

SUMMARY OF STATE HERITAGE PLACE

REGISTER ENTRY

Entry in the South Australian Heritage Register in accordance with the *Heritage Places Act 1993*

NAME: Everard Court (flats)

PLACE NO.: 26529

ADDRESS: Kaurna Country

46 Anzac Highway, Everard Park

CT5867/503, CT5867/504, CT5867/505, CT5867/506, CT5867/508,
CT5867/509, CT5867/510, CT5867/511, CT5867/512, CT5867/513,
CT5867/514, CT5867/515, CT5867/516, CT5867/517, CT6123/858, S14477
UN1, S14477 UN2, S14477 UN3, S14477 UN4, S14477 UN6, S14477 UN7,
S14477 UN8, S14477 UN9, S14477 UN10, S14477 UN11, S14477 UN12,
S14477 UN13, S14477 UN14, S14477 UCCP, S14477 UN5 Hundred of
Adelaide

STATEMENT OF HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

Everard Court (flats) demonstrates an important evolution in the way South Australians lived during the twentieth century. Everard Court (flats) is a high-quality example of the purpose-built flat developments that began to reshape the suburbs after the First World War, providing the middle class with a popular alternative to conventional detached housing. Constructed in 1939 on the newly redeveloped Anzac Highway and ideally situated between the city and Glenelg, Everard Court (flats) was among the largest and most ambitious purpose-built flat developments realised during the interwar period. Everard Court (flats) are an uncommon example of this new, modern way of living, as the Second World War brought a halt to the construction of dwellings. Everard Court (flats) is also an outstanding example of interwar streamlined architecture articulating many of the key attributes of the style such as bold, asymmetrical massing, clean lines and rounded corners, and horizontal emphasis with contrasting vertical relief.

RELEVANT 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

Everard Court (flats) is associated with the historic theme, Building Settlements, Towns and Cities and specifically, Shaping the suburbs (pre-WW2).

Modern flat living emerged as an entirely new lifestyle, predominantly for the very wealthy, in the early twentieth century in South Australia. The first bespoke multistorey flats built in South Australia was Dwelling – Ruthven Mansions (SHP 13368), constructed in the City of Adelaide in two stages, 1912 and 1915. The impacts of the First World War subsequently halted the further construction of flats and only a few examples of bespoke flats were built before the 1930s. After the war the reconfiguration of existing homes into flats emerged as an expedient means to provide more affordable homes for people in desirable locations. However, these conversions while conveniently located did not necessarily provide the conveniences associated with modern living.

Purpose-built interwar flats, most of which were built between 1935 and 1942, democratised modern flat living, bringing the new lifestyle within reach of middle income earners in line with social change. Purpose-built interwar flats responded to demand for housing in popular areas and on transport routes and represent the first wave of urban infill to occur in South Australia. The designers and financiers of purpose-built interwar flats sought to increase the number of occupants that could be housed on a suburban block while simultaneously improving the quality of life of those occupants.

Compared with other places with similar associations, Everard Court (flats) demonstrates particularly strong associations with the theme due to its construction on the newly widened and reconfigured Anzac Highway (previously the Bay Road), which was developed as a major transport corridor between the city and Glenelg, and due to the scale and ambition of the development, which was one of the largest realised during the interwar period.

This new medium density, modern way of living is both a distinct contrast to the popular interwar Garden Suburbs that provided bungalows set within a garden, while also drawing on its ethos by setting the flats within a garden. Everard Court (flats) demonstrates an important evolution in the way South Australians lived in the twentieth century and the reshaping of the suburbs that began to take place in the interwar period only to be halted by the Second World War. It is for this reason that Everard Court (flats) is considered to fulfil criterion (a).

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

Everard Court (flats) is associated with purpose-built interwar flats and with modern flat living.

Purpose-built flats emerged during the interwar period as the first popular alternative to conventional detached housing for middle income earners. Purpose-built flats also brought profitable real estate investment within reach of the middle classes and were predominantly built as infill development to satisfy demand for modern accommodation on public transport routes and / or in desirable residential areas such as seaside suburbs. At least 50 purpose-built flat developments were built in metropolitan Adelaide and regional centres before the Second World War halted the construction of dwellings. It is the introduction of this new modern way of living that is considered to be of cultural significance to South Australia.

Due to the halt imposed on construction of dwellings by the second World War, purpose-built interwar flats are uncommon in South Australia, with only 50 known developments occurring between 1912 and 1942. With the passage of time purpose-built interwar flats have become increasingly endangered, as a result of their positioning on transport corridors and in seaside suburbs. These popular sites are now again prime locations for redevelopment and urban densification and only 35 purpose-built interwar flats are known to remain.

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

Everard Court (flats) is an outstanding example of interwar streamlined architecture, demonstrating a high degree of aesthetic, creative and technical accomplishment.

Everard Court (flats) is considered to be a defining example of interwar streamlined architecture in a South Australian context and finely articulates many of its key attributes, namely,

- bold, asymmetrical massing of simple geometric shapes,
- clean lines, rounded corners and minimal decoration,
- plain surfaces, light-toned cement (now painted) and face brick,
- horizontal emphasis, achieved through contrasting bands of brick and render, exaggerated with alternating striped coursing of standard red and yellow Roman vermiculated bricks, and long balconies,
- contrasting vertical relief, expressed through brick towers containing chimneys,

- internal stairs expressed externally by the vertical emphasis of brick towers, with glass brick window openings,
- cantilevered elements, in this instance balconies,
- corner windows, including curved and square corner windows, some with curved glass,
- steel casement window frames,
- hipped, Marseille terracotta-tiled roofs,
- architecturally integrated lettering, in this instance 'Everard Court' in welded steel, shaped to follow the curves of the facing elevations.

Everard Court (flats) also demonstrates a high degree of technical accomplishment and attention to detail in construction, including high quality bricklaying and pointing, rendering and joinery.

Architecturally, Everard Court (flats) is highly intact. Modifications such as replacement of kitchens and bathroom fitouts and removal of site features such as laundries, drying spaces, garages, and timber-framed rear stairs have not compromised the integrity of the building's architectural expression, nor diminished its ability to illustrate the main attributes of interwar streamlined architecture.

Since its completion Everard Court (flats) has received critical acclaim, recognised by the South Australian Chapter of the Australian Institute of Architects in 2000 as an example of significant twentieth century architecture in South Australia.

SITE PLAN

Everard Court (flats)

PLACE NO.: 26529

46 Anzac Highway, Everard Park



Everard Court (flats) (CT5867/503, CT5867/504, CT5867/505, CT5867/506, CT5867/508, CT5867/509, CT5867/510, CT5867/511, CT5867/512, CT5867/513, CT5867/514, CT5867/515, CT5867/516, CT5867/517, CT6123/858, S14477 UN1, S14477 UN2, S14477 UN3, S14477 UN4, S14477 UN6, S14477 UN7, S14477 UN8, S14477 UN9, S14477 UN10, S14477 UN11, S14477 UN12, S14477 UN13, S14477 UN14, S14477 UCCP, S14477 UN5 Hundred of Adelaide)

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




- Two symmetrical blocks of flats
- Original exterior material finishes, including terracotta tiled roof; face brick and rendered walls [excluding paint],
- Steel casement window frames,
- Original layout of internal rooms,
- Original interior details, fittings and finishes including concrete blockwork walls, glass bricks and steel rails to stairwells; ceiling roses, cornices and mouldings; built-in shelves and cupboards; fireplaces, including unpainted face brick details, fireboxes and grates; skirtings and architraves; original floorboards; staircases and rails; and doors, door handles, and door glass.

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

- Kitchen and bathroom fitouts,
- Non-original interior paint and floor coverings,
- Reverse cycle air conditioning units,
- Hot water services,
- Television aerials,
- Carports,
- Trees, shrubs and landscaping,
- Non-original subdivision fences, outdoor furniture, barbeques, and decking,
- Street fence and security gate.

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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

Summary of State Heritage Place: 26529

5 of 31

Provisionally entered by the South Australian Heritage Council on 8 December 2022

Confirmed by the South Australian Heritage Council on 15 December 2023

History of the Place

Flats emerged during the interwar period in South Australia (1914-1945) as an alternative to conventional detached housing, predominantly for the suburban middle classes.¹

Nineteenth-century multiple unit housing in South Australia typically comprised a series of attached houses, with standardised floorplans, extending across the street frontage and commonly known as row cottages and terrace houses.² Unlike these nineteenth-century types, purpose-built interwar flats comprised two or more self-contained dwellings built on a single allotment, typically stacked to form a freestanding, multi-storey block and usually set back from the allotment boundaries. Purpose-built flats were designed with flexible plans that considered light, ventilation, privacy and exterior communal open space or gardens. Individual self-contained flats within a block could be spread across a single floor, known as a simplex flat, or across two floors, known as a duplex flat.

During the interwar period the terms 'flats' and 'maisonettes' were sometimes used interchangeably, however the term 'maisonette' typically refers to a pair of single-storey, self-contained and usually symmetrical flats sharing a common party wall.³ The term 'apartment' was seldom used in South Australia during the interwar period.

The emergence of flats in South Australia

South Australia's first purpose-built flat development was Ruthven Mansions (15-27 Pultney Street, SHP 13368), commissioned by English developer⁴ R. F. Ruthven Smith,⁵ designed by Adelaide architects A. Barham Black and H. E. Fuller and built in 1912, with a second stage designed by Black and built by Walter Torode⁶ in 1915. When completed Ruthven Mansions represented a national watershed⁷ in the development of apartment buildings and introduced modern flat living into South Australia. Unlike the purpose-built flats of the late 1930s, Ruthven Mansions was designed for a relatively wealthy clientele and boasted numerous innovative features which remained unusual or unique for flats built throughout the interwar period, such as automatic doors, mechanical ventilation, central vacuum cleaning and an electric lift.⁸

Ruthven Mansions was created in response to a nation-wide contemporary trend away from large 'mansion' home ownership by the wealthy, which began in the first decade of the twentieth century.⁹ This trend was driven by several factors, including the rising value of city and metropolitan land,¹⁰ changing aesthetic values away from 'ponderous Victoriana' in favour of modern American and European styles and evolving lifestyle preferences towards 'simplicity and convenience'¹¹ facilitated by rapidly advancing technology.

The abandonment of large mansions was accelerated during and after the First World War due to the 'servant problem.'¹² Depletion of men from the local labour pool due to the war and relaxed social barriers to women finding employment in traditionally

male domains such as shops, factories¹³ and offices, work environments which came to be preferred by women to domestic service.

By 1919, the *Register* noted that the dearth of servants was having 'a decidedly slumping effect' on the values of 'all big residential properties' in Adelaide, alleging that some of Adelaide's 'wealthiest families' were living in hotels or flats.¹⁴ Many large homes sold off from the late 1910s onwards were converted to other uses including boarding houses,¹⁵ private hospitals, rest homes and flats,¹⁶ a process that accelerated into the 1920s and 1930s.

Flat conversions

Improvised flats resulting from dwelling conversions were inevitably less satisfactory than purpose-built flats and were widely considered to be 'regressive and anti-modern.'¹⁷ Floorplans were more or less constrained by the external envelope of the existing building, reducing the penetration of natural light and limiting the efficacy of ventilation. Floors and walls were not soundproofed, readily transmitting sound between flats. Converted flats were typically accessed from doors leading off an internal corridor¹⁸ directly into the living areas, offering less privacy than purpose-built flats, where individual, external front and back entrances were preferred.¹⁹ Unlike purpose-built flats, converted flats did not always possess a self-contained kitchen and/or bathroom and toilet facilities, further compromising privacy.

Reliable statistics are not available; however, it is understood²⁰ that most flats built during the interwar period were conversions of existing dwellings rather than new flats built for purpose. While fewer in number than converted flats, it was purpose-built flats which became most strongly associated with modern flat-dwelling lifestyles in the public consciousness.

Purpose-built flats in the 1920s

After Ruthven Mansions and prior to the mid-1930s, few purpose-built flat developments occurred in South Australia. Notable exceptions included Victor Mansions at Glenelg (1919, demolished),²¹ built as an investment by builder George A. Rule and Haigh Mansions at Henley Beach (LHP, 1921),²² built for Alfred Haigh, proprietor of Haigh's Chocolates.

The First World War curtailed new construction in South Australia and afterwards. New private home ownership was encouraged and subsidised throughout the 1920s through numerous government and private initiatives including the Commonwealth War Service Homes Scheme; the state government's Thousand Homes Scheme; and the construction industry's 'Own Your Own Home' publicity campaign, which encouraged home ownership over renting.²³

Thus the 'overwhelming demand for homes'²⁴ which helped fuel the 1920s construction boom²⁵ was largely satisfied through mass construction of suburban

bungalows for middle income earners and to a lesser extent, an abundance of older housing stock suitable for conversion into flats.

In 1928, realtors Wilkinson, Sando & Wyles Ltd reported a demand for 'high-grade' flats suitable for new arrivals to Adelaide accustomed to 'first-class' flat accommodation in cities elsewhere in Australia and overseas.²⁶ However, before this emerging demand could be satisfied with new purpose-built flats, the Depression (1929) brought the South Australian construction industry to a halt.²⁷

The flat debate

Flats represented the first serious 'challenge' to the 'Australian dream' of house ownership and suburban living,²⁸ and 'vied' with new detached housing as 'symbols of modernity.'²⁹ Conservative voices believed that 'new modes of living heralded by the advent of flats' would soon 'overwhelm family values symbolised by a house and garden.'³⁰

In South Australia, flats offered a counterpoint to the prevailing trend of detached dwellings on large suburban blocks espoused by the contemporary garden suburb movement. Purpose-built flat developments were nevertheless informed by garden suburb principles, with provision of some common open space or gardens within most purpose-built flat developments.

The emerging popularity of flats generated 'vigorous debate'³¹ in Adelaide's newspapers, a debate which had 'a pronounced impact on the form and function of interwar flat developments.'³²

In light of precedents interstate and overseas,³³ the critics of flats argued that flats and even semi-detached houses would lower the 'tone' of residential suburbs³⁴ and become the 'slums of tomorrow.'³⁵ They feared a vicious cycle of property depreciation and lowered rents followed by the arrival of 'an undesirable class of resident,' lowering property values still further.³⁶ Critics believed flats would 'dwarf' detached buildings, degrading their architectural appearance while also invading the privacy of neighbouring backyards; meanwhile traffic generated by medium-density living would destroy the 'tranquillity and quietness of a district.'³⁷

Flats were also widely considered to be 'hostile' to family life,³⁸ and were even blamed for a declining birth-rate.³⁹ In 1923, the Adelaide the *Mail* newspaper warned potential tenants of the troubles awaiting flat-dwellers:

...from the viewpoint of children flats are an abomination ... they are either cooped up in the box-like apartments or permitted to wander the streets irrespective of the influence of chance playmates and traffic dangers ... children become peevish and their little quarrels tend to upset the equilibrium of the home ... there is nothing to interest the housewife beyond the

preparation of odd meals and cleanliness ... no odd jobs await
the husband on wet Saturday afternoon or Sunday.⁴⁰

Some local councils, under pressure from concerned electors, unsuccessfully⁴¹ attempted to introduce by-laws⁴² to control flat-building in affluent areas where such developments were popular. Valuers, estate agents and builders protested flat 'bans' citing need and demand for flats from young married couples and 'the better type of middle-class man'⁴³ and demanded that applications to build flats should be considered on merit.⁴⁴

The heyday of purpose-built interwar flats 1935-1942

Over 50 developments of purpose-built interwar flats have thus far been identified as being built (1919-1943) in South Australia, with the majority constructed after 1935 when improving economic conditions coincided with demand.⁴⁵ Flat-building was further spurred during the late 1930s due to a 'severe' shortage of housing caused by the Depression⁴⁶ and reluctance of financial institutions to approve second mortgages to pay for housebuilding, a practice which had been widespread in the 1920s.⁴⁷ Purpose-built flats continued to be built until building restrictions during the Second World War brought an end to all non-essential construction.

Purpose-built flats, which allowed multiple dwellings to fit into a typical suburban block, were predominantly built as a response to land shortages in desirable areas.⁴⁸ Thus, most purpose-built flats were sited along public transport corridors, including on train, tram and bus routes and on main roads such as the redeveloped Bay Road that became Anzac Highway; in the band of suburbs around the city, such as North Adelaide, Unley and Kensington, close to city employment opportunities; and in seaside resorts such as Glenelg, Somerton and Semaphore, where flats supported a transient seasonal population.⁴⁹

Because stacked flats could not be sold⁵⁰ on individual Certificates of Title, blocks of flats were normally owned by a single investor or syndicate of investors, with most of the flats in a block let out to tenants. During the late 1930s flats represented profitable and reliable⁵¹ investment opportunities for both owner-occupier and non-occupier landlords, and for builders.⁵²

As elsewhere in Australia, women participated strongly in the rise of South Australian purpose-built flats, 'whether as occupants, owners, investors or developers.'⁵³ Notable flat developments built for women as investments include Banyanah Flats, 1939, 18 Esplanade cnr Bickford Terrace, Somerton Park (heavily modified), for Kathleen Martin of Minlaton and Shandon, 88 Moseley Street, Glenelg South (LHP), built for Edith Duncan as owner-occupier.

Offering a greater return on investments than detached houses⁵⁴ or maisonettes, the emergence of flats as a new housing type helped to make real estate investment a profitable economic activity for middle income earners during the 1930s.

Living in purpose-built flats

Purpose-built flats were usually smaller and required less maintenance than a typical detached bungalow and garden⁵⁵ and were marketed to and bought or rented by middle-class⁵⁶ people who could not afford a detached house on a large allotment in a desirable area. This included single people, especially single women, and young married couples attracted to the flexibility, independence or glamour⁵⁷ of the flat lifestyle – many who would otherwise have remained in the family home or lived in a boarding house, possibly deferring marriage, until they could afford ownership of their own detached dwelling.⁵⁸

Typically, purpose-built flats featured 'up-to-date'⁵⁹ appliances and services, including gas, electrical and telephone connections, built-in furniture and other 'labour saving' features.⁶⁰ These modern conveniences facilitated low-maintenance lifestyles, especially for middle-class people who could not afford servants.⁶¹ Less housework and garden maintenance also meant more leisure time, especially for women. For those moving out of the family home for the first time, built-in furniture meant considerably less outlay on furniture.⁶²

Flat-living represented 'a distinctively modern, twentieth century lifestyle'⁶³ very different to that of the typical 'suburban house-and-garden-dweller.'⁶⁴ Purpose-built flats came to be considered 'as much a part of the modern world as the automobile and moving pictures'⁶⁵ and their occupants were considered 'moderns.'⁶⁶

Designing purpose-built flats

South Australian purpose-built interwar flats were typically designed in modern styles featuring strong horizontal lines and streamlined curves announcing the modernity of flat life. However, most had conventional terracotta-tiled hipped roofs, instead of the flat roofs usually associated with European Functionalist⁶⁷ architecture. Sometimes tiled hipped roofs were concealed behind parapets, as in the case of Woodlands Apartments (SHP 26299). More commonly such roofs were deliberately expressed with overhanging, boxed eaves, reflecting prevailing trends in domestic architecture throughout the interwar period.⁶⁸

The dominance of pitched, tiled roofs in the domestic architecture of the 1930s to some extent reflects the conservatism of South Australia's architectural profession during the interwar period,⁶⁹ but also technological limitations of the time. While known in South Australia in the 1930s, flat roofs were still somewhat experimental, prone to leaking,⁷⁰ and not all builders were expert in their construction.⁷¹ Some commentators also questioned the value of flat roofs on houses with large gardens.⁷² Tiled roofs, by contrast, were familiar, functional⁷³ and reliable, and thus a sound investment for businesspeople commissioning purpose-built flats during the interwar period.

Perhaps more importantly, tiled roofs helped modern flats conform to the neighbouring suburban context and meet community expectations surrounding appropriate domestic architecture.⁷⁴ For businesspeople commissioning flat buildings, visual amenity was an important consideration in affluent suburbs, where wealthy neighbours might defend their investments from the perceived threat of depreciation by complaining to local government authorities.⁷⁵

Like purpose-built flats elsewhere in Australia, South Australian examples were typically:

...stylish buildings designed to blend in with the streetscape by giving the appearance of large double storey homes ... set back from the road in alignment with other houses in the neighbourhood [and with] attractive garden settings.⁷⁶

Purpose-built flats were designed to create a home-like environment 'according to contemporary notions of modernity and progress,'⁷⁷ avoiding design features that may have drawn comparisons to converted flats. Privacy was achieved through spatial planning that considered the placement of rooms and provision of separate entrances and setbacks to protect views. 'Soundproof' concrete floors were also a common feature that reduced noise transmission while also making buildings 'fireproof.'⁷⁸

Health, hygiene and cleanliness were contemporary preoccupations⁷⁹ that led to the inclusion of features to encourage ventilation, increase penetration of natural light and expedite cleaning, resulting in features such as narrow wings; large windows, including corner windows; balconies, sunrooms and sleepouts; adequate space around buildings; outdoor courtyards; landscaping;⁸⁰ and plain, flat or streamlined surfaces which did not collect dirt or dust, especially surfaces made from newly-available materials such as stainless steel and plywood.

Newspaper features typically drew attention to the location of flats with regard to main roads and public transport. After rising steadily in the 1920s then falling away during the Depression, private car ownership 'flourished' briefly in the late 1930s,⁸¹ though it remained out of reach for most middle- and working-class South Australians.⁸² Most purpose-built flat developments were designed with garages, driveways and open space to manoeuvre vehicles, although less car accommodation was typically provided in flats built near public transport routes.⁸³

Ronald (Ron) Leslie Golding

One of four brothers, Ron Golding was the second son of Adelaide architect-builder Leonard Golding. Ron Golding demonstrated an early talent for design, with a scheme for a 'cozy and comfortable dwelling'⁸⁴ published in the *Advertiser* while still a teenager. Subsequently he contributed numerous home plans to *Building and Construction* and worked in partnership with his father before launching the

Architectural Homes Company (AHC) in 1935,⁸⁵ aged 25, with a stated ambition to build only his own designs through AHC without tendering for work from the profession.

While Golding ultimately found it necessary to occasionally tender for building work from other architects such as Lawson & Cheesman and Gordon Beaumont Smith, most AHC projects were designed by Ron Golding,⁸⁶ sometimes with input from Ron's brother Keith, also an architect-builder who offered structural engineering expertise.

As well as building numerous private residences for businessmen, Ron Golding emerged as South Australia's most prolific designer and builder of purpose-built flats, typically designing in interwar functionalist or streamlined styles with or without flat roofs, depending on the tastes of the client. Notable projects beside Everard Court include Morea Flats at 9 Weewanda Street, Glenelg (1938), Felicitas Flats, Wellington Square, North Adelaide (1939) and his own home at 4 Bickford Terrace, Somerton, in sawn basket range stone. Golding was still only 27 when he designed and built Everard Court in 1939.

After wartime building restrictions curtailed private construction, Golding secured a government contract to build a pumping station on the Adelaide-Morgan pipeline. From 1942 until the end of the Second World War Ron Golding switched to shark fishing from Beachport, then revived AHC 'modestly' during the 1950s. Later he established the 'wholly profitable' Paringa Pressed Brick Co. at North Brighton, 'taking advantage of a state-wide shortage of clay bricks,' opened a similar factory at Whyalla and served on the board of the South Australian Hollostone franchise before resigning in 1961. Afterwards he managed Golding Industries, a business specialising in road transport, before his death 1978.⁸⁷

A lesser-known architect,⁸⁸ Ron Golding's life and work had been largely forgotten prior to biographical research conducted by Giles Walkley for the University of South Australia Architecture Museum in 2016.

Everard Court (flats)



Everard Court (flats) c1939

Source: Giles Walkley, "Adelaide's Supreme Flats" in *Spirit of Progress* (Summer 2016)

Everard Park previously comprised part of the estate of Dr Charles Everard, who arrived in South Australia in 1836.⁸⁹ An anticipated extension of the electric tramway system to Glenelg and planned improvements to what was then known as the Bay Road spurred the subdivision of Everard Park in 1921.⁹⁰ However, electric transport did not reach Glenelg until 1929, deflating some of the enthusiasm for building on the subdivision prior to the Depression.

The *Anzac Highway Agreement Act 1937* authorised the reconstruction of Anzac Highway (renamed in 1924⁹¹) into a 'modern four-track highway.'⁹² When completed in 1939,⁹³ a modern double-decker motor bus route, together with electric trams, offered rapid and efficient transport between the city and Glenelg.⁹⁴

Improved transport encouraged building between the road and tram corridors, and as the building trade picked up,⁹⁵ 'shady but visionary'⁹⁶ Torrensville⁹⁷ businessman Fredrick (Fred) Irwin Worthley acquired a series of consecutive allotments on the southern side of Anzac Highway. In 1937 he commissioned Ron Golding, through the Architectural Homes Company, to design and build Beverley, a pair of stacked purpose-built flats in a two-storey block. Upon completion of Beverley, Fred Worthley rented out one flat while living in the other.⁹⁸

The following year, Worthley commissioned Golding to design and build Everard Court on land two allotments south of Beverley. Everard Court was completed and largely

occupied by 9 December 1939, when it appeared in the *Mail* newspaper's "Making a House a Home" page. The *Mail* described Everard Court as 'a forward step in flat construction in Adelaide' and refuted fears that flats such as Everard Court would create slums.⁹⁹ Meanwhile Worthley advertised Everard Court in the classified pages of the *Advertiser*, described as 'Adelaide's Supreme Flats ... handy to both city and beaches,'¹⁰⁰ revealing his rationale for building flats on Anzac Highway at Everard Park.

Local amenities in the vicinity of Everard Court included the new, modern Roxy Theatre, opened 6 October 1939,¹⁰¹ shops on the corner of South Road and a park at the end of nearby Berkley Avenue.

In April 1941, Worthley was found guilty of understating his tax return by £3,900, mainly comprised of profits from horse race gambling.¹⁰² Worthley was fined £326/15 in addition to back taxes, a grand total of £1076/15.¹⁰³ Already mortgaged to the Savings Bank of South Australia, Worthley mortgaged Everard Court a second time in August 1941. Subsequently, he sold Everard Court to a third party in December, but was unable to pay off his two mortgages on the property until October 1944.¹⁰⁴

Design

For Everard Court, Golding adapted a 'cascading' plan and form he had already used the previous year for Morea Flats at 9 Weewanda Street, Glenelg,¹⁰⁵ in turn most likely informed by Lawson and Cheesman's innovative¹⁰⁶ 1936 plan for Rogart Flats, 4 Malcolm Street, Millswood (LHP).

Golding lengthened and mirrored the basic Morea plan, building the flats around a lawned courtyard and featuring a curved front fence and central driveway, creating a private, landscaped cul-de-sac. Other features carried over from Morea included cantilevered balconies and chimneys integrated into feature towers.

By designing the flats in detached, parallel wings, a unique arrangement for purpose-built interwar flats in South Australia, Golding enabled each flat to be effectively cross-ventilated, while also increasing penetration of daylight through exterior windows on both sides of each flat. The plan of Everard Court was said to provide each tenant with 'an atmosphere of light and air ... to give the flat dweller the pride of the home owner.'

The 'cascading' plan allowed each tenant a clear view of the courtyard and street while affording privacy to windows and balconies, which were protected in most cases from the neighbouring flats by the setbacks of successive projecting steps. Balconies provided additional opportunities for access to fresh air and daylight for upstairs tenants. Integrated covered porches, entries located under balconies and internal common staircases all offered protection from the weather.

Golding also considered privacy by designing each flat with an individual entry hall; by providing 'soundproof' concrete ceilings to the downstairs flats, with timber

second-storey floors laid on top; arranging rooms and common stairwells to limit movement of sound between the living spaces of adjacent flats; and provision of individual rear entries and staircase to the upstairs simplex flats.

Golding arranged each flat as 'a small house' with main rooms accessed from a central passage, 'making it unnecessary [in most cases] to pass through one room to reach another.' The flats featured an unusually extensive suite of built-in furniture including cloak cupboard, linen press, broom cupboard, and wood box; pantry and safe; and built-in kitchen cabinetry, with saucepan cupboard under the stove. Kitchens reportedly only required a table, two chairs and linoleum to complete.

Where possible 'unnecessary corners and ledges that harbour dust and dirt' were 'eliminated' from the design of Everard Court, notably through innovations such as flat plywood doors. 'Labour-saving' features and conveniences included 'Sagasco' elevated cookers, stainless steel drain boards, built-in baths and tiled bathroom walls, separate gas hot water services for each flat, laundries, drying areas and incinerators (original locations of laundries, drying areas and incinerators is unknown).¹⁰⁷

Golding specified steel casement window frames for all street-facing elevations and employed curved glass for some windows, a brand new material which was first manufactured in Adelaide from 1938.¹⁰⁸ The unavailability of an appropriate radius for the largest, sweeping curves likely imposed the substitution of conventional glass in segmental frames.

Two garage buildings at the rear of the block provided accommodation for at most four vehicles, with additional undercover parking space for roughly six. This suggests that not all tenants were expected to own or need a car, reflecting Everard Court's location on a public transport route.¹⁰⁹

Reception and legacy

Everard Court's design was widely admired after its completion,¹¹⁰ to the extent that Mrs. Edith Duncan, commissioned Ron Golding to design and build a scaled-down copy of Everard Court's southern wing, both as place of residence for herself and her husband and as a source of reliable income. Comprising four simplex flats over two stories, the block known as Shandon was sited on a small allotment on the corner of Moseley and Bath Streets at Glenelg and completed in 1940.¹¹¹

Everard Court (flats) was listed as a Local Heritage Place on 26 June 1997. Subsequently the Australian Institute of Architects South Australian Chapter added Everard Court (flats) to its list of significant twentieth century South Australian architecture during a 1999-2000 review.

Chronology

Year Event

- 1910 16 December, Ronald (Ron) Leslie Golding born.
- 1912 First stage of Ruthven Mansions, Adelaide's first modern flat development, completed for R. F. Ruthven Smith.**
- 1915 Second stage of Ruthven Mansions completed.
- 1919 Charles W. Rutt designs Victor Mansions, Glenelg, for A. Rule
June, the *Register* newspaper reports on the 'servant problem.'
- 1921 Subdivision of Everard Park**
Haigh Mansions completed for Alfred Haigh.
- 1924 Bay Road renamed Anzac Highway.
Thousand Homes Scheme announced.
- 1928 Ron Golding publishes first project in the *Advertiser* aged 18.
October, Wilkinson, Sando and Wyles report shortage of 'high-grade' flats.
- 1929 South Australian Railways' Glenelg line converted to electric tramway.
- 1935 January, *News* reports modern flats in demand.
June, *Mail* newspaper reports modern flats 'scarce' in Adelaide.
8 August, Ron Golding announces establishment of Architectural Homes Company (AHC), aged 25.
August, Glenelg Council attempts to ban semi-detached houses and flats in new subdivisions.
- 1937 *Anzac Highway Agreement Act 1937* authorises the reconstruction of Anzac Highway into a 'modern four-track highway'.
6 October, Roxy Theatre opens on Anzac Highway.
(approximate date) Fred Irwin Worthley acquires land on Anzac Highway, Everard Park.
- 1938 Ron Golding completes Morea Flats for C. Westwood.
- 1938 Ron Golding completes Beverley (flats) for Fred Irwin Worthley.
- 1939 Ron Golding completes Everard Court (flats) for Fred Irwin Worthley.
9 December, Everard Courts Flats largely occupied.**
- 1940 Ron Golding completes Shandon Flats for Mrs. Edith Duncan of Glenelg.
- 1941 Ron Golding completes Bruceden Court Flats for architect G. Beaumont Smith.
April, Fred Irwin Worthley found guilty of understating his tax return in the Police Court, total penalty £1076/15.

August, Fred Irwin Worthley sells Everard Court (flats) to a third party.

- 1943 Fred Fricker completes Mornington Flats, Whyalla, last known purpose-built flat development of the interwar period.
- 1944 Fred Irwin Worthley pays off two mortgages on Everard Court (flats).
- 1950s Ron Golding revives AHC, later establishes Paringa Pressed Brick Co., serves on board of local Hollostone franchise.
- 1961 Ron Golding resigns from board of local Hollostone franchise, establishes Golding Industries.
- 1978 Death of Ron Golding.
- 1997 Everard Court is listed as a Local Heritage Place.**
- 2000 Everard Court (flats) identified by Australian Institute of Architects South Australian Chapter as significant twentieth century architecture.**

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SITE DETAILS

Everard Court (flats)

PLACE NO.: 26529

46 Anzac Highway, Everard Park

DESCRIPTION OF PLACE:	Two blocks of two-storey brick and reinforced concrete flats, sited around a central garden
DATE OF CONSTRUCTION:	1939
REGISTER STATUS:	Nominated 12 May 2021 Provisionally entered TBA
LOCAL HERITAGE STATUS:	LHP, listed 26 June 1997
CURRENT USE:	Flats 1939-present
ARCHITECT:	Ron Golding, Architectural Homes Company 1939
BUILDER:	Ron Golding, Architectural Homes Company 1939
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA:	City of Unley
LOCATION:	Street No.: 46 Street Name: Anzac Highway Town/Suburb: Everard Park Post Code: 5035
LAND DESCRIPTION:	Title Reference: CT5867/503; CT5867/504; CT5867/505; CT5867/506; CT5867/508; CT5867/509; CT5867/510; CT5867/511; CT5867/512; CT5867/513; CT5867/514; CT5867/515; CT5867/516; CT5867/517; CT6123/858; Lot No.: UN1; UN2; UN3; UN4; UN6; UN7; UN8; UN9; UN10; UN11; UN12; UN13; UN14; UCCP; UN5 Plan No.: S14477 Hundred: Adelaide

PHOTOS

Everard Court (flats)

PLACE NO.: 26529

46 Anzac Highway, Everard Park

All images in this section are from DEW Files and were taken on 14 November 2022, unless otherwise indicated.



East wing and central courtyard



East Wing, view towards Anzac Highway

PHOTOS

Everard Court (flats)

PLACE NO.: 26529

46 Anzac Highway, Everard Park



Everard Court (flats), east wing

PHOTOS

Everard Court (flats)

PLACE NO.: 26529

46 Anzac Highway, Everard Park



Segmental steel casement window frame



Tower containing chimney



Steel plate and rod lettering



Standard red and yellow Roman vermiculated brick coursing



Driveway between blocks with beam over



Rear view with carparking space on right

PHOTOS

Everard Court (flats)

PLACE NO.: 26529

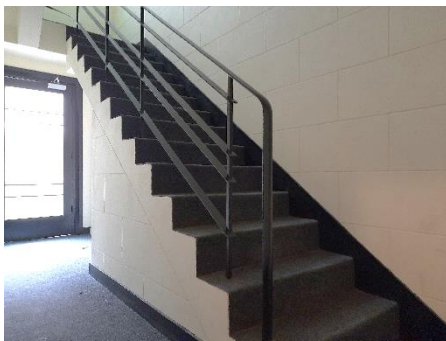
46 Anzac Highway, Everard Park



Side gate showing subsidence and missing pointing



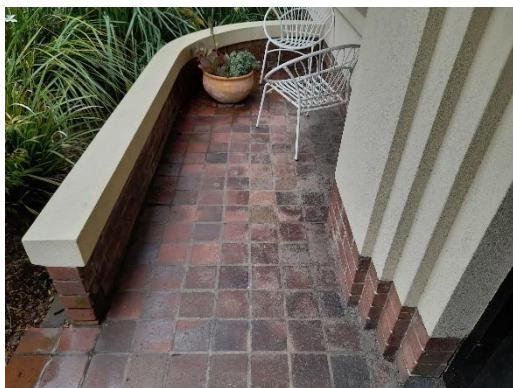
Upstairs window showing curved glass



Internal common stairwell with hollow block walls, concrete stairs and steel railing



Doors to common stairwell showing chromed muntins, reeded and patterned glass



Terracotta tiles to ground floor porches



West wing showing cantilevered balcony and porch dwarf wall

PHOTOS

Everard Court (flats)

PLACE NO.: 26529

46 Anzac Highway, Everard Park



Typical ceiling rose



Typical ceiling rose



Typical ceiling rose



Glass bricks to internal stairwell

¹ Jenny Gregory and Robyn Taylor, "'The Slums of Tomorrow'? Architects, builders and the construction of flats in interwar Perth" in *Frank Broeze (ed) Private Enterprise, Government and Society: Studies in Western Australian History XIII* (1992) p. 81

² Stefan Pikusa, *The Adelaide House 1836 to 1901: the evolution of principal dwelling types* (1986) Netley SA: Wakefield Press pp. 35-54, 92-118; J. N. Presse, *House Styles in Adelaide: a pictorial history* (1981) Adelaide SA: Australian Institute of Valuers/Real Estate Institute of South Australia

³ J. N. Presse, *House Styles in Adelaide* pp. 36-37

⁴ Susan Marsden, Paul Stark and Patricia Sumerling (eds), *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide* (1990) Adelaide SA: Corporation of the City of Adelaide p. 119

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⁸ Susan Marsden, Paul Stark and Patricia Sumerling (eds), *Heritage of the City of* p. 119

⁹ Michael Page, *Sculptors in Space: South Australian Architects 1836-1986* (1986) Adelaide SA: Royal Australian Institute of Architects (South Australian Chapter) p. 119

¹⁰ Michael Page, *Sculptors in Space* p. 119

¹¹ Michael Page, *Sculptors in Space* p. 119

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¹³ Caroline Butler-Bowdon and Charles Pickett, *Homes in the Sky* p. 37

¹⁴ "The Passing of the Mansion Home." in *Register* 12 June 1919 p. 5 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article62197068> accessed 15 November 2022; see also Bridget Jolly "Unley Park, South Australia: selected twentieth century and later domestic architecture Vol. 1" (2012) p. 272

¹⁵ Fran Smith, "Adelaide's interwar flats: a new form of housing for a new world" in *Bibliofile* (2, 2021) p. 10

¹⁶ "The Passing of the Mansion Home."

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¹⁸ "Modern Flats Still Scarce in Adelaide, Several Schemes Under Discussion, Show Contest Suggested" in *Mail* 1 June 1935 p. 10 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article57008293> accessed 15 November 2022

¹⁹ "Modern Flats Still Scarce in Adelaide"

²⁰ "Modern Flats Still Scarce in Adelaide"

²¹ "Victor Mansions, Memorial Flats for Glenelg. A Splendid Project." in *Mail* 7 June 1919 p. 10 <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/63761604> accessed 15 November 2022

²² No title in *Mail* 8 October 1921 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article63853911> p. 8

²³ Michael Page, *Sculptors in Space* p. 134; Caroline Butler-Bowdon and Charles Pickett, *Homes in the Sky* p. 40

²⁴ Michael Page, *Sculptors in Space* p. 134

²⁵ In South Australia, 1925-1926 were the peak years for subdivision and new house construction during the interwar period; Town Planning Committee *South Australia, Report on the Metropolitan Area of Adelaide* (P. P. 95) (1965) Adelaide SA: Government of South Australia p. 31

²⁶ "Shortage of Flats" in *Mail* 27 October 1928 p. 12 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article58563309> accessed 15 November 2022

²⁷ Town Planning Committee *South Australia, Report on the Metropolitan Area of Adelaide* p. 32

²⁸ Caroline Butler-Bowdon and Charles Pickett, *Homes in the Sky* p. 2

²⁹ Helen Bennett, *Interpreting the Modern: Flatland in Brisbane* p. 2

Summary of State Heritage Place: 26529

28 of 31

Provisionally entered by the South Australian Heritage Council on 8 December 2022

Confirmed by the South Australian Heritage Council on 15 December 2023

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- ³⁰ Jenny Gregory and Robyn Taylor, "'The Slums of Tomorrow'?" p. 90.
- ³¹ Fran Smith, "Adelaide's interwar flats" p. 11
- ³² Helen Bennett, *Interpreting the Modern: Flatland in Brisbane* p. 5
- ³³ Jenny Gregory and Robyn Taylor, "'The Slums of Tomorrow'?" p. 81
- ³⁴ Jenny Gregory and Robyn Taylor, "'The Slums of Tomorrow'?" p. 82
- ³⁵ Jenny Gregory and Robyn Taylor, "'The Slums of Tomorrow'?"
- ³⁶ "N.S.W. to Regulate Building of Blocks of Flats" in *News* 2 April 1938 p. 5 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article131557162> accessed 15 November 2022
- ³⁷ "N.S.W. to Regulate Building of Blocks of Flats"
- ³⁸ Caroline Butler-Bowdon and Charles Pickett, *Homes in the Sky* p. 2
- ³⁹ Jenny Gregory and Robyn Taylor, "'The Slums of Tomorrow'?" p. 84
- ⁴⁰ "Flats, Undesirable" in *News* 5 September 1923 p. 5 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article129841614> accessed 15 November 2022
- ⁴¹ "Protest Against Ban on Flats" in *News* 13 September 1935 p. 4 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article129296885> accessed 15 November 2022
- ⁴² See for example "Glenelg Ban on Certain Flats, Semi-Detached Not To be Allowed, Areas Affected" in *News* 29 August 1935 p. 12 <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/128422816> accessed 15 November 2022
- ⁴³ "Protest Against Ban on Flats"
- ⁴⁴ "Protest Against Ban on Flats"
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- ⁴⁶ "Housing Shortage Still Acute, Tendency Towards Rise in Rents, Flats Popular" in *Advertiser* 14 March 1938 p. 25 accessed <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article74211430> 15 November 2022
- ⁴⁷ "Acute Housing Shortage, Problem for City" in *News* 21 January 1937 p. 4 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article131405718> accessed 15 November 2022
- ⁴⁸ "Protest Against Ban on Flats"; in Perth, purpose-built flats were typically built in response to demand rather than as a result of speculation, see Jenny Gregory and Robyn Taylor, "'The Slums of Tomorrow'?" p. 86
- ⁴⁹ "Modern Flats Still Scarce in Adelaide"; Similar patterns emerged in interwar Perth; see Jenny Gregory and Robyn Taylor, "'The Slums of Tomorrow'?" p. 90.
- ⁵⁰ Peter Timms, *Private Lives: Australians at Home Since Federation* (2008) Carlton VIC: Miegunyah Press p. 51
- ⁵¹ Jenny Gregory and Robyn Taylor, "'The Slums of Tomorrow'?" p. 84
- ⁵² Jenny Gregory and Robyn Taylor, "'The Slums of Tomorrow'?" p. 82
- ⁵³ Helen Bennett, *Interpreting the Modern: Flatland in Brisbane* p. 8
- ⁵⁴ Jenny Gregory and Robyn Taylor, "'The Slums of Tomorrow'?" p. 82
- ⁵⁵ "Modern Flats Still Scarce in Adelaide" p. 10
- ⁵⁶ Jenny Gregory and Robyn Taylor, "'The Slums of Tomorrow'?" p. 81
- ⁵⁷ Helen Bennett, *Interpreting the Modern: Flatland in Brisbane* p. 343
- ⁵⁸ Jenny Gregory and Robyn Taylor, "'The Slums of Tomorrow'?" p. 84
- ⁵⁹ "Kingsmead Flats, Comfort and Convenience, Up-to-date Appointments" in *News* 1 May 1929 p. 6 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article129139518> accessed 15 November 2022
- ⁶⁰ Hope Cooper, "Smart New Flats" in *Murray Pioneer and Australasian River Record* 9 September 1937 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article124803675> p. 18 accessed 15 November 2022
- ⁶¹ It was not unusual for middle-class Australian homes to employ servants 'well into the twentieth century'; North Sydney Council, *At Home in North Sydney: an architectural history of a locality* <https://www.athomeinnorthsydney.com.au/domestic-help1.html> accessed 10 November 2022
- ⁶² "Furnishing Small Flats for Comfort" gives advice to 'business girls and students living away from home' with regard to furnishing flats; *Mail* 9 July 1938 p. 34 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article55942513> accessed 15 November 2022
- ⁶³ Helen Bennett, *Interpreting the Modern: Flatland in Brisbane* p. i
- ⁶⁴ Helen Bennett, *Interpreting the Modern: Flatland in Brisbane* p. 339

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- ⁶⁵ Helen Bennett, *Interpreting the Modern: Flatland in Brisbane* p. 3
- ⁶⁶ Helen Bennett, *Interpreting the Modern: Flatland in Brisbane* p. 27
- ⁶⁷ Apperly et al *Identifying Australian Architecture* pp. 184-187
- ⁶⁸ J. M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia: a history* p. 257; Dwelling and Flat (former Office/Garage) designed by Christopher Smith in the Art Deco Style for his own residence (SHP 26301), listed under criterion (e), an example of domestic architecture designed in an interwar modern idiom with a tiled, hipped roof.
- ⁶⁹ Louise Bird, Russell S. Ellis: *Pioneer Modernist Architect* (2007) Adelaide SA: Louis Laybourne Smith School of Architecture and Design, University of South Australia p. 17
- ⁷⁰ Peter Bell, Carol Cosgrove, Susan Marsden & Justin McCarthy, "Twentieth Century Heritage Survey, Stage Two 1928-1945 Volume 1, Report to Department for Environment and Heritage" (2008) p. 28
- ⁷¹ Peter Bell et al, "Twentieth Century Heritage Survey, Volume 1" p. 28
- ⁷² "Study Science of Living, Hint to Architects by Judge, Exhibition Lesson" in *News* 16 January 1935 p. 7 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article128908307> accessed 15 November 2022
- ⁷³ J. M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia* p. 257
- ⁷⁴ "Flats on Albert Terrace. 'Building Not Ornate Enough.' Cr. Lee Protests." in *Glenelg Guardian* 10 April 1924 p. 1 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article214723942> accessed 15 November 2022; these flats were deemed "not ornate enough" and "not in keeping with the many beautiful homes erected on the terrace"; compare Melbourne; Caroline Butler-Bowdon and Charles Pickett, *Homes in the Sky* pp. 66-68
- ⁷⁵ For example "Glenelg Ban on Certain Flats"
- ⁷⁶ Jenny Gregory and Robyn Taylor, "'The Slums of Tomorrow'?" p. 83
- ⁷⁷ Helen Bennett, *Interpreting the Modern: Flatland in Brisbane* p. 8
- ⁷⁸ "Features of Modern Flats at Millswood, Additions Possible" in *Mail* 11 July 1936 p. 25 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article55828667> accessed 15 November 2022
- ⁷⁹ Julie Collins, "Fresh Air and Sunshine: the Health Aspects of Sleepouts, Sunrooms, and Sundecks in South Australian Architecture of the 1930s" in David Kroll, James Curry and Madeline Nolan, *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand: 38, Ultra: Positions and Polarities Beyond Crisis* (2022) p. 157
- ⁸⁰ Julie Collins, "Fresh Air and Sunshine" p. 157-158
- ⁸¹ Peter Donovan, "Motor cars and freeways: measures of a South Australian love affair" in Bernard O'Neil, Judith Raftery and Kerry Round (eds), *Playford's South Australia: essays on the history of South Australia, 1933-1968* (1996) Adelaide: Professional Historians Association p. 202
- ⁸² Peter Donovan, "Motor cars and freeways: measures of a South Australian love affair" p. 202
- ⁸³ Helen Bennett, *Interpreting the Modern: Flatland in Brisbane* p. 343
- ⁸⁴ "Home Architecture" in *Advertiser* 24 October 1928 p. 22 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article29309478> accessed 15 November 2022
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- ⁸⁷ Giles Walkley, "Golding, Leonard, and sons - Ronald and Keith"
- ⁸⁸ Giles Walkley, "Golding, Leonard, and sons - Ronald and Keith"
- ⁸⁹ Unley Heritage Research Study 2006 p. 14
- ⁹⁰ Peter Donovan, *Between the City and the Sea: a history of West Torrens from settlement in 1836 to the present day* (1986) Netley SA: Wakefield Press p. 115; "Everard Park" in *Register* 22 June 1921 p. 6 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article63409184> accessed 15 November 2022
- ⁹¹ Peter Donovan, *Between the City and the Sea* p. 143
- ⁹² "Work on the Anzac Highway" in *Chronicle* 14 April 1938 p. 29 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article92498674> accessed 15 November 2022
- ⁹³ "Tree Planting on Anzac Highway, Opening Ceremony On Sunday" in *Advertiser* 20 June 1939 p. 6 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article49813602> accessed 15 November 2022
- ⁹⁴ Hignett & Company, "Glenelg Heritage Survey Stage 1" (February 1983) p. 22

⁹⁵ "Acute Housing Shortage, Problem for City"

⁹⁶ Giles Walkley, "Adelaide's Supreme Flats" in *Spirit of Progress* (Summer 2016) p. 23

⁹⁷ CT 1371/150

⁹⁸ Giles Walkley, "Adelaide's Supreme Flats" p. 23

⁹⁹ "Architectural Homes Co. – Erect Modern Flats at Everard Park, Anzac Highway, Now Open for Inspection" in *Mail* 9 December 1939 p. 28 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article55755329> accessed 15 November 2022

¹⁰⁰ "Flats and Rooms to Let, Adelaide's Master Flat or Residence" in *Advertiser* 3 May 1939 p. 6 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article74418819> accessed 15 November 2022

¹⁰¹ "New Theatre for Bay Road, Built to Agree With Latest Ideas In Cinema Construction, Gala Premiere of Roxy on Wednesday" in *Mail* 2 October 1937 p. 10 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article55071424> accessed 15 November 2022

¹⁰² "Guilty of Underestimating Income by £3,900, Manufacturer and Tax Return" in *News* 3 April 1941 p. 9 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article131960070> accessed 15 November 2022

¹⁰³ "To Pay £1,076 On Tax Charge" in *News* 4 April 1941 p. 8 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article131963436> accessed 15 November 2022

¹⁰⁴ CT 1371/150

¹⁰⁵ Giles Walkley, "Adelaide's Supreme Flats" p. 23

¹⁰⁶ Michael Page, *Sculptors in Space* p. 188; "Features of Modern Flats at Millswood"

¹⁰⁷ "Architectural Homes Co. – Erect Modern Flats at Everard Park"

¹⁰⁸ "Large Plates of Glass Were Curved in S.A" in *Mail* 6 May 1939 p. 2 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article55750588> accessed 15 November 2022

¹⁰⁹ Helen Bennett, *Interpreting the Modern: Flatland in Brisbane* p. 343

¹¹⁰ Giles Walkley, "Golding, Leonard, and sons - Ronald and Keith"

¹¹¹ Giles Walkley, "Adelaide's Supreme Flats" p. 24