

## HERITAGE ASSESSMENT REPORT

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**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

**PLACE:** 26512

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**ADDRESS:** 4/1 Menzies Crescent, Prospect

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This heritage assessment considers that the place meets criteria (a), (b) and (d). Refer to Summary of State Heritage Place for final approved wording, including criteria statements.



### ASSESSMENT OF HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

#### Statement of Heritage Significance:

The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station formed part of the Adelaide metropolitan Air Raid Precautions (ARP) emergency communications network, designed to coordinate the civilian response to expected Japanese air raids during the Second World War. As a surviving component of this network, the former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station helps to demonstrate the degree to which South Australians feared attack from the air, the extent of measures taken to respond to the potential threat. Documentary evidence associated with this place demonstrates the

important role that ARP played in sustaining the morale of the general public in wartime.

The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station is a rare surviving example of a civilian air raid shelter, a structure designed to protect its occupants from airborne attack. It is also an outstanding example of an air raid shelter, retaining a high degree of intactness and integrity and displaying many of the principal characteristics of its class at a higher quality than many other examples.

### **Relevant South Australian Historical Themes**

The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station demonstrates the following themes and subthemes in *Historic Themes for South Australia* (Draft 29 May 2020).

#### 3. Governing South Australia

##### 3.4 Defending SA and Australia

### **Comparability / Rarity / Representation:**

The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station is associated with air raid shelters and civil defence during the Second World War. Both are discussed in turn.

In his PhD thesis completed in 2014, archaeologist Martin Wimmer surveyed civilian air raid shelters built in South Australia, almost all of which were constructed between Japan's strike on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 and August 1943, at which time the Japanese advance had been largely halted by Allied air and naval action.

Air raid shelters formed a key component of South Australia's official Air Raid Precautions (ARP) response, but were also constructed privately by businesses and by individual South Australians, notably in suburban backyards.

While never intended to function as a public air raid shelter, the Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station is nevertheless classified as an air raid shelter by Wimmer, since it was designed to provide protection from attack in the event of an air raid.

Wimmer identifies six South Australian air raid shelter types, namely:

- trench shelters, long narrow open or covered earthworks which may be straight, zig-zagged or in other configurations, and which may be shored with panelling;
- dug-outs, room-size underground earthworks with thick overhead protection, and with design features usually informed by first-hand experience of similar structures employed during the First World War;
- sectional shelters, prefabricated from thick gauge, galvanised sheets bolted together and partially or fully subterranean;

- reinforced concrete pipes;
- bunkers, purpose-designed structures for air raid protection built of brick, stone, concrete or steel, that may stand on the surface or be partially subterranean;
- structurally modified rooms; existing rooms braced with steel or wood, often sandbagged and with thickened walls.<sup>1</sup>

Wimmer found that at least 586 air shelters were constructed in South Australia, 547 across the metropolitan area and 39 in country areas. While most air raid shelters have since been demolished or filled in, Wimmer documented eleven as part of his project.

Three former air raid shelters are currently listed as State Heritage Places, only one of which was created for civilian use, namely the 1942 Australian Society of Magicians' Offices (former World War Two Civil Defence Sub-Control Station), 92 South Road Torrensville (SHP 14477, listed 1993). This place formed part of the same ARP communications network as the former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station (subject of this assessment).

The other two State-listed shelters form part of the DSTO (former Salisbury Explosives Factory). They were constructed adjacent to the administration block for munitions factory employees.

The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station (subject of this assessment) and a former air raid shelter at Paternoster Road, Reid, c1944, are Local Heritage Places. The Reid shelter was created for military, not civilian use, and was recommended for listing as a State Heritage Place in the *Gawler Heritage Survey* (1998).

The Oxford Terrace Civilian Relief, Wardens, and Emergency Communications Headquarters at Unley (described on the Register as a 'bomb shelter') is also listed as a Local Heritage Place. This shelter has been converted into an air conditioning plant room for the adjacent Unley Civic Centre. While relatively intact, its integrity has been compromised through partial encroachment by the Civic Centre and reconfigurations for air conditioning plant.

The former Glenelg ARP Sub-Control Station is located on the same land parcel as the Glenelg Oval, Brighton Road, Glenelg East. Glenelg Oval is listed as a Local Heritage Place, however the extent of listing only identifies the 'overall area of the oval and its associated sporting facilities,' not the former ARP Sub-Control Station. The Glenelg Sub-Control Station also formed part of the same ARP network as the Prospect Sub-Control Station and was built at the same time.



Australian Society of Magicians' Offices  
(former World War Two Civil Defence Sub-  
Control Station) (SHP 14477)  
Source: Google Maps



Former Glenelg ARP Sub-Control Station  
(associated with Glenelg Oval LHP)  
Source: Google Maps



DSTO (former Salisbury Explosives Factory)  
Site - Portion of the Headquarters Area  
(Former Administration Section) air raid  
shelter (SHP 26030)  
Source: DEW Files



Former air raid shelter at Paternoster Road,  
Reid (LHP)  
Source: [www.awesomeadelaide.com](http://www.awesomeadelaide.com)

Other intact former air raid shelters include:

- The former bunker-type air raid shelter for factory administration workers at the former British Tubemills (Australia) factory, 498 Churchill Road, Kilburn
- Two former bunker-type public air raid shelters at Norwood Oval
- Former bunker-type domestic air raid shelter at 43 Hurlstone St, Peterborough
- Former bunker-type domestic air raid shelter at 1 Parish Court, Millswood
- Former bunker-type domestic air raid shelter at 21 Rosetta St, West Croydon
- Former bunker-type domestic air raid shelter at 6 Farrell St, Glenelg South
- Former bunker-type domestic air raid shelter at 39 Kennaway St, Tasmore
- Former bunker-type domestic air raid shelter at 54 Williams St Beverley
- Former sectional type domestic air raid shelter at 510 Greenhill Rd, Hazelwood Park

Reinforced concrete pipes at Glover Playground, South Terrace Adelaide, Marshmallow Park Playground, Glen Osmond Road, Adelaide and Mitcham Primary School, among other places, are believed to be repurposed air raid shelters, however this connection has yet to be proven.<sup>2</sup>



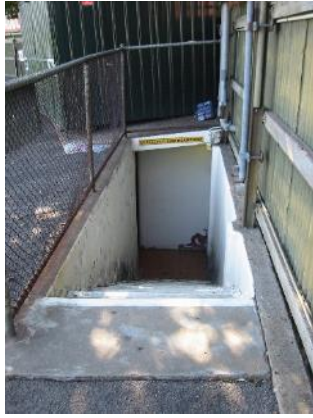
Bunker-type air raid shelter at the former British Tubemills (Australia) factory, 498 Churchill Road, Kilburn

Source: [www.awesomeadelaide.com](http://www.awesomeadelaide.com)



Sectional type domestic air raid shelter at 510 Greenhill Rd, Hazelwood Park

Source: Martin Wimmer



Bunker-type public air raid shelters at  
Norwood Oval

Source: Martin Wimmer



Bunker-type domestic air raid shelter at  
54 Williams St Beverley

Source: Martin Wimmer

Places associated with civil defence during the Second World War are underrepresented on the Register. Currently, only the Australian Society of Magicians' Offices (former World War Two Civil Defence Sub-Control Station) (SHP 14477) and the former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station (LHP) (subject of this assessment) have any heritage protection.

In comparison, places associated with South Australia's military involvement in the Second World War are better-represented on the Register. A sample of places include:

- Former RAAF No 10 Radar Station (Yankalilla), Rarkang Road Cape Jervis via Delamer (SHP 20963, listed 2013)
- DSTO (former Salisbury Explosives Factory) Site, Edinburgh (SHPs 26027, 26028, 26029, 26030, and 26031, listed 2008)
- Buildings Nos 29 & 33, Smithfield Magazine Area, Andrews Road Macdonald Park (SHP 16201, listed 1998)
- Former RAAF Gunnery Range (including row of six timber target frames, each with a large Roman numeral; two concrete shelters) Old Pirie Road, Port Broughton (SHP 26312, listed 2013)

**Assessment against Criteria under Section 16 of the *Heritage Places Act 1993*.  
All Criteria have been assessed using the 2020 Guidelines.**

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

Criterion arguments have considered the *Guidelines for State Heritage Places*:

*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.*

The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station is directly associated with civil defence during the Second World War. Following the bombing of Pearl Harbor and then Darwin by the Empire of Japan on 19 February 1942, South Australians were threatened, for the first time, by the likelihood of direct air attack from hostile military forces. This threat resulted in the immediate and extensive mobilisation of civil defence provisions, including a suite of Air Raid Precautions (ARP), which included air raid shelters and a metropolitan ARP emergency communications network.

While ostensibly to provide protection from physical attack, the primary, covert purpose of ARP, and by extension civil defence, was to maintain public morale. The provision of ARP infrastructure fostered an impression that adequate measures had been taken to mitigate the threat from the air. In addition, participating in civil defence activities, including ARP, gave ordinary South Australians a sense of contributing towards their own defence and fostering community solidarity. The period from December 1941 to August 1943 marked a turning point in South Australian history, when ordinary South Australians became self-reliant in home defence.

The Prospect ARP Sub-Control station formed a critical component of the metropolitan ARP communications network and was one of seven nearly identical stations spread across Adelaide. As one of the best surviving examples, it demonstrates the degree to which South Australians feared attack from the air and the extent of measures taken to respond to the potential threat. It also has important associations with the ARP's role in sustaining the morale of the general public.

While several State-listed places demonstrate South Australia's military involvement in the Second World War, civil defence is poorly represented. There is only one place entered in the Register as a State Heritage Place due to its associations with civil defence, namely the Australian Society of Magicians' Offices (former World War Two Civil Defence Sub-Control Station) (SHP 14477). Formally the Thebarton ARP Sub-Control Station, it formed part of the same emergency communications network as the former Prospect Station. The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station demonstrates a similar or better degree of intactness and integrity to the former Thebarton ARP Sub-Control Station.

It is recommended that the nominated place **fulfils** criterion (a).

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

Criterion arguments have considered the *Guidelines for State Heritage Places*:

*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 the future.*

The Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station was one of eight suburban Sub-Control Stations, all built to an identical design, which formed the Air Raid Precautions (ARP) communications network across metropolitan Adelaide. This network was designed to coordinate the civilian response to an expected Japanese air raid. The ARP Sub-Control Stations were positioned in prominent public locations, with one Sub-Control Station located in each metropolitan local government area.

During the Second World War, metropolitan Adelaide was the centre for defence materiel production in South Australia, placing the civilian population at greater risk from air raids. The emergency communications network played a central role in organising the civilian response to the threat of air raid during the Second World War, and supported public morale during a time when the civilian population was experiencing heightened fear.

Five Sub-Control Stations were demolished after the end of the Second World War. Three ARP Sub-Control Stations remain, one at Prospect (subject of this assessment), Thebarton (listed as a State Heritage Place), and Glenelg.

Air raid shelters are significant because they demonstrate the historic theme of civil defence during the Second World War, and the unique ways of life, associated with the acute and widespread fear of air raids, which prevailed between December 1941 and August 1943 and which are no longer experienced.

The Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station was one of at least 586 civilian air raid shelters constructed in South Australia. Today, only about 12 identified, confirmed and intact civilian air raid shelters remain. Six of these surviving shelters are bunkers in suburban backyards, and are under active threat from infill development. Air raid shelters are thus now rarely found in South Australia, and those that do remain are in danger of being lost.

It is recommended that the nominated place **fulfils** criterion (b).

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

Criterion arguments have considered the *Guidelines for State Heritage Places*:



*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.*

The accessible and visible fabric of the former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station was recorded by archaeologist Martin Wimmer as part of his PhD project on 1 December 2010. The Sub-Control Station is also well-documented through primary and secondary sources, notably in government records, including architectural drawings and correspondence held by State Records of South Australia.

No reliable or verifiable physical, documentary or oral history evidence exists to indicate that further physical evidence of investigative potential may be present on the former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station site.

It is recommended that the nominated place **does not fulfil** criterion (c).

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

Criterion arguments have considered the *Guidelines for State Heritage Places*:

*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.*

The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station is associated with the class of place known as air raid shelters within the broad place type of civil defence infrastructure.

At least 586 civilian air raid shelters were constructed across South Australia between December 1941 and August 1943. Air raid shelters played a vital role in maintaining the morale of the general public, and encouraged community solidarity, when South Australia was threatened by air raids during the Second World War. Air raid shelters are also key civil defence infrastructure and demonstrate both the severity and

geographical extent of the fear associated with the potential for air raids during the Second World War.

The principal characteristics of air raid shelters include:

- Subterranean, semi-subterranean or mounded construction,
- Use of heavy materials such as reinforced concrete, brick or steel, to protect occupants from airborne attack,
- Deliberate placement, taking into account protection from the air, access to roads or places of habitation or work, and the appropriateness of visibility or concealment,
- Simple, utilitarian appearance with no pretension to formal design,
- Protective features such as traversed entrances, baffle walls, overhanging slab roofs and gas locks.

The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station is an outstanding example of an air raid shelter, retaining a high degree of intactness and integrity and displaying many of the principal characteristics of the class at a higher quality than many other examples. The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station demonstrates the principal characteristics of the class in a way that allows the class to be readily understood and appreciated. Notably, it is the only surviving South Australian air raid shelter with extant baffle walls.

It is recommended that the nominated place **fulfils** criterion (d).

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

Criterion arguments have considered the *Guidelines for State Heritage Places*:

*The place should show qualities of innovation or departure, beauty or formal design, or represent a new achievement of its times. 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.*

The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station is a semi-subterranean reinforced concrete bunker designed to protect its occupants from physical injury in the event of an air raid. The fabric of the Sub-Control Station is largely board-formed reinforced concrete, and it was intended to be a strictly utilitarian structure, with no pretensions to formal architectural design.

The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station does not demonstrate qualities of innovation or departure, beauty of formal design, or represent a new achievement of its time. Reinforced concrete was widely used as a structural material in South Australia from the 1910s onwards, and is similar in its construction techniques to other earlier structures with reinforced concrete roofs, floors or walls, except that the thickness of concrete is substantially greater.

It is recommended that the nominated place **does not fulfil** criterion (e).

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

Criterion arguments have considered the *Guidelines for State Heritage Places*:

*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 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.*

The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station is associated with the group of people who participated in South Australia's official Air Raid Precautions (ARP) response through the ARP emergency services network, designed to coordinate the civilian response to an anticipated Japanese air raid. This community was active for a short but emotionally taut period during 1941-1943, characterised by widespread fear and anxiety in the general community in anticipation of an imminent Japanese attack.

More broadly, the former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station is associated with the wider Adelaide metropolitan community who lived through palpable fears of a Japanese air raid during 1941-1943. ARP Sub-Control Stations existed in each major local government area within metropolitan Adelaide, and were deliberately positioned in prominent locations where they could be seen by hundreds, or thousands of South Australians each day. The ARP Sub-Control Stations thus served as prominent markers of what Wimmer has characterised as a 'landscape of fear' superimposed over the Adelaide metropolitan area. For inhabitants of metropolitan Adelaide who lived through 1941-1943, the Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station would likely elicit intense feelings and memories.

However, the youngest individuals who were adults in 1941-1943 are today aged in their mid- to late-90s, so the community of adults who experienced that time is very small in number and continues to decline. Evidence gathered by Wimmer suggests that children who lived through 1943, who may today be aged in their early 80s, did not experience the same intensity of fear, anxiety or concomitant community

solidarity during 1941-1943 as adults did. Therefore, the meanings and values embodied by the former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station are considered to belong to the past rather than to the present or future.

The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station also has cultural associations with the Prospect Local History Group, who lead regular tours of the shelter and plan to convert the structure into a civil defence interpretive centre at some point in the future. While important to the Prospect Local History Group and the community in Prospect more broadly, it is unlikely these specific associations would resonate beyond the local community in the City of Prospect.

It is recommended that the nominated place **does not fulfil** criterion (f).

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

Criterion arguments have considered the *Guidelines for State Heritage Places*:

*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 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.*

The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Centre has associations with Lieutenant Colonel William Charles Douglas Veale, with Prospect councillor Charles Williamson, and with the Engineering and Water Supply Department. Each is discussed in turn.

Lieutenant Colonel William Charles Douglas Veale was responsible for devising the Adelaide ARP emergency communications network in his role as Director of ARP for South Australia during the late 1930s. Veale served in the First World War on the Western Front, experience which he drew upon in his role as director of ARP. Upon the outbreak of the Second World War, Veale served in numerous military roles overseas and interstate, meaning he was not directly involved with the rollout of ARP and other civil defence provisions in South Australia from December 1941. While Veale made significant contributions to South Australian history, his significance is due to his work

while serving as Adelaide's city engineer and building surveyor from 1929 until the beginning of the Second World War, and as town clerk of Adelaide from 1947 until 1965, during which time he oversaw Adelaide's postwar development. Veale's association with the former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Centre is considered indirect, and no physical evidence exists at the site to demonstrate an association with Veale.

Charles Williamson was the Prospect ARP Sub-Control District coordinator and a local councillor who later received an MBE for his services to his community during wartime. Williamson does have a direct association with the former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station. However, while playing an important role as ARP Sub-Control District coordinator for his local community, Williamson was only one of eight ARP Sub-Control District coordinators spread over the Adelaide metropolitan area. Therefore his contribution is considered to be of local, rather than State significance.

The Engineering and Water Supply Department of the South Australian government was responsible for designing the ARP Sub-Control Stations across Adelaide. However, the Engineering and Water Supply Department was responsible for the design of most civil engineering works in South Australia. The Department was not established to design air raid shelters, nor was the design of air raid shelters core to the Department's role during the Second World War. Instead, the Engineering and Water Supply Department was simply assigned the role of designing the ARP Sub-Control Stations because they had the skill and expertise to do so.

It is recommended that the nominated place **does not fulfil** criterion (g).

## PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

### *Exterior*

The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station is a roughly rectangular semi-subterranean reinforced-concrete structure, measuring about 16 metres long by 9.5 metres wide. The concrete surface displays the texture of the wooden formwork used to build the structure. Two 'traversed' entrances at the northern end of the structure, comprised of wooden doors protected by reinforced concrete alcoves, open directly onto staircases that lead down into the interior.

The roof slab is 310mm thick, and stands about 640mm above ground level. The roof slab overhangs the side walls by about 310mm, protecting twelve deep-set windows that are spaced around the eastern, southern and western walls of the structure. Four steel ventilation tubes, each capped by a steel cover bolted over the top, are located on the roof, one in each corner.

Rendered red brick baffle walls standing 1354mm high and 375mm thick, stand on the northern and western sides of the structure. Original concrete paving survives on the south and western sides of the structure. This paving has integrated drainage channels with a glazed earthenware drainage pipe running west. Replacement paving has been installed on the eastern and northern sides.

### *Interior*

The interior of the Sub-Control Station is partially divided by reinforced concrete walls into seven smaller spaces, including one large room, three smaller rooms, a small room or alcove at the southern end, and small spaces under each staircase. The floor, ceiling and walls are reinforced concrete. Two reinforced concrete beams support the roof. A sump and pump is located in the floor next to the western staircase.

### **Elements of Significance:**

Elements of heritage significance include (but are not necessarily limited to):

- Reinforced concrete bunker and rendered brick baffle wall
- Remaining internal walls
- Original footpaths and integrated drainage channels, showing locations of missing baffle walls

Elements not considered to contribute to significance of place include (but are not necessarily limited to):

- Fencing, twenty-first century footpaths, landscaping and signage
- Twenty-first century electricity infrastructure, sump and pump
- The balance of the Prospect Oval/Payinthe yarta, Soldier's Memorial Gardens Playground and the North Adelaide Croquet Club on CT 5204/868

## HISTORY

Prior to the Second World War and the advent of aerial warfare, civil defence 'played no part in Australia's colonial or national defensive posture.'<sup>3</sup> The geographical isolation of South Australia meant that official defensive measures primarily addressed the likelihood of bombardment or invasion from the sea.<sup>4</sup>

During the nineteenth century the colonial frontier was perceived to lie only a few miles off the coast, however, following Federation in 1901 and the creation of the Royal Australian Navy in 1911, this perceived frontier was 'pushed ... out to the horizon'<sup>5</sup> and to some extent, out of the minds of ordinary South Australians. During 1914-1918 for example, the war was something that happened 'elsewhere' and while the effects of war were keenly felt at home, particularly resulting from the casualties of war, the civilian population of South Australia did not feel immediately threatened by foreign enemies.

### **War in the Pacific and the threat from the air**

Nazi Germany invaded Poland on 1 September 1939, and Britain responded by declaring war on Germany two days later on 3 September. At 9.15pm, Prime Minister Robert Menzies addressed the nation by radio broadcast, to announce that Australia was 'also at war' with Germany.<sup>6</sup>

Adelaide subsequently played an important role in the provision of war materiel and general supplies to the Allied war effort through three major government munitions factories, built in 1940 and 1941 at Finsbury, Hendon and Salisbury, and the existing Islington railway workshops, which produced shells and aircraft components. Adelaide was selected as the site for three purpose-built munitions factories due to its geographical isolation, the existence of advanced motor vehicle and railway industries, and its largely under-employed population.<sup>7</sup>

On the morning of 7 December 1941, Japan launched a surprise military strike against the neutral United States naval base at Pearl Harbor in Honolulu, signalling the entry of the Empire of Japan into the Second World War. Two days later, on 9 December 1941, Australia formally declared war on Japan.<sup>8</sup> These events led to a general panic and a 'flurry' of trench digging in Adelaide, by both private individuals and government agencies, to provide protection in the event of an air raid.<sup>9</sup> The scale of the Australian coastline, a small defence force,<sup>10</sup> and the absence of large numbers of men who were engaged in military service overseas<sup>11</sup> all contributed to 'heightened fear and paranoia' and a sense of vulnerability across the wider Australian population.<sup>12</sup>

This fear was realised on 19 February 1942, when 242 aircraft in two separate raids launched from aircraft carriers and a ground-based airfield on Ambon bombed Darwin. The Japanese strikes on Pearl Harbor and Darwin were not concealed from

South Australians. Accounts of both attacks appeared in Adelaide newspapers during the following days, and film footage emerging from both incidents was screened in Adelaide newsreel theatres.<sup>13</sup>

The strike on Darwin sharpened fears of a 'two-pronged' surprise attack by Japanese Imperial forces on Adelaide, beginning with a carrier-launched air raid on key defensive and other facilities. The air strikes would be followed by an amphibious invasion, which it was believed would land at various points on Adelaide's western beaches.<sup>14</sup> The concentrated presence of munitions factories, manufacturing and transport infrastructure in the north-western suburbs, including wharves and oil storage facilities at Port Adelaide,<sup>15</sup> were obvious targets for air attack.<sup>16</sup> However, knowledge of deliberate efforts by the Luftwaffe to demoralise the British population by deliberately targeting civilians led to quite plausible fears of 'opportunistic' machine gun attacks on suburban, or even country areas, en route to major military or industrial targets.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, bombing of civilian targets from the air is recognised as a 'characterising feature' of the Second World War.<sup>18</sup>

The South Australian government's immediate response was rapid. Only hours after the bombing of Darwin, the abutments and piers of bridges located on roads between the metropolitan beaches and the City of Adelaide were drilled to accept explosive charges,<sup>19</sup> allowing them to be destroyed in the event of an invasion. Barbed wire was laid along the metropolitan beaches<sup>20</sup> and trenches became 'regular features' of backyards, parks, playgrounds and school ovals<sup>21</sup> in all suburbs of metropolitan Adelaide.<sup>22</sup>

Archaeologist Martin Wimmer argues that as Japanese forces advanced south, the perceived Australian frontier 'collapsed in on itself' and took on a 'fearful domestic familiarity'<sup>23</sup> which brought the frontier 'to every household in the settled regions of Australia.'<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, Wimmer also argues this particular moment in history marked a 'turning point' when civilians became both 'self-aware of their vulnerability' and 'self-reliant in home defence.'<sup>25</sup>

### **Air Raid Precautions (ARP) philosophy, practice and legislation**

Civilian ARP provisions, including air-raid shelters, served two purposes. On one hand, they were designed to protect civilians from direct physical attack. More covertly, they were designed to maintain morale by demonstrating that sufficient precautions had been put in place for the protection of the public in the event of a raid.<sup>26</sup> Allied governments, including Australia and Britain, understood that a sufficiently demoralised public, after losing confidence in the government of the day, might vote or otherwise run the incumbent government out of office<sup>27</sup> and then capitulate to the enemy.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, it has been argued that the maintenance of public morale was the primary objective of Air Raid Precautions (ARP),<sup>29</sup> in order to prevent panic and mass-hysteria and ensure essential services remained in operation.<sup>30</sup>



ARP was regarded as a 'double-edged sword' in that measures taken to protect the public may have exacerbated fears of attack,<sup>31</sup> and so all ARP measures were carefully calculated. For example, in Britain, the government deliberately avoided constructing deep underground bomb-proof shelters, even though such shelters were within reach of the technological capabilities of the time, fearing that truly safe underground shelters would cultivate a 'shelter mentality' in the general public, causing them to flee underground each time the enemy 'feinted' attack, thus interrupting essential services and production.<sup>32</sup> Civil defence planners also understood that mass shelters would allow citizens to congregate and 'exchange ideas,' and feared that such environments might incubate mass hysteria that might prove difficult to control.<sup>33</sup>

Instead, the British government adopted an official policy of 'dispersal,' whereby citizens were encouraged to shelter in their own homes.<sup>34</sup> This approach was echoed in South Australia, leading to a large number of private, backyard shelters, and a general absence of mass underground shelters in the suburbs. An exception to this rule was the City of Adelaide, where a concentration of trenches and reinforced concrete pipe shelters was provided in the Adelaide Park Lands for people working in the city who would not be able to reach their homes in the suburbs.<sup>35</sup>

The first organisation in Australia to raise awareness of ARP and civil defence more broadly was the South Australian Defence Society, founded by Adelaide teacher Natalia Davies in February 1933 and comprised largely of women. Davies later became the only female civil defence area officer in Adelaide and advised the Education Department on civil defence.<sup>36</sup> The Society received regular updates on ARP theory and practice from the British Home Office, and held regular public lectures on ARP theory and practice. When war was declared, the Society taught 'hundreds of women' various skills including how to shoot and maintain a rifle.<sup>37</sup>

Official South Australian civil defence preparations began in August 1937. Lieutenant-Colonel William Charles Douglas Veale, City Engineer and Surveyor for the Corporation of the City Adelaide, and also co-ordinator of ARP in South Australia, was responsible for the development of ARP districts, known as Sub-Control Areas, which were based on the boundaries of existing local government bodies.<sup>38</sup> There were eight such areas, namely:

- Area A: City of Adelaide,
- Area B: Unley,
- Area C: Norwood,
- Area D: Prospect,
- Area E: Woodville,
- Area F: Port Adelaide,
- Area G: Thebarton,

- Area H: Glenelg.<sup>39</sup>

Later, these areas would form the administrative basis of an ARP communications network, however, besides the pioneering work of the Defence Society, in South Australia ARP remained largely 'on paper' until 1941,<sup>40</sup> when a growing awareness of the necessity for civil defence led to the passing of the *Emergency Powers Act* in August. Regulations under the Act, gazetted on 8 January 1942, placed responsibility for the protection of residents and transient workers 'squarely on the shoulders' of local government.<sup>41</sup>

Subsequently on 26 February 1942, only seven days after the attack on Darwin, the *Code for air raid shelters* was gazetted by the South Australian government, establishing minimum standards for South Australian air raid shelters.<sup>42</sup> Few if any shelters constructed in South Australia could have withstood direct hits from powerful 'demolition' bombs, like those dropped regularly by the Luftwaffe on London, but those built according to the *Code for Air Raid Shelters* were designed to be effective protection from near-misses, incendiary bombs, penetration from machine-gun fire and shrapnel,<sup>43</sup> considered to be the most likely threats to civilians in metropolitan Adelaide.<sup>44</sup>

### **Air raid shelters in South Australia**

Air raid shelters formed a key component of South Australia's official ARP response, but were also constructed privately by individual South Australians. At least 586 air raid shelters were constructed in South Australia over a period of only 18 months between December 1941 and August 1943, including 547 across the metropolitan area and 39 in country areas.<sup>45</sup> In 1939, the population of metropolitan Adelaide was 325,000,<sup>46</sup> substantially lower than the present population of 1,376,601 (recorded on 30 June 2020).<sup>47</sup>

Wimmer identifies six South Australian air raid shelter types (refer to comparative analysis). The majority of the air raid shelters built in South Australia were simple trenches, of which 303 instances are known. There were also 16 dugouts, 21 sectional shelters, 78 reinforced concrete pipe installations (sites with more than one pipe were counted as one installation), 29 bunkers and 40 structurally modified rooms.<sup>48</sup> While most were located in the metropolitan area, air raid shelters were built as far afield as Peterborough in the north, Barmera in the east, and Kingscote in the south.<sup>49</sup> Wimmer argues that the large number of air raid shelters constructed may be read as a 'barometer' of the 'psychological health' of the South Australian community at the time.<sup>50</sup>

In Adelaide, air raid shelters formed one part of a suite of ARP and other civil defence provisions. These included 'constant' air raid drills, air raid sirens, blackouts, publicity and public education surrounding ARP,<sup>51</sup> bracing, sandbagging and shuttering

buildings,<sup>52</sup> watch-posts and towers, and an extensive city and suburban ARP communications network. This network was comprised of Sub-Control Stations,



B 21666

dispatch riders, air raid wardens and watchers. Meanwhile all school children received a cloth first-aid bag containing bandages, ointment, a blood group disc, a rubber cork 'for biting down on during bombardment' and a barley sugar or Butter Menthol, 'both of which had to be continually replenished.'<sup>53</sup>

Sandbag bunds outside the Methodist Church, Unley, 1942. An example of a temporary ARP in the suburban environment

Source: SLSA B 21666

Wimmer therefore argues that air raid shelters are 'not isolated structures' but instead form part of 'an intriguing cultural landscape ... a wartime civilian landscape of fear,'<sup>54</sup> which was superimposed on the peacetime urban environment.<sup>55</sup> This landscape of fear existed for a relatively short time, nevertheless, it had a profound effect on adults<sup>56</sup> who experienced it.

## The Adelaide ARP emergency services network and the Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

The ARP emergency services network, designed to coordinate the civilian response to a potential Japanese air raid, was established by February 1943.<sup>57</sup> The network's responsibilities included directing emergency services to bombing 'incidents' and coordinating a network of air raid warden and civilian relief centres.<sup>58</sup>



BRG 213/207/5/59

ARP Control Room at GMH Woodville, providing an impression of how the Prospect ARP Sub-Control station may have appeared when furnished.

Source: SLISA BRG 213/207/5/54

The network headquarters was located in the basement of the AMP Building, King William Street, connected by telephone to eight communication centres known as Sub-Control Stations, one in each Sub-Control Area. The Adelaide (Area A) Sub-Control Station was located in the basement of the Savings Bank of South Australia, also on King William Street. The remaining seven Sub-Control Stations were located in purpose-built, reinforced concrete bunker-type air raid shelters, designed by the Engineering and Water Supply Department (E&WSD) by January 1942.<sup>59</sup> Three of these Sub-Control Stations survive, namely Prospect (subject of this assessment), Thebarton

(SHP 14477) and Glenelg. The Sub-Control stations were simple, utilitarian structures built to a standardised design and each Sub-Control Station was nearly identical.

Each Sub-Control Centre housed at least 33 individuals, including twelve telephonists, various liaison officers, map plotters and other personnel,<sup>60</sup> supported by numerous dispatch riders on bicycles. The Sub-Control Centres communicated both with local air raid wardens and with the King William Street headquarters. Each centre was built in a 'readily identifiable' location, for example, adjacent to ovals or arterial roads.<sup>61</sup>



BRG 213/207/5/58

ARP Control Room at GMH Woodville, providing an impression of how the Prospect ARP Sub-Control station may have appeared when fully staffed.

Source: SLSA BRG 213/207/5/58

While no original fittings remain at Prospect or Glenelg, the Thebarton shelter has some elements of the original telephone wiring, conduits and switches attached to its ceiling. Telephones in the ARP Sub-Control Stations were capable of communicating with domestic telephones through the Adelaide telephone exchange.

All ARP Sub-Control Stations were intended to have a low 'blast' or 'baffle' walls around the entire structure, designed to reduce the possibility of damage to the shelter resulting from near misses. However, only Prospect retains parts of its blast walls, and these surviving, original elements do not conform to the E&WSD design.<sup>62</sup> At

Prospect the blast walls are rendered red brick and stand on the northern and western sides of the structure. Meanwhile what is presumed to be concrete paving on the southern and western sides of the structure follows the inside footprint of the baffle walls as they were originally designed.

Arguably, the primary purpose of the ARP network was to serve as a visible and reassuring civil defence presence,<sup>63</sup> indicating to the general public that the dangers of air raid had been appropriately mitigated by the government of the day. To this end, sub-Control Stations were strategically placed in prominent locations, where in some cases thousands of people passed by them every day, and were 'accessorised' with civilian men and women in military-style uniforms with badges of rank.<sup>64</sup>



An ARP warden's post and dispatch rider at the Woodville GMH Factory, 11 May 1942

Source: SLSA BRG 213/207/5/57

Participation in civil defence activities, including ARP, gave ordinary South Australians a sense of contributing to their own defence and 'doing their bit,'<sup>65</sup> fostering community solidarity by uniting 'against a common enemy.'<sup>66</sup> Participation also gave individuals a sense of control over a frightening situation, however illusory that sense may have been, and from the government's point of view, ARP could be viewed as 'a healthy community distraction.'<sup>67</sup>



B 21658

An ARP display at Prospect Oval, adjacent to the Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

Source: SLA B 21658

The Prospect ARP Sub-Control District coordinator was local councillor Charles Williamson,<sup>68</sup> who later received an MBE for his services to his community during wartime. Air Raid Wardens included individuals such as Ruth Gower and Patty Duncan, who was Charles Williamson's niece.<sup>69</sup>

### **Postwar use**

In South Australia, ARP infrastructure, including air raid shelters, was never used for its intended purpose. Japan lost much of its surprise air strike capability with the sinking of four aircraft carriers at the Battle of Midway<sup>70</sup> in June 1942. Air raid shelters were maintained 'well into' 1943, however August saw 'debate about their future.'<sup>71</sup>

Following the war, most trenches were filled in. Bunkers and sectional shelters were more difficult to demolish, and those in suburban gardens were often repurposed as storage, wine cellars, and occasionally chicken sheds. Some reinforced concrete pipes are believed to have been reused as school playground equipment.<sup>72</sup> Five of the local government-owned ARP Sub-Control Stations were demolished, however the remaining three became 'council assets' after the war.<sup>73</sup>

Since the end of the Second World War, the former Prospect Civil Defence Sub-Control Station has served a variety of uses. For a time it was used by the St John Ambulance Brigade and the North Adelaide Football Club.<sup>74</sup> Between 1965 and 1973 it was used as a clubroom by the South Australian Police Model Car Club and subsequently the Police Pistol Club until 1976.

The former Prospect Civil Defence Sub-Control Station is currently vacant, with no ongoing use besides storage. Occasional site tours are led by the Prospect Local History Group. This organisation plans to establish an interpretive centre within the building at some point in the future, to commemorate civil defence efforts during the Second World War.<sup>75</sup> In the local community, the former Sub-Control Station is colloquially known as the Prospect Air Raid Shelter.<sup>76</sup>

The former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station was locally listed in 2016. Prior to local listing, the former Sub-Control Station was threatened with demolition, provoking a 'hostile' response from the local community.<sup>77</sup>

In recent years, the City of Prospect has undertaken a number of works on the site including concrete paving on the northern and western sides of the Sub-Control Station, landscaping, interpretive signage, and a mural. The Sub-Control Station originally displayed a 'natural' weathered finish that has recently been painted grey. Previously, the former Prospect Sub-Control Station was subject to regular flooding, however, the installation of a sump and water pump in 2017 finally solved this ongoing problem.



## Chronology

### Year Event

- 1933 25 February 1933, inaugural meeting of the South Australian Defence Society
- 1937 August, beginning of official South Australian civil defence preparations
- 1939 1 September, Nazi Germany invades Poland  
3 December, Britain declares war on Germany; Australia 'also at war.'
- 1941 28 August, *Emergency Powers Act 1941* passed by South Australian Parliament  
7 December, the Empire of Japan launches a surprise strike on United States naval base at Pearl Harbor in Honolulu  
9 December, Australia formally declares war on Japan
- 1942 2 January, design work on ARP Sub-Control Stations is completed by engineers of the Engineering and Water Supply Department**  
15 February, Japanese troops land on Timor, 400 miles north of Darwin  
19 February, 242 Japanese aircraft bomb Darwin  
20 February, piers and abutments of suburban bridges between the city and the beaches are drilled to accept explosive charges in preparation for Japanese invasion  
26 February, *Code for air raid shelters* gazetted by the South Australian government  
13 March, first film footage of the Pearl Harbor and Darwin attacks are screened at the Savoy News-Luxe newsreel theatre in Rundle Street, Adelaide  
4-7 June, Japanese surprise air strike capability is decimated through loss of four fleet carriers at the Battle of Midway
- 1943 February, Adelaide ARP emergency services network is active by this time**  
August, debate occurs in Adelaide surrounding the future of ARP infrastructure, including air raid shelters
- 1965 Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station becomes clubroom for the South Australian Police Model Car Club**
- 1973 Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station becomes clubroom for the Police Pistol Club**
- 1976 Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station vacated by the Police Pistol Club**
- 2016 Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station is listed as a local heritage place**

**2017** Improvements to former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station site including painting, landscaping, interpretive signage, and a sump and pump, which overcame the site's long-term flooding problem.

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### Archival

B 21665, State Library of South Australia

GRG53/21/00000 Unit 705 File 31 15/41, State Records of South Australia

## SITE RECORD

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**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station **PLACE NO.:** 26512

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**FORMER NAME:** Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

**DESCRIPTION OF PLACE:** Semi-subterranean reinforced concrete bunker and original concrete footpaths and integrated drains

**DATE OF CONSTRUCTION:** 1942

**REGISTER STATUS:** Nominated 2 September 2019  
[\[Date of Provisional Entry TBA after the meeting\]](#)

**LOCAL HERITAGE STATUS:** Listed 2016

**CURRENT USE:** Vacant

**PREVIOUS USE(S):** ARP communication network Sub-Control Station 1941-1943  
St John Ambulance Brigade headquarters n.d.  
North Adelaide Football Club rooms n.d.  
SAPOL Model Car Club rooms 1965-1973  
SAPOL Pistol Club rooms 1973-n.d.

**ARCHITECT:** Engineering and Water Supply Department engineers  
Plans submitted 2 January 1942

**BUILDER:** Engineering and Water Supply Department  
1942

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA:** City of Prospect

**LOCATION:** **Street No.:** 4/1  
**Street Name:** Menzies Crescent  
**Town/Suburb:** Prospect  
**Post Code:** 5082

**LAND DESCRIPTION:** **Title** CT 5204/868; CT 5737/308  
**Reference:**  
**Plan No.:** D35462 A1; F109765 A100  
**Hundred:** Yatala

## PHOTOS

**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

**PLACE NO.:** 26512



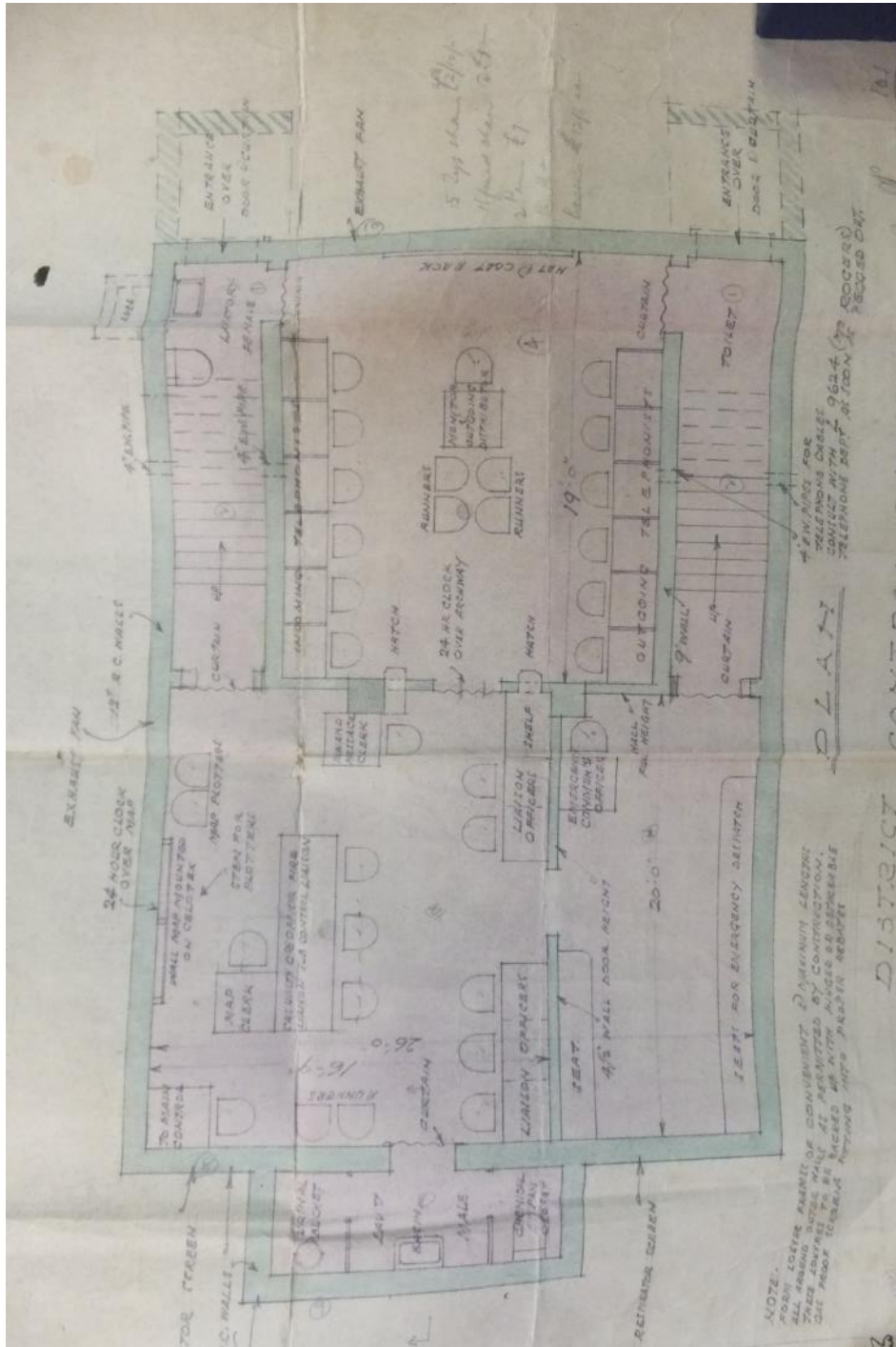
Site plan of Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

Source: GRG53/21/00000 Unit 705 File 3115/41, State Records of South Australia

PHOTOS

NAME: Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

PLACE NO.: 26512



Plan of typical ARP Sub-Control Station

Source: GRG53/21/0000 Unit 705 File 3115/41, State Records of South Australia

## PHOTOS

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**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

**PLACE NO.:** 26512

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Front entrance showing baffle wall and new concrete paving  
DEW Files 4 February 2021



Front view showing traversed entrance  
DEW Files 4 February 2021

## PHOTOS

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**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station      **PLACE NO.:** 26512

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Side view showing windows  
DEW Files 4 February 2021



Detail of board-formed concrete  
DEW Files 4 February 2021



## PHOTOS

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**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

**PLACE NO.:** 26512

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Rear view  
DEW Files 4 February 2021



Rear View  
DEW Files 4 February 2021

## PHOTOS

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**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

**PLACE NO.:** 26512

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Window detail  
DEW Files 4 February 2021



Original cement paving and integrated drain  
DEW Files 4 February 2021

## PHOTOS

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**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

**PLACE NO.:** 26512

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Interior view looking up stairs  
DEW Files 4 February 2021

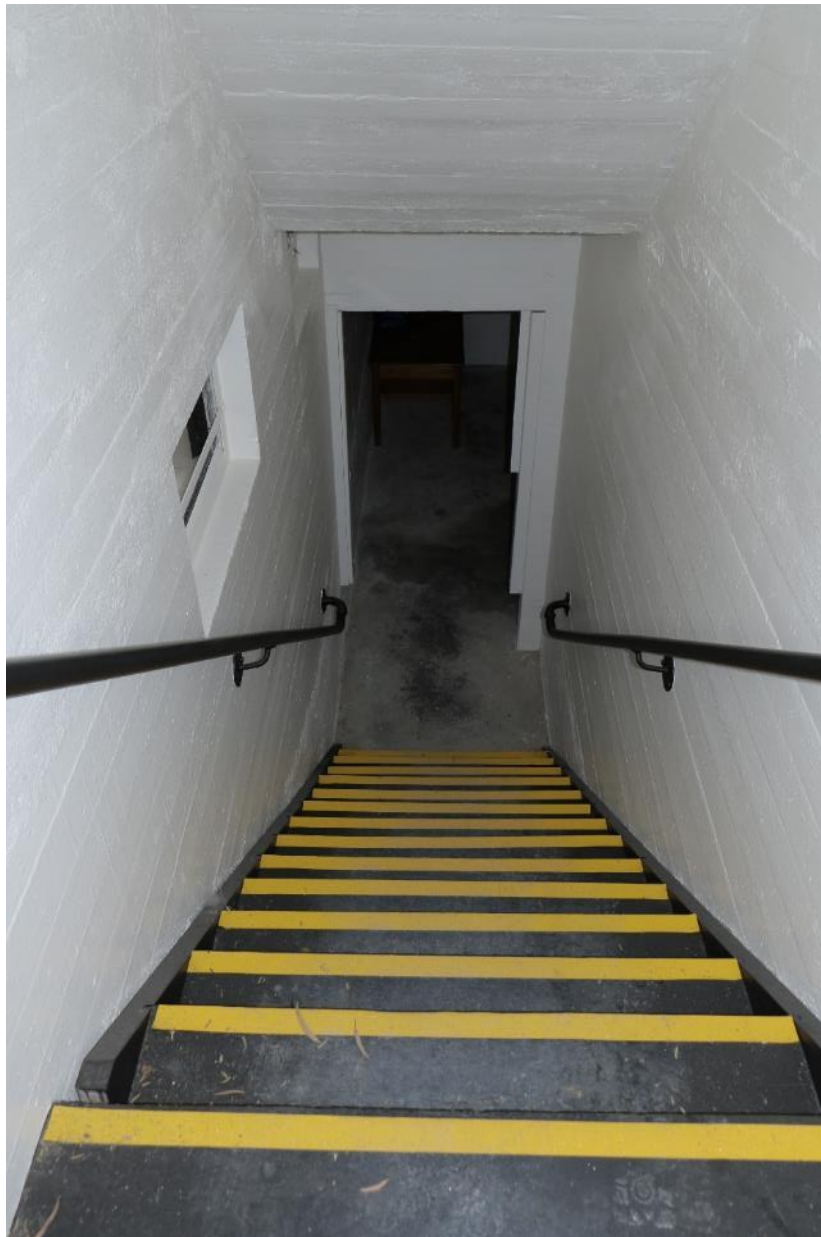
## PHOTOS

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**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

**PLACE NO.:** 26512

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Interior view looking down stairs  
DEW Files 4 February 2021

## PHOTOS

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**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

**PLACE NO.:** 26512

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Interior view showing stairs and honour boards  
DEW Files 4 February 2021



General interior view  
DEW Files 4 February 2021

## PHOTOS

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**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

**PLACE NO.:** 26512

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General interior view  
DEW Files 4 February 2021



General interior view  
DEW Files 4 February 2021

## PHOTOS

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**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

**PLACE NO.:** 26512

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General interior view  
DEW Files 4 February 2021



Interior view showing window and ventilator tube  
DEW Files 4 February 2021

## PHOTOS

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**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

**PLACE NO.:** 26512

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General interior view  
DEW Files 4 February 2021



Interior view showing sump pump  
DEW Files 4 February 2021



## PHOTOS

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**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station

**PLACE NO.:** 26512

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Exterior – earthenware drainage pipe  
DEW Files 4 February 2021



Side view showing original cement paving and integrated drain  
DEW Files 4 February 2021

## SITE PLAN

**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station      **PLACE NO.:** 26512






The extent of the listing is CT 5284/868; CT 5737/308; D35462 A1; F109765 A100

- The significant components of the SHP include the reinforced concrete bunker and rendered brick baffle walls, remaining internal walls and original footpaths with integrated drainage channels.
- The non-significant components of site include fencing, twenty-first century footpaths, landscaping and signage, twenty-first century electricity infrastructure, sump and pump, and the balance of the Prospect Oval/Payinthis yarta, Soldier's Memorial Gardens Playground and the North Adelaide Croquet Club.

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### LEGEND

-  Parcel boundaries (Indicates extent of Listing)
-  Existing State Heritage Place(s)
-  Outline of Elements of Significance for State Heritage Place

## SITE PLAN

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**NAME:** Former Prospect ARP Sub-Control Station      **PLACE NO.:** 26512

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Detail showing Elements of Significance for State Heritage Place

### LEGEND

-  Parcel boundaries (Indicates extent of Listing)
-  Existing State Heritage Place(s)
-  Outline of Elements of Significance for State Heritage Place

N ↑

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- <sup>1</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter: Archaeology and the Social History of Structural Defence in Adelaide 1941-1943* (2014) A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of archaeology, School of Humanities, Flinders University, South Australia p. 202
- <sup>2</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter* p. 409
- <sup>3</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter* p. 2
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- <sup>7</sup> Carol Fort, "The Second World War" in *Adelaidia*  
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- <sup>12</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter* p. 75
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- <sup>26</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter* p. 395
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- <sup>38</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter* p. 46
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- <sup>49</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter* p. 15
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- <sup>52</sup> B 21665, State Library of South Australia <https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+21665>
- <sup>53</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter* p. 33
- <sup>54</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter* p. 4
- <sup>55</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter* p. 14
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- <sup>62</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter* p. 272
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- <sup>67</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter* p. 400
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- <sup>72</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter* p. 409
- <sup>73</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter* p. 417
- <sup>74</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter* p. 417
- <sup>75</sup> Martin Wimmer, *Gimme Shelter* p. 418
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- <sup>77</sup> Nominator pers. comm. 2 September 2019