction would be more than justified by the ultimate results.¹⁰⁵

In the meantime, Westshore beach was partly the responsibility of the Hawke's Bay County Council and the Westshore Domain Board, along with support from the newly-formed Westshore Beach and Improvement Society.¹⁰⁶ Beach improvements included tree planting, forming parking areas, and providing changing facilities and conveniences.¹⁰⁷ In 1942, Westshore was finally included in Napier Borough. The expectation was that the Borough Council would provide a higher standard of services and would help develop the area. At the time, C.O. Morse, Mayor of Napier, remarked “that Westshore has wonderful possibilities in regard to becoming one of the best seaside resorts in the Dominion.”¹⁰⁸ Developments included some modest improvements to the domain that adjoined the foreshore. In the 1950s, the Domain Board and the Napier Thirty Thousand Club collaborated in a tree-planting programme. The Westshore Development Association was also active at this time, and assisted in publicising the resort.¹⁰⁹ The Association also wrote to the Council requesting that Westshore become part of a town planning scheme, as had been applied to Marewa and Onekawa.¹¹⁰ Although the beach attracted large crowds on hot summer days and compensated for the lack of a safe and sandy swimming beach on the Marine Parade, Westshore never developed into a true resort. Apart from improved domain and surf life-saving facilities, a café and a few small shops nearby, no major attractions or other amenities were provided, although a model railway was installed at the Domain and began operating in December 1960. The Westshore Development Association initiated this project, with the expectation that the proceeds from train rides could be used to fund other beach improvements.¹¹¹

Fifty years later, the beach had lost much of its former appeal. In the mid-1960s, the Westshore Development Association complained to the City Council about the pollution from the nearby sewer outfall and the nuisance created by a rubbish dump.¹¹² These problems were solved with the removal of the offending activities to other locations. An ongoing issue that has not been satisfactorily resolved has been the loss of sand through erosion. In recent years, this has been blamed both on nature and on port activities, but whatever the cause, Westshore beach has lost much of its sand, along with the appeal the beach started to harness in the 1930s. Plans were, however, being put in place to replenish lost sand.¹¹³

Closer to downtown Napier, Ahuriri remains an integral part of the sea fringe. Until 1931, Port Ahuriri, as the locality was known then, was home to Napier's principal port. The wharves adjoined an area of mixed uses, comprising warehouses, storage areas for dangerous goods, commercial buildings, hotels and cottages for workers. With the earthquake and the raising of the land, the wharves at Ahuriri were now suitable only for fishing and pleasure vessels. The changing status of Ahuriri was recognised in 1953 when the suburb's name was changed from Port Ahuriri to Ahuriri, partly to prevent confusion with the principal port now situated at the Breakwater.¹¹⁴ Improvements to the littoral zone over the next 15 years included the development of Spriggs Park and the reinstatement of the Iron Pot. Spriggs Park (Figure 7.11) was a small reserve that adjoined the water's edge. With a children's play area, a memorial entrance and a line of Norfolk Pines alongside Hardinge Road as a backdrop, the park was a Marine Parade in miniature when it opened in 1960. Remains of an old sea protection wall, built to protect Hardinge Road, can be seen by the water's edge in the photograph.¹¹⁵ The Iron Pot was the site of the first wharfage facilities for ships visiting Napier. After the earthquake, still adorned by unusable breastwork, the Iron Pot eventually filled with sand. It remained like that until the 1960s, when it was dredged and developed into a marina facility for small boats. For over 30 years, the Iron Pot was an enduring visual reminder of the earthquake. Its restoration, completed in 1968, had initiated a process of transforming Ahuriri. That year, the *Daily Telegraph* reported that Ahuriri could become a tourist attraction in the future:

Like San Francisco, Napier can have its own "Fisherman's Wharf" – a tourist spot of curio shops, seafood restaurants, boat displays and sea excursions. It is all there,

ready and waiting to be developed into one of New Zealand's greatest attractions, in Ahuriri's historic Iron Pot and Scapa Flow area.¹¹⁶

In 2011, that is to some extent the picture of contemporary Ahuriri. Dangerous goods such as petroleum are no longer stored in the area, and the warehouses and wool stores have been converted to other uses. As suggested in the 1968 newspaper report, the area has been completely tidied up, and a promenade links the old wharfage area to Spriggs Park. The area is now "full of interesting shops, galleries, eateries and activities – but its greatest asset is its ocean."¹¹⁷

In the 1950s, the Breakwater port was very accessible to the public. On a typical Sunday, one could drive along the complete sea fringe from Westshore in the north to the Marine Parade in the south, stopping off at points of interest that included the wharves at Ahuriri and at the Breakwater Harbour. Indeed, it was possible to walk on the wharves shown in Figure 7.12 and admire the ships close-up. Now, ships can be viewed publicly only from the Bluff Hill Lookout that overlooks the Port, from which position the photograph was taken. The lookout itself was a civic improvement project and provides commanding views of not just the Port but also much of Napier and Hawke's Bay. The cruise ships shown in the photograph are a recent phenomenon, bringing thousands of tourists into the city usually just for day visits. Place promotion in the 1960s, however, focused primarily on domestic visitors from other parts of New Zealand, rather than international visitors. In 1929, the Thirty Thousand Club had written to the Harbour Board requesting that the area be vested in the Council as a reserve.¹¹⁸ Nearly thirty years later, the Council had taken over the area and a lookout had been established. A car park had been provided and wartime gun emplacements had been converted into viewing platforms for visitors and residents to admire the city, country and ocean.¹¹⁹

The sea fringe north of the Marine Parade illustrates the application of the tourist area life-cycle, with respect to the different developmental histories of Westshore and Ahuriri. In 1968, Westshore was probably in the maturity or consolidation stage. Improvements were continuing at the time and there was little to suggest that the start of stagnation and decline was likely to occur in the foreseeable future. Ahuriri, on the other hand, was at the start of the cycle, in the exploration or development stage. Although the prospect of tourism had

been identified in the area in 1968, the positive changes that have taken place since may have exceeded expectations.

Beyond the Sea Fringe

Making improvements had been an objective of the Council for other parts of the town, not just for the Marine Parade and the sea fringe. As early as 1875, the Municipal Engineer had prepared a plan for “the planting and ornamentation of Clive Square” with a view to providing trees, walks and lawns suitable for croquet and similar activities. Although the plan was praised by the Mayor, Robert Stuart, and closely considered by a committee, the Council was not in a position to fund it.¹²⁰ The later years of the 19th and early decades of the 20th century saw steady development. Some major projects that were planned, debated or implemented included roading improvements and gardens and parks in other parts of Napier outside the Marine Parade area. Until the time of the earthquake, street improvements were also a Council concern, with street-widening schemes being proposed from time to time and then substantially implemented as part of the reconstruction of the business areas in central Napier and at Ahuriri. After the earthquake, there was a proliferation of civic improvement projects, ranging from localised street improvements to laying out completely new suburbs. The focus in this section of the chapter, with regard to the “beyond the sea fringe” activities, therefore, is on community amenities, and parks in particular. These are of some interest, given that their development had to compete with the more visible and publicised works constructed on the Marine Parade.

The Botanical Gardens was the first public park to be established in Napier. Its site was defined in Domett’s original plan of Napier, 18 acres being reserved on Napier Hill for this purpose, together with four acres for an adjoining cemetery. These gardens were never fully developed, and lived in the shadow of other Council projects. With its steep slopes, the site was difficult. Some efforts were made to develop the gardens and, in the latter part of the 19th century, trees and gardens were planted and paths laid out, helped along with prison labour. In the early part of the 20th century, the gardens competed with Clive Square and the new parks of Napier South for both finance and public interest. This

competition was accentuated after the earthquake, when public interest and available finance became concentrated on the development of the Marine Parade. C.W. Corner, long-serving Superintendent of Parks and Reserves for Napier Borough Council, lamented that the gardens were “botanical gardens” in name only, and, although they were maintained, major improvements were minimal. He wrote in 1947 that the horticultural aspects of the gardens had become neglected and forgotten. The gardens had become “a quiet retreat for the few, and were appreciated mainly as a pleasant shortcut to the Hospital or the Cemetery.”¹²¹ Although modest improvements have been made since, the Botanical Gardens have remained secondary to the Marine Parade and other higher profile projects.¹²²

More successful was Clive Square, located in central Napier at the western end of the shopping area. Clive Square had its beginnings about 1875 when the area was used as a sports ground for football and cricket. When those activities were shifted to the nearby Recreation Ground in 1884, one half of the square was used as a playground for a nearby school and the other was developed into more traditional gardens, helped along with suggestions from the Clive Square Improvement Society established in 1884. With the closing of the school, the Borough Council was able to reappraise the entire area in the 1920s. Options considered included a Renaissance Garden, proposed by H.A. Westerholme, comprising pools and fountains and an octagonal shaped Winter Garden building, proposed by Louis Hay. Neither option was adopted, but Hay did design a new layout for the square that included the Mothers’ Rest building and Cenotaph. Shortly after the earthquake, Clive Square became “Tin Town” for two years and was further remodelled with the removal of the temporary buildings. Trees were reinstated, pathways redesigned, and a raised lily pond added.¹²³

As the Marine Parade developed and suburbs grew, some amenities were developed in these suburbs. The Council acquired Kennedy Park in 1937 for a motor camp, the accommodation at the time including converted trams no longer required for Napier’s discontinued tram service. The original site of three acres was increased to 17 acres five years later, part of which was planted in rose gardens in 1951. The camping grounds were progressively improved over the years.¹²⁴ The Council, in its desire to promote tourism

through providing a higher standard of accommodation, also built motels at Kennedy Park. Private motel owners did not like the Council's entrepreneurial spirit, and in 1964 the Court of Appeal declared the Council's action unlawful. The judgment of the Court stated that there was a wide difference between providing campsites and operating motels. Shortly afterwards, local legislation empowered the Council to operate the motels, and ensured that visitors to the city would have access to comfortable but reasonably priced accommodation.¹²⁵ In 2011, Kennedy Park continues to operate as the Kennedy Park TOP 10 Resort, providing a broad range of accommodation, camping and leisure facilities. While the Council's participation in providing motel-style accommodation remains a little unusual in the New Zealand context, it has ensured the survival of the park when other camping grounds, both in Napier and elsewhere, have closed down in the face of competition from motels and from more lucrative uses of the land.

The establishment of an Olympic swimming pool at Onekawa also led to some debate, this time between the Council and nearby residents. The need for a pool of this nature arose in the 1950s from representations from swimming interests, which asserted that Napier would no longer be able to hold competitive swimming competitions unless it had a pool of Olympic dimensions and proper facilities. The Marine Parade baths were undersized and cramped, while the Marine Parade beach itself was not ideal for recreational swimming, the beach being generally unsafe and sometimes dangerous. As Napier promoted itself as a tourist resort, summer visitors to the city might reasonably expect the town to include modern swimming facilities.¹²⁶ The Council was sympathetic to the request and agreed to provide a pool if swimming clubs contributed towards the cost. A paddling pool and diving pool were also included. The site initially chosen by the Council was adjacent to Kennedy Park, conditional on the purchase of land.¹²⁷ One year later in 1962, the Council debated an alternative site at Onekawa Park. There was some concern about noise to nearby residents, with one Councillor wondering if the Council could "lightly kick the town plan aside?" The Town Planner, E.W. Clement, doubted that there was a need to amend the plan, because a swimming pool "formed part of recreational facilities."¹²⁸ At a later meeting, the Council received a deputation from 26 objectors who stated that the swimming pool would "create an intolerable noise nuisance". Many of the objectors said that "they had bought sections in the area because they had been promised that Onekawa

Park would be developed as an ornamental area and not given over to organised sport.”¹²⁹ In June 1962, the Council, after further debate, confirmed Onekawa Park as the site.¹³⁰ Shortly afterwards design plans were approved and construction commenced. The lido-style Olympic pool was finally opened in December 1964. A heated pool, being planned for the site at the time, was completed several years later.¹³¹

In relation to the tourist area life cycle, each of the parks described above has tracked its own path. The Botanical Gardens have probably been in decline for the last 100 years, with little effort to redevelop them, apart from a study initiated in the last few years. Clive Square reached its peak in the 1930s, reinstated following its use as a shopping centre immediately after the earthquake. Kennedy Park possibly has reached stagnation, but has been able to rejuvenate itself with improved accommodation and other amenities over the years, despite legal and other challenges from the motel industry. The swimming pool complex at Onekawa Park, opened with much promise in the early 1960s, has also reached the decline stage, saved largely by more recent and more diversified additions.

Festivals and Events

From 1908, regular festivals and other events promoted Napier and its attractions to residents and tourists. Principal events of a recurring nature included the Mardi Gras festival, held at Christmas and New Year, and Shopping Week, usually held about the end of August. Publicity for both events emphasised sunshine and sea.

Before the Mardi Gras and Shopping Week became established events, two major carnivals were held in Napier, in 1908 and 1912. The First Grand Carnival in 1908 promoted the town as “Beautiful Napier: New Zealand’s Greatest Health Resort”. The carnival programme promised “a galaxy of amusement and diversion” and extended over several weeks in March, with diverse activities that included athletics, theatre, sideshows, fireworks and prizes. Participation from outside Napier was encouraged with cheap train excursion fares and the promotional work of an accommodation bureau. A *Daily Telegraph* editorial highlighted Napier’s climatic advantages, making favourable

comparisons with Nice, Rome, Naples and Torquay.¹³² The 1912 Carnival was held in August, with a focus on winter sport activities.¹³³ Both carnivals were organised by specially established executive committees, meeting regularly in the Borough Council Chambers with the Mayor (John Vigor Brown) presiding.¹³⁴ After the 1912 event, the *Daily Telegraph* reported a suggestion that future carnivals be held at Christmas, when the weather was better and the programme could include a full range of water sports and other summer activities. The holiday season would also be better suited to attract holiday-makers and participants from throughout New Zealand.¹³⁵

The Mardi Gras festival was first held over two days at Christmas 1913. It became an annual event, organised by the Napier Thirty Thousand Club. The 1913 event was based largely on McLean Park and included the crowning of the festival queen, a procession through the streets of central Napier, static exhibits, prizes and fireworks. A masked fete took place on the Marine Parade. The *Daily Telegraph* hailed the festival as a success, disproving fears that there would be insufficient people left in Napier to run the event at that time of the year, and that few visitors would attend from outside Napier because of the Auckland Exhibition.¹³⁶ The newspaper suggested that the festival could become an annual event, once again referring to Napier's favorable climate and visitor attractions.¹³⁷ Thereafter, these festivals were held in most years until the late 1960s, although there were gaps in wartime and again in 1947 when the festival was cancelled because of an outbreak of poliomyelitis.¹³⁸ Most Mardi Gras activities were held outdoors and based on the Marine Parade. Success therefore partly depended on fine sunny weather, ideally with light sea breezes to temper hot summer temperatures. During the 1950s and 1960s, the festival extended to about 14 days, with events such as parades, dances, music, fun sessions, beauty and talent contests, games, exhibitions and sideshows. Each year there were special celebrations to mark the New Year, including the ringing of the Veronica Bell at midnight, partly in remembrance of the contribution of *H.M.S. Veronica* and her crew to Napier immediately after the earthquake. A detailed programme in booklet form was also distributed free to all Napier households and visitors, and included extensive advertising of local businesses and Napier attractions, as well as articles about aspects of Napier and its historical development. For some years the programme was titled *Sunny Napier* and featured a Marine Parade scene on its cover.¹³⁹ The cover of the 1956 edition (Figure 7.13)

featured the newly installed Pania statue, along with the Sound Shell and Colonnade in the background. A content analysis of the photographs in 13 of the *Sunny Napier* programmes published during the 1950s and 1960s highlights the importance of the Marine Parade as Napier’s principal attraction, as shown in Table 7.1 below. As many of the photographs were of new features in Napier, both along the Marine Parade and elsewhere, the publication was clearly informing residents as well as visitors about aspects of the town’s current growth and development.

Table 7.1: Photographic Content of Sunny Napier Publications 1956-1968

<i>Type</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Marine Parade	112	43.6
Business Area	35	13.6
City Views	27	10.5
Public Gardens	18	7.0
Housing and Suburbs	12	4.7
Breakwater and Ahuriri	5	1.9
Industry	2	0.8
Airport	1	0.4
Other	45	17.5
Total	257	100.0

Source: Information derived from Napier Thirty Thousand Club, *Sunny Napier: The Gem of the Pacific: Mardi Gras Souvenir Programme*, Napier: Napier Thirty Thousand Club, 1956-1968.

The 1920s witnessed the start of a new annual event, the Napier Shopping and Industries Week, with the promotional slogan “Sunshine and Business”. The first such carnival was held in August 1922. The *Daily Telegraph* reported that over 4,000 visitors were attracted to the event, most of whom travelled to Napier by train. Activities, apart from shopping, included competitions, dancing, community singing and a masquerade street carnival.¹⁴⁰ Shopping Week was well supported by the *Daily Telegraph*, which for some years published special editions filled with appropriate advertising and publicity material. The 1928 special edition featured a series of “sunshine” related articles, topics including sunbathing, heliotherapy, sun in the home, sun as a cure, sun culture, and open-air schools. The newspaper proudly proclaimed “bright sunshine is undoubtedly Napier’s greatest asset” and supported this claim with sunshine statistics for New Zealand towns, with Napier shown near the top of the table. Also included was a photograph of the town, the

title reading “ ‘Sunny’ Napier ... The Nice of the Southern Hemisphere”.¹⁴¹ The cover of the 1929 Shopping Week special edition (Figure 7.14) features the slogan “Nice of the Pacific”, Norfolk Pines, and statements about sunshine and business, and prosperity. The parallel drawn between Napier and Nice was not entirely inappropriate, as the principal beaches of both places comprised coarse shingle, rather than sand. Shopping Week continued into the mid-1930s, but fell into recess until its revival in 1957.¹⁴²

Over the years, other important events have taken place. Some have celebrated milestones in Napier’s history. Other events have promoted aspects of town development. Examples of milestone events include the carnival held in January 1933, celebrating the rebuilding of Napier within two years of the earthquake, and celebrations held in 1950 when Napier attained the status of a city. Both these events were seen as signs of progress and accomplishment, albeit in very different circumstances. The New Zealand Railways publicity poster for the New Napier Carnival (Figure 7.15) highlights the Marine Parade improvements and the rebuilt town beyond, although some of the Marine Parade features are overstated and the beach itself appears sandier, smoother and more densely populated than in reality. The celebrations marking city status were held over eight days and included a procession of floats and vehicles, fireworks, a civic religious service, musical and sports events, and other entertainment. The celebrations also doubled as the 75th Jubilee of municipal government in Napier.¹⁴³

From the 1950s, several major exhibitions or industries fairs were held, showcasing industrial development within a carnival atmosphere. The 1952 and 1965 events were held in large wool-stores at Ahuriri and attracted large crowds. After the nine day event in 1965, the *Daily Telegraph* commented that the exhibition could have three benefits – attracting more industry to Hawke's Bay, providing national concerns with a better understanding of local needs, and encouraging people to buy locally manufactured goods before buying goods manufactured elsewhere in New Zealand or overseas.¹⁴⁴ In essence, the broad objective was to promote the growth and development of Hawke's Bay.

At the start of the 21st century, the Mardi Gras and Shopping Week were both a distant memory, and since the late 1980s had been superseded by a new annual event, Art Deco Weekend.

Place Promotion and Civic Improvement: Assessment and Influences on Growth and Development

Sunshine and sea have been major factors in the place promotion and civic improvement of Napier. The town's seaside location and favourable climate have given the town natural advantages that have been highlighted in publicity and enhanced with the development of attractions and amenities, and the holding of regular festivals. While the town's principal beach was not one of golden sand, advocates for Marine Parade improvements had seen what had been achieved at European seaside resorts such as Brighton, Bournemouth and Nice, and sought to replicate some of those ideas in Napier.

The principal promoter and developer was the Napier Borough (later City) Council, but with considerable assistance from the Napier Thirty Thousand Club and the community generally. The description "Sunny Napier" was the principal slogan for the town, after being introduced with the establishment of the Thirty Thousand Club in 1912. The same slogan was still being used fifty years later in the 1960s, quite in contrast to recent trends for promotional slogans of towns to be changed on a more frequent basis.

Those intended to benefit from promotional activity and civic development projects included both residents and tourists. While many of the events and festivals were partly planned to attract visitors, local residents could equally enjoy their programmes. Similarly, as new attractions were opened, their viewing or participating audiences were, to a large degree, local residents. This was the original vision of the Marine Parade in the 1880s, planned as a promenade where residents and visitors could walk alongside or sit and watch the sea, framed by a vista of Norfolk Pines.

The development of Napier as a resort town has passed through distinct phases, two of which are particularly relevant to this study. From the 1880s until the 1931 earthquake,

such development was purposeful but subdued. In contrast, from 1931 to 1968, tourism and the building of attractions was greatly boosted, except during the years of the Second World War and immediately afterwards. With reference to the tourist area life cycle developed by Butler, the pre-earthquake period represents the exploration and involvement stages, with post-earthquake activity representing the development stage. An interesting aspect was that, whereas before the earthquake Napier had generally looked to Europe for ideas, a broader worldview was becoming apparent after the earthquake, in which there was an increasing recognition of North American ideas, seen particularly in the adoption of Spanish Mission as a preferred architectural style for rebuilding the business area of Napier.

In 1968, Napier's future as a seaside resort was still promising, but the consolidation stage of the tourism area life cycle had just begun. New attractions had recently been added to the Marine Parade and the newly opened Marineland was drawing large crowds. But the overall appearance of the Parade was becoming cluttered and the adjoining shingle beach, when compared with sandy beaches in other places, was unattractive and uninviting. Civic funds were also required to provide amenities and recreational facilities in other parts of a rapidly growing city. The decline stage of the tourist area life cycle might have set in, but Napier was to rejuvenate itself. At the start of the 21st century, Napier was promoting itself as the "Art Deco City". The distinctive architecture of buildings erected in the years immediately following the 1931 earthquake had given the city a real and internationally recognized point of difference. The seaside fringe of the city was also experiencing a revival, with the Marine Parade and Ahuriri areas being redeveloped, and many motels and apartments being built overlooking the sea.

From early days of settlement to 1968, civic improvement was a recurring theme in Napier's growth and development. These projects were prompted by a desire to make the town a better place in which to live, with ideas for improvements being prompted by civic leaders and civic organisations over the years. Napier also provides examples of the City Beautiful, facilitated in part by the 1931 earthquake. The larger scale projects were those associated with the classical features of the Marine Parade, namely the Sound Shell, Colonnades and Veronica Sunbay. Smaller scale work in the City Beautiful mould began,

however, about the start of the 20th century, with the formation of the Napier Beautifying Association which focused on planting projects, and then in 1912 with the formation of the Napier Thirty Thousand Club, which was founded on the basis of both improving and promoting the town. In its early days, the Thirty Thousand Club devoted much of its energies to planting and other small-scale improvement projects, but became more involved with bigger projects associated with Marine Parade improvements after the earthquake. Generally, the Thirty Thousand Club and Council collaborated well, and participated in some projects as if they were partners. This provided the Club with an important role in the planning and development of the Marine Parade, a relationship that was unusual in New Zealand, at least before the establishment of local government founded on more consultative relationships under changes made to local government legislation since the late 1980s.

While the development of the Marine Parade might not have had what might be described as a master plan for long-term development, there nonetheless existed plans, which sometimes involved planning for several new attractions on the Parade at the same time. Civic improvement activities were not just confined to the Marine Parade, but took place along other parts of the sea fringe, as well as other parts of Napier. This became apparent from the 1950s onwards, when the faster growing population meant that population centre of the town was moving further away from the coastline. It therefore made sense for some of the improvements to take place in the new suburbs, where the growing residential population could more readily use and enjoy them.

Conclusion

Civic improvement and place promotion have been significant in the growth and development of Napier. A major aspect of this activity has been the focus on sunshine and sea. Sunshine has been emphasised in promotional information and outdoor events. The sea has been utilized in civic improvement projects so that those Council projects adjoining the water edge, particularly along the Marine Parade, received more attention than projects

in other parts of the town. However, this trend was starting to change as Napier grew rapidly in size from the 1950s.

Civic improvement activities have been driven not just by the Council, but also through community participation, particularly from the Napier Thirty Thousand Club. For a while, City Beautiful ideas had some impact, but this was just a passing phase. The transitory nature of City Beautiful ideas was a common experience elsewhere. Further, most civic improvement and place promotion activity was intended not just for visitors but also for residents. This was indicative of one of the founding objectives of the Thirty Thousand Club, namely to create and foster “that necessary spirit of civic pride and enthusiasm that should exist in the mind of every man, woman and child in the city and province.”¹⁴⁵

Endnotes

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- ¹ Harvey C. Perkins and David C. Thorns, “Place Promotion and Urban and Regional Planning in New Zealand” in P. Ali Memon, and Harvey C. Perkins, (eds), *Environmental Planning and Management in New Zealand*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 2000, pp. 330-338, at p. 330. See also S. Britton, “Tourism, Capital, and Place: Towards a Critical Geography of Tourism”, in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 9:4, 1991, pp. 451-478.
- ² Philip Kotler, David H. Haider and Irving Rein, *Marketing Places: Attracting Investment, Industry, and Tourism to Cities, States, and Nations*, New York: The Free Press, 1993.
- ³ Kotler, Haider and Rein, *Marketing Places: Attracting Investment, Industry, and Tourism to Cities, States, and Nations*.
- ⁴ Stephen V. Ward, “Place Marketing: Some Historical Thoughts”, *Planning History*, 16:1, 1994, pp. 16-28.
- ⁵ Ward, “Place Marketing: Some Historical Thoughts”, p. 16.
- ⁶ Stephen V. Ward, *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities 1850-2000*, London: E & FN Spon, 1998. See especially pp. 3-7 and 54-82.
- ⁷ Perkins and Thorns, “Place Promotion and Urban and Regional Planning in New Zealand”, p. 332.
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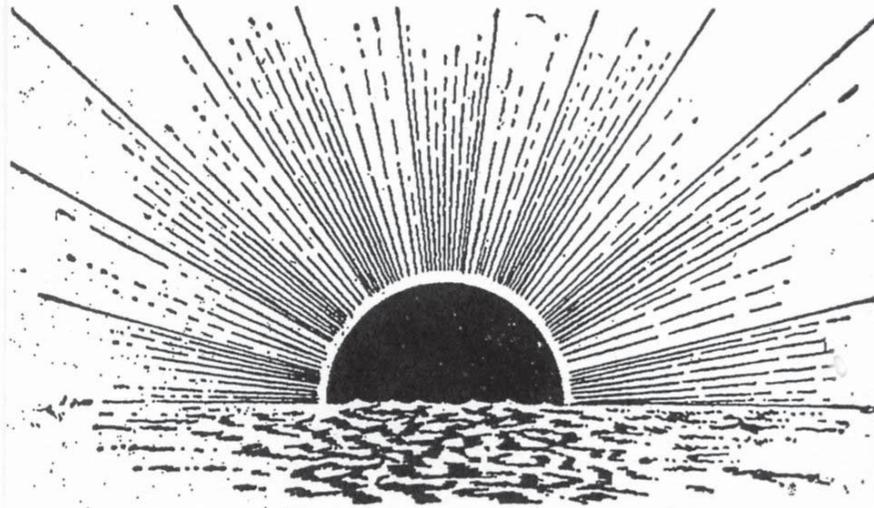
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A PLACE IN THE SUN

NAPIER'S CLIMATIC QUALITIES

SUNSHINE AND SEA BREEZES.



Till, as a giant strong, a bridegroom gay,
 The sun springs dancing through the gates of day
 He shakes his dewy locks and hurls his beams
 O'er the proud hills and down the glowing streams.
 His fiery coursers bound above the main,
 And whirl the car along th' ethereal plain;
 The fiery coursers and the car display
 A stream of glory and a flood of day.

—Droome.

Figure 7.1: Extract from an article on Napier's sunny climate, which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph's* Sunshine Shopping Week Number, 1928.

Source: *Daily Telegraph*, 24 August 1928, p. 5.



Figure 7.2: Cover of promotional pamphlet, *Napier New Zealand: Sunshine and Sea Breezes*, about 1930.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Ephemera Collection, Eph-A-TOURISM-Napier-1930-01-front. Published by the Napier Borough Council and the Napier Thirty Thousand Club.

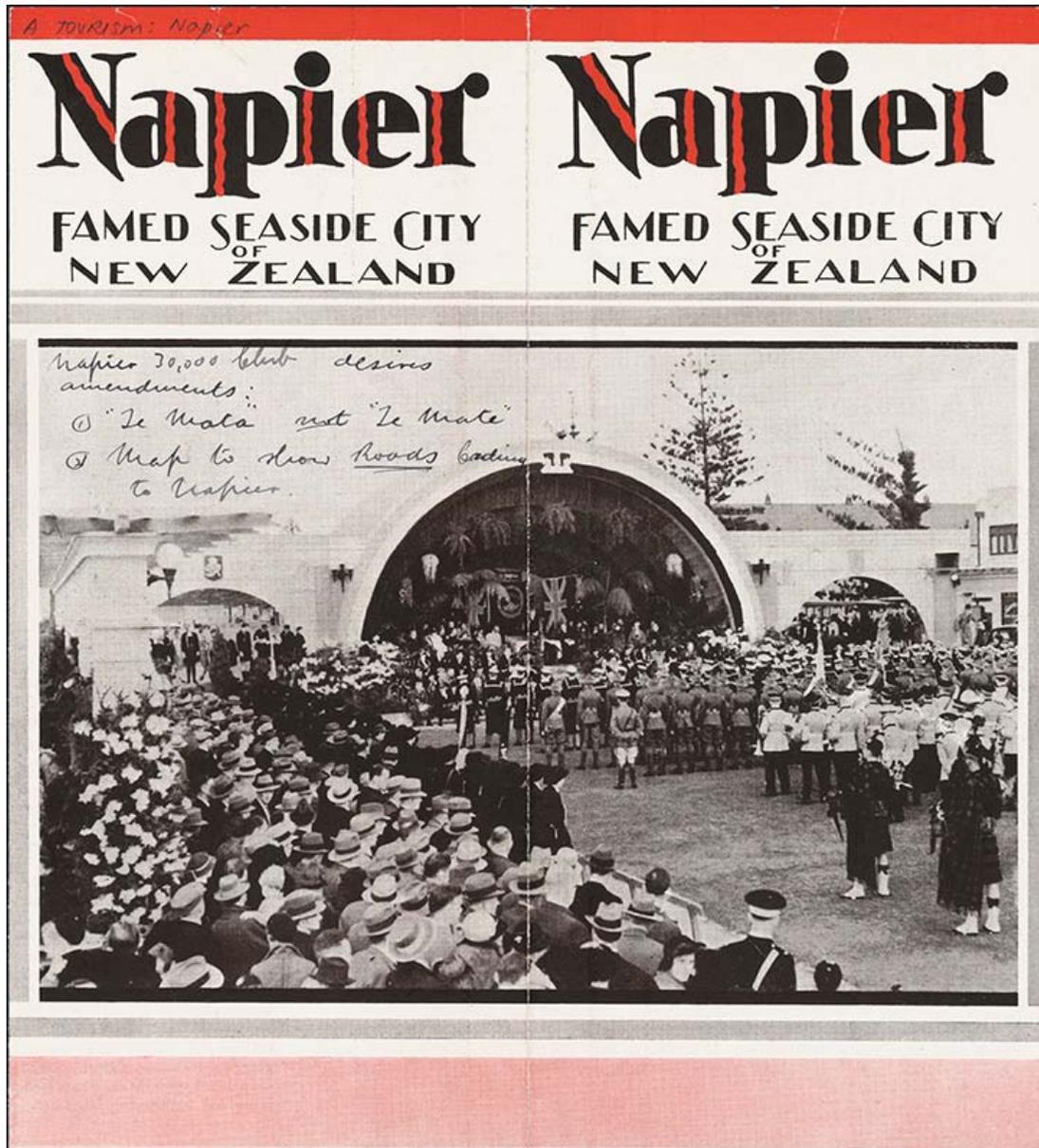


Figure 7.3: Cover of promotional pamphlet, *Napier: Famed Seaside City of New Zealand*, about 1938.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Ephemera Collection, Eph-A-TOURISM-Napier-1938-01-front. Published by the New Zealand Government Tourist Bureau.

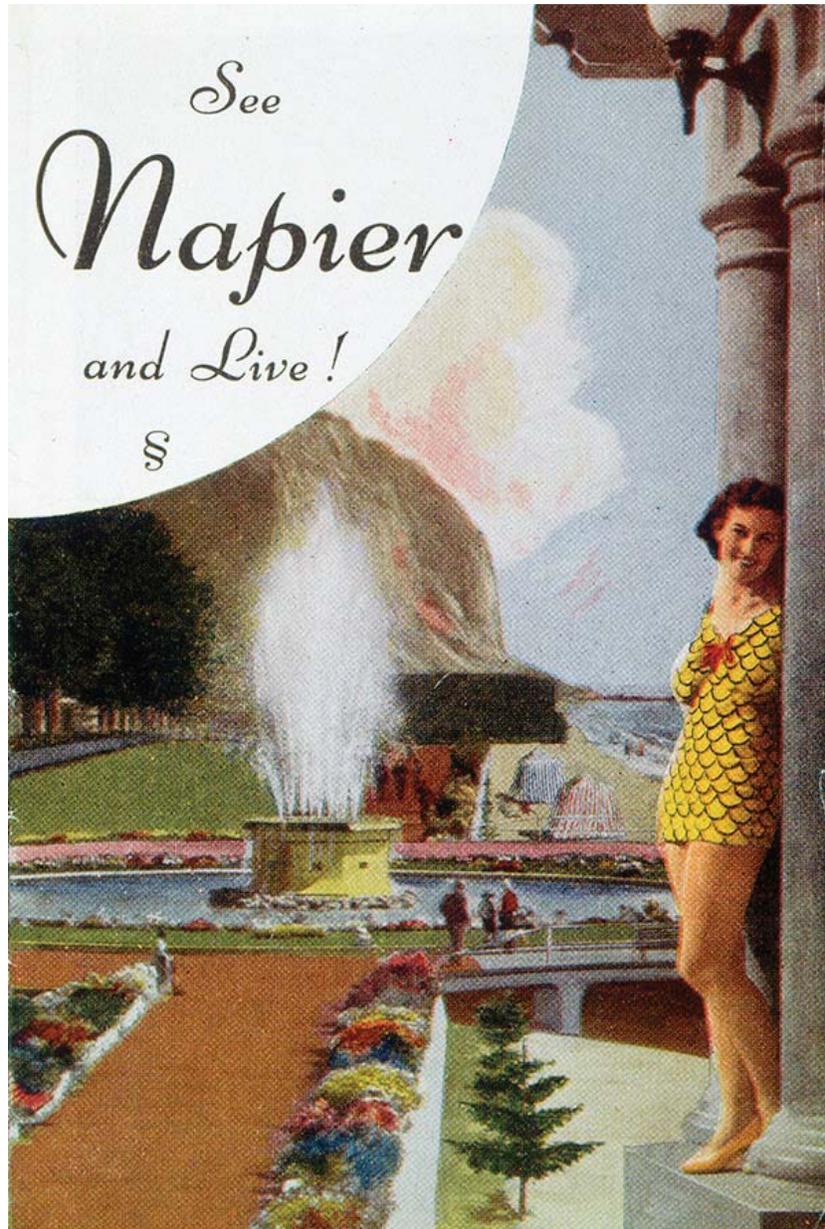


Figure 7.4: Cover of promotional brochure, *See Napier and Live!* about 1944.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Ephemera Collection, Eph-A-TOURISM-Napier-1944-01. Published by the New Zealand Government Tourist Bureau.

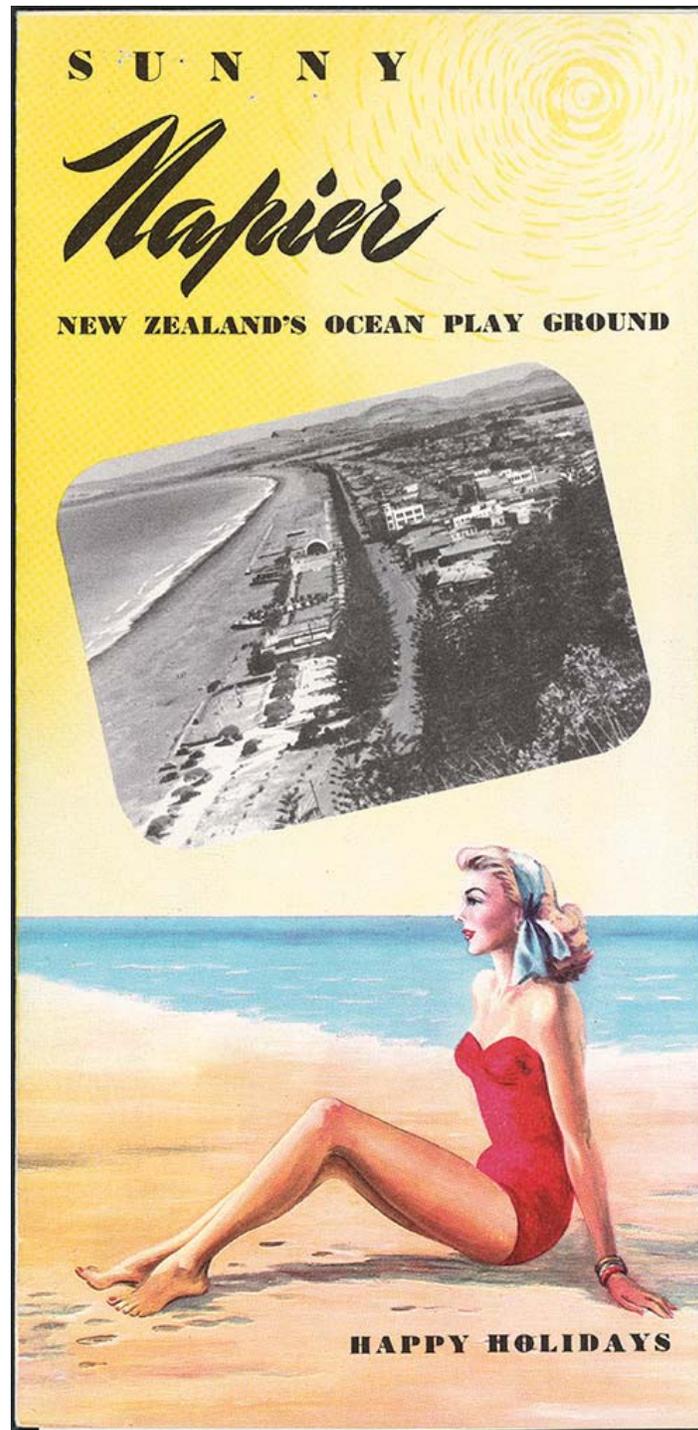


Figure 7.5: Front of promotional pamphlet, *Sunny Napier: New Zealand's Ocean Play Ground*, about 1955.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand: Ephemera Collection, Eph-A-TOURISM-Napier-1950-01-front.



Figure 7.6: Former Paddling Pool, Marine Parade.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2003.



Figure 7.7: Marine Parade Gardens.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2005.



Figure 7.8: Veronica Sun Bay, Marine Parade.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2004.



Figure 7.9: Sound Shell, Marine Parade.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2004.

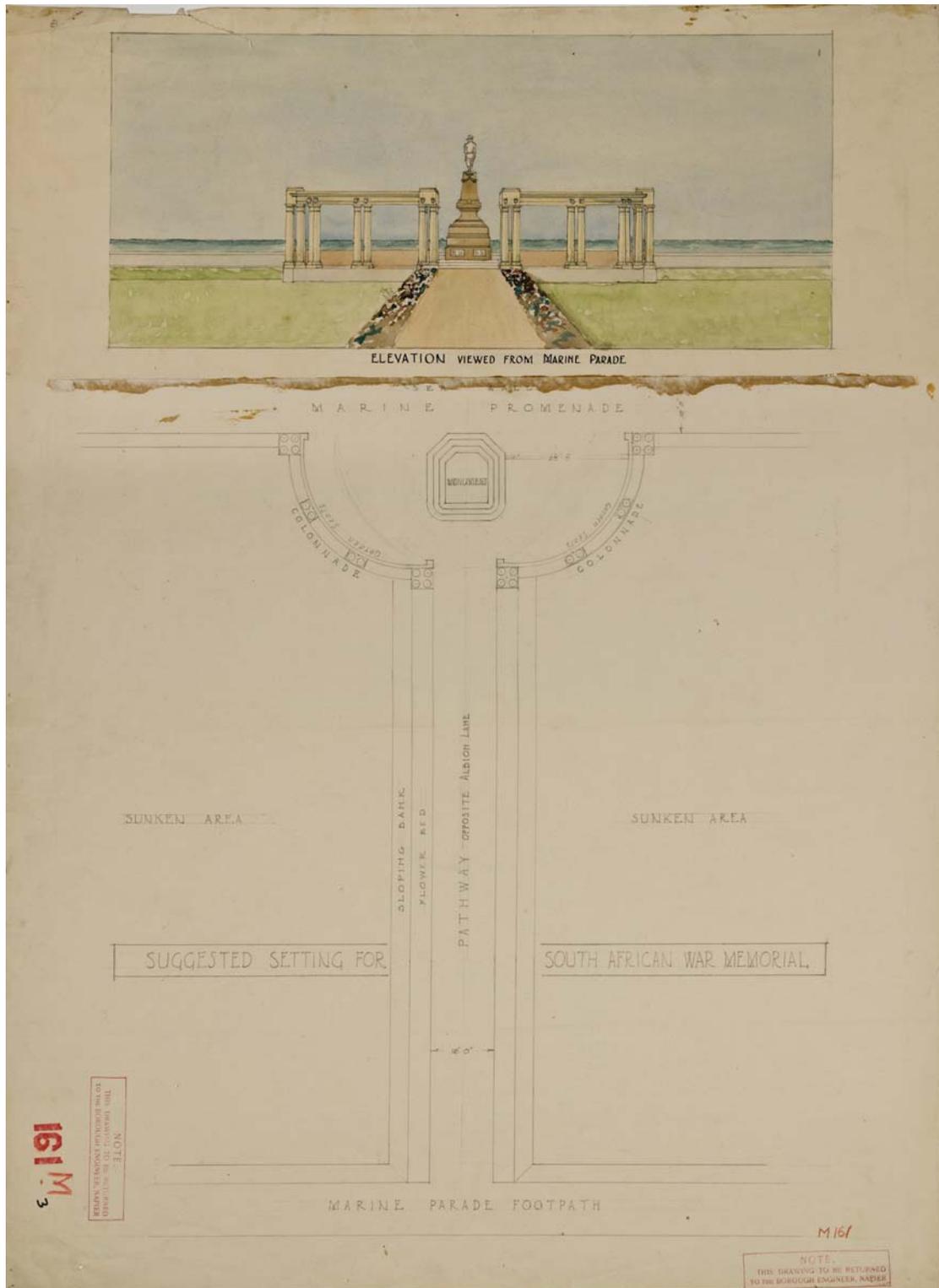


Figure 7.10: Plans of the Suggested Setting for the South African War Memorial, Marine Parade, designed about 1945, but not built.

Source: Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust - Hawke's Bay Museum & Art Gallery, Napier, New Zealand: VN 19975. Napier Borough Council Plan M.161.3.



Figure 7.11: Spriggs Park, Ahuriri.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 2005.



Figure 7.12: Port of Napier as seen from Bluff Hill Reserve.

Source: John Annabell photograph, 1998.

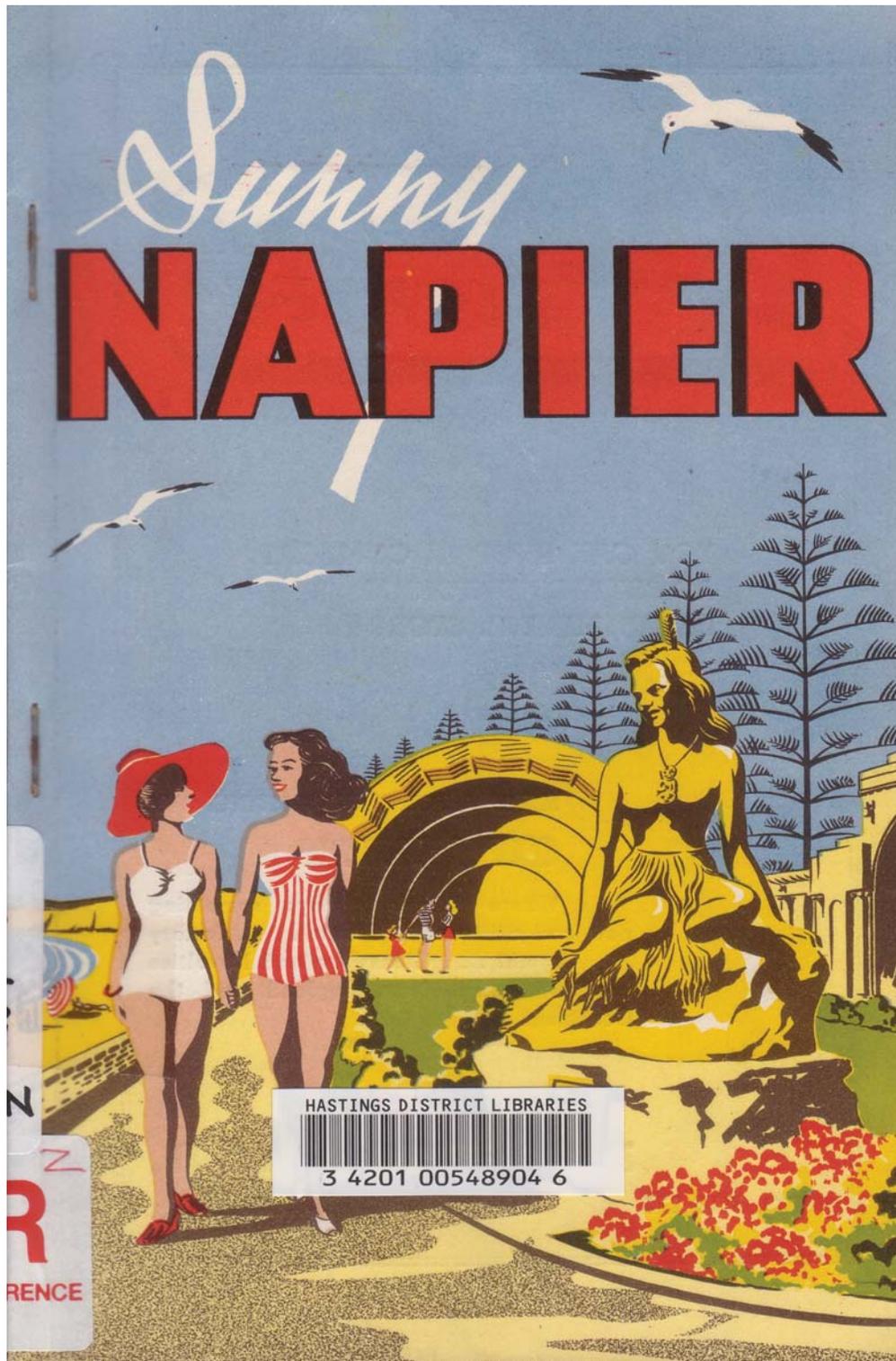


Figure 7.13: Cover of Mardi Gras Programme, 1956 edition.

Source: Hastings District Libraries, Hastings, New Zealand. From *Sunny Napier: Napier - Gem of the Pacific: Mardi Gras Programme*, Napier: Napier Thirty Thousand Club, 1956.

NAPIER — NICE OF THE PACIFIC — NAPIER

HAWKE'S
BAY

AUGUST 31
1929

Daily Telegraph.

SHOPPING WEEK NUMBER

Where the Stately Norfolk Pine Fringes the Blue Pacific



WHERE GAIETY AND PLEASURE, BUSINESS ENTERPRISE AND PROSPERITY go hand in hand—Napier—often referred to as “the Nice of the Pacific,” the centre of next week’s Shopping Week activities. Pointers indicate: (1) Masonic Hotel; (2) St. John’s Cathedral; (3) Government Buildings; (4) St. Patrick’s Roman Catholic Church; (5) Napier Technical College; (6) Public Trust Building.

Sunshine and Business

To the People of Hawke’s Bay

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH bids you come to Napier for Shopping Week. All next week has been set aside by the energetic committees which have this year’s gala and business activities in hand. We will have six days of business combined with pleasure.

Bright days are ahead. The drab days of Winter are fast becoming but a memory. On every hand the blooms of Spring abound, and Napier will be in gala mood for six whole Spring-time days.

May you all thoroughly enjoy and profit by Napier’s 1929 Shopping Week effort.

New Era of Prosperity

To the People of New Zealand

NAPIER HAS EMBARKED on a new era of progress and prosperity. Always popular with shoppers of Hawke’s Bay, Napier continues to maintain its reputation as one of the most attractive business centres of the Dominion. Vast extensions are in hand. Many thousands of pounds are being invested in political business premises, mercantile offices, factories and public buildings and parts of the city present veritable signs of industry. Napier is once again on the crest of the wave of progress and prosperity.

COME TO SUNNY NAPIER AND ENJOY SHOPPING WEEK

Figure 7.14: Front Page of *Daily Telegraph*, Shopping Week Number, 1929, promoting Napier as the Nice of the Pacific.

Source: *Daily Telegraph*, 31 August 1929, p. 1.



Figure 7.15: New Zealand Railways publicity poster for the New Napier Carnival of 1933.

Source: Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga, Wellington Office [Alexander Turnbull Library: NON-ATL-0064 (AAOK W3241, 22)].

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Introduction

In this thesis, the influence of planning on the growth and development of Napier has been discussed in the context of four broad themes. Two themes, reclamation and reconstruction, are especially applicable to Napier, as most urban centres have evolved and developed without the need to reclaim large areas of land from the sea or rebuild themselves following a major disaster. The two other themes – the growth of suburbs, and civic improvement and place promotion – are of more general application, but were also chosen for detailed study because of their significance to the planning and developmental history of Napier.

A purpose of this conclusion is to draw these parallel themes together and establish their relationships during common time periods. This will also show that, with the passing of time, the nature of planning in Napier and its influence on the growth and development of the town has changed. The previous chapters indicate that Napier's history can be divided into three time periods – the latter part of the 19th century, the early part of the 20th century until 1931, and the years from the time of the earthquake until 1968.

Planning in the 19th Century

In the 19th century, there was no formal planning that was based on the processes, ideas and legislation that were to emerge in the early part of the 20th century as town planning. Nonetheless, there were activities in Napier that should be regarded as a precursor to

formal planning and which have had a profound impact on the growth and development of the town. The focus of this thesis has been on the deliberate actions of public agencies in facilitating and managing the growth of towns to achieve positive outcomes for the community. Planning therefore is not just about producing plans or schemes designed to regulate the use of land, but also about providing an array of services and infrastructural projects that will enable others to use the land. And whether planning is for control or planning is for development, the overall objective is usually to help produce a better and more livable town.

In the 1850s, two events shaped the future of Napier. These were the choice of site for the town and preparation of the 1855 Napier Town Plan. The chosen site and plan dictated the physical design of Napier but also created problems that would need to be addressed in the years to come. The positive aspect was that the chosen town site could be developed as both port and town. The negative outcomes were the many barriers to be negotiated along the way. The 1855 Town Plan was typical of plans produced for other New Zealand fledgling towns. Streets and sections were shown, along with reserves set aside for educational purposes, a town hall and assembly rooms, and other public amenities. However, the terrain meant that the gridiron pattern for the layout of streets, used in most New Zealand towns, could not be used in Napier. The terrain and lack of space also resulted in narrow streets, this to become a problem in later years. The principal purpose of the plan, however, was to colonise the land through the sale of sections. This was the first phase of the urban development of Napier, and continued throughout the period, with the larger sections shown on the original plan being subdivided as more properties were required for housing.

For the remainder of the 19th century, the role of the public authorities in Napier in relation to town improvement was subdued, but not non-existent. In the early 1870s, the growing numbers of settlers who had become disenchanted with provincial government led to the establishment of the Napier Borough Council, which set out immediately to plan and provide better infrastructure for the town. Matters of immediate concern included improved roads, and the installation of services such as water supply, wastewater, stormwater and solid waste disposal. Water was seen as essential not just for health, but also for fighting fires. Sewage disposal was also a problem, as waste sometimes

accumulated in nearby swamps before the Council installed a proper reticulation system. Public health and building standards were partly regulated by bylaws. Council bylaws also required new buildings in the business area to have concrete or brick exteriors, in the expectation that disasters such as the 1886 fire would be avoided. During this period, Napier experienced some of the public health and infrastructure problems that, elsewhere, contributed to the rise of the formal town planning movement. Civic improvement ideas had their beginnings in the 1880s when there was an increasing desire to provide more amenities or make things look better. Examples include early street widening proposals and establishing park-like facilities, particularly the Marine Parade and Clive Square.

The Borough Council was also concerned with reclamation projects, particularly in the central part of town, and had shown some initiative in filling swamps both to reduce a health hazard and provide more sections. The Napier Harbour Board was more active in reclamation projects during this period. Their reclamations were undertaken partly to assist with port development and partly to provide land for commercial and residential purposes. The Harbour Board was also involved in the debate on the location of the port. After years of debate, the question was thought to be resolved in 1885 when Hawke's Bay electors voted resoundingly in favour of a breakwater port, replacing the Inner Harbour, which had been developed as Napier's original port. This was one instance where citizens had some say about where a major facility would be provided, although the issue was to be debated afresh in the 1920s. Reclamation was also the second phase of the urban development of Napier, and continued into the 20th century. The need for land for housing was to become the principal driver of reclamation schemes until the 1931 earthquake.

In summary, in the 19th century, public authorities in Napier had participated in some aspects of informal planning through establishing a town, providing basic services, and carrying out a few civic improvements. These activities were often the focus of citizens who were interested in creating a better living environment, a concern that had emerged and was well established in Napier before the arrival of the town planning movement in the 20th century. Apart from reclamation projects, there was little out of the ordinary to distinguish Napier. In just under fifty years, the town had grown in size to have an estimated population of 9,486 in 1899, and was the largest town in New Zealand outside of the four main centres.¹ Informal planning had provided a framework for the start of the

town, and concern about public health had driven some Borough Council activities. To this extent, planning had some influence on the growth and development of Napier in the 19th century. But at the turn of the century, certain civic improvement activities and a greater emphasis on progress and town expansion were about to begin.

Planning in the Early 20th Century

The first three decades of the 20th century mark a transition phase in Napier's growth and development. Although the town's estimated population had increased to 16,160 by April 1930, Napier had dropped from fifth to ninth position in terms of populations of all New Zealand towns.² A sizeable portion of the expanded population of Napier was accommodated in Napier South, a suburb built on land reclaimed exclusively from swamp and lagoons. This was the hallmark project of the period, involving the Harbour Board, Borough Council, Hawke's Bay County Council, and a private syndicate that planned and executed the reclamation work. In fact, the initial participation of the Napier Borough Council was low key. Part of the explanation was the fact that the reclaimed land remained in County hands before being absorbed into the Borough. This meant that residents in new houses had to wait some years before their properties were provided with water supply and waste disposal. Despite these shortcomings, Napier South was a partially planned suburb – planned from the perspective of being designed in advance of settlement as a single entity, the suburb including roads, sections and two parks, and the prospect of services at a later date. Advertising at the time of the initial sale of sections in 1908 also promoted Napier South as being an ideal place in which to live, with spacious sections but still within easy reach of the centre of town. The new suburb was just a little too early to have all of the characteristics of a Garden Suburb.

In the 1920s, with the filling up of Napier South, the shortage of land became an issue again, along with the location of the harbour. The debates about port location and future reclamation remained unresolved by the findings of the Royal Commission in 1927, although there were signs that reclamation was likely to proceed in the 1930s, but not with the haste that the Borough Council would have liked.

During this period, there was increased interest in civic improvement projects and other works that would help highlight Napier as a progressive town. In the 1920s, the City Beautiful idea had reached Napier and was a byline used by the *Daily Telegraph* from time to time when reporting about new buildings or plantings. But, while there were no major projects in Napier that would merit the City Beautiful label, at least before the earthquake, there were community groups that focused some attention on improvements and planting projects, especially the Napier Thirty Thousand Club. These activities, although relatively modest, reflected City Beautiful ideas. The Club was also active in promoting Napier through fundraising activities and events, the target audience being not just tourists but also Napier residents. There was a particular desire to promote Napier as a seaside resort, which was based primarily on developments on the Marine Parade. To some extent, the English seaside resort provided the model for Napier, although the byline that dubbed Napier as “the Nice of the Pacific” was derived from a beach in Mediterranean France. While the model was English, there was some desire to evoke the glamour of France. Nonetheless, the Marine Parade still looked a little sparse at the end of the 1920s, especially when compared with what was to follow. Principal additions to the Marine Parade during this period included bathing facilities and a play area.

The words “town planning” became part of the civic vocabulary from about 1912 when the *Daily Telegraph* published an editorial entitled “Town Planning”, commenting that there had been much recent discussion about the subject in connection with suggested legislation.³ In 1914, the Borough Council was invited to sponsor an address given in Napier about town planning by Charles Reade and William Davidge, on behalf of the British Garden Cities and Town Planning Association.⁴ Several years later, there was a flurry of interest in town planning as more became known about the subject. In 1917, the Borough Council held a meeting to listen to proposals for a plan to be specially prepared for the Council, probably with a focus on landscape architecture. Over the next few years there were local discussions about a number of improvement projects and the Council was also represented at the 1919 New Zealand Town-Planning Conference and Exhibition. Shortly after the Town-planning Act 1926 was passed, the Council deliberately sought advice on town planning ideas from the local Institute of Surveyors when finalising plans for the subdivision of two areas being added to the Borough. While the response included

some detailed advice on the proposals, it was also suggested that the Council should consider planning for larger areas, so that more coordinated provision could be made for roads and recreation.⁵

In summary, the early part of the 20th century was, to an extent, a continuation of the last decade of the previous century. The Borough Council continued to pursue its principal role as a local authority in providing infrastructure and other community amenities, although there was an emerging interest in town planning by Councillors and senior staff. The dominant urban development project was Napier South, but by the 1920s, more land was needed for town expansion. Once again, no formal planning had been undertaken as New Zealand's first planning statute, the Town-planning Act 1926, had become law just a few years before this period ends. The activities so described are in the nature of informal planning, but did have a reasonably important influence in shaping the growth and development of Napier during the period.

Planning After the Earthquake

From 3 February 1931, Napier's future growth and development was dramatically altered by earthquake and fire. Within days of the earthquake, suggestions were forthcoming about making the most of the earthquake, particularly in regard to applying town planning ideas to the rebuilding of Napier. With government-appointed Commissioners put in place to manage Napier for two years, and a stay imposed to stop immediate rebuilding, there was some prospect of a properly planned Napier emerging from the rubble and ashes. The Town-planning Act 1926 was indeed used to facilitate the rebuilding of Napier, but only in a very watered-down manner. The end result was a town planning scheme that applied only to the business areas in central Napier and at Ahuriri, and provided only for street improvements, but nothing else such as zoning for separate uses and ordinances applying to buildings. Nevertheless, the restoration and replacement reconstruction of much of the devastated area within two years was a remarkable achievement for the time, and must be regarded as a planning success on the part of the Council because of the substantial infrastructure needing repair or replacement. This work, along with other improvements,

falls within the planning arena because the objective was to help create or reinstate a better living environment. The appearance of the new townscape of the business area, however, was largely the product of accidental coordination on the part of building owners. There was no compulsion about the style of new buildings, but, given that the design work was carried out by a small number of architects working in a collaborative setting, the emergence of a dominant style was not surprising. The design work was also undertaken within a very short time period. The open street environment was helped by the Commissioners' decision to place services underground. The principal constraints on the implementation of a wider town planning scheme were the shortage of funds and the desire for people to be able to rebuild their businesses as soon as possible. In this respect, Napier followed the path of London after its fire in 1666, and San Francisco after its earthquake and fire in 1906. Further, town planning was still very new at the time, and in 1931, not one town planning scheme had been prepared for any New Zealand borough or city. In any event, Napier can still claim the distinction of having the first town planning scheme to be approved under the 1926 Act, but the first full town planning scheme was approved by the Town Planning Board in 1937.⁶

The earthquake provided Napier with other opportunities, described in the Kates and Pijawka model as commemorative, betterment and developmental reconstruction. Over the decade following the earthquake and beyond, the Napier Borough Council and other entities were able to embark on a number of projects that would not have been possible in the same form, had there been no earthquake. These included new suburbs on land partly reclaimed by the earthquake, a string of improvements on the now widened Marine Parade, the settlement of the harbour dispute in which the Breakwater Harbour was finally accepted as the only port option for Napier, and the reclamation of Ahuriri Lagoon, used for agriculture, industry and an airport. The new suburbs continued the "Greater Napier" vision of town expansion, which before the earthquake had been seriously constrained because of the unavailability of land for urban development. This activity became the third phase of Napier's urban development. The first of the post-earthquake suburbs was Marewa, in which some comparisons can be made with the Garden Suburb model. Apart from several superior streets, Marewa and the other new suburbs never acquired the reputation of being better parts of Napier in which to live. The Garden Suburb description was sometimes applied because of the amount of greenery, the product of street verges,

street trees and the front gardens of properties. Later, the suburbs morphed into adaptations of the Garden Suburb model through state housing projects and other developments where some attention was given to planning for neighbourhoods. The new suburbs were also a little raw. Early Marewa residents in the 1930s and 1940s had to live with dusty roads and septic tanks, while Onekawa residents in the late 1940s had to wait for a sewerage system to be provided.

In terms of the requirements imposed by the planning legislation, the Borough Council produced sectional town planning or district schemes for its new suburbs, but not always before development began. Unlike the scheme produced for the business areas of Napier, the suburban schemes were comprehensive, with zoning of uses and controls on buildings. But in 1968, rather surprisingly, Napier was still not covered by a single city-wide scheme, with the established part of the town being covered with a sectional scheme for the first time just a few years earlier. One might have expected that after thirty years a single scheme could have been prepared. This suggests that the focus of Napier City Council, as it had been since the 1930s, was still on planning, in spatial terms, for the development of discrete areas rather than the city as a whole. This was through its participation in projects in which the Council itself was the main developer, or was in some form of partnership with central government for state housing projects.

In the 1930s, and in the years after the Second World War, the Council was active in a variety of civic improvement projects. The highest profile project was the Marine Parade, where a string of attractions were laid out progressively from the early 1930s. Probably the most significant additions were those in the Sound Shell area, which were completed within ten years of the earthquake. These additions might be regarded as following the City Beautiful tradition, given the classical style of the sun bay, commemorative arches and colonnade. This is consistent with Wilson's statement that the City Beautiful was concerned with classicistic architecture, especially in public buildings, and Freestone's observation that the City Beautiful included public squares, memorials, fountains and arches.⁷ In any event, the Marine Parade attractions do represent a significant civic improvement project in which the Council and community collaborated, the latter with funding and ideas. Not all Marine Parade attractions have survived. While the classical

features remain almost intact, other attractions have disappeared, the most notable being Marineland, which was finally closed in 2010.

For some time Napier was promoted as “Sunny Napier” and as a seaside holiday destination. As well as the Marine Parade, civic improvement projects proceeded at other locations along the sea fringe and in other parts of the town. Generally, these amenities were for both residents and visitors. By the 1990s, the focus of Napier from a tourism perspective had shifted from its beaches and climate to the “rediscovered” Art Deco architecture of commercial buildings erected in the years immediately after the earthquake.

Despite the increasing amount of work undertaken by the Council after the earthquake, it did not employ a dedicated planner until 1955 when E.W. Clement was appointed Town Planner. He had been employed by the Council since 1932 as a surveyor, and from the 1930s had played a major role in laying out Marewa and the later suburbs. This continued after his 1955 appointment.⁸ However, even after he was appointed as Town Planner, it appears that the City Engineer retained overall responsibility for planning matters, a separate town planning department having not been created by 1968. Throughout the period, the person primarily responsible for planning matters was the Borough (later the City) Engineer, who from time to time reported to the Council on planning matters.⁹ This was apart from a period of several years in the early 1950s when Patience and Gabites, town planning consultants, were advising the Council. The incumbent for much of this period was W.D. Corbett, who joined the Council as Assistant Engineer in 1930, becoming Borough Engineer in 1933, and retiring as City Engineer in 1956.¹⁰ Before Clement’s appointment as Town Planner, the attitude appears to have been that the services of a full-time planner were not required. Under the Town-planning Act 1926, the task of a planner was seen as preparing a town planning scheme. Once that task was completed, there would be little for a planner to do.¹¹ The appointment of Patience and Gabites in the early 1950s to prepare a city-wide town planning scheme is consistent with this view. In earlier years, John Mawson had advised the Council on planning matters in the 1930s, and staff from the Town Planning Board provided advice and sketch plans for the Council when the Onekawa Town Planning Scheme was being prepared.

In summary, planning played a big part in Napier's growth and development from the time of the earthquake to 1968, the year Napier amalgamated with the neighbouring borough of Taradale. In that time, and before amalgamation, Napier's estimated population had nearly doubled from 16,160 to 29,700 in April 1967, and was now ranked eighth in the country.¹² Most of the increased population was accommodated in the new planned suburbs. Rebuilding after the earthquake was accomplished surprisingly quickly. And if the time taken for developmental reconstruction of the kind envisaged by the Kates and Pijawka model appears excessive, it was partly because the opportunities provided by the earthquake were of such scope that they could not all be fully exploited within a much shorter period. The other partial explanation was that the Second World War and the materials shortage that followed meant that development, to a large extent, was stalled for much of the 1940s. Throughout the post-earthquake period, the focus was on planning for development rather than planning for control. For most of the period, much of the established area of Napier was not covered by a town planning or district scheme. Instead, the earlier schemes were designed purely to effect road improvements in the business areas, or help with the development of the new suburbs.

A Planning History Matrix

The diversity and changing nature of Napier's planning history can be shown diagrammatically. Table 8.1 presents a matrix illustrating the importance of specific planning themes for each decade of Napier's history from 1850 to 1968. Each theme is classified as having little or no importance, moderate importance, or high importance for the relevant decade. The table shows that, with the passing of time, planning themes collectively become increasingly important, with the 1930s being the principal watershed period in which a number of planning themes become more important than previously, including planning associated with reconstruction, suburban development, infrastructure and housing.

For the years that preceded the earthquake, reclamation is shown having high importance from the 1870s. This was because Napier needed to be able to expand its physical size, to accommodate a growing population. In the 1870s, the Napier Borough Council started its

own reclamation schemes, supplementing those commenced by the Hawke's Bay Provincial Government in the 1860s. Suburban development is shown as being moderately important from 1900 to 1909, reflecting the significance of the new suburb Napier South. Transportation is shown as having importance in the 1880s because a decision was finally made to establish a breakwater port, and again in the 1920s when strong moves were being made to develop the Inner Harbour instead. Statutory or land use planning is shown as having only moderate importance from the 1930s to 1950s, reflecting the position that town planning schemes were being prepared for new suburbs only at that time, and not for Napier as a whole.

Table 8.1: Napier Planning History Matrix 1850-1968

<i>Themes</i>	1850 1859	1860 1869	1870 1879	1880 1889	1890 1899	1900 1909	1910 1919	1920 1929	1930 1939	1940 1949	1950 1959	1960 1968
Early Settlement	High	Moderate	Moderate	Little or no								
Reclamation	Little or no	Moderate	High	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate						
Reconstruction	Little or no	Little or no	Little or no	Moderate	Little or no	Little or no	Little or no	Little or no	High	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
Suburban Development	Little or no	Little or no	Little or no	Little or no	Moderate	High	Moderate	Moderate	High	High	High	High
Place Promotion	Little or no	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	High	Moderate	High	High				
Civic Improvement	Little or no	Little or no	Little or no	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	High	Moderate	High	High
Transportation	Little or no	Moderate	Moderate	High	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	High	High	High	High	High
Infrastructure	Little or no	Little or no	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	High	High	High	High
Housing	Little or no	High	High	High	High							
Statutory or Land Use Planning	Little or no	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	High							

KEY	Little or no Importance	Moderate Importance	High Importance

Related Questions

While the principal research question addressed in this thesis was to ascertain how planning has influenced the growth and development of Napier from 1850 to 1968, four related questions included:

- (i) What were the reasons for the planning?
- (ii) How was an awareness of planning ideas created?
- (iii) Were matters changed by the intervention of the public authority undertaking the planning?
- (iv) Were the planned actions successfully implemented?

These questions have to a large extent been addressed in relevant parts of this thesis, but by way of summary and further comment, the following observations are made.

The overall reason for planning in Napier, whether informal or formal, supports Miller's statement that "those doing the planning are likely to have been motivated by much the same concerns – that is to create a pleasant, healthy and workable urban environment."¹³ During the times of informal planning in Napier, the pleasant environment was one that was enhanced through civic improvement projects and the provision of other amenities. Examples include the Marine Parade improvements and other open space developments. The healthy environment was one where, for example, water supply and wastewater disposal systems were adequately provided, and health dangers from nearby polluted swamps were eliminated. These examples were major concerns in 19th century Napier, and continued into the 20th century, where some of the new suburbs did not have all these services when settlement began. This was the position particularly in Marewa during the later 1930s and in both Marewa and Onekawa in the 1940s. A workable environment was one where there was sufficient space available for people to build houses or businesses without crowding, and be able to travel easily from one part of the town to another. In Napier, land was in short supply before the earthquake, and movement within the town was sometimes hampered by narrow streets. This was in distinct contrast to post-earthquake conditions in which abundant space eventually became available for housing and other purposes.

An awareness of planning ideas came from diverse sources. Council members and staff obtained some knowledge from visiting other places or listening to addresses from people with appropriate expertise. As mentioned above, the Council sometimes called upon external advice from planning experts. In the 1930s, John Mawson provided advice on a variety of matters, including the early planning of Marewa. His advice was not always followed, particularly by the Commissioners who did not wish to unduly delay the

rebuilding of the Napier business area after the earthquake. In the early 1950s, the firm Patience and Gabites were engaged to prepare a city-wide town planning scheme, but their services were discontinued before this task was completed. In 1959, the Council engaged Professor R.T. Kennedy to report on a suitable site for the Civic Administration Building, when this matter had become a major public issue, but his advice was accepted only to a limited extent. The *Daily Telegraph* also had some influence, particularly through editorials advocating points of view, and also correspondence from readers. From a wider perspective, there was a gradual shift from British to American influences on planning and design. Before the earthquake, much of Napier's architecture was Victorian and Edwardian in character, and the idea of Napier as a seaside resort was also based on similar English towns. After the earthquake, commercial and residential buildings to some extent followed Californian styles. The new suburbs follow American styles, as do the new individual shopping centres.

The impact of informal planning on change was considerable. Without the Council or other public authorities taking the lead, the growth and development of Napier beyond its original site on Napier Hill would have been much more difficult. Although a private syndicate had promoted and reclaimed Napier South, the final development of the suburb was left to the Borough Council. The syndicate was not invited to carry out further projects of similar scale in the future, nor was their method of reclamation (siltation) used again. From the 1930s, urban development of the new suburbs proceeded on the basis of more formal planning, with most of the development work being carried out by public agencies.

The planned actions were largely successfully implemented. Outside of the various harbour proposals developed over the years, no major projects or schemes have failed. Some planned actions have taken longer than expected, particularly the development of a city-wide district scheme for Napier. Other planned actions have not been quite as successful as might have been expected at the time of original planning. The new Napier suburbs planned and developed after the Second World War were not generally regarded as being amongst the more desirable parts of Napier. And, while the Marine Parade has had many features added to it over the years, some have disappeared or have been

replaced. The original swimming baths, opened in 1909, have been demolished and have been replaced by an Ocean Spa complex.

The Significance of Napier and Lessons for Contemporary Planning

The influence of planning on the growth and development of Napier is similar to other New Zealand cities in some respects, but differs significantly because of the town's reclamation history, its reconstruction after a major earthquake, its suburban development, and the nature of place promotion and civic improvement of the town. In this discussion, some reference is also made to possible lessons that might be relevant for contemporary planning in New Zealand and elsewhere.

While some other New Zealand cities have relied upon reclamation to enhance their waterfront and port areas, most of Napier was built on land reclaimed either by deliberate action or nature's action. The predominant purpose of the Napier reclamations was to provide more land for residential development, although other purposes included port and airport development, commerce, industry and agriculture. Some reclamation activity was also designed to rid Napier of swamps, which were regarded as a health hazard. The various reclamation schemes varied in size and method, but were generally planned in advance with the overriding purpose of providing Napier with more land, compensating for the original limitations of the chosen site. Napier South was the largest of the pre-earthquake reclamation schemes, and also became a model for the future suburban development of Napier.

The lessons for contemporary planning about reclamation are that any reclamation scheme will need to be fully justified before it can proceed, and if approved, will need to be carefully planned to avoid adverse environmental consequences, either of a temporary nature while the reclamation is being carried out, or of a permanent nature once the reclamation work is complete. The impact of reclamations on the existing landscape and seascape can be considerable, and have the effect of encroaching on a domain, comprising coastal waters, foreshore and seabed, to which previously the public might have had

access. Coastal waters and estuaries also support marine ecosystems and related fish and bird populations. From the 1970s, greater controls have been exercised with regard to proposed reclamation schemes in New Zealand. For approvals required under the Harbours Act 1950, the Ministry of Transport developed policies that required reclamations to be “fully justified and as small as possible with no reasonable alternative being available.” Further, reclamations should not be for private gain such as housing purposes, nor should they be permitted for the dumping of soil.¹⁴ Historically, some of Napier’s reclamation schemes were for housing, and to a limited extent a few were partly used for dumping of soil. For a time, applications were processed in conjunction with the Commission for the Environment, as occurred when the Commission undertook an audit of the Kirkpatrick reclamation proposed for the Napier Breakwater Harbour in the mid-1970s. In this instance, the Commission made a recommendation to the Ministry of Transport to the effect that the reclamation was “acceptable environmentally”, provided several conditions were met. These included ensuring that there would be “no significant detrimental effect on the adjoining coastline” and requiring an environmental assessment of the proposal to take fill for the reclamation from the Ahuriri Estuary.¹⁵ Reclamation activity is now regulated by the Resource Management Act 1991 and, given the potential for reclamation works to have a considerable adverse environmental impacts, it would seem that approvals will be difficult to obtain. Indeed, the remnant of the Ahuriri Estuary that was not reclaimed after the 1931 earthquake is now recognised as an important habitat for many bird and fish species.¹⁶ Part of what is now known as the Ahuriri Estuary Wildlife Refuge was once planned to become a marina subdivision supporting nearly 200 homes, but planning for this project was abandoned in the mid-1970s.¹⁷ Recent public opposition to reclamation schemes elsewhere in New Zealand is demonstrated by concerns about the recently proposed expansion of Auckland’s port into the Waitemata Harbour, with these plans being put on hold for further review in 2012.¹⁸

Before the Canterbury earthquakes of 2010 and 2011, no other New Zealand town has had to rebuild itself after disaster as did the twin Hawke's Bay towns of Napier and Hastings after the 1931 earthquake. The reconstruction of the two towns neatly fits the model for recovery proposed by Kates and Pijawka, apart from the fact that the timing and scope of the developmental reconstruction period is a little problematic. It does appear that there was some tension about how planning, with a spatial focus, would fit into a recovery plan

framework which is largely chronological. In the case of Napier, recovery was accorded some priority over formal planning. Regardless of the interplay between recovery and planning at the time, the resulting townscape was much improved on pre-earthquake Napier, and it is difficult to speculate on what might have been the result had the Napier Commissioners been a little more adventurous and encouraged more comprehensive planning.

There are a number of lessons for contemporary planning arising from the Hawke's Bay earthquake. First, improvisation is important to initiate rescue, recovery and restoration activities. Some initial impetus for this activity came from the local community, where in both Napier and Hastings, leading local citizens and officials met within 24 hours of the earthquake to plan and coordinate activities, and continued to do so throughout the emergency phase. While there was no civil defence organisation to assist, much of this improvisation was based on experiences learned from the Great War, as the First World War was known in the 1930s.¹⁹ With help from outside the region, considerable progress was made within a few weeks of the disaster. Second, as recovery proceeds, planning needs to take account of the community desire to return to normalcy as quickly as possible. This means that plans for rebuilding a devastated town at a new location or on entirely new lines are unlikely to find favour with the affected inhabitants. However, it does not mean that permanent rebuilding should be initiated without there being some pause in which decisions can be made to ensure that reconstruction plans are robust and will achieve some positive outcomes. In Napier, the Commissioners took some months to assess what could be achieved, eventually opting for the business area to be rebuilt on its existing site, but with modifications to the street layout that included the widening of three principal streets and other road improvements, including the undergrounding of services. Given that narrow streets had been a problem in pre-earthquake Napier, this was a significant improvement, and was partly implemented using the town planning legislation of the time. The Commissioners acknowledged that, in the replanning of Napier, they were constrained by both time and finance. Third, the establishment of an alternative governance model can facilitate recovery and reconstruction. The Commissioner model proved an outstanding success in Napier, with the restoration of services and replacement reconstruction being largely completed when the Commissioners' term of management finished in May 1933. In Christchurch in 2011, a different model was instituted, in which the Canterbury

Earthquake Recovery Authority, effectively a department of central government, works alongside the Christchurch City Council. Fourth, communication with and participation of the community in recovery and reconstruction activity is important. From 4 to 13 February 1933, the Daily Telegraph issued the *News Bulletin* free of charge to residents, informing them about initial recovery efforts. The contemporary equivalent of such information sharing, as seen in Christchurch, includes radio, television, websites, and text messaging. Later, reconstruction planning was assisted by the Napier Reconstruction Committee, which met on a very regular basis and liaised extensively with the Commissioners about many aspects of the rebuilding of Napier. Sub-committees were also set up to liaise with property owners in the central business area. The Thirty Thousand Club was also active, particularly with regard to Marine Parade improvements. Given that the 21st century is a much more collaborative world than 80 years earlier, public participation in reconstruction planning could become important to its success. Fifth, there is a need to plan ahead, with a view to mitigating damage and losses in the event of future earthquakes or other disasters. In New Zealand, the Hawke's Bay earthquake led to the review of building requirements, and ultimately to the establishment of the Earthquake Commission and a national civil defence structure. The Buildings Review Committee was set up shortly after the earthquake, with regulations recommended by the Committee becoming law in 1935. These regulations have been progressively updated since, with a further review pending because of the Canterbury earthquakes. In recent times, local authorities have also been required to adopt policies about earthquake-prone buildings.²⁰

The suburban development of Napier is a little unusual in that much of it has been promoted in partnership with other public authorities, namely the Napier Harbour Board, and the Hawke's Bay County Council, and central government for those areas where state housing was to be included. This has resulted in the staged growth of Napier in which each suburb has been planned and developed as distinct and separate modules or urban "cells". Each suburb has also developed its separate character, partly reflecting building styles of the time. This was the pattern for all new Napier suburbs developed after the earthquake. A consequence of Napier's approach to suburban development has been the adoption of separate town planning or district schemes for the suburbs, so that in 1968, there was no district scheme in place that, in one document, covered the full geographical area of Napier. The town instead was covered by a mosaic of sectional schemes. After

post-earthquake reconstruction, planning was primarily focused on development of new suburbs, rather than on planning for the city as a whole.

The positive lesson from Napier about suburban planning is that suburbs can be planned on a coherent and rational basis, using neighbourhood ideas in part to promote localism and community identity. What Napier does is to provide a model for cellular-style suburban growth and although the principal developers in Napier at the time were public authorities, there is little reason, in theory, to prevent private developers from taking on this role. Smaller integrated developments have taken place in Napier in more recent times, for example, Knightsbridge, which is a private development located a little to the north of Taradale. There are two principal negative lessons for suburban planning. First, the planning of new suburbs should ensure that a full range of services and amenities are provided as quickly as is reasonably possible. In Napier, the new suburbs were plagued with complaints about delays in securing better roads and drainage, and the provision of shops and community services. While contemporary planning and subdivision requirements usually now ensure that roads and other basic services are completely in place before building on sites can proceed, potential issues that still remain include the establishment of shopping centres, the provision of kindergartens, schools, playgrounds, medical facilities and other social amenities, and linking the suburb into public transport and high speed broadband networks. Second, planning alone may not produce great suburbs. In Napier, the most desirable places to live are on Napier Hill and in seaside locations at Westshore and Ahuriri. The streets of these areas were largely laid out before the arrival of formal planning, but many properties in these locations benefit from views of the sea or townscapes or having larger sections, attributes that might be seen by residents as more than compensating for not living in the more planned environment of the new suburbs. This is partly the inevitable consequence of planning suburbs on flat country where there are few variations in topography. The task of the planner is to provide for features that provide some variations, such as larger park areas and artificial waterways. Of the four post-earthquake Napier suburbs studied in this thesis, the earliest, Marewa, was provided with greatest area of parks. In the initial planning of Marewa in the early 1930s, some thought was given to providing a lake in a lower part of the suburb.²¹

Napier has also produced its own style of place promotion and civic improvement, based to a large extent on the town's sunny climate and close proximity to the sea. From the late 19th century, the Council has endeavoured to develop the Marine Parade along the lines of an English seaside resort. This activity was particularly important in the 1930s and again from the 1950s. The Marine Parade developments exhibit features of the resort development cycle, with the result that the Marine Parade of the 1960s has not lasted in that form to 2011, but has been subject to change and further improvements. From the late 1980s, Napier's place promotion has become largely based on its Art Deco architecture.

The principal lesson with regard to place promotion and civic improvement is that community investment in a coherent array of attractions such as the Marine Parade can be positive for the promotion of a town, although some commitment is necessary to ensure that facilities of this nature are updated and constantly improved, rather than being permitted to languish or decline. This is why Napier, over the last decade, has introduced new or updated amenities such as an Ocean Spa complex and a pathway for pedestrians and cyclists that follows the water's edge. The Aquarium, originally established in the basement of the War Memorial Building in 1956, was replaced with a purpose-built structure in 1976, and was reopened as the National Aquarium in 2002 after a substantial redevelopment was completed.²² Other New Zealand cities have embarked on waterfront improvement projects in recent times, for example, Auckland, Wellington, Dunedin, New Plymouth and Timaru, providing an opportunity for the mutual exchange of ideas between Napier and other New Zealand towns. A related lesson is the need for towns to seek new ways to promote themselves, seen in Napier as the discovery and celebration of the town's Art Deco heritage. In doing so, Napier has chosen a theme that now promotes town in a more distinctive manner, than was the case of the earlier "Sunny Napier" description in which "Sunny" or similar descriptions could be applied to a number of New Zealand places.

Despite the differences and lessons outlined above, the influence of planning on Napier's growth and development had similarities with other New Zealand towns. The informal planning influences began with a deliberate choice of site and the preparation of a town plan to commence settlement through the sale of sections. Later, the Napier Borough Council was established with the objective of planning and providing infrastructure,

addressing public health concerns, and initiating civic improvement projects. Like other councils, the Council collaborated with other organisations: in Napier's case, it was the Thirty Thousand Club that was most significant. With the arrival of formal planning and the passing of the Town-planning Act 1926, Napier's reaction to the new legal obligations to prepare a town planning scheme for the town as a whole was slow, as was the position for many other New Zealand local authorities. In 1968, Napier City Council had not yet adopted a city-wide district scheme.

In summary, planning has been defined in broad terms in this thesis. The term *informal planning* has been used to describe planning-related ideas and activities that were already taking place before the establishment of formal town planning in the early 20th century. The term *formal planning*, therefore, has been used to describe planning activities based on legislation, a developing body of knowledge and a planning profession. Whether informal or formal, the overall objective of planning has been concerned with the arrangement and control of activities in space, with the intention of creating a better living environment for the inhabitants of the area concerned. In Napier, public authorities have endeavoured to do that to some extent since the establishment of Napier in the 1850s. While planning became much more significant in Napier from the 1930s because of both legislation and the possibilities created by the earthquake, a full formal planning regime had still not been accomplished in the city by 1968.

Further Research

This thesis represents a partial study of the planning history of Napier. Many of the topics discussed could have been examined in greater detail, along with more recent planning history from 1968 onwards. Some of these possibilities are mentioned in the following paragraphs, but are not intended as an exhaustive list of research opportunities.

First, a more detailed study could be made of the evolution of the district plan, as it is now known, expanding on the sectional town planning and district schemes introduced in this study, then covering the city-wide district scheme adopted in 1973, followed by later

developments under the Resource Management Act 1991. In 2011, an element of the sectional approach remained, with the district plan containing a separate section applicable to the Ahuriri sub-district. The sectional approach is relevant to contemporary district planning because local authorities are now permitted to review their district plans by sections or provisions, rather than having to review the entire document at one time. Further, as a result of local government reorganisation, the replacement or expanded local authority will, at least for a time, become responsible for two or more district plans. From July 2012, for example, Palmerston North City was covered by two plans, the second plan being the Manawatu District plan, which, until reviewed, applies to the boundary change area that became part of the city from 1 July 2012.²³ A similar situation occurred in Napier following the reorganisation of local government in 1989. Before the city's boundary was extended, there was just one district scheme for the whole city. With reorganisation, the city inherited parts of the former Hawke's Bay County scheme.²⁴ A study of the evolution of the district plan could also possibly touch on the development of the staff structure responsible for planning functions at Napier City Council. This could focus on key individuals, including their qualifications and experience, where this information is available, and could also explore the consequences of a split between service delivery and policy aspects of the planning function that has become a feature of local government in New Zealand since the reorganisation of local government in the late 1980s and the passing of the Resource Management Act 1991. As mentioned in this thesis, Napier City Council did not have a town planning department in 1968 and, before the appointment of a City Surveyor and Planner in 1955, obtained planning advice from officers of the Town Planning Board, planning consultants, and council staff who had no training in planning.

Possible research questions for district plan development and providing planning expertise include the following, noting that "antecedent documents" refer to town planning schemes prepared under the Town Planning Act 1926 and district schemes prepared under the Town and Country Planning Acts 1953 and 1977:

- How has the district plan, and its antecedent documents, influenced the growth and development of Napier?
- What have been the advantages and disadvantages of adopting a sectional approach to the production of the district plan and its antecedent documents?

- Should a sectional or topical approach be adopted for future reviews of the district plan for Napier City or indeed any other New Zealand local authorities?
- How has planning expertise been provided at Napier City Council since the 1920s and how does this compare with other New Zealand local authorities?
- What were the concerns of the Town Planning Department at Napier City when first formed and how have these changed since?

Second, research could be undertaken with regard to regional planning, and the developing and often competitive relationship with Hastings. While some initial suggestions for regional planning were made as early as the 1960s, a regional planning entity was not established until the 1980s. Initially, the Hawke's Bay United Council was established to carry out this function, but was replaced by the Hawke's Bay Regional Council in 1989. Such a study could also look at urban growth issues, which were considered on a regional basis in the late 1970s and early 1980s, along with aspects of regional transportation.²⁵ The Hawke's Bay Area Planning Study was significant as it actively involved all local authorities in the Napier-Hastings area, together with the Ministry of Works and Development. The final report of the study concluded that the existing urban boundaries were adequate to meet all foreseeable population growth in the Hawke's Bay area. This was because of falling population growth rates. In contrast, when the study began, and before the significance of falling growth rates was fully appreciated, a full range of possible growth options was considered. These included the possible establishment of new residential neighbourhoods outside the existing boundaries of Napier and Hastings.²⁶ Also relevant were moves to amalgamate Napier and Hastings into a single city in the late 1990s, failing at the final hurdle when Napier residents rejected the proposed reorganisation scheme by voting against it at a poll.²⁷ Some services are now provided on a regional basis. A single hospital, located in Hastings, served both Napier and Hastings from 1998, following the closure of the complex located on Napier Hill. The following year, the Napier and Hastings newspapers were combined into a single daily newspaper, published in Hastings. Very recently, there have been suggestions that the amalgamation issue be revisited.

Possible research questions relating to regional planning history include:

- How have planning policies adopted by the Hawke's Bay United Council and the Hawke's Bay Regional Council influenced planning outcomes within the region?
- To what extent have Hawke's Bay local authorities collaborated in planning for future urban growth since the 1950s?
- How have Hawke's Bay local authorities collaborated in planning for transportation issues since the 1950s?
- How have Napier and Hastings promoted their towns since the 1950s, both competitively and collaboratively?
- With reference to earlier proposals for the restructure of local government in Hawke's Bay, should Napier and Hastings be replaced with a single authority?

Third, a comparative study could be undertaken of planning aspects of reconstruction following the Hawke's Bay and Canterbury earthquakes of 1931 and 2010/2011 respectively. As already mentioned, these reconstructions, to some extent, have taken different paths. This is not surprising, given that the damage in the Christchurch residential area has been more severe than was the position in Napier, and that, in Christchurch, public expectations about participation in rebuild questions appear to be more profound than was the case for Napier 80 years earlier. A comprehensive comparison of this nature might be a little premature at this time, given that a completed reconstruction will take some years, with the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority expected to function for at least five years after the 2011 earthquake.²⁸ A question worthy of study arises from an observation made by Caroline Miller in a paper published in 2012 that, in part, looked at lessons from the Napier and Christchurch earthquakes. She commented that property owners would largely decide the character and style of the reconstructed city.²⁹ This view perhaps understates that fact that, in both cities, restrictions were imposed on development that did not exist before the earthquake. In Napier, rebuilding in the business areas was subject to the requirements of the Napier Business Area Town Planning Scheme 1931, which effectively altered property boundaries to enable various street widening and other improvements to be carried out. In Christchurch, some

property owners have been prevented from rebuilding on their existing sites because of the unstable nature of the land and risk of future earthquakes.

Possible research questions for a comparative study of the Hawke's Bay and Canterbury earthquakes include:

- To what extent do the recoveries of Napier and Christchurch fit the model for recovery proposed by Kates and Pijawka or other theorists?
- What has been the contribution of planning to both recoveries, and how has such planning been managed?
- What agencies were established to facilitate the recovery and reconstruction and how successful were they?
- How were other organisations and individuals involved in the planning aspects of recovery and reconstruction, and with what success?
- To what extent have property owners determined the character and style of reconstruction?
- What opportunities have been taken to plan and build a better town or city to that which existed at the time of the earthquake?
- What steps have been taken to protect Napier, Christchurch and other New Zealand cities from the effects of earthquakes and other natural disasters in the future?

Finally, a more expansive study of the planning history of New Zealand provincial cities would be useful, given the dearth of research to date in this area. A study of this nature could also highlight how the planning history of Napier differs from other New Zealand towns of a similar size, and how these towns collectively have planning histories that differ from those of New Zealand's four main cities, Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. The planning associated with the growth and development of the main centres, for example, is likely to have focused much more on suburban and transportation planning than is the case for smaller New Zealand towns, where commercial functions have tended to remain in the town's centre, and the overall smaller town size has meant the need to plan transportation networks has been much less than for the main centres. A study of this nature might also provide an opportunity to consider topics suggested by Leonie

Sandercock, for example, social aspects of planning and the contribution made to community building by women, indigenous and minority groups.³⁰

Some possible research questions from a wider planning history perspective include:

- What have been the central concerns of planning in New Zealand's provincial cities since the 1920s, and how do these differ from the experience of the main cities?
- How has the planning for growth and suburban development been managed in provincial centres?
- To what extent has port development and reclamation influenced the planning and development of coastal provincial towns?
- What part has civic improvement and place promotion played in the development of provincial towns and cities?
- What has been the experience of provincial cities in preparing schemes required by town planning legislation?
- To what extent has planning in provincial centres taken into account the needs of Māori, women and minority groups?

The research questions suggested in the various categories above are not intended to provide a comprehensive list of topics, but rather to suggest a few ideas. Any of these topics could add valuable insights to the study of New Zealand planning history. While some topics focus on Napier and the immediate Hawke's Bay region, others have a wider New Zealand context, particularly for urban centres of intermediate size for which, to date, little has been written of a scholarly nature on planning history topics. For planning associated with earthquakes, comparisons with Christchurch are appropriate given that both Napier and Christchurch have been devastated by major earthquakes. Indeed, 3 February 1931 remains the most significant date in Napier's history, just as 22 February 2011 appears destined to become of paramount significance in the history of Christchurch.

Endnotes

¹ *New Zealand Official Year-book 1900*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1900, pp. 93-94.

² *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1931*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1930, pp. 99-100.

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- ³ *Daily Telegraph*, 17 August 1912, p. 4.
- ⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, 3 June 1914, p. 2, and 6 July 1914, p. 6. These newspaper reports were in advance of the lecture, the lecture itself not being reported by the *Daily Telegraph*.
- ⁵ See discussion about the 28-Acre Block and smaller block near Napier Boys High School, in Chapter 4.
- ⁶ Graham Bush, *Local Government & Politics in New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995. 2nd ed., p. 30.
- ⁷ See discussion of the City Beautiful movement, in Chapter 2.
- ⁸ K.R Hawker, *City of Napier Centennial 1874-1974: Official Souvenir Booklet & Programme, February 9th-May 4th*, Napier: Daily Telegraph, 1974, p. 37.
- ⁹ Napier City Council does not appear to hold specific records detailing the history of its Town Planning Department. The information stated is the result of enquiries made about this.
- ¹⁰ M.D.N. Campbell, *Story of Napier 1874-1974: Footprints Along the Shore*, Napier: Napier City Council, 1975, p. 222.
- ¹¹ See, for example, Letter, Commissioner of Works to Town Clerk, 27 January 1950, File, Town Planning Scheme Napier City and Westshore, 1931-1959, Napier City Council, Box NCC 324, File 170/17, discussed in Chapter 5.
- ¹² *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1968*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1968, pp. 65-67.
- ¹³ Caroline Miller, "Town Planning in New Zealand: The Formative Years of the Discipline", *Planning Quarterly*, December 2002, pp. 12-13, at p. 12.
- ¹⁴ Ministry of Transport: Harbours & Foreshores Section, *A Guide to Reclamation Procedures*, Wellington: Ministry of Transport, 1978, p. 11.
- ¹⁵ Commission for the Environment, *Kirkpatrick Reclamation: Napier Breakwater Harbour: Environmental Impact Audit*, Wellington: Commission for the Environment, 1975, pp. 11-12.
- ¹⁶ Hastings District Council et al., *Ahuriri Estuary Management Plan*, Hastings: Jointly prepared by Hastings District Council, Hawke's Bay Regional Council, Napier City Council and Department of Conservation, 1992, pp. 13-22.
- ¹⁷ File, Napier Harbour Board-NCC Marina Development Ahuriri Lagoon, 1959-1975, Napier City Council, Box NCC 571, File 099-1294-01.
- ¹⁸ "Auckland Port Expansion Plan Put on Hold" from New Zealand Herald website. Retrieved 11 July 2012, from <http://www.nzherald.co.nz/news/print.cfm?objectid=10790332>
- ¹⁹ Matthew Wright, *Town and Country: The History of Hastings and District*, Hastings: Hastings District Council, 2001, pp. 442-449.
- ²⁰ J.S. Barton, "The Re-planning of Napier", *Community Planning*, 2:3, 1932, pp. 73-78; Susan Bidwell, "Introduction, Recovery Phases and Lessons from Napier Earthquake of 1931", from Long Term Planning for Recovery after Disasters: Ensuring Health in All Policies (HiAP), Information Sheet 2. Retrieved on 12 July 2012, from <http://www.cph.co.nz/Files/LTPRecoveryInfoSheet2.pdf>; Noel L. Evans, "Lessons on Response and Recovery from the 1931 Hawke's Bay Earthquake", from 2006 New Zealand Society for Earthquake Engineering Conference Proceedings – Learning from the Hawke's Bay 1931 Earthquake. Retrieved on 20 July 2012, from <http://www.nzsee.org.nz/db/2006/Paper04.pdf>; Caroline Miller, "Learning From History: Planning History and Planning Education in New Zealand", in *Urban Transformations: Proceedings of the 11th Australasian Urban History/Planning History Conference*, Perth: University of Western Australia, 2012; Robert Reithermann, "Earthquakes that have Initiated the Development of Earthquake Engineering", *Bulletin of the New Zealand Society for Earthquake Engineering*, 39:3, 2006, pp. 145-157; Marty Sharpe, "What Napier can Teach Christchurch About Earthquake Recovery", from Stuff/Dominion Post website. Retrieved 5 July 2012, from <http://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/4811992/What-Napier-can-teach-Christchurch-about-earthquake-recovery>; and Matthew Wright, "Lessons from Napier's 1931 Earthquake", from Stuff/The Press website. Retrieved 5 July 2012, from <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/6401863/Lessons-from-Napiers-1931-earthquake>. See also Building Act 2004 and Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011.
- ²¹ *Daily Telegraph*, 6 October 1933, p. 5.
- ²² "History", from National Aquarium of New Zealand website. Retrieved 12 July 2012, from <http://www.nationalaquarium.co.nz/history.asp>
- ²³ Resource Management Act 1991, sections 79 and 81; and Local Government (Manawatu District and Palmerston North City) Boundary Alteration Order 2012, *New Zealand Gazette*, 31 May 2012, pp. 1758-1760, clause 8.

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- ²⁴ The Local Government (Hawke's Bay Region) Reorganisation Order 1989, *New Zealand Gazette*, 13 June 1989, pp. 2334-2350.
- ²⁵ See Mary B. Boyd, *City of the Plains: A History of Hastings*, Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 1984, pp. 360-381; Local Government (Hawke's Bay Region) Reorganisation Order 1989; and Ministry of Works and Development, *Hawke's Bay Area Planning Study: Urban Development Directions: Final Study Report*, Wellington: Prepared for the Hawke's Bay Area Committee by the Town and Country Planning Division, Ministry of Works and Development, 1982.
- ²⁶ Ministry of Works and Development, *Hawke's Bay Area Planning Study: Urban Development Directions: Final Study Report*.
- ²⁷ *Dominion*, 20 October 1999, p. 13, and 1 November 1999, p. 3.
- ²⁸ Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011, section 93.
- ²⁹ Miller, "Learning From History: Planning History and Planning Education in New Zealand".
- ³⁰ Leonie Sandercock, "Introduction: Framing Insurgent Historiographies for Planning", in Leonie Sandercock, (ed.), *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1998, pp. 1-33. See discussion in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

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 Harbours Act 1923
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 Harbours Amendment Act 1910

Hawke's Bay Earthquake Act 1931
Hawke's Bay Rivers Act 1876
Hawke's Bay Rivers Act 1910
Hawke's Bay Rivers Act 1919
Local Authorities (Members' Interests) Act 1968
Local Elections and Polls Act 1953
Local Government Act 1974
Local Government Act 2002
Local Government Commission Act 1946
Municipal Corporations Act 1867
Municipal Corporations Act 1876
Municipal Corporations Act 1886
Municipal Corporations Act 1900
Municipal Corporations Act 1908
Municipal Corporations Act 1920
Municipal Corporations Act 1933
Municipal Corporations Act 1954
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Napier Borough Empowering Act 1943
Napier Borough (Marewa Area) Empowering Act 1946
Napier City (Kennedy Park) Motel Empowering Act 1964
Napier City (Westshore Streets Improvement) Empowering Act 1951
Napier Foreshore Act 1927
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