

**PARA-COLONIAL  
– COLONIAL  
– POST-COLONIAL**

**INFLUENCES AND TRANSACTIONS  
IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF OCEANIA (1840–1990)**

**EDITED BY CHRISTOPH SCHNOOR AND MICHAEL FALSER**

Abstracts of the Joint symposium by Unitec Institute of Technology (Auckland, New Zealand)  
and Technical University Munich (Germany) 29 June to 1 July 2022

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and Technical University Munich (Germany)*

The beginning of global contact with the South Pacific is often automatically associated with the first explorative travels of James Cook in the 18th century. However, it was the late 19th century which culminated in a complex process of multinational developments, backwards and forwards, battles even. Imperialist interests already dated back many centuries, but in realising the trading potentials in this part of the world, the major colonising powers – such as Great Britain, France, USA, the German Reich and others – occupied and took ‘possession’ of island countries in the Pacific during the latter part of the 19th century. This development reached its first peak around and after 1900. However, before this direct colonial impact, trading firms and missionaries had already caused a first – ‘para-colonial’ – wave (indirect, not yet official colonial), introducing and implementing foreign concepts and customs. This dynamic process of constant negotiations and change of power continued well into the first half of the 20th century: in the context and aftermath of the First World War, countries neighbouring the Pacific from the west, east and south – like the USA and Japan to Australia and New Zealand – took over Mandated Territories from collapsing German colonies in the region, but at the same time acted themselves as de-facto colonisers in the concerned island countries from the Marianne Islands to Papua-New Guinea all the way to Samoa. Today, the impact of these 100 years of para-colonial, colonial and postcolonial experiences of more than a century is still widely felt. The recent apology for the dawn raids of the 1970s offered by New Zealand’s Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern reflects this.

Taking the Courthouse in Apia/Samoa as an example, we can see how much different actors and cultures have interacted and how historical building from contested pasts continue to be in the centre of contemporary heritage debates: this building, designed by a German architect in 1902 but built with material from the US and other overseas places, first represented German colonial administrations, then New Zealand’s military administration, and finally housed the Samoan Prime Minister’s office. Unfortunately, the Courthouse was dismantled in 2020 despite many attempts to save it.

How, then have the different changes of powers from outside or the inside – from incoming trading firms and missionaries to whole imperialist powers with their established colonies on the one hand to the colonised island populations on the other – impacted on architecture? How have the various ruling powers in the South Pacific conceived and appropriated pre-colonial local architectural traditions (or not)? How did they develop and implement new forms of architecture in the Pacific Island nations? And how did gradual political independence in the region affect architectural production? And finally: What of all these architectural fragments from a century of constant changes of power has survived until today? What kind of architectural heritage is it and for whom? And how can we ‘read’ this complex, multi-layered architectural legacy?

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## CONNECTING EXISTING KNOWLEDGE WITH NEW RESEARCH

Knowledge on colonial architecture in the South Pacific is still sparse. Connections with pre-colonial settings and the post-colonial afterlife of this built legacy are often missing. In this sense, this call for papers particularly welcomes contributions within the targeted time span c. 1840–1990, embedded in the larger South Pacific region. These contributions would attempt to link their concrete architectural case studies of buildings, ensembles and urbanist projects with reflections on the influences of and transactions between locals and foreigners, colonials and colonised, and their changing allegiances, even across changing political powers.

Keywords and thematic approaches include:

- political actors, cultural brokers, firms and agencies, institutions and national regimes
- contact and encounter, competition, collaboration to local and regional forms of resistance and/or exchange
- normative strategies, aesthetic choices of particular styles in relation to the representation of power, implicit or explicit cultural references
- building practices, materials, technical and logistical aspects, applied building norms and eventual results of structural hybridisation in form, function, material and style

## ‘OCEANIA’: A GEOGRAPHIC AREA AS FOCUS OF THE SYMPOSIUM

While denominations such as Pacific, Pacific Ocean, Pacific Islands etc. are equally varying in their geographic and cultural definitions and comprise of an enormous region of the world which lies beyond the manageable scope of the symposium, we would like to use the term ‘Oceania’ here to narrow down the core area of investigation: as the specific historic and geo-political entity which Germans referred to as *Ozeanien* (Oceania) or *Stiller Ozean* (Silent Ocean) during the 30 years (1884 to 1914) of their colonisation.

During this period, the German Reich took as colonies the Northern Mariana Islands (*Marianen*), Federated States of Micronesia and Palau (*Karolinen*), the Marshall Islands (*Marshall-Inseln*), north-eastern New-Guinea (*Kaiser-Wilhelmsland*), New Britain Archipelago (*Bismarck-Archipel*) and Western Samoa (*Deutsch-Samoa*).

We particularly invite contributions about these specific territories, while case studies on neighbouring island regions, such as Fiji or Tonga, in their own para-colonial, colonial and post-colonial contexts, are equally welcome.

As a consequence, Pacific nations like Australia, New Zealand, the USA or Japan are not targeted as geographical entities per se during the symposium, however they are explicitly included as political players and national actors related to building practices.

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SESSION I

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**PARA-COLONIAL FORMS OF ARCHITECTURE IN  
AND ARCHITECTURAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE SOUTH PACIFIC**

*A Systematic Connection: Hermann Frobenius' Study of Oceanic Building Types (1899)*

ROBIN SKINNER

*Augustin Krämer, Te Rangi Hiroa and the vā of their Research Networks*

TINA ENGELS-SCHWARZPAUL AND ALBERT REFITI

*Re-scribing Indigenous Form:*

*The 19<sup>th</sup> Century Churches of the London Missionary Society in Rarotonga, Cook Islands*

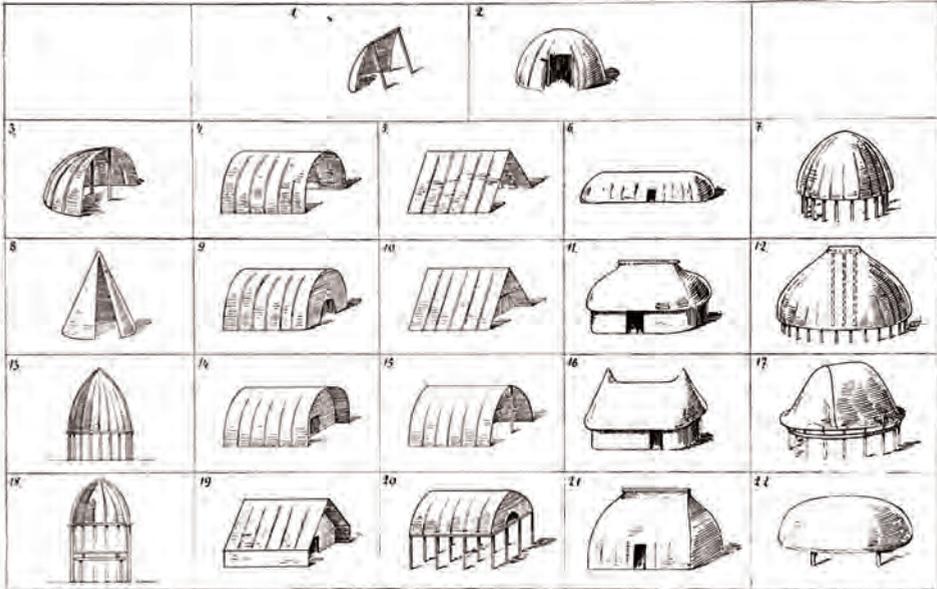
CAROLYN HILL

*Tongan-German (Siamane) Relations and Its Architecture in the Kingdom of Tonga*

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**I. Süd-oceanischer Baukreis.**

1. Australien. 2. Neu-Hebriden, West-Timor, Samoa-Inseln, Neu-Seeland, Australien. 3. Neu-Hebriden. 4. Tonga-Inseln, Neu-Hebriden. 5. Australien, 6. Oster-Insel. 7. Samoa-Inseln. 8. Australien. 9. Paumotu-Inseln. 10. Neu-Guinea. 11. Tonga-Inseln. 12. Samoa-Inseln (vgl. II, 17). 13. Neu-Kaledonien. 14. Neu-Seeland. 15. Neu-Guinea. 16. Bismarck-Archipel. 17. Nord-Nias (vgl. IV, 12). 18. Nikobaren. 19. Neu-Seeland. 20. Neu-Guinea. 21. Hawaii-Fidschi-Inseln. 22. Louisiaden (vgl. IV, 16).

### A SYSTEMATIC CONNECTION: HERMANN FROBENIUS' STUDY OF OCEANIC BUILDING TYPES (1899)

In his 1899 study on oceanic building types, military officer and writer, Hermann Theodor Frobenius (1841–1916) attempted to document the architecture of the Pacific systematically according to building type and location. Applying the approach he used in his earlier study of African buildings, he determined that architecture in the Pacific occupied three coherent zones: southern, northern and central. Without undertaking field work to the southern hemisphere, he cited publications, photographs and museum models to formulate an argument connecting the building traditions of Australia, New Guinea, New Caledonia, Easter Island, the Bismarck Archipelago, Tonga, Fiji, Hawai'i, the Philippines, Micronesia, Tonga, and Samoa. This paper investigates Frobenius's source material and reviews his analysis and the validity of his findings.

Frobenius's study evidences an early colonial acquisition process regarding knowledge about vernacular and traditional architecture in Oceania. Initially appearing in the German building journal, *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, his text sits oddly alongside discussion of European work. Nevertheless, inclusion of his findings there shows the respect his study was accorded and its importance within colonial studies in Germany at this time.

His somewhat eccentric analysis was influenced by – and in turn influenced – the early work of his self-taught ethnologist son, Leo Frobenius (1878–1938). Leo's approach was grounded in a wider belief that geographical proximity and migrational shifts shaped cultural development.

While now largely forgotten, his study must have had some impact. Herman Frobenius wrote that there were opportunities for western architects to work in the Pacific, where they could produce work that extended existing traditions, and this may have influenced work produced there. Augustin Krämer did not cite Frobenius's work in his 1902 study of Samoan material culture and it would not be until three decades later that his analysis would be acknowledged to a wider audience. Herbert Tischner began his ground-breaking 1934 study of oceanic house forms citing Frobenius's investigation as a point of departure, before roundly dismissed the earlier writer's approach.



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## AUGUSTIN KRÄMER, TE RANGI HĪROA AND THE VĀ OF THEIR RESEARCH NETWORKS

While working in Sāmoa, Augustin Krämer (between 1893 and 1899) and Te Rangi Hīroa (1927) paid close attention to *fale fonu* (*Versammlungshäuser*, in Krämer's terms, or *faletele* or *faleafolau* in Te Rangi Hīroa's) – to their construction, inauguration and subsequent use. In their ethnographic surveys of Oceanian architecture, both agreed that Samoan *fale* were outstanding examples of building in Oceania.

Through a comparison of their publications (Krämer 1901, 1906, 1917, 1926; Te Rangi Hīroa 1922, 1930, 1949, 1957, 1986), as well as archival records of the para-colonial period in Aotearoa, Hawai'i and Germany, this paper explores the *vā* (relational space) of Krämer and Te Rangi Hīroa's research networks: their respective theoretical commitments (fatal impact/salvage anthropology and diffusionism); connections between their original, medical education and anthropological methods; institutional support and funding for their research of buildings in the Moana (Pacific); differences and convergences between their world views and ethnographic practices, and their impact on the documentation and evaluation of Samoan and Oceanic buildings, in particular. The comparative investigation will include the effects of Krämer and Te Rangi Hīroa's publications on local architectural practices, particularly during the Solf administration, but also on the reputation of Samoan architecture, in the region and globally.

We will reference our explorations within para-colonial, colonial and decolonial literatures (Bastian, Ratzel, Steinmetz, Escobar, Leach, White) and draw on our previous original research (visual documentation, field notes, interviews) of contemporary deployments of 'Samoanness' in architecture (e.g., Fale Pasifika, Fale Malae, Sinalei Resort, and Fale Sāmoa at the Wellington Dominion Exhibition, now Puketutu Island, and at Tropical Islands Resort, Germany). This will help us to identify generative characteristics able to support future oriented involvements with Moana architecture in urban and architectural planning.

Orienting our paper will be notions of *vā* and whakapapa – the relationships between things and people in the past/present/future of the Moana.



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*The Matavera Church, Rarotonga, 1904*

Photo G. R. Crummer, in Clement Wragge, *The Romance of the South Seas* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1906).

**RE-SCRIBING INDIGENOUS FORM:  
THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY CHURCHES OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY  
SOCIETY IN RAROTONGA, COOK ISLANDS**

The first churches of the Cook Islands were constructed in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century following the mission endeavours of the London Missionary Society (LMS). The LMS was able to effect rapid change in the Cook Islands through the pioneering work of Tahitian and Cook Islands converts. Christianity was swiftly adopted through the island group, arriving in Rarotonga in 1823. Over the next three decades five Christian villages were established there, each with church, graveyard, mission house and school. Church places became the central hub of a reshaped community.

Through a close reading of architecture as process, this paper will argue that the historic coral churches on Rarotonga were, and are, an expression of Indigenous autonomy in a changing world. It first examines the particular circumstances of the LMS's arrival to Rarotonga and early timber church-building, unpicking the ways in which Indigenous agency, previously embedded in marae, was re-articulated in a new spiritual and social order. The erection of stone churches and the new coastal road that bound them together is then explored, highlighting how tribal leaders used construction processes to assert and consolidate their mana within their ancestral land. Finally, the resultant Christian structures are investigated as places deeply inscribed with Indigenously determined symbolic purpose, with para-colonial concepts enwoven into local worldviews. The paper concludes by outlining how these historic church places remain an intrinsic part of contemporary Rarotongans' identities and lived experience, with heritage challenges for an increasingly diasporic and heterogenous population.



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*Royal Palace in Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu*  
Photo Christoph Schnoor, 2019

## TONGAN-GERMAN (SIAMANE) RELATIONS AND ITS ARCHITECTURE IN THE KINGDOM OF TONGA

The history of the Kingdom of Tonga's built environment has and continues to reflect the political, cultural and social nuances of its time. This extends to the Tongan-German context in the mid-1800s through to the early 1900s—a time of intense trading by German merchants with franchises across the archipelago and greater Pacific Islands. The paper seeks to contribute to an under-researched area of Pacific architectural history by investigating how the Tongan-German relational context influenced the fale (building) construction in Tonga during this early period. The paper focusses on the socio-political extrinsic factors that influenced the architectural transformations in the Kingdom of Tonga and draws on the findings of German-Tongan research by researchers Emeritus Professor James Bade and Dr Kasia Cook. In weaving together Bade and Cook's social historical research with existing architectural history and findings from my own research, the paper aims to create an interconnected narrative about the German influence on contemporary Tongan fale during this period. Historical information (in English) of this early period in Tonga is scarce and relies on cross disciplinary investigative research methods. For this paper, case studies are focused on data that is readily available or discoverable given the COVID-19 pandemic limitations. They include the Royal Palace and Neiafu's buildings by German traders, with mention of supporting case studies that require more research. A key finding is that the German influence on Tonga's built environment is rather muted and the paper presents explanations for this and traces the political nature of historical records. I also refer to my participant based research conducted with Tongan fale owners, who built houses with industrialised materials during the 1940s, to develop this socio-political discussion. The conference themes the paper discusses includes the shifting building practices amidst social and economic change and the agents of transformation—political actors, firms and cultural brokers—that negotiated and introduced these new architectural materials and building practices.



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**GERMAN COLONIALISM IN THE SÜDSEE AND ITS ENCOUNTERS (1884–1914)**

*From Godeffroy to Hensheim. German Corporate and Residential Architecture in the South Seas in the Colonial Period and its Reception in Germany of the Time*

HERMANN MÜCKLER

*Submerged Systems: Colonial Governance and Phosphate Extraction on Nauru and Angaur in German Micronesia (1902–1913)*

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*Architecture and Infrastructure of the German Colonial Administration in Samoa (1900–14)*

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*Colonial Waves from Apia to Yap:  
Technoscientific Network Architectures of German Expansionism in Oceania*

CLEMENS FINKELSTEIN

*German-Colonial Architecture in German New Guinea and Kaiser-Wilhelmsland –  
Reconstructing Unknown Histories through Published Primary Sources*

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*Assitan's House in Stephansort, New Guinea, in the background storage sheds and house for plantations workers. From Ferdinand Kunzmann, Photo Album Würzburg 1896 (Berlin: Meisenbach, Riffarth & Co., 1896).*

## FROM GODEFFROY TO HERNSHEIM. GERMAN CORPORATE AND RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE SOUTH SEAS IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD AND ITS RECEPTION IN GERMANY OF THE TIME

German merchants and entrepreneurs were extremely active in the South Pacific since at least the early 1860s and were considered equal to British, Australian, and U.S. economic initiatives, with which they were in a competitive relationship. Local players invested a great deal of energy and resources in building an economically viable infrastructure that has produced numerous architecturally interesting buildings. German influence was significant in New Guinea, Micronesia, and West Polynesia long before official German colonial appropriation occurred. Numerous buildings for the enterprising people were constructed by them or for them by the German companies. Many buildings were utilitarian buildings that had to be erected quickly and for which prefabricated houses were used. These were not always brought from Germany, but were offered in the East Australian port cities.

A selection of residential, work and storage buildings as well as buildings for special use are presented as examples of their construction principles and functions in order to gain an overview of German colonial architecture in the South Seas. Such buildings were in turn shown to the public in Germany in the form of illustrations in articles, postcards, collectible pictures and the like, in order to emphasize how well the local infrastructure was already developed on site. This was done to encourage suitable people to go to Oceania and the German South Sea colonies as settlers, colonial administrators and businessmen to support and push the development of German interests there.



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**SUBMERGED SYSTEMS:  
COLONIAL GOVERNANCE AND PHOSPHATE EXTRACTION ON  
NAURU AND ANGAUR IN GERMAN MICRONESIA (1902–1913)**

This paper aims to advance three overarching lines of enquiry into the spatial conditions of the phosphate industry in early twentieth-century German Oceania. First, it is concerned with what the British historian, David Fieldhouse, has described as the “institutional anatomy” of empire, whereby imperial power became articulated to the internal organisation of certain commercial actors that functioned as proxies for state governance. The paper follows the formation and development of the Pacific Phosphate Company (1902) and the Deutsche Südseephosphat AG (1907) in their attempts to gain control of a loosely regulated colonial industry. Second, the paper examines the role of architecture—broadly construed—within an incipient global system of phosphate extraction that transformed Nauru and Angaur into material deposits in service of industrial agricultural production. Finally, the paper considers the curiously “para-colonial” figure of Wilhelm Schönian, the *Regierungsbaumeister* contracted to establishment phosphate operations on both islands, whose technical expertise and professional mobility embodied contemporary notions of German colonial exceptionalism in Oceania and beyond.



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*Albert Schaaffhausen: Building for the Samoan Self-Administration at Mulinu'u, Samoa, 1909*  
7101\_3162\_3412\_0068 Koloniales Bildarchiv Frankfurt

## ARCHITECTURE AND INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE GERMAN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN SAMOA (1900–1914)

This paper focuses on architecture and built infrastructure of the German colonial administration in Samoa, over the period of fifteen years from 1900 to 1914.

By 1900, Samoa had long been under ‘para-colonial’ influence, both through missionaries and through trading. Samoa’s location roughly halfway between San Francisco and Sydney had made its main town Apia desirable as a strategic port, with traders, in particular the DHPG (*Deutsche Handels- und Plantagen-Gesellschaft*), acting on a global scale. In 1879, Apia had been turned into a specially governed zone, with German, British and US consuls governing the wider town area alongside the Samoan government. This was referred to as ‘ele’ele sa’ by Samoans: the forbidden ground.

The architecture and built infrastructure by the German colonial administration will be read against this background. Friedrich Stünzner, Albert Schaaffhausen and Richard Schöneich are the three de-facto architects of the small colonial government (trained as builders and draughtsmen). These men designed or implemented designs for municipal buildings, including the courthouse. The courthouse was erected in 1903, following a design by Stünzner, and extended a few years later, with plans drawn up by Schaaffhausen. This building plays a particular role in the small colony because Governor Wilhelm Solf intended the courthouse to educate the colonialists to act with more responsibility towards the general public in their building practice: to build more solidly and a sense of aesthetics. This admonition was relevant because numerous buildings in and around Apia were erected nearly without any design intention at all.

The paper has to rely almost entirely on sources from the colonialist side, as the German colonial administration left behind a multitude of files (now either stored as microfilms in Wellington or digitised in Samoa), and the *Samoanische Zeitung*, the local newspaper, recorded everyday events. Voices by Samoans, the colonised, however are scarce.



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**KELEMA MOSES**

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*Naval Station Administration Building, U.S. Naval Station Tutuila Historic District, Fagatogo Village, American Samoa, 1904 Photo Kelema Lee Moses, 2017*

### THE NAVAL STATION TUTUILA IN AMERICAN SAMOA AND THE ARCHITECTURAL IMAGINARY

The United States attempted to solidify its political and military foothold in the South Pacific at the conclusion of the Spanish American War (1898). Spain's departure from Guam and Philippines, and the Tripartite Convention (1899) between the U.S., Germany and the United Kingdom, opened the door for the U.S. government to craft an imperial empire that did not begin or end in 1898, but as Alyosha Goldstein (2014) reminds us, contributed to an "...uneven constellation of [U.S.] state and local governments...unincorporated territories...[and] military bases". This paper examines the architecture of Naval Station Tutuila in American Samoa. U.S. Navy administrators levelled the land between the bay and Fagatogo Village. They erected a coaling dock and shed before obtaining more land and placing fill on the coral reef to construct wood framed and concrete structures. The military base serviced the practical needs of U.S. Navy personnel stationed in the islands and, more importantly, revealed the complex political negotiations between Samoans and the U.S. federal government about property and U.S. citizenship. The extant structures of the defunct naval station are visual imprints of a U.S. architectural imaginary that blurred the boundaries between permanence and temporality.



**CLEMENS FINKELSTEIN**

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*Observatory in Apia, Samoa. New service building, designed by Franz Linke and Fritz Stünzner, 1905. Photographer unnamed (Linke).*

## COLONIAL WAVES FROM APIA TO YAP: TECHNOSCIENTIFIC NETWORK ARCHITECTURES OF GERMAN EXPANSIONISM IN OCEANIA

“Where love does not guide, material needs force attention,” mused Prussian geophysicist Emil Wiechert forebodingly in 1903 at the Second International Seismological Conference of the International Association of Seismology and Physics of the Earth’s Interior (IASPEI) in Strasbourg. His memorandum addressed soaring interest in establishing a centrally coordinated and organized network of seismic sensors. These would emulate through the measurement and analysis of pulsating planetary vibrations what Röntgen had shown to be possible with the application of X-rays, namely revealing the interior composition of solid, opaque bodies. As knowledge about the planet became increasingly linked with modern conceptions of economic stability, futurity, and risk management, Wiechert pondered the pioneering role of applied geophysics in naturalizing the colonial expansionism of the German Empire. His prime example, and the envisioned first node in his planetary system of environmental control, was the Geophysical Samoa-Observatory. Supported by the Imperial Government and the Royal Prussian Ministry of Education, the Samoa-Observatory was established in 1902 by the Royal Academy of Sciences Göttingen on the peninsula Mulinu’u near Apia on the island of Upolu. Its first director Otto Tetens constructed the scientific compound with the assistance of local structural engineer Friedrich “Fritz” Stünzner and architect Albert Schaaffhausen. Since architecture eclipsed in importance even the technologically advanced seismometers in facilitating empirical work, Tetens sought to cultivate the observatory grounds with a unique dualistic embrace of “native” [*einheimisch*] design. Whether moving into pre-existing Samoan fale or combining indigenous materials and building techniques with prefabricated German modular units, Tetens’ holistic design approach entangled both transplanted German originality and local Samoan belonging. This subtle contraction materialized contrary to German colonial policy but oddly aligned with the loaded German term *Heimat* (home) likewise mobilized in Wiechert’s argumentation. This presentation discerns the observatory’s “native” hybridity at the intersection of appropriation, substitution, and translation.



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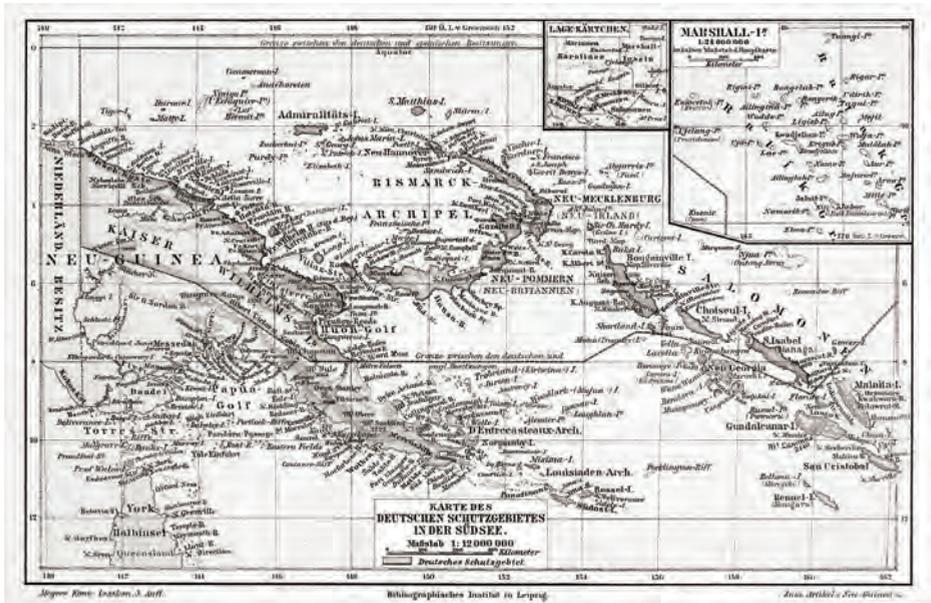
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Map of the “Deutsche Schutzgebiete in der Südsee [German Colonies in the South Pacific]”, as published in Meyers Konservationslexikon around 1900.

## GERMAN COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE IN NEUGUINEA'S KAISER- WILHELMSLAND AND THE BISMARCK-ARCHIPEL. RECONNECTING A FRAGMENTED ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

Various important historical monographs dealing with the German-colonial era in the South Pacific/Oceania (“die deutsche Südsee”, as it was called in German) have been written over the last decades. Astonishingly, the history of the German-colonial architecture and urbanism has never been addressed as a complete survey – the reason may be two-fold: First, the German-colonial territory – from the *Karolinen*, *Marshall-Inseln* to the *Kaiser-Wilhelmsland*, the *Bismarck-Archipel* and parts of the *Salomonen* all the way to Deutsch-Samoa, was scattered over hundreds of square kilometres of the Pacific, was developed only for some three decades until WWI, and – with Samoa being the only positive exception – only limited official documentation of the various building projects was produced or survived as archival material. Second, any contemporary on-site survey work seems rather helpless: only very few architectural buildings (most often built in wood) survived the First and Second World War over the region, not to mention the current building boom to replace the last remaining structures, or the political disinterest in any preservation efforts.

These particularly difficult circumstances leave the architectural historian with a difficult task. This paper offers some case-studies into a larger methodological research and exhibition with catalogue publication project at the TU Munich to combine a *typological approach* to classify the German-colonial building programme into administrative, infrastructural, industrial, housing or religious functions, with a *bibliographical approach* to identify the various type-related, colonial-time, but widely scattered print publications: those range from administrative and business reports, biographical memories of former political actors, travel books, photographic albums and German newspapers to specialised journals of and for engineers, architects and urbanists, missionaries and farmers. For this presentation, the focus will be on German *Neuguinea's Kaiser-Wilhelmsland* and the *Bismarck-Archipel*.



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**FROM INTER-COLONIAL ENCOUNTER TO POST-COLONIAL BUILDING PRACTICES**

*Architecturalising Missionary Space.*

*The Steyler Mission Architecture during the German and the  
Australian Colonial Period in New Guinea (1896–1914–1945)*

PAUL STEFFEN

*Burns Philps's Encounters across Colonial Borders:  
Buildings for Export and Commerce in the South Pacific*

AMANDA ACHMADI AND PAUL WALKER

*Technoscientific Networks: Architecture in the Cook Islands, 1949–1955*

JEANETTE BUDGETT

*“The Athens of Tonga”:*

*The 1960s Architecture of Futa Helu's 'Atenisi Institute Campus, Nuku'alofa, Tonga*

BILL MCKAY

*Australian Architects in Melanesia:*

*Two Case Studies in Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia, 1960s–1980s*

PETER SCRIVER, AMIT SRIVASTAVA AND LOUIS LAGARDE

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*Sisters house at coastal Malol Station 1912*

## ARCHITECTURALISING MISSIONARY SPACE. THE STEYLER MISSION ARCHITECTURE DURING THE GERMAN AND THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIAL PERIOD IN NEW GUINEA (1896–1914–1945)

This paper aims to present the different phases in the development of the typical mixed building style of the Catholic mission in the colonial context of German New Guinea up to the time of the Australian Mandate Territory of New Guinea.

The mission station as an institution, is a missionary-built facility with buildings belonging to it, such as the church, the rectory, the Sisters' convent, the mission school, often associated with a boarding school, an ambulatory ward or a mission hospital. Then there are the gardens run by the station staff with their native workers, livestock and agriculture and the well-known mission plantations in New Guinea. Thus, the mission station staff has an area of several hectares under their control. The missionary station under the leadership of the foreign missionaries is also called the main station, unlike the outstation, where no missionary resides permanently but just a local catechist. Although this main station is located in New Guinea, unlike the settlements of the native population, it is not under the control of the local people; it is a new locality or space created by missionaries, in which the locals do not determine the rules for any coexistence to be followed.

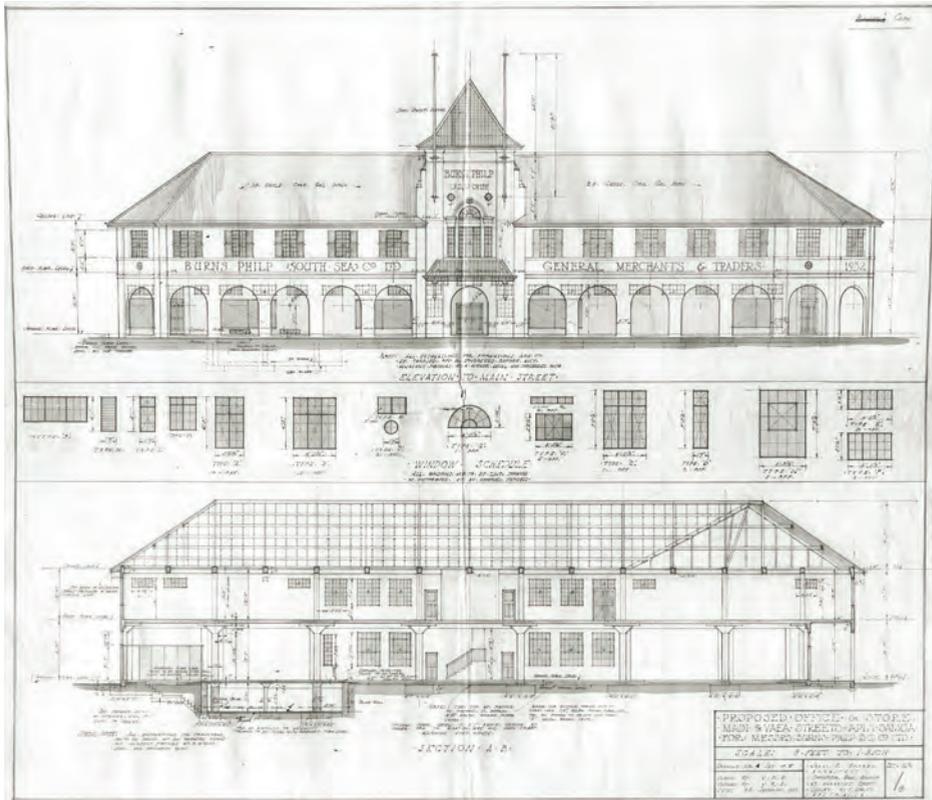
Similar to the houses of the local population, the roofs were covered with locally available reeds or with palm leaves. This resulted in a hybrid of European and local architectural style. Since boards and beams could be produced mechanically in the mission's own sawmill from 1906 onward, a more distinctly European style of mission buildings, with a certain adaptation to the tropical climate, was developed and dominated in the 1930s. Nevertheless, many mission buildings like chapels, schools and living quarters were still made predominantly with local materials. In the 1930s, the architecture of churches in the larger stations was more oriented towards European models of buildings, and more adapted to the local and its climatic conditions. However, there was one big difference between European church and house buildings and buildings throughout New Guinea because of frequent earthquakes: Only wood was used for construction.



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*Architectural Drawings of the Proposed office and store, Main and Vaea Streets, Apia, Samoa for Messrs Burns Philp (SS) Co Ltd by John Brogan, 1932*

Source: ANU Archives (Noel Butlin Archives Centre, University Archives and Pacific Research Archives, Burns Philp Misc. Printed Material, Z385.

## BURNS PHILP'S ENCOUNTERS ACROSS COLONIAL BORDERS: BUILDINGS FOR EXPORT AND COMMERCE IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

A lasting legacy of 19<sup>th</sup>-century colonialism in the Pacific and Southeast Asia is the fragmented historiography of the region's colonial built environment. Boundaries established by European colonization continue to govern the production of historical studies as these generally adopt geographical frameworks corresponding to the nation-states that emerged from particular colonial empires. Overlooked by this paradigm is the region's intricate interconnectivity in the late nineteenth century. The industrialization of agricultural production and the emergence of international commercial shipping routes opened up territories while facilitating fluid movement of goods, labour, capital and ideas. Crossing colonial boundaries, regional networks developed by commercial entities transformed the Asia Pacific region in the late colonial era. They left built traces in the form of buildings for trade, travel and export-oriented agriculture.

This paper seeks to bring into view the architectural settings of such commercial enterprises and the cross-cultural encounters they entailed. It will focus on the architectural infrastructure emerging in key regional sites through tracing the inter-regional operations of the Australian firm Burns Philp, touching in particular on its engagement with large-scale agricultural production and commerce in different Asia Pacific colonies. These include kapok plantations in Dutch East Indies, copra estates and general store chains in South Pacific colonial territories of Germany, Britain and France, as well as sugar plantation estates and wool production in Australia. Burns Philp not only facilitated industrialization of agricultural production in Asia Pacific; their trade operations were also intertwined with the development of early infrastructure of urban commerce and tourism in the region. Drawing on two collections of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photographs of the Pacific and Southeast Asia derived from the Burns Philp archive, the paper examines images of mostly anonymous commercial built forms from across the region and reflects on how their production was informed by interconnectivity and movement.



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*Frank Ponder arrives at the NZ National Airways Corporation Office, Rarotonga. Ponder is central figure in hat, with Resident Commissioner Geoffrey Neville in bowtie and Winton Ryan to left of Ponder at back. Photo Courtesy of the Mangaia Cultural and Historical Society.*

## TECHNOSCIENTIFIC NETWORKS: ARCHITECTURE IN THE COOK ISLANDS, 1949–1955

New Zealand's imperial ambitions extended to the Pacific in the early 1900s with colonies in the Cook Islands, Niue, Western Samoa, and Tokelau. By the 1950s decolonization of the Pacific was being anticipated and New Zealand, a young nation recently a colony itself, was to address the responsible devolution of colonial territories and prepare them for independence. The arrival of NZ government-sponsored modernist buildings in New Zealand's Pacific territories coincided with the appointment of architect Frank Ponder to head up the newly formed Pacific Island Construction section of the New Zealand Ministry of Works in 1949. Responsible for the design and project management of dozens of buildings throughout the Pacific, this paper discusses two school buildings he designed for Rarotonga in the Cook Islands in the early 1950s: the re-established Tereora College and a primary school building both at Nikao. The paper describes the working relationship between the New Zealand of Ministry of Works and the Cook Islands Administration Public Works Department through an investigation of archival correspondence from the late 1940s and 1950s. (The Cook Islands achieved a self-governing independence in free association with New Zealand on 4 August 1965.)

A strongly technical discourse unfolds in the archive around the construction of the two school buildings. (On-site fieldwork of the buildings in question was prevented by the 2020–21 global pandemic.) This paper attempts to show the actors and networks in the production of a colonial architecture, in the highly charged political environment of New Zealand's relatively short-lived colonies on the cusp of independence. Mid-twentieth century technoscientific discourses, common to British tropical architectural projects elsewhere, are recognizable, yet here this technical discourse appears to put the discipline of architecture in jeopardy. Jiat-Hwee Chang has described a 'colonial technoscientific network' that operated to shape the discourses of building science, tropical architecture and the politics of decolonization, specifically in the work of architects in tropical colonies of the British Empire. This case study investigates a technoscientific network in practice where various political actors; NZ government architects, engineers and their agents on the ground in Rarotonga played out, to an apparently silent indigenous population, a 'scientific' power struggle in the complex context of decolonization.



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*School of 'Atenisi, Futa Helu flanked by Plato and Aristotle.*

## **"THE ATHENS OF TONGA": THE ARCHITECTURE OF FUTA HELU'S 'ATENISI INSTITUTE CAMPUS, NUKU'ALOFA, TONGA**

This paper examines the architecture of 'Atenisi Institute in Nuku'alofa, capital of Tonga. 'Atenisi (Tongan for Athens) was founded in 1963 by intellectual, political activist and educator, Futa Helu ('Ilaisa Futa 'I Ha'angana Helu, 1934–2010), and operated as an independent liberal arts university. The campus still stands today, although the operation of the Institute has been the subject of political and legal challenges, and it is an important late 20<sup>th</sup> Century architectural expression of liberal thinking and democratic activism in the Kingdom of Tonga.

The 20<sup>th</sup> Century was marked by independence, freedom and sovereignty movements within colonised / formerly colonised indigenous populations. One South Pacific nation was never colonised however: the Kingdom of Tonga, although like other Pacific territories, Tongan society was strongly influenced by Christian missionaries, Western culture and capitalism, while continuing to be governed by a hereditary ruling class. Numerous 20<sup>th</sup> Century liberal, democratic and nationalist movements across Oceania have turned to both architectural modernism and indigenous forms in the shaping of their built environment, but in Tonga however it could be argued that these architectural forms had been co-opted by an un-colonised but autocratic system.

This paper explores Futa Helu's vision for an appropriate architecture to accommodate an independent, liberal-minded campus. It briefly backgrounds the history and context of Tonga, Futa Helu and his work, the struggle for democracy and liberalisation of society before focusing on the architecture of 'Atenisi. The ensemble of buildings there is the result of several architects work, including ex-patriot German architect Gottfried Seule and Aotearoa New Zealand's Pip Cheshire, all in a variety of materials, forms and styles. It contrasts them with other contemporary architecture in Tonga such as the University of the South Pacific's campus, churches, government and institutional buildings, in order to tease out a more nuanced view of architectural expression in an era of post-colonial built environments, regional modernism, recovery of indigenous forms, national identity and cultural expression.



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Very little scholarly work has been published on the contemporary architecture of Tonga and 'Atenisi. This paper will in part be based on discussions with Sisi'uno Helu (daughter of Futa Helu), Michael Horowitz (current Dean of the Institute), Paul Janman and Scott Hamilton (former teachers at 'Atenisi, writers and film makers of the documentary *Tongan Ark*: <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1966622/>) and others.

Bill McKay's research in Tonga includes "A Guide to the Architecture of the Pacific: Kingdom of Tonga" published in *Architecture New Zealand*, 2017. An online version is here (scroll down and click for maps, buildings, notes etc) <https://architecturenow.co.nz/articles/a-guide-to-the-architecture-of-the-pacific-kingdom-of-tonga/>

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University of Adelaide, Australia / University of New Caledonia



*Douglas Snelling: Jean Nawa House, Mont Mou, Noumea, New Caledonia, 1968–69.*  
Photo courtesy Davina Jackson.

## AUSTRALIAN ARCHITECTS IN MELANESIA: TWO CASE STUDIES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA AND NEW CALEDONIA, 1960S–1980S

The gradual unravelling of the European colonial empires that followed the two World Wars witnessed Australia's own belated entry into the colonial arena. Overnight Australia became a more direct player in the politics and development of its immediate Asian and Pacific neighbourhoods and their evolving architectural and construction histories. Regional security concerns had prompted initial military engagement, but 'softer', more constructive and strategic regional leadership was also attempted through aid programs such as the Colombo Plan that sought to support mutually beneficial socio-economic development in Australia's Indo-Pacific hemisphere. This conspicuous new national interest in the region was also reflected in the work of individual Australian design professionals and academics who found new opportunities to consult in offshore architectural and construction projects. The current paper – a contribution to a larger study that is examining the transnational engagement and agency of Australian architects in the Indo-Pacific region – will interpret the work and agency of two such architects who were active in Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia, respectively, between the nineteen sixties and eighties.

Through the case of Balwant Saini, an Australian academic of Indian origin who pioneered the development of research and curricula on tropical architecture at the universities of Melbourne and Queensland, we examine Australia's neo-colonial engagement with the region under its UN mandated administration (1949–1975) of the former British and German colonial territories comprising present day Papua New Guinea. Saini's architectural agency – through building research, technical aid and training projects – is contrasted with the case of elite Sydney architect, Douglas Snelling, whose more esoteric focus on the potential meeting of modern Australasian and Pacific lifestyles on common environmental and tectonic grounds found new patronage for his cosmopolitan regionalist design language among the elite of New Caledonia in the 1960s.



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**ORIGINS AND HERITAGE RECONSIDERED –  
(POST-) COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE AND INDIGENOUS LEGACIES**

*Two Legacies from Kaiser-Wilhelmsland: Adzes and Kulthäuser  
– Berlin and International Exhibitions*

MARTIN FOWLER

*A Building as a Place of Protest: Schaaffhausen's Bandstand in Apia/Samoa*

LAMA TONE

*An Architectural Irony: The Mau Bandstand of Samoa*

ADAM WILD, KRAUSE KEIL AND CHRISTOPH SCHNOOR

**MARTIN FOWLER**

Independent scholar, Melbourne, Australia



*German period plantation manager's house in 1975.  
The Guari family's home near Lae. Photo: Martin Fowler.*

## **TWO LEGACIES FROM KAISER-WILHELMSLAND: ADZES AND KULTHÄUSER – BERLIN AND INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS**

1912, last great German scientific expedition. Ethnologist Richard Thurnwald collected "...over 5000 ethnographical objects, [he] remained on the Sepik until 1915, travelling to many parts of the upper river and its tributaries..." The objects were destined for the great Berlin museums.

January 2012. Brisbane airport. Kwoma artist Anton's adze; a steel blade cane strap bound to a wooden handle alerts Customs' attention. German steel, namba wan long taim bifo (the best from long ago) is prized by Sepik carvers. Anton contributed to a major architecture/art project for the 7th Asia Pacific Triennial Exhibition of Contemporary Art in Brisbane.

1870s New Britain. Richard Parkinson arrives. 1884 the German Trader colony is annexed. Parkinson photographs, maps and documents Melanesian people, cultural and art objects and architecture. 1900, new colonial architecture and infrastructure reflect modern ambitions under a confident colonial culture with scientific and humane ideals. Rabaul becomes 'Jewel of the Pacific'. 1914 German New Guinea ends as Australian Military take control.

1921, A Mandated Territory administration makes few changes when moving into the former colony's towns and settlements. 1937, a major volcanic eruption kills many people and severely damages Rabaul, which Japan' military attacks in 1942 starting the Pacific War. In late 1945, the remnants of colonial architecture are rubble. Melanesian people in former battle zones try to recover after wartime deaths and damage. 1946, Relief efforts and rebuilding. 1950–60s, rapid development in TPNG. 1970s, Melanesian Way used to forge a new national identity.

1973, I become project architect: National Museum and National Arts School.

Mid 1970s, Emergence of contemporary PNG urban arts and re-invigorated village arts.

Unawares, I became entwined in a larger, longer process: visiting Sepik communities, meeting overseas curators, anthropologists and collectors; experiencing, documenting, researching and collaborating along the way It all flows from the precedent 1912 expedition above. Its legacy contradicts British colonial and ethnographic norms of paternalistic inevitability (doomed 'primitive' practices). But unfortunately for many in Oceania, self-fulfilling prophecies would be prevalent through the 20<sup>th</sup> century.



**LAMA TONE**

University of Auckland, New Zealand



*Hufnagel-Betham Family Collection, Museum of Samoa*

## AN ARCHITECTURAL IRONY: THE MAU BANDSTAND OF SAMOA

This paper examines the architecture of the Office of the Mau in Apia, Upolu, Sāmoa. Originally a bandstand designed by German architect Albert Schaaffhausen in 1909 during Germany's occupation of Samoa, it was located in Mulinu'u peninsula, Apia (Sāmoa's capital) amongst the tu'ugamau (burial grounds) of the former heads of state and other memorials. It was subsequently relocated to the nearby village of Vaimoso, on the sacred ground of the laoa malae – 'Tauavasa' (talking chief's malae) of high talking chief of the Faleata district, Toma'aga''une ('Une). What was the reason for the relocation from Mulinu'u to Vaimoso? Why on the malae (meeting space in the village)?

This paper explores the possible reasons for the relocation and the co-opting of the building as the Office of the Mau. After New Zealand's capture of Sāmoa from Germany during the First World War, subsequent inept New Zealand administration and the disastrous effects of the 1919 'Black Flu' influenza epidemic, the Mau independence movement used the band stand as its headquarters. In 1929, a peaceful march of protest from the Mau office along the Apia waterfront to the headquarters of the New Zealand administration, a building known as the German Courthouse, resulted in the killing of several people by New Zealand soldiers, including the Mau leader Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III. This is known as Black Saturday.

In this paper the transformation of the former bandstand is examined from an indigenous standpoint, with careful attention to the precinct where it had been relocated such as the village, the malae and the fale fono behind where political issues would have been discussed. It addresses the shape shifting, appropriation and multi-use of this significant building and considers the cross-cultural and custodial architecture of the Mau and how this structure stood in the sacred and tapu space of the tu'ugamau then was relocated to another sacred and tapu space of the malae. This research also addresses subsequent use of the building and efforts to restore it.



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- Seldom scholarly work has been published on the architecture of Albert Schaaffhausen in 'German' Sāmoa during the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. My sources for this paper will also be based on personal research.

**ADAM WILD, KRAUSE KEIL AND CHRISTOPH SCHNOOR**  
Auckland, New Zealand



*The former Courthouse in Apia, Samoa. Photo Christoph Schnoor, 2011*

## THE TOSS OF A COIN: ISSUES OF HERITAGE AND CONSERVATION FOR THE COURTHOUSE IN APIA/SAMOA

No formal heritage lists are managed in Samoa, however the National Heritage Conservation Policy provides a framework for the sustainable management of Samoa's natural and cultural heritage. That Policy identifies four heritage buildings: the Courthouse Building, the old Customs House at Tamaligi, the Western Samoa Trust Estate Corporation, and the Head of State's residence at Moto'otua. Three of these have since vanished, including the Courthouse.

The former Courthouse in Apia was emblematic of the presence of political powers in Samoa through the 20<sup>th</sup> and into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It was first designed by builder Friedrich Stünzner in 1902 for the occupying German colonial government. Opened in April 1903, the Courthouse soon saw a series of extensions, designed by the colony's de-facto architect Albert Schaaffhausen. With these extensions, it acquired functions of a government building, as well. In June 1914, New Zealand troops occupied Samoa; their administration also took over the Courthouse. It was used by the New Zealand administration under the League of Nations Mandate until 1961. From Independence in 1962 onwards, the Samoan Government used the Courthouse as seat of the Prime Minister and other governmental functions, plus, for a number of years, the Museum of Samoa. Through this history, and seeing a succession of adaptations, the building became a symbol of political change.

In 2011, with a new Ministry of Justice Building erected in Mulinu'u, the threat of falling into disuse and disrepair became obvious. A campaign was started to save this building, involving the New Zealand High Commission, the local Apia Courthouse Trust, Archifact Ltd. and staff and students from Unitec in Auckland. But in the end, this work proved fruitless because the Samoan Government decided to pull the building down in June 2020.

This paper reflects on the challenges and opportunities with acknowledging the layers of occupation, use and value associated with the adaptations, and recognising the potential for conservation of heritage value through further adaptive reuse, here was an opportunity for a hypothetical conservation scheme which suggests a combination of abstracted reconstruction and new design for the on-going care of this place.



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## SPEAKERS AND BIOGRAPHIES

**DR AMANDA ACHMADI** is a Senior Lecturer in architectural design (Asian architecture and urbanism) at the University of Melbourne. Her research explores historical cosmopolitan urbanism and identity politics in colonial and postcolonial Indonesia, photographic framing of 19<sup>th</sup> century architecture of Indonesia, and the politics of urban spectacle and informality in Southeast Asian cities. She has published articles in the *Journal of Southeast Asian Architecture*, *Fabrications*, *ABE Journal – Architecture Beyond Europe*, and *Trialog*, and book chapters in *Sir Banister Fletcher’s Global History of Architecture* (2019), *The Past in the Present: Architecture in Indonesia* (2007) and *Architecture and Identity* (2008).

**JEANETTE BUDGETT** is a Senior Lecturer in the Master of Architecture programme at UNITEC Institute of Technology and a practicing architect. Her M. Architecture (2005) investigated mission-period coral architecture of the Cook Islands.

Recent research: “The Gift that Goes on Giving? Frank Ponder’s Hurricane Housing for Niue, *Fabrications*, 27:2 (2017), 153–176, DOI: 10.1080/10331867.2017.1309729. *The Holding* (Rim Books 2020) and *The Unstable City* (Unitec e-Press, 2013) explore the urban architecture of NZ cities and questions of heritage in the work of photographer Allan MacDonald.

**DR TINA ENGELS-SCHWARZPAUL** is Professor in Spatial Design and Postgraduate Studies at AUT. Her research has formed around an edge condition arising from her concurrent engagements in Aotearoa-New Zealand, the Moana and Europe since 1982, focusing on cross-or transcultural relations in art, architecture, design, performance and education in Aotearoa, the Pacific, and Europe. She is co-leader of the Vā Moana Pacific Spaces research cluster at AUT. <https://academics.aut.ac.nz/tina.engels/about>

**CLEMENS FINKELSTEIN** is a Ph.D. candidate in the History and Theory of Architecture at Princeton University, where his dissertation “Architectures of Vibration: Environmental Control, Seismic Technology, and the Frequency of Life, 1898–1944” renders modern architecture’s complex relationship with the ‘phenomeno-technique’ of vibration, framed by trans-imperial entanglements between Germany and the United States. His work engages the built environment at the junction of Art and Architectural History with the History of Science and Technology and is supported by the History of Science Society and the Princeton-Mellon Initiative in Architecture, Urbanism & the Humanities. He is a Fulbright Scholar (Harvard University, 2015–2017).

**MARTIN FOWLER** is an independent consultant and researcher working on personal projects and web accessible content related to PNG/Melanesian art and architecture. He has assisted with some exhibitions at QAGoMA Brisbane 2011–2016. He was also involved with the National Museum PNG for planning upgrading projects 2012–15. Martin was born in Lae (it was TPNG then). He completed high school and university in Australia. He began practicing architecture in Port Moresby. He designed buildings for new National Museum and the National Arts School 1973–77, and became an architecture/culture consultant on some National committees. In 1978 he joined the Commonwealth Schools Commission, Canberra; went into private practice; subsequently taught in architecture at the University of Melbourne. From 2002–05 at the University of Technology, Lae.

**CAROLYN HILL** is an architect and researcher who practices in cultural heritage management and conservation. She has worked in various built heritage-focused roles across public and private sectors in New Zealand, Australia and the UK, and now provides heritage services through her consultancy, Lifescapes. She is also a Teaching Fellow in Te Kura Aronui School of Social Sciences

at the University of Waikato, and is currently undertaking her PhD through the university's doctoral scholarship programme.

**DR CHARMAINE 'ILAIŪ TALEI** is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Auckland, School of Architecture and Planning. As a registered architect, Charmaine has practiced architecture in Aotearoa New Zealand, remote and urban Australia, and the South and West Pacific Islands. Her PhD research explored the architectural transformations of the Tongan fale from the 1940s to the early 2000s, and this paper presents formative ideas from her research.

**KRAUSE KEIL** recently finished his Master of Architecture (Professional) at Unitec in Auckland, New Zealand. His Research Project envisaged a new museum for Samoa, using the former (and now dismantled) Courthouse in Apia as the starting point.

**LOUIS LAGARDE** is a Senior Lecturer in Pacific archaeology and Pacific history at the University of New Caledonia, Noumea. His research focuses on the material culture and heritage of Island societies, both in pre-European and colonial times. He is the author of several studies on architecture in the Pacific, including articles on missionary/religious buildings, military/pentitentiary infrastructures, both in New Caledonia and French Polynesia.

**DR JASPER LUDEWIG** is a lecturer in Architectural History and Theory at the University of Newcastle, Australia. His research is broadly concerned with the architectural history – and historiography – of colonial development and governance in both the British and German spheres. His doctoral dissertation presented an analysis of German mission stations in Queensland and their role as instruments of regulation on the colonial frontier. In 2021, Jasper is Research Fellow at the Architectures of Order LOEWE Research Cluster, hosted by the Goethe University Frankfurt and the Max Planck Institute for European Legal History and Theory. In 2017, Ludewig was Doctoral Fellow at the Canadian Centre for Architecture. In 2014, his Honours dissertation was awarded the RIBA *President's Medal*. Jasper Ludewig is Associate Editor and Reviews Editor at *Architectural Theory Review* and Associate Fellow at the Higher Education Academy, UK.

**HERMANN MÜCKLER** is Professor of Cultural and Social Anthropology at Vienna University with a focus on historical topics, colonialism, decolonization, and neocolonialism, peace and conflict studies as well as popular culture. He focuses regionally on Oceania and Australia. He is president of the Anthropological Society in Vienna and the Federation of all Austrian-Foreign Societies, second chairman of the Society for Global History, founder of the Austrian-South Pacific Society and co-founder of the Institute for Comparative Research in Architecture.

Selected book publications: Hermann Mückler, *Kolonialismus in Ozeanien*. Kulturgeschichte Ozeaniens Band 3 (Vienna: Facultas – Wiener Universitätsverlag, 2012); Hermann Mückler, *Die Marshall-Inseln und Nauru in deutscher Kolonialzeit. Südsee-Insulaner, Händler und Kolonialbeamte in alten Fotografien* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2016); Erich Lehner, Hermann Mückler and Ulrike Herbig (eds.): *Das architektonische Erbe Samoas* (Vienna: Neuer Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2007).

**BILL MCKAY** is a lecturer at the University of Auckland School of Architecture and Planning and a well-known author, critic and commentator. He has written extensively on New Zealand architecture including his own books *Worship: A History of New Zealand Church Design* and *Beyond the State: New Zealand State Houses from Modest to Modern*. Most recently he co-authored a book chapter in the *Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture* and a journal article on the controversial demolition of the John Scott-designed Aniwanīwa Visitor Centre.

His teaching is at Masters level in the areas of design, history, heritage theory and professional practice. He also provides fortnightly commentary on urban issues and heritage on Radio New Zealand's Nine to Noon programme and has appeared several times in the television series *Making New Zealand* and *Heritage Rescue*.

**KELEMA LEE MOSES**, Ph.D. is an assistant professor of urban studies and planning at the University of California, San Diego. Her teaching and research combine historical perspectives with discussions about critical contemporary issues related to the built environment of the United States and the Pacific. She has published in several peer-reviewed publications including *Pacific Arts*, *Ardeth*, *The Avery Review*, *Platform*, *The Contemporary Pacific*, *eTropic*, and the *Chicago Art Journal*. Her work has been supported by a Getty/ACLS Postdoctoral Fellowship, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), and the East-West Center at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

**PETER SCRIVER** is a founding director of the Centre for Asian and Middle-Eastern Architecture (CAMEA) at the University of Adelaide, Australia. He is an authority on the architecture and planning history of colonial and contemporary South Asia (*After the Masters*, 1990; *India: Modern Architectures in History*, 2015). He has also been a pioneering critical scholar on *Colonial Modernities* (2007) and *The Scaffolding of Empire* (2007) in the pre-history of the Global South and its ongoing material and cognitive construction. His current work explores historical and contemporary exchanges between the building cultures and architectures of the Indian Ocean rim.

**ROBIN SKINNER** researches and lectures on architectural history including the architecture of the Pacific at Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington.

**AMIT SRIVASTAVA** is the Director (India) for the Centre of Asian and Middle Eastern Architecture (CAMEA) based at the University of Adelaide, Australia. He is an established scholar on the architectural and construction histories of colonial and postcolonial India. His current research focuses on the transnational exchange of knowledge, labour and materials across the Indian Ocean Rim, from Africa and the Middle East to South East Asia and Australia, with special interest in cases of South-South Cooperation. His books include *India: Modern Architectures in History* (2015) and *The Elements of Modern Architecture* (2020).

**PAUL B. STEFFEN** lived in Papua New Guinea for six years (1983–87, 1993–95), first in parishes on the PNG Highlands and later teaching in the Theological Institute at Bomana, Port Moresby. From 1996 to 2000 he taught in Germany, from 2001 to 2002 in Manila, Philippines and since 2002 at the Pontifical Urbaniana University in Rome, specialised on practical-contextual theology. He published “Missionsbeginn” in Neuguinea in 1995, a result of his dissertation at the Gregoriana in Rome; and *Centres of Formation and Evangelizing Ministry* and in 2014, *Pastoral Institutes in Oceania and Africa*. Another subject on *The Missionary Approach of the Divine Word Missionaries and Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters in mainland New Guinea, 1896–1945*, is in preparation.

**PFT LAMA TONE** is a lecturer at the University of Auckland School of Architecture and Planning and a well-known Pacific Designer. With sporting backgrounds, he has taught extensively on contemporary Pacific architecture at the University of Auckland following on from his Masters postgrad research thesis called ‘Designing with Pacific Concepts’ in 2008. Lama also started his own company in 2008 called New Pacific Architecture Ltd. Lama has been a solo practitioner

for 13 years mainly in South Auckland with many of his clients of Pacific Island heritage. His recent works including residential, institutional and churches and also as an architectural cultural consultant to Kainga Ora's Pasefika Pilot Housing in Māngere, South Auckland, which will be kicked off in 2022. His teaching is at undergraduate as well as Masters postgraduate level in areas of design, Pacific history, heritage theory and professional practice. Lama will start his PhD by practice research in mid-2022, where he will look at proverbial architecture from the Pacific, and hopes to contribute to the solutions of social housing in Aotearoa and the Pacific.

**DR ALBERT L. REFITI** is Associate Professor in Spatial Design at Auckland University of Technology (AUT) – Te Wānanga Aronui o Tāmaki Makau Rau, in Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand. He is a research leader in the field of Pacific spatial and architectural environment with an extensive research and publication in the area, supported by his teaching and lecturing in the last 15 years. He is co-leader of the Vā Moana Pacific Spaces research cluster at AUT. <https://academics.aut.ac.nz/albert.refiti>

**DR PAUL WALKER** is a Professor of Architecture at the University of Melbourne. Walker's recent research has encompassed mid-twentieth century architecture in Australia & New Zealand, contemporary museum architecture, and colonial museum buildings in Australia, New Zealand & India. His publications include chapters in *Italy/Australia: Postmodern Architecture in Translation* (2018), *The Handbook of Contemporary Indigenous Architecture* (2018), *The Sage Handbook of Architectural Theory* (2012), and *Neo-Avant-garde and Postmodern: Postwar Architecture in Britain and Beyond* (2010).

**ADAM WILD** is a director of Archifact – architecture & conservation limited. He is a registered architect and Fellow of the New Zealand Institute of Architects. His professional practice is focussed on the specialist field of architectural conservation.

He is a member of, and Peer Reviewer for, the International Association for Preservation Technology International, a Peer Reviewer for the Endangered Wooden Architecture Programme (EWAP) at Oxford Brookes University and acts as external examiner and occasional lecturer at Unitec.



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**CHRISTOPH SCHNOOR**, Associate Professor, Unitec Institute of Technology (Auckland, New Zealand). He has taught at Unitec in Auckland since 2004, in the subjects of history, theory, heritage & conservation, studio and research methods. Research Leader at the School of Architecture. One of his research areas is German colonial architecture, as well as colonial and customary architecture, with focus on Samoa. Publications include a Conservation Plan for the protection of the Courthouse in Apia, 2012, and “Imagery or Principles of the Pacific?” in *Fabrications*, the journal of SAHANZ, 2016. Email: cschnoor@unitec.ac.nz

His research further focuses on history, historiography and theory of modernist architecture, such as Le Corbusier; Austrian émigré architect to New Zealand, Ernst Plischke; US-British historian Colin Rowe. Recently published: *Le Corbusier's Practical Aesthetic of the City* (London: Routledge, 2020); *Ernst A. Plischke – Architekt zwischen den Welten* (Zurich: Park Books, 2020).

**MICHAEL FALSER**, Project Leader and Adjunct Professor at the Chair of Architectural History, Technical University Munich (Germany) is an art and architectural historian and cultural heritage specialist. In his current research project, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), he investigates the architectural impact of the German colonial era (c.1880–1920) between Africa, East Asia and Oceania. Email: michael.falser@tum.de

He edited the themed volume “Global Spaces of German Colonialism” in German art history journal *Kunstchronik* (July 2021). Currently, an exhibition project with catalogue publication is planned for April 2023 with a focus on published primary sources about the architectural impact during the German-colonial period.

Other publication projects include *Angkor Wat. A Transcultural History of Heritage* (2 vols, Berlin: DeGruyter, 2020) and *Habsburgs going Global. The Austro-Hungarian Concession of Tientsin/Tianjin in China (1902–1917)* (forthcoming Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna).



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