

# architecture institutions and change

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## **A Roof Over Their Heads: Temporary Dwellings in Post-war Suburban Sydney**

*In Australia's Home, his 1952 critique of Australian domestic architectural style, Robin Boyd noted that the critical housing shortage following World War II forced thousands of Australian households to live in converted army camps, tents, caravans or with in-laws. The dwellings which Boyd did not mention were the shacks, sheds and garage homes which became a long-term feature of the outer suburban environment of most major cities. Mostly owner-built as temporary accommodation while the occupants amassed the financial and material resources to construct their permanent home, these makeshift residences were usually designed to be repurposed or incorporated into the final house. Typical examples used basic materials and construction techniques and provided very restricted accommodation. As these dwellings were occupied before public utilities reached the local area, most households were forced to be fully self-reliant. This paper proposes that construction and occupation of temporary dwellings challenged the institutionally-determined post-war family residence in two main ways. Firstly, their small size and lack of amenities defied statutory minimum housing regulations. Secondly, their basic architecture and low-cost materials were at odds with the orthodox model of the instant five-roomed, double-fronted house. Consequently, these temporary and quasi-permanent dwellings formed a distinctive design typology which has been overlooked by the dominant historiographical focus on the permanent suburban dwelling of the 1940s and 1950s.*

In *Australia's Home*, his 1952 critique of Australian domestic architectural style, Robin Boyd noted that the critical housing shortage following World War II forced thousands of Australian households to live in converted army camps, tents, caravans or with in-laws.<sup>1</sup> Boyd did not include the railway tents, sheds, shacks or garages which became a common feature of many outer suburbs of Sydney, and the subject of concern to local authorities.<sup>2</sup> Although temporary dwellings existed previously in Australia during periods of economic crises or high immigration, post-war temporary dwellings on purchased land were an unforeseen response to the prevailing political, economic and social situation, and a challenge to institutionalised housing doctrines. At this time an unprecedented number of families needed homes yet building material rationing, labour shortages and delays installing utilities limited access to housing, both public and private.<sup>3</sup> Simultaneously, wartime savings and high wage levels provided private capital sufficient for land purchase when weak property development regulations were unable to prevent the sale and occupation of subdivided un-serviced land.<sup>4</sup> This meant that cheap land was readily available to otherwise marginal purchasers who could pay for an allotment but could not afford, or obtain, the building materials and labour needed for a conventional house. Their solution was to construct and occupy a basic interim residence while they saved the financial resources needed to build and equip the home they aspired to own.

This paper introduces post-war temporary dwellings built on purchased land in the Shire of Hornsby, on the northern suburban fringe of Sydney. It commences with an exposition of the four main types: tents, sheds, shacks and garages, and discusses 16 extant examples according to their dimensions, materials, design and facilities offered. These buildings are then contrasted with the institutionalised model of the post-war suburban house, focussing on the prevailing statutory building regulations, recommended minimum housing standards, and expectations of exterior and interior designs and amenities available. The paper draws on secondary and primary sources, including state and local government records, interviews with occupants, and the buildings themselves. It has developed from ongoing doctoral research into the role of temporary dwellings in facilitating access to home-ownership, supplemented by research for a master's dissertation on the emergence of a small housing estate.

## The housing shortage and temporary dwellings in Australia

The construction and occupation of temporary dwellings in Australia between 1945 and 1960 was a manifestation of the global housing shortage prevailing since the early 1930s, which was exacerbated by the return of service personnel at the close of World War II.<sup>5</sup> Towards the end of 1944, it was estimated Australia was facing a shortage of between 300,000 and 365,000 housing units.<sup>6</sup> As forecast in the 1944 Commonwealth Housing Commission Final Report, this proved to be a conservative figure.<sup>7</sup> By early 1945, estimates also took account of the housing needs of Australians living in seriously sub-standard housing, residents of various Commonwealth territories, and the anticipated arrival of migrants, and the inclusion of these figures brought the likely national shortfall closer to 400,000 homes.<sup>8</sup> In 1946, the New South Wales (NSW) government estimated the state was short approximately 160,000

residences, with Sydney and suburbs alone needing close to 90,000 extra homes.<sup>9</sup>

This situation was the result of a combination of circumstances including a reduced investment in housing during and after the economic depression of the 1930s, cessation of residential building materials allocations, and the suspension or marked contraction of State Housing Authorities during the war.<sup>10</sup> The consequent shortage of accommodation was amplified by two legislative actions: firstly, the regular renewal of government controls on rental housing, in force nationally until 1948 but extended in NSW until 1956, and secondly, legislation which set the allowable profit on the sale of land at approximately ten percent of the 1942 assessed value, allowed to lapse in September 1948.<sup>11</sup> The first measure discouraged investment in residential properties for rent, while the second reduced the incentive to sell previously-subdivided vacant building land.<sup>12</sup>

In and around Sydney, limited emergency accommodation was provided by the state government, in converted army barracks at Herne Bay (Riverwood), Hargrave Park (Warwick Farm) and Bradfield Park (West Lindfield), and in tent encampments supporting major infrastructure projects, such as construction of Warragamba Dam and extensions to metropolitan water and sewerage services.<sup>13</sup> But the vast majority of desperate households were forced to make private arrangements in order to obtain a roof over their heads. Many thousands of these people took advantage of the eventual sale of building land on the outskirts of suburban Sydney to buy an un-serviced allotment, barely within their limited budget, and build a form of basic accommodation.

Examples of such privately-owned provisional dwellings built on purchased building allotments still exist in Hornsby Shire. These transient residences were identified through a longitudinal survey of the Department of the Valuer-General, NSW – Valuation Lists (V-G Lists), state-wide property assessments collated by Shire or Municipality, revised every three years.<sup>14</sup> V-G Lists comprise individual property valuation cards recording details of owners, assessed values, and the nature of “improvements”, which includes temporary dwellings. The study examined five sets of triennial assessments for the period 1945 to 1960, covering all Hornsby Shire properties within the “Green Belt”, the suburban boundary determined in 1948 by the County of Cumberland Planning Scheme. A ground survey of identified sites confirmed the continued existence of dwellings for detailed investigation and photography, and, if possible, the original occupants approached for interviews, seven of whom have shared their experiences in Hornsby to date. This methodology will also be used for comparison studies in the Shires of Fairfield and Warringah, two Sydney local government areas (LGAs) with similar settlement histories and geographic constraints but different demographics.

The investigation revealed that temporary dwellings were occupied for between six months and more than ten years with an average occupancy of two years, and the majority of owners worked as labourers, process workers, clerks, salesmen and building tradesmen, with a number of accountants, bank officers and merchants. The occupational groups who occupied such dwellings for the most extended periods were labourers and process-

workers. While the cultural background of the majority of owners reflected the primarily anglo-saxon demographic, the group which occupied the dwellings for the longest times were post-war refugees from Central and Eastern Europe.

## Classifying temporary dwellings

The Hornsby survey revealed more than two thousand temporary dwellings classified by V-G property assessors into four major categories: tents, sheds, shacks and garages, as well as many buildings noted simply as T. R. or T/Dwlg, temporary residence or temporary dwelling.<sup>15</sup> “Tents” were the least common form of temporary dwelling and were usually privately-owned canvas tents occupied for a few months until a weather-proof dwelling could be built.<sup>16</sup> These measured approximately 10 by 7 foot (3 x 2.1m) with separate groundsheet and fly. Occasionally the property-owner could rent a more durable standard-issue tent from the NSW General Railways. Used to house itinerant railway workers and their families, they comprised a raised board floor with internal timber framing supporting a heavy canvas tent, with an external frame bracing a separate canvas fly. These tents measured 12 by 10 foot (3.6 x 3.0m) with a wall height of 5 foot (1.5m) rising to 9 foot (2.7m) at the ridge, and two or three could be grouped to provide connected living spaces.<sup>17</sup>

A “Shack” appears to have been a small timber-framed dwelling raised above ground level on piers, bearers and joists with either a skillion or pitched roof. These homes, sometimes listed as “room”, generally consisted of a single space used for eating, sleeping and cooking, with a kitchen sink and cupboard installed in the kitchen area.<sup>18</sup> If the shack became a long-term home, an externally-accessed skillion laundry was often added. The smallest known example was occupied by a Polish/Ukrainian refugee couple and their daughter from 1952 until 1959. It measures 14 by 9 foot (3.6 x 2.7m), with a ceiling sloping from 8 foot (2.4m) at the front to 7 foot 6 inches (2.25m) at the rear under a skillion roof. It has a glazed timber door and single window and was designed to make economical use of standard-sized asbestos-cement sheeting.<sup>19</sup> Another type of shack mentioned by Hornsby residents was made from a motor crate, an outsized wooden crate used to import a large object such as a car. Two known crate shacks existed in Mt Colah, one was used by a single man while building his garage home and another was occupied by a family for a number of years and still forms part of the cottage which developed around it.<sup>20</sup>

Less common than a shack, a “Shed” was also a timber-framed building but constructed either on a poured concrete floor or directly on the ground. Wall heights in the known exemplars ranged from 7 to 9 foot (2.1 to 2.7m) and were typically unlined with an open roof space. These sheds vary greatly in size, ranging from a converted backyard chicken shed in Mt Colah with space for a single bed and small table, to a three-roomed shed in Hornsby designed to house a family with six children.<sup>21</sup> Size was limited by financial considerations also by the building materials obtained. Most builders of temporary dwellings depended on recycled materials and the goodwill of their local timberyard, although farmers and construction workers had easier access to tightly-rationed materials.<sup>22</sup> The multi-roomed shed mentioned previously included materials salvaged from the building of Warragamba

Dam and, although it had a dirt floor, its internal walls were made from bags of concrete which had “gone off” at the Dam site.<sup>23</sup>

Apart from the generic listing “Temp Dwlg” or “T/Res”, i.e. Temporary Dwelling or Temporary Residence, “Garages” made up the majority of temporary dwellings entered on the Hornsby V-G List, with more than one thousand occupied between 1945 and 1960. These were primarily detached single garages used as such once the permanent house was built. Identified examples range in size from 20 by 10 foot (6 x 3m) to 24 by 12 foot (7.2 x 3.6m), with four double garages also listed, measuring approximately 24 by 18 foot (7.2 x 5.4m).<sup>24</sup> Interviews indicate that garage homes generally had a concrete floor, laid on a bed of blue-metal if money allowed but otherwise onto coke ash, with timber framing, a gabled roof and a nominal ceiling height between 8 and 9 foot, nominal as no extant example was lined. Kits for single garages were available locally from Leask’s Timber and Hardware, Waitara, and were also advertised in national and local newspapers as an affordable solution to buyers’ housing problems.<sup>25</sup> The kit garage bought by the Wagstaff family of Hornsby included the structural timber, fibro cladding, concrete roof tiles and a plain timber door; the purchaser had only to provide flooring and whatever windows they could afford.<sup>26</sup>

## General features and facilities

Whether tent, shack, shed or garage, interim homes were typically constructed with an off-ration unseasoned hardwood frame placed directly onto the floor surface. They were predominantly clad in “fibro” (asbestos-cement panel) which, although rationed, was cheap, light to transport, quickly installed and easy for inexperienced builders to use.<sup>27</sup> There were rare departures from this norm, with one shack in Hornsby clad in traditional weatherboards. In “brick-only” areas it was required that the garage was also brick, although this regulation was occasionally disregarded by the Council officers, much to the annoyance of neighbours who had complied previously.<sup>28</sup> Regardless of local building ordinances, the Hornsby Shire Council Health and Building Inspector allowed roofs of whatever material was available, including corrugated iron or fibro, cement or terracotta tiles, and reinforced concrete.<sup>29</sup> Although an additional cost, nearly half the dwellings investigated were originally lined and ceiled with either fibro or Caneite, an insulating wood panel substitute made from compressed sugar-cane fibre.

Doors and windows exhibit a variety of styles. The majority have second-hand glazed timber doors dating from the 1920s and 1930s around which a new door-frame was fitted. Some have badly-fitted doors homemade from lengths of timber or flooring strengthened by a Z-shaped frame, others had mass-produced doors of plywood or Masonite. Windows also vary considerably. The least expensive were the readily available “supa-louvre” frames, which Wagstaffe installed, filled with plywood then replaced with glass as he could afford it.<sup>30</sup> Owners have mentioned sourcing second-hand windows and fittings in pre-war styles and building frames to fit, while others built their own windows and frames, usually simple casement-opening, from whatever timber was obtainable.<sup>31</sup>

The smallest shacks and sheds comprised a single living space used for all household

activities; however the larger examples were usually partitioned to provide either a kitchen alcove or bedroom area. The majority of single garage homes comprised a living space, kitchen alcove and bedroom, and two of the largest garages included a second bedroom for children. None of the temporary dwellings researched to date included a bathroom in the original design, although four occupied for between four and ten years had been extended with a skillion-roofed laundry/shower room accessed via an external door. All temporary dwellings in the Shire had an outhouse toilet separated from the dwelling.

Few services and amenities were available to the occupants, a situation criticised as premature development of a locality.<sup>32</sup> Reticulated water, electricity, gas, telephone, and sewerage lines had not yet been extended to the newly-developing areas, and public infrastructure in the form of sealed and kerbed roads and stormwater drainage was also absent. Households in temporary dwellings in Hornsby Shire initially relied on wells, tank water, or a neighbour's supply, with reticulated water the first utility installed, usually within three years of settlement.<sup>33</sup> The households ran on kerosene, used in a primus or blue-flame burner for cooking, in Tilly lamps for light, to fuel a heater in winter, and, in one account, to power a refrigerator.<sup>34</sup> Water was heated for the kitchen, bathing, and to wash clothes, either in kerosene tins on an open fire in the yard or in a wood-fired copper built into a brick surround situated separately from the dwelling.<sup>35</sup>

The existence of these temporary dwellings, the forms they took, and the services and amenities available to the occupants posed an unanticipated challenge to the regulatory, societal and architectural institutions which sought to determine the construction, occupation and design of residential building in the post-war period.

## The institutional model

Andre Sorensen defines institutions as “the shared norms and formal rules that shape action in social, political and economic processes.”<sup>36</sup> He adapts this definition to the built environment, describing an institution as an accumulation of collectively determined rules, operating practices, cultural norms, activities, values and expectations that both delineate and regulate the creation, management and use of urban space.<sup>37</sup> The dominant institutional model for post-war housing in Sydney derived from a mixture of societal, professional and regulatory influences. Aspirational designs expressing collectively-determined values and expectations were supported and sustained through popular home journals, specialised housing publications and daily newspapers, in which ownership of the archetypal 1930s or 1940s-styled double or triple-fronted brick house was promoted as an attainable post-war aspiration. These were complemented by design collections from post-war architects, who expected either a reversion to pre-war housing styles or the adoption of contemporary architecture, among a middle-class clientele.<sup>38</sup> Seeking to codify these into national standards was the Commonwealth Housing Commission, whose Final Report 25 August 1944 included recommendations of minimum national standards for government-sponsored housing.<sup>39</sup> The final elements of the institutional assemblage were the statutory regulations embodied in the New South Wales Local Government Act (1919) Ordinance 71 (and 70 until

1946), which controlled residential construction in municipalities and shires in NSW.

These two Ordinances detailed the standards expected for the structure and design of residential buildings in order for them to be regarded as suitable for human occupation, and were amended periodically to reflect changes in building practice. The clauses and sub-clauses most pertinent to the construction of temporary dwellings addressed the design of foundations, control of damp, room and window sizes, optimal ventilation, and the placement and design of amenities. A residential dwelling with a timber frame was required to be raised on piers capped with iron or zinc plates, have a ventilation space of 12 inches (30cm) below the joists, and a full-width damp-proof course between timbers and foundations.<sup>40</sup> A habitable room, i.e. any room which was used for living, sleeping, eating or food preparation, was to have a minimum ceiling height of 9 foot (2.7m), floor area no less than 80 square foot (7.2sq m), and cubic volume no less than 720 cubic foot (20.4cu m).<sup>41</sup> This meant that with the required ceiling height, the smallest room possible was 8 by 10 foot (2.4 x 3m) square. Further, one room of the dwelling was to have a minimum volume of 1,296 cubic foot (36.7cu m), which translates to minimum dimensions of 10 by 14 with a 9 foot ceiling (3 x 4.2 x 2.7m).<sup>42</sup> Finally, a completely enclosed bathroom or bathroom/laundry with water and clothes-washing facilities was mandatory.<sup>43</sup> Although exempt from most clauses of the Ordinances, "Tent" occupation required Council approval and compliance with conditions governing the tent's position, construction and sanitation.<sup>44</sup>

## Challenging the institution

Of the 16 examples of temporary dwellings analysed, none satisfied the standard NSW requirements for habitable dwellings. Although six shacks and the long-term railway tents were raised on piers, only half of these reached the minimum clear underfloor space or had capping between the piers and timbers, and no building constructed on a concrete slab had a dampcourse laid beneath the timber frames. The required 9 foot (2.7m) ceiling height was only achieved by dwellings designed from the start as part of a conventional house and one garage home built in 1960. The floor to ceiling height of other examples ranged between 7 foot and 8 foot (2.1 x 2.4m). This made it impossible for the smallest shacks, which measured respectively 12 by 9 foot (3.6 x 2.7m) and 14 by 9 foot (4.2 x 2.7m), and any partitioned single garage to satisfy the minimum living space volume requirement. The regulation governing bathroom requirements was not met by any of the dwellings until 1954 when four buildings were extended with a skillion laundry which also included a bath or shower.

Council ordinances in NSW and Victoria dated from before wartime shortages and required new homes to have 1000 square foot (93sq m) minimum site coverage.<sup>45</sup> This reflected and supported the institutionalised view of the size of dwelling judged essential for health, ventilation and personal privacy. More importantly, it ensured that non-compliant "slum" housing, which might affect the values of surrounding houses, could not be introduced into the district.<sup>46</sup> Of the temporary dwellings studied in detail, none reached the local Councils' minimum overall size. Instead, they ranged in area from the Hornsby shack covering 126 square foot (11.7sq m) to the family shed of 900 square foot (83.6sq m) later extended to 990

square foot (92sq m), with the most common site coverage measuring between 250 and 350 square foot (23.2 and 32.5sq m).

Just as the structure and internal dimensions of temporary dwellings challenged the approved codes of the regulatory institutional model, their amenity and appearance challenged institutionalised social norms and expectations.<sup>47</sup> House plans available in journals and booklets show that most lending bodies, housing commentators and mainstream architects anticipated that building sizes and materials, exterior and interior design, and facilities available, would not differ markedly from houses built before the war.<sup>48</sup> Published plans for suburban homes were of generous dimensions, were estimated as full brick cottages with tiled roofs, comprised an entry hall, lounge, dining room, two bedrooms with sleep-out, kitchen with tradesman's entrance, and invariably included a bathroom with flush-toilet.<sup>49</sup>

The surveyed examples of temporary dwellings do not conform to these institutionalised spatial norms. Most comprised two living spaces: an all-purpose room and a kitchen or small bedroom. No dwelling had a hall, and any bathroom was a later external addition.<sup>50</sup> Contrary to design expectations, the indoor toilet did not exist in any of the dwellings. Instead a separate outhouse closet housed a sanitary pan exchanged weekly by the Council-run service.<sup>51</sup> Building materials also differed from those anticipated, the only examples in brick were single garages constructed as the first stage of a brick house once brick came "off-ration" in 1952, and all but one was built in a "brick-only" area. Tightly-rationed and more expensive brick was otherwise used only for piers. Of the remaining dwellings, one was clad in weatherboards and the rest in fibro.

Pre-war modernist and Art Deco building styles were heavily promoted in architectural design books, while the English cottage or American Colonial home were largely depicted in popular journals and strongly favoured by home-buyers.<sup>52</sup> Although introduced through *Australian Home Beautiful* from 1945 and promoted by progressive architects like Walter Bunning, "contemporary" open-plan homes, maximising light and ventilation yet accounting for climate, did not commonly feature in popular housing journals, design collections or newspaper supplements until the early 1950s, and then were often introduced as minor updates to recycled collections of conventional cottage and bungalow plans.<sup>53</sup>

Exterior style of temporary dwellings was limited by budget and availability of materials. The majority of interim homes were simple boxes with low-pitched gable roofs and minimal eaves. Although the example with weatherboard siding naturally resembled a "cottage style", and the brick garage with reinforced concrete roof showed elements of Internationalist styling, any fibro clad examples acquired their distinction through smooth painted external surfaces; design of doors, windows and glazing; and applied decoratively-cut timbers on gables and architraves. Accordingly, they were ultimate examples of the unadorned housing style described by architect Robin Boyd as the "negative approach", and classified by Peter Cuffley, in his analysis of post-war housing, as necessity-driven "post-war austerity".<sup>54</sup>

## Conclusion

Once the occupation of temporary dwellings became common, the regulatory, professional and social institutional models were constrained to adapt to the challenge they presented. Various aspects of Ordinance 71 were amended between 1949 and 1951.<sup>55</sup> Living-space ceiling heights and minimum cubic volumes remained but the combined average floor area of living spaces no longer included the kitchen.<sup>56</sup> Instead, influenced by Commonwealth Housing Commission recommendations, a bed/living residence could now include a partitioned kitchen alcove with a lowered ceiling, reduced floor space, and wide entry opening.<sup>57</sup> Against Housing Commission recommendations, the requirement for a bathroom was also able to be dispensed with once a resolution to do so was passed by the relevant local Council.<sup>58</sup> Many of the temporary dwellings could now be regarded as superficially complying with the regulations.

The various home publications reflected changes in housing expectations from 1948, and in particular from 1950. Popular journals included articles which described the experience of altering a garage into a home or suggestions for decorating a garage studio residence, while commercial plans and professional architects now promoted “nucleus homes”, staged dwellings initially comprising living space/bedroom, kitchen, bathroom and laundry.<sup>59</sup> Illustrations depict these as long narrow timber-frame buildings clad in fibro and capped by a flat or low-pitched roof sealed with “rubberoid” or “malthoid”. Although images of the complete homes show conventional double-front, hip-roofed cottages, the partial buildings inadvertently reproduced modernist “contemporary” houses and were described as having a “striking modern note”.<sup>60</sup>

By 1951, many local Councils further exercised their discretionary powers to approve such non-compliant buildings. Ryde Council accepted permanent dwellings with half the previous a minimum floor area and Liverpool and Hornsby Councils allowed the construction of the recently-introduced commercial “ready-cut” half and three-quarter nucleus homes covering less than this.<sup>61</sup>

In September 1952, a further amendment to Ordinance 71 changed the situation entirely. Clause 86, Temporary Buildings- “Special Provision” was added.<sup>62</sup> This clause stated that anyone using a temporary structure for residential purposes was in breach of the regulations and therefore liable for prosecution.<sup>63</sup> Nonetheless, the V-G List shows that, regardless of the institution, new temporary dwellings continued to be built, and they and existing temporary dwellings continued to be occupied, until the permanent, and complying, house was completed.

## Acknowledgements

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- 41 *Ordinances under the Local Government Act, 1919, to 31st August, 1945*, O.70, 17, 18.
- 42 *Ordinances under the Local Government Act, 1919, to 31st August, 1945*, O.70, 17.
- 43 *Ordinances under the Local Government Act, 1919, to 31st August, 1945*, O.70, 20.
- 44 *Ordinances under the Local Government Act, 1919, to 3rd August, 1951*, O.71, 10.
- 45 A. E. Smith, "Making a Modest Beginning: A Suggestion for Young People – and Others," *Australian Home Beautiful* (December 1945): 15.
- 46 Smith, "Making a Modest Beginning," 15.
- 47 For examples see Smith, "Making a Modest Beginning"; Colonial Mutual Life Assurance Society, *Your Home*; Gye, ed., *Home Plans*; Horwitz, *Sixty Home Plans* (1950); William Scotow, *Australian Homes and Plans* (Sydney: Scotow Press, 1940); Clarke, Hann and Taylor, *Fifty Modern Homes*.
- 48 Scotow, *Australian Homes and Plans*, 18, 21, 39; Colonial Mutual Life Assurance Society, *Your Home*, 43, 51, 55; Nora Cooper, "The Difficulties of Building under War-Time Conditions and Some Expedients," *Australian Home Beautiful* (October 1941): 8.
- 49 Nora Cooper, "An Exhibition of U.S. Architecture," *Australian Home Beautiful* (November 1944): 18; also Scotow, *Australian Homes and Plans*; Clarke, Hann and Taylor, *Fifty Modern Homes*.
- 50 Wagstaff, January 29, 2015; Pinch, December 13, 2014.
- 51 Wagstaff, January 29, 2015; Kirby, January 31, 2015.
- 52 Clarke, Hann and Taylor, *Fifty Modern Homes*, Introduction; C. J. Orme and R. A. Spence, *50 Post-War Home Designs* (Sydney: Gornall, 1948), designs 4 and 38; Richard Apperly, Robert Irving, and Peter Reynolds, *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture: Styles and Terms from 1788 to the Present* (North Ryde: Angus and Robertson, 1989), 211.

- 53 Walter Bunning, *Homes in the Sun* (Sydney: W. J. Nesbit, 1945), 48; Horwitz, *Sixty Home Plans* (1950), 6-7.
- 54 Cuffley, *Australian Houses of the Forties and Fifties*, 121; Boyd, *Australia's Home*, 118.
- 55 *Commonwealth Housing Commission Final Report, 25th August, 1944*, 263-267; *Ordinances under the Local Government Act, 1919, to 3rd August, 1951*, 24-35.
- 56 *Ordinances under the Local Government Act, 1919, to 3rd August, 1951*, 24.
- 57 *Ordinances under the Local Government Act, 1919, to 3rd August, 1951*, 25; A bed/living residence could now include a kitchen alcove with a ceiling minimum of 7 foot 4 inches (2.23m), with a 4 foot (1.20m) wide entry opening, providing 48 square foot (4.45sq m) of floor space for a couple, rising to 60 square foot (5.57sq m) for a one bedroom dwelling and 72 square foot (6.68sq m) for two bedrooms or more.
- 58 *Ordinances under the Local Government Act, 1919, to 3rd August, 1951*, 35; *Commonwealth Housing Commission Final Report, 25th August, 1944*, 263-266.
- 59 Yvonne Spry, "Home in the Garage," *Australian Home Beautiful* (August 1948): 24-25; W. J. McMurray, "Living in a Garage: Architect's Diary," *Australian Women's Weekly* (July 18, 1956): 53; Horwitz, *Sixty Home Plans* (1950), 92-109; I. Horwitz, *Sixty Home Plans*, 7th edition (Sydney: Associated General Publications, 1951), 79.
- 60 Horwitz, *Sixty Home Plans* (1950), 92.
- 61 "Health and Building," *The Biz* (Fairfield), November 15, 1951, 6; "Granville ready-cut homes," *Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate*, June 6, 1951, 8; Minutes of the Council of the Shire of Hornsby, Ordinary Meeting No. 21/51, September 27, 1951, 4. These "nucleus" houses had between 445 and 579 square foot (41.3 and 53.7sq m) floor space. Ryde Council allowed partial houses of 650 square foot (60.3sq m).
- 62 *Ordinances under the Local Government Act, 1919, to 3rd August, 1951*, 63.
- 63 *Ordinances under the Local Government Act, 1919, to 3rd August, 1951*, 63.