











To celebrate the 100th anniversary of Thistle Hall, the Board of Trustees commissioned Georgina White to research and write its history.

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Please feel free to contact us if you have any more stories or images we can add to our history archives.

Here's to 100 more years of community!



PREMISES - AT- THE -CORNER - OF - CUBA-AND - ARTHUR - STRS FOR - ME WA CAMPBELL ' B" SCALE -



Elevation to Caker Street .



Penlys Blake.

thistle hall:1907-2007

This publication celebrates the rich history of Thistle Hall, now 100 years of age. Located at 293-295 Cuba Street, it is one of the few public halls remaining in central city Wellington. Originally built to store groceries and tea, the function of the hall has since been reinvented many times over: as a meeting place, a dancehall, a venue for gigs, a playground, a movie theatre, a classroom, a studio, and now a vibrant community centre and public art gallery. For one hundred years its totara floor has withstood jigs and reels, children's tricycles, star-jumpers, head-bangers, even earthquakes.

Within the ever-changing landscape of Upper Cuba Street and its surrounds, Thistle Hall's existence has been tenuous. Since the late 1920s, the hall has risked demolition. Its preservation today is largely due to a group of local women who volunteered to take care of it, clean it and hire it out in the 1980s and 90s. These women ensured that Thistle Hall continued to be available to its community for a minimal fee. In turn, use of the hall reinforced the Wellington City Council's belief that this was a community centre worth keeping.

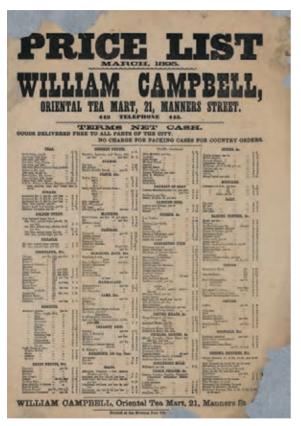


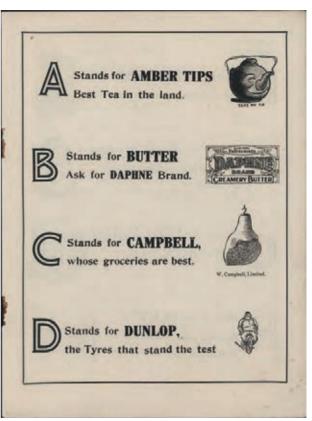
william campbell's oriental tea mart

In July 1907 William Campbell, grocer and tea merchant, wrote to the Wellington City Engineer to request approval to construct a new building on an empty plot of land on the southern corner of Arthur and Cuba Streets. There he would open the third store in his small empire: the Oriental Tea Mart (known as 'Campbell's').

Though Campbell bought an empty section, most of Upper Cuba Street was already occupied by houses and stores. Lamb chops, fresh fruit and new boots could all be bought between Abel Smith and Webb Streets. Samuel Smith ran the butchery just north of Tonks Ave; Mr. Jackson made boots next door. Tom Ah sold fruit; so did Benjamin Hart, and several groceries operated too. Harry Jupp carved furniture; Peter Sorensen manufactured oilskins; Yee Lee ran the laundry – these names indicate the street's cultural diversity.

Most of those in business lived above or behind their stores. Many others lived on Upper Cuba Street, but worked elsewhere. Pockets of commerce were separated by residential strips: Miss Lucy Lovelock; Mrs. Emma Cross; Mrs. Sarah Ryan; 'Madame' Jessie Hadfield and Mrs. Alice Bracken each had homes there. Many of the residents were employed in trades such as dressmaking, fabric dying and printing.





Above left: This price list for William Campbell's first Oriental Tea Mart at 21 Manners Street shows the kinds of goods that were sold at his Upper Cuba Street store. Above right: 'C Stands for Campbell, whose groceries are best.' William Campbell featured in The Rhyming Trades Alphabet, an educational booklet full of advertisements published in Wellington c.1914.

Unlike Campbell, few owned their properties and there was a constant flow of tenants. By 1908 a second-hand dealer had set up shop; Samuel Smith's butchery was run by the Telfer brothers; a new boot-maker had replaced Mr. Jackson, and two dressmakers had moved out.

Campbell's plot of land lay between McBrearty's fish restaurant and Hannah Minogue's Star and Garter Hotel. The City Engineer approved the building application and construction commenced soon after.

Campbell commissioned Wellington architects Penty and Blake who had designed the Hunter Building at Victoria University in 1904, and the original building on the corner of Manners and Cuba Streets, which would come to house James Smith's Department Store. For Campbell they devised a two-storey building made from plastered brick and mortar (cement and lime). In his building application Campbell assured the City Engineer that the bricks would be "the best hard, square and well burnt that can be obtained in the neighbourhood of Wellington" – it is likely they were sourced from Tonks' Brickworks.

On ground level, two adjacent long rooms provided space for two shops with separate doorways to Cuba Street. At the building's rear, there was a paved dock for Campbell's cart, a storeroom for kerosene, two bathrooms and a narrow walled

yard. The second storey was designed as a warehouse, presumably to store Campbell's imported goods. Trapdoors opened to the cart dock below. A set of stairs was positioned on the northern side of the building nearest Arthur Street. The warehouse had one bathroom at its rear. Beams in the floor and roof were cut from heart totara; the roof itself was made from corrugated iron.

In keeping with other commercial buildings of its period, Penty and Blake's design was plain and utilitarian. The original plan shows one classical triangular pediment positioned over the second storey central windows with a coat-of-arms underneath it, neither of which exists today. A veranda ran the length of the Cuba Street façade, providing cover to shoppers on the pavement below. Aside from these touches, the building had few decorative flourishes – perhaps Campbell had no fat in his budget. Still, it was a building made to last. Its solid structure projects stability and speaks of Campbell's confidence in his business; his customers could depend upon him to stick around. In an advertisement in the trade directory of the day, Campbell assured the Wellington public that they could rely on "the Best Quality of Goods at [the] Lowest Remunerative Prices."²

Campbell moved into his new premises during 1908. The cost of construction appears not to have set him back – just a few years later, he made alterations on his commodious Newtown store. Campbell remained at 293-295 Cuba Street





for twenty years. He sold the building in 1924, but continued to rent the ground floor stores for a further four years. It is not known why he eventually closed shop. There were other grocers in the neighbourhood including Wong She who remained in business for some time – perhaps the competition proved too great. By 1928 only Campbell's Manners Street store was still in operation.



the empire hall

In 1924 William Campbell sold 293-295 Cuba Street to the Protestant Hall Company. The Company rented out the two stores on the ground floor and converted the warehouse on the upper floor into a social hall with "hat and cloak rooms and [a] kitchen and other conveniences." Campbell's trapdoors were replaced by a second set of stairs; a small kitchen complete with service hatch was fitted; a second bathroom provided ladies and gentlemen with separate facilities. The new furnishings were made from rimu and totara. Under the windows overlooking Cuba Street, a low stage was erected. It was decided that the existing veranda would be used only as a fire escape.

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The hall was named the Empire, but in architectural plans it was referred to as the Lodge Room: a meeting place for Wellington members of the Ancient Order of Foresters, a Friendly Society which offered financial support to its members in times of sickness, accident, or mourning. Its motto: Unity – Benevolence – Concord. Secretary to both the Wellington Foresters and the Protestant Hall Company was Mr. LJ Retallick, a parishioner of the Anglican Church and chief clerk at the Wellington Harbour Board for 37 years. Retallick's connection to the Harbour Board explains how the Empire Hall came to be hired by the Watersiders' Football Club for their winter dances.

In the late 1920s dances were a sure-fire way to make a little extra money. Young ladies and gents keen to kick up their heels to the latest jazz numbers frequented numerous cabarets and halls in central city Wellington. Saturday nights were big. From Adelaide Road to Manners Street, the Gaiety Palais de Danse, Adelphi Cabaret, Caledonian Hall, Victoria Hall, Odd Fellows and Mokoia each promised the best band, the best supper, and the best prizes. Not all church groups were forthcoming with the provision of their halls. Crazes such as the Charleston and Black-bottom were cited by more than one Methodist as lewd, even immoral, but it seems the Protestant Hall Company was not fazed by such debate – in 1927 the Company's secretary wrote to the Council requesting approval for the construction of a metal lattice to be placed in front of the door leading to the veranda, to increase air-flow during dances in the hot summer months.

DANCING.

CARNIVAL NIGHT, TO-NIGHT.

EMPIRE HALL, UPPER CUBA-ST.

Confetti, Streamers, Monte Carlo, Lucky Spot, etc.

ALL STARITA ORCHESTRA.
In Latest Hits.

Special Monte Carlo, commencing Tonight. Prizes valued at 11 guineas. First, Ladies, Travelling Companion.

First, Gents., Dressing Case.

Second, Ladies, Vanity Case.

Second, Gents., Bevelled Shaving Mirror, Prizes on show at Dance To-night.

Supper Provided.

Gents., 2s; Ladies, 1s 6d. A. E. TURNER, Hon. Sec.,

W.F.C.S.C.

In the winters of 1927 and 1928, the Watersiders' Football Club advertised their public dances in the *Evening Post*: entry cost ladies 1/6 and gents two shillings. With supper included, it was an inexpensive night out. To tempt dancers to their floor, the Watersiders listed prizes for the Monte Carlo that was to be run over consecutive Saturdays:

1st Lady's prize: Silk Dressing Gown

1st Gent's prize: Gold Watch 2nd Lady's prize: Handbag

2nd Gent's prize: Set of hair brushes

(Evening Post, Saturday 18th August 1928)

The Monte Carlo was a dancehall game in which the room was divided into quarters each marked by a cut-out cardboard spade, club, diamond and heart. Couples danced until the musicians suddenly stopped and the Master of Ceremonies asked a lucky lady to turn over a card from the pack in his hand. If the card she chose revealed diamonds, all dancers in the 'diamond corner' were asked to leave the floor. The game continued until one couple remained and won the prize.

The Watersiders billed jazz bands such as the 'Collegians' and 'All Starita Orchestra'. Professional dancers were hired to showcase new American choreographies such as the Yale Blues. On occasion the dance was themed a Carnival – partygoers dressed as harlequins, clowns, lion tamers and trapeze artists arrived on the corner of

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Arthur and Cuba Streets, navigated their way up the stairs, to find the Empire decorated with confetti and streamers.

In 1929 the Protestant Hall Company offered the Empire and the two shops below it to the Wellington City Council for 12,000 pounds – double its government value. The Company required larger premises. They had considered enlarging the hall by adding another storey to it, however it was now public knowledge that the Council planned to widen Arthur Street. The Council would not commit a date for the road works to begin, nor would they specify how much land would be required: it was possible that 293-295 Cuba Street would be demolished. The Protestant Hall Company chose not to embark on alterations when the future of their building was uncertain. Such clouds of uncertainty have hung over 293-295 Cuba Street for most of the building's 100-year existence.

In their offer to the Council the Company described their property as a "substantial two-storey brick and concrete building, the top portion used as Public Hall, and fitted with ante rooms, kitchen, arrangements for the purpose of Lodge meetings, Social Functions, dances etc., with entrance from Arthur Street. On Ground Floor are two shops, rented by a grocer and electrician respectively with frontages to Cuba Street." The grocer was Mr. Donald; the electrician, Mr. Hugh Hunter.

The Council turned the offer down. Twice more the Company tried to sell the building,

dropping the price to 8,000 pounds then 5,500 pounds, but during the Depression it was unaffordable. The Protestant Hall Company remained the building's unwilling owners for the next ten years.



earthquakes:1942

On the night of the 24th of June 1942 Wellingtonians were shaken awake by a severe earthquake that measured 7.2 on the Richter scale. It was centred in the Wairarapa and felt from Auckland to Dunedin. In Wellington the damage was severe: windows shattered; chimneys fell; brickwork crashed to the pavement. Approximately 5000 houses and 100 central city buildings suffered major structural damage.⁵ Only one person died – movie theatres had closed by 11.00pm and the most serious quake struck shortly after. The Majestic Cabaret, Empress Ballroom, Mayfair and St John's Ambulance Hall were all open for dancing until midnight, but no serious injuries were reported. There were no dances advertised at the Empire Hall that night.

On the ground floor of 293-295 Cuba Street, stock surely flew from the shelves of Star Stores. Major damage occurred to the building's north-west parapet: the low

protective wall that ran above the roof. In addition, the building's south wall was cracked; the east wall was unstable, and the roof needed urgent repair. The Protestant Hall Company responded to the most immediate concern and removed the broken parts of the building's parapet that had cracked and swung out over the street.

By 1943 the Equitable Building and Investment Company had taken over 293-295 Cuba Street. They promptly sold it to the Wellington City Council for 3,582 pounds. Shortly after the sale, a notice appeared in the *Evening Post* announcing that a strip of land on the southern side of Arthur Street would be taken for street widening, but 293-295 Cuba Street would remain standing.

In March 1945 the Council called for tenders to repair properly the earthquake's damage, which had likely been intensified after a second earthquake struck in August 1942. A builder named Booth was contracted for the work – his quote came in the lowest. Booth and his team completely demolished the front section of the parapet, including its decorative pediment and coat-of-arms, and replaced it with a concrete band. There is no mention of the veranda in architectural plans or building notes at this time. Either it fell in one of the earthquakes, or it had been removed by the Protestant Hall Company prior to 1942. Repairs were completed in June 1945. Star Stores continued to rent no. 293 and a plumber named Morgan rented no. 295.





PASS OUT

SATURDAY 7th July 1962

PASS OUT

SATURDAY 7th July 1962

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3rd SITTING

SITTING

4th

thistle hall

The building was renamed in 1951 after the emblem of Scotland, when the Wellington Association of Scottish Societies (WASS) became the hall's new tenants. For almost the next four decades, dancing shoes leapt over the floorboards. Below, the New Zealand Mirror Company took over the lease from Star Stores.

WASS encompassed the Scottish societies from Wellington to the Kapiti Coast. Scottish Country and Highland Dance clubs met, practised and competed in Thistle Hall. The Caledonian Society, Gaelic Club, Burns Club, Clan Cameron, and many others held meetings and get-togethers there.

The Wellington Scottish Country Dance Club danced in Thistle Hall from its formation in 1953 until the mid-1970s. On club nights, traditional Scottish Country Dances were taught. A former secretary recalls special socials of the 1960s to which women wore traditional formal dress – white frocks and tartan sashes, and men wore their kilts. Sometimes a social occasion was themed 'Hard Up': men and women arrived in ragged, threadbare garb and were given bread and water at supper. Many friendships were made through the Scottish Country Dance Club – a number of them resulted in marriage.

Opposite: 'Dine and dance' cards from the Association of Celtic Societies (1962) were found tucked into the lining of a Thistle Hall wall, 2005.

On occasion, a Scottish society would hold a ceilidh. The hosting club decorated Thistle Hall with Scottish tea-towels, tartan fabrics and balloons. Haggis arrived at the call of the bagpipes. A band with an accordion, fiddle and drums played popular Scottish dance tunes while groups of four couples formed two facing lines and danced jigs and reels, such as the Dashing White Sergeant, Strip-the-Willow and Eightsome Reel.

In the 1950s and 60s, Scottish societies held public dances in Thistle Hall on Saturday nights. These were advertised in the 'Dancing' column of the *Evening Post* alongside many others on offer in the central city: Jimmy James' and Gwenethe Walshe's dance studios held social evenings on Fridays and Saturdays; the Roseland, Regent, Empress and Majestic Cabaret billed weekend bands and were hired for formal balls; and from St. Francis in Thorndon to St. Thomas in Newtown, halls offered weekly dances. Some couples would have wanted to jive, but foxtrots and quicksteps were still popular. Scottish society members paid 2/6 for their tickets; non-members paid 3 shillings.

For much of WASS's 38-year tenancy, Mr. WN (Bill) McRae was secretary. He wrote often to his landlord, the Council, to request building repairs. Thistle Hall was clearly in a state of deterioration. WASS was concerned by the negative impression it gave to overseas visitors and concert parties. Members of WASS took it upon themselves to paint the interior, hang tartan curtains and spruce up the kitchen, but the building's

Opposite clockwise from top left, Wellington Gaelic Club 1979-1980: Hector MacDonald, Graeme Welch, unknown, Kenny Macleod; Two girls trying to eat the treacle scone on Halloween; Games at the children's Christmas party lunch; Andy Robertson stands to the right watching the pipers.









bones required more serious attention far beyond the Association's budget: the hall's floor needed repair; walls were rotting; the building was plagued by electrical faults; the toilets were almost unusable; the sink leaked; the roof leaked – and clearly, plugging holes was not fixing them.

"Recently when our Association advised you regarding certain boards of the floor being broken you repaired those that were badly damaged, but some that had only small holes were left. The fact that there were some small holes still in the floor has had people worried as to what might happen if a lady's high heel got caught in the cavity..." The Council responded: "We have no objection to your Society carrying out floor repairs at its own expense..."

Correspondence between WASS and the Council shows a degree of confusion over which party was responsible for the building's upkeep. Letters written by WASS take on a tone of increasing exasperation: why did the roof leak even more after the Council came to repair it?8 Some repairs were carried out, but only at a superficial level – in 1966, for example, the exterior of the building was repainted. Underlying the Council's sluggishness to respond were two unresolved issues:

- 1. Thistle Hall was a Class 'A' earthquake risk and required strengthening.
- 2. Thistle Hall could be demolished for the proposed motorway extension.

In the early 1970s WASS began to consider shifting premises. The Association could not afford to pay for the hall's upkeep, particularly when the rent was about to be almost doubled from \$10.50 to \$20 per week. In addition, the hall was not being used as often because club members feared for their safety. The neighbourhood was poorly lit and there was no public transport near at hand: one had to walk down Cuba Street to James Smith's or across the Basin Reserve to catch a bus home. Functions risked being gate-crashed and people were being accosted when approaching and leaving the hall. In the 1970s properties on Arthur, Tonks, Footscray and Upper Cuba Streets, that were situated on land designated for the motorway extension, were tagged for demolition so were cheap to rent. Black Power, amongst others, moved into the neighbourhood.

Some of the Scottish societies shifted to an alternative hall, but their umbrella organisation, WASS, remained in situ. In 1976 the Wellington City Council approved the Association's request to sublet the hall to help cover its rent. By this time the New Zealand Mirror Company had been replaced by father-and-son team BOC Sign-writers.







Above left: Domestic Blitz, the Wallsockets, Shoes This High, and the Spies played one New Year's Eve at Thistle Hall. The gig cost \$1. Above right: The Wallsockets, Ambitious Vegetables and Industrial House Plans and Specifications at Thistle Hall on Saturday 29th September 1979. The gig was sweetly called 'a dance'.

the capital's punk hq:1979-1981

"The band I saw called the Enemy was, without a doubt, the most irresponsible and foul thing I have seen in public. All they do is swear, cut themselves and insult the audience and they have the cheek to call this music..."

(A concerned mother writes to *Rip It Up* after accompanying her daughter to a punk rock gig, February 1979)

When safety-pinned, black-booted, pierced, tattooed teenagers with rainbow-sprayed Mohawks, torn tights, ripped mini-skirts, furs and t-shirts emblazoned with the Union Jack stamped up the stairs at 293-295 Cuba Street, Thistle Hall, aged 72, was reinvented.

Wellington's punk music scene was slow to get going. When it finally did, it suffered continually from a shortage of venues. In 1978 the Normals, who covered the Sex Pistols and wrote their own songs, played weekly gigs at Chez Paree next to the Embassy Theatre. According to Brent Hayward of the Amps and Shoes This High, Chez Paree was populated by "sailors, hookers and pimps, druggies, and all sorts of colourful characters... plus [a] punk audience that was starting to... proliferate..." When the Normals went overseas, Hayward's band, the Amps,

took the slot for six weeks before Chez Paree closed. It was a short stint, but it kept the fire smouldering.

In 1979 punk rock hooked its claws into the Capital: the Normals returned; Ambitious Vegetables and the Steroids played regularly; the Amps reformed as Shoes This High, and the Wallsockets held court at Thistle Hall. According to Brent Hayward, gigs such as the Wallsockets' attracted all types – students who were into an alternative scene; misfits; Te Aro hippies; people on the fringes of society. Black Power showed up on occasion. So did the police. New drugs were concocted; narcotics were extracted from datura. Thistle Hall was unlicensed, but you wouldn't have known. To begin with, there was little trouble. Hayward remembers the hall as a dimly-lit loft floating above a tight network of streets, back alleys and narrow walkways. Audiences weren't the same from one gig to the next, but there were always familiar faces.

In May 1980 the 'Rumours' column of *Rip It Up* announced that Thistle Ballroom [sic] had become the "Capital's punk HQ". The Spies, Wallsockets, Ambitious Vegetables and Shoes This High all played there. The Ambitious Vegetables, who had formed at Rongotai College, covered bands such as the Clash. Shoes This High played originals – "hatchet-edged surreal rock", 10 "nasty anti-pop". 11 The Wellington sound from this clutch of bands was defined by its "harsh edge... grim,

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angry black-humoured lyrics... a marked tendency towards improvisation and confrontational lyrics." 12

Gigs at Thistle Hall gained notoriety. In late May 1980 event organisers hired a fire-eater: "Wellington City Council inspectors are investigating a public gala in which a fire-eater used three naked flames in a hall not licensed for fire safety. About 200 people attended... [The hall was licensed for 99 only] The gala was to raise money for a new band... City Engineer, Mr. Jim McDonald said: 'From the facts as you relate them, it doesn't seem to have been a very prudent operation.'" 13

This was far from the worst of it. That year, at the few venues across town, violence cut many gigs short. Audience members who were there for the music were intimidated by growing numbers of 'skins' and 'boots' who made their presence felt. Fights broke out; stabbings were not uncommon. Steady reports of violence at punk gigs thwarted attempts to hire halls. It's unknown what kind of relationship WASS's secretary Bill McRae had with those who were organising gigs at Thistle Hall but, by the early 1980s, the gigs were held less frequently. In 1981 *Rip It Up* lamented the lack of live music venues in Wellington for those under pub age – the Last Resort had closed; Billy the Club was open, but licensed.





Rockers against racism



GAZ, left, and Sumps, right, with a few of the people who attended the Rock Ageirst Rapisis propert as the Thietie Hest in Wellington less night. Que and Sumps were doorman for the concert which Statutured flow bands, carried five stroke sets, file, ricola, reades and flow service.

Polo tour



1981

"When the tour started we were marching for the people of South Africa, but it changed after a few weeks. Suddenly we were fighting for ourselves and the right to protest."

(Nick, guitarist, in political punk band Riot III and a founding member of Life in the Fridge Exists)¹⁴

1981 was a watershed: the Springbok Tour of New Zealand divided the country. When police clashed with anti-tour protesters outside Parliament on Molesworth Street on the 29th of July, protesters' fear and fury intensified.

That same year Erin Hanify moved into her brother's flat above Frontline Records, near the corner of Tonks Ave. Erin helped Steve to run the record store. She also worked nights at an old people's home on Taranaki Street, earning \$125 a week. Erin's Mum and Dad were among the many couples who went to dances at Thistle Hall in the late 1940s, when the hall was still called the Empire. Erin recalls, as a young girl, driving along Cuba Street with her Dad, listening to him talk about those nights he courted her Mother on the dance floor.

Opposite from top left: This hand-made poster advertised one of three 'Rock against Racism' gigs at Thistle Hall in 1981; Gaz (left) and Bump (right) manned the door at 'Rock against Racism' on 2nd July 1981 and featured on the front page of The Dominion the following day; Thistle Hall with BOC Sign-writers below it, 1980s.

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Erin remembers 1981 as the most 'full-on' year of her life. In direct response to the Springbok Tour, her brother Steve organised gigs at Thistle Hall called 'Rock against Racism'. Tickets cost \$3; Erin took the money on the door. The night's takings paid the bands; any extra was used to buy wood and card for protest placards, and helmets for protection.

"The Rock against Racism show at Thistle Hall with Jasmin, Primitive Art Group, Spines, Flamewave, the Gordons, and Naked Spots Dance went off without trouble but WellingtonZone II (Steroids, Mockers...) was closed early because of aggro outside the hall. Two shows at Victoria University... saw violence, including attacks on band members." ¹⁵

'Rock against Racism' ran smoothly thanks to heavyweight doormen, Gaz and Bump (pictured). The third gig in the series was less peaceful. Erin and Steve weren't running it and the new organisers had neglected to arrange adequate security. Part way through the gig, members of the Nomads gang walked in, picked up the band's gear, and walked out again.

In 1981 gang intimidation was rife. The police were on high alert. Dunedin band the Clean was scheduled to play their debut Wellington gig with the Spines at Thistle Hall in late September 1981. About 8.00pm a gang took over the stage

and punks fought outside the venue. "Police were called to eject the small group of trouble-makers, but instead arrived in massive force, complete with riot batons and closed the show." The Clean played just one set – though their follow-up at 212 The Terrace was reported to be the best night of their North Island tour.

Not every gig in town was aborted. In August a Wellington flat held a party for touring British band the Cure. In the early hours of the 4th, fans jumped in their cars and sped to the Neoteric Tribesmen's practice room in the basement of Clyde Quay School. "Intense, distorted, risky sounds" were jammed for "twenty to thirty hardcore fans to freak out in... Murky strains of 'The Forest' [pierced] the air." 17

By the end of 1981, local music newspaper *In Touch* declared that the Wellington music scene was in a sorry state. It seemed that the Capital had "rolled over and died... no bands, no gigs, just negativity and aggro."





save our streets

In 1983 Thistle Hall was still leaking. In 1985 WASS's rent jumped from \$20 to \$50 per week. The Association responded to the Council's proposed rent increase: "Over the recent times our bookings of the Hall [are] dropping as some people are frightened to go into the area."

In May 1987 the Town Clerk wrote to WASS to inform the Association that while the land Thistle Hall occupied was no longer designated for the motorway extension, the hall would be demolished to widen the corner for traffic turning left from Arthur Street into Cuba Street. Demolition was scheduled for 1991. This also meant that no Council money would be spent on earthquake strengthening.

At this same time, the Council proposed to purchase the neighbouring properties at 297-301 Cuba Street from Landcorp, and to rezone Arthur Street from residential to light industrial: six houses would be demolished and 'Venture Workshops' would be built with 17 units for three small factories, four shops, nine art and craft studios and one residence. According to the Council's correspondence, many members of the community were in support: according to those who rented houses in Arthur Street and its neighbourhood, no one was.

Opposite: Thistle Hall in a derelict state, 1986.

The Venture Workshops offered alternative space for small business owners who faced eviction from premises that lay in the path of the planned motorway extension. Council rents were likely to be cheaper than leases on properties that were privately owned.

In September the Council received letters from members of Save Our City, local architects and approximately 40 residents who supported the proposed Council purchase of 297-301 Cuba Street, as well as the establishment of Venture Workshops.

In October the Council received a petition signed by 6,380 people demanding the preservation of all small businesses and houses from 283 Cuba Street to Webb Street (including Thistle Hall) and properties in Tonks Avenue, Arthur Street, Footscray Avenue and Kelvin Grove.

Hannah Zwartz lived nearby in Thompson Street. She remembers fiery meetings in Thistle Hall in the late 1980s. The community, she said, was full of orators. At one meeting, long-term Arthur Street resident 79-year-old Jim Andrews stood up — a wily old carnival man with a candyfloss machine in the front room of his house — he banged his cane on the floorboards of Thistle Hall and shouted: "The Revolution is upon us! We are in the thick of it! If only you can realise it!"



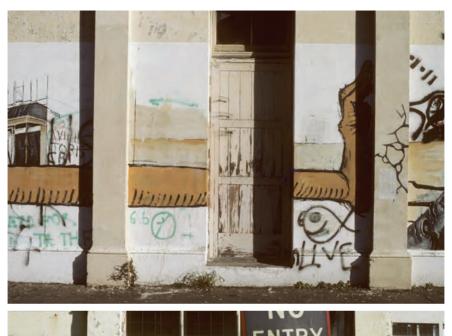




Though there were factions (the Venture Workshops, for example, created division), the fight to preserve Upper Cuba Street and its neighbourhood roused the community and reinforced, even recreated, its sense of being a united front. The community was made up of local residents and small business owners; supporters who recognised the architectural and historic value of Upper Cuba Street and its surrounds, as well as those who identified with the social and cultural character of the area. As the fight gained momentum, philosophical arguments were pushed to the fore. Concepts of 'community' became central to Upper Cuba Street's campaign.

One of the meanings of 'community' is a group who shares the same set of social values and responsibilities. Those who lived around Upper Cuba Street recall how they looked after one another: young mums such as Erin Hanify, who also worked as a nurse, kept an eye on older folk such as Vera Warren, who had lived on Tonks Ave since her 20s. Pots of soup were passed over fences. Black Power delivered wood to people's homes during the winter. Kids adrift and individuals on the fringes of society, such as artist Martin Thompson (now represented in the collection of the American Folk Art Museum in New York City), could find their anchor here.

Thistle Hall, located smack bang in the middle provided a constant, stable meeting place. No nearby house was large enough to cater for big groups. Thistle Hall, even in its decrepit state had room for everyone. It became a tangible stronghold: an





identifiable centre for the community that people were fighting to protect. The hall's cheap rent and handy location made it highly accessible. For kids in homes with no backyards or large living rooms, it offered space for recreation. Every Tuesday Erin Hanify arranged 'Skate-a-thons' with potluck dinners. After school, kids arrived at Thistle Hall with their skates, tricycles and push bikes and careened over the floorboards until dark. It was a place for children's birthday parties, and Erin recalls the art-house movie screenings held there too.

While these positive, beneficial activities took place, the neighbourhood could not shake its rough reputation. In a memo to Council departments in 1988, Mayor Jim Belich reported: "At present the majority of the existing residents subsist in an informal economy fuelled by benefits, dubious activities and casual work. Incomes and costs are low; most rents are 'peppercorn' or non-existent. Intimidation, gang brawls, knifings and beatings are apparently not uncommon." 18

In the late 1980s, Landcorp sold 297-301 Upper Cuba Street to developers. In early 1989 six houses on Arthur Street were demolished.

Some years later, in response to the demolition of houses on Arthur Street and Bar Bodega on Willis Street, local resident Leigh Savage would organise an event called 'Tangi mo Te Aro', to mark the end of an area that she had had connection

with all her life. Leigh recalls,

"I felt a tremendous grief and loss and realized, in talking to people who were part of the area, many felt the same – it was as if a death had occurred. We felt the need for the community to have the opportunity to grieve and celebrate and move on. We printed fantastic posters by Tim Bollinger and our invitation was hugely supported by the community... We began the ceremony at the end of Arthur St. Bruce Stuart of Tapu Te Ranga Marae had a mock casket made, which was laden with flowers donated by Flowers Manuella on Cuba St, and carried by XFactor boys in white shirts, PVC pants and top hats. We had a celebrant, two bagpipes and a lone drummer. At the end of the procession there were flags to sweep the memories down to Kensington Gardens, where we had speeches and food. The heart that sits in Thistle Hall was made by Vincents Art Workshop and was carried back to Thistle Hall after the ceremony."

In 1989 the Council decided that Arthur Street would be widened, but Thistle Hall would remain standing. WASS, who had been in the process of moving for some time, cancelled their lease in January that year. For a few months the hall was vacant. Council Community Development Adviser, Helen Dawick, arranged for Morehu Social Services to lease the hall, and meanwhile, the Council set about forming a Thistle Hall management group made up of local residents to be responsible for hall bookings in the future.

Opposite above: Tonks Avenue looking East, 2000. Oppostie below: Arthur Street looking East, 1986.





Morehu Social Services were connected to the Ratana Church. They offered training, life skills and Maori language and cultural classes to dispirited youth and people who were unemployed. The Christian-based programme aimed to raise morale and boost self-confidence. Most participants were Maori, though all ethnicities were welcomed.

Thistle Hall was handy to Morehu Social Services' main office and health clinic on Willis Street, run by Suie and Hori Thompson. With financial support from the Labour Department's Work Scheme, the Thompsons were able to employ their nephew Neil Cruickshank to co-ordinate cultural group practices, kapa haka and work-training seminars in the hall. Neil's duties included cleaning and building maintenance, supervising functions and keeping accounts up-to-date.

In addition to running Morehu Social Services' programmes, Neil arranged performances, ran afternoon get-togethers for senior citizens and put on free underage rages for up to 100 kids, which he chaperoned. He also hired out the hall for aerobics classes. The hall was in such disrepair that during one class an enthusiastic star-jumper crashed through the rickety floorboards to land on the ceiling above BOC Sign-writers (fortunately, he reappeared unscathed).

On another occasion, Neil hired out Thistle Hall to internationally acclaimed singer, composer, vocal arranger and musical director Tony Backhouse, who rehearsed

his 30-voice a cappella choir. Formerly of Wellington, Mr. Backhouse had moved to Sydney in the 1980s where he formed 'The Café of the Gate of Salvation'. On an international tour to South Africa, the choir sang to Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu.

Neil recalls that residents in Upper Cuba Street were pleased to see the hall being used so well. Neil had visions of the hall working as an inner city hub of creativity; a venue for performances, dance and drama workshops and art exhibitions. Though he did not remain co-ordinator for long, his ideas were recorded by the Council and perhaps sowed the seeds for the many arts events that have occurred in the hall since.



elbow grease:1990s

After Neil resigned, a series of volunteers, all of whom lived in the area, took turns to keep the key for Thistle Hall. One by one, Esther Topfer, Erin Hanify, Luis Palmer and Hannah Zwartz took care of bookings, cleaned the hall after functions, and managed the phone and power bills. Each one of them did it to keep the hall running.

Several had children and had busy family lives, but they wanted to ensure that the hall continued to be made available.

On average, in the early 1990s, 120 people used the hall each week. The daytime hourly rate was \$5. Bookings included Morehu Social Services' cultural practices, jazzercize, women's self defence, tai chi, tae kwon do, Narcotics Anonymous meetings, work training seminars, after school programmes for children living at Arlington Street flats, and school holiday programmes.

Thistle Hall continued to be an extremely popular venue for social functions. With its good-sized dance floor, holes and all, and a cheap flat rate of \$100 per night, it was hired for 21sts, dances and school ball after-parties. Children's birthday parties were free. Some of the co-ordinators received a minimal wage to clean the hall – a task which was often no small feat. School ball after-parties were notoriously bad.

Both the Council and the hall's co-ordinators received a steady stream of complaints from some of Thistle Hall's neighbours who, after being kept up all night by 200-300 underage drinkers, had opened their front doors to find the pavement littered with smashed glass and vomit. Late night noise was problematic. By the late 1990s, a curfew was imposed.

Throughout the 1990s, Thistle Hall was also hired for gigs. Ross Gardiner had moved to Kensington Street in 1994. He was part of a production company called Screaming Asylum, named after a flat on Hawker Street in Mt Victoria. In the early 1990s the Hutt Valley was producing plenty of young punk bands but had few cheap unlicensed venues for school-aged kids to play at. Moreover, punk gigs in Hutt Valley halls tended to attract bored 'petrol-heads' looking for trouble. Screaming Asylum knew that a punk band called Smut had put on popular gigs at Thistle Hall so they followed suit. Thistle Hall was cheap to hire (between \$30 and \$40 for bands) and it was available on Saturday nights. Ross collected the key from his neighbour Luis Palmer.

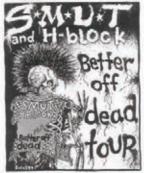
Screaming Asylum sold tickets for \$5 to cover the cost of the bands and the hired PA. It was a non-profit venture – as Ross says, "It was a labour of love. We just put on entertainment for ourselves and for our friends." Kids from the Hutt Valley caught the train or crammed into cars and drove into town. There was usually a crowd of about 150, half of whom were from the Hutt Valley. A good sized crowd was important not only to cover costs – in winter, the hall could be freezing.

The reputation of Thistle Hall's gigs grew and Screaming Asylum had calls from out of town. They were soon hosting bands that were touring from Auckland, Hamilton, Christchurch and Nelson. They also hosted Spit Boy, an all-woman band from San Francisco. Ross had met the singer and guitarist in the United States in 1993. Spit









THISTLE HALL MITTER SANDE SHEND





Wellington: Thistle Hall 3rd Aug (Guan St.) Man with Loophead & Gunts Auckland: Black Lagoon 4th Aug (Station with 10 Application & Stationaldo Boy paid for their flights to New Zealand; the gig at Thistle Hall was part of their North Island tour.

After a brief slump in bookings in 1995, Screaming Asylum picked up the pace. They packed the hall for Citizen Fish, a UK punk-ska band still going strong. Noise control turned up after the supporting act had just begun their first set. Immediately, Screaming Asylum put Citizen Fish on the stage so fans wouldn't miss out hearing what they'd paid for. That same year, the production company held their first Punk Fest over Labour Weekend. Nine North Island bands played two consecutive nights. The Festival was repeated in 1997 but a year later, the Council cancelled late night gigs because of weekly noise complaints.

The following year, an agreement was reached to end all late-night social functions by midnight, which in fact suited kids running to catch the last trains and buses home, but the measure came too late. After a year with no gigs, Thistle Hall had lost its following. When the legal drinking age dropped to 18, live music venues such as Hole in the Wall, Indigo and Bodega catered for those in their late teens. The Labour weekend Punk Fest still continues, but it is now held in the Car Club on the Town Belt in Newtown (where noise is no problem).



a stable focal point

In 1989 the Council had stated that Thistle Hall would not be demolished for the motorway. Even so, the hall's demolition remained up for debate through most of the 1990s. If it was to remain standing, the Council had to commit funding for earthquake strengthening. Until the building was strengthened, its future was uncertain. In December 1993 the General Manager of Housing and Community Development wrote to Council departments: "I have never felt confident about allowing this project expenditure [the cost of Thistle Hall's earthquake strengthening] to go ahead. I now want to tease out the issues and present a paper to my committee for a decision about whether the \$90,000 is money well spent." 19

Advisers who worked in the Council's department of Community Development wrote numerous reports detailing the ways in which the hall was being used and the extent to which it was valued by its community. Helen Dawick was employed as a Community Development Adviser for most of the 1990s. She was the Council's point of contact for Thistle Hall's management group. She was passionate about Upper Cuba Street. The coffee bars, hairdressers and a Women's Bookshop that existed there in the 1960s were a special part of her youth. The unique character of the area intrigued her, as did its history. Advisers, such as Helen, saw first-hand

• • • • • 46 Opposite: Thistle Hall, 2000.





the value of the hall to its tireless volunteers. They recognised too the unique character of Upper Cuba Street and its surrounds.

"The Cuba Precinct is one of the few areas in Wellington City where a wide range of social and economic groups come into regular contact with each other. This diversity, with all its daily encounters with familiar faces (as well as the 'oddball' and the occasional threatening) is an accepted part of how the area is understood."²⁰

In many Council reports Thistle Hall was referred to as a "stable focal point". ²¹ Though cold, shabby and bent out of shape, it was a meeting place essential to a community facing major change. The eviction of residents and demolition of Arthur Street properties in early 1989 had greatly unsettled the neighbourhood and had fuelled feelings of distrust. Notably, Campaign for a Better City (CBC), which had been formed in 1992 to fight the motorway extension (commonly known as the Te Aro Bypass) held public meetings at Thistle Hall. This voluntary community organisation advocated that principles of environmental sustainability become central to the Council's transport planning, and promoted the idea of Wellington as a 'Living City'.

CBC estimated that the motorway extension would directly impact upon more than 200 inner city residents. From 1994 to 2004 the organisation mobilised thousands of Wellingtonians in its campaign against the inner city bypass. The first major

public action meeting was held in Thistle Hall shortly after the bypass proposal was first announced. Around 200 people attended. CBC held further public meetings in Thistle Hall at approximately 18 month intervals until 2004. The largest meetings in the late 1990s saw crowds of well over 300. Roland Sapsford, a founding member of CBC, recalls how those public meetings were in many ways "outpourings of community spirit. They were designed to inform, empower and involve people. The usual format was three or four 5 minute speeches followed by about 15-20 minutes for comments from the floor. There would be another set of 5 minute speeches and then the meeting would split into action groups focussing on areas such as creative protest, lobbying and legal action. Meetings always had a high energy level and the format meant people could choose how to contribute rather than debate what approach was best."

Local resident Luis Palmer recalls how impressed she was by the creative ideas manifest at CBC meetings: people dreamed up wonderful ways to beautify their rundown neighbourhood by painting murals and planting trees. Likewise, Esther Topfer, who worked at the local Organic Food Co-op, remembers how residents aimed to promote the creativity and vibrancy of the community for wider Wellington to witness. Ross Gardiner initiated a mass bike ride to encourage alternative means of transport.

Opposite: Johanna Sanders and Val Smith in a mud-westling anti-bypass performance, as published in City Voice, March 1994; Anti-bypass poster, 2004; The T-Shirt says it all - 120 people attended this anti-bypass meeting organised by Campaign for a Better City, February 1998.



DON'T LET TE ARO BE DEVOURED BY

...THE BYPASS MONSTER

PUBLIC MEETING at THISTLE HALL
corner Cuba & Arthur Streets

Wednesday 19 May, 7pm !All welcome!



The community was strongly and actively protesting the proposed motorway extension. It would be easy to see the preservation of the hall only as a kind of peace offering, but it was more than this. In their reports, the Council recognised that Thistle Hall was a building of heritage significance, of historic value to the streetscape and of cultural value to its community. In February 1994 the Council agreed to commit \$90,000 to strengthen Thistle Hall: structural steel bracing was installed and the parapet was reinforced.

Now seismically strengthened, the building demanded a major upgrade. In 1996 the Council arranged for Holmes Fire and Safety to investigate the state of the building. They reported it to be a serious fire risk: the stairs were cracked and they moved underfoot; boards in the stairwell were kicked in; there was no emergency lighting or signage, and the stove and heaters had to be replaced. In the final statement of his report, Holmes Fire and Safety employee Roger Bishop wrote, "I am of the professional opinion that if the hall was fully occupied and a rapid evacuation was necessary then injury and possible death would occur."

To improve the state of the hall, volunteer co-ordinators and members of the Scottish societies had, over the years, organised working bees, but they were limited by minimal financial resources. In 1998 the Council compiled a 'to-do' list that included repairing the hall's front entrance, stairway, ceiling and stage panels; upgrading

Opposite clockwise from top left: Karen Davidson at an early flea market, c.2000; Henare in the spotty flea market cafe, c.2000; Henare's 3rd birthday party, 1999; Henare, 1999; Luis Palmer and Hannah Zwartz selling coffee, muffins and sandwiches for \$1 each at an early flea market.















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the kitchen and bathrooms (which were infamously grotty); investigating soundproofing for the hall's south wall; installing fire safety measures and car park lighting; replacing broken windows and fitting new safety catches; relining walls; removing graffiti, and stripping plant growth from window sills.

In 1998 a group of local residents and business owners including Hannah Zwartz and her father David, Johanna Sanders, Richard McRoberts, Elaine Davidson and Luis Palmer formed a charitable trust to take care of Thistle Hall. They received a Council salary grant to pay for a part-time co-ordinator. Elaine Davidson's daughter, Karen, who lived at 28 Arthur Street, was employed. Contractually, Thistle Hall's Board members were required to meet regularly, manage their funding, and audit their accounts. This same year, arguments for and against the Te Aro bypass were heard in the Environment Court.

Like the co-ordinators before her, Karen kept the key for the hall at her house and bookings were made through her home phone line. Though she enjoyed the interaction with Te Aro's vibrant community, Karen recalls that running Thistle Hall from home was not always ideal amidst a busy family life. Despite the fact that parties were to end by midnight, the noise from the hall continued to disturb neighbours. On several occasions, roused by noise control or neighbours' complaints, Karen found herself standing in Arthur Street in her dressing gown asking partygoers to call it quits.

In 1998 a diverse array of activities occurred in the hall during the daytime, including belly-dancing, meditation, singing, theatre company rehearsals and popular weekend flea markets. As well, Thistle Hall was hired as a venue for the Wellington Fringe Festival. It was clear to the Board that in order for Thistle Hall to be hired for more daytime and early evening activities, and for fewer late-night social functions, it had to become more user-friendly. In addition, to reach its full potential as a professional and highly functional community centre, the hall's co-ordinator required a proper office, preferably one that fronted Cuba Street.

With the assistance of Council Officer Pauline Kislick, Karen Davidson and Johanna Sanders applied for a Lottery Community Facilities grant through the New Zealand Lottery Grants Board to convert the ground floor of 293-295 Cuba Street into a gallery, office and meeting room. The fumes that emanated from BOC Sign-writers' business had, for some time, concerned hall-users, and were perceived to be a potential fire hazard. As a result, the Sign-writers' lease had ended: Thistle Hall's Board took control of the entire building. Their proposal to the New Zealand Lottery Board was successful. In July 2002, Thistle Hall was granted \$11,000.



Opposite clockwise from top left, Just Teasing's 10th Anniversary 2004: Peter and Grace; Gale, Sarah and Lisa; Mr Sterile Assembly; Hannah Zwartz gives sister Katie a do; Ngaere MacKinnon.













thistle hall:2007

Today Thistle Hall is clearly identifiable to pedestrians and commuters by the large thistle painted on its eastern wall. The wall space was coveted by advertisers, but the Board passionately clung to their thistle – that stubborn prickly plant so symbolic of the community centre that refused to be destroyed.

It is astonishing that Thistle Hall has remained standing given its location in the heart of an urban environment which has undergone significant transformation. The motorway has now been extended: traffic heads north via Arthur Street and Karo Drive (formerly Tonks Avenue), both of which have been widened. During the roadworks, nineteen heritage buildings were shifted. The late nineteenth century workers' cottages on Tonks Avenue, built by the Tonks and Moran families, have been restored and relocated in keeping with the original style to nearby heritage precincts in Tonks Grove and Kensington Street. Interestingly, the widening of Arthur Street has increased the visibility of Thistle Hall.

On the western side of Upper Cuba Street there is a mix of small businesses and flats, and a few shops yet to be filled. The Jewel Centre, positioned on the corner of Karo Drive and Abel Smith Street, shows off a beautifully tiled entrance way.

Opposite: Thistle Hall, looking East along Arthur Street, 2007. 59 ● ● ● ● ●





At present its neighbours include a beauty therapist and health clinic, a small block of flats, a collection point for taxi chits, a longstanding tailor and Chicky's Charcoal Roasted Chicken. Well-known Mr. Smiles, with his antiques and curios – including a life-sized plastic model of Jesus, is no longer there. The Cuba Street Superette and Careering Options Ltd are located south of Thistle Hall. On both sides of the street, people live above ground floor stores.

The name 'Thistle Hall' now encompasses the entire building at 293-295 Cuba Street: the Board and the hall's long-term users have together developed a thriving community centre. Approaching the building from the north, visitors first reach Thistle Hall's community gallery, a well-lit space with white walls and wooden floors. In keeping with the philosophies behind the Board's management of the hall, the gallery is made available to any artist for a minimal fee. This enables new and emerging artists, as well as those more established, to show their work publicly. Where once Thistle Hall was synonymous with riotous punk gigs, now it is perhaps better known for its art exhibition openings, which are so well-attended they spill out onto the pavement. The annual Thistle Hall Art Sale is a highlight event: artists and patrons contribute works, each of which sells for \$100, half of which is returned to the artist. The first sale paid for gallery lighting and the second made possible the reinstallation of the Arthur Street gallery window.









Just as Thistle Hall's volunteers in the 1990s had always hoped, the hall now has a proper office fronting Cuba Street, which gives the Board an actual, physical presence in Te Aro. Lily Chalmers is currently the board's paid manager and she works 20 hours per week. Her office windows are papered with posters of weekly events open to everyone. Hall activities draw from diverse cultural groups in Wellington including Xingey Bargua Tai Chi, Virtue hip hop dance, Capoeira pasifika, shaolin kung fu, Wellington Batucada (a percussion group that plays samba) and Danss (same sex ballroom and Latin American dancing). The Grace Presbyterian Church meets at Thistle Hall on Sunday mornings; Oasis community café runs on Thursday evenings, and Wellington's Palestine Group meets every second Wednesday.

Small groups requiring a space more intimate than the hall are able to hire the meeting room behind Lily's office. Also on ground level are four bathrooms, a small kitchen and three storage rooms. Upstairs, the hall itself is licensed for 120 people, day or night. Though the 100-year-old floor is still in need of repair, its ruts and holes have been filled and smoothed over. At the hall's rear, the newly-fitted kitchen is light, airy and well-equipped.

Opposite clockwise from top left: Opening night of the 2007 Art Sale; Darryl Walker prepares for the impending frenzy, 2007; Stuart Shepherd and purchase, 2006; Record of a successful Art Sale, 2005.

Thistle Hall is clearly in good hands. In their current annual plan, the Board outline their key objectives:

- · To continue to provide an affordable and open space for community activities
- To host regular educational, recreational and cultural activities
- To offer an open-access community gallery
- To build, bolster and support communities that use Thistle Hall
- To provide a professional, friendly and safe environment

In return, the Board ask for their facilities to be treated with respect. In the immediate future, the Board plan to replace the hall's floor and install an elevator to provide access for people with disabilities. Eventually, they would like to build a moveable stage and install a lighting grid so that the hall can be more readily hired for theatre productions. For now, the Board aim to continue to provide a community venue that is multi-functional, egalitarian and accessible to all types of community activities – even a wedding!

Angela and Gregory met at Thistle Hall on the 1st of May in 2004, at the 10th anniversary party of Just Teasing hair salon. The anniversary was themed a 'glamour party': Angela wore a long green velvet skirt and a 1950s black sequinned top; she recalls Gregory had great footwear and a flamboyant shirt. They were introduced

in the doorway of Thistle Hall by Gale, the owner of Just Teasing. Angela says, "It was love at first sight". Angela and Gregory were married at Thistle Hall on the 8th of December 2007.

"Although modified and renovated, Thistle Hall continues to reflect the bohemian character that has always lingered in Upper Cuba Street. Thistle Hall is a place that welcomes everyone: it is open to events and activities from all corners of the Te Aro community. We look forward to another 100 years. And the floor is still in need of repair." (Johanna Sanders, Thistle Hall Board member, 2007)











Above clockwise from top left, regular user groups of Thistle Hall 2008: Yang family style Tai Chi; Virtue Dance; Same Sex Ballroom and Latin American Dancing; Virtue Dance.









Above clockwise from top left, regular user groups of Thistle Hall 2008: Wellington Batucada; Capoeira Mandinga Aotearoa; Capoeira Mandinga Aotearoa; Wu Style Tai Chi Kung Fu (Shaolin, Bargua, Xin Yi).

notes

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picture credits

Cover image: Dusty rides her tricycle in Thistle Hall, March 1998. Andrew Ross, PhotoSpace Studio and Gallery.

Back cover image: Johanna Sanders.

Opening page spread: Thistle Hall, 2008. Sam Irwin (top left and right); Johanna Sanders (bottom left and right).

Opposite page 1: Wellington City Council Archives, file reference 00053:138:7718.

- *Page 3:* Alexander Turnbull Library, Ephemera Collection, Eph-C-Retail-1895; Alexander Turnbull Library, Ephemera Collection, Eph-A-Retail-1914.
- Page 6: Sydney Charles Smith. Alexander Turnbull Library, S C Smith Collection, G- 47578-1/2.
- Page 7: Photographer unidentified. Alexander Turnbull Library, The Press (Christchurch) Collection, G- 8182-1/1.
- Page 10: Alexander Turnbull Library, New Zealand & Pacific Collection, N-P 1390-4.
- Page 15: Wellington City Council Archives, file reference 00138:0:341.

- Page 19: Photographer unknown, courtesy Wellington Gaelic Club.
- Page 22: Alexander Turnbull Library, Manuscript Collection, reference fMS-Papers-7603-02; Alexander Turnbull Library, Manuscript Collection, reference fMS-Papers-7603-02.
- Page 26 from top left: Alexander Turnbull Library, Ephemera Collection, Eph-D-Music-Popular-1981; Wellington City Council Archives, file reference 00009:1380:45/310/78; Wellington City Council Archives, file reference 00001:162:6/241, Part 1.
- Page 30: Graeme Brook Simpson. Alexander Turnbull Library, Graeme Simpson Collection, PA12-1767-03.
- Page 33: Phillip Lionel Barton. Alexander Turnbull Library, Phillip Barton Collection, PA12-1824-16.
- Page 34: Graeme Brook Simpson. Alexander Turnbull Library, Graeme Simpson Collection, PA12-1766-05 & PA12-1766-03.
- Page 36: Graeme Brook Simpson. Alexander Turnbull Library, Graeme Simpson Collection, PA12-1767-08 & PA12-1767-05.
- Page 39: Phillip Lionel Barton. Alexander Turnbull Library, Phillip Barton Collection, PA12-1824-02; Graeme Brook Simpson. Alexander Turnbull Library, Graeme Simpson Collection, PA12-1767-10.
- Page 44: Smut photographs courtesy Simon Cottle; Posters courtesy of Ross Gardiner; John Lake.
- Page 47: Phillip Lionel Barton. Alexander Turnbull Library, Phillip Barton Collection, PA12-1825-01.
- Page 48: Andrew Ross, PhotoSpace Studio and Gallery.
- Page 51: David Gurr. Alexander Turnbull Library, New Zealand & Pacific Collection, N-P 1415-1; Alexander Turnbull Library, Ephemera Collection, Eph-C-Road-2004; Alexander Turnbull Library, Dominion Post Collection, EP/1998/0527/7A.
- Page 53: Photographs courtesy Karen Davidson and Johanna Sanders.
- Page 54: Alexander Wright; Flea market posters courtesy of Genevieve Packer.
- Page 57: Courtesy Gale Walker, Just Teasing.

Page 58: Johanna Sanders.

Page 60: Fluke; Andy Mitchell.

Page 62: Andy Mitchell; Genevieve Packer (bottom right).

Page 66: Anthony Hawkins; Johanna Sanders.

Page 67: Darryl Walker (top left); Anthony Hawkins; Johanna Sanders.



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