

HERITAGE ASSESSMENT REPORT

NAME: Manitoba Housing Complex

PLACE NO.: 26419

Address: 228-256 Carrington Street, 7-29 Hume Lane & 1-32 Regent Street North,
Adelaide

1. BRIEF HISTORY OF MANITOBA HOUSING COMPLEX

Manitoba Housing Complex was built in 1974-75 for the South Australian Housing Trust (SAHT) as a major initiative in public housing design, 'the first Trust new building in the City of Adelaide' (SAHT Annual Report 1976, 4), and so was the first large-scale construction of public housing in the history of the city. (SAHT sources give the completion date as 1975, for 39 units, with a final two units finished 1976: Housing SA, Housing Statistical Services).

Manitoba Housing Development (as named originally by the architect) was designed by a private architect Ian Hannaford, who identifies it as one of the earliest medium-density housing developments of this type in South Australia, and the first in central Adelaide (Hannaford, email 2014). While large-scale and modern in form Manitoba is described by Hannaford as 'urban design', respecting the nineteenth and early twentieth century housing of the surrounding south east quarter of the city. In preparing the design Hannaford consulted closely with SAHT Board members on the requirements of the Trust tenants, in particular with Deputy Chairman Hugh Stretton and Wendy Etherington (Sarkissian) (Hannaford email 2014; Sarkissian letter 2013).

The development is known as the 'Manitoba' site, which originated from the name of the company that previously owned the land. Before the Trust purchased the land, it had been used as a car park for some years...The entire project ... will help people seeking Trust rental accommodation to find housing in the inner city area. It will also assist the Adelaide City Council's programme of attracting a larger residential population back to the city. (SAHT Annual Report 1974, 20).

Manitoba was also built to comply with the Adelaide City Council's new policy aimed at restoring residential life in the city centre, supported by the state government under Premier Don Dunstan, and the Manitoba development was a catalyst for the revival of residential construction in the City of Adelaide, both by the SAHT and by private developers.

Chronology

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|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1936 | South Australian Housing Trust established – the first public housing authority in Australia |
| 1937 | First SAHT houses built (double units – pairs of attached single-storey suburban dwellings) |
| 1964 | Ian Hannaford established his architectural practice |
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1971	University of Adelaide social scientist and historian Hugh Stretton published <i>Ideas for Australian cities</i> ; appointed to SAHT Board
1971	70,000 th SAHT house built in South Australia (one only in City of Adelaide – in Government House grounds)
1972	Joint council-government City of Adelaide Development Committee formed, its members including Hugh Stretton
1973	SAHT Board considered a report on developing approximately 0.5 hectares of land (used as a car-park) owned by Manitoba Pty Ltd in Carrington Street, Adelaide, purchased the site, and engaged Kinnaird Hill de Rohan and Young, in association with Ian Hannaford, to prepare a proposal for developing units on the site Hugh Stretton appointed Deputy Chairman of SAHT. Wendy Etherington (now Sarkissian) appointed to SAHT Board.
1974	SAHT called for tenders for development of a site of 7,650 square metres (0.76 hectares) on corner of Frome and Carrington Streets, Adelaide; accepted tender of Kennett Bros Pty Ltd. Construction began.
1975	Manitoba completed, the SAHT's first new construction in the City of Adelaide; lease of barber's shop in complex began
1976	Two final units completed and occupied at Manitoba
1979	Dr Kent's Paddock, SAHT medium-density development, also built around a central communal area, opened at Kent Town
1982	Six additional units completed on north side of Hume Lane (Manitoba stage 2)
1986	SAHT celebrates 50 th anniversary
1989	Hugh Stretton retired as SAHT Deputy Chairman and from the University of Adelaide
2012	Manitoba's barber shop converted to residential use Manitoba nominated for State Heritage listing

2. DESCRIPTION

Manitoba is a medium-density housing complex occupying a city block in central Adelaide bounded by Carrington Street, Regent Street North (formerly Frome Street), Hume Lane and a private lane, and surrounding a spacious central garden courtyard with access restricted to residents. The complex (stage one only, excluding stage 2 built later on the north side of Hume Lane) consists of the original 41 two- and three-storey apartments designed as medium-density terrace housing. The two- and three-bedroom apartments face onto the central communal garden courtyard and have small fenced private front and rear

yards. They are of red brick construction with tiled roofs, and the three-storey apartments have bay windows on the street frontages with cladding on the lower sections.

The Manitoba complex also includes buildings extending north from the corner of Carrington Street and Regent Street North, designated in the original layout plan as a Laundromat, and used as a barber shop (on the corner) and a shop used as a community room (off Regent Street North) – both now converted for residential use. Apart from fencing and roll-up garage doors there are no other major changes evident in the design. The housing is still used for its original purpose, rented by Housing SA (formerly SAHT) tenants, and is still formally owned by the SAHT.

2.2 Statement of Heritage Significance

The Manitoba Housing Complex is important as the first new public rental housing built in the City of Adelaide by the South Australian Housing Trust reflecting a major change in its tradition of building in outer suburban estates. This was also the first large-scale construction of public, or ‘social’ housing, in the history of central Adelaide, and it marks the start of an important phase in council and government action to revive the city’s residential population, and to retain low-cost accommodation that was traditionally available within the city. Manitoba is also a significant example of an architectural form of medium-density housing new to South Australia, scaled-up and innovatively designed to provide for both communal and private occupation by public rental residents, and to respect existing urban form in an old inner city precinct.

3. ASSESSMENT OF HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

Identification of South Australian Historical Themes:

Manitoba Housing Complex relates to the themes of ‘Historical Geography’, ‘Social History/Development’ and ‘Political/Government History’. As these are interconnected, they are discussed collectively.

The complex represents the first large-scale construction of public or ‘social’ housing in Adelaide’s city centre, and marks the start of an important phase both in the history of Adelaide and in the history of the State’s housing authority, the South Australian Housing Trust. Manitoba’s successors, such as the SAHT’s ‘Box Factory’ development, also in Carrington Street, were designed in a similar medium-density form. ‘During the 1970s and 1980s the Trust was a significant residential developer and had the support of the Adelaide City Council ... as well as state and federal governments’. The 1974 City of Adelaide Planning Study proposed that the SAHT and other agencies concerned with affordable housing should provide a minimum of 10% of residential accommodation in the city. The total numbers of dwellings either purchased or constructed by the SAHT in the city centre grew from 3 to 592 between 1973 and 1999. This marked a distinctive phase in both the history of the SAHT and in city development. After 1990 there was a lapse of nearly 20 years until affordable housing construction was resumed in the city centre, and the new development was also very different in kind, high-rise rather than medium-density, and combining home ownership with affordable rental. (Marsden 2011, 116, 118, 120)

The insertion of a medium-density public housing complex into an existing historical residential precinct reflected a shift in both state and local government policy. As the first director of South Australia's State Planning Authority (Stuart Hart) has recalled, during the early 1970s Premier Don Dunstan came to accept 'the public's aversion to high-density living, introducing selective renewal'. (Hart, interview 2007)

Hutchings and Garnaut wrote that the 1970s saw many organisations 'pick up the master planning baton for new estates' at a time of 'dramatic financial and creative investment in urban planning and development throughout the nation'. (Hutchings & Garnaut, 109) Manitoba was a significant inner-city expression of the same innovation in urban planning and development. This is explicitly acknowledged in Jennifer Taylor's study of Australian architecture since 1960. Historically, poorly designed multiple housing units had blighted various urban areas in Australia and gave grouped units a bad image. 'Efforts to overcome this situation were pioneered in various cities in the 1970s'. (Taylor, 145). She included the work of the SAHT, one the 'most progressive of the housing authorities', which in the 1970s 'achieved a fresh impetus under the [deputy] chairmanship of Hugh Stretton and the design direction of [in-house architect] Newell Platten', at a time of generous federal and state support for public housing under the Whitlam and Dunstan Labor governments. (Taylor, 146)

Taylor wrote, 'In the city of Adelaide itself the Housing Trust has been most successful with its renovated cottages scattered throughout the city and its walk-up apartment blocks'. She considered that Dr Kent's Paddock, completed (after Manitoba) in 1979 'shows the work at its best', which (like Manitoba) was designed around a generous central garden space 'that gives a special character to the place, and with time will increase the level of privacy'. This is also evident at Manitoba.

Comparability / Rarity / Representation:

There appear to be no similar places (medium-density housing complexes of the post-1960s period) entered in either the South Australian Heritage Register or in the heritage registers of jurisdictions of other Australian States. The first SAHT dwellings (semi-detached pairs of single storey houses, dating from 1937), at 35 & 37 McNicol Terrace, Rosewater are entered in the South Australian State Heritage Register (SHP No. 13125).

As for rarity or commonness, this form 'medium-density' form became a highly-popular housing type in South Australia between the 1960s and the late twentieth century, and there are many examples still evident in the City and metropolitan Adelaide. They include a terrace of 'townhouses', a private development designed shortly before Manitoba by the same architect, Ian Hannaford.¹ They also include SAHT developments that followed Manitoba, including Dr Kent's Paddock, 1979 (also designed by Hannaford), and a large

¹ The interior of one of the North Adelaide townhouses designed by Hannaford in the 1970s was recently modernised, won an Australian Interior Design Award, and was commended by SA Government's Integrated Design Commission. See Integrated Design Commission, *Project: North Adelaide residence* (completion date 2011), viewed Apr 2014, <http://integrateddesign.sa.gov.au/design-reviews/design-friday-archive/north-adelaide-residence-2/?type=print>.

'cluster housing' estate at West Lakes, 1976 (Marsden, 1986, 170-1, 347). Manitoba was invariably included by the SAHT in its guided tours for staff and public figures. A tour of Trust inner Adelaide developments by the Labor Caucus, in SA's Jubilee 150 year (1986) visited many medium-density complexes, including 'Carrington Street Adelaide 'Box Factory' community centre and attached housing, Regent Street Adelaide 'Manitoba' attached housing, ... Frome Street Adelaide mixed attached housing, Capper Street Kent Town 'Dr Kent's Paddock' mixed attached housing [and] John Martins warehouse conversion, ... Magill Road Maylands tram barn conversion...'. (SAHT, Tour, 1986)

Assessment against Criteria (Under Section 16 of the *Heritage Places Act 1993*):

(a) it demonstrates important aspects of the evolution or pattern of the state's history.

In considering this criterion, I have had regard to the provided Guidelines for State Heritage Places that note:

The place should be closely associated with events, developments or cultural phases which have played a significant part in South Australian history. Ideally it should demonstrate those associations in its fabric.

Places will not normally be considered under this criterion if they are of a class of things that are commonplace, or frequently replicated across the State, places associated with events of interest only to a small number of people, places associated with developments of little significance, or places only reputed to have been the scene of an event which has left no trace or which lacks substantial evidence.

Manitoba marks a significant turning point in the history of the State's public housing authority, the South Australian Housing Trust, from building only suburban dwellings since the start of operations in 1937 until 1974 when construction of Manitoba began in the city centre. This was noted by the SAHT as 'the first Trust new building in the City of Adelaide' (SAHT Annual Report 1976, 4), and was a project carefully assessed in terms of density, design and cost, and discussed with Adelaide City Council (SAHT Board minutes 16 Jan 1973, 3, & 21 Aug 1973, 3). This was also a time when the pressures of post-war housing demand had eased and the SAHT was looking to invigorate and diversify its housing stock, reporting in 1974, that 'its innovative programmes will ultimately reverse the downward trend in its production but [also] provide better living conditions for its applicants'. (SAHT Annual Report 1974, 4) Through its two-part program of renovating old buildings and building new dwellings the SAHT also aimed to increase the proportion of accommodation for people of low income in the city centre when there were many applications from city workers and from those who needed the city's social and welfare support, at a time when redevelopment was removing much of the traditional low-cost city housing. (SAHT Annual Report 1975, 31)

Manitoba represents the first large-scale construction of public or 'social' housing in Adelaide's city centre. This was a distinctive phase in both the history of the SAHT

and in city development, as there was a lapse of nearly 20 years after 1990 until affordable housing construction was resumed in the city centre, and the new development was very different in kind, as it was high-rise rather than medium-density, and mixed-occupancy, combining affordable rental with home ownership.

The SAHT's inner-city program of purchase and renovation, as well as construction of new complexes (starting with Manitoba) reflected also a transformation in government policy during Don Dunstan's second term as premier (1970-79), from favouring high-rise inner-city development (as originally proposed at Hackney) to more humanely-scaled developments intermixed with existing buildings, and 'getting population back into the city square mile'. (Marsden, 1986, 346-347). As a former Labor premier Lynn Arnold wrote in support of the heritage nomination, Manitoba's significance was 'not just as a piece of built heritage, but also as an exemplar of social policy development'. The housing complex was an outcome of 'the seminal social policy development that occurred during Dunstan's Premiership', which 'coincided and fuelled new directions in the then Housing Trust'. (Arnold, letter supporting nomination, 2012).

Dunstan's government also made radical changes to the membership of the SAHT Board, including the appointments of Hugh Stretton, Cedric Pugh and Wendy Etherington (Sarkissian), who advocated for these changes, and were closely involved in discussions about the design of Manitoba and other new developments. Dunstan's observation that private builders were producing cheaper and better designs than the SAHT led him to appoint some with that expertise to the Board, and lay behind the SAHT's decision to consult with a private engineering firm Kinnaird Hill de Rohan & Young and the private architect, Ian Hannaford, about designing the first SAHT units in the city. (Marsden, 1986, 347; SAHT Board minutes, 16 Jan 1973, 3; 14 Aug 1973, 4).

The architect Ian Hannaford recalls,

I was owner developer for 6 successful town houses in Kingston Terrace North Adelaide which seemed to rewrite the MD [medium-density] book at the time...probably led to upgrades to new city plan [The City of Adelaide Plan, 1974] ...and my being asked to do work for SAHT by Alex Ramsay [SAHT General Manager] and Hugh Stretton [SAHT Deputy Chairman]. (Hannaford, email 2014).

Hannaford presaged this approach in a report prepared with the traffic engineers Pak-Poy for the North Adelaide Residents' Society in 1971. (Hannaford & Pak-Poy, 1971) The report summary opened:

Inner residential areas must be re-created as attractive places in which to live – attractive in terms of environmental and community values - and unless they can provide a range of alternatives for LIVING [sic] through a variety of neighbourhoods and dwelling types at reasonable prices, PEOPLE [sic] are unlikely to return in large numbers (Hannaford & Pak-Poy, 2)

The summary acknowledged as one of the consequences of growth in the metropolitan population, an 'attendant demand for additional housing, some of which must be satisfied by locations within inner city areas'. (Hannaford & Pak-Poy, 2). The authors noted in the report that both redevelopment and preservation was essential in North Adelaide, and that the optimum population would be gained by applying 'varying residential densities to precincts, suited to their preservation needs, and by the encouragement of an intermix of residential and commercial buildings in selected areas'. As well North Adelaide's wide range of socio-economic groups was important but real estate pressures and even restoration would drive out the low-income groups who were most likely to shop locally. 'A large proportion of lower to middle income groups are therefore essential to the viability of the shopping areas'. (Hannaford & Pak-Poy, 3)

These considerations underpinned the change in both state government, SAHT and city council policy towards not only higher-density housing construction in central Adelaide but also public housing and the admixture of historical and new dwellings and small businesses – all illustrated in the design of Manitoba and in the SAHT's other subsequent activities in the Carrington Street precinct.

Hannaford & Pak-Poy also reported that the construction of higher-density residential units 'is one of the most significant real estate trends in Australia having a major influence on existing and future development', a trend more marked in the eastern states but accelerating in South Australia. These buildings in Adelaide comprised medium- and high-rise flats and home units. Their analysis showed that until recently most flat construction had been in suburbs outside the City of Adelaide because of the city's higher rates, although there had been a boom in flats in recent years in North Adelaide. (Hannaford & Pak-Poy, 13-14). The higher cost of new flats in central Adelaide – which would require relatively high rents - also underpinned the SAHT's decision to build their own for low-income medium-density housing complex.

Hannaford describes this complex as one of the first of its kind (medium-density) and of that scale in South Australia, and the first in the city. He believes that Manitoba also represented a new phase of residential development for the city centre (Hannaford, email 2014). Manitoba illustrates the trajectory of residential landuse within South Australia's capital city centre, as, after a half-century of population decline in resident numbers and houses in Adelaide, this complex was designed and built to help revive the residential population in line with new state government and Adelaide City Council policy. It was also designed to complement and reinforce the traditionally residential character of the south east quarter of the City of Adelaide.

I conclude that the Place meets this criterion.

(b) it has rare, uncommon or endangered qualities that are of cultural significance.

In considering this criterion, I have had regard to the provided Guidelines for State Heritage Places, that note:

The place should demonstrate a way of life, social custom, industrial process or land use which is no longer practised, is in danger of being lost, or is of exceptional interest. This encompasses both places which were always rare, and places which have become scarce through subsequent loss or destruction.

Places will not normally be considered under this criterion if their rarity is merely local, or if they appear rare only because research has not been done elsewhere, or if their distinguishing characteristics have been degraded or compromised, or if they are at present common and simply believed to be in danger of becoming rare in future.

I conclude that this Place does not demonstrate rare or uncommon qualities that are of cultural significance and therefore does not meet with this criterion.

(c) it may yield information that will contribute to an understanding of the state's history, including its natural history.

In considering this criterion, I have had regard to the provided Guidelines for State Heritage Places, that note:

The place should provide, or demonstrate a likelihood of providing, information that will contribute significantly to our knowledge of the past. The information should be inherent in the fabric of the place. The place may be a standing structure, an archaeological deposit or a geological site.

Places will not normally be considered under this criterion simply because they are believed to contain archaeological or palaeontological deposits. There must be good reasons to suppose the site is of value for research, and that useful information will emerge. A place that will yield the same information as many other places, or information that could be obtained as readily from documentary sources, may not be eligible.

Manitoba's fabric does not provide, or demonstrate a likelihood of providing, information that will contribute significantly to our knowledge of the past, any more than information that could be obtained as readily from documentary and oral sources.

I conclude that the Place does not yield information that will contribute to an understanding of the state's history, including its natural history, and therefore does not meet this criterion.

(d) it is an outstanding representative of a particular class of places of cultural significance.

In considering this criterion, I have had regard to the provided Guidelines for State Heritage Places, that note:

The place should be capable of providing understanding of the category of places which it represents. It should be typical of a wider range of such places, and in a good state of integrity, that is, still faithfully presenting its historical message.

Places will not be considered simply because they are members of a class, they must be both notable examples and well-preserved. Places will be excluded if their characteristics do not clearly typify the class, or if they were very like many other places, or if their representative qualities had been degraded or lost. However, places will not be excluded from the Register merely because other similar places are included.

Manitoba is one of many medium-density housing groups built during the 1970s and 1980s in South Australia. Michael Queale has advised that ‘The project hasn’t received any architecture awards (according to my list). We didn’t look at the site as a part of the 20th Century Significant SA Architecture project (next generation of the 1986 exercise)’. Queale suggests Manitoba is an early example of this class of housing in South Australia.

I conclude that this Place is not outstanding representative of a particular class of places of cultural significance and therefore does not meet with this criterion.

- (e) it demonstrates a high degree of creative, aesthetic or technical accomplishment or is an outstanding representative of particular construction techniques or design characteristics.**

In considering this criterion, I have had regard to the provided Guidelines for State Heritage Places, that note:

The place should show qualities of innovation or departure, beauty or formal design, or represent a new achievement of its time. Breakthroughs in technology or new developments in design would qualify, if the place clearly shows them. A high standard of design skill and originality is expected.

Places would not normally be considered under this criterion if their degree of achievement could not be demonstrated, or where their integrity was diminished so that the achievement, while documented, was no longer apparent in the place, or simply because they were the work of a designer who demonstrated innovation elsewhere.

Planner and former SAHT Board member Dr Wendy Sarkissian describes Manitoba as ‘one of the finest examples of public housing of this type at this density. It’s the first example of medium-density public housing in the City of Adelaide and a particularly brilliant and sensitive design by an eminent, award-winning South Australian architect, Ian Hannaford’. (Sarkissian, letter supporting nomination, 2013). Lynn Arnold wrote that Manitoba was significant for its innovative design, and was a ‘pioneering example of social housing development... But ... the project was more than just the provision of housing, it was the provision of community-formation opportunity in the way the

project was designed and its inclusion of community support facilities'. (Arnold, letter supporting nomination, 2012). These included a shop, a community room and large communal space, all of which remain, although the shop and community room have been converted and playground equipment has been removed.

An outstanding feature of the design of the site is that private yard space is retained, to reduce any feeling of overcrowding. There is space set aside for a children's playground, and seating space relating to the corner shop will also be provided. The dwellings being constructed will provide individual living units ranging from single pensioner flats to larger family-type units of two or three bedrooms. (SAHT Annual Report, 1974, 20)

Daryl, a resident quoted in a news report in 2013, described Manitoba as a legacy of the Don Dunstan era, and extolled the design from the tenants' viewpoint. He was quoted as saying '[Dunstan] said I want something of good design and quality that people would not think was social housing. We have got a common garden space and we have a great community'. (www.news.com.au, 10 May 2013). The design of the complex around a large central open space was a major, and innovative, element - which Taylor commended as a notable feature of Dr Kent's Paddock, constructed later. Hannaford agrees that this was an innovative feature, and notes that, 'I also did the concept for Dr Kent's Paddock for SAHT'. (Hannaford, email 2014). The living areas of the units at Manitoba overlook the central communal area. Sarkissian describes Manitoba's on-site shared open space as one of 'the important social design features', and has used photos of Manitoba and its open space for many decades in her lectures to land and design professionals to illustrate 'the components of a good design'. (Sarkissian, letter 2013) She also devotes a section on her professional website to Manitoba's shared and private spaces:

One of the best examples of shared open space is the beautiful public housing estate designed in the 1970s by South Australian architect, Ian Hannaford: the Manitoba development.

The care and sensitivity of this design have made it a popular site for visits by overseas planners and architects for decades.

The care with [which] Hannaford (and the Housing Trust planners and architects who assisted him) provided for natural surveillance ("eyes on the street") from the neighboring dwellings while allowing residents to maximise their privacy, spoke to a sensitivity that we rarely see in current housing designs.

The subtle but sensitive approaches to "cut-out" fencing allowed residents to add to their fencing and/or provide landscaping if they sought greater privacy chose not to participate in the [children's] play in the central shared space. (Sarkissian, Shared Space)

Hannaford also recalls, 'I proposed height and scale...ie the urban design approach.' Manitoba demonstrates a high degree of creative and design characteristics, in particular in how it relates to its neighbours and the city as a whole. Hannaford recalls

that was 'My intention...arising from a broad interest in all aspects of urban redevelopment and delivery...which is still dear to my heart'. (Hannaford, email 2014).

As Taylor noted,

It is through inner city projects such as this [Dr Kent's Paddock] and the similar "Box Factory" Housing Development, ... and the 'Manitoba' Housing Development ..., that the Trust has, by example, demonstrated the consonance possible between multiple-unit, medium-density housing and existing, low-scale, residential areas. (Taylor, 147)

Another design innovation (for housing of this period) was one anticipated in the 1971 Hannaford Pak-Poy report: the Manitoba development incorporated small commercial/communal premises to serve the low-income residents and those living nearby. Hannaford recalls, 'I argued for some street activity at the time...it added to the community integration [of Manitoba]'. (Hannaford, email 2014). Hannaford's initial plan provided for a corner shop and a community room but as the subsequent Box Factory development included rehabilitation of an old factory building as a community centre by all the local residents, Manitoba's design was altered slightly and the corner shop was set up as a men's barber shop and residence. (SAHT Annual report 1975, 31) The proprietor, H J Caris, relocated his 'Gentlemen's hairdresser' from 201 Carrington Street, and commenced his lease for \$15 per week in November 1975 (SAHT Board minutes 11 November 1975). Housing SA officer Shirley Trebilcock recalls 'many ministerials' (public inquiries to the Housing Minister) about the barber shop, partly because it wasn't usual to have commercial premises in residential blocks. (Trebilcock, 2014) The other room was used as a 'community room'. Both structures remain but the 'community room' was converted before 1986 into a unit for disabled residents, and the barber shop was also eventually adapted for residential use, in 2012. (SAHT, Officers' tour, 1986; SAHT, Scope of works, 2012)

Michael Queale advises that,

The project does appear to be early for SA – seems to pre-date anything in West Lakes. I think the nearest comparison would be Dr Kent's Paddock in Kent Town – but that was a later development (late 1970s...). Guy Maron's medium density work at Clovelly Park? I think (he won a competition for this) would be of a similar era, but much smaller scale – the places look the same as the ones he later designed at the south end of Frome St, city... It looks like Manitoba may be an early example of this type of development in SA – not uncommon interstate where inner-city pressures are higher, but early for SA. (Queale, email 2014)

I conclude that the Place does meet this criterion.

- (f) it has strong cultural or spiritual associations for the community or a group within it.**

In considering this criterion, I have had regard to the provided Guidelines for State

Heritage Places, that note:

The place should be one which the community or a significant cultural group have held in high regard for an extended period. This must be much stronger than people's normal attachment to their surroundings. The association may in some instances be in folklore rather than in reality.

Places will not be considered if their associations are commonplace by nature, or of recent origin, or recognised only by a small number of people, or not held very strongly, or held by a group not widely recognised, or cannot be demonstrated satisfactorily to others.

While the residents of Manitoba demonstrate a strong attachment to the place, as indicated in their protest in 2012-13 against its redevelopment, and in the nomination itself, I consider this association is by a small number of people, that is, those who are the tenants of the complex itself.

I conclude that the Place does not have strong cultural or spiritual associations for the community or a group within it and therefore does not meet with this criterion.

(g) it has a special association with the life or work of a person or organisation or event of historical importance

In considering this criterion, I have had regard to the provided Guidelines for State Heritage Places, that note:

The place must have a close association with a person or group which played a significant part in past events, and that association should be demonstrated in the fabric of the place. The product of a creative person, or the workplace of a person whose contribution was in industry, would be more closely associated with the person's work than would his or her home. Most people are associated with many places in their lifetime, and it must be demonstrated why one place is more significant than others.

Places will not generally be considered under this criterion if they have only a brief, incidental or distant association, or if they are associated with persons or groups of little significance, or if they are associated with an event which has left no trace, or if a similar association could be claimed for many places, or if the association cannot be demonstrated. Generally the home or the grave of a notable person will not be entered in the Register unless it has some distinctive attribute, or there is no other physical evidence of the person's life or career in existence.

Manitoba is associated with one of the most significant organisations in the history of South Australia, the South Australian Housing Trust. The SAHT was the state's first housing authority and a major planner, builder and developer in South Australia, particularly in its first 50 years from 1936 (Marsden, 1986 & 2011). Manitoba was developed by the SAHT as its first housing development in the City of Adelaide, and marked the start of a significant phase in the SAHT's history. 'During the 1970s and

1980s the Trust was a significant residential developer and had the support of the Adelaide City Council ... as well as state and federal governments'. The total numbers of dwellings either purchased or constructed by the SAHT in the city centre grew from 3 to 592 between 1973 (when the Manitoba site was purchased for development by the SAHT) and 1999. (Marsden, 2011, 116, 118, 120)

The Manitoba development was also a distinctively new form of housing design for the SAHT, as it was 'medium-density' comprising two- and three-story units with small private yards enclosing a large open space shared by the tenants. This medium-density form became the preferred style of SAHT housing in the 1970s (SAHT Annual Report 1974, 4). Manitoba was followed by several similar developments built for the SAHT in the city and suburbs, including complexes in close proximity such as the Box Factory. In contrast to the SAHT's traditional mass-housing approach to design, Manitoba's design was also informed by social research into the needs of residents, not only for a range of dwelling types and facilities but also for both private and communal garden space.

Manitoba also has a special association with the work of Hugh Stretton, academic historian and public intellectual. The profound changes in the location and design of SAHT rental housing, exemplified by Manitoba, were associated with new appointments to the SAHT Board made by the social reformist Dunstan government, the most prominent of them being Stretton. His publications in social science gained him an international reputation, while his book *Ideas for Australian Cities* (1971) had an immediate and enduring impact on Australian urban policy, as also expressed through his SAHT Board membership, and most tangibly, in his advocacy for the purchase and construction of inner-city public housing by the SAHT through the 1970s and 1980s. Stretton 'supported sensitive urban rehabilitation, improvements in the design and range of Trust housing (including medium-density rather than simply suburban-style housing) and efforts to increase the Trust's stock in the inner-city area'. (Marsden & Parkin, 1989, 207).

As a Board member from 1971 and deputy chairman from 1973, Stretton was closely involved in discussions about the design of Manitoba. (Hannaford, 2014). He also played a direct part in changing the City Council's policy which favoured such development, as a member of the joint council-government committee, the City of Adelaide Development Committee, set up in 1972. (Clarke, 1974, 15) The committee's power of interim control curtailed the demolition of housing and fostered the construction of new dwellings in the city.

'Adelaide was receptive to change because of the imaginative and respectable leadership of Stretton, who was not only an academic and author but an activist in terms of being a founding member of the North Adelaide Society Inc., a member of the City of Adelaide Development Committee and Deputy Chairman of the South Australian Housing Trust.' (Llewellyn-Smith, 102)

Stretton made frequent and admiring reference to the SAHT in the several editions of *Ideas for Australian cities* and, drawing on his Board experience, in his subsequent

writings. Through Stretton, this 'state trust' became well-known not only to housing officers but also to scholars and administrators interstate and overseas. (Marsden & Parkin, 1989, 211). 'Hugh Stretton's involvement with the South Australian Housing Trust gave that notable public authority the benefit of his energy and insight for 18 years and, in return, contributed to the richness of Stretton's scholarly writings.' (Marsden & Parkin, 1989, 214).

Manitoba, in its intact design, including architecture and spatial features is also closely associated with the architect and planner Ian Hannaford. Hannaford established his architectural practice in 1964, and 'Manitoba' exemplified the work of this firm which 'combined the roles of project initiator, manager, architect and planner'. (Page, 1986, 269) Hannaford graduated with a Bachelor of Architecture from the University of Adelaide in 1963. His innovative projects within Adelaide City Council boundaries also included co-design of the high-rise Grenfell Centre, creation of Rundle Mall, and adaptive reuse of the Old Lion Brewery in North Adelaide. Another of his planning projects during Dunstan's era was the never-realised satellite city of Monarto. (Page, 270-271) 'The firm has also been deeply involved in residential developments, including town houses, terrace houses, and luxury high-rise apartment houses: in medium-density Housing Trust developments; and in the preparation of ... feasibility studies and urban designs for the North Haven Marina Complex at Port Adelaide'. (Page, 271) Hannaford conceived of the medium-density housing complex in central Adelaide both as a public housing project and as a form of urban planning, and recalls that he approached the SAHT with the concept. In an evaluation of his own body of work as a whole, Hannaford describes Manitoba as an 'innovative public housing approach'. (Hannaford, 2014).

Manitoba has a special association with the South Australian Housing Trust, and with the work of noted public intellectual and SAHT member Hugh Stretton, and with the work of a significant South Australian architect and planner, Ian Hannaford.

I conclude that the Place meets with criterion.

Extent of Listing / Significant Fabric / Curtilage:

The extent of listing includes:

The exterior of all buildings (and exterior architectural features) comprising the Manitoba Housing Complex and former shops occupying the block bounded by Carrington Street, Regent Street North, Hume Lane and a private lane; the private garden spaces attached to each unit, and the central shared open space and its mature trees.

The extent of listing excludes:

Interiors and fencing (including roll-up garage doors); Stage 2 units on the north side of Hume Lane.

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List of images supplied from SAHT Memorabilia Collection

MAN 0002 – Manitoba Plan of Medium Density site Layout Plan 1974

MAN 0015 – Manitoba Centre Court August 1980

MAN 0020 – Manitoba Centre Court Playground August 1980

MAN 0021 – Manitoba Tenants and children on Centre Court November 1979

MAN 0024 – Aerial of Manitoba Late 1978

MAN 0026 – Manitoba Medium Density South side Centre Court looking West November 1979

MAN 0030 – Manitoba Centre Court looking North May 1985

NAME: Manitoba Housing Complex

PLACE NO.: 26419

SITE RECORD:

FORMER NAME: Manitoba Housing Development

DESCRIPTION OF PLACE: Medium-density housing complex occupying block bounded by Carrington Street, Regent Street North, Hume Lane and a private lane, and surrounding central garden courtyard. The complex consists of 41 two- and three-storey apartments and a single-storey building (originally used as shops). The place includes all of these buildings, private garden spaces and central shared space.

DATE OF COMPLETION: 1975

REGISTER STATUS:
Description: Confirmed
Date: 17 June 2015

CURRENT USE:
Description: Social (low-income rental) housing
Dates: 1975-present

PREVIOUS USE(S):
Description: N/A
Dates: N/A

ARCHITECT:
Name: Ian Hannaford
Dates: 1974-75

BUILDER:
Name: Kennett Brothers
Dates: 1974-75

SUBJECT INDEXING:
Group: Residential
Category: Apartments/Units

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA: **Description:** Adelaide

LOCATION:
Unit No.: N/A
Street No.: 228-256 Carrington Street, 7-29 Hume Lane & 1-32 Regent Street North
Town/Suburb: Adelaide
Post Code: 5000

NAME: Manitoba Housing Complex

PLACE NO.: 26419

SITE RECORD (Cont.):

LAND DESCRIPTION:

Title Type: CT
Volume: 5493
Folio: 819
Lot No.: 5
Plan No: Filed Plan 166
Hundred: Adelaide

Title Type: CT
Volume: 5877
Folio: 915
Lot No.: 870
Plan no: Filed Plan 182522
Hundred: Adelaide

OWNER:

Name: [REDACTED]
Address: [REDACTED]
Town/Suburb: [REDACTED]
Post Code: [REDACTED]

NAME: Manitoba Housing Complex

PLACE NO.: 26419



Manitoba Housing Complex, Carrington Street, Adelaide – Site Plan

[Generally indicating the important elements and features of the place (outlined in red)]



NAME: Manitoba Housing Complex

PLACE NO.: 26419



*Manitoba Housing Complex, Carrington Street, Adelaide – Plan of Medium Density site:
Layout Plan (1974)
(SAHT, MAN 0002)*

NAME: Manitoba Housing Complex

PLACE NO.: 26419



Aerial of Manitoba Housing Complex, Carrington Street, Adelaide – located in bottom left hand corner [late 1978] (looking south)
(SAHT, MAN 0024)



Manitoba Housing Complex, Carrington Street, Adelaide – Central communal garden area with inward-facing units (looking east)
(S Marsden, March 2014)

NAME: Manitoba Housing Complex

PLACE NO.: 26419



Manitoba Housing Complex, Carrington Street, Adelaide – Two and three storey units on Carrington Street (looking north)
(March 2014)



Manitoba Housing Complex, Carrington Street, Adelaide – Two and three storey units on Carrington Street (looking north)
(March 2014)

NAME: Manitoba Housing Complex

PLACE NO.: 26419



Manitoba Housing Complex, Carrington Street, Adelaide - Rear of Carrington Street units, viewed from central space showing their private gardens (looking south) (March 2014)



Manitoba Housing Complex, Carrington Street, Adelaide - Rear of Carrington Street units, viewed from central space showing their private gardens (looking south) (March 2014)

NAME: Manitoba Housing Complex **PLACE NO.:** 26419



Manitoba Housing Complex, Carrington Street, Adelaide – Former barber’s shop, corner of Carrington Street and Regent Street North (looking north) (March 2014)



Manitoba Housing Complex, Carrington Street, Adelaide – View from Hume Lane along council lane, showing entry sign and site plan (looking south) (March 2014)